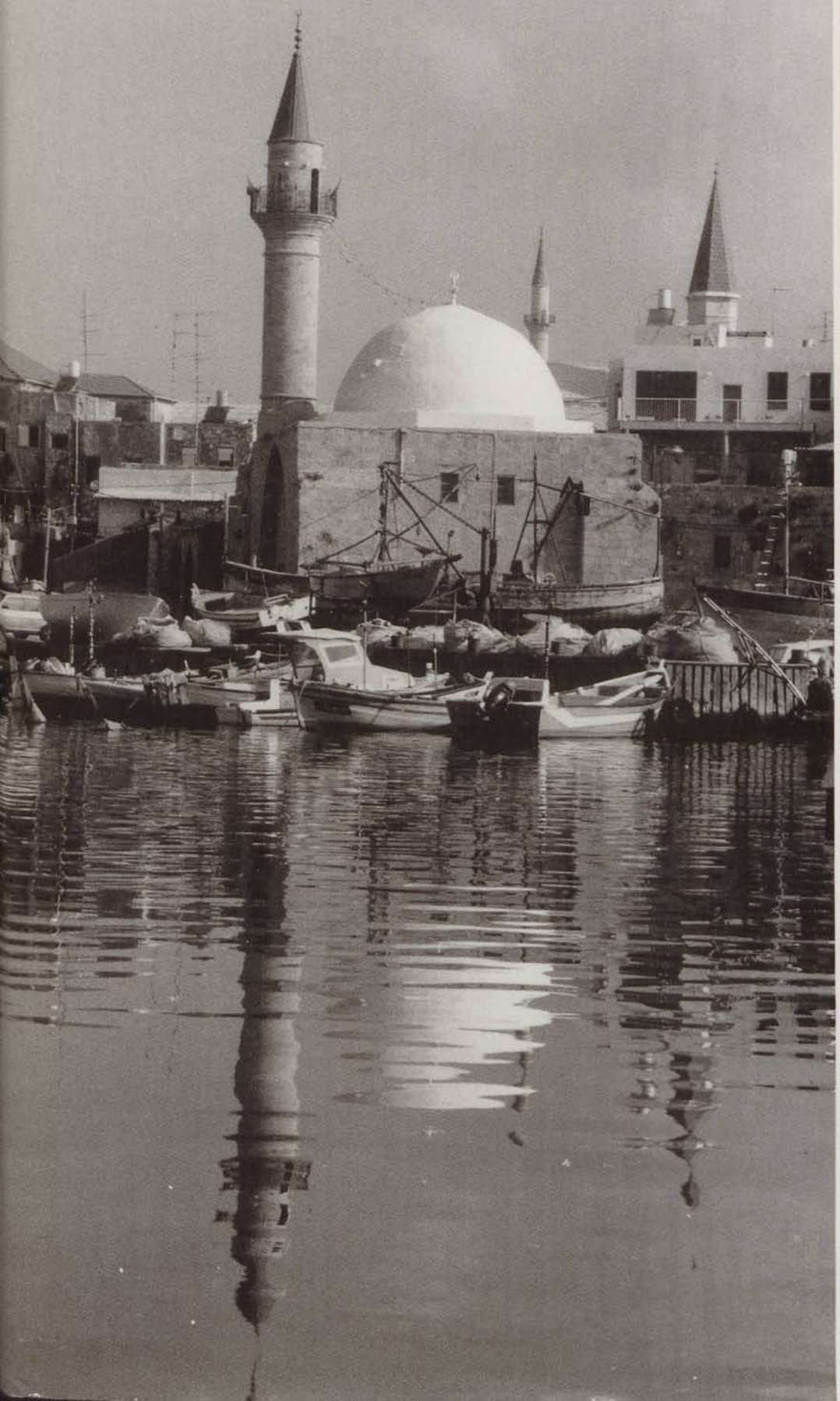
British Academy Monographs in Archaeology No. 12

A GAZETTEER OF BUILDINGS IN MUSLIM PALESTINE

(PART 1)



Andrew Petersen

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For Heather and Marinus

A GAZETTEER OF BUILDINGS IN MUSLIM PALESTINE (PART 1)

by
Andrew Petersen

with contributions by Marcus Milwright
Drawings by Heather Nixon
Maps by Peter Leach

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT

An.	Ancient name
Ar.	Arabic name
ARP	Archaeological Researches in Palestine
ATQ	Antiquities Report
Cr.	Crusader name
EAE	Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land
EI1	Encyclopaedia of Islam (First edition)
EI2	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Second edition)
EJ	Encyclopedia Judaica
H.	Hijra date
Hb.	Hebrew name
HG	Historical Geography of Palestine (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977)
MPF	Muslim Pious Foundations in Palestine
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum
sp.	Precise spelling unknown
RCEA	Repertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe
SWP	Survey of Western Palestine

NOTES

Notes for Reading the Text

The entries in the gazetteer are arranged alphabetically by site name. The site is usually the name of a village, town, or city with the buildings discussed individually within each entry. The modern Arabic name of the site is always given by preference although exceptions have been made where no Arabic name is known (such as the case of archaeological sites discovered in the vicinity of a modern Israeli settlement) or where there is a well known English equivalent. Non-Arabic names have been preferred for the following well known sites: Acre (ʿAkka), Haifa (Ḥayfā), Jaffa (Yāfa), Lydda (Ludd), Tel Aviv (Tal Afif), and Tiberias (Ṭabariyya). The names and Arabic spellings of the sites have been checked with a variety of sources (particularly Palmer 1878; Khalidi 1992; Thompson *et al.* 1988; *Israel Official Standard Names* 1970) and the variants are given. In cases where a site name is prefixed by the word *khirba/ khirbat* this has been added in parentheses after the name. The transliteration of Arabic names corresponds to the system used in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Where the precise spelling of a name is unclear this fact is indicated by the the addition of (sp.) after the name. Alternative modern Hebrew (Hb.), Crusader (Cr.), and ancient (An.) site names are also given.

Both Palestine (Israel) Grid and standard Latitude-Longitude map references are given below the site name. The latter has been added for the benefit of the general reader but the Palestine Grid reference will allow for a more accurate location of the site. Where the buildings listed under a single site name are dispersed the Palestine Grid reference has been given with each building. Many of the sites are also included on the map series compiled by Conder and Kitchener (1880) as part of the *Survey of Western Palestine* and the sheet number (I–XXI) on which the site appears has been included. *Survey of Palestine* (1943) and *Survey of Israel* (1963) maps have also been consulted.

A wide variety of Arabic and Ottoman architectural and administrative terms appear in the text. Where an Arabic spelling is available it has been preferred. All of these terms are included in a glossary at the end of the text. In the text the architectural and topographical terms have been left without italicisation or transliteration although exceptions have been made where the word forms an integral part of the name of a site or a building. A final 't' has usually been appended to the words, *birka*, *khirba*, and *qalʿa* in order to conform with standard archaeological practice.

The list of references given at the end of each site is not intended to be exhaustive. Rather, its purpose is to allow details to be verified and to provide a starting point for further research. Additional bibliographic material on individual sites can be found in reference works such as the *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (both editions), *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Khalidi 1992; Meinecke 1992; Pringle 1993–; and Pringle 1997. In the case of Arabic source material, the original Arabic text has been cited where an edition was available. Translations of many of the passages cited in the main text can be found in works such as Le Strange 1890 and Marmadji 1951. These translations should be used, however, with caution because inaccuracies and questionable readings are not uncommon.

A Note on the Plates

The majority of photographs reproduced in the book were taken by the author and were hand-printed by Jim Nelson. Photographs from the Mandate Period (i.e. pre-1948) have been reproduced by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Derrick Riley kindly provided copies of aerial views of some of the sites in the book. Mahmoud Hawari provided a view of the entrance to the mosque at Ijzim.

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Finally I would like to thank Heather who has helped me in many ways and has given me encouragment to see the project through to the end.

INTRODUCTION

Aims and Scope

The general aim of this survey was to make a contemporary record of all medieval and Ottoman buildings in Israel. The survey area covers the modern state of Israel excluding West Jerusalem and Ramla. The former is not included because it is appears in other surveys by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem such as, *Mamluk Jerusalem* (Burgoyne and Richards 1987), *Ottoman Jerusalem* (Auld and Hillenbrand 2000) and *Ayyubid Jerusalem* (Hawari in preparation). Ramla will also be discussed in a separate publication (for a preliminary report with a list of buildings see Petersen 1995a). The West Bank and Gaza areas will also form the basis of later publications. There are no plans to include the architecture of the Golan Heights in the ongoing survey.

Some buildings have been omitted from the gazetteer. Specifically Christian and Jewish architecture (churches, synagogues, and so on) are not included because such structures have been included in other modern surveys (see for instance, Levine 1981; Pringle 1993–, I, II; Pringle 1997). Railways and associated buildings have been omitted because detailed accounts of these may be found in specialist publications (see for example Cottrell 1983). Some categories of building type such as private houses and mills are included in restricted numbers with a small group of representative examples chosen to illustrate more general patterns. More detailed examination of these building types is better suited to detailed regional surveys.

The majority of the buildings discussed in the present volume of the gazetteer date to the Ottoman period with a smaller proportion dating to the medieval period. Early Islamic architecture is only represented by a few examples of extant buildings. In order to provide a more complete picture of the development of architecture through the whole Islamic period a number of excavated (i.e. non-standing) structures from the early Islamic and medieval periods have been included (for instance at Yotvata (No. 160), Tell Qasīla (No. 145), the Negev (No. 104), and Tiberias (No. 151)).

Although Muslim buildings in Palestine have been discussed in previous surveys (for instance in the works of Guérin (1868–1880), the *Survey of Western Palestine* and Pringle 1996, 1997, 1998), only one such project focused exclusively upon Islamic architecture: L.A. Mayer, J. Pinkerfeld, and A. Yadin, *Some Principal Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel* (cited in the remainder of the text as Mayer *et al.* 1950). Whilst this publication contains much valuable information, the scope of the survey was limited to the most famous mosques and shrines. The aim of the present survey is to be more inclusive in order to establish the overall architectural context of Muslim Palestine. There are, of course, omissions and it is likely that more buildings will be discovered. It was felt important, however, to publish the gazetteer in the present form so that scholars can make use of the available data.

Source Material

The Mandate Archives

The archives of the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine (1918–48) are the principal source used for the location and identification of buildings in this gazetteer. References to the archives in the text will be preceded by the initials PAM (Palestine Archaeological Museum). A summary of the information contained in these files has been published in a geographical format (Israel 1976) and an alphabetical list of sites has been published as part of the *Official Gazette of Israel* (cited as Israel 1964).

The archives themselves are housed in the Rockefeller Museum (formerly the Palestine Archaeological Museum) in Jerusalem. There are 197 numbered files arranged alphabetically. Of the numbered files, three (Files 112, 133, 158) are missing. As might be expected, a large number of the files (35 comprising Files 78–113) are concerned with Jerusalem whilst other sets of files deal with single sites: Acre (Files 5, 6); Ascalon (Files 11, 12); ʿAthlīth (Files 13–21); Bayt Jibrīn (Files 30, 31); Bethlehem (Files 35–37); Caesarea (Files 42, 43); al-Ḥuṣn (Files 67, 68); Khirbat al-Mafjar (Files 128–134); Gaza (Files 55–57); Nāblus (Files 146, 147); and Tiberias (Files 183, 184). The entry for each site includes a summary record card which includes the Palestine (Israel) Grid reference, the various names of the site, and a list of the reports in the file relating to the site in question. The reports are generally the field notes of the Department of Antiquities inspectors and include the name of the inspector and comments concerning the condition of the site or building, any recent discoveries, inscriptions, and often a rough sketch. In addition to the field notes there are also some special reports which include more detailed discussions of aspects of the individual site and sketch plans. One particularly valuable aspect of the Mandate files are the photographs taken by the Department during field visits. In some cases, these are the only visual record of the building which has been subsequently destroyed or severely damaged.

The majority of the special reports are by one of the Department's inspectors although there are also a number compiled by K.A.C. Creswell. The reports by Creswell generally deal with Roman or medieval buildings and are often accompanied by prints of his own photographs which he sold to the department (Petersen forthcoming). Another group of special reports which is of particular interest is the village surveys carried out in the 1940s in conjunction with the *Survey of Palestine*. Each village survey consists of a map with numbers marked on them, which refer to the report which describes features, sites, or buildings of interest.

Other Surveys

A number of historical surveys were used to locate and identify historic buildings. It should be noted, however, that most of these deal with buildings thought to have been constructed before ca. 1700. This means that, for a large number of the structures discussed in the gazetteer, the Mandate files are the most important source. The most useful published source is the *Survey of Western Palestine* which has a complete coverage of the country (with the exception of the Negev and the western banks of the Dead Sea) based upon survey work carried out by members of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the 1870s. Of the other nineteenth-century surveys perhaps the most important is the seven-volume series compiled by Guérin (1868–1880) although others such as Robinson (1841) and Wilson (1884) have been cited in the text. For the medieval period the work of Pringle on the churches (1993–) and the secular buildings (1997) of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalam is an indispensible guide for the history and archaeology of the sites. Many of the buildings dated to the Mamluk period appear in an architectural gazetteer of the period compiled by

Meinecke (1992). A number of documents (*daftars*) dated to the sixteenth century recording land ownership and tax revenues in Bilād al-Shām have survived. Of the published documents relating to Palestine the English translation of the 1596 *daftar* (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977 (cited in the text as *HG*)) has been used for the identification of site names in the Ottoman period. Information in the *daftars* has been analysed in various publications including Lewis (1965), Cohen and Lewis (1978), Bakhit (1982), and Singer (1994). The destroyed villages of Palestine are the subject of Khalidi (1992). This publication is not only useful for the identification of more recent sites but also provides information concerning the history, population, and the abandonment of the individual villages. The most detailed recent archaeological surveys are those of the *Archaeological Survey of Israel* which was started by P.L.O. Guy, former director of the B.S.A.J. soon after 1948. In 1967/8 it carried out the emergency survey of the West Bank and Golan, which was published in 1972, and in 1978 *The Survey of 'Atlit* was published. In the same year (1978) the *Negev Emergency Survey* was begun, the results of which are still being published. In recent years the Survey has begun to publish surveys of other areas throughout Israel. The survey is produced as a series of maps with a list of archaeological sites identified through intensive field surveys. Each map consists of an area of 10km square (100 square km). At present about 30 of a projected total of about 250 maps have been completed. Also of relevance is Sharon's work on the Arabic inscriptions of Palestine which discusses some of the buildings mentioned here as well as many of which no trace remains (Sharon 1988).

Fieldwork

Most of the fieldwork for this project was carried out between August 1991 and December 1994 although additional visits were made in 1995, 1996, and 1997. The survey consisted of site visits with notes, sketch plans, and photographs made of each building. Where the Mandate files contained details of an historic building in the form of photographs, measurements, or a description it was usually possible to verify whether the structure was still standing. There were, however, cases where there was difficulty in establishing whether a building had actually disappeared. This is partly because the six-figure Palestine Grid coordinates, if correct, refer to a square kilometre and in an urban environment or an area of dense vegetation it is difficult to check the whole area. Other problems are that the building might have been partially destroyed or obscured by a more modern structure. An example of this is the old mosque at Jaljūliyya (No. 61) which appears in photographs in the Mandate files. During initial survey work for the present gazetteer no trace of this building was found, and it was only when the village was subjected to a more intensive survey in 1996 that, through a combination of local informants and the removal of dense undergrowth, it was finally located (Petersen 1997). A more difficult situation exists where the Mandate files indicated that there might be a building of interest but provide no specific information or photographs. In such cases, there is the additional problem of establishing whether the site was a standing building or an outline of ruins. Shrines may constitute anything from a rag tied to a tree to a substantial medieval building and the Mandate files do not always differentiate.

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

Brief Review of the Muslim History of Palestine

For the purposes of this work the history of Muslim Palestine may be divided into three periods. These periods will be referred to as early Islamic (640–1099 C.E.), medieval (1099–1516 C.E.), and Ottoman (1516–1917 C.E.). Whilst some degree of continuity can be identified the divisions between each period are, nevertheless, marked by fundamental changes in the political and administrative structure. Although it is difficult to correlate political change with processes detectable either in the archaeological or architectural record, there are notable distinctions between the buildings of each period. Examples include the introduction of the pointed arch in the early Islamic period, the development of the cross-vault in the medieval period, and the use of pendentives rather than squinches during the Ottoman period (see later summaries of building types and materials and techniques of construction). More important than these technical developments are the political, economic, and religious factors which influenced the types of structures built in any particular place or period.

Early Islamic Period

The adoption of Christianity as the imperial religion in 313 C.E. stimulated an unprecedented growth in the architectural fabric of Palestine. During the period from the fourth to the beginning of the seventh centuries numerous churches and settlements were established throughout the country. Recent research has indicated that the Arab invasions of the 630s did not result in the sudden depopulation and economic decline of Palestine. Archaeological investigation has provided an overall picture of continuity from the late Byzantine to early Islamic phase and in the Negev highlands there was actually an extension of agricultural activity (Avni 1994, 83). Palestine retained a central position within the new Umayyad empire. The construction of the Dome of the Rock and other religious and secular structures in Jerusalem is indicative of the high status enjoyed by the city and Palestine as a whole at this time. The Umayyad palaces of Khirbat al-Mafjar near Jericho (Arīḥā) and Khirbat al-Minyā near Tiberias testify to a luxurious lifestyle in an essentially peaceful country. The only newly-constructed city, Ramla, founded by Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik in 93 H. (712 C.E.), quickly became the provincial capital.

The prosperity which characterised Palestine under Umayyad rule appears to have been brought to an end by the 'ʿAbbasid revolution' of 132 H. (750 C.E.) which resulted in a shift of political focus further east to Iraq and Iran. Palestine was now on the periphery of an empire. Gradually the influence of central ʿAbbasid authority waned and real political authority over the south of Bilād al-Shām passed to the Tulunid and then Ikhshidid dynasty in Egypt. Palestine remained under Egyptian rule when the Fatimids in Cairo established a rival caliphate to the orthodox caliph in Baghdad. In the eleventh century Palestine was a frontier state with the Fatimids to the south, the Saljuqs to the north, and the Byzantines making raids on the coast (see fortifications at Ascalon and forts at Kafr Lām and Isdūd).

Medieval Period

The proclamation of a Crusade by Pope Urban II in 1095 C.E. introduced a new force into the conflicts of the region. By 1099 the Crusaders had conquered Jerusalem and a year later they established the kingdom of Jerusalem with Baldwin as its king. For nearly two hundred years the Crusaders ruled Palestine establishing monasteries, churches, and castles throughout the land. In 1187 they suffered their first major defeat at Ḥaṭṭīn. The breakup of the unified empire of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn into a confederation of competing princedoms in the later Ayyubid period allowed the Crusaders to regain many of the territories lost in the aftermath of Ḥaṭṭīn, but they never managed to recoup the full extent of their loss in Palestine or elsewhere in Bilād al-Shām. During the thirteenth century Acre was established as the capital, demonstrating the Crusaders' increasing dependence on support from Europe. The siege of Acre in 1291 marked the end of the Crusader presence on the mainland of Bilād al-Shām and the beginning of an unbroken period of Muslim rule lasting until 1917.

The chronic instability which marked the later period of Ayyubid rule in Bilād al-Shām was replaced by the relative peace of the unified empire created by the Mamluks (Egypt 1250–1517, Bilād al-Shām ca. 1260–1516). Parts of Palestine suffered, however, from continuing military action until the expulsion of the Crusaders in 1291. Generally, Palestine prospered under the new regime through state investment in agriculture and the communication infrastructure of the region. The most famous of the Mamluk sultans, Baybars (1260–1277), is credited with a number of major building works in Palestine including the White Mosque at Ramla and the Great Mosque of Lydda. Baybars was also responsible for restoring the postal route between Cairo and Damascus which passed through Palestine. Jerusalem in particular thrived under the new rulers with an impressive range of religious buildings proclaiming Islam's reconquest of the city. Hebron (Ar. Al-Khalīl), Nāblus, Ramla, and Ṣafad also prospered under the new peaceful conditions. The coastal cities, however, did not fare so well because the ports were systematically destroyed to prevent future Crusader attacks.

Ottoman Period

Following the defeat of the Mamluk forces at Marj Dabīq in 1516 the Ottoman empire gained control of Bilād al-Shām. Palestine was now part of a larger empire with global pretensions. The transition to the new regime was marked by an ambitious urban renewal project in Jerusalem which included the renovation of the Dome of the Rock, the reconstruction of the city walls, and an overhaul of the city's water supply system. Outside Jerusalem the new order was visible in the building of fortresses at sites such as those at Bayt Jibrīn, Rās al-ʿAyn, and Khān al-Tujjār. Even rural settlements were made to feel part of the new empire; for instance, a decree dated 1537 ordered new mosques for every village. Comprehensive surveys of land ownership and taxable revenues (*daftar*s) were undertaken during the period of Ottoman rule. Examples of such cadastral documents covering all or parts of the region of Palestine survive from the years 932 H. (1525–1525), 945 H. (1538–1539), 955 H. (1548–1549), 961 H. (1553–1555), 963 H. (1555–1556), 964 H. (1556–1557), 965 H. (1557–1558), 970 H. (1562–1563), 980 H. (1572–1573), 1005 H. (1596–1597) (Lewis 1951, 149–155. And see *HG*; Bakhit 1982; Singer 1994).

The defeat at Vienna in 1683 marked the beginning of a general decline in the Ottoman state. During the eighteenth century various local rulers were able to take advantage of the Ottoman state's diminished power and establish semi-independent areas for themselves. The most significant of these local rulers in

Palestine was Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar who carved out a powerful state in Galilee based on a flourishing cotton trade with Europe. The increase in maritime trade stimulated the development of the coastal ports which had been neglected since the Crusades. The trade with Europe was continued under Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar's successor, Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha, who was responsible for the construction of the famous mosque in Acre.

Napoleon's invasion in 1799 marked the beginning of increased outside interference in the affairs of Palestine. Thirty years later the country was invaded by an Egyptian army led by Ibrāhīm Pasha seeking to annex Palestine to a now independent Egyptian state. The Egyptians were expelled in 1841 but this period saw a great increase in the volume of Western pilgrims and travellers entering the region. By the end of the nineteenth century European groups were beginning to settle in the country with Templar settlements near Haifa and Zionist developments in the Jaffa and Jerusalem areas. In order to cope with the increasing number of visitors the Ottoman government introduced a number of reforms to the infrastructure, including the construction of railways and a carriage road from Jaffa to Jerusalem (cf. Kark 1990). Growing disquiet over British influence in Egypt in the early twentieth century induced the Ottoman government to establish settlements in the southern desert, the most important of which was Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Hb. Beersheba).

Physical Geography

Palestine is fairly well defined geographically with the Mediterranean to the west, the Jordan river to the east, the mountains of Lebanon to the north, and the desert to the south. The country naturally divides into three environmental zones, the coastal plain, the central highlands, and the Jordan valley. Each zone has its own climate and vegetation which are a result of the different altitudes, geology, and relationship to the sea. There are a number of other natural features which have had an impact on the historical development of the country. The most significant of these is the Esdraelon (Hb.)/Jezreel (Hb.) valley which runs from the Jordan valley to the Mediterranean providing the easiest east–west route in the country. With a few exceptions the Mediterranean coast is a gentle curve with few natural harbours except for Acre and Haifa. Much of the coastline consists of a line of sand dunes with very few cliffs or rocks. The stretch of coastline between Caesarea and Haifa consists of a *kurkar* ridge. Located behind the ridge the sand dunes and marshes were impassable without drainage works. Although there are no navigable rivers in Palestine, the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias) was a focus for settlement providing both fish and fresh water. There are also a number of large wadis flowing west from the central highlands to the Mediterranean which were used to power substantial watermills (for instance at al-Ḥaddar and Tell Kurdāna). Wadis could, however, also form obstacles to travel.

Vegetation

Each of the three geographical zones has its own characteristic crops. The coastal plain has a mild winter climate and is predominantly a citrus-growing area producing lemons, grapefruits, and oranges, although other crops are also grown. The central highland zone has colder winters with occasional frosts and snow making it unsuitable for citrus trees. The most characteristic plant from this area is the olive tree which is planted in terraces along the hillsides. Grapes are also grown particularly in the Hebron region to the south of Jerusalem. The climate of the Jordan valley is much hotter than either the coastal plain or the highlands and is suited to the cultivation of subtropical plants such as dates and bananas.

The current flora of Palestine does not necessarily reflect that of the past. Apart from modern agriculture, the most significant difference between the countryside as it appears now and in the past is the large number of coniferous forests planted by various Zionist organisations. This does not, however, mean that the country was devoid of trees before 1917. There was, for example, a large wood near Qāqūn which survived until the early twentieth century when it was cut down by the Turks for use in their steam locomotives. One of the most common plants encountered in the area is the cactus or prickly pear (*Opuntia vulgaris*) which was used for hedges and as a source of red dye used in textiles (cochineal). Despite its association with the Palestinian countryside these plants are of Central American origin and were not common in the Mediterranean until the Ottoman period.

Human Geography

The towns of Palestine have always been relatively small compared with those of Syria and Egypt. Instead of large connurbations there are several small cities such as Nāblus, Ramla, Hebron (Ar. al-Khalīl), Ṣafad, and Gaza whose significance was dependant on trade routes passing between the urban centres of Cairo and Damascus. The most important trade route was the *Via Maris* which ran from Egypt to Damascus via the coast. Despite its enduring religious significance, Jerusalem was not located on the main trade routes and could not compete in size with Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, or Baghdad. In any case the economic and political capital of Palestine has often been one of a number of other better located cities. In late Roman and Byzantine times Lydda was the economic centre and in the early Islamic period it was replaced by Ramla. In the thirteenth century Acre became the Crusader capital whilst in the Mamluk periods a number of cities including Gaza, Ṣafad, and Ramla vied for economic supremacy. In the sixteenth century, under the Ottomans Jerusalem gradually replaced Gaza and Ṣafad as the largest town in Palestine (cf. Cohen and Lewis 1978, 10–18). During the remainder of the Ottoman period Jerusalem was the largest city, although by the nineteenth century Acre, and later Haifa and Jaffa boasted comparably large populations.

In place of major towns Palestine always had a large number of villages reflecting the overall fertility of the country and its relatively high rainfall (Singer 1994, 10–17). Even today Galilee has few towns and is predominantly composed of villages. The peasant inhabitants of the villages did not, however, own their own land until the Ottoman land reforms (*tanẓīmāt*) of 1871–1881 (for this period, see Davison in *EI*2, X, 201–209). The significance for this study is that most of the buildings in the survey are rural in character with prestige buildings concentrated in Jerusalem and the other towns. There are a few exceptions to this such as the mosque of Abū'l-ᶜAwn in Jaljūliyya (No. 61) or the shrine of Abū Hurayra in Yibnā (No.159).

BUILDING MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES

The range of materials utilised for building in this region has remained consistent over the ca. 1,300 years covered by this survey. There are a few exceptions to this general situation, which may be the result of factors including cultural preferences and technological innovation. The most important defining factor, however, is the regional availability of materials. The most important materials can be listed as stone, wood, soils (clay), iron, and concrete.

Stone

Stone is by far the most important building material described in this survey (although the present preponderance of stone buildings may be related to the greater durability of stone in relation to materials such as mud-brick). The three main types of stone used are limestone, sandstone, and basalt. Igneous rocks of the southern Negev and Sinai were occasionally used though only in rough field structures. Imported marble is also found in some prestigious structures.

Limestone

Limestone accounts for most of the exposed stone visible in the landscape of Israel/Palestine. Several types of limestone occur with a variety of names referring either to their age or location including Arad (Jurassic), Shephelah (Eocene), and Judean (Cretaceous). Of these, Judean limestone is the most significant because it covers more than half the country forming the highland areas of Galilee, Samaria, Judea, and the Negev uplands. According to Perath (1984, 39) over 90 percent of stone structures in the country are made of limestone from this group. However, none of the above groups is homogeneous because each is found in different depositional contexts separated by layers of marl. Each of the limestone layers has slightly different characteristics which are classified according to their potential use in construction and decoration (Perath 1984, 40).

Soft stones (chalky limestone) include *Iskander* and *Yabis* (both from the Judean group) *Ka'kuleh* (Shephelah group) and *Nari* (both the Judean and Shephelah groups). *Iskander* and *Yabis* were both used in the nineteenth-century buildings in Haifa (No. 47). *Ka'kuleh* is a cream white to yellow, chalky, homogenous limestone which is easy both to saw and to dress to a fine finish. In the south of Jerusalem it often has characteristic red veins. This stone often becomes brittle and discoloured with age. Although *Nari* seems to have been regarded as an inferior (but cheaper) building stone it was frequently used for the less visible parts of buildings. It was particularly favoured for use as a filling in vaults because of its lightness and ability to bond after tamping (Perath 1984, 41, 50). *Nari* was also burnt in lime kilns to produce lime mortar and plaster, although some types were heat-resistant, being utilised in the construction of ovens and fireplaces (Schick 1887, 50).

The majority of buildings from the period under consideration were built of one of the hard limestones. Two main types have been distinguished, *Malaki* and *Mizzi*. *Malaki* is a hard white crystalline limestone often found in association with *Mizzi Ahmar* layers. On first exposure the stone is soft and easily workable, later becoming hard with a clear surface. This stone was extensively used in the construction of the older buildings of Jerusalem both because of the qualities outlined above and because it underlies the old city itself. *Mizzi* may be subdivided into one of three sub-categories distinguished by their colour and hardness. The first is *Mizzi Yahudi*. This is a hard white greyish dolomitic limestone. The heaviest and hardest of the carbonate stones, it is the most commonly used building stone in Jerusalem and the central highlands. The second is *Mizzi Ahmar* (red). This is a hard light yellow to beige dolomite, irregularly streaked with pink red or purple veins. Available in more limited quantities than the other limestones, it is not known to occur extensively outside the Jerusalem and Ramallāh areas. It is often used for decorative purposes (see for instance the columns in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem). The last type is *Mizzi Hilu*. This is a white, crystalline limestone closely related to *Malaki* (see above). It is often used to provide a decorative contrast to *Mizzi Ahmar*.

There are also a number of hard limestones which enjoy more localised uses. Examples include the Neogene coralline and algal limestones employed in the Lakhish (Hb.) area. These are hard chalky limestones which are no longer quarried. Another local limestone of some importance is Beersheba *Juheir* (Freestone) which was used by the Ottomans for the construction of Beersheba (Ar. Bīr al-Sabʿ) in the early 1900s.

In addition to these building stones, there are a number of special stone types which were used for their decorative qualities. Although no true marbles are found in Palestine there are a number of 'sedimentary marbles'. These are hard limestones which, when polished, give the appearance of marble. These come mostly from the Judean group of limestone and were in common use only in the Byzantine and early Islamic periods and during the twentieth century. One type of particular interest is known as Arad marble or *Mizzi Akhdar* (green) which first came into use in the seventh century C.E. Another well known type is *Hajar Musa*, a bituminous black limestone which has become metamorphosed into jet black marble. This was commonly used to provide an ablaq effect in the facades of Mamluk buildings.

Basalt

Basalt is a hard volcanic rock found in the north-east of the country, particularly the area around Qiryat Shimona (Hb.), the Sea of Galilee, and eastern Upper Galilee. This is a relatively young rock resulting from two main periods of deposition, the Neogene and Quaternary periods (Shadman 1972, 31–32; Perath 1984, 52–55). Basalt has a number of important qualities including great tensile strength, resistance to erosion, as well as relative abundance and easy accessibility (De Vries 1982, 8). Its use as a building stone is limited, however, by its extreme hardness which make it difficult to work into useful shapes or to dress to a smooth finish. There are a number of different types which have differing qualities as building stones. Vesicular (scoriacious and pyroclastic) basalt was rarely used as a dressed building stone though it was highly prized as a material for millstones (cf. Rogan 1995). It was also used for rural buildings where the finish was not important. Fine-grained flow basalts are easy to form into rough squares but difficult to dress because they tend to break along pre-existing cracks. The most suitable form of basalt for dressing is a dense coarse-crystalline stone which is obtained from isolated outcrops or deeper unweathered strata (Perath 1984, 55).

The dark-grey to black colour represented another disincentive for its use, although this could be mitigated by covering the walls with white plaster. Such a wall covering had the additional benefit of disguising the rough finish characteristic of basalt masonry (De Vries 1990, 18).

Sandstone

The only type of sandstone used in any quantities is *Kurkar* although other forms do occur (see below). *Kurkar* is 'a porous, inhomogeneous but mostly friable, cross-bedded, wind-laid sandstone' (Perath 1984, 55). Found along most of the coast, it is formed from a mixture of sand originating from the Nile Delta and a matrix composed of a calcified mixture of marine sediments. It is easily worked and dressed to a fine finish. It hardens after exposure but often has problems with weathering. The best *Kurkars* have a high matrix to sand ratio. It is an easy material to quarry and is relatively abundant.

A number of types of *Kurkar* appear along the coast, each with slightly different qualities. The first, *Calcarentice,* is a mostly calcareous stone found between Tel Aviv (Hb.) and Caesarea. The second, *Lumachelle,* is a beach rock where the process of formation appears to be aqueous rather than wind-laid. This is more compact with a lower porosity than true *Kurkar.* It is found along the southern part of the coast although a fossil version is found further inland. The fossil version was used on buildings in Gaza, Isdūd, and Khān Yūnus as well as on buildings connected with the Ottoman railway to Gaza (Perath 1984, 57). The third, *Kurdani,* is a highly calcareous *Kurkar* found on the coast around Acre and Nahariyya. It is an excellent building material which resembles Judean limestone.

The only other sandstone used is *Samra Oolite.* It is found on the west side of the Jordan Rift valley. This rock was formed out of oolites laid down in the Plesitocene lake which preceded the present Dead Sea and Sea of Galilee. The rock is similar to *Kurkar* although it is more homogeneous and more resistant to weathering. It was mostly used in the Jericho region and is the main construction material employed at Khirbat al-Mafjar.

Marble

Marble was imported in large quantities in the Roman and Byzantine periods and continued to be used during the early Islamic period (Ramla was a centre for cutting imported marble using a sand abrasion technique. See Perath 1984, 78). Marble found on buildings of later periods was usually the result of reuse rather than import of fresh stone. It was particularly favoured as floor slabs in mosques and other public buildings. Marble was also used for lintels, inscriptions and decorative details in mihrabs.

Stone Roofing

A number of different methods of roofing were employed depending on the type of building, availability of materials, and contemporary practice. The simplest form of vault is a barrel or tunnel which is a continuous vault of semi-circular or pointed section. Although ubiquitous in buildings of the Crusader period, barrel-vaults enjoyed less use in the Ayyubid-Mamluk and Ottoman periods. The cross-vault was generally preferred in these later Muslim structures. This is made of two intersecting barrel-vaults springing from four corner piers. Variations include the folded or ribbed cross-vaults which relieve the stress on the apex of the vault allowing it to contain a lantern or some decorative effect. Important public buildings such as mosques, shrines, or bathhouses were often covered with domes. Before the Ottoman period these generally rested on squinches whilst from the sixteenth century onwards pendentives were increasingly favoured. In some areas, particularly in the north of the country, vaulted roofs were replaced with a roofing system based on transverse stone arches. Each room was covered with one or more transverse arches with the area in between spanned with either short lengths of timber or stone beams.

Wood

The semi-arid climate of Palestine is not favourable for trees and those which do grow are generally not suitable for large-scale works such as gabled roofs. At certain times, however, timber appears to have enjoyed more extensive use. During the Byzantine and early Islamic periods it was utilised in the construction of gabled roofs for churches, public buildings, and some houses though the majority was imported from Cyprus and Lebanon. Prominent examples of wooden roofs from this period include the Aqsa mosque (cf. Lev Yadun 1992) and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Timber again became an important roofing material in the late nineteenth century when it was used for gabled roofs covered with Marseilles tiles (numerous examples can be seen in Jaffa, Acre and Haifa). During both these periods it is likely that larger timbers were imported. For most of the time, however, the use of wood in roofs was restricted to short lengths employed in stone houses (in conjunction with transverse stone arches) and in the mud-brick houses of the coastal plain.

Wood was used extensively, however, for doorways, wooden railings, and partitions (cf. Dow 1996, 22). One of the best examples of traditional use of wood is the shaykh's house opposite the main mosque in Tarshīḥa (No.148) which contains a wooden gallery and a series of wooden partitions. Wood was utilised also for scaffolding and was essential as centering in the construction of stone vaults.

Clay

The relative abundance of good stone in Palestine has meant that clay enjoyed a much more limited role as a building material compared with areas such as Egypt and Mesopotamia. In its most basic form clay was used to make raw mud-bricks although more sophisticated constructions could be made with fired bricks and terracotta tubes.

Mud-brick

The use of mud-brick was restricted to three main areas, the southern coastal plain, the Jezreel valley, and the Jordan valley. The mud-bricks of the Jordan valley were made of clay of a high quality which meant that they were able to survive over long periods. By contrast mud-bricks of the coastal plain and the Jezreel valley were made of *hamra* reinforced with straw. *Hamra* is a common deposit with variable amounts of sand and clay and is generally less durable than the clay bricks of the Jordan valley. The poor quality of the raw materials combined with the higher level of rainfall has meant that mud-brick structures have completely disappeared from the coastal plain and Jezreel valley.

Fired brick

Fired brick is generally rare because the expenditure involved in firing was more than that involved in dressing stones. With the exception of the Roman and Byzantine periods it is doubtful whether fired bricks were produced in the country until the twentieth century. During the Islamic period fired brick was

extremely rare and only used for specific purposes where it may have been imported. Examples of the use of fired brick include the hypocausts at Khirbat al-Mafjar and Nazareth (103) and the domes of Mamluk bathhouses.

Terracotta Vaulting Tubes

An unusual feature of the Ottoman architecture of southern Palestine is the use of terracotta tubes in vaults and domes. Vaulting tubes were first used by the Romans though their shape and manner of use is different from those of the Ottoman period. The Ottoman tubes were of two types, either elongated (0.25m) conical shapes or shorter (0.14– 0.24m) waisted forms. They were produced in ceramic factories and may be related to the production of the so-called Gaza wares. The earliest examples probably date to the eighteenth century and they were certainly common in the early years of the nineteenth century.

The tubes were set vertically side by side to produce domes which were lighter than traditional masonry domes. The domes were lighter and thus the walls could also be thinner and pierced with larger windows. Vaults produced in this way could not support any weight above them such as terraces or upper floors, though they were ideal for the construction of additional rooms above traditional stone vaults (cf. Petersen 1994).

Roof Tiles

Roof tiles were common in the Byzantine and early Islamic periods although they are absent from medieval and early Ottoman architecture. In the later nineteenth century they reappear on gabled wooden roofs. Unlike the vaulting tubes which were locally produced, the tiles were imported from Marseilles.

Iron

Before the nineteenth century the use of iron in architecture was restricted to features such as window grilles, hooks, handles, and locks. One of the earliest uses of iron as a major structural element was the dome of the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which was re-built using cast iron imported from Russia. The construction of the Jaffa–Jerusalem railway in 1872 provided a means by which a new structural material, iron girders, could be transported in Palestine. The iron girders were used for roofs to expand the area that could be covered by stone vaults. A new type of roofing system was evolved where a number of stone beams were laid across the top of a wall with the intervening spaces covered with shallow segmental vaults running parallel to the beams.

Concrete

Concrete had been in use from at least Roman times, but it was not until the invention of iron reinforced concrete (ferro-concrete) in the mid nineteenth century that it became a major structural component of buildings. It appears in a few late Ottoman buildings such as the Ḥasan Bey mosque in Jaffa and the mosque in Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Hb. Beersheba), although its use was uncommon until the period of the British Mandate when pre-stressed concrete was introduced.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

The range of Muslim religious buildings represented in this survey is fairly limited with the majority classified either as mosques or mausolea/shrines. Other buildings such as zawiyas, khanqahs, and madrasas are generally absent outside the main towns of Jerusalem, al-Khalīl (Hb. Hebron), Nāblus and Gaza. In addition to the mainstream Muslim buildings there are structures belonging to Muslim sects such as the Baha'is (Ar. Bahā'ī) and the Druze (Ar. Durūz). Baha'is are represented by a number of buildings in the north of the country including the magnificent golden shrine at Haifa, a house in the old city of Acre, a mausoleum at Manshiyya near Acre, and the tomb of Bahā' Allāh in the grounds of a mansion north of Acre. The main form of religious building associated with the Druze is the khilwa/khalwa or meeting house. These are found in or near most villages with a Druze population. Most of the khilwas encountered on the survey are of recent construction (perhaps on the site of an earlier building) and were not included in the survey, although the shrine of Nabī Shuʿayb (No. 50) is included because at least part of the structure is old.

Mosques

Although the more important mosques are located in Jerusalem, Gaza, and the towns of the West Bank, this survey still contains a wide range of mosques of different periods, types, and dimensions. Mosques often form part of other structures such as khāns and shrines. It is rare to find an old mosque which does not have some form of attribution to a holy man or shaykh. The buildings discussed in this section are those whose primary function is a mosque.

It is known that most of the cities in the area covered by this survey (Acre, Ascalon, Tiberias, Jaffa, and Caesarea) had Friday mosques before the eleventh century. None have survived although excavations have uncovered a small mosque at Baysān. The earliest extant mosques are those discovered during recent intensive archaeological surveys in the Negev (No. 104) (Avni 1994). The majority of these buildings are open-air structures which have been dated to the seventh and eighth centuries C.E. In many cases they are simply areas cleared of loose stones with a low wall on the south side containing a mihrab (either flat or concave in form). The most substantial mosque discovered during the Negev surveys was that at Sede Boqer (Hb.). This structure consisted of a prayer hall and courtyard built of dressed stone. Although the stone walls probably only stood 1m high it is possible that there was originally a mud-brick or tent-like superstructure. Another substantial building also in the Negev is the mosque built into the south church at Shivta (No. 136). It has been dated to the ninth century and comprises a courtyard and a prayer hall with a deep concave mihrab. Unlike the other Negev mosques this building was covered with a roof and was located within a town.

Unsurprisingly, there is little evidence for the construction of mosques in the area of the survey during the period of the Crusades though mosques were constructed elsewhere in Palestine at Bayt Hannun (Pringle 1997, 1). In general the Muslim population was allowed to continue to practise their religion although there are several cases where mosques were converted into churches (for instance at Caesarea). In those parts of the country which had been recaptured by the Ayyubids after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187 C.E. the construction of mosques was not a priority. In any case the Ayyubids adhered to the Shāfiʿī rite which did not allow more than one Friday mosque in a town (cf. Behrens-Abouseif 1989, 11). During the early Mamluk period the situation changed and a number of mosques were built or rebuilt during the rule of Baybars (1260–1277 C.E.). One of the characteristic features of this period is the conversion of Crusader churches for use as mosques. The orientation of mosques and churches in Palestine makes this process fairly simple by blocking the west door and inserting a mihrab into the south wall. The churches at Ramla and Gaza were converted in this way with very little alteration to the Crusader structure. The most famous example within the present survey is the church at Lydda (No. 82) which was partially destroyed by Baybars and rebuilt as a mosque in 1268. Other examples include the church at Yibnā (No. 159) and the church at Bayt Jibrīn (No 29).

Mamluk building programmes after the extinction of the Frankish presence in Bilād al-Shām concentrated on the interior of Palestine, whilst the coastal cities were neglected or destroyed to prevent their use by any future sea-born offensives. The consequence of this is that the number of Mamluk mosques in the present survey is relatively few compared to the numbers in the West Bank and Jerusalem. The largest concentration of mosques is in the town of Ṣafad (No. 119) which contains a number of important Mamluk buildings including at least three mosques. The most significant of these is the Red Mosque. Built in 1275 C.E. it comprises a prayer hall of nine bays, a courtyard surrounded by a vaulted arcade, and a minaret. The other mosques are Jāmiʿ al-Jukandār (1309–1311) and Jāmiʿ al-Arbaʿīn (1453). These buildings demonstrate the tendency towards placing Friday mosques in different parts of a town which became prevalent in the later Mamluk period. These buildings also demonstrate how Friday mosques were changing from the large square or rectangular plans to shapes which could more easily fit into an existing urban fabric.

Another town which contains mosques of the Mamluk period is Majdal (No. 84) near Ascalon. The town was developed as a market centre after the destruction of Ascalon in 1270. The main mosque was built by Sayf al-Dīn Salar in 1300 and consists of a vaulted prayer hall with a large courtyard. The other mosque, Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr, consists of an open arcade and a vaulted prayer room. Both mosques were remodelled in the Ottoman period although it is probable that the original plan was retained. Other Mamluk period mosques are dotted around the country in villages such as al-Ṭira (No. 152), Bashshīt (No. 23), Qāqūn (No. 113), and Jaljūliyya (No. 61). The most impressive of these is the mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn at Jaljūliyya which comprises a large domed structure with twin mihrabs. At the east side of the building there are three cells for use by sufi mystics.

The majority of surviving historic mosques in Palestine were built during the Ottoman period. There are a number of reasons for this, the most obvious of which is that Ottoman rule lasted for four hundred years. More significant is that the Ottoman government actively promoted religious construction as part of their rule. For instance, a decree of 1537 states that mosques must be built in all villages within the empire (cf. Singer 1994, 9). There are a few mosques in the survey which may perhaps be identified with the 1537 decree. These are at ʿAyn Shams (No. 18), Khirbat al-Ṣafar (No. 120), and Baṣṣūm (No. 25).

Each of these buildings is a small structure comprising a rectangular prayer hall with a mihrab in the centre and a courtyard in front. The design of the village mosques is similar to that of the mosque in the fortress of Rās al-ʿAyn (No. 117), which is also of sixteenth-century date.

During the eighteenth century a number of mosques were built by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, the local bedouin ruler of Galilee. Some of these mosques are of purely local design such as the Sea Mosque in Tiberias (No. 151), the mosque in Qalʿat Jiddīn (No. 112), and the Friday Mosque at Haifa (No. 47). Each of these buildings consists of a number of cross-vaulted bays with central piers. Other mosques associated with Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar show the increasing influence of classical Ottoman Turkish architecture and developments in Damascus upon local building practices. The Friday mosque at Tiberias is built to an Ottoman plan with a portico leading into a square area roofed with a dome resting on pendentives. Several aspects of the construction such as the squat minaret built on an octagonal plan and the use of ablaq masonry recall, however, Mamluk architecture in Bilād al-Shām. A similar arrangement can be seen at Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42) which not only has an Ottoman plan with ablaq masonry but also a polychrome decorated mihrab which recalls earlier Mamluk architecture. The best examples of the new style of architecture can be seen in the mosques of Acre, many of which were built during the rule of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar and his immediate successors.

The city of Acre (No. 5) contains the best group of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century mosques in Palestine. Whilst all of the mosques demonstrate some degree of Ottoman Turkish influence there are also elements of an emerging local style. The Jāmiʿ al-Malāḥa, built by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar in the late eighteenth century, contains many of the components of a classical Ottoman mosque, but the decoration is of local origin including ablaq masonry, joggled voussoirs, and carved panels with geometric motifs. Other mosques built in this style include the Masjid al-Raml and the Masjid al-Zaytūnī, both of which date to the eighteenth century. In the early years of the nineteenth century Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha commissioned a new Friday mosque for Acre which was to have a lasting effect on the architecture of the area. Whereas the mosques of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's time incorporated some elements of classical Ottoman design, the Jazzār Pasha mosque was Ottoman in both appearance and design. Built on a raised platform, the mosque is surrounded by an arcade opening onto a series of cells. The prayer hall is approached via a five-domed portico leading into a square prayer hall covered with a dome. The height of the dome is one-and-a-half times higher than the width of the room. At the north-west corner is a tall cylindrical minaret of classical Ottoman type. Other buildings were soon built in the same style such as the Sinān Pasha mosque and the Ghazzālīn mosque.

The style of architecture represented by the Jazzār Pasha mosque soon spread to villages in the vicinity of Acre. The villages of Tarshīḥa (No. 148), Ghābsiyya (No. 45), and ʿAmqā (No. 10) all acquired classical Ottoman mosques over the next few years (i.e. pre-1818).

The expansion of direct trade with Europe which fuelled the growth of Acre also led to the expansion of other ports along the coast, in particular Haifa and Jaffa. The revival of these ports was demonstrated by the reconstruction of the Friday mosques. At Jaffa (No. 60) the Great Mosque was rebuilt by the governor Abū Nabbūt between 1812 and 1816 both to accommodate a growing population and to enhance the prestige of the governor. In the 1890s the size of the Friday mosque at Haifa (No. 47) was doubled to account for the increasing population. The design of the building, originally built by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, remained much the same with an additional six cross-vaults added. Although the scale of the mosques at Jaffa and Haifa is impressive the designs are fairly conservative. By contrast the Ḥasan Bey mosque located 1.5km north of Jaffa displays an innovative architectural design. This building was erected in the years immediately prior to the World War 1 and is one of a number of late Ottoman mosques to employ reinforced concrete. The use of reinforced concrete allows the construction of high flat-roofed ceilings resembling the hypostyle mosques of the early Islamic period. A related building is the Friday mosque at Bīr al-Sabʿ (Beersheba) (No. 36) which was constructed some years earlier using the same techniques. Another late Ottoman mosque worthy of note is located in the deserted village of Kawfakha (No. 74). The building has a square minaret and an interior divided into three cross-vaulted bays.

Shrines and Mausolea

Shrines and mausolea constitute the most numerous type of religious building in Palestine. The two types of building are considered together because they are often synonymous and, whilst it is possible to have a shrine that is not a mausoleum (for instance the Dome of the Rock), it is rare to have a mausoleum that has not acquired some form of religious significance (for a discussion of the place of the mausoleum in Islamic architecture, see Hillenbrand 1994, 253–330). The range of features found at a shrine may range from a rag tied around a tree (cf. McCown 1923, 59–62 and Figs) to large built complexes (for instance Nabī Mūsā). The common factor uniting the various types of shrine is the holiness of a particular place or locality (Ar. *maqām*) (for a discussion of shrines, see Canaan 1927, McCown 1923, and Conder 1881).

Shrines existed in Palestine from earliest times and have always been a feature of the country's landscape. The earliest Muslim shrines within the area of this survey may be the Negev mosques where the mihrab was sometimes in the form of a cult stone demonstrating the transition from paganism (Avni 1994). The Negev also contains a number of shaykhs' tombs which have become bedouin shrines, perhaps echoing a much older practice (see for example the tomb of Ḥajj Abū ʿĪd al-Jumʿa. Haiman 1993, 41*, 45 No. 106). The most characteristic form of Muslim shrine is the square domed chamber built over the tomb of a venerated person. Whilst there were probably shrines of this type in the early Islamic period the majority date from after the Crusades. Many of these shrines are believed to be associated with warriors who fought with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn against the Crusaders and their construction may have been a way of spiritually reclaiming the land for Islam. Examples of *mujāhid* (warrior) shrines from the survey include Shaykh Danūn (No. 130) and Shaykh Dāwūd (No. 131) from north-west Galilee, both of medieval origin. The tomb of Shaykh Danūn is built over a pre-Islamic (probably Byzantine) rock-cut tomb, an association often found in Muslim shrines.

A notable feature of Palestinian shrines is the prevalence of buildings dedicated to Biblical figures or prophets (Ar. *nabī*) which are also sacred to Muslims. Examples include Nabī Rūbīn (No. 97), Nabī Yūshaʿ (No. 100), Nabī Yamīn (No. 99), Nabī Mūsā, and Nabī Shuʿayb (No. 50). These shrines are usually substantial buildings which form the centre of complexes including a domed mausoleum, a prayer hall, and some form of accommodation for the pilgrims. These complexes usually show some form of evolution over time starting around the tomb of the prophet. One of the best examples of this process

is the complex of Nabī Rūbīn (No. 97) which contains a domed tomb chamber dated to 1436–1437, a small prayer room built slightly later, and a riwaq built in the nineteenth century. Another large complex is that of Ḥaram Sidnā ʿAlī near Herziliya (No. 49). This shrine differs from many of the others because the tomb of Sidnā ʿAlī is contained within an enclosure open to the sky rather than within a domed chamber. In some cases the building will be entirely an open-air structure, such as the shrine of Imām ʿAlī (No. 54) near Bāb al-Wād. A more common arrangement is to have a vaulted iwan with a tomb either inside or just outside the building (see for example Ṭayba No. 149).

Minarets

Minarets are most commonly associated with mosques but they can also be found on other buildings such as shrines. Not all mosques possess a minaret. The presence of a minaret may be used to announce the presence of a religious structure within a commercial complex. Examples include the khān at Jaljūliyya (No. 61) and Khān Yūnus (cf. Abu Khalaf 1983). Shrines with minarets include the complex of Nabī Rūbīn (No. 97) and Ḥaram Sidnā ʿAlī (No. 49).

The form of minarets has changed over the years. Mamluk minarets are generally octagonal in plan on a square base or socle, whilst Ottoman minarets tend to be round in plan (although octagonal forms also occur). There are also a few minarets with a square plan such as at Zakariyyā' (No.161) and Baysān (No. 26). This square form is generally associated with the early Islamic period in Syria although it need not be indicative of an early date (for instance the thirteenth-century minaret in the mosque at Buṣrā in Syria. See Bloom 1989, Fig. 13). Another form of minaret which occurs occasionally is the staircase with a small platform at the top. Examples of this type include the mosque at Dayr Ḥannā (No. 42) and the mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn in Ramla (Petersen 1995).

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE AND FORTIFICATION

Despite the wealth of available material, Islamic fortification is a subject which has received relatively little attention in studies of archaeology or architectural history. Important studies of the subject include Creswell's work on fortification before 1250 C.E. (Creswell 1952, and see *MAE*, I, 161–219, II, 1–63), Redman's study of Qaṣr al-Ṣaghīr in Morocco (Redman 1986) and Carol Hillenbrand's recent work on the Crusades which includes a section on Muslim fortification (1999, 467–509). Palestine is of particular interest in this respect because of the relationship to the military architecture of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem.

The military architecture of Muslim Palestine may be divided into three main periods, early Islamic (i.e. pre-Crusader), medieval (Crusader to Mamluk), and the Ottoman. In each of these periods it is possible to detect the impact of changes in geopolitical configurations, building function, and the technology of warfare upon the location and design of fortifications.

Early Islamic Period

Few fortifications of the Umayyad period have been identified in Palestine perhaps because the region was not part of the frontier zone at this time. In the examples which do survive such as Khirbat al-Minyā (No. 89), north of Tiberias, the fortifications appear to be secondary to the building's primary function as a palace. This situation is common throughout much of early Islamic Bilād al-Shām where desert castles were established as luxurious residences for the caliphs, their families, and their followers. One of the characteristic features of these fortifications was the use of merlons or stepped crenellations. Examples of this feature have been found at Minyā and Khirbat al-Mafjar. Another notable characteristic is the use of solid semi-circular (or semi-elliptical) buttress towers.

An increase in Byzantine raiding along the Syrian littoral in the Fatimid period resulted in the construction of forts along the Palestine coast including Gaza, Isdūd (No. 58), Yibnā (No. 159), Jaffa (No. 60), Arsūf, Caesarea (No. 38), Kafr Lām (No. 72), Haifa (No. 47), and Acre (No. 5). The forts of Kafr Lām south of Haifa and Minat al-Qal'a (No. 58) near Isdūd have survived from this period. Both buildings have a trapezoidal layout (60m x 40m) with solid round corner towers and semi-circular intermediate towers. They are both built of *kurkar* stone cut in long slabs (0.2m high x 0.5m long). The fortifications at Ascalon (No. 13) may also, in part, be dated to the period of Fatimid rule (tenth–twelfth centuries) although they also incorporate earlier Roman and Byzantine walls and possibly later Crusader additions. It is also likely that the city walls at Caesarea were built at this time although the precise date is unclear (Hollum and Raban 1993, 286). The situation is less clear inland. It seems that the tell at Baysān (No. 26) was fortified in the early Islamic period (Mazar 1994, 59–60). Other fortifications which may date to this period are the remains of forts at ᶜAfūla, Ṣummayl, and Ṣaffūriyya although these equally could be Crusader constructions (cf. Pringle 1997, 18, 92, 97, 192, 209).

Medieval Period

The majority of medieval fortifications in Palestine were built by the Crusaders (Pringle 1997). There are two main reasons for this: firstly, the Crusaders were a minority and needed the fortifications to retain their control; and secondly, the Ayyubids and Mamluks had a policy of leaving important cities unfortified as a precaution against them being taken and reused by the Crusaders.

The only major surviving Ayyubid fortification in Palestine (apart from fragments of the walls of Jerusalem and the citadel) is the castle at Jabal al-Ṭūr (No. 59) (Mount Tabor). In many ways the castle resembles contemporary Crusader castles with its hill top location, irregular shape conforming to the topography, and massive construction. Two features distinguish it from Crusader constructions. These are the use of monumental inscriptions and the presence of two bathhouses which are incorporated into the design. Another castle which may be of Ayyubid date is Qaṣr al-Zuwayra (No. 114) located near the Dead Sea. Unfortunately, the remains of this castle are too fragmentary to make any useful observations.

Mamluk fortifications are equally scarce and appear to have been limited to a few watchtowers, most of which have been destroyed. At Ṣafad (No. 119) there are the ruins of a large circular tower built by Baybars on the remains of an earlier Crusader construction. One of the more interesting Mamluk constructions is the fortress known as Qalᶜat ibn Maᶜn (No. 111) after the seventeenth-century Druze leader. The castle is set into the cliffs near Tiberias with walls built of alternate courses of black and white stone (*ablaq*). Like the tower at Ṣafad the castle was probably built by Baybars although it was later reused by the Maᶜnids.

Ottoman Period

Under the Ottomans there was a renewed interest in fortifications. The function of this new military architecture was as much to preserve internal security as to deal with any external threats. Three main periods can be distinguished: the first lasting from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries; a second period lasting from the late seventeenth century until ca. 1800; and a third period from ca. 1800 until 1917.

The first period is characterised by major fortresses and fortifications financed and initiated by central government. The most spectacular example is the walls of Jerusalem which were part of a more general refurbishment of the city. Other important works included the construction of fortified structures at Rās al-ᶜAyn (No. 117), Khān al-Tujjār (No. 77), Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29), and Qalᶜat Buraq. These fortresses marked a return to the simpler orthogonal plans of the early Islamic period but with rectangular rather than round towers.

During the second period of Ottoman rule the power of central government declined and local rulers such as Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar started to erect fortified structures. At Qalᶜat Jiddīn (No. 112) and Shafā ᶜAmr (No. 128) existing Crusader fortifications were modified. In other places such as Dayr Ḥannā (No. 42), Tell Harbaj (No. 143) and Tibnīn (in Jordan) existing villages were fortified with a castle and mosque at the centre. This period also saw the construction of town walls at Tiberias (No. 151), Acre (No. 5), and Haifa (No. 47). The fortifications of this period were less substantial than the medieval fortifications but included important modifications indicative of the increasing use of firearms. The most noticeable introduction was gun-

slits set into deeply stepped embrasures within the wall. Another modification found at Shafā ʿAmr (and it may also have been present at Qalʿat Jiddīn) is the use of round towers and rounded corners designed to deflect artillery fire.

The third phase of Ottoman fortifications reflects the increasing level of European contact. In cases such as Acre (No. 5) and Jaffa (No. 60) the fortifications were actually designed by Europeans. This development can be closely related to the high levels of Mediterranean trade in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as the military campaign led by Napoleon through Egypt and Palestine. Whilst little survives from Jaffa, Acre is one of the best preserved examples of early nineteenth-century fortifications in the Levant. Notable features of the new defenses were low, thick bastions with rounded corners, deep-set gun embrassures, and complex symmetrical layouts. A number of small forts on the Jaffa–Jerusalem road ran counter to this general trend by recalling the decorative effect of the sixteenth-century Ottoman walls of Jerusalem (see Bāb al-Wād (No. 19) and Tel Aviv (No. 150)).

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE: PALACES AND HOUSES

The majority of buildings in the country have been utilised for domestic habitation at some point in their history. As a result of a range of social, political, and structural factors very few houses have survived which are more than a few hundred years old. The preservation of old buildings, particularly houses, is a phenomenon which has only recently developed because previously such old habitations were seen as signs of poverty or backwardness and were destroyed rather than preserved. There are exceptions to this pattern, particularly in the case of palatial residences. The best concentrations of old houses are generally found in cities and towns. Particularly good examples exist in Jerusalem, Nābluṣ, Hebron, Gaza, and Ramla. Although these are all outside the scope of this survey, Acre (No. 5), Nazareth (No. 103), and Ṣafad (No. 119) also have good examples of older urban housing. The centres of many villages also contain old houses but these have often been abandoned in favour of more spacious modern accommodation (see discussion of conservation above). There are also a number of old farmhouses surviving, mostly in a derelict form.

Palatial Buildings

Bilād al-Shām in general, and Palestine in particular, has few palaces compared to other parts of the Islamic world (cf. Hillenbrand 1994, 377). The few surviving palaces within Palestine are mostly outside the scope of this survey. Thus, Khirbat al-Mafjar near Jericho (Hamilton 1959; Hamilton 1978) and the Umayyad governor's palace in Jerusalem (Ben Dov 1971) are not included. The only Umayyad palace included in the present study is Khirbat al-Minyā (No. 89) near Lake Tiberias. The situation in the medieval period is even more sparse with no palaces or palatial buildings within the area of the survey. The absence of palace building in Palestine during this phase probably reflects the way in which political power became focused upon the major cities of Egypt and Syria (particularly Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo) under Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman rule.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a number of palatial residences were established by semi-independent rulers, the most famous of whom was Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar. Palaces associated with Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar are all located in Galilee and include Qalᶜat Jiddīn (No. 112), Shafā ᶜAmr (No. 128) and Dayr Ḥannā (No. 42). Both Qalᶜat Jiddīn and Dayr Ḥannā are now in a ruinous condition although the Shafā ᶜAmr palace (now a community centre) gives some idea of the appearance of such structures. Each palace is located within a fortress and built on a vaulted substructure to provide a level surface area. It is likely that the architecture of these palaces was modelled on that of the ᶜAẓam palace in Damascus. Closer in style and of similar date is the Bayt al-Dīn palace built by the Shihāb governors of Lebanon which retains much of its internal decoration (Chehab n.d.). Other nineteenth-century palatial buildings in Palestine include Majdal Yābā (No. 85) and Ijzīm (No. 53). Both buildings probably functioned more as feudal strongholds than as palaces. The quality of the architecture and arrangement of the rooms does, however, suggest some pretensions to luxury and grandeur.

Urban Housing

As indicated above, the major concentrations of historic urban houses are located in areas outside the scope of this survey. The main exception is Acre (No. 5) which contains an exceptionally well preserved range of historic urban houses. The dense nature of settlement within the walled city has meant that the majority of buildings are more than one storey high (and in many cases contain three or four storeys). The majority of the population live in multiple occupancy units (Ar. *ḥawsh*) with one or more semi-private courtyards. The inhabitants of each hawsh are usually part of an extended family living a semi-communal lifestyle. In addition, there are a number of larger, more palatial houses which would originally have housed merchants and their families. One of the best preserved examples is the Baha'i house located near the sea wall in the north-west part of the city. Other examples include the building now used as a Youth Hostel and a number of houses along the west side of the old city facing the sea. Despite the variation in detail, the general layout of each of these houses remains the same with a ground floor roofed with stone vaults, above which are rooms built around a large open hall covered with a wooden roof. At the front of the hall there is often an arcade of three or five arches overlooking the street. The floors are generally laid with marble slabs and the roof is supported by elegant wooden columns.

A similar range of historic buildings has survived in Nazareth (No. 103) but the urban layout is more spacious because the town was not restricted by the city walls. Amongst the more impressive buildings in Nazareth is the Fahoum (sp.) family home which has the dimensions more of a palace than a town house. Jaffa (No. 60) originally had a dense concentration of housing similar to Acre although it later expanded outside the walls to include a wide range of housing indicative of the varied social make-up of the region (cf. Kark 1990). In Haifa (No. 47) the majority of old houses date from the early part of this century and display distinct European influence even though the town remained nominally under Turkish rule. European influence is also visible in the old part of Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Beersheba) (No. 36). The town was established on a grid plan with streets radiating from a central area which comprised the mosque and governor's house. The houses of Bīr al-Sabᶜ were stone-built structures which would have housed officials and foreigners rather than any of the indigenous bedouin population.

Unfortunately, a large number of the older houses in Ṣafad (No. 119) were destroyed after 1948 causing a serious dislocation of the urban fabric. The masons of Ṣafad are known to have been skilled in house building and in the 1840s were hired to build the more important houses of Umm Qays in Jordan (Shami 1988, 470). A similar situation can be observed in Lydda (No. 82) where much of the old town was destroyed after 1948, leaving only the more modern villa-type houses constructed towards the end of Ottoman rule.

Village Housing

The Palestinian village house has attracted considerable attention from archaeologists and architectural historians. There is a widely held perception that the apparent conservatism of both the design and the construction techniques exhibits continuity with much more ancient building practices (for a discussion of these issues, see Hirschfeld 1987; Fuchs 1998). The form of the house does, however, exhibit considerable variation in different districts depending on a range of geological, historical, and social factors. The most characteristic house type is a square-vaulted room set within a

courtyard (cf. Canaan 1932–, 1933; Amiry and Tamari 1989; Hirschfeld 1987). Although this type occurs primarily in the hills of the West Bank, a few examples are found within the area of the survey such as that at Pedaya (No. 107).

In Galilee traditional houses are generally rectangular structures with flat earthen roofs supported by transverse stone arches (for instance, see ᶜIrrībin). The traditional architecture of the southern coastal plain was largely based upon mud-brick and, consequently, has not survived. Photographic evidence indicates that village houses were rectangular with thatched or earthen roofs supported by wooden beams. The facades of these houses were often decorated with abstract designs painted in white (Weir 1989, 94–95).

Complex structures often develop out of these simple components forming larger compounds (Ar. *ḥawsh*) representative of extended family units. In some cases these were carefully designed units such as the building at Muqbayla (No. 92) which has a square courtyard plan resembling a khān. It is more usual, however, to have a more irregular agglutinative plan as is seen in some of the houses at Umm Qays in Jordan (Shami 1988, 464, Fig. 9). Rooms generally fulfilled a number of functions including sleeping, storage, and cooking. In many ways a courtyard was an extension of the house and during the summer most of the activity took place there. The interiors were usually furnished with installations constructed of wood or mud and straw. Typical features of these houses include hooded chimneys set into the corners of a room, grain bins (Ar. *khawābi*), shelves, internal partitions, and raised platforms (Ar. *maṣṭaba*).

In wealthy villages some of the houses were architecturally more sophisticated, emulating some of the features found in town houses (Amiry and Tamari 1989, 26). One of the more surprising examples of this phenomenon is found in the village of Ṭayba (No. 149). The village contains a number of tower houses with sophisticated architectural decoration including carved rosettes, decorative windows, and box machicolations. One of the more common ways of indicating prestige is by an elaborate doorway facing the street. Typically, the doorway is set within an arched recess with small benches either side. There is often a decorative carved stone or inscription placed directly above the door. Other techniques to indicate the status of a building include the use of ablaq masonry as seen in the village of ᶜArrāba (No. 12) in a house attributed to the patronage of Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar.

Farmhouses

For the purposes of this discussion farmhouses are defined as isolated buildings in the countryside which include provision for storage of crops or animals and associated farming equipment. In general the design resembles that of a khān with a single entrance leading into a large central courtyard surrounded by store rooms and living accommodation. One of the best examples is Jaᶜthūn (No. 62) located near Nahariyya in northern Galilee. The building is a large complex built around a rectangular courtyard and includes a large vaulted storage area, a number of domestic rooms, and stables for animals. Other large farmhouses include the building at Qīra (No. 115) near Qaymūn (Hb. Yoqneam) which has generally been interpreted as a khān, although the location indicates that an agricultural function is more likely. Two well preserved buildings near the village of al-Mazrᶜa (No. 88) both have the appearance of khāns, but their placement near the Kabrī aqueduct indicates that they are more likely to be two of the farms established in the region by Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The courtyard building at ᶜAyn al-Ḥayya (No. 15) and the ruined building at Baṣṣūm (No. 25) probably also functioned as farmhouses. A number of smaller farms were also identified on the survey. These generally consist of a few rooms built next to a cistern and include the building in Wādī Ismaᶜīn (No.157) and a small building near Ascalon.

Bedouin Housing

The question of bedouin settlements and their archaeological visibility is a subject which has attracted a considerable amount of attention in recent years (for instance Helms 1990; Avni 1992; Banning and Köhler-Rollefson 1992). Whilst the nature of bedouin life would seem to preclude the utilisation of permanent housing, a number of structures have been clearly identified as bedouin houses. Intensive archaeological survey work in the Negev during the 1980s revealed considerable evidence of bedouin settlement during the early Islamic period (seventh–eighth centuries). The nature of settlement varied from transitory campsites, with very little evidence beyond camp-fires and clearance of stones, to more elaborate settlements with square or rectangular rooms and courtyards (Haiman 1993, 16*–18*). Traces of bedouin settlements or camp sites from the medieval period (i.e. tenth–fifteenth centuries) are less common although they have been found, particularly near the main trade routes (Haiman 1993 17, 59*–60*, 88).

During the latter part of the Ottoman period there were attempts to settle the bedouin in order to protect the border with Egypt. A number of settlements in the vicinity of Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Beersheba) date from this time such as Khāliṣa, al-Imāra, and al-Jammāma (Khalidi 1992, 71–76). A settlement of this type has recently been excavated in Ramot Nof (Hb.), one of the suburbs of modern Beersheba. The settlement consisted of four rectangular blocks each set within its own compound. An example of an extant bedouin house of this type is located on the roadside to the north-west of Bīr al-Sabᶜ (No. 36). The settlement of Legia (No. 80) represents a different form of bedouin settlement in which caves were the principal form of dwellings. A number were adapted through the addition of walls made from reused blocks at the entrance of the cave.

TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Historically, the economy of Palestine has benefited from its strategic location on a series of important trade routes. The Nabateans developed an extensive trading network in the desert areas of the south, whilst the *Via Maris* running between Syria and Egypt has remained a defining factor throughout the history of Palestine. During the early Islamic period there were increased connections with the desert areas to the south and east. Another important factor was the institution of the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) which ensured that there remained constant trade with the cities of the Hijaz. Although these routes suffered some disruption during the Crusader occupation (with land routes developed to the east of the Jordan), they were re-established and developed by the Mamluk rulers. Buildings and structures associated with these networks include roads, bridges, khāns, and caravanserais.

Khān and Caravanserais

For the purposes of this survey, khāns and caravanserais are interchangable terms, although in general khāns refer to smaller urban structures and caravanserais to those capable of housing a whole caravan on the move. The typical caravanserai consists of a large square building with a single entrance leading into a central courtyard surrounded by an arcade and ranges or rooms. Most caravanserais included a mosque (usually located near the entrance) and a well or cistern in the centre of the courtyard. Urban caravanserais or khāns generally covered a smaller area with ground plans adapted to fit cramped urban sites. As a consequence of their location, these buildings were often two storeys high with the rooms adapted to accommodate specific trades or industries.

The origins of the caravanserai is a subject which has received considerable attention in recent years (for instance Hillenbrand 1994, 331–376). It is, however, clear that there is considerable regional variation in origins and types. The caravanserais of Palestine are all of the 'Syrian' type which has been described by Hillenbrand (1994, 350–353) as less architecturally impressive than those found in Iran and Anatolia. One reason for this may be the milder winter climate in Syria and Palestine which obviated the need for the private rooms with chimneys common elsewhere. Another important reason is that the caravanserais of Syria had a different architectural origin from those of Iran and Anatolia.

The earliest extant caravanserais in Palestine were built by the Nabateans to service the trade routes through the Negev. Examples can be seen at Mamshit (Kurnub) and in the Ramon crater. These are rectangular or square structures with a single entrance and a range of rooms around a central courtyard. It is noticeable that at Mamshit the caravanserai is located outside the city. This practice can be seen in Islamic examples such as Khān al-Aḥmar (Baysān No. 26) or Khān al-Idham (sp.) (Ramla). The expansion of desert trade and pilgrimage routes which occurred as a result of the Muslim conquests meant that caravanserais quickly became an established feature of Islamic architecture. The desert palaces of Jordan and Syria fulfilled some of the functions of caravanserais and comprised specific buildings for the purpose, such as the khān at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī (west). This is a large square building built around a courtyard with an arcade around the sides. At the south-west corner is a projecting extension containing a small rectangular mosque. Elsewhere Roman caravanserais were converted for Muslim use by the construction of small mosques (for instance Khān al-Zabīb in Jordan).

In Palestine a number of caravanserais from the early Islamic period have been identified through archaeological excavations. One of the best known examples is the caravanserai at Abū Ghawsh (No. 3) which has been dated to the ninth century. This is a square structure with arcades built around a small courtyard. On one side of the building there was a small mosque which may also have had a minaret. Whilst the design of the building with the mosque and minaret recalls the ribats of North Africa, the primary function of the Palestinian structure appears to have been to provide accommodation on the route between Jaffa and Jerusalem. Other early caravanserais which have been excavated include Tell Qasīla (No. 145) near Arsūf and Yotvata (No. 160) in the Negev. The Yotvata building is square with a central courtyard and a single entrance. It is constructed from mud-brick covered with white plaster and has been dated to the eighth century. Its location next to a Roman fort indicates continuity in trade routes and perhaps some similarity of function. The Tell Qasīla building has a similar design with rooms arranged around a central courtyard. The remains of a staircase indicate that there may have been an upper floor. The location of the Tell Qasīla building next to a river crossing is an arrangement which is frequently found in the later medieval khāns.

The majority of khāns in Palestine date from the medieval period and are of a similar form to those of the earlier Islamic period. That few khāns (and none in this survey) survive from the early part of the medieval period (i.e. ca. 1000–1250 C.E.) is probably a result of the disruption caused by the Crusades. It has, however, been pointed out that, with the exception of Iran, this situation is common throughout the Islamic world (Hillenbrand 1994, 339). In any case, all the medieval khāns in this survey (13) date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Also the majority of buildings (11) are located outside towns. This is partly an accident of survival, however, as most of the towns were extensively redeveloped after both World War 1 and 1948. The rural location of many of the caravanserais may also be because the costs of transit trade could be reduced if the building was located outside the town walls (see for example Khān Yūnus near Gaza or Khān al-Aḥmar at Baysān).

In the absence of references in written sources and foundation inscriptions, the majority of these commercial structures are dated by the style of building or through geographical and historical context. The best preserved caravanserais are Khān Jubb Yūsuf (No. 68) near Lake Tiberias and the khān at Jaljūliyya (No. 61) near Rās al-ʿAyn. Khān Jubb Yūsuf is unusual in that the site also has religious significance. This is manifested in the design of the building with a courtyard mosque in the north-west corner and a cistern which was associated with the pit of Yūsuf. The caravanserai at Jaljūliyya is a larger building with a single vaulted space running around at least three sides of the courtyard. There is also evidence for a mosque at Jaljūliyya which had a minaret above the entrance. The other medieval caravanserais are either in a very ruinous condition (Minyā (No. 89), Sukriyya (No. 139), Sukrayr (No. 138), Ṭantūra (No. 147), Tiberias (No. 151), Jisr al-Majāmīʿ (No. 66), Lajjūn (No. 79), and Khān al-Aḥmar (No. 26), or they have disappeared (Isdūd (No. 57), Qāqūn (No. 113), Tell Kurdāna (No. 144), and Ṣafad (No. 119)).

Ottoman caravanserais are fewer in number though they appear to have survived in better condition. Probably the best known is the sixteenth-century example known as Khān al-Tujjār (No. 77) (also Sūq al-Khān) located near Jabal al-Ṭūr. This is a huge construction with two courtyards and a mosque in the centre. The Ottoman period also sees an increase in the overall proportion of urban khāns. This fact can be attributed mainly to the remarkable preservation of the old city of Acre (No. 5) which contains four such large buildings. These are all of similar design with a large central courtyard surrounded by arcades behind which are individual rooms. Nazareth (No. 103) has two khāns, one of the traditional form with a central courtyard surrounded by arcades, and the other with a warehouse form (presumably influenced by European models). At Lydda (No. 82) there is a single surviving khān comprising a central courtyard with arcades and several rooms on an upper floor. Two nineteenth-century khāns at Bāb al-Wād (No. 19) are a transitional form between a khān and a modern European-type hotel. They were built to house pilgrims and tourists rather than large merchant caravans. The khāns are large two-storey structures with stables beneath and living accommodation above. They lack the large central courtyards characteristic of older khāns in the area and instead have small walled yards attached to one side.

Roads

The majority of roads in Palestine during the Islamic periods would have been of Roman or earlier origin. There is some evidence of road building under the Umayyads in the form of milestones, one of which records the cutting of a difficult mountain pass (Israel Museum 1984, 124 [IDAM 63–482]; Sharon 1966, 367–72). With the exception of the road at Rās al-Naqb near Eilat (No. 118) (for a discussion of this route in the Mamluk period, see Zayadine 1985) there are few examples of medieval road construction in Palestine. The period is marked by the disappearance of wheeled transport in favour of the camel and this trend may have led to the decrease in road building and maintenance (Bulliet 1975). Under increasing European influence during the nineteenth century, there was a return to wheeled transport which meant that a number of paved roads were built, in particular in the Jaffa–Jerusalem area and around Haifa (Kark 1990).

Bridges

In contrast to roads, the majority of ancient bridges in Palestine are of Islamic construction. Four major bridges have survived within the area of this survey and the remains of two more were visible in the early part of the twentieth century. All were constructed in the early Islamic or medieval periods, although in several cases it is possible to see that they were built on or near an earlier Roman construction.

The oldest of the six bridges, Jisr al-Sidd (No. 67), was located on the river Jordan immediately south of Lake Tiberias (it has now disappeared). This was a long flat bridge built on a series of ten abutments which would have carried an equal number of arches. The bridge was dated to the early Islamic period on the basis that it employed pointed arches. The other bridges are all associated with the re-establishment of the Cairo–Damascus post route under Baybars. The most famous of these is Jisr Jindās (No. 65) near Lydda which carries an inscription set beneath two confronting lions. The bridge consists of three arches resting on four abutments, one on each bank and two in the middle of the river. It was built on the foundations of an earlier Roman bridge. The now vanished bridge of Jisr Banāt Yaʿqūb (No. 64) was of similar construction and originally had three arches, although a fourth was added during the Ottoman period. Other bridges associated with Baybars are located at Yibnā (No. 159) and Isdūd (No. 57) and have the same design of three arches.

A fifth medieval bridge known as Jisr al-Majāmīʿ (No. 66) is located south of the confluence between the Jordan and Yarmūk rivers. Spanning a deep gorge, the bridge is constructed differently to those discussed above. It has a large central arch and three side arches with smaller arches above supporting a road. There is evidence that the bridge was built on Roman foundations, although the earliest parts of the surviving structure are probably of medieval origin. It is known that the bridge was repaired or rebuilt by Baybars in 1266 C.E. but much of the present structure is probably of seventeenth-century date. Baybars is known to have built two other bridges in Palestine at Qāqūn and at Dayr Sanid (sp.) near Gaza, although neither survives (Meinecke 1992, II, 38, Nos.165, 167).

In addition to the structures discussed above there are a number of bridges associated with dams (in some cases dams may actually function as bridges). More commonly a dam may, as a secondary function, protect a bridge from strong currents (for instance at Cordoba a dam protects the Roman bridge). Both the dams in the survey (cf. al-Ḥaddar (No. 46) and al-Mirr (No. 90)) originally had bridges. Neither of these has survived although both were still standing at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A number of smaller bridges has also been located during the survey but only one of these is likely to be of medieval origin. This is a small bridge near the khān at Lajjūn. It consists of a large central arch and two side arches. The other small bridges are mostly Ottoman constructions such as that at Khirbat Mālḥa (No. 86) near ʿAthlīth which consists of a single arch with a flat road on top (see also al- Mazrʿa No. 88).

INDUSTRY

Historically, the economy of Palestine has been dominated by agriculture, and industry has focused upon the processing of agricultural commodities. Examples include sugar, olive oil, and soap production. The other area of activity which enjoyed prolonged importance was the textile industry, including both cloth production and dyeing (cf. Doumani 1995). There were also a number of smaller-scale industries such as bitumen extraction, tanneries, the manufacture of ceramics and glass, and metalwork (Cohen and Lewis 1978, 59–63). By its nature industrial activity was mainly located on the outskirts of towns. Most of the important industrial towns such as Gaza, al-Khalīl (Hb. Hebron), Nābluṣ, and Ramla are outside the scope of the present survey. Industrial remains are therefore poorly represented in the present survey although lime kilns, soap factories (Nos. 60, 82), and a metal workshop (No. 118) were noted.

The principal remains of agricultural activity are farmhouses, terraces, field huts, cisterns, aqueducts, and mills. A number of farmhouses were recorded as part of the survey although these can mostly be considered as aspects of domestic architecture. Terraces, cisterns, field huts, and aqueducts were not systematically recorded unless they had some other function (supplying water to a settlement) or were of special interest. Mills have a dual interest being related both to agriculture and other forms of industrial activity.

Water Mills

Despite the comparative shortage of plentiful water sources, numerous examples of water-powered devices and machines are known from the Muslim world (Hill 1993, 92–113). Whereas the Roman world had relied heavily on slave power, Islamic society used this resource on a much smaller scale. The enslavement of Muslims or protected faiths was forbidden in Islam, and those people who were enslaved were more frequently utilised either for military or domestic purposes (Glasse 1991, 373). The alternatives to slaves were animal, wind, and water power. Animals were by far the most widely employed form of power in the pre-modern Islamic world, followed by water power. Wind power on the other hand was used rarely, the only traditional Islamic windmills being in areas such as Khurasān and Sistān (Hill 1993, 113–117). In Palestine windmills appear to be a European introduction, as is the case with the Montefiore windmill erected outside the wall of Jerusalem in 1857 (Murphy O'Connor 1986, 118). The earliest windmill in Palestine was that on the Templar castle at Safed. It is probable that the windmill at Ramla erected in the eighteenth century was also of European construction (Avitsur 1986, 231).

Water mills can be divided into two main types, horizontal- and vertical-wheeled. Horizontal wheels are generally less efficient but have the advantage that they do not require any mechanism for gearing. Vertical wheels can be subdivided into two further types, undershot and overshot. Undershot wheels are fairly simple to construct but have problems with variable water flow, whilst overshot wheels are more efficient but require more precise engineering (Hill 1993, 105–107).

Vertical wheel mills were common in Europe during the Roman period but do not appear to have been common in the early Middle Ages when simpler horizontal wheels were favoured (Hill 1993, 111–112. See also Rahtz and Meeson 1992 for late Anglo-Saxon examples). The situation is different in the area of Syria and Palestine where vertical wheel mills always appear to have been rare even during the Roman period. The few post-Roman examples in the area (for instance those near the Roman fortress at Lajjūn in Jordan) have been shown to belong to the late nineteenth century and may be a result of European influence (McQuitty 1995, 746). Vertical wheels were, however, common in the region throughout the medieval and Ottoman periods for use as *norias* (waterwheels). These are animal- or water-powered wheels which raise water for irrigation (only one example has survived in the area covered by this survey and this was built by Russian monks. See Nun 1978, 122–123).

Horizontal-wheel mills appear to have a wider distribution and are known in both Europe and the Middle East. It is not clear when horizontal wheels were first introduced although McQuitty (1995, 746) has argued that they were in use by the first century C.E. By the medieval period horizontal wheels were well established throughout the Levant and all of the mills encountered in this survey were of horizontal type.

Twenty-two mills were recorded as part of the present survey although other examples are extant. Known examples which were not seen include one at Ma'agan Mikhael (Hb.) near Caesarea, four near the village of Jish, three near Tel Allil (Hb.), and at least two near Bethlehem of Galilee (*Har Meron Field Study Centre* 1986; Shorer 1989). As indicated above, all these had horizontal wheels. Two main types were encountered, those with a dam and those with a chimney or tower. The latter type are referred to as Arubah-penstock mills (cf. McQuitty 1995, 746–747). In addition a single Norse mill was encountered near the ruins of Jisr Banāt Ya'qūb (No. 64).

Mills associated with dams are a common feature of the Islamic period. The most famous example is the dam across the Guadalquivir in Cordoba which had three millhouses, each with four mills (Hill 1993, 161–163). In Palestine, mills with dams are generally located in flat coastal areas where there is not sufficient elevation to operate an Arubah-penstock mill. It is noticeable that mills with dams are of considerable antiquity and most can be dated to the Crusader period (twelfth–thirteenth centuries) or earlier. The earliest dated example in Palestine is the mill at Ma'agan Mikhael (Hb.) which was built in the first century C.E. and continued to operate until at least the seventh century. The complex consisted of a large barrage across the Nahal Tanimim (Hb.) with a series of water slides on the downstream side which powered the mill machinery (*Har Meron Field Study Centre* 1986, 183). The best preserved example of its type is the Tal Kurdāna (No. 144) mill near Haifa which has a 325m-long barrage. The construction of this mill differs from that at Ma'agan Mikhael in that there is no evidence for water chutes and the mill machinery appears to have been built within the barrage. It is known that the mill was functioning in the twelfth century when it was acquired by Hospitallers who constructed a two-storey defensive tower at one end of the barrage. It is, however, likely that the barrage itself was built before the Crusader conquest. Excavations at the adjacent tell have uncovered evidence of Roman occupation and it is possible that the barrage and mills were built at this time or during the early Islamic period. The now vanished mills at al-Ḥaddar (No. 46) also consisted of a large barrage with mechanisms built into the dam. They were in use during the

Crusader period (twelfth–thirteenth centuries) although it is likely that the first phase of constuction predates the Frankish occupation. The dams and mills at al-Mirr (No. 90) are of similar construction to those at al-Ḥaddar (No. 46) and Tal Kurdāna (No. 144) with a millhouse built on top of the dam. The structure was repaired during the period of Crusader rule although they are generally agreed to have been built at an earlier period (probably Roman or early Islamic). The Abū Rabāḥ (No. 4) mills took over from those at al-Mirr in the nineteenth century (Shkolnik 1994, 32–34) although they too were built on the remains of an older construction based on a barrage or dam. The date of the construction of the barrage is not known though the similarity of design with the other mills of this type suggests a medieval or early Islamic date.

The most common form of watermill encountered during the survey is the Arubah-penstock type. This consists of a vertical tower several metres high fed by a horizontal mill race or channel. This design depends on the vertical column of water building up a high pressure which exits in a jet through a narrow opening at the base of the tower. Mills of this type are particularly efficient in areas where there is a scarcity of water or where the supply is intermittent (McQuitty 1995, 748). The most common location for mills of this type is on a steep hillside in a wadi. The mills are usually built in groups, often one above another, so that the water is reused. One of the largest groups was in the wadi next to Baysān (No. 26) where 11 mills were recorded in the nineteenth century (*SWP*, II, 119–120) Only two of these buildings are still visible. Each building consists of a raised channel connected to a vertical tower and a millhouse consisting of a vaulted basement, which housed the mill wheel and an upper chamber where the actual milling took place. In general, the remains of Arubah-penstock mills are fragmentary, often consisting only of the tower and part of the mill race. Where millhouses do survive, as in the wadi near ʿArrāba, the mill stones and other internal workings are absent. This situation is similar to that encountered in the ʿAjlūn–Kufranja valley in Jordan (Greene 1995, 759–60). Rogan (1995, 754) has pointed out that the mill stone was the most expensive single feature in a mill and therefore likely to be reused. In some cases mills were connected to aqueducts, the most notable example being that at al-Mazrʿa (No. 88) near Acre. Here the mill is located at the base of one of the piers of the Acre–Kabrī aqueduct (which at this point is over 15m high). In other cases where the ground was insufficiently steep, the mill race became an extended work of engineering with arches resembling an aqueduct (see for example one of the mills at Jaʿthūn, No. 62).

The date of the introduction of Arubah-penstock mills is problematic although it is likely that they were first developed in the early medieval period (Greene 1995, 761) and continued in use until the early years of the twentieth century. As yet there exists no method for dating either the construction phases or the duration of use of such mills although it has been suggested that many may have been built in the Mamluk period (cf. Rogan 1995). In any case it seems likely that mills of this type were in use by the sixteenth century when they are referred to in the Ottoman *daftar*s (McQuitty 1995, 749 citing *HG*, 72).

The single example of a Norse mill is located on the banks of the Jordan near Jisr Banāt Yaʿqūb (No. 64). The remains consist of a millhouse fed by two water slides set at a 45 degree angle. The initial date of construction is not known although there are clearly two building phases, one medieval (probably Mamluk) and the other late Ottoman. The earlier phase may be contemporary with the construction of the nearby bridge (second half of the thirteenth century).

Function

It is assumed that the majority of watermills were used for grinding grain although they may have fulfilled other functions such as the processing of sugar cane, fulling, and metalworking. At present our knowledge about the use of any particular mill is limited because there have been no systematic excavations and there exists no reliable method of dating individual structures (McQuitty 1995, 749). The only clues to the function of a particular mill are associated finds or evidence from travellers' accounts. Both of these methods are flawed since the function of a mill may have changed several times.

In recent years there has been increasing interest in the sugar mills of the Jordan valley as a result of a number of surveys in the area (for instance Ibrahim *et al.* 1976; MacDonald *et al.* 1992) and the publication of the excavation of a sugar mill in Cyprus (Von Wartburg 1983). The archaeological work has been supported by historical evidence in the works of Hamarneh (1977–1978) and Ashtor (1981). As a result of this interest there have been attempts to associate mills with the processing of sugar in other areas of Palestine, particularly Baysān and the Jezreel (Hb.) valley. Whilst it is likely that some of the mills were used in this way, the identification of sites is sometimes based on circumstantial evidence (see for instance Ayalon 1983) and must be treated with caution. The only site within the present survey which is likely to have been a sugar mill is that at ʿAyn Jiddī (Hb. En Gedi) (No. 16). It should also be noted that literary evidence would seem to indicate that many sugar mills utilised animal power rather than water power.

Water mills used for other uses are even more difficult to identify. Industrial uses of mills for which there is no direct physical evidence in Palestine include paper making and metalworking. It is however known that mills in the area of Ṣafad (also Nāblus) were used in the processing of wool for the manufacture of cloth. Fulling mills were in use in the Islamic world from as early as the eleventh century (Hill 1993, 112) and in twelfth-century Spain they appear to be fairly common. A fulling mill had a number of hammers attached to a rotating wheel. According to Avitzur (1962) they were introduced to Palestine by Jewish immigrants expelled from Spain. In the first half of the sixteenth century 10 fulling mills were in operation in the region of Ṣafad, although this declined to six by the middle of the same century (Cohen and Lewis 1978, 61 n.48). The design and identification of fulling mills is an area which needs further investigation.

Soap Factories

Production of soap was an urban activity particularly associated with towns such as Nāblus, al-Khalīl (Hb. Hebron), and Jerusalem (for a general discussion of this industry in the Mediterranean, see Ashtor and Cevidalli 1983). Soap factories were only found in two of the towns within the area of this survey, Lydda (No. 82) and Jaffa (No. 60). Within the old town of Lydda three buildings associated with soap production are still standing, two soap factories and a large building with olive-crushing facilities. Each of the factories consists of a large area roofed with cross-vaults resting on piers. The interiors retain many of their original features including vats, presses, and ovens indicating that they may have continued in production up to fairly recent times (1948?). The date of construction is not known although both appear to have been built in at least two phases. The fact that one building incorporates terracotta vaulting tubes in a secondary phase indicates a degree of expansion in the nineteenth century. The large building with olive-crushing facilities is located near one of the soap factories

and may have been used for storage as well as for crushing olives. The soap factory in Jaffa (No. 60) was not purpose-built. It was located in part of the disused saray in the early 1900s.

Metalworking Shops

Only one area of metal production was found within the area of the survey (No. 118). This is located in the extreme south of the country within the ancient copper-mining area of Timna. Two workshops were identified and the larger of the two was excavated. The workshop comprised an irregularly shaped enclosure with a furnace at the centre. Despite being in the middle of a copper-mining area the excavators concluded that it was a blacksmith's workshop used for the production of iron objects (Rothenberg 1972, 224–228).

Lime Kilns

Other frequently encountered structures are lime kilns which, for practical reasons (see Introduction), were not included in the survey. Ruined lime kilns were noted in Galilee and along the western flanks of the central hills near the modern settlements of Rās al-ʿAyn (Hb. Rosh Ha-Ayin) and ʿAyn Shams (Hb. Bet Shemesh). Lime is used for a number of different purposes including building work and soap production (Hill 1993, 89–91).

WATER: STORAGE, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONSUMPTION

In a semi-arid climate with a large population the provision of water has always been a priority. Most of the buildings recorded in this survey have some provision for water supply whether cistern, well, or aqueduct. As might be expected the largest and most sophisticated systems are connected with the provision of water to towns. These features are frequently of some antiquity. In addition to the supply of water to people there was also a need for irrigation (although agriculture in the area predominantly uses dry-farming techniques).

The range of structures and buildings associated with water may be divided into three main types, those for storage (cisterns and wells), those designed for water distribution (aqueducts), and those connected with consumption (sabils and bathhouses). Often a single structure may fulfil two or more of these functions.

Storage

Cisterns

A great variety of cisterns are encountered in Palestine, from small rock-cut domestic installations to major reservoirs. The main defining characteristic is that they store water from an external supply source (i.e. they are not wells). Rock-cut cisterns are extremely numerous and difficult to date except by association with related structures. The most common form is a bell- or bottle-shaped opening with cut channels feeding rain water from above. A variant of the rock-cut cistern is the ditch (Ar. *qaʿr*) which is defined by Abujaber (1995, 743) as follows: '... an excavation in hard rock when no retaining walls were needed or in soft soil when walls were built as needed. Since many of these were originally natural caves, it is common to find in many of them pillars that were inserted to support the natural roof that had shown signs of weakness'.

Built cisterns (Ar. *birka*) are of two main forms, rectangular and circular. Rectangular cisterns are usually open although some such as Birkat al-Fakht (sp.) near Baysān were vaulted. Cisterns of this type are usually fed by a well, spring, or wadi. These may be of considerable antiquity although more usually they are of Ottoman origin. An early example which has now disappeared was that adjacent to the mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn in Jaljūliyya (No. 61), probably dating to the early sixteenth century. Early nineteenth-century examples connected to an aqueduct or underground water system can be found in Acre (No. 5), Nahariyya (No. 101), and Ramla. Variants of this type with semi-circular protrusions at one end are found near Kabrī (No. 70). In some cases such as Qalamaniyya (No. 109) additional cisterns are attached to the side of the main cistern. An arrangement frequently encountered in the southern part of the country (see for instance Beer Shema (No. 34)) has one or two rectangular cisterns attached to a well. Such constructions are linked with Ottoman attempts to improve security along the south-western border with Egypt.

Circular cisterns usually have a closed form and may have developed from rock-cut bottle-shaped cisterns. Cisterns of this type have been found in excavations in the old city of Ramla and are thought to be of medieval or earlier date. The best examples from the survey are near the modern Israeli settlement of Ofaqim (No. 106). These structures are built into the sandy ground. Circular cisterns were the favoured type in medieval fortifications such as at Ṣafad (No. 119) and Jabal al-Ṭūr (No. 59) (Mount Tabor).

Dams

Dams are one of the oldest forms of water storage and have been built in the Middle East from early times (for instance the Marib dam dated to 750 B.C.E. See Hill 1993, 195). In addition to water storage, dams have a number of other purposes including hydro-power, flood control, irrigation, and possibly the collection of soil for agriculture (for instance the dam at Wadi Jilat (sp.). See Politis 1993, 48). Most of the dams in this survey (al-Ḥaddar (No. 46), al-Mirr (No. 90), Tell Kurdāna (No. 144)) appear to have been built primarily to power watermills although, of course, they would also have formed reservoirs. The only example of dams built purely for water storage are those at Qaṣr al-Zuwayra (No. 114). In the wadi either side of the castle there are dams which would have formed reservoirs to supply the garrison and those using the road. Problems of dating the castle and the location near a Roman road suggest that the dams could have been built before the advent of Islam.

Wells

Wells (Ar. *bīr/ biʾr*) are the most basic form of water supply and are found throughout the area of the survey. Because of the substantial investment of time and resources built-wells tend to continue in use over long periods. Examples of ancient wells from the survey include that at the foot of Tell al-Ṣāfī (No. 146) (ʿAyn Ṣāfī) and the well at Nabī Yāmīn (No. 99). The latter appears to have been continuously in use from the Roman period until the present day. In many cases wells were built along main routes to provide water to travellers and merchants and in some cases supplied sabils (for instance Lydda (No. 82), Qalamaniyya (No. 109). The most notable example of a well of this type is Bīr al-Zaybaq (see under Lydda) located midway between Lydda and Ramla. This structure consists of a circular well shaft covered with an elaborate domed pavilion. Whilst Bīr al-Zaybaq is an extravagant example, the covering of wells is an important precaution against contamination. Another example of a domed well is the structure near Ayanot (No. 63) where the well shaft is roofed with a small dome made of terracotta vaulting tubes. Usually wells were covered with either a stone block or wooden lid although often they were surmounted by an arch which could support some form of winding mechanism (this feature is reported in many of the later Ottoman wells). The construction of wells in the northern Negev bordering with Egypt was part of an Ottoman policy of increasing settlement in the area during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Examples of wells constructed at this time include those at Beer Shema (No. 34). Each well at this site consists of a well shaft covered with an arch and two cisterns either side. In some cases the connection between the well and settlement is made clear such as at Ascalon (No. 13) where a farmhouse was built around a well.

Distribution

Aqueducts

The supply of water over large distances was well established under the Romans as can be seen from the aqueduct at Caesarea. During the early Islamic period a number of aqueducts were constructed including Qanāt Bint al-Kafir which supplied water to the newly-built city of Ramla, and the aqueduct in Wadi Qilt (sp.) which suppied Khirbat al-Mafjar. The remains of a small early Islamic aqueduct near Nahariyya (No. 101) indicate that there may have been other structures

which have since been destroyed. There is little evidence for the construction of aqueducts during the medieval period and for the most part cities would have relied, either on the ancient aqueducts or on private water supplies. In the early Ottoman period the aqueduct which supplied water from Solomon's pools to Jerusalem was extensively renewed. There is, however, little evidence for the construction of aqueducts elsewhere in Palestine. The construction of sabils in the early nineteenth century by Abū Nabbūt, governor of Jaffa, was a sign of the renewed interest in the supply of water. The most spectacular example of this phenomenon was the construction of the Kabrī–Acre aqueduct first established by Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha and later rebuilt by Sulaymān Pasha in the 1830s. The aqueduct was an integrated system which included farms, mills, water towers, and cisterns.

Consumption

Water can, of course, be taken directly from any of the installations described above. There are, however, two types of building which are directly associated with the consumption of water: these are the sabil and the bathhouse. Both are dependant on plentiful water supplies from a well, aqueduct, spring, or natural watercourse and both are intended for public use. It can also be argued that both are associated specifically with Islamic requirements.

Sabils

Sabīl is an Arabic term for a public fountain. They are usually located on main roads or in towns. The largest concentrations in Palestine are found in Jaffa and Acre where they are frequently located outside mosques. A wide variety of different forms were encountered during the survey from a simple roadside structure built into the side of a cistern (cf. Qalamaniyya) to ornate structures such as the sabil of Abū Nabbūt outside Jaffa (No. 60).

Two basic types can be defined, free-standing structures and those built into the wall of some other structure. The public nature of sabils lent itself to elaborate decoration. The most common form is the latter which usually comprises a large arch set into a wall with a trough beneath and one or more taps set into the back. One of the more unusual examples of this form is the sabil set into the side of the shrine of Nabī Yāmīn (No. 61) near Jaljūliyya.

The only true example of a free-standing sabil is that of Abu Nabbut, an extravagant domed building standing on the Jaffa–Jerusalem road (see No. 60). Another structure which could be considered as free-standing is the sabil at the foot of the stairs leading to the Jazzār Pasha mosque in Acre (No. 5). The building consists of a small kiosk with a grille at the front and an elaborate overhanging roof. Sabils of this form are unusual in Palestine although numerous examples exist in Turkey (cf. Goodwin 1971).

Bathhouses

Known in Palestine from as early as the Hellenistic period, the earliest standing bathhouses are the Roman examples at sites such as Avdat and Emmaus (Dow 1996, 32–38). During the early Islamic period the construction of bathhouses is attested in the Umayyad desert palaces. At Khirbat al-Mafjar in the Jordan valley the Roman tradition was continued with a hypocaust heating system and a cold plunge pool (for a detailed discussion of these features, see Hamilton 1959). Later, pools largely disappeared from Islamic bathhouses (Ar. *ḥammām*), which favoured instead washing in running water. Hypocaust heating systems were replaced by a single central duct.

The earliest bathhouse in the present survey is the building near the fortress at Minat al Qal'a/Ashdod Yam (No. 58) which is presumably of Fatimid date. Other examples of bathhouses in or near fortresses include the two baths in the Ayyubid castle on Jabal al-Ṭūr (No.59)(Mount Tabor) and an eighteenth-century bathhouse at Qalʿat Jiddīn (No. 112). Dow (1996, 48) has pointed out that these are exceptions with the majority of bathhouses being located in towns.

The major towns of Palestine (Nāblus, Jerusalem, al-Khalīl, Gaza, and Ramla) are outside the scope of this survey and so the number of bathhouses included here is limited. It is notable that, with the exception of the buildings mentioned above, the majority of baths were built in the Ottoman period. Bathhouses in this survey include two in Acre (No. 5), two in Tiberias (No. 151), one in Jaffa (No. 60), and one in Nazareth (No. 103). It is possible that the Ottoman buildings occupy the sites of earlier bathhouses.

As public buildings, bathhouses were often extravagantly decorated in order to show off the munificence of their patrons. This is particularly true of the Ḥammām al-Pasha in Acre with its Kütahya tile revetments, marble floors, and elegant collonaded hot room crowned with a dome. The bathhouse in Jaffa is also built on a grand scale and, like the Acre example, is located next to the governor's residence. The bathhouses of Tiberias are technically different from those elsewhere because they rely on hot water from springs. The main difference inside the Tiberias baths is that there is a pool of hot water in the centre of the hot room (cf. Tuna 1987). The bathhouse in Nazareth represents a further deviation from the standard later Islamic bathhouse type in that it is based upon a hypocaust system rather than a single duct (Dow 1996, 24–26).

LIST OF SITES (SPELLING AND LOCATION)

				Page No.
1.	Abū ᶜAtaba (al-Manshiyya)	1592.2605	32.56/35.05	65
2.	Abū Fatun (Kh.) (sp.?)	112.118	31.49/34.37	66
3.	Abū Ghawsh (Qaryat al-ᶜInab)	1603.1349	31.48/35.06	66
4.	Abū Rabāḥ	1405.1702	32.07/34.53	68
5.	Acre (Ar. ᶜAkka/ ᶜAkkā)	156.258	32.55/35.04	68
6.	Aḥmad al-Qarafawi (sp.?)	124.121	31.41/34.44	91
7.	ᶜAjjūr	1417.1224	31.41/34.55	91
8.	ᶜAjlān (Khirbat) (Hb. Egla)	1239.1089	31.34/34.43	92
9.	ᶜAllār al-Fawqā' and ᶜAllār al-Sifla	1544.1243	31.43/35.03	92
10.	ᶜAmqā	1644.2645	32.58/35.10	93
11.	ᶜAraᶜra	1595.2108	32.29/35.05	94
12.	ᶜArrābat al-Buṭṭawf	1821.2507	32.51/35.20	94
13.	Ascalon (Ar. ᶜAsqalān)	1069.1163	31.39/34.32	95
14.	ᶜAwjā Hafīr (Hb. Nizzana)	095.031	30.52/34.26	99
15.	ᶜAyn al-Ḥayya (Kh.)	1991.2258	32.38/35.31	100
16.	ᶜAyn Jiddī (Hb. En-Gedi)	187.097	31.28/35.23	100
17.	ᶜAyn Kārim	1653.1304	31.46/35.10	101
18.	ᶜAyn Shams	1475.1285	31.45/34.58	103
19.	Bāb al-Wād	1522.1355	31.49/35.01	106
20.	Badawiyya (sp.) (Kh.)	1472.1268	31.44/34.57	108
21.	Balad al-Shaykh	1543.2419	32.46/35.02	108
22.	Bardagha (Kh.)	120.128	31.45/34.41	109
23.	Bashshīt	1264.1370	31.49/34.45	110
24.	(ᶜAyn al-) Baṣṣa	164.276	33.05/35.08	111
25.	Baṣṣūm (Kh.)	1954.2378	32.44/35.28	111
26.	Baysān	1976.2115	32.30/35.30	112
27.	Bayt Dajan	1340.1568	32.00/34.49	117
28.	Bayt Fajūs	1560.1310	31.47/35.04	118
29.	Bayt Jibrīn	1402.1125	31.36/34.53	118
30.	Bayt Jīz (Kh.)/ Shaykh Zayd	1458.1357	31.49/34.57	123
31.	Bayt Maḥṣīr	153.133	31.48/35.02	124
32.	Bayt Natīf	149.122	31.42/34.59	125
33.	Bayt Ṭīma	116.115	31.37/34.38	126
34.	Beer Shema (Hb.) (Ar. Bīr Shamaᶜ)	1048.0743	31.15/34.31	126
35.	Bīr Isyar (Kh.)	1557.2023	32.27/35.03	127
36.	Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Hb. Beersheva)	1298.0724	31.15/34.33	127
37.	Birkat al-Fakht (sp.)	194.215	32.31/35.29	128
38.	Caesarea (Ar. Qaysāriyya)	1401.2120	32.30/34.54	129
39.	Daburiyya/ Dabburiyya	1852.2331	32.42/35.22	131
40.	al-Damūn	167.254	32.54/35.10	131
41.	Dayr al-Assad	175.260	32.56/35.16	131
42.	Dayr Ḥannā	184.252	32.52/35.22	132
43.	Dayr al-Shaykh	1564.1283	31.45/35.04	136
44.	Farrāḍiyya/ Farrādhiyya	190.259	32.56/35.25	139
45.	al-Ghābsiyya	164.267	33.00/35.09	140
46.	Ḥadra/ Ḥaddar (Kh.)	133.168	32.07/34.49	141
47.	Haifa (Ar. Ḥayfā)	149.248	32.50/35.00	143
48.	Ḥammāma	111.122	31.42/34.35	146
49.	Ḥaram Sidnā ᶜAlī ibn ᶜAlīm	1310.1773	32.11/34.48	146
50.	Ḥaṭṭīn/ Ḥiṭṭīn/ Ḥuṭaym)	193.245	32.48/35.27	148
51.	Hūnīn	2011.2917	33.13/35.33	150
52.	Hūsha (Kh.)	163.244	32.47/35.07	151
53.	Ijzim/ Iqzim	1491.2278	32.39/34.59	152
54.	Imām ᶜAlī	1548.1346	31.48/35.03	154
55.	ᶜIrāq al-Manashiyya	1299.1135	31.36/34.47	155
56.	ᶜIribbīn (Kh.)	172.276	33.05/35.13	155

57.	Isdūd/ Izdūd (Hb. Ashdod)	118.129	31.45/34.40	155
58.	Minat al-Qal'a	132.114		159
59.	Jabal al-Ṭūr (Mount Tabor)	187.232	32.41/35.23	161
60.	Jaffa (Ar. Yāfā/ Yāfa)	126.163	32.02/34.45	161
61.	Jaljūliyya	1455.1735	32.09/34.57	175
62.	Jaᶜthūn (Kh.)	1684.2686	33.01/35.12	180
63.	Jazīl al-Khiyām (Kh.) (Hb. Ayanot)	1285.1472	31.55/34.46	182
64.	Jisr Banāt Yaᶜqūb	2090.2685	33.01/35.37	182
65.	Jisr Jindās	1408.1529	31.58/34.55	183
66.	Jisr al-Majāmīᶜ	2032/2256	32.37/35.33	186
67.	Jisr al-Sidd/ Umm al-Qanāṭir	2035.2345	32.42/35.33	188
68.	Jubb Yūsuf (Khān)	200.258	32.55/35.32	189
69.	Jūlis	1677.2608	32.56/35.11	191
70.	Kābrī	163.268	33.01/35.09	192
71.	Kābūl	1702.2575	32.52/35.13	192
72.	Kafr Lām	1460.2269	32.38/34.56	193
73.	Kafr Ṣūm	158.126	31.44/35.05	195
74.	Kawfakha (Kh.)	117.098	31.29/34.39	195
75.	Kawkab	1739.2491	32.50/35.15	196
76.	Khāliṣa	204.290	33.12/35.34	197
77.	Khān al-Tujjār/ Sūq al-Khān	1879.2364	32.45/35.24	197
78.	Khulda	1408.1360	31.49/34.54	200
79.	Lajjūn	167.219	32.34/35.11	201
80.	Legia (Hb.)	1365.0798	31.19/34.52	202
81.	Lūbiyya	1905.2424	32.47/35.25	202
82.	Lydda (Ar. Ludd)	1405.1512	31.58/34.54	203
83.	Majdal (1)	198.248	32.49/35.31	210
84.	Majdal (2)	1108.1196	31.40/34.35	210
85.	Majdal Yābā/ Majdal al-Ṣadīq	1464.1653	32.05/34.57	213
86.	Malaḥa (Kh.)	1446.2311	32.40/34.56	215
87.	Mazar	1470.2321	32.41/34.58	216
88.	Mazrᶜa	159.265	32.59/35.06	216
89.	Minyā	200.252	32.52/35.22	220
90.	Mirr/ Maḥmūdiyya	1425/1688	32.07/34.54	222
91.	Muᶜāwiya (Kh.)	1599.2151	32.32/35.05	223
92.	Muqbayla	1799.2134	32.31/35.17	223
93.	Mushayrifa (Kh.)	170.239	32.45/35.12	223
94.	Nabī Būlus (Kh.)	1483.1247	31.43/34.58	225
95.	Nabī Dahī	1832.2249	32.37/35.21	226
96.	Nabī Kifl	1432.1571	32.01/34.55	227
97.	Nabī Rūbīn	1249.1485	31.55/34.44	229
98.	Nabī Tha'rī	1431.1638	32.04/34.55	232
99.	Nabī Yamīn	1450.1762	32.11/34.56	233
100.	Nabī Yūshaᶜ	202.279	33.07/35.33	235
101.	Nahariyya	156.268	33.01/35.05	238
102.	Naḥf	1800.2606	32.56/35.19	239
103.	Nazareth (Ar. al-Nāṣira)	178.234	32.42/35.17	239
104.	Negev Mosques			244
104.1.	Nahal 'Arod	119.990		244
104.2.	Be'er Karkom	125.975		244
104.3.	Nahal Oded	122.990		244
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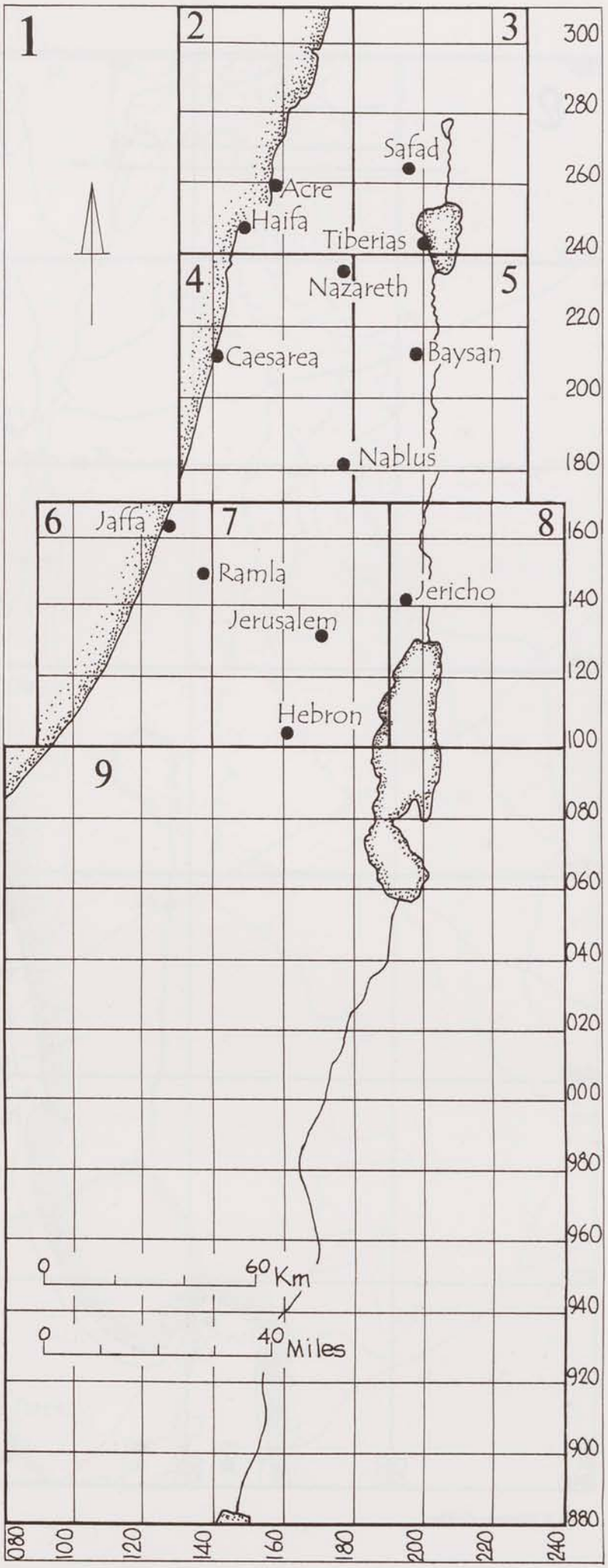
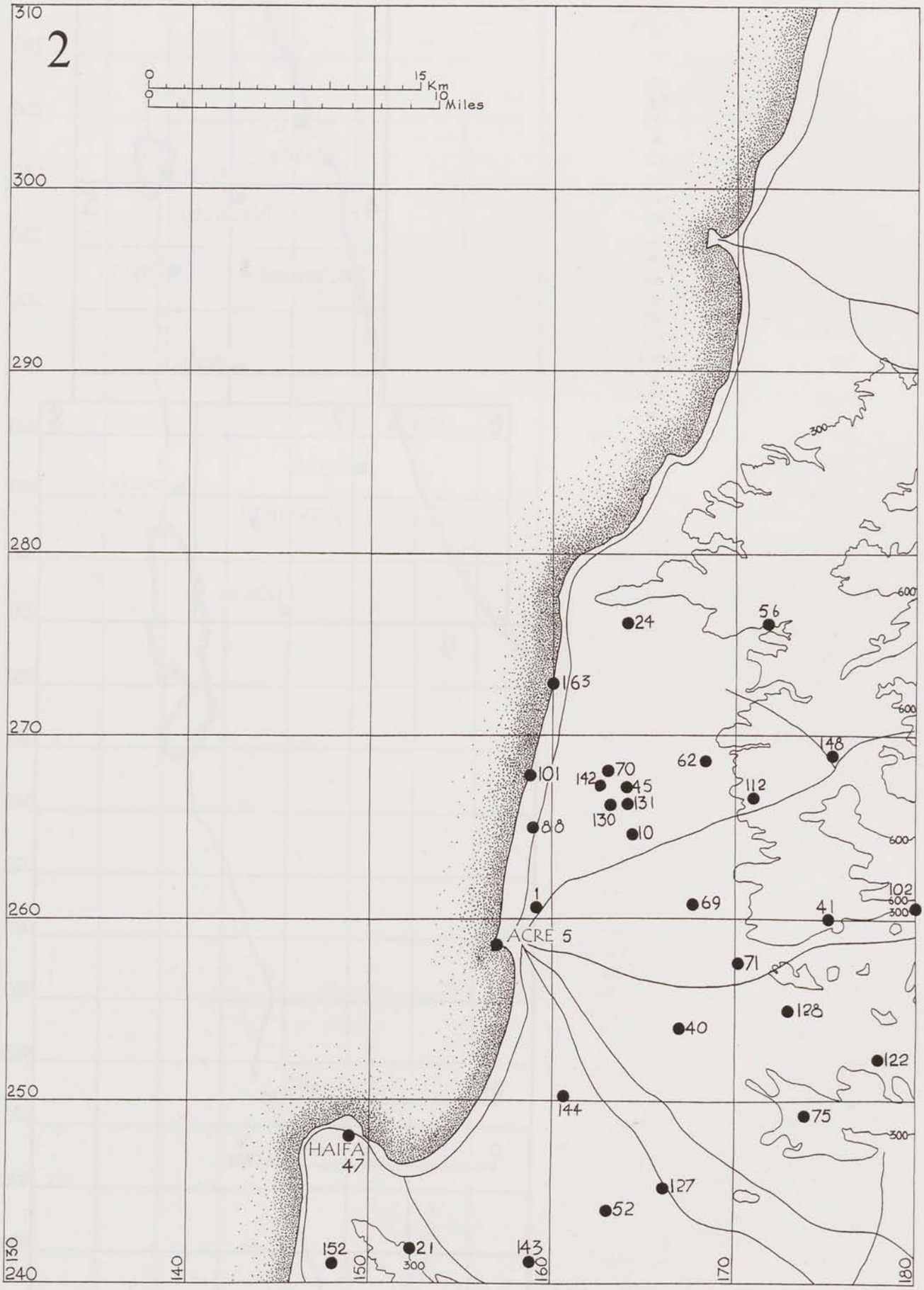
104.5.	Bor Bator	115.980		244
104.6.	Sede Boker	130.032		244
104.7.	Nahal Hazzaz	136.033		245
104.8.	Horvat Sharav	139.020		245
104.9.	Nahal La'ana	116.015		245
104.10.	Ramat Barnea	104.004		245
105.	Niᶜilya	1095.1172	31.39/34.34	245
106.	Ofaqim (Hb.)	1157.0794	31.19/34.37	246
107.	Pedaya (Hb.)	1400.1400	31.52/34.53	247

108.	Qabū	161.126	31.44/35.07	248
109.	Qalamāniyya	1427.1791	32.12/34.55	248
110.	Qalansuwa	1485.1878	32.17/34.59	248
111.	Qalᶜat ibn Maᶜn	1968.2478	32.49/35.29	250
112.	Qalᶜat Jiddīn	1710.2665	33.00/35.13	251
113.	Qāqūn	1497.1962	32.22/35.00	251
114.	Qaṣr al-Zuwayra (Hb. Mezad Zohar)	183.062	31.09/35.21	252
115.	Qīra wa-Qaymūn (Kh.)	1599.2279	32.39/35.08	254
116.	Qūla	1459.1605	32.02/34.57	254
117.	Rās al-ᶜAyn	1437.1680	32.05/34.57	255
118.	Rās al-Naqb (Hb. Eilat)	1388.8882	30.01/35.28	257
119.	Ṣafad	196.263	32.58/35.30	259
120.	Ṣafar (Kh.)	1464.1373	31.49/34.58	268
121.	Ṣaffūriyya	1765.2399	32.45/35.17	269
122.	Ṣakhnīn/ Ṣukhnīn	1778.2522	32.52/35.17	270
123.	Salama	132.162	32.03/34.48	271
124.	Ṣarafand	143.228	32.39/34.56	272
125.	Saᶜsaᶜ	187.270	33.02/35.24	273
126.	Ṣaṭāf/ Ṣāṭāf	1612.1305	31.46/35.08	274
127.	Shaᶜib	1730.2550	32.53/35.14	275
128.	Shafā ᶜAmr	166.245	32.48/35.10	276
129.	Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Duwaymī (sp.)	1393.1049	31.32/34.53	280
130.	Shaykh Dannūn	163.266	33.00/35.09	281
131.	Shaykh Dāwūd	164.266	32.59/35.09	282
132.	Shaykh Ghāzī (Kh.)	1513.1212	31.42/35.00	282
133.	Shaykh Maysar	1542.2055	32.27/35.02	283
134.	Shaykh Ṣandāhāwī	1549.2115	32.30/35.02	284
135.	Shaykh Utah (sp.)	148.211	32.29/34.58	285
136.	Shivta (Hb.)	114.032	30.53/34.40	285
137.	Sīrīn	1976.2288	32.39/35.30	285
138.	Sukrayr (Kh.)	121.136	31.49/34.42	287
139.	Sukriyya (Kh.)	1294.1085	31.34/34.46	288
140.	Ṣummayl	1305.1193	34.40/34.47	289
141.	Ṣundala	1806.2143	32.31/35.19	289
142.	Tal	161.267	33.00/35.08	290
143.	Tal al-Harbaj	159.241	32.45/35.05	290
144.	Tal Kurdāna	1606.2501	32.51/35.06	290
145.	Tal Qasīla	129.167	32.06/34.48	291
146.	Tal al-Ṣāfī	1356.1236	31.42/34.50	291
147.	Ṭanṭūra (Hb. Dor)	142.224	32.37/34.55	292
148.	Tarshīḥa/ Tīr Shīḥa	1753.2689	33.01/35.16	293
149.	Ṭayba	1513.1858	32.16/35.01	296
150.	Tel Aviv (Ar. Tal Afīf)	130.160	32.04/34.46	298
151.	Tiberias (Ar. Ṭabariyya)	2010.2437	32.47/35.32	299
152.	Ṭīra (1)	1480.2410	32.45/34.58	306
153.	Ṭīra (2)	1455.1821	32.01/31.55	307
154.	Umm al-Faḥm	164.213	32.31/35.08	308
155.	Umm al-Ru'ūs al-Shamāliyya (Kh.)	1521.1212	31.41/35.01	309
156.	Wadi ᶜAra/ al-Zabādna (Kh.)	1533.2091	32.29/35.03	310
157.	Wadi Ismaᶜīn	1575.1268	31.44/35.04	310
158.	Yāzūr	131.159	32.02/34.48	311
159.	Yibnā	126.141	31.52/34.45	313
160.	Yotvata (Hb.)	154.922	29.53/35.03	319
161.	Zakariyyā'	1448.1241	31.43/34.56	320
162.	Zarnūqa	130.143	31.53/34.47	320
163.	Zīb	1598.2728	33.03/35.06	321
164.	Zirᶜīn/ Marj ibn ᶜAmr	181.218	32.33/35.19	322

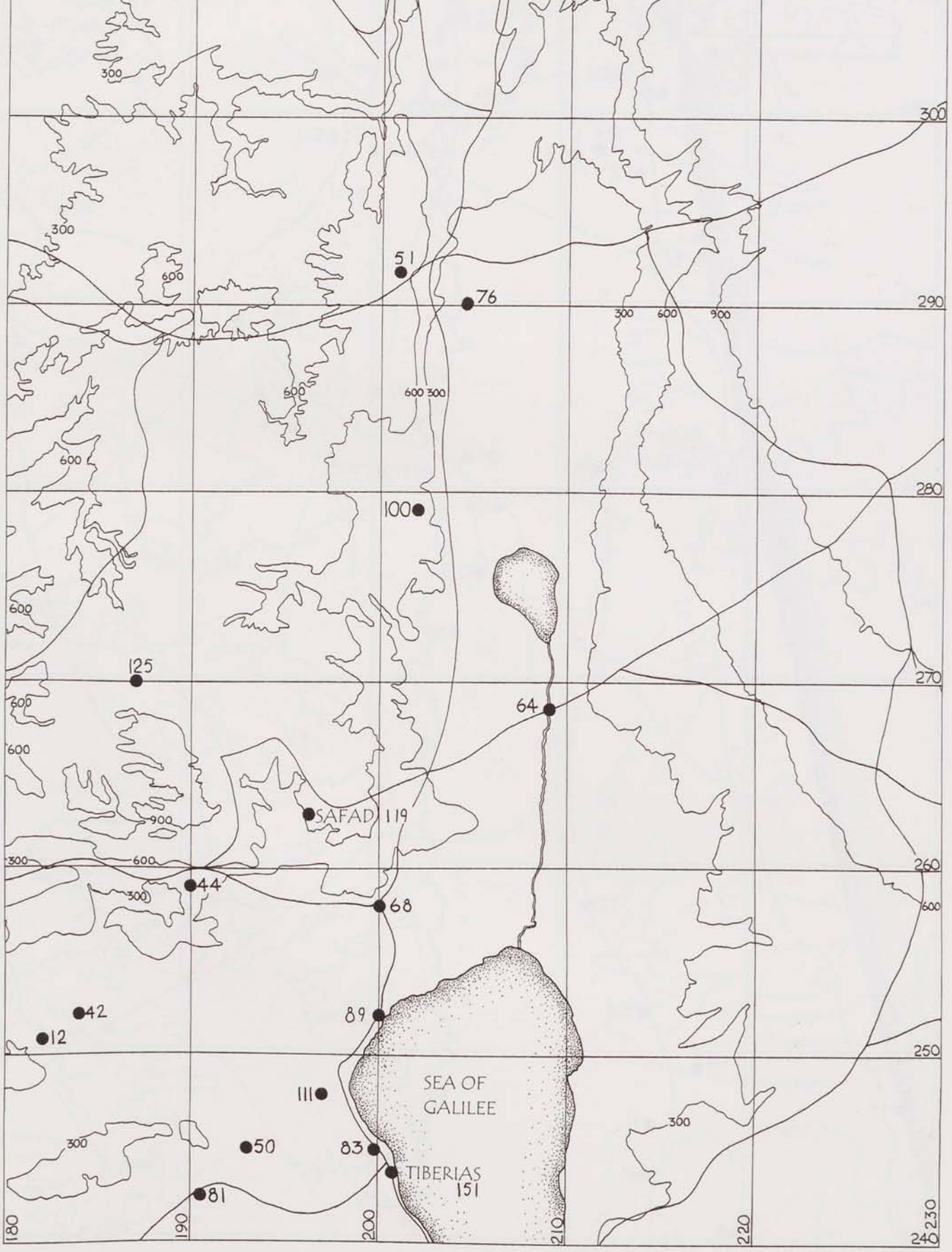
MAPS



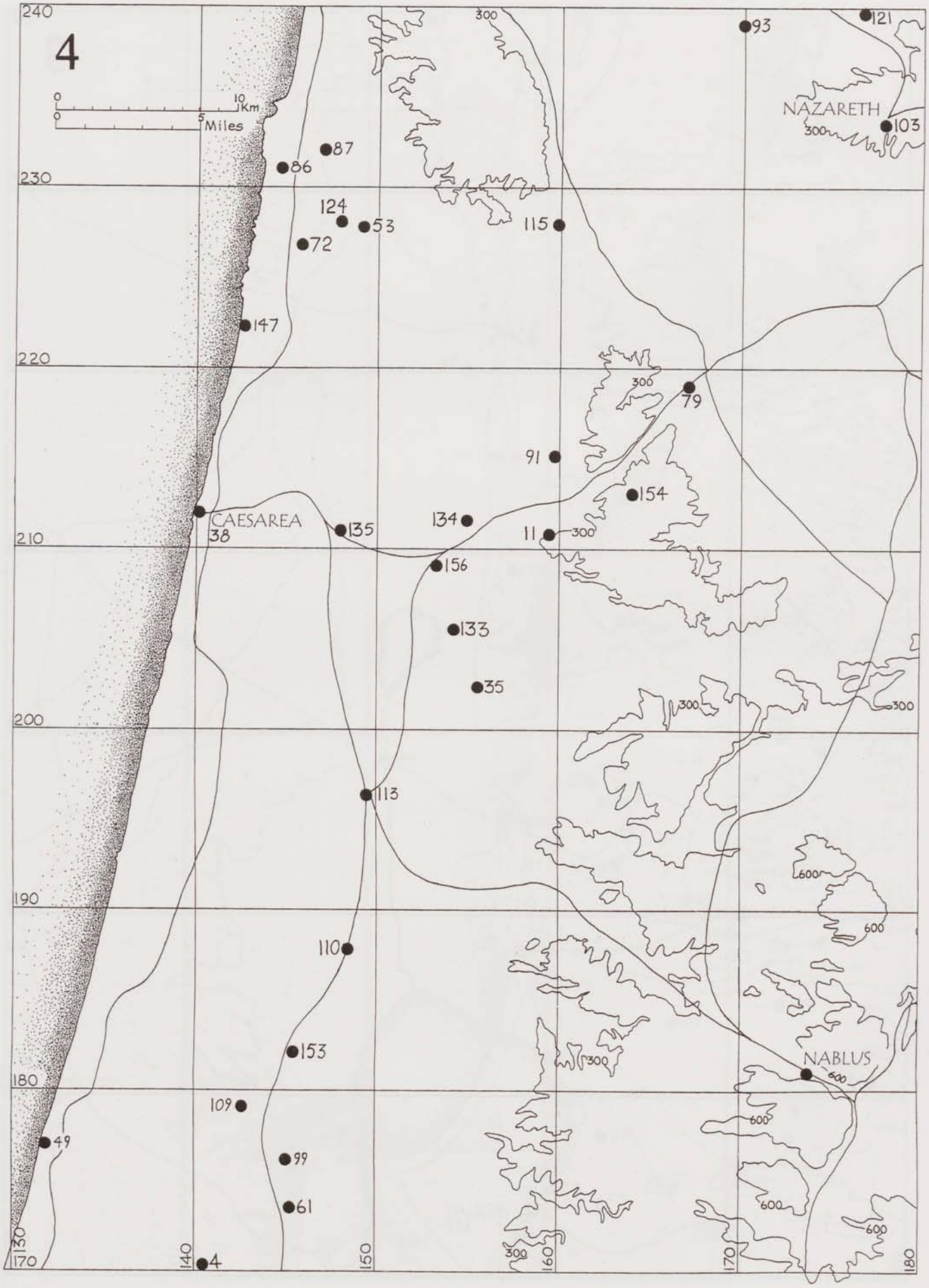
Map 1: Key to Maps.



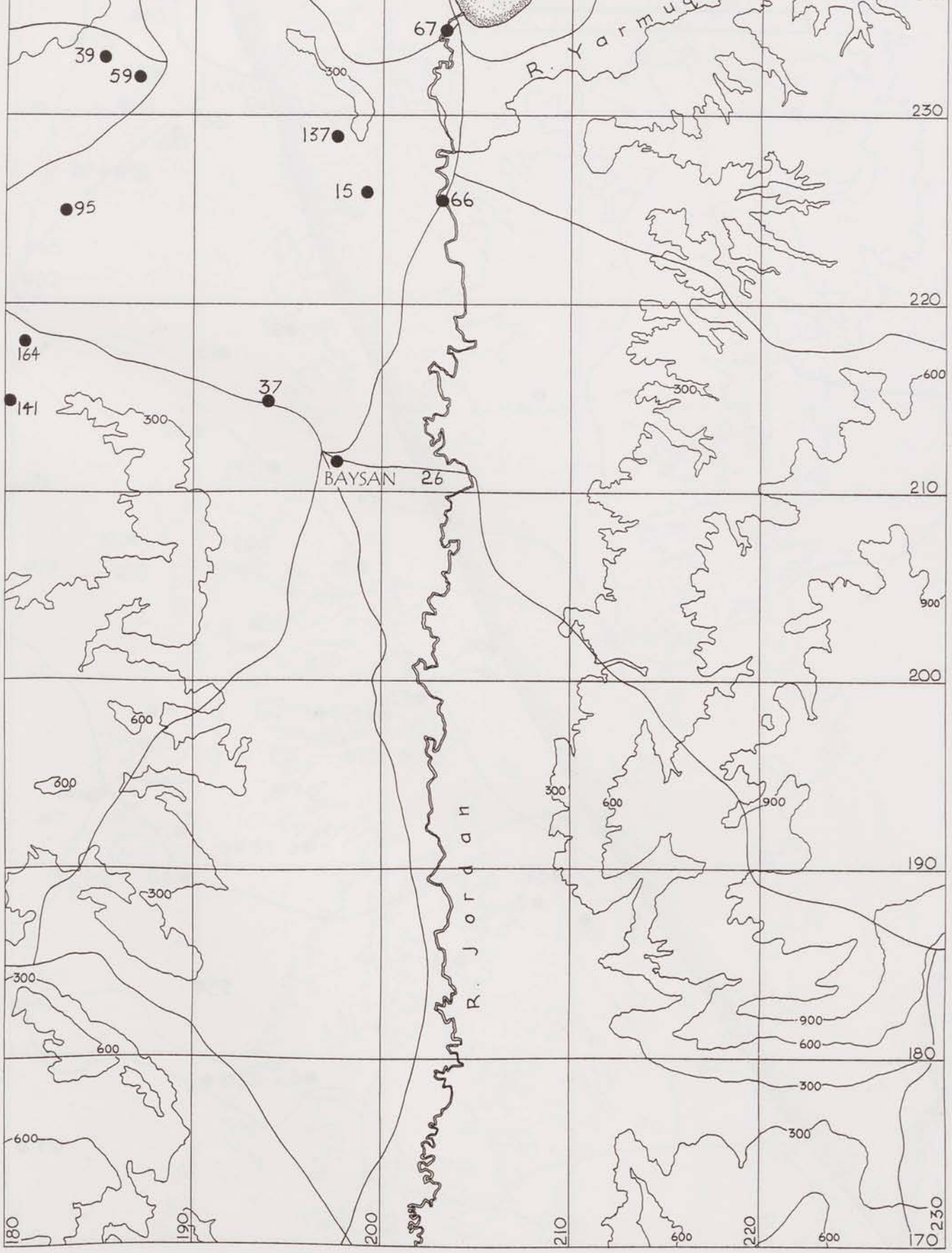
Map 2: Western Galilee.



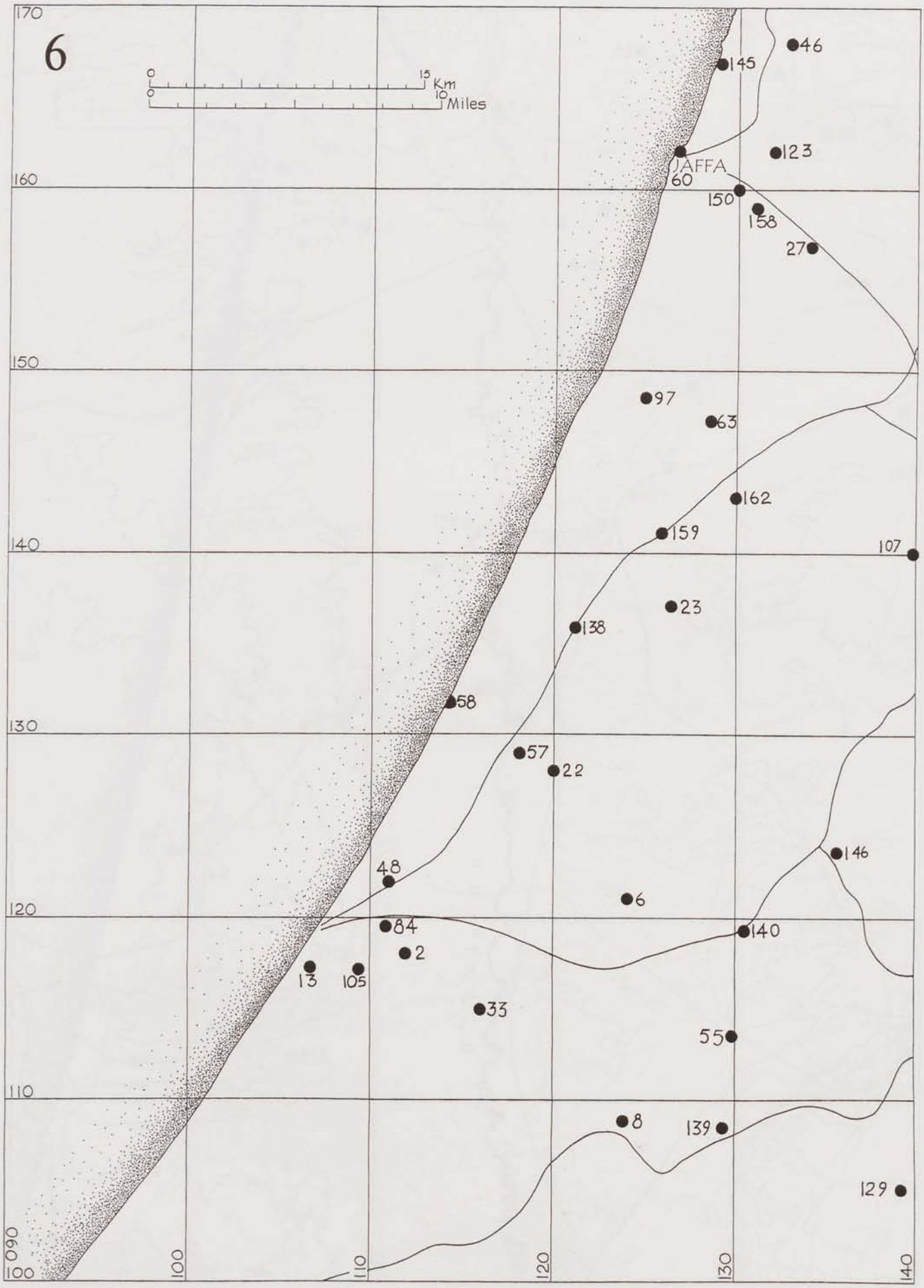
Map 3: Eastern Galilee.



Map 4: Central coastal plain.



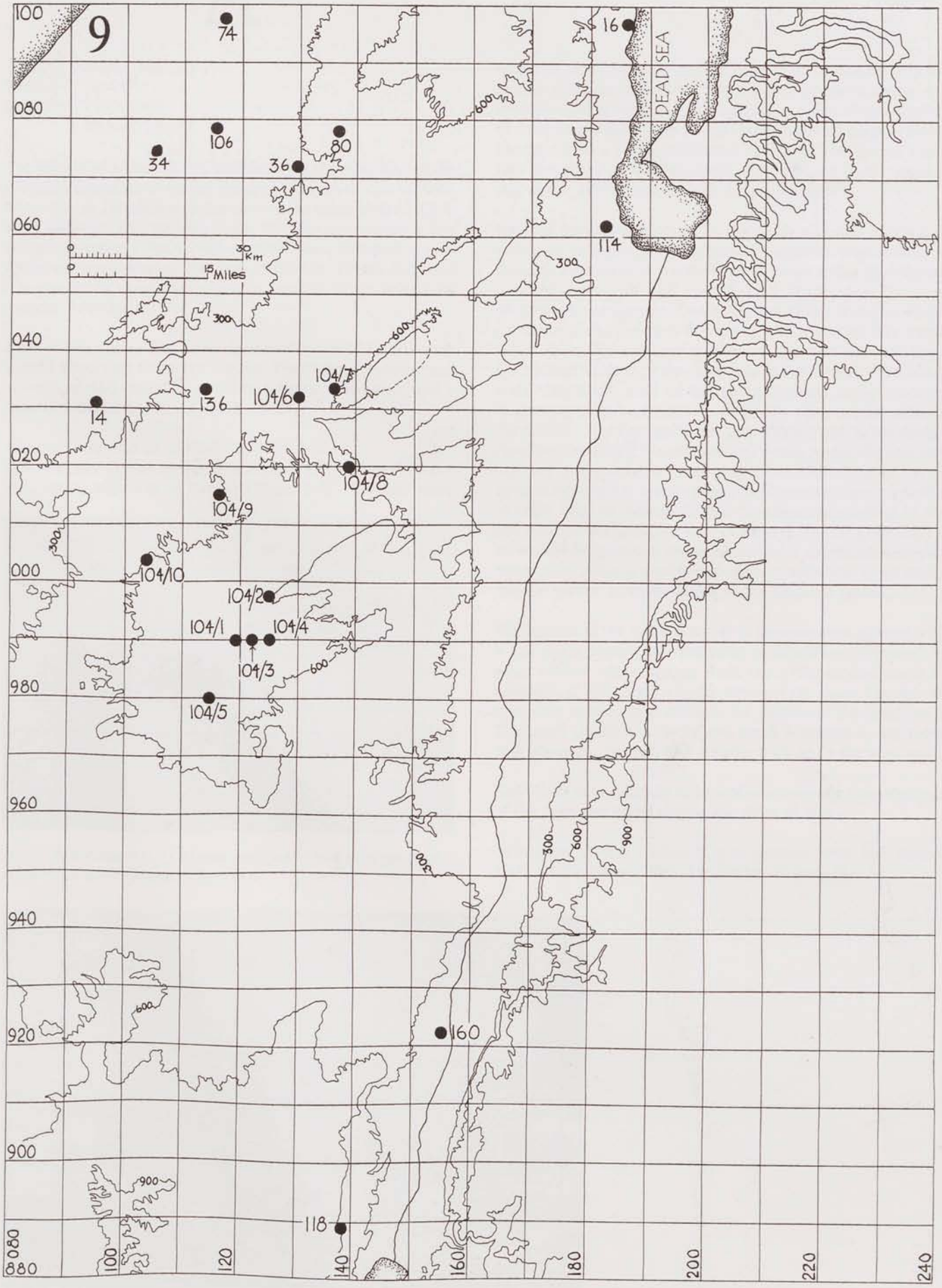
Map 5: Northern Jordan Valley.



Map 6: Southern coastal plain.

Map 7: Jerusalem region.

Map 8: Southern Jordan Valley and Dead Sea.


9
DEAD SEA
30 Km
15 Miles
74
16
106
80
34
36
114
136
104/7
104/6
14
104/8
104/9
104/10
104/2
104/1
104/4
104/3
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160
118
100
080
060
040
020
000
980
960
940
920
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880
100
120
140
160
180
200
220
240
300
600
900

Map 9: Negev.

A

1. Abū ʿAtabi/ Manshiyya

Visited 12.4.94
Location 1592.2605
32.56N/35.05E

The village of al-Manshiyya is located on the east side of the Ottoman aqueduct of Qanāt al-Pasha 3km north-east of Acre. According to Jacotin's map the site was an uninhabited ruin in 1799 although the PEF map made 75 years later shows it as a village. Karmon (1960, 246) suggests that this was a new settlement made during the time of Ibrahim Pasha. This idea is supported by Guérin's observation that the village was newly founded (*Galilée*, II, 1).

Most of the village has been destroyed since 1948 although several important buildings remain. These are the shrine and mosque of Abū ʿAtabi, a nineteenth-century mansion, and a Baha'i monument (Khalidi 1992, 23–24).

Mosque and shrine of Abū ʿAtaba/ ʿAtabī

This structure stands on the west slope of a low hill and is built on a raised platform or terrace (Plates 1–2). The two main elements of the building are the large domed chamber and the prayer room to the north. The corners of the building are strengthened by large external buttresses. Since 1948 a number of extra rooms have been added to the shrine which now forms the centre of a small residential complex. The prayer room now functions as a living room, although the shrine itself is still in use and is kept clear of domestic clutter.

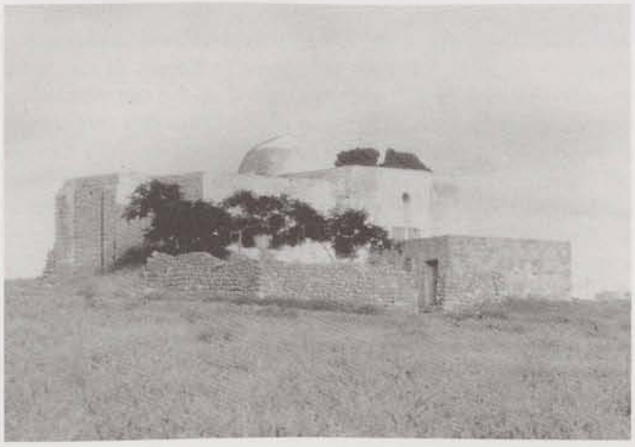


Plate 1. Abū ʿAtaba (No. 1). Mosque and maqām from west, pre-1948 (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Entered through a doorway in the north wall, the prayer hall acts as an ante-room for the shrine. The prayer room is entered through a doorway in the north-east corner and is roofed with a folded cross-vault with a small dome at the apex. The sides of the vault are decorated with small moulded triangles whilst the dome in the centre is decorated with a swirled disc motif. A pair of double windows are set into the west wall and there is a mihrab flanked by two windows in the centre of the south wall. The north wall of the room appears to be modern, suggesting that the room was originally open on this side. In the middle of the east wall is the doorway through to the domed chamber containing the tomb of Abū ʿAtabī. Above the doorway are two inscriptions set one above the other. Written on an upright rectangular marble panel, the upper inscription consists of eight lines of *naskhi* divided into four cartouches. At the end of this inscription the date of 1140 H. (1727–1728 C.E.) is given. The fragmentary lower inscription is written on a roughly rectangular piece of marble in a larger ornamental script which may be earlier, possibly dating to the Mamluk period.

The interior of the tomb chamber is a square area covered with a tall dome resting on triangular pendentives supported by wide arches which spring from the ground. The tomb or cenotaph of Abū ʿAtabī is in the centre of the room. The mihrab is a plain undecorated niche in the middle of the south wall. The tomb chamber is lit by two small windows in the south wall above the mihrab and another high up in the west wall.

Abū ʿAtabī is said locally to be a Muslim warrior from the time of the Crusades killed during the siege of Acre.

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 1–2; Karmon 1960, 246; Khalidi 1992, 23–24; Palmer 1881, 52; *SWP*, I, 47 (map III).

Plate 2. Abū ʿAtaba (No. 1). Mosque and maqām from south.

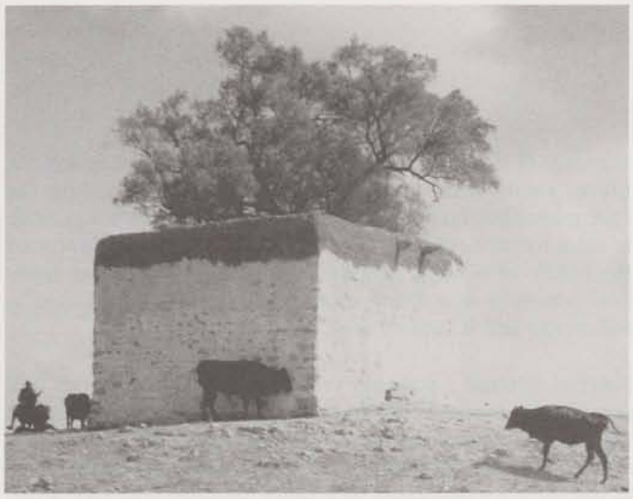


Plate 3. Khirbat Abū Fatun (Kh.) (No. 2). Maqām of Sh. Muḥammad al-Kubakba (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

2. Abū Fatun (sp.) (Khirbat)

Visited-
Location 112.118
31.39N/34.37E

This deserted site was located 1km to the south of Majdal near the modern city of Ashqelon (Hb.). Remains at the site included fragments of columns and a square vaulted building known as the maqām and sabil of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Kubakba (sp.).

References: Mandate photos: 20.490, 20.491.

3. Abū Ghawsh/ Qaryat al-ʿInab

Visited 9.93
Location 1603.1349
31.48N/35.06E

Abū Ghawsh (or Abū Ghūsh) is located on the south slope of a small wadi 13km to the west of Jerusalem on the road to Ramla

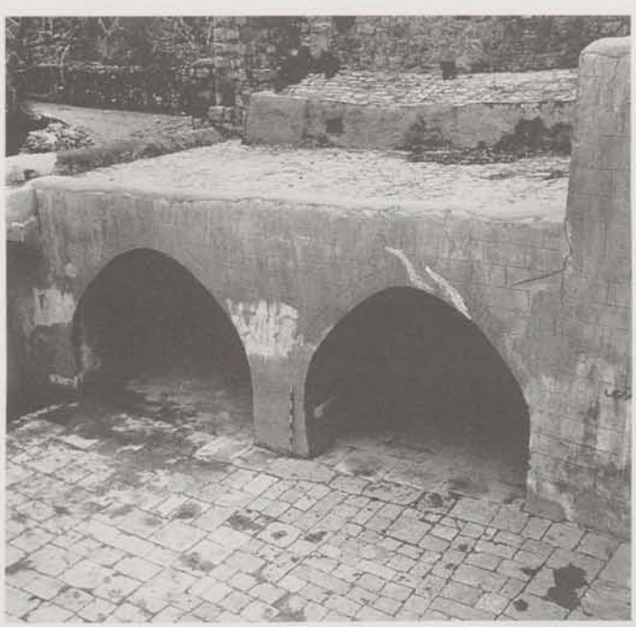


Plate 4. Abū Ghawsh (Qaryat al-ʿInab) (No. 3). View of the interior of khān (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

(for a concise history of the site, see Pringle 1993–, I, 7–8; Brawer in *EJ*, II, 182–183). In the Bible (Joshua 15.9) the site is referred to both as Kiriath-jearim (town of the woods) and Ba'alah (Aharoni 1979, 431 and 435). In early Islamic and medieval times the site was known as Qaryat al-ʿInab (town of the grapes) although in Ottoman administrative documents it was referred to simply as ʿInab (Singer 1994, 85). The village acquired its current name from Abū Ghawsh, a powerful shaykh who dominated the region in the early nineteenth century (cf. Buckingham 1821, 172; Baedeker 1876, 139–140). This was one of the few Arab villages in the area to survive the upheavals of 1948. The population is predominantly Arab (Christian and Muslim) although there has also been a Circassian presence in the village since the nineteenth century.

There is a long history of occupation at the site, presumably because of the presence of a spring. The earliest remains, dating from the Neolithic period, are located a few hundred metres north-west of the main village (Allier in *EAE*, I, 4–5; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 133–134). Other remains at the site include two Herodian tombs and a Roman cistern both of which have been excavated. The reservoir is a rectangular structure (16.25m x 20.7m) built around the mouth of the spring. Access to the interior is by two sets of rock-cut steps which are still in use within the restored Crusader church. The cistern was used to provide water for a detachment of the Tenth Legion *Fretensis* stationed on the road between the coast and Jerusalem (Aelia Capitolina).

In the tenth century a caravanserai (see below) was built next to the reservoir presumably to provide accommodation for travellers on the road from Jerusalem to Ramla. In the early twelfth century a church was established at the site which was thought to be the Biblical Emmaus where Christ first reappeared (Pringle 1993–, I, 16). The east end of the church was built directly over the reservoir whilst the west part stands on natural rock. During this time the caravanserai probably served as a hospice for Christian pilgrims. In 1187 C.E. ʿInab was in Muslim hands although 42 years later it returned to Frankish control for a period of 15 years. The caravanserai was restored during the fourteenth century although the church was now disused. By the sixteenth century the caravanserai was in ruins and the church was derelict.

Ottoman records of the mid sixteenth century describe ʿInab as a small village with 24 households (*khāna*). The chief products of the village were grape syrup, cereal crops and olive oil (Singer 1994, 85). In addition the head of the village was entitled to collect a tax (*khafar*) from pilgrims and merchants using the main Jaffa–Jerusalem road in return for which he would ensure their safety (Cohen 1989, 119).

In the nineteenth century the village was the base of the Abū Ghawsh family which was one of the most powerful in the Jerusalem district. In 1873 ownership of the derelict church (including the ruins of the caravanserai) was given to the French Government in a deal negotiated by the French ambassador in Istanbul (Pringle 1993–, I, 8).

Caravanserai

This structure is a roughly square courtyard structure standing to the east of the church. The earliest description is given by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw who visited the site in 439 H. (1047 C.E.) and wrote:

> In the village of Qaryat al-ʿInab there is spring of sweet water coming from a rock. Troughs have been placed around it to quench the thirst of travellers, and buildings of stone have been established to provide shelter (ed. Scheffer, 65; and see translation in Le Strange 1890, 481).

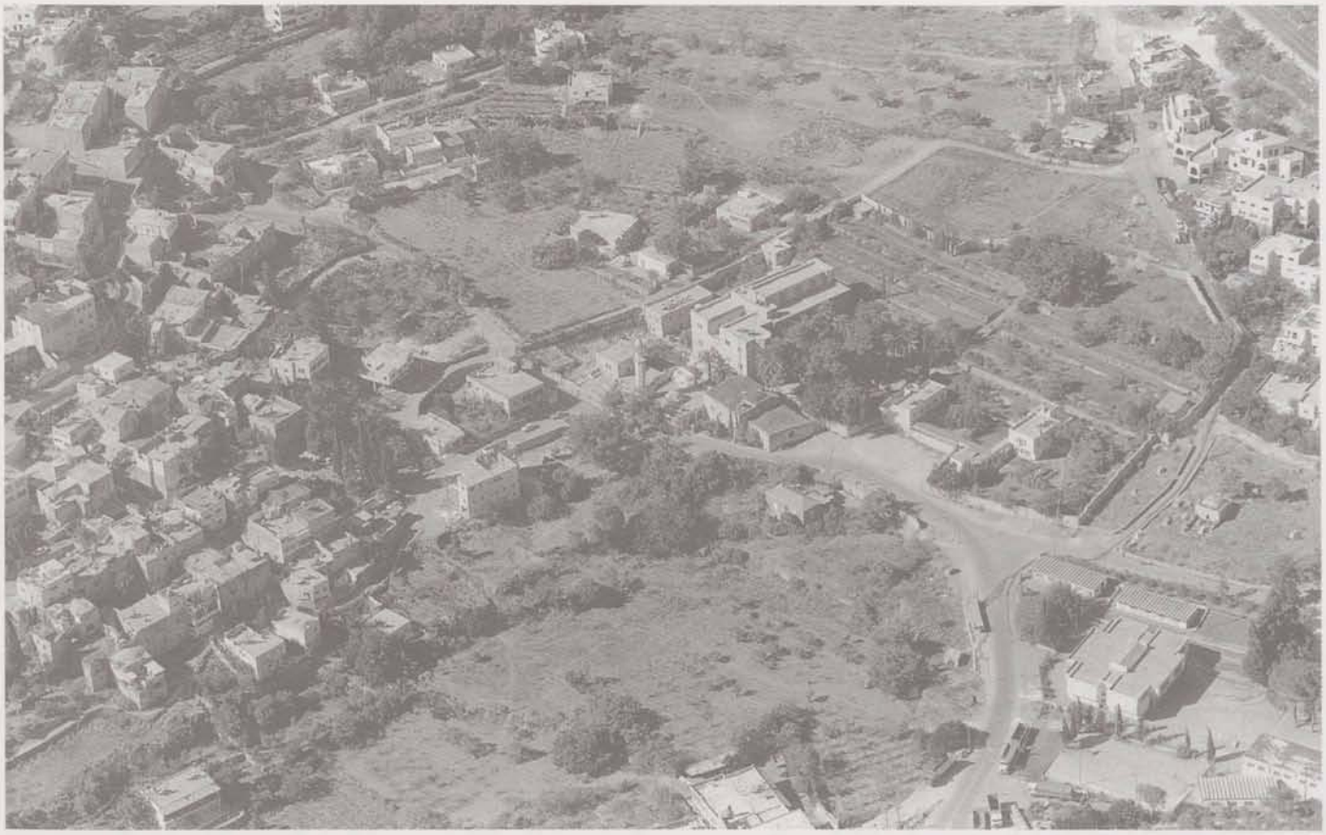


Plate 5. Abū Ghawsh (Qaryat al-ʿInab) (No. 3). Aerial view (D. Riley 3/25).

The plan of the caravanserai was revealed during a series of excavations in the 1940s (De Vaux and Steve 1950). Two main phases were identified, one belonging to the foundation in the tenth century and the other a renovation dating to the fourteenth century.

The structures of the first phase were constructed around a courtyard containing a central basin or fountain fed from the Roman reservoir. There is evidence that the basin was covered over by a vault resting on four corner piers. The courtyard was enclosed by vaulted arcades and was entered by a gateway in the middle of the north side. At the south-west corner of the building there was a small mosque with a deep mihrab. In the arcade outside the mosque there is thick section of wall which has been interpreted as the base of a minaret. On the south and south-east side of the courtyard are a series of individual rooms opening off the arcade. To the east of the main building there were two large cisterns; one of these was roofed with a barrel-vault and the other was open (although it may originally have been covered). Both cisterns were fed by water flowing through conduits from the Roman cistern via the pool in the courtyard. In the south-east of the courtyard was a flight of stairs leading to the roof and possibly there were further rooms on this floor. The caravanserai was dated by the excavators to the tenth century on the basis of a fragmentary Kufic inscription and pottery found during the excavation.

Under the Crusaders the caravanserai continued to function although now it was used only by Christian pilgrims and travellers. Several modifications were carried out including the conversion of the vaulted cistern into a hall with an oven in the east wall and the conversion of a cistern in the south-east corner into a latrine pit. Also during this period a range of rooms was built abutting the east wall of the church. A doorway was placed into the south apse.

In the second half of the fourteenth century the caravanserai was restored by the Mamluks. During this period a mosque was built in the middle of the east side of the courtyard (see below).

Mosque

In 1945 the mosque was examined by S.A.S. Husseini who referred to it as 'Jamiʿ al-Uzeir' and described it as follows:

> The main mosque stands at the SW corner of an open court it consists of two aisles with two bays in each. The two bays of the western aisle are surmounted by two domes. Each of the domes is carried on four arches and pendentives. A mihrab is provided in the south wall of this aisle. The eastern side is made of two vaulted bays. In the south wall of this aisle is a second mihrab. This mihrab appears to have originally been a doorway communicating with the sahn. The north bay of the eastern aisle contained two doorways, the one opening into the open court. The second opening into a cross-vaulted riwaq in two bays. In the S. wall of the western bay is a small mihrab. The roof of this riwaq is lower than that of the main mosque... At the N. side of the open court an arched vault is built above a flowing spring which runs through a built channel from the west. The floor of the vault is reached by a flight of seven steps. The walls of the vault are built with rough masonry but some of the stones have very smooth surfaces appearing behind a coat of plaster. Remains of a small water tank rendered in plaster are seen at the top of the north wall of the vault and built in the thickness of the wall near the NE corner. In the open court and near the east side of the spring vault are two fragments of limestone column. The walls of the building internally and externally are covered by a coat of cement (PAM 152, Husseini, 12.2.45).

The construction of a mosque, probably in the mid eighth century C.E. is recorded on a damaged inscription found on the site (Sharon 1997, 6–7).

Mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Abū Ghawsh.
This small building consisting of one square room measuring 4m x 4m is located in the cemetery to the north of the Benedictine convent. The building and nearby inscribed gravestones are described in detail by Sharon (1997, 7–13).

References: Abel 1967, II, 49, 420; Allier 1993–1994, 4–5; Baedeker 1876, 139–140; Buckingham 1821, 172–173; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, index; Cohen 1989, 119; Cuinet 1896, 610; De Vaux and Steve, 1950; Avi-Yonah and Allier in *EAE*, 4–7; Brawer in *EJ*, II, 182–183; Guérin, *Judée*, I, 62–71; Le Strange 1890, 360, 480–481; McCown 1923, 50, Pl.4; Marmadji 1951, 167; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 133–134; Nāṣir-i Khusraw ed. Schefer, 65–66; Palmer 1881, 321; PAM 152, Husseini, 12.2.45; Pringle 1993–, I, 7–17; *RCEA*, II, No.541; Robinson 1841, I, 365, II, 335; Sharon 1997, 3–13; Singer 1994, index; *SWP*, III, 18, 132–134 (map XVII).

4. Abū Rabāḥ

Visited 10.91
Location 1405.1702
32.07N/34.53E

This site is located in a wooded area on the south side of the ᶜAwjā (Hb. Yarqon) river near the junction between routes 5 and 40. The site contains three mills, each in varying states of decay.

Mill (1)
The first mill (the southernmost of the three) stands at the edge of the wooded area and is visible from the main road. It is very ruined and only a single vault is standing.

Mill (2)
This is the largest and best preserved of the three. The mill is almost complete with the exception of the roof. It consists of one large room (subsequently subdivided) built over the river with two or three channels passing underneath. Within the building there are several pieces of mill machinery still *in situ*.

Mill (3)
To the north of mill (2) is another dam across the river with a series (six?) of openings into a large mill pool.

Comments
Mills (1) and (3) seem to be older structures which were abandoned during the operation of mill (2). The precise function and age of each mill is not known and requires further detailed examination. However, it is known that the older mills were not in use in the 1870s and that the newer mill was built by Shaykh Abū Rabāḥ in 1878 and functioned until 1948 (Shkolnik 1994, 33). Conder and Kitchener also note that: 'several mills exist along the course of the stream [i.e. al-ᶜAwjā]' and a mill is mentioned at a site on the bank called Jarīsha (*SWP*, II, 251). The seventeenth-century traveller al-Nābulsī also mentions mills (*ṭawāḥīn*) on the ᶜAwjā river although he does not give specific locations (ed. Abd al-Hamid Murad, 411).

References: al-Nābulsi ed. Abd al-Hamid Murad, 411; Shkolnik 1994, 33; *SWP*, II, 251 (map XIII).

5. Acre (Ar. ᶜAkka/ ᶜAkkā)

Visited 4.95
Location 156–158.258–260
32.55N/35.04E

The city of Acre (Hb. Akko/ Acco, Cr. St. Jean d'Acre) is located on the north side of the bay of Acre, one of the few natural harbours on the coast of Palestine.

Acre is one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in the country (for a concise history of the city, see Makhouly and Johns 1946, 1–64; Buhl in *EI2*, I, 341). The earliest evidence of settlement has been found at the site of Tal al-Fukhkhār (Hb. Tel Akko) which stands approximately 1.5km north of the city walls (for a review of this site, see Dothan *et al.* in *EAE*, I, 17–23; Aharoni 1979, 429). In the latter part of the second millennium B.C.E. it was one of the main Phoenician ports. In the fourth century B.C.E. the importance of the town was recognised by Alexander the Great who established a mint at the site. In the following years the town came under Egyptian control and was renamed Ptolemais after the Ptolemies of Egypt. From 200 to 63 B.C.E. the town was under Seleucid control before it was incorporated into the Roman Empire by Pompey (*TIR*, 204). The establishment of Caesarea led to the decline of Acre although it continued to function as a port.

With the Arab conquest the fortunes of the town were revived and it remained the main port for Palestine until the end of the thirteenth century. Under the Crusaders Acre became the main link between the Holy Land and Europe (cf. descriptions in Idrīsī ed. Bombaci, 365; Ibn Jubayr ed. Wright, 313–314). The defeat of the Crusaders at Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187 C.E. was followed by the surrender of Acre. The city was recaptured in 1191 and subsequently became the capital of the Crusader Kingdom. During this period the city was expanded to occupy an area far larger than that enclosed by the modern walls (for a study of the religious architecture of the Crusader period, see Dichter 1979a). The Crusader presence on the mainland of Bilād al-Shām was brought to an end in 1291 by the Mamluk army of sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (for a discussion of this period, see Little

Plate 6. Abū Rabāḥ (No. 4). Mill (2).

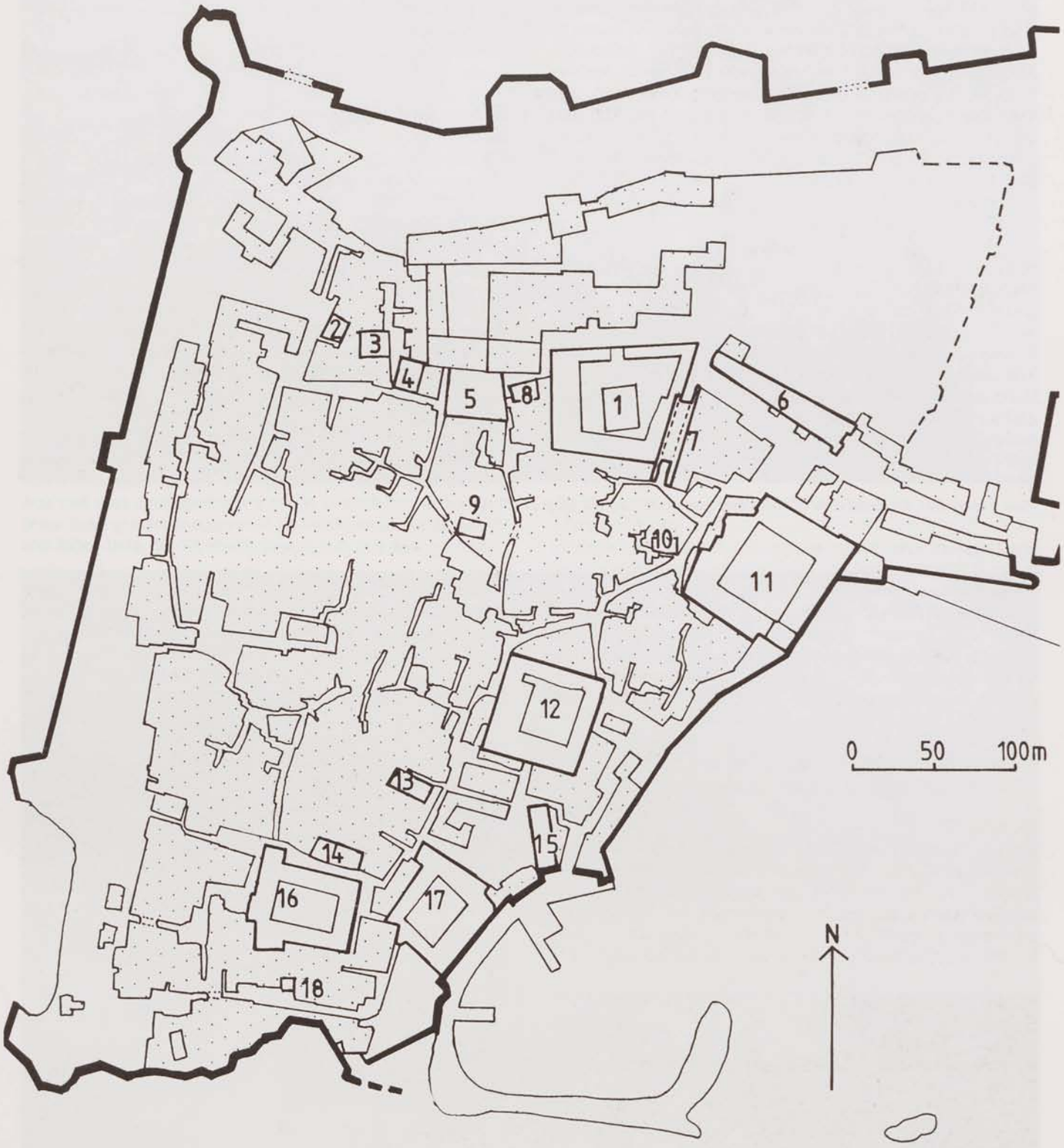


Fig. 1. Acre (No. 5). Map.

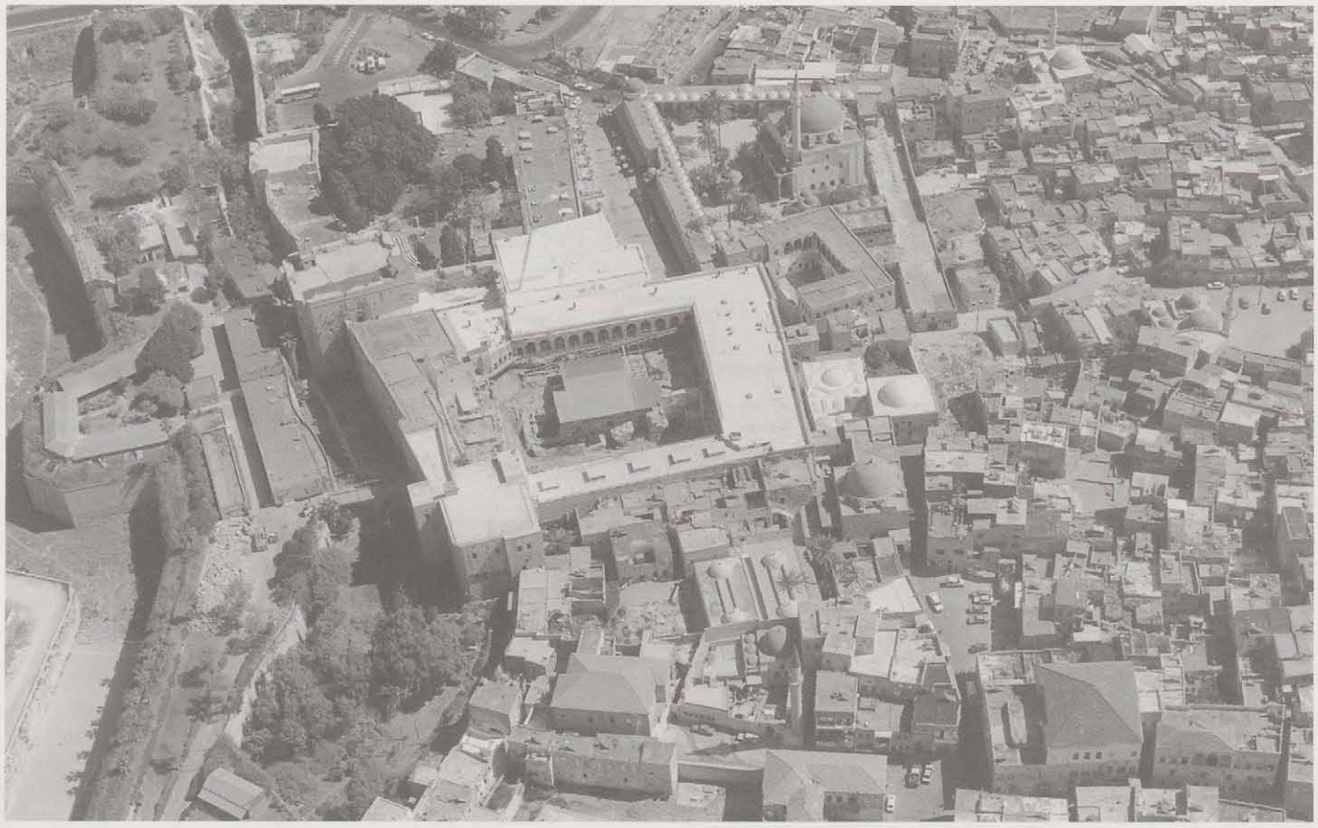


Plate 7. Acre (No. 5). Aerial view of north-west part of Old City (D. Riley 27/7).

Plate 8. Acre (No. 5). Aerial view of south-east of Old City (D. Riley 27/7).

1986). The town was systematically demolished and the harbour was filled in to deter renewed Crusader aggression.

During the next four centuries economic activity in Acre was much reduced. Some echo of its former status is found in the fact that it remained as the capital of a *wilāya* within the *mamlaka* of Ṣafad (Qalqashandī, Ahmad b. Ali, 240–241). In the 1596 *daftar* Acre again appears as the capital of a subdistrict (*nāḥiya*) in *liwā'* Safad (*HG*, 190–194). The *daftar* mentions a village (*qarya*) in this *nāḥiya* called nafs ʿAkkā containing 96 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, cotton, 'special products', 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees', water buffalo, and a market toll (*bāj bāzār*) (HG, 192). *Firmāns* of the sixteenth century do provide some evidence that Acre continued to function as a minor port for the export of wheat to Rhodes and the illicit import of muskets for sale to bedouin (Heyd 1960, 81–82, 129). Acre was also home to a *qāḍī* during this period (Heyd 1960, 111).

In the seventeenth century the potential of the port was realised by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar who established it as a centre for the export of cotton. The trade continued during the reign of his successor Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha and Acre once again became wealthy (cf. Cohen 1973, *passim*). Acre was besieged unsuccessfully by Napoleon in 1799 (cf. Alderson 1843, 35–38; Makhouly and Johns 1946, 53–55). In the early nineteenth century cotton was replaced by grain as the principal export.

Fortifications

The fortifications are the most prominent historical remains in Acre and were developed over a period of more than a thousand years (for a general discussion of the fortifications, see Makhouly and Johns 1946, 68–73, 86–89, Figs.11, 14; also Rustum 1926).

Early Islamic Period

After the conquest of Acre the Arabs continued to use the existing Byzantine fortifications. During the reign of Ibn Ṭūlūn in the ninth century, sea walls were constructed for the first time. According to the tenth-century author, Muqaddasī, Ibn Ṭūlūn decided to enclose the harbour after seeing the fortifications of the port of Tyre. For such a difficult task an experienced architect was required and, according to the account, Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote to the governor of Jerusalem asking him to send Abū Bakr (grandfather of Muqaddasī). First of all he marked the area to be enclosed by establishing a vast pontoon on the surface of the water. Secondly, elongated blocks or pillars were mortared together and then allowed to sink to the bottom. The blocks were then allowed to settle for a year after which another layer was added until the edifice rose above the water level. In return for this work Abū Bakr received 1000 dinars, a robe of honour, other gifts, and had his name inscribed on the harbour wall (Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 162–163. And see translation in Muqaddasī ed Miquel, 181–182; Le Strange 1890, 328–329. Another description of the fortifications is also provided in Nāṣir-i Khusraw ed. Schefer, 49). Recent underwater archaeological excavations have revealed the remains of the harbour walls as described by Muqaddasī. These comprise two 'immense deposits of debris', one 400m long connecting the tower of flies to the shore and another 100m long extending north from the eastern end of the breakwater. Each wall stands up to 3m above the sea level and is more than 30m wide. They are made from ashlar blocks, mortar, and fragments of columns. A trial trench cut through the wall revealed ashlar blocks bonded with mortar and fragments of Byzantine and early Islamic pottery (cf. Dothan *et al.* in *EAE*, I, 30–31). In addition to the sea walls it seems possible that some of the land walls may be attributed to the time of Ibn Ṭūlūn (cf. Druks 1984, 3–4).

Crusader Period

During the thirteenth century, as capital of a besieged and increasingly diminished territory, Acre became one of the most strongly fortified cities in the Mediterranean. It was also during this period that the city achieved its greatest ever extent prior to the twentieth century. Unfortunately the destruction of the city by the Mamluks and the extensive refortification of the city in

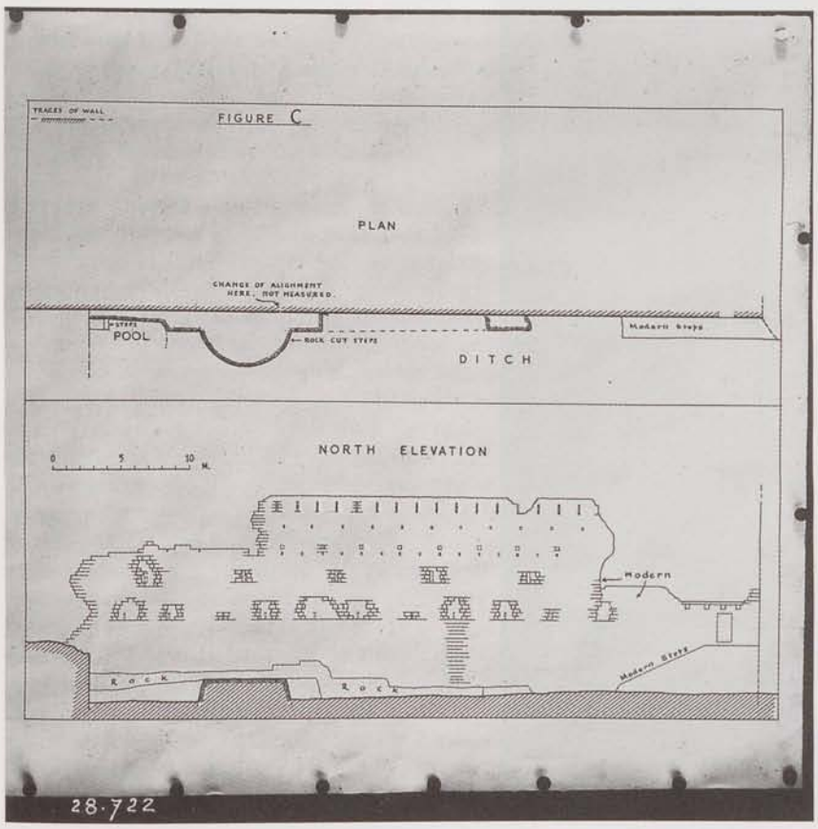


Plate 9. Acre (No. 5). Zahir al-ʿUmar. Wall south elevation (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

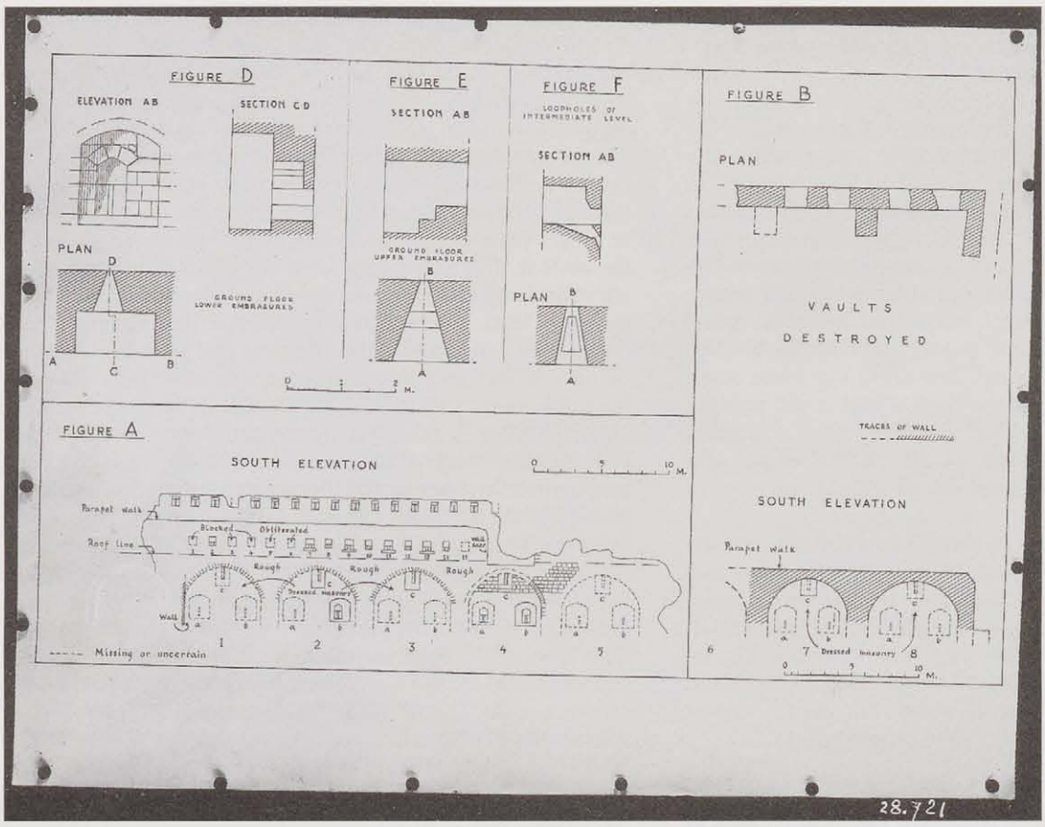


Plate 10. Acre (No. 5). Zahir al-ʿUmar. Plan and north elevation (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

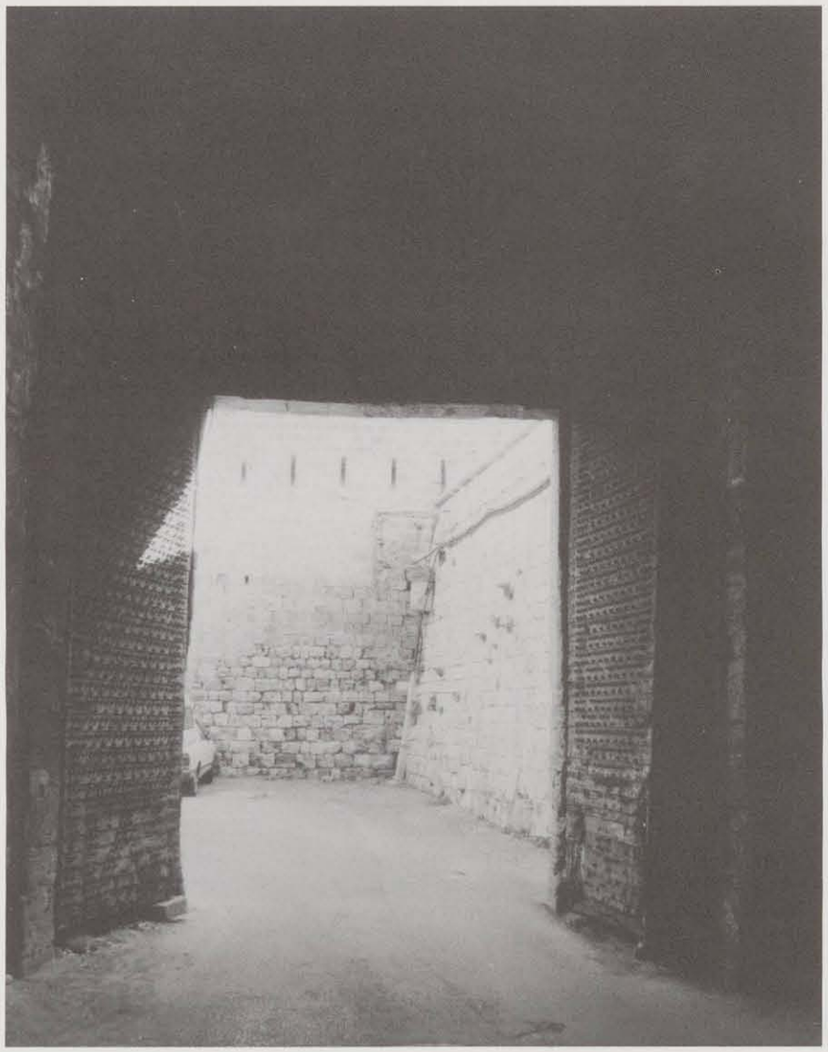


Plate 11. Acre (No. 5). Nineteenth-century gateway.

the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has meant that little remains of the original Crusader fortifications (cf. Pringle 1997, 15–17 No.5; Dothan *et al.* in *EAE*, I, 31; Kedar 1997).

Mamluk Period
Acre remained unfortified during most of the Mamluk period as a precaution against its capture and reuse by Christians. During the fourteenth century the harbour was filled in to prevent ships landing there. By the sixteenth century, however, a watchtower manned by eight guards had been built to overlook the port (Bakhit 1983, 95 n.19. And see Piri Re'is in Heyd 1956, 212 and n.53). The identity of this tower is uncertain although Pringle (pers. comm. June 2000) suggests that it could have been the rounded tower near Khan al-'Umdan rather than Burj al-Sultan as suggested by Heyd (1956, 212 n.53). A watchtower (presumably the same building) manned by 16 guards is also mentioned in a *daftar* dated 1070 H. (1660 C.E.) (Heyd 1960, 190).

Ottoman Period
In the Ottoman period a 'square tower like, small fortress eight hundred paces in circumference' was built by Qoja Lāla Muṣṭafa Pasha, a minister of Sulaymān the Magnificent. The fortress was armed with seven cannons and manned by a garrison commanded by a *duzdār*. Within the fortress there were water cisterns, a granary and a mosque named after Sulaymān. However, the town as a whole was not protected and the walls of the Crusader city lay in ruins covered with dust (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 93–94 and reproduced 1980, 41).

During the rule of Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar in the mid eighteenth century the city was once more enclosed within a wall. The wall was strengthened by projecting square towers, three on the east, four on the north, and a single tower at the north-east corner (*SWP*, I, 164; Dothan *et al.* in *EAE*, I, 31). Remains of this wall still survive, in particular the stretch of wall to the north-east of the citadel which carries an inscription to Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar (see Plates 9 and 10). Distinctive features of the wall include the small size of the blocks and the design of the embrasures which are narrow slits set within arched casemates. Both features are consistent with other fortifications attributed to Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar such as the walls of Tiberias, Qalᶜat Jiddīn, and the fortress of Dayr Ḥannā. Other defensive works attributed to Zāhir al-ᶜUmar are the repairs to the Tower of the Flies and fragments of the wall on the breakwater.

Although impressive at the time, the walls of Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar were relatively feeble constructions only capable of repelling marauding bedouin or pirates and not strong enough to withstand prolonged sieges by professional European or Ottoman armies. In response to Napoleon's increasing expansion in the area, the British gave assistance to the Ottomans in preparing fortifications both in Jaffa and Acre (cf. Alderson 1843, 27 *et passim*). The new fortifications were of advanced design to maximise the effect of defensive artillery and minimise the effect of enemy artillery. The essentials of fortifications designed for use with cannon have been summarised by Redman (1986, 142–144). A basic feature is that the walls need to be relatively low because cannon are at their most efficient when fired from near ground level (i.e. a low trajectory). Low walls also provide less of a target for offensive artillery. The walls also need to be thick both to absorb the impact of the cannon and to provide a safe and effective gun platform. In order to compensate for the lack of elevation a deep moat or trench increased the relative height and discouraged attempts to undermine the fortifications. Another feature essential to artillery fortifications is the use of bastions to increase the field of fire for the defenders.

The new wall was a massive construction built on the principles outlined above. Conder and Kitchener give the following description of the walls based on the survey carried out by Lieutenant Symonds of the Royal Engineers in 1840:

> The fortress is an irregular pentagon with two land fronts. The scarp on the sea sides is twenty seven to thirty feet in height, with guns in embrasures. At the north-west angle is the Burj el-Kerīm (Great Tower); in the middle of the west face the Burj el Hadīd (Iron Tower): on the south-west angle is the Burj es Sanjak (Flag Tower). The bastion south of this is semi-circular, with guns en barbette (SWP, I, 164–165).

The line of the new wall was 30m outside the old walls, which were partially dismantled for the purpose. The walls were immensely thick with stone revetments and an earth and rubble core. A large flat-bottomed moat or ditch ran outside the wall. Outside the moat there was an earth rampart equipped with firing platforms and bastions. There were two gateways, a land gate (Kepi Burj) next to the sea on the south-east side and a sea gate at the south-eastern tip of the city near Khān al-ᶜUmdān (see Alderson 1843, map following p.38). In 1839 Ibrāhīm Pasha was in the process of adding a third line of defence outside the earth ramparts (using stone taken from the Crusader castle of ᶜAthlīth) when the city was besieged by the Ottoman Turks and the British (cf. Rustum 1926; Makhouly and Johns 1946, 62). The explosion of the arsenal which ended the siege also brought an end to the development of the city's fortifications although the east wall was rebuilt after this.

Mosques and Religious Buldings
There are seven mosques in Acre, all built in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries (though the Sinān Pasha mosque was established in the sixteenth century). There are also a number of other Muslim religious buildings including three shaykhs' tombs and a Sufi mashhad. The presence of Baha'is in the nineteenth century added a further dimension to the religious life of the city (these latter buildings are not discussed in this work).

Jazzār Pasha Mosque
Visited 2.95
Location 1569.2587
The mosque of Aḥmad al-Jazzār Pasha is located next to the citadel in the centre of the old city (Fig. 1 No. 1 and Figs 2 and 3; Plates 12–14). This is the most impressive monument of his rule in Acre.

The mosque was erected on the orders of Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha in 1196 H. (1781–1782 C.E.). A document dated to 1219 H. (1804 C.E.) lists the endowments of the mosque, library and tomb (turba) which includes income from shops, warehouses, baths, flour mills, coffee houses, and bakeries. The money from these sources was used to provide salaries and expenses for the mosque personnel (*imām*, *khāṭib* and Qur'ān readers), the librarian, the *waqf* administrator, students and the Pasha's 17 concubines. In addition the endowments were to pay for general maintenance and repairs for the mosque (Ma'oz 1970). The building was seen by numerous western visitors to Palestine including Miss M.E. Rogers who wrote the following description:

> The great mosque of Jezzar Pasha, which has been restored again and again (the present buttressed dome having been erected since 1863), occupies the site of a cathedral. It is formed chiefly of ancient materials, the columns of various coloured marbles and granite having been brought from Caesarea and Tyre. It is an elaborate but not a beautiful structure. It stands, however, in the centre of a magnificent

> quadrangular court, planted with cypress and palm trees and flowering shrubs, which shelter some tombs of white marble. This court is surrounded by cloisters supported by ancient columns, and divided into apartments for the accommodation of the mosque attendants and pilgrims (in Wilson 1884, III, 87).

The mosque is built on a raised platform or terrace beneath which are large barrel-vaulted cisterns built during the Crusader period. The platform forms an irregular-shaped quadrangle, only one side (the north) of which is aligned to the qibla. The terrace is enclosed by arcades on all sides except for the south which is a blank wall formed by the north wall of the cotton bazaar (known as Sūq al-ʿAṭm). There are three entrances to the mosque complex (east, north, and south) each of which is approached by a flight of stairs. The principal entrance is on the north side and is flanked by a number of shop units on either side and on the right (west) side by a sabil. Both the entrance and the sabil are approached by concentric stairs. The sabil is an octagonal kiosk with sides made out of marble panels and iron grilles between marble columns. The structure is covered with a domed roof and has a wide projecting canopy or eaves.

The arcades which surround the mosque on three sides are of the same design, consisting of slender marble columns supporting small domed bays (15 on the west, 20 on the north, and 17 on the east). Behind each arcade is a range of rooms, each of which has a door and window facing the courtyard and a window facing outside. At the north-east corner is a square room covered with a large dome which functions as the

Plate 13. Acre (No. 5). Jazzār Pasha Mosque, from courtyard.

Plate 12. Acre (No. 5). Jazzār Pasha Mosque. Sabil.

Plate 14. Acre (No. 5). Jazzār Pasha Mosque. Interior of waqf administrator's office (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

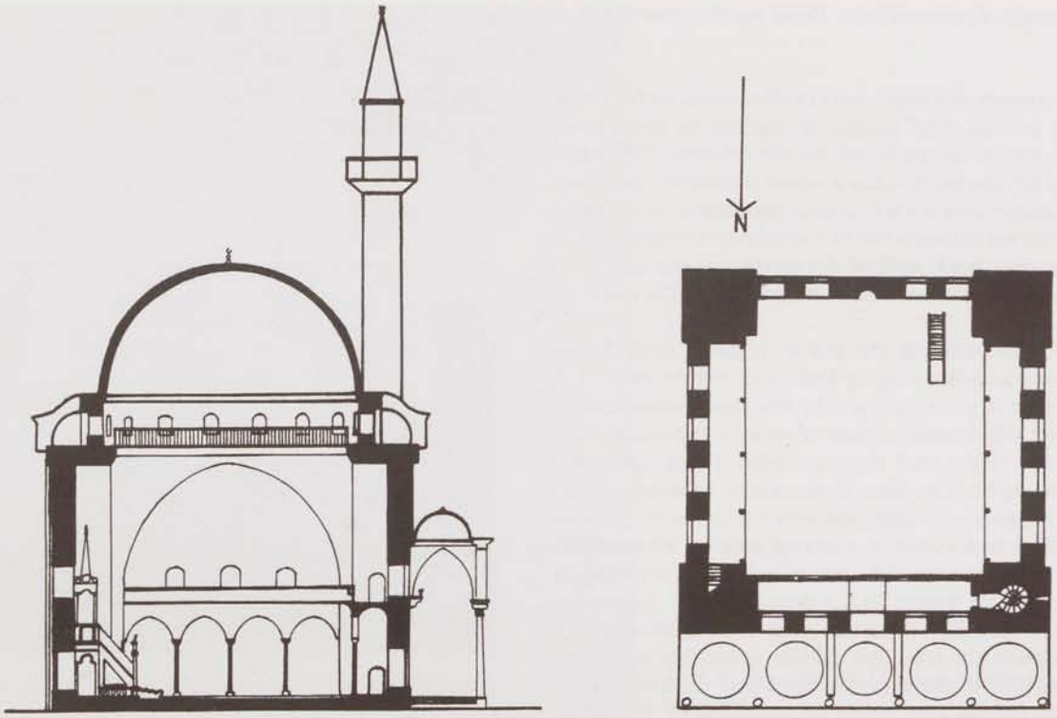


Fig. 2. Acre (No. 5). Jazzār Pasha Mosque. Plan and section.

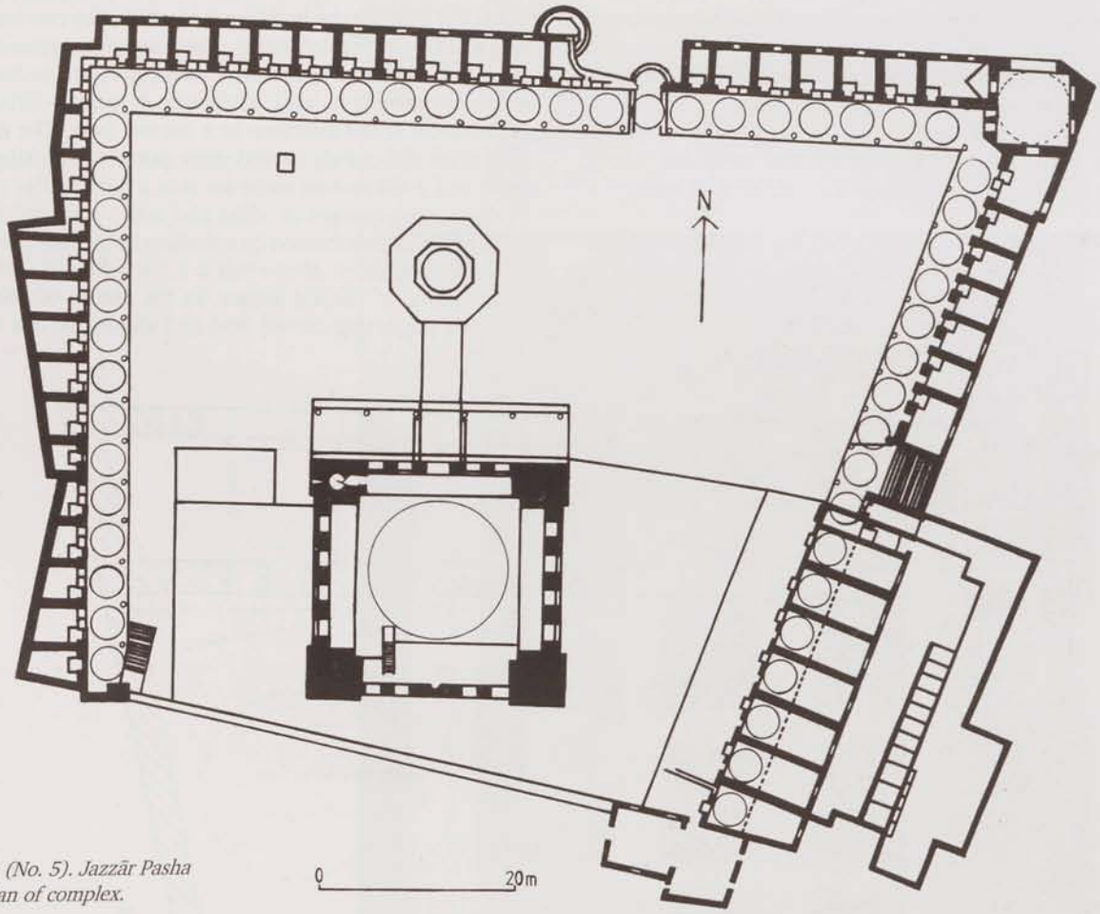


Fig. 3. Acre (No. 5). Jazzār Pasha Mosque. Plan of complex.

office of the imam. Toilet areas (separate for men and women) are outside the main complex at the north-west corner. The mosque itself stands roughly in the middle of the courtyard. The courtyard is paved with alternating bands of polished and rough stone slabs producing a light and dark (ablaq) effect. Immediately in front of the mosque is an octagonal domed pavilion which provides water for ablutions. The kiosk has a similar design to that of the sabil outside with a domed roof and wide projecting eaves. To the west of the mosque is the mausoleum (turba) of Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha. This consists of a rectangular room covered with two domes. Inside are the tombs of Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha and one of his wives marked by white

marble cenotaphs decorated with floral motifs carved in low relief.

The mosque consists of a large prayer hall covered with a single dome and a portico. The portico is covered by five domes supported on arches carried by tall marble columns. Either side of the central bay the portico has a raised floor level which can be used as a prayer area for latecomers (*son cemat yeri*). There is also a mihrab set between the two windows on either side of the doorway. The back wall of the portico is covered with elaborate marble inlaid decoration based on a circle motif.

The interior of the mosque consists of a square central area with four giant arches springing from four corner piers. The dome rests on a drum supported by the four arches and by strange devices which are a mixture of squinch and pendentive. On the exterior of the roof there are eight flying buttresses supporting the dome. The drum is pierced by 16 windows. On the north, east, and west sides are arcades supporting raised galleries which can be used as a prayer area by women. The mihrab is set in the centre of the south wall and is enclosed by a rectangular marble frame. To the right (west) of the mihrab is a tall marble minbar with a doorway at the bottom and a covered canopy at the top. The interior is lavishly decorated with inlaid marble in the lower sections and painted designs for the domes and the area above the springing of the arches. The interior of the mosque is extraordinarily light due to the large number of windows, 16 in the dome and 28 in the sides. Near the apex of each arch there is a circular stained glass window made of intersecting circles of blue, yellow, and green glass.

A tall cylindrical minaret is located at the north-west corner of the mosque. The base of the minaret rests directly on one of the massive piers which supports the dome. There is a balcony near the top which rests on a circular collar moulding. Above the balcony the minaret terminates in a tall conical spire.

This is the best example of a mosque in the classical Ottoman style in Palestine. Other examples include the mosque at Ṭarshīha and the Sea Mosque in Acre, both of which were probably influenced by the Jazzār Pasha mosque.

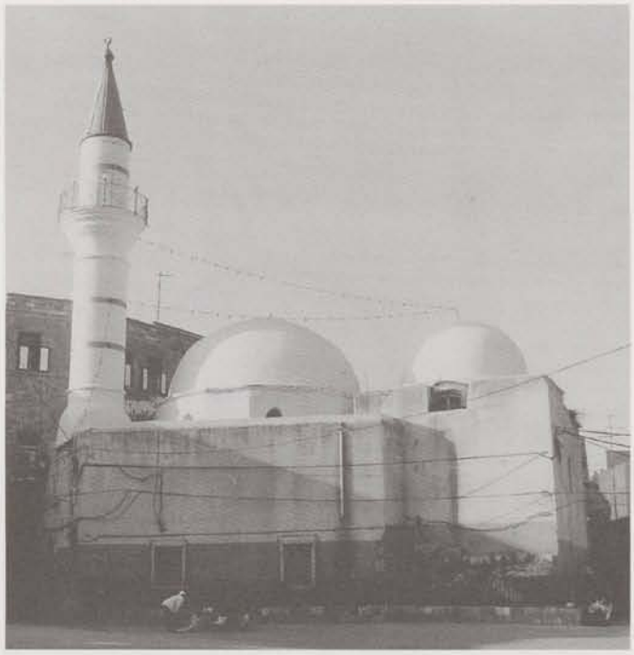


Plate 15. Acre (No. 5). Masjid al-Zaytūniyya. View from south.

Masjid Zaytūniyya

This mosque is located in the middle of the old city of Acre (Fig. 1 No. 9 and Fig. 4; Plates 15–18) (Yitzhaki 1983, 115). From the exterior the building is identified by two large domes and a tall cylindrical minaret. There are two entrances, one on the south side and one on the east (although today only the south entrance is in use). The south is located directly below the minaret at the entrance to a narrow lane. The doorway is part of an elaborately carved stone portal comprising the door itself and a tall arched niche set into a rectangular panel built in alternating courses of white and ochre coloured stone. The head of the door is formed by a shallow arch made out of curved radiating voussoirs. Above this is a flat relieving arch made of interlocking 'V' shaped stones. In the centre of the relieving arch is a projecting carved boss and above this is a decorative

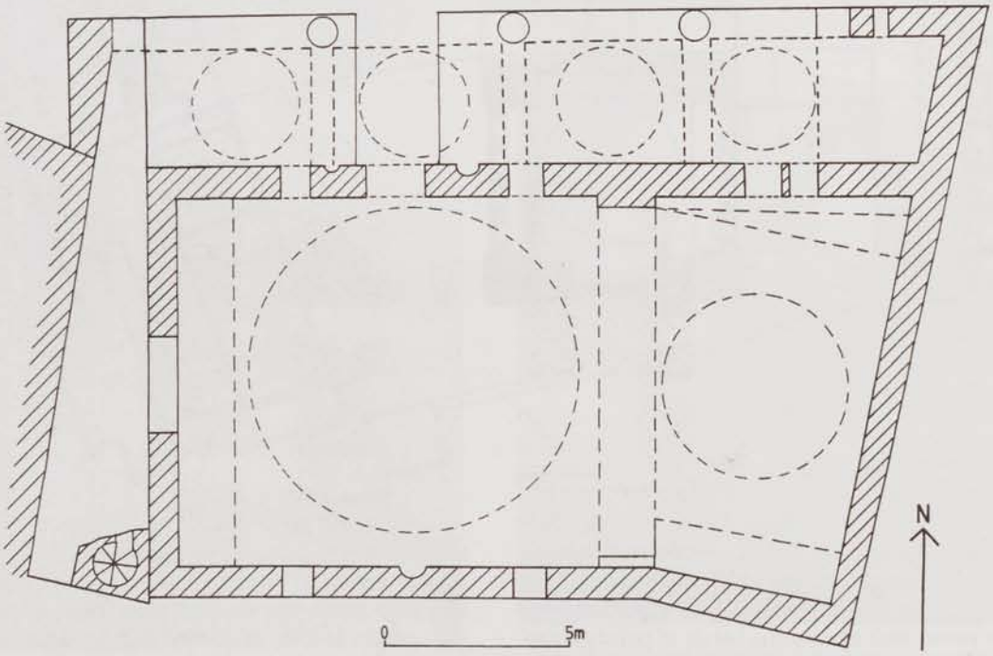


Fig. 4. Acre (No. 5). Masjid al-Zaytūniyya.

Plate 16. Acre (No. 5). Masjid al-Zaytūniyya. Detail of muqarnas.

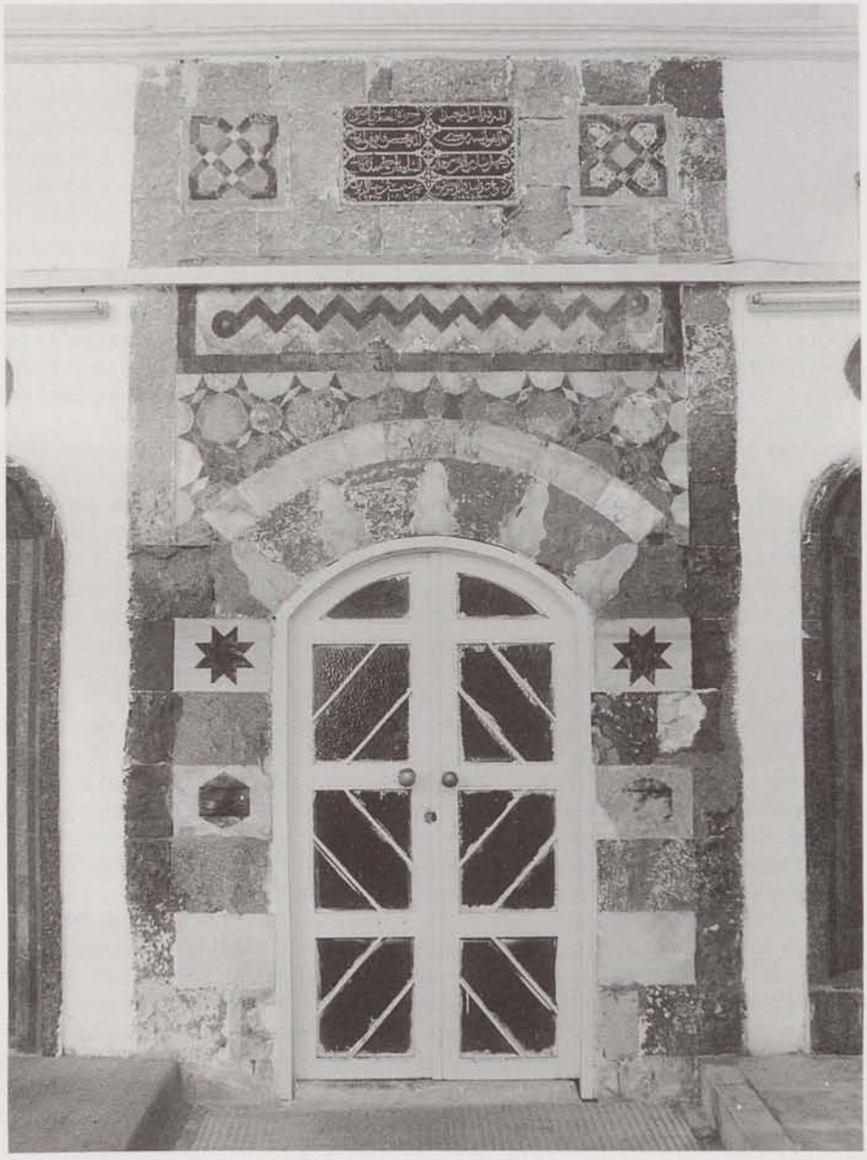


Plate 17. Acre (No. 5). Masjid al-Zaytūniyya. Entrance to prayer hall.

Plate 18. Acre (No. 5). Masjid al-Zaytūniyya. Paving in courtyard.

panel which may once have contained an inscription (the centre of this panel now contains an electric light fitting). These features are all set within a tall arched niche where the springing points of the arch are defined by a band of *muqarnas* corbelling. At the top of the rectangular panel there is a *cyma reversa* cornice decorated in the form of a flattened *muqarnas* band.

The eastern doorway is located within a narrow lane running north to south. As with the south door, the head of the doorway is a shallow arch composed of elaborately joggled voussoirs. One course above the door arch there is a rectangular panel containing an inscription dated to 1168 H. (1754–1755 C.E.) recording the construction of the mosque by Muhammad Shaykh Nur al-Sadiqi. The doorway is set within a wide arched niche where the springing of the trefoil arch is marked by a three-tier band of *muqarnas*. Inside is a small cross-vaulted porch leading into the north-east corner of the courtyard.

The south door opens into a vaulted passage leading to the courtyard in front of the mosque. Immediately to the right (east) is a doorway opening onto a staircase to the minaret whilst further on are two windows looking out from the prayer hall. The passage gradually narrows towards the north end before opening into the courtyard. This is a large (15m x 20m) rectangular area with the mosque on the south side and houses on the other three sides. The house on the east side is used by the guardians of the mosque, whilst in front of the house on the north side, is the tomb of Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Ḥādī dated to 1253 H (1836–1837 C.E.). Muhammad Husayn 'Abd ʿAbd al-Ḥādi was governor of Acre under Ibrahim Pasha (PAM anon. 1.4.46; Doumani 1995, 46). The centre of the courtyard is occupied by a sabil (the present structure is modern although it presumably replaced an earlier structure of similar design) and a tree. Also there are fragments of the original paving of the courtyard made of red and white marble.

The portico of the mosque is an arcade of four domed bays supported on tall carved columns (reused Crusader?). The central column comprises four small engaged columns around a central shaft. The east and west columns have a similar design although here the engaged columns are not straight but angled to form a zigzag pattern on each column. The floor of the portico is raised approximately 0.3m above the level of the courtyard and paved with rectangular stone blocks. The entrance to the mosque is in the second bay from the west (i.e. near the south entrance) at which point the floor of the portico is lowered to allow access. The door to the prayer hall is highly decorated with inlaid white and red marble set in ochre-coloured limestone. The decoration comprises joggled voussoirs, geometric forms, and a four-line *naskhi* inscription above the door. Either side of the door is a shallow mihrab, whilst the floor immediately in front is decorated with geometric marble inlay.

The interior of the mosque comprises two large domed areas connected by a huge open arch. The principal area is the west side and this is covered by a dome (diameter approximately 10m) resting on an octagonal drum pierced by 12 windows. The mihrab is in the centre of the south side and flanked by two large windows at ground level. At the west end there is a small gallery (built over the entrance passage) which overlooks the prayer hall. The east section is smaller (approximately half the width of the main chamber) and slightly irregular in

shape, measuring 5m wide at the south end and 7m at the north end.

Masjid al-Raml
This mosque is located in the principal sūq (market) to the south-east of the Jazzār Pasha mosque (Fig. 1 No. 10, Figs 5 and 6). According to an inscription over the entrance from the sūq, it was built in 1112 H. or 1114 H. (i.e. 1700–1702 C.E.) (cf. Dichter 1973, 2).

From the exterior the mosque is distinguished by a cylindrical minaret and two whitewashed domes. The entrance is located in a side street and comprises a large recessed portal approached by a short flight of steps. The gateway leads into a short vaulted passage which opens into the south-east corner of the courtyard. A small niche set into the north wall of the entrance passage probably once functioned as a sabil.

The courtyard of the mosque has an irregular trapezoidal shape with the mosque and portico on the south side and several vaulted rooms on the west side. The purpose of the buildings on the west side of the courtyard is not known, although the fact that one of the rooms is covered with a dome suggests that they possessed some religious significance. The north side of the courtyard is defined by the boundary wall. In the north-west corner there is a vaulted ablutions area and a staircase leading to the roof. The west side of the courtyard is quite short and, besides the entrance, contains a modern building of unknown function.

The portico of the mosque is divided into three bays supported by four granite columns. The central bay is covered with a dome whilst the other two bays are roofed with simple cross-vaults. The main entrance to the mosque is in the central bay and immediately above the entrance is a small rectangular panel

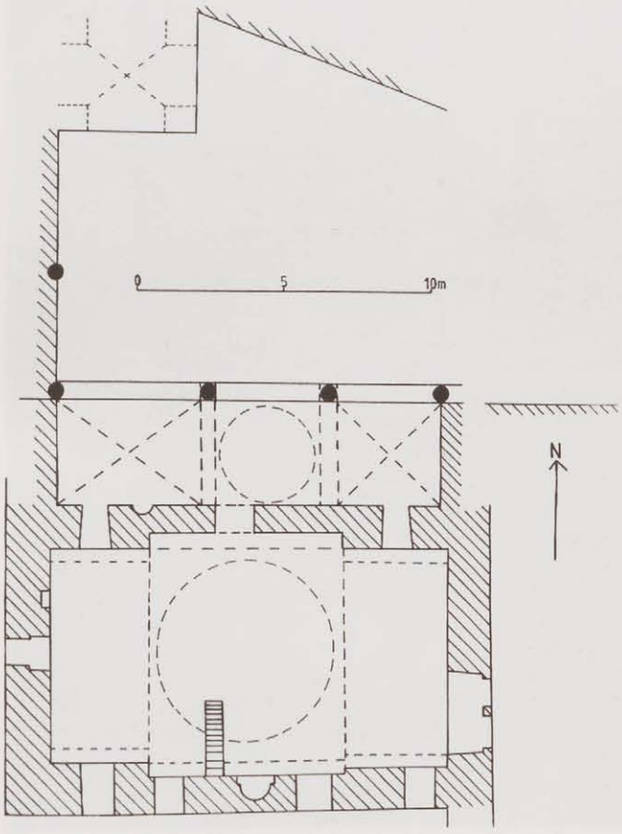


Fig. 5. Acre (No. 5). Masjid al-Raml.

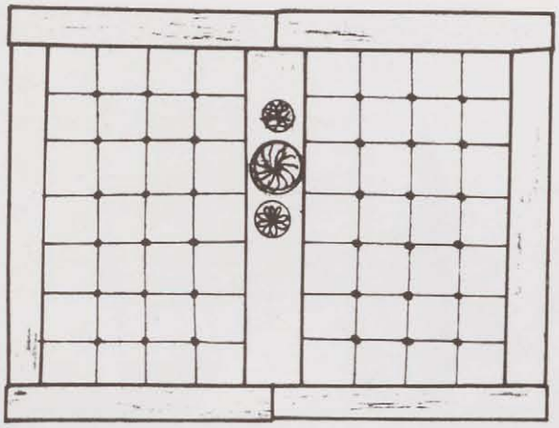


Fig. 6. Acre (No. 5). Masjid al-Raml. Window with Crusader inscription.

containing a foundation inscription. In the south wall of the west bay there is a concave mihrab and a window opening from the interior of the prayer hall. In the east bay is another doorway opening to the prayer hall although this does not appear to be in use and may well be secondary. A flying buttress supports the most easterly column.

The interior of the prayer hall is a rectangular area covered by a large central dome and two wide side arches. There is a mihrab in the centre of the south wall flanked by two large windows and a tall stone mihrab. There are two further windows in the south wall (one in each side arch) whilst the east and west walls each have a single window. The west window is small and located in the centre of the wall about 2m above ground level. The east window is larger and located within a deep recess in the north-east corner. The mullion of this window is made of a reused piece of marble (Fig. 5) carrying a medieval Latin inscription referring to a church constructed by Ebulus Fazla, suggesting that the mosque may have been built on the site of an earlier church (Enlart 1925, II, 30–33).

The dome does not rest on a drum but rises directly from spherical pendentives. The springing of the side arches is marked by two tiers of *muqarnas* corbels.

Sinān Pasha Mosque
This building is located on the waterfront in the harbour near the Khān al-ʿUmdān (Fig. 1 No. 15 and Fig. 7; Plates 19–20). Although the present mosque dates from the early eighteenth century it is built on the remains of an earlier mosque founded in 1586 by the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Sinān Pasha (cf. Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 93–94, repr. 1980, 41). This was the first mosque in Acre built after the expulsion of the Crusaders and it formed the centre of a complex including a khān and a madrasa (Bakhit 1983, 118). After the Jazzār Pasha mosque this is the best known mosque in Acre because of its location which is clearly defined (unlike the other mosques which are embedded in the urban fabric).

This building occupies a rectangular area (approximately 12m x 30m) of which the prayer hall occupies one-third and the courtyard two-thirds. Externally the prayer hall is defined by a large dome with square buttresses at each of the four corners. The north-west buttress is the base of the cylindrical minaret. The main entrance is on the west side next to a now disused sabil built into the wall of the mosque. There is another entrance on the east side which opens directly into the mosque portico.

At the north end of the courtyard are the ablutions area and latrines. The west side of the courtyard is an enclosure wall

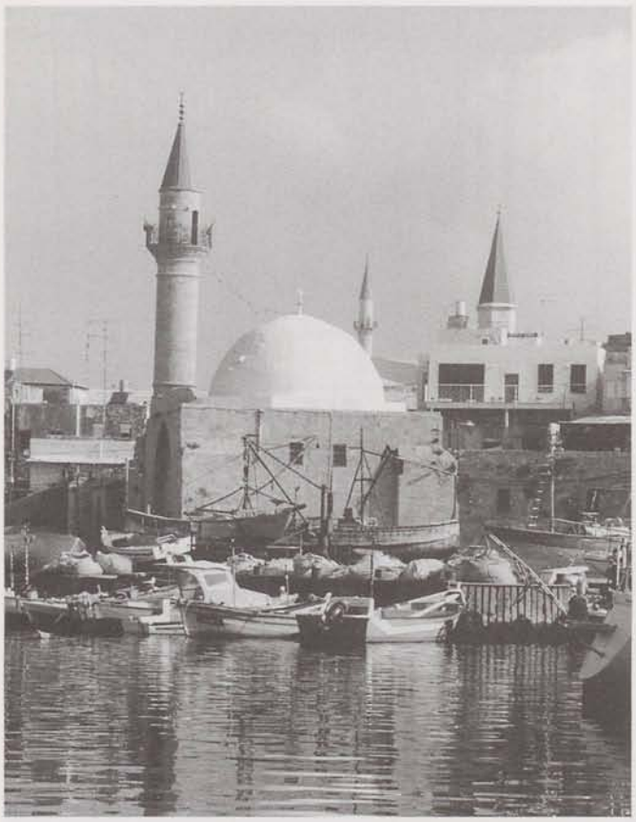


Plate 19. Acre (No. 5). Sinān Pasha Mosque, from south.

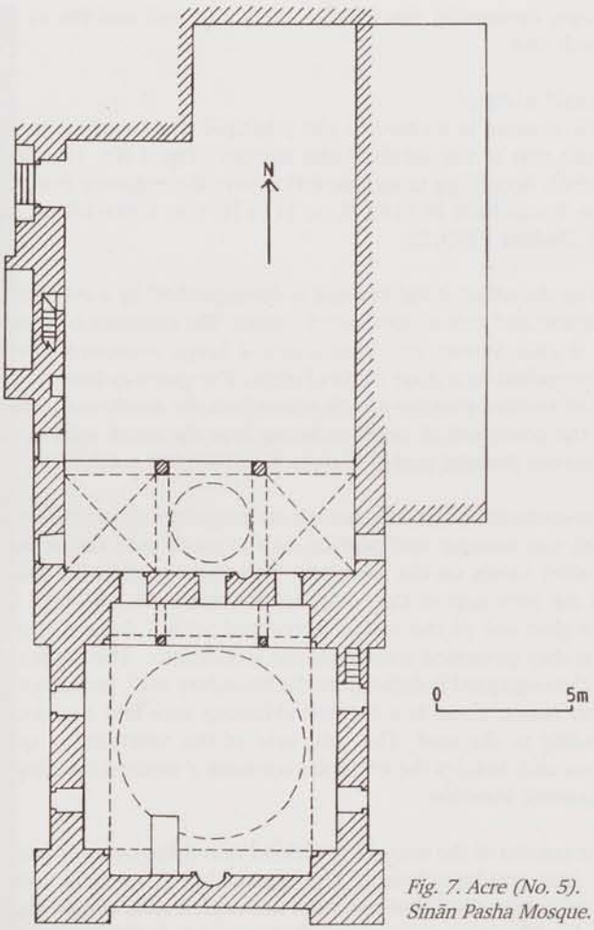


Fig. 7. Acre (No. 5). Sinān Pasha Mosque.

Plate 20. Acre (No. 5). Sinān Pasha Mosque. Interior.

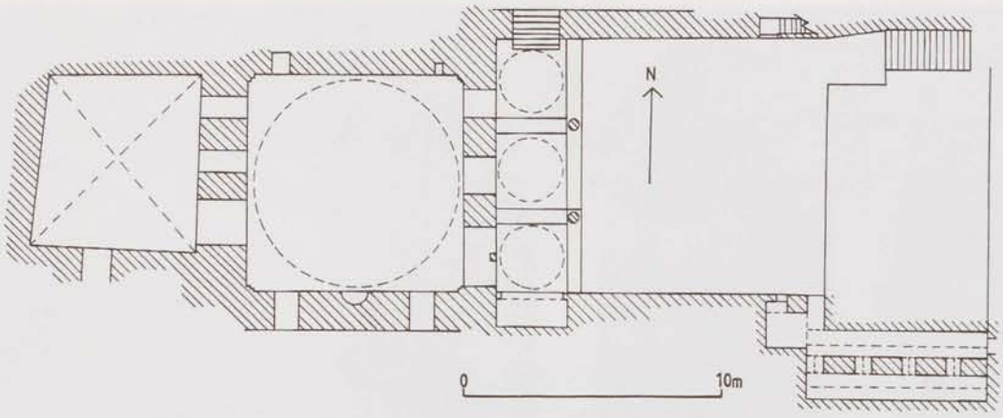


Fig. 8. Acre (No. 5). Jāmiʿ Malāḥa. Plan.

containing two windows and a doorway. The door provides access to a flight of stairs set into the thickness of the wall which leads to the roof and the minaret. The east side of the courtyard has two doorways at the south end, one opening into two vaulted rooms and the other leading to the exterior. At the south end of the courtyard is the mosque portico which consists of three bays, a central domed bay, and two cross-vaulted side bays. Each of the side bays has a window looking into the prayer hall, whilst the central bay contains the main door. The floor in front of the doorway is decorated with a geometric marble inlay based on an octagon. Immediately above the doorway is a square panel carrying a foundation inscription dated to 1185 H. (1806–1807 C.E.). There are corbels either side of the inscription and a rectangular window above, suggesting that there was originally a small balcony here (possibly for relaying sermons to the exterior). The prayer hall is a square area covered with a large dome resting on spherical pendentives. In the centre of the south wall is the mihrab. This is a rectangular marble panel containing a shallow faceted niche. Immediately to the right (west) of the mihrab is a modern stone minbar which may incorporate parts of an earlier structure. At the rear of the mosque above the entrance there is a wooden gallery supported on slender wooden pillars. Access to the gallery is via a staircase entered from a niche at the north end of the west wall.

Plate 21. Acre (No. 5). Jāmiʿ Malāḥa (Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's Mosque). Entrance from sūq.

Jāmiʿ Malāḥa (sp.) (Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's Mosque)
This mosque is located in the south-west part of the Old City near the main sūq (Fig. 1 No. 13, Fig. 8; Plates 21–24). According to an inscription above the entrance it was built in 1748 C.E. (cf. Dichter 1973, 6).

The entrance to the mosque is set into the base of the now destroyed minaret. The entrance is at the back of a deeply recessed arch and is approached by a set of steps. The courtyard of the mosque is raised approximately 2m above street level. This area is reached by a flight of stairs immediately inside the entrance. The courtyard is a square with the mosque at the west end and the ablutions area and offices at the east end (the entrance is in the north-east corner). The offices were not examined in detail although they appeared to consist of two vaulted rooms. The ablutions area in the south-west corner preserves the original arrangement of the latrines, being two narrow parallel corridors with connecting doors. One corridor provides access and the other corridor is divided into cubicles. At the west end of the north wall of the courtyard is a doorway to a staircase to the minaret. At the east end is a staircase leading up to a paved area which now functions as a school playground. The south wall of the courtyard is a featureless wall overlooked by a residential block.

At the west end of the courtyard is a triple-domed portico supported on two tall pillars, one of which has a *muqarnas* capital. At the back of the portico is the east wall of the prayer hall. The wall is built in alternating courses of white and ochre stone (ablaq) divided into three rectangular panels. The division between each panel is defined by a border of white rectangular stone tiles carved with various repeated geometric motifs (such as zigzags and stars). The entrance to the prayer hall has a marble lintel covered with a shallow relieving arch, made of four interlocking joggled voussoirs.

The interior of the prayer hall is a large square area covered with a dome resting on spherical pendentives. These are

Plate 22. Acre (No. 5). Jāmiʿ Malāḥa (Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's Mosque). View of portico.

Plate 23. Acre (No. 5). Jāmiʿ Malāḥa (Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's Mosque). Muqarnas *captial.*

supported by giant arches which spring from corbels 1m above the floor level. Near the apex of each arch is a round window or ventilation hole.

The east wall is pierced by the door and two large windows set in tall arched niches. The south wall contains the mihrab set between two large windows. The mihrab is framed by a rectangular panel with a border of carved stone tiles similar to those used on the exterior of the prayer hall. The mihrab itself is deeply recessed and divided into marble panels. The north wall of the prayer hall has a door at the east end and a large niche at the west end. At a height of approximately 3m above floor level is a row of four small niches of unknown function (for holding lamps?). The west wall is pierced by three doors leading into a second prayer hall. Two of these are original whilst the third appears to be a modern replacement. One of the older doorways has an arch made of marble cushion vousoirs which is probably a reused Crusader element. The second room is slightly smaller than the main room (6.6m x 5.87m) and is roofed by a large cross-vault. The room has no windows or openings except a doorway leading to a storeroom to the south (this room was not examined).

Jāmiʿ al-Majdala

This building is located to the south of the citadel (Fig. 1 No. 2). It has a tall cylindrical minaret which is built on the remains of an earlier Crusader structure. The mosque has a triple-domed portico and a prayer hall covered by a large central dome. According to Yitzhaki (1983, 116), it was built in 1810 C.E.

Plate 24. Acre (No. 5). Jāmiʿ Malāḥa (Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's Mosque). Prayer hall.

Ghazzālīn (sp.) Mosque

This building is located to the south of the citadel (Fig. 1 No. 4) and is probably of similar date (i.e. nineteenth century) to the sufi mashhad with which it is associated (see below, and also Dichter 1973, 26).

From the outside this mosque appears as a tall domed cube. Unusually, it does not have a minaret. The dome rests on a circular drum supported by flying buttresses similar to those on the Jazzār Pasha mosque. Entrance to the mosque is via a ramp which leads up into an irregular-shaped courtyard. At the west end of the courtyard is the mashhad of the sufi shaykhs whilst at the east end is the entrance to the mosque.

The interior of the mosque is very simple, consisting of a square area with massive arches on square piers. Immediately above the entrances there is a wooden gallery supported on two thin wooden columns. The prayer hall is lit with windows on the

Plate 25. Acre (No. 5). Zāwiya al-Shādhiliyya (Sufi Mashhad). Mausoleum.

south, west, and north sides, and by windows in the drum. Probably the most unusual aspect of the mosque is the absence of a mihrab or any indication of the direction of the qibla. It is also noticeable that there is no epigraphic decoration within the prayer hall.

Sufi Mashhad (Zāwiya al-Shādhiliyya)
This building is located to the west of the Ghazzālīn mosque (Fig. 1 No. 3; Plate 25) (cf. Dichter 1973, 26).

The mashhad is a rectangular building with a raised central aisle and windows all along the east and west sides. In each of the four corners of the building is an octagonal mausoleum for one of the sufi shaykhs of Acre. Each mausoleum carries an inscription and date, the earliest for Shaykh Ibrāhīm dated to 1241 H. (1825–1826 C.E.), followed by ʿAlī dated to 1311 H. (1893–1894 C.E.), and Muḥammad dated to 1401 H. (1980–1981 C.E.). The north-west mausoleum is not yet complete and is simply marked out as an octagonal concrete enclosure (presumably awaiting the death of the present shaykh). The three complete mausolea each have the same design with an exterior decorated with inlaid marble panels and windows in each side decorated with coloured glass. In the centre of each mausoleum is the cenotaph covered with green silk embroidered cloths. The roofs are domed, resting on octagonal drums pierced with small windows.

These tombs have some similarities with the Baha'i shrines in the vicinity of Acre, although the particular form of the mausolea is similar to the ornate sabil outside the Jazzār Pasha mosque.

Madrasa of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar
This structure is located immediately to the west of the Jazzār Pasha mosque and near the south-east corner of the citadel (Fig. 1 No. 8).

Nothing survives of this building except for a doorway facing the street. The doorway consists of a rectangular panel (5m high by 2.5m wide) built in alternating courses of white and ochre coloured stone. The door itself, located at the bottom of the panel in the centre, is reached by a set of five steps projecting onto the street. The door arch is made of interlocking voussoirs and either side of the door are small stone seats. The door is set within a recessed rectangular frame with a border of white stone tiles carved in a repeated geometric motif (cf. Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar mosque). Above this panel is a tall pointed arch carved in the form of cushion voussoirs. In the tympanum of the arch are two rows of flattened *muqarnas* decoration and a rectangular panel bearing an inscription dated to 1270 H. (1853–1854 C.E.). In the spandrels of the arch there are circular windows. Both the arch and the outer edge of the doorway are marked by a continuous border of carved stone tiles. The doorway has wrongly been ascribed to the Fatimid period through its association with the underground vaults known as al-Bosta (sp.) (cf. Dothan *et al.* in *EAE*, I, 26).

Maqām Nabī Risāla
This building is located in a cemetery set within one of the outer ramparts on the east side of Acre (Plate 26).

The maqām is a rectangular domed structure measuring 7.5m by 9.5m. The main entrance and a smaller side entrance are on the west side whilst on the north and south side there are two small windows. The main entrance is a rectangular doorway set within a recessed trefoil archway. Either side of the doorway is a small stone bench or pediment and the area immediately in front of the doorway is paved with marble slabs. The side

Plate 26. Acre (No. 5). Maqām Nabī Risāla. Exterior.

entrance is a tall pointed arch blocked with a wooden board. It is not known whether this connects with the rest of the interior or leads to a separate chamber. On the north side of the maqām is a small enclosure containing a grave dated to 1281 H. (1864–1865 C.E.). The tombstones are tall marble plaques carved with floral ornaments with *naskhi* inscriptions.

Approximately 10m north of Maqām Nabī Risāla is a vaulted tomb. This is a simple square building, of similar dimensions to Nabī Risāla, containing two large marble cenotaphs, each with a tall headstone. The entrance is on the east side through a rectangular doorway although originally the whole east side would have been open. The style of carving and decoration on the tombs is similar to that on the tomb on the north side of Nabī Risāla and suggests that this building is of a similar date. The fact that Nabī Risāla and the entire graveyard is located on top of one of the eighteenth-century ramparts means that the building cannot predate this period. Therefore Nabī Risāla should be dated somewhere between 1790 and 1865 C.E.

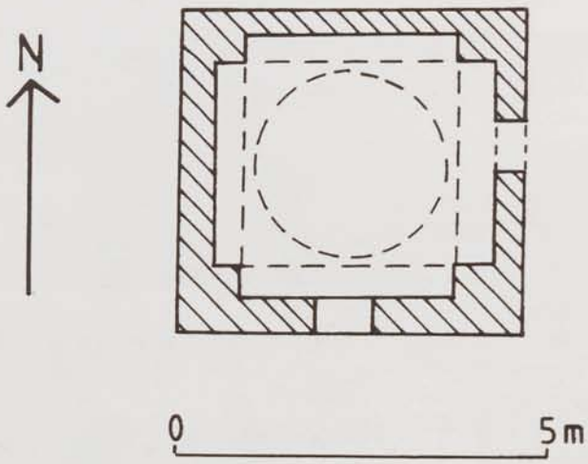


Fig. 9. Acre (No. 5). Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn.

Maqām Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn
This maqām is located on the beach approximately 1.5km north of the old city of Acre (Fig. 9; Plate 27).

This is a square (4.5m per side) domed building standing in an area of open scrub. The entrance to the tomb (locked at time of visit) is on the south side and is protected with an iron door.

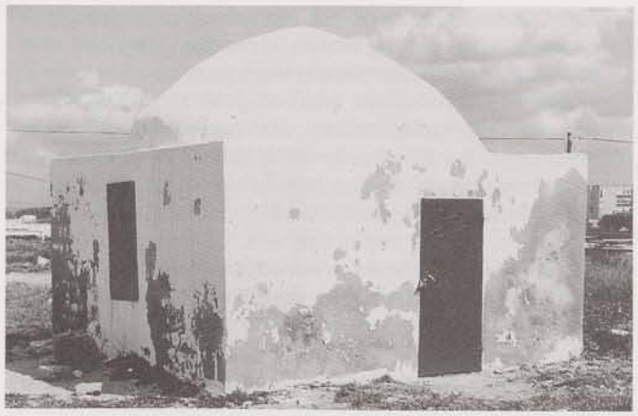


Plate 27. Acre (No. 5). Maqām Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn, from west.

There is a window on the west side from which it is possible to see that the floor level inside is considerably (0.5m) lower than the outside ground level. The tomb of Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn is aligned east–west towards the rear of the chamber.

Maqām Shaykh Ghānim

This maqām (shaykh's tomb) is located in the area now known as the Pisan Harbour 100m west of the Youth Hostel (Fig 1 No. 18 and Fig. 10; Plates 28–29). According to Ibrāhīm al-ʿAwra (1936), author of *Ta'rikh Sulaymān Pasha* (cited in Dichter 1973, 17), the shrine was built between 1807 and 1808 C.E. although it is clear that the building incorporates older elements.

From the exterior the building can be distinguished by its two white domes, the larger of which has a crescent finial. In addition, there are two small dome-shaped protrusions either side of the large dome. The wall facing the street is about 4m high and contains two windows, one circular and the other rectangular. There is a cornice running along the top of the wall immediately below which is a projecting rain-spout. There is a bend in the middle of the wall which corresponds with a ragged line, suggesting that the two halves of the building may be of different dates.

The maqām is entered from a lane on the east side which leads to a small cemetery at the back of the building. The entrance is

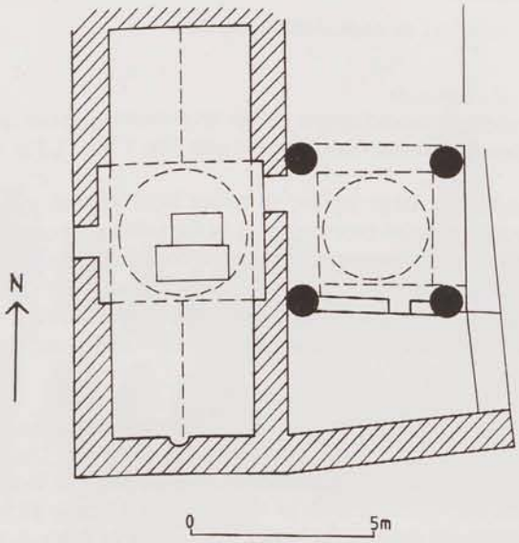


Fig. 10. Acre (No. 5). Shaykh Ghānim.

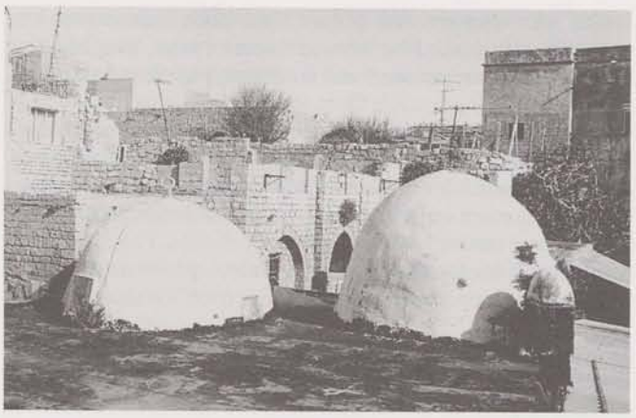


Plate 28. Acre (No. 5). Maqām Shaykh Ghānim. View of domes.

Plate 29. Acre (No. 5). Maqām Shaykh Ghānim. Interior.

located directly beneath the domical protrusions. The interior has been partially converted into a house so that the door opens into a kitchen. Next to the kitchen is a square area covered with a dome supported on thick red granite columns. To the south of this is a cross-vaulted room (now used as a bedroom) which is said to have a mihrab in the south wall (not seen).

A door on the west side opens into the mausoleum of Shaykh Ghānim ibn Muḥammad, said to be a follower of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who died in a war at sea. The mausoleum is a rectangular room divided into three parts, a central domed area flanked by two barrel-vaults, one to the south and the other to the north. The northern vault or iwan is quite short and has a window in the back wall. The southern iwan is deeper (3.72m) and has a mihrab in the centre, below a round window (now blocked). The central domed area is approximately square (3.8m x 3.75m) and contains two tombs, one belonging to Shaykh Ghānim and a smaller tomb belonging to a relation called Muḥammad. The dome rests on pendentives and has four small windows which provide light to the interior.

Bathhouses

A detailed study of the bath houses in Acre has recently been carried out by Dow (1996, 58–67). Only two public bathhouses have survived in Acre although there are apparently a number of private ḥammāms.

Ḥammām al-Pasha

This is a large (45m x 30m), roughly rectangular building located next to the citadel (Fig 1 No. 5). It is traditionally associated with the reign of Ahmad Jazzār Pasha (see, for instance, Makhouly and Johns 1946, 80–81) although Dow

(1996, 58) suggests that it may have been built earlier and was only refurbished by Ahmad Jazzār Pasha. The building has recently been restored and is currently used as a museum.

The bathhouse is entered from a courtyard which leads into a large room covered with a dome (the summer undressing room). A narrow corridor leads to the winter undressing room followed by the warm room and then the hot room. The hot room is covered with a dome resting on reused marble columns. The floor of the bathhouse is decorated with marble slabs (*opus sectile*) and the walls are decorated with hexagonal tiles from Kütahya.

Ḥammām al-Shaʿbī

This building is located in a side street to the west of Khān al-ʿUmdān (Fig. 1 No. 14; Plate 30).

This is the smaller of the two public bathhouses in Acre. The entrance to the building is set within a portal consisting of a trefoil arch with engaged colonettes (see Dow 1996, 65, Fig.15). In the tympanum of the arch there is a circular window. The entrance leads via a narrow corridor into a square room covered with a tall dome resting on an octagonal drum. This room is lined with benches and has an octagonal fountain in the centre. A door in the north-west corner leads off into the various hot and warm rooms roofed with domical vaults and lit by numerous green, blue, and clear *oculi* (circular glass discs).

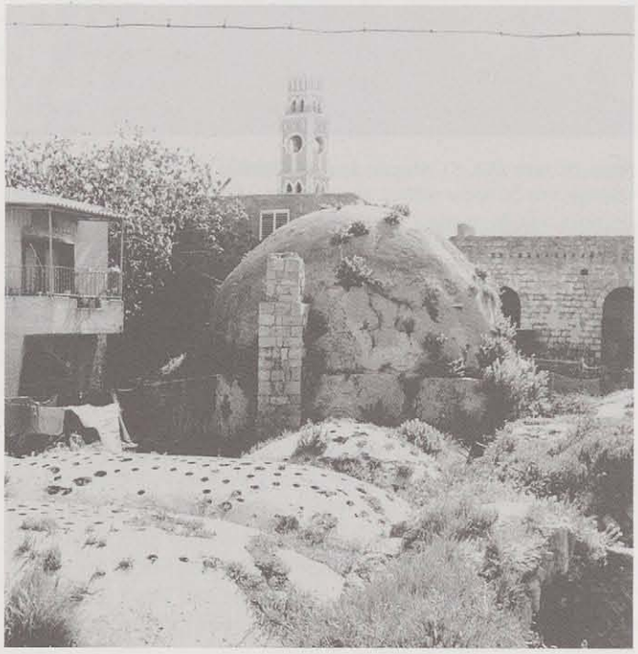


Plate 30. Acre (No. 5). Ḥammām al-Shaʿbī. Dome.

Khāns and Sūqs

Acre has the best preserved series of sūqs and khāns within the territory of Israel (cf. Makhouly and Johns 1946, 73, 90–92, Pls.III.2, VII). Although some of these may have been constructed on the sites of medieval structures, the surviving buildings date exclusively from the Ottoman period. Although the earliest of these (Khān al-Faranj) dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century most were built from the mid eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. During this period Acre became the effective capital of Palestine (cf. Cohen 1973, *passim*). The commerce of Acre was built on the sale of cotton to European traders although other commodities were also traded. Although levels of economic activity declined by the latter part of the nineteenth century, a good description of commerce in the city is given by Miss M.E. Rogers, sister of the British Vice-Consul at Haifa:

> At certain times, for a few days in succession, strings of camels approach 'Akka, carrying baskets of rice from the valley of the Jordan. From nearer districts baggage mules bring bales of cotton, sacks of olives, and jars of oil, or packages of scammony and madder (*alizari*), all in due season; but every day, early in the morning, troops of donkeys and peasants arrive from the neighbouring gardens and villages with fruit and vegetables, eggs and milk, while fishermen land their spoils from the sea; and in fine weather, during the busy season, the scene is further enlivened by little boats hurrying to and fro with merchandise for ships in the offing (in Wilson 1884, III, 83).
>
> Close by is the great corn market, sometimes almost blocked up with its heaps of golden grain, its busy buyers and sellers, and heavily laden porters. Beyond are the bazaars. The principal one is well-built and substantially roofed, and largely supplied with silks from the looms of Aleppo and Damascus, Manchester cottons printed and plain, glass, cutlery, and crockery ware from Marseilles and Trieste, and jewellery from Constantinople. The smaller bazaars for provisions and more homely merchandise are sheltered with planks and mats or carpets (in Wilson 1884, III, 85–86).

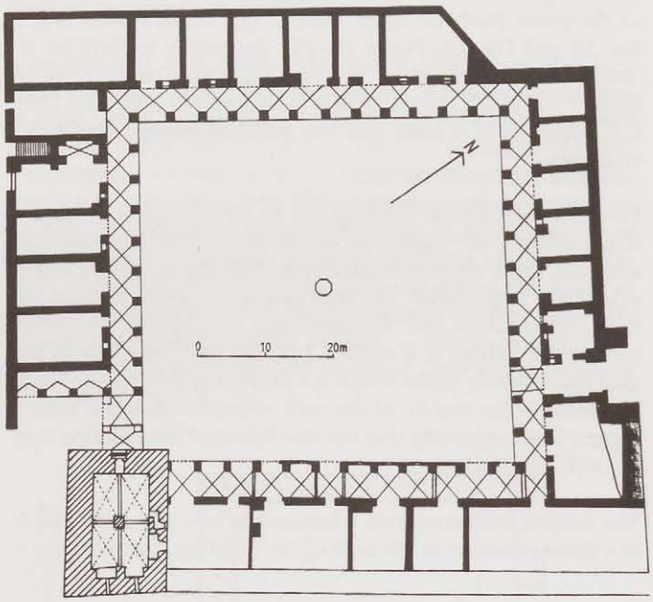


Fig. 11. Acre (No. 5). Khān al-Shawarda. Plan.

Khān al-Shawarda

This building is located next to the sea on the north-east side of Acre, a few hundred metres from the main gate (Fig. 1 No. 11, Fig. 11).

The Khān is a large square structure built around a central courtyard with two gateways, one in the south-east corner and one at the south-west corner (now demolished). Each side of the courtyard is lined with a tall arcade composed of cross-vaulted bays resting on square piers. Behind the bays is a series of large vaulted rooms. In the centre of the courtyard there is an octagonal sabil.

At the south-west corner of the khān there is a large two-storey tower, Burj al-Sultan, which looks out over the sea. The tower dates to the thirteenth century and was built by the Venetians to mark the northern limit of their quarter (Jacoby 1979). In the eighteenth century the tower was rebuilt by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar as part of his refortification programme. The entrance to the tower is set in a tall recessed niche with a machicolation above.

The doorway itself is covered with a large monolithic lintel above which is a segmental relieving arch. Directly above the relieving arch is a worn Arabic inscription thought by Makhouly to date from the time of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar (PAM Makhouly 20.10.34). The ground floor of the tower comprised a large rectangular room divided into four cross-vaulted bays supported by a central square pier. The upper floor contains two large gun embrasures which date from the early nineteenth century.

In 1934 two bays of the south-west corner of the khān adjoining the tower were demolished to make way for a new road connecting the market with the port (PAM Johns 17.11.34).

Khān al-Faranj

This building is located in the middle of the west side of the old city of Acre between Khān al-Shawarda and Khān al-ʿUmdān (Fig. 1 No. 12) on the site of an earlier Venetian Funduq (see Jacoby 1979). Dichter (1973, 1) dates the building to the mid sixteenth century though it seems probable that it was rebuilt in the eighteenth century. The khān is entered through a long barrel-vaulted passage which leads into a large square courtyard. There is an arcade on the south side of the courtyard only. The entrance opens into the middle of the arcade which on the east side is barrel-vaulted and on the west is cross-vaulted. Hamilton gives the following description of the interior:

> East of the entrance passage 3 bays of the gallery are open. Here there are three doors about 1.60 metres wide giving access to barrel-vaulted rooms: beside each door is a window.
>
> On the west side of the courtyard the original front has been masked by 6 1/2 vaults of a secondary character. The original rooms, barrel-vaults, have been turned into shops, with new doors broken through their back walls to give access to the sūq to the W. of the khān. On the E. side of the courtyard, foundations visible in the pavement show the line of the original arcade along here (four pier bases can be seen.) This does not seem to have covered the whole side of the court. Here some of the original doors and windows of the E. range of rooms may be seen. The windows, as in the S. side, have relieving arches above the tympanums. The N side appears to have been considerably altered.
>
> Upper Storey: along the E. and N. sides the rooms are set back by the width of an open paved walk. But a part of this has been roofed in along the E. side to make a sort of passage. A row of four rooms along the north side seem original. They have barrel-vaults with doors and rectangular windows opening on an open passage. The stone work of the stairs in Khan al-Faranj is exactly like that of Khan al-ʿUmdan (PAM Hamilton 9.11.43).

In the centre of the courtyard is an octagonal sabil.

Khān al-ʿUmdān

This building is located in the south-east corner of the old city near the port (Fig. 1 No.17 and Fig. 11; Plate 31). According to Pringle (1997, 15–17) it is built on the foundations of the Royal Customs house of the Crusaders. The khān is a two-storey structure built around a rectangular courtyard enclosed by two tiers of arcades. The arcade on the ground floor rests on red and black granite columns. There are three entrances, a main gate in the middle of the north side and two gateways in the south side (one in the middle and one in the south-west corner). Above the main gate on the north side is a clock tower built at the beginning of the twentieth century to commemorate the silver jubilee of the Ottoman sultan, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.

In 1943 Hamilton inspected the khān and made the following observations:

> Behind the colonnaded gallery, a range of big barrel-vaults with high windows in the back wall... Most of the columns are bound to each other or to the wall of the gallery by rusty iron ties...
>
> Entrance to the khan is at the north side—vaulted in masonry: the original form is obscured by plaster.. Two flights of steps lead up to the first floor. They have masonry vaults and hard stone steps which are in good condition but are not original. The upper gallery is cross-vaulted on masonry piers... The rooms are small barrel-vaults — mainly all inhabited... At the SW. corner is a slightly larger room with a cross vault and window looking out onto the street. At the SE. corner an L-shaped passage leads to latrines on the sea wall... There are

Plate 31. Acre (No. 5). Khān al-ʿUmdān clock tower.

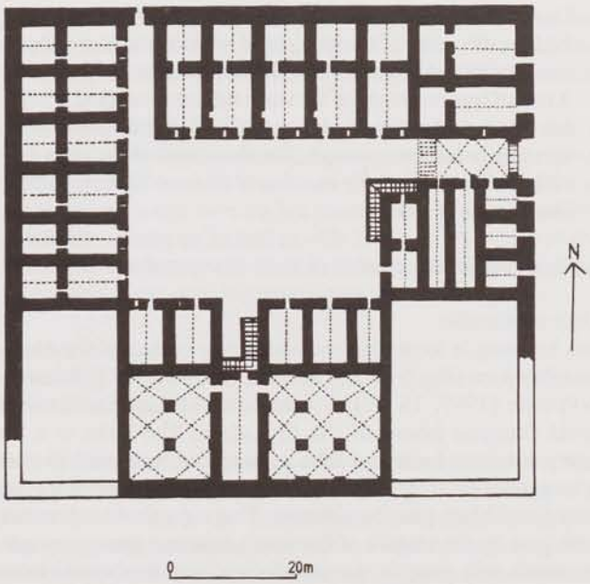


Fig. 12. Acre (No. 5). Khān al-Shūna. Plan.

> three decent vaulted rooms over the gate passage. From the vaulted landing at the head of the stairs a second flight of staircases on each side leads up to the roof. These two have raking stone vaults... (PAM Hamilton 9.11.43).

The clock tower has a square plan and consists of five successively smaller stages. The clock face is contained in the fourth stage beneath a crescent and star motif. Each stage (with the exception of the fourth) contains a pair of tall pointed arched windows overlooking the square below. At the base of the tower, immediately above the entrance, there is a white marble plaque carved in low relief with a depiction of Ottoman imperial insignia (a splay of weapons partially concealed beneath two draped flags).

Khān al-Shūna

This building is located in the southern part of the old city to the west of Khān al-ᶜUmdān (Fig. 1 No. 16 and Fig. 12). It is apparently built on the foundations of the Pisan square (Pringle 1997, 16) although the current building may be dated to 1764–1765 C.E. according to an inscription above the entrance (cf. Dichter 1973, 11). The exterior dimensions of the khān are 95m x 85m. This building has a more complex design than the other khāns and may have had a more specific function (e.g. as a bedestan). The main entrance in the east corner leads into a large rectangular courtyard with a secondary gateway in the north-west corner. The main gateway is covered by a system of gothic rib-vaults which probably date to the thirteenth century (Pringle pers. comm. June 2000). The gateway gives access to two long vaulted corridors on the south side. In addition to the gateways there are also five doorways in the east side of the building which open directly into rooms inside the khān. The courtyard contains two staircases leading to the upper storey. One of these is in the north-east corner next to the main entrance and the other is in the middle of the south side.

The rooms on the west and north side of the courtyard are arranged in pairs and are of almost identical design. Each pair of rooms consists of a front room with a doorway from the courtyard and a back room only accessible from the room in front. Each room was lit by two windows, one next to the doorway and one above at the level of the vault. The doorways have slightly pointed (two centre) arches whilst the windows were capped with lintels. Both rooms in each pair are barrel-vaulted. On the south side of the courtyard there are five single rooms, each roofed with a barrel-vault. Behind the single rooms are two large cross-vaulted halls (one of six bays and one of nine bays) either side of a long barrel-vaulted hall entered directly from the courtyard. The east side of the courtyard gives access to two small single barrel-vaulted rooms.

Sūq al-Abyaḍ

This structure is located in the north-east corner of the old city and to the north of Khān al-Faranj (Fig. 1 No. 6, Fig. 13). According to Dichter (1973, 19) the current structure was built by Sulaymān Pasha on the ruins of a sūq constructed by Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar (see also al-ᶜAwra cited in Makhouly and Johns 1946, 73). The sūq is essentially a covered street with shop units either side. The notable feature of the plan is that the depth of the shops gradually diminishes towards the west as the strip of land on which it is built narrows. Each unit is roofed with a barrel-vault and has a wide arched doorway in the middle opening onto the street. The units on the north side have small square windows whilst those on the south side have wide open arches on both sides. The street is covered by a long barrel-

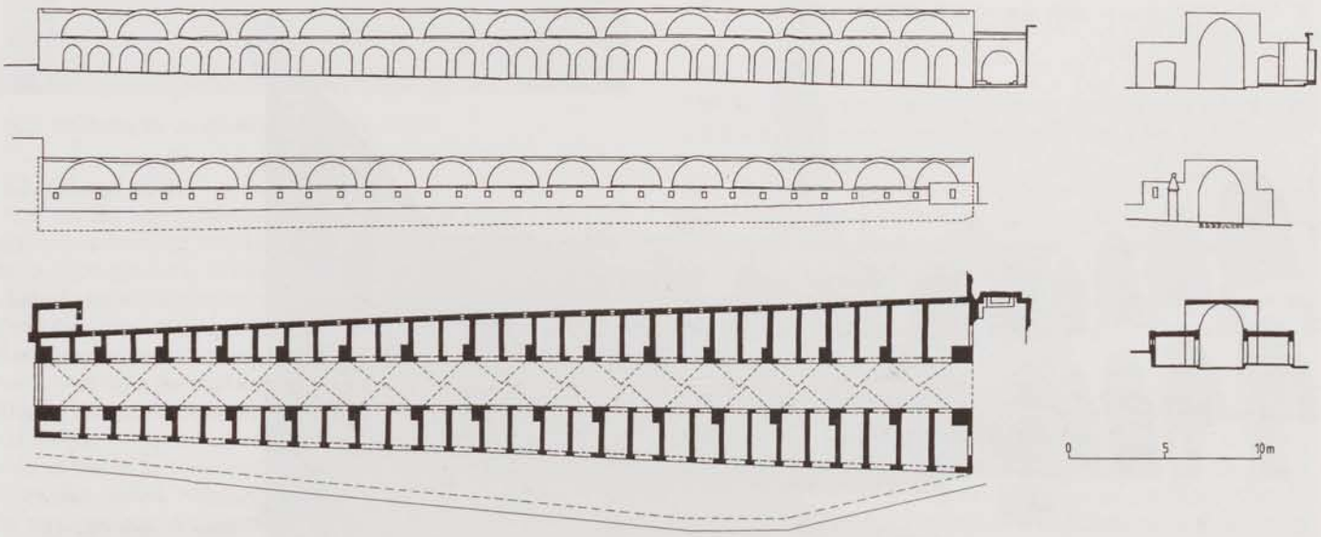


Fig. 13. Acre (No. 5). Sūq al-Abyaḍ.

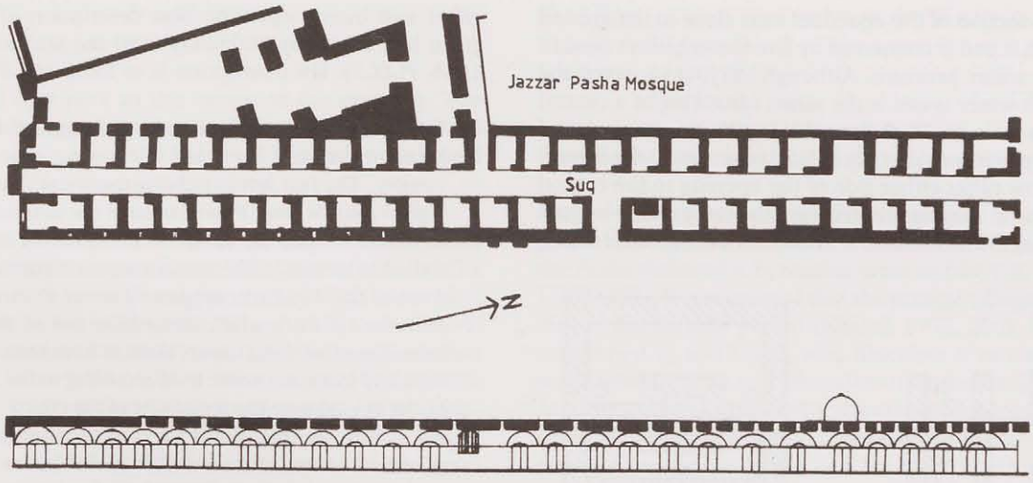


Fig. 14. Acre (No. 5). Sūq al-ʿAṭm.

vault intersected by 30 side vaults (15 on each side). The vaulting is supported by 32 piers placed inside the shop units in order to preserve the clean line of the street. The height of the vault is 2.5m above the roof level of the shop units and is ventilated by the wide arches formed by the side vaults. At the west end of the vault there was a sabil (now built over). The sabil carried an inscription from the time of Sulaymān Pasha dated 1231 H. (1815–1816 C.E.) (cf. Dichter 1973, 19).

Sūq al-ʿAṭm (or Quṭn?)

This structure is located in the northern part of the city to the south of the Jazzār Pasha mosque with which it is probably contemporary (Fig. 1 No. 7 and Fig. 14). Like the Sūq al-Abyaḍ this is a covered street with shop units either side. Besides the main entrances at either end there are two points of entry, one near the middle of the north side which leads to the Great Mosque, and one in the middle of the south side. There is a total of 51 shop units, most of which are square, vaulted rooms with arched double doorways. One of the rooms towards the east end of the north side has an open arch (iwan) facing the street and is roofed with a dome resting on a circular drum supported by pendentives. The street itself is roofed with a long barrel-vault and lit by 33 roof lights.

Acre Aqueduct

The Acre aqueduct originates in the hills to the east of the modern town of Nahariyya and runs for approximately 9km parallel to the coast before entering the city of Acre (Plate 32). Four villages lay on the route of the aqueduct. These were Kabrī, Umm al-Faraj, al-Mazraʿa, and Sumariyya (of these small agricultural settlements only Mazraʿa survived the destruction of 1948). The aqueduct was supplied by water from Kabrī's four springs which had a combined annual output of 8.6 million cubic metres.

Despite frequent assertions to the contrary, there is no evidence of a Crusader origin for the aqueduct (PAM Makhouly 4.10.40). The aqueduct was first established by the Jazzār Pasha in the latter years of the eighteenth century as a means of coping with the city's growing population (Cohen 1973, 134; Makhouly and Johns 1946, 93–95, Pl.IX.1, 2). This took a more easterly line than the aqueduct which survives today (see Alderson 1843, Pl.5) although traces of the earlier structure survived until 1940 (PAM Makhouly 4.10.40). The extant structure is the work of Sulaymān Pasha, governor of Acre in the 1830s. Said to have taken twelve months to complete, the aqueduct was used to provide water to the governor's farms at Umm al-Faraj and al-Bahja (sp). In the 1860s the Turkish government extended the aqueduct southwards so that it brought water into the town.

The two parts of the aqueduct are quite distinct. The earlier (northern) section runs for 8km from Kabrī to the northern outskirts of the modern city, whilst the later (southern) section runs for approximately 1km into the city. The northern section crosses two large wadis (Wādī Sumariyya and Wādī Majnūna). At these points it is raised on tall arches (over 10m high) supported by square piers built in alternating courses of dark and light (ablaq) masonry. In one section of Wādī Sumariyya the aqueduct rests on two tiers of arches supported by 14 piers. In other areas the arches suppporting the aqueduct are much lower (in the area to the north of Wādī Sumariyya they reach a maximum height of 2.5m). There are, however, some parts of the northern section of the aqueduct where it runs along at ground level. The water is carried in a narrow open channel covered with stone cover slabs. When the aqueduct was inspected in 1935 traces of extensive repair work were noted including side buttresses, iron bands, and rebuilding of arches (PAM Anon. report 26.9.35).

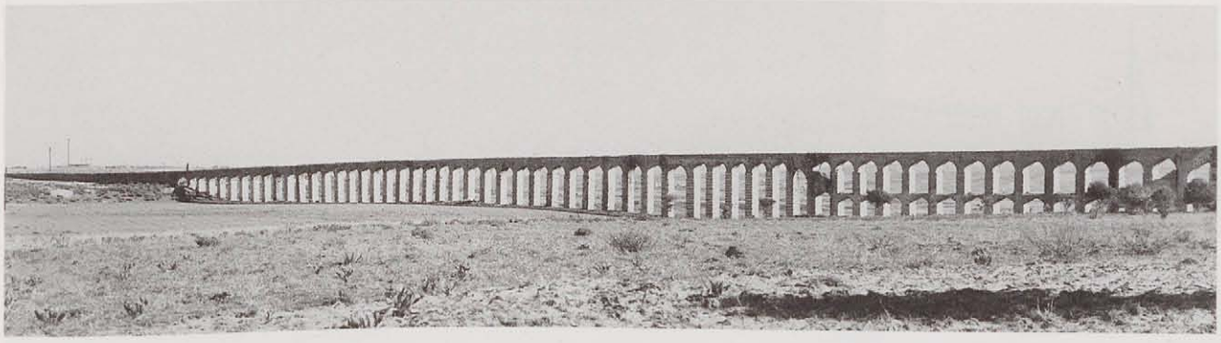


Plate 32. Acre (No. 5). Acre-Kabrī' aqueduct (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

The southern section of the aqueduct runs close to the ground or underneath it and is connected by five water towers used to maintain the water pressure. Although varying in detail the design of each water tower is the same, consisting of a central shaft or man hole (0.75–0.8m wide) with an upward and downward pipe either side (Fig. 15). At the top of the towers are two shallow tanks either side of the opening to the central shaft. The central shaft is entered by a doorway at the bottom of the tower and inside there is a ladder made of alternating offset and inset steps. The best description of the towers is given in a report by Makhouly (and see Makhouly and Johns 1946, Pl.IX.3). His description is as follows:

> The Water Towers — These occur in the ground-level section between the Stud Farm and the town,... they are five in number. The first serves to bring the water down from the high to the low level. From this point the channel is piped so as to make it possible to siphon the water up and down as well as to protect it. The next tower, that situated just to the south of the Stud Farm, apparently served to carry the water over the old track which crossed the line of the aqueduct here. The other three towers seem to have been designed to raise and lower the water level according to the rise and fall of the ground over the remainder of the course towards the town. Thus the third raises the channel 80 cms., the fourth raises it 3 metres, and the fifth is placed between the main outer ditch and the inner ditch where the slope are of unequal height. The towers themselves stand several [up to 14 metres] high presumably in order to allow the water to rise in case of sudden pressure (PAM Makhouly 4.10.40).

The channel is made of three pipes, two ceramic and one stone. The ceramic pipes were installed intitially but were later replaced with the stone pipe. Where the pipes are above ground they are enclosed within a rubble wall which reaches a maximum height of 3m above ground level.

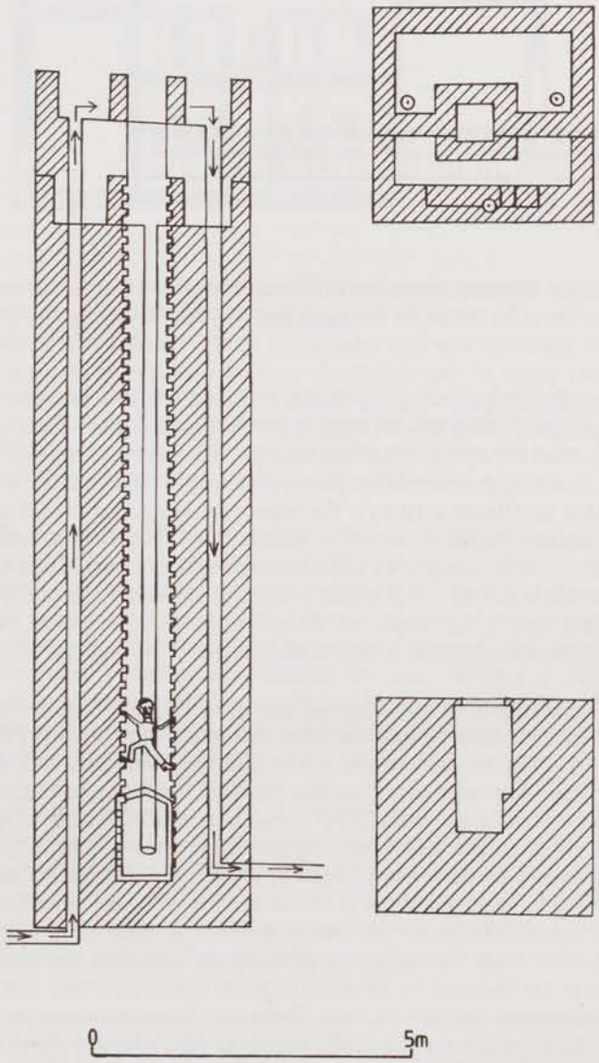


Fig. 15. Acre (No. 5). Water tower.

Cisterns

The area of the new town contains several old cisterns; two of these were examined. Their precise relationship to the aqueduct system is unknown.

Cistern (1)
Visited 12.91
Location 1578.2584
This is located approximately 200m east of the land gate at the junction of two roads (Plate 33). The building consists of two parts, a circular well at the west and a cistern to the east. The well has a diameter of approximately 5m and has a rectangular opening at the top. The interior appears to be a barrel-vault placed above a well shaft. On the west side there is a low (approximately 1.5m) doorway with a round arch which is now blocked up. The cistern itself is a square structure measuring approximately 8m per side with walls 0.75m thick and a small inlet pipe at the west end opposite the well.

Plate 33. Acre (No. 5). Cistern (1) outside Land Gate.

Cistern (2)
Visited 12.91
Location 1578.2588
This is located in a park in the centre of the new city. The cistern is a rectangular strucure with triangular internal buttresses at each corner. The sides of the cistern are raised approximately 0.75m above ground level.

References: Abel 1967, II, index; Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 243; Abū Shāma, RHC OR, index; Alderson 1843, *passim*; Baedeker 1876, 353–356; Bakhit 1983, index; Buckingham 1821, 71–85; Cohen 1973, index; Cuinet 1896, index; Dichter 1973; Dichter 1979a; Dichter 1979b; Dimashqī 1866, 212; Dow 1996, 58–67; Druks 1984; Goldman and Dothan in *EAE*, I, 16–17; Raban in *EAE*, I, 17–31; Efrati and Oren in *EJ*, II, 222–229; Buhl in *EI2*, I, 341; Enlart 1925, II, 30–33; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 502–525; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel Thomine, 57–58; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Heyd 1956, 212 and n.53; Heyd 1960, index; *HG*, 190–194; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ed. Defremery and Sanuinetti, I, 129–130; Ibn Jubayr ed Wright, 313–314; Idrīsī ed. Bombaci, index; Jacoby 1979, 1–45; Le Strange 1890, index; Little 1986; Makhouly and Johns 1946; Ma'oz 1970, *passim*; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 61–113; Marmadji 1951, index; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 40–41; Meinecke 1992, II, 79; *MPF*, index; Muqaddasī 1906, 162–163; Murphy-O'Connor 1986, 134–140; al-Nabulsī ed. Murad, 294–295; Nāsir-i Khusraw ed. Scheffer, 48–51; Palmer 1881, 40; PAM Anon. report 26.9.35; PAM Hamilton 9.11.43; PAM Johns 7.11.34; PAM Makhouly 20.10.34, 4.10.40; Pringle 1997, 15–17 No.5; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 152, 240–241 *et passim*; *RCEA*, I, No.32; VIII, No.3089; Robinson 1841, III, 189, 234; Rustum 1926; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 92–97; *SWP*, I, 145, 160–167 (map III); *TIR* 204; al-ʿUlaymī translated by Sauvaire, index; al-ʿUthmānī ed. Lewis, 482–483; Volney 1959, index; Wilson 1884, II, 64, 74, 81; III, index; Wright 1848, 427–430; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 707–709; Yitzhaki 1983.

6. Aḥmad al-Qarafawi (sp.)
Visited —
Location 124.121
31.41N/34.44E

This ruined site was 14km west of the modern city of Ashqelon (Hb.). The site included the ruins of a Roman structure and a ruined mosque with mihrab.

References: Mandate photo 16.039.

Plate 34. Aḥmad al-Qarafawi (No. 6). View of ruined mosque (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

7. ʿAjjūr
Visited 15.5.94
Location 1417.1224
31.41N/34.55E

The village of ʿAjjūr was located in a hilly area north of Bayt Jibrīn.

There are two *khirbas* (ruins) in the vicinity of the site, one of which is thought to be the site of the battle of Ajnādayn where the Arabs defeated a Byzantine army in 634 C.E. (Gibb in *EI2*, I, 208–209). It is suggested that the present village was founded during the Fatimid period (Khalidi 1992, 206). The village is mentioned by al-ʿUlaymī, who describes it as a village on the road between Gaza and Jerusalem (translation Sauvaire, 230). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* Gaza and consisted of 35 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 148). Conder and Kitchener describe ʿAjjūr as a small village with olive groves (*SWP*, II, 414). Sometime in the late Ottoman period the Abū Ḥasan school was established on the site of a building dating to the Fatimid period. The village had two mosques and four shrines (Khalidi 1992, 207). The village was depopulated in 1948 and the area is now part of the Israeli settlement of Agur.

Plate 35. ʿAjjūr (No. 7). Building viewed from north.

Building
Little remains of the pre-1948 village with the exception of a large two-storey building with a vaulted arcade on the northern side. The upper part of the building is today used as a house whilst the lower part appears to be abandoned (although it remains locked). The arcade consists of three cross-vaulted bays resting on two free-standing piers and two engaged piers at either end. On the outer (north) face of each of the two central piers there is a stone carved with two rosettes which appears to be part of a classical entablature. The outer line of the arches is emphasised by a flat hood moulding.

Each bay is covered with a cross-vault which reaches a height of approximately 4m. On the south side of the arcade are three doorways and six windows leading into the building. There also appears to be a doorway on the east side although there are no windows or doors on the south side. All the doors and windows of the lower storey are completely sealed so that it is not possible to tell whether it consists of a single large room or perhaps three separate rooms.

The upper floor is reached by an external staircase on the east side leading to a walled terrace above the arcade. Two doorways join the terrace to the interior which is lit by eight pairs of windows.

The identity or function of this building is not known although its design and orientation indicate that it may be a mosque.

References: Gibb in *EI2*, I, 208–209; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 103; *HG*, 148; Khalidi 1992, 206–207; Palmer 1881, 265; Robinson 1841, II, 351; *SWP*, II, 414 (map XVI); al-ᶜUlaymī translation, Sauvaire, 230.

8. ᶜAjlān (Khirbat)
Visited 18.6.94
Location 1239.1089
31.34N/34.43E

This abandoned bedouin village (Hb. Horvat Egla) is located on both sides of the wadi to the north of Tal al-Ḥasī.

The name of the present site has been linked with Biblical Eglon although the location of the capital of this ancient kingdom is commonly suggested as Tal al-Ḥasī (Guérin, *Judée*, II, 297–298; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, VI, 478). According to Tabari, ᶜAjlān was held as the personal domain of the general ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜĀṣ after the Arab conquest (ed. de Goeje *et al* I, 2967, 2972). In the 1596 *daftar* ᶜAjlān is located in *nāḥiya* Gaza and contained a population of 10 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce of this small settlement comprised wheat, barley, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 143).

Houses
The remains comprise at least 20 rectangular houses built of rubble blocks laid in mud mortar. Although the size of the buildings varies, all have the same basic rectangular plan with a single doorway and central pillars which would have supported a flat roof (cf. house at No. 36 Bir al Sabᶜ/ Beersheba). The present settlement probably dates from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries.

References: Abel 1967, II, 173, 179, 311; Baedeker 1876, 311; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 438–439; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, VI, 478; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 296–299; *HG*, 143; Le Strange 1890, 413; Palmer 1881, 369; Robinson 1841, II, 392; *SWP*, III, 261, 278 (map XX); Tabari ed. de Goeje *et al.*, I, 2967, 2972; Wilson 1884, III, 171; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfled, II, 19.

9. ᶜAllār (ᶜAllār al-Fawqā' and ᶜAllār al-Sifla)
Location 1544.1243
31.43N/35.03E

The twin villages of ᶜAllār al-Fawqā' wa'l-Sifla ('Upper' and 'Lower' ᶜAllār) are located south-west of Jerusalem in the Wādī Sarar (sp.). ᶜAllār al-Fawqā' was located on the north-east slope of the wadi and ᶜAllār al-Sifla (also known as Khirbat al-Tannūr and ᶜAllār al-Taḥta) was located at the bottom next to a spring. The earliest settlement seems to have been at ᶜAllār al-Sifla where a Latin monastery, possibly Cistercian, was established in the twelfth century (Pringle 1993–, I, 47–51). The villages of ᶜAllār appear together on the list of land grants in Palestine allocated by Sultan Baybars to his amirs in 663 H. (1265 C.E.) (Ibn al-Furāt, ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 82, 209; II, 102). By the sixteenth century the villages are recorded in the *waqf* of the Madrasa al-Muᶜaẓẓamiyya in Jerusalem (*MPF*, 49 No.79). In the 1596 *daftar*, ᶜAllār al-Fawqā' is recorded as the larger of the two villages and had a population of 37 households (*khāna*) whereas ᶜAllār al-Sifla contained only seven households (*HG*, 112, 113). In 1875 each village had a population of approximately 400 although a few years later ᶜAllār al-Sifla appears to have been abandoned (Rafiq cited in Khalidi 1992, 266, 320). The village of ᶜAllār al-Sifla was described by Conder and Kitchener as comprising a number of stone-built houses arranged along an east–west road with narrow side streets and small shops (*SWP*, III, 62–63). The remains of the upper village are now covered with trees although the ruins of ᶜAllār al-Sifla are still clearly visible in the wadi below.

Rectangular Building
Visited 15.5.94
Location 1544.1243
This building is located on the south side of the wadi overlooking ᶜAllār al-Sifla (i.e. opposite ᶜAllār al-Fawqā'). This stone-built structure is approximately 16m long and 9m wide with a dividing wall at the east end (Fig. 16). The walls stand to a height of 2m although the roof has not survived. There is a doorway at the west end and remains of installations to the east of the partition wall. The structure appears to be of two phases, the first phase at the west end and second phase at the east. The first phase is characterised by very thick walls (1.9m wide) constructed of large square blocks whilst the second phase has thinner walls formed of coursed rubble. It seems likely that the western (earlier part) was originally covered with a barrel-vault because the walls appear to curve inwards towards the top. The room at the east end contains a number

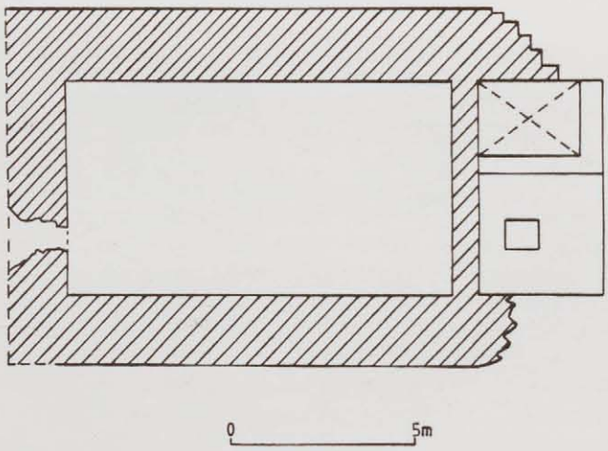


Fig. 16. ᶜAllār al-Fawqā' (No. 9). Plan of rectangular building.

Plate 36. ᶜAmqā (No. 10). View of village on 27 June 1927 (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

of installations including a rock-cut cistern and a small cross-vaulted chamber (the vault has now collapsed).

It seems probable that the first phase was built during the medieval or early Ottoman period. At some later date (probably in the nineteenth century) the building was reused for some industrial purpose.

References (both sites): Baedeker 1876, 320; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 455–457; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 380, 381; *HG*, 112, 113; Ibn al-Furāt, ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 82, 209; II, 102; Khalidi 1992, 266–267, 320; *MPF*, 49 No.79; Palmer 1881, 283; Pringle 1993, I, 47–52; Robinson 1841, II, 340; Singer 1994, 44; *SWP*, III, 62–63 (map XVI).

10. ᶜAmqā

Visited 28.9.91
Location 1664.2645
32.58N/35.10E

The Arab village of ᶜAmqā was located on a rocky hillside on the edge of the Acre plain (Plate 36). The site is now occupied by a modern Israeli settlement of the same name.

It is possible that the name is a corruption of the Hebrew '*emeq* (valley) (cf. Thompson *et al.* 1988, 23). During the Roman period the settlement was known as Kefar Amiqo (*TIR*, 162) and under the Crusaders it was known as Ancra (Ellenblum 1998, 175, 177–8). The village is mentioned in the 1596 *daftar* as containing a population of 39 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olives, cotton, fruit, and 'goats and bees' (HG, 192). In the early eighteenth century the village was under the control of Shaykh Najm. He had an agreement to sell the cotton from this and other villages under his control exclusively to the Dutch trader Paul Maashook who would, in return pay the *mīrī* tax normally payable by the village shaykhs (Cohen 1973, 12). In the mid eighteenth century the village was visited by the Muslim traveller, al-Bakrī al-Siddīqī who prayed there after visiting ᶜAthlīth (Khalidi 1992, 4). In 1776 the village was used as a base by Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha for crushing a revolt led by ᶜAlī, son of Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar.

In the nineteenth century the village was described by Conder and Kitchener as:

> A stone-built village inhabited by about 300 Druzes; it is situated on a slight rise in a valley, and surrounded by olives, figs, and arable land; the water supply is from rock-cut cisterns (SWP, I, 145).

Although the majority of this description is accurate the observation that the population was Druse is probably incorrect in view of the surviving mosque (see below) and Guérin's statement that '*la population est entièrement musulmane*' (*Galilée* II, 23).

The village was depopulated in 1948 and in the late 1950s the Israeli army destroyed the majority of surviving buildings (Khalidi 1992, 4; Ellenblum 1998, 177).

Mosque

This structure is located at the highest point of the rocky hillside on which the village was built. It is the only surviving building from the Arab village with the exception of a schoolroom now used as a warehouse (Khalidi 1992, 5).

The mosque consists of a domed prayer hall and an open portico (riwaq) divided into three cross-vaulted bays, each open to the north. The portico also has an open arch at the east end and a rectangular window at the west end. The area in front of the portico (now overgrown) was an open paved courtyard containing a deep cistern in the middle.

The prayer hall is entered through a doorway in the centre of the portico. Its hall is a large square room with massive corner piers supporting the springing of the dome. The interior is lit by a pair of windows on the west and east sides and windows either side of the main door. The area between the piers form wide recesses covered with tall arches. There is a small concave mihrab set into the south wall, slightly to the left (east) of centre, possibly to accommodate the minbar (now vanished) on the west side. The dome rests directly on the pendentives without the intervention of a drum. The roof of the building is reached by a set of steps within the thickness of the west wall. The staircase is entered from a doorway set into the exterior of the west wall. The exterior of the dome and the flat parts of the roof are coated in a thick grey waterproof plaster. The lower part of the dome has near vertical sides whilst the upper portion has a shallow slightly pointed form. The entire structure is built out of ashlar masonry with a white plaster coating on the interior.

The date of the mosque is not known although it bears a general similarity to the nearby mosque at Ghābsiyya and some of the mosques in Acre and is probably of a similar date (i.e. early 1800s).

References: Baedeker 1876, 424, 430; Cohen 1973, 12; Ellenblum 1998, 175, 177–8; Guérin *Galilée* II, 23; HG, 192; Khalidi 1992, 4–5; Palmer 1881, 40; *SWP*, I, 145 (map III); Thompson *et al.* 1988, index.

11. ᶜArᶜara/ ᶜArᶜarā

Visited 25.5.94
Location 1595.2108
32.29N/35.05E

This village is located 7km west of Umm al-Faḥm. It stands on the southern slopes of the Wādī ᶜĀra (Hb. Nahal 'Iron) which runs from Caesarea to ᶜAfūla.

In the Crusader period the site was known as Castellum Arearum. In the allocation of lands in Palestine granted by sultan Baybars in 663 H. (1265–1266 C.E.) ᶜArᶜara was shared between the amirs ᶜAlā' al-Dīn and Sayf al-Dīn Bayḥaq al-Baghdādī (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 102; II, 81). According to the 1596 *daftar*, ᶜArᶜara was located in *nāḥiya* Shaᶜrā and contained a population of eight households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', olives, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 159). In the eighteenth century the revenue of the village was farmed by the *mutaṣarrif* of Jaffa even though it remained in the *sanjaq* of Lajjūn (Cohen 1973, 175).

A century later Conder and Kitchener described the site as:

> A village of moderate size on high ground with a spring to the east, a second to the west, and a well to the south. There are rock-cut tombs near. The population is stated by Consul Rogers (1859) at 400, the cultivation being then 30 *feddâns* (*SWP*, II, 41).

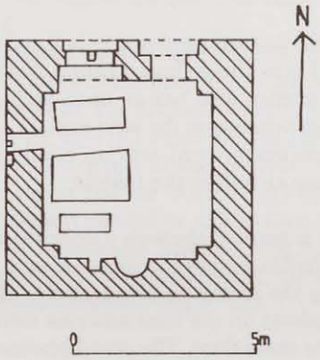


Fig. 17. Arᶜara (No. 11). Plan of Shaykh Khalaf.

The only building of interest noted by the Mandate authorities was the tomb of Shaykh Khalaf which was, however, deleted from the 1947 schedule.

Maqām Shaykh Khalaf (Fig. 17, Plate 37)
This is located on a slope at the highest point of the village of ᶜArᶜara.

The building is set in the middle of an extensive graveyard which covers the nearby slopes. It consists of a single rectangular chamber surmounted by a dome. The top two

Plate 37. ᶜArᶜara (No. 11). View of Shaykh Khalaf (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

courses are chamfered at the corners making the dome appear taller. The north face of the building contains a doorway and a double window both set within shallow arches. The pair of windows are surmounted by a circular disc with a denticulate rim. There is another set of windows on the west face decorated with a six-pointed star motif.

Inside there are three cenotaphs positioned against the west wall. Two are low structures barely 0.3m high whilst the third structure near the door is nearly 1m high (it was not possible to see if the cenotaphs carried inscriptions because all of them were covered in cloth). There is a mihrab in the middle of the south wall and a niche to the right (west) of this feature. The chamber is roofed with a dome resting on pendentives.

The date of this building is not known although the architecture suggests an eighteenth or early nineteenth century date.

References: Abel 1967, II, 88; Baedeker 1876, 299; Cohen 1973, 175; Orni in *EJ*, III, 290; *HG*, 158; Hartmann 1910, 700; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 102, II, 81, 209; Palmer 1881, 144; Robinson 1841, II, 618; *SWP*, II, 41 (map VIII).

12. ᶜArrābat al-Buṭṭawf/ ᶜArrāba

Visited 14.4.94
Location 1821.2507
32.51N/35.20E

The village of ᶜArrāba is located in the centre of Galilee 2km east of Sakhnīn.

In Roman times the village was known as Gabara or Araba. In the fourth century it was in the territory of Diocaesarea (*TIR*, 12). In the Crusader period it was one of two villages which together with three *gastinas* was leased at a cost of 1,000 per annum (Ellenblum 1998, 109, n. 16).

The 1596 *daftar* indicates that the village had a large population of 127 households (*khāna*). Taxable produce of the village

comprised wheat, barley, summer-crops, orchard fruit, cotton, and 'goats and bees'. A quarter of the tax was *waqf* and the rest was payable to the Ottoman authorities (*HG*, 187). Evliya Çelebi indicates that this substantial village owed its revenues to the Pasha of Nāblus (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 88). According to the seventeenth-century traveller, al-Nābulsī, the villagers were in dispute with the governor of Jerusalem (ed. Murad, 303). In the eighteenth century this was the one of the first places to be occupied by Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar and was apparently the home of his family (*SWP*, I, 364, and see also Cohen 1973, 10). In the nineteenth century the village was the headquarters of the 'Abd al-Hadi familly and in 1859 was destroyed by the Ottoman government as part of a centralisation policy (Doumani 1995, 34). Little more than 20 years later ᶜArraba was described by Conder and Kitchener as '... a large stone built village, containing about 1,000 Moslems and Christians, and surrounded by groves of olives and arable land' (*SWP*, I, 364).

Today the village has a population of 12,000 most of whom are Muslim (Jaffa Research Centre 1991, 505–507). The village contains several buildings of interest. These are a palatial house, two shaykhs' tombs, and a mosque. In the wadi to the north of the village there are several ruined mills.

Mosque
In the 1870s Guérin saw the mosque which he thought had probably once been a church on the basis of its east–west orientation (*Galilée*, I, 467). Inside there were two monolithic columns which he took to be further proof of its antiquity. In 1953 the present mosque was built on the site of the older building.

Palatial House
This building stands in the centre of the village opposite the mosque (Fig. 38). It has an interesting entrance facade made of black and white striped masonry (*ablaq*). The doorway is flanked by two benches and on the arch above is a floral design. According to local people the house is associated with the family of Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar (unfortunately, no access to the interior was available).

Tomb of Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Dabus (sp.)
This structure is located on the north side of the village on a terrace set into the hillside. There is a small cemetery outside the shrine and a tomb is built against the north wall of the building blocking the window. The tomb consists of a domed chamber with large arched recesses on the north side. The arched recess is separated from the rest of the chamber by a low wall 0.75m high and contains the tomb of the shaykh.

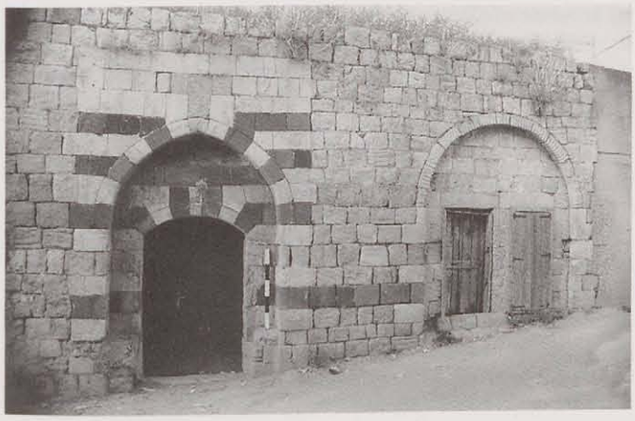


Plate 38. ᶜArrābat al-Buṭṭawf (No. 12). View of house attributed to time of Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar.

There are three windows, one to the right of the door, one on the north side next to the tomb, and one small opening on the east side. There is a mihrab in the south wall and the dome rests on pendentives. According to local people, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Dabus died in 1875.

Second Shaykh's Tomb
This is a large vaulted Roman tomb standing in the cemetery near that of Shaykh Muḥammad (see above). According to tradition the tomb contains the tomb of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa (sp.) (Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 467–468).

Mills in Wādī ᶜArrāba
The mills have been numbered 1–3 for ease of reference. Mills (2) and (3) are arranged in series so that water flowing out of mill (2) enters into mill (3), maximising the potential energy of the water. No mill stones were found in any of the mills although a local informant stated that they are now to be found in a local house. The same informant also said that the mills were still in use in the 1950s.

Mill (1)
Location 1852.2561
This mill is located downstream from the other two mills and stands next to the road bridge across the wadi. The mill house is quite small (5m x 10m), consisting of two cross-vaults resting on six square piers. There were previously walls between the piers but these have been robbed out. Above the mill is a square tower connected with a water channel which carried water from the mill race.

Mill (2)
Location 1853.2566
This mill has the same basic design as mill (1) although it appears to be slightly larger. The main interest of this building is that it retains its original door.

Mill (3)
Location 1853.2566
This mill has the same design as mills (1) and (2). The interesting feature of this structure is that the water channel exiting from the mill (i.e. tail race) is still visible.

References: Cohen 1973, 10; Ellenblum 1998, 109, n.16; Oren in *EJ*, III, 497; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 466–468; *HG*, 187; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 303; Palmer 1881, 124; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 88; *SWP*, I, 364 (map VI); *TIR* 12.

13. Ascalon (Ar. ᶜAsqalān)

Visited 17.12.91, 27.6.94
Location 1069.1163
31.39N/34.32E

The site of the ancient Ascalon (Ar. ᶜAsqalān) is located in an area of dunes on the southern coast of Palestine between Jaffa and Gaza. The modern Israeli city of Ashqelon (Hb.) has developed to the north and east of the ancient city which is protected as a National Park.

Egyptian texts mention Ascalon as early as the twentieth century B.C.E (Aharoni 1967, 137, 431). For the next three thousand years the city continued to develop as one of the major cities of Palestine until its destruction by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars in 668 H. (1270 C.E.) (for a concise history of the site, see Hartmann [Lewis] in *EI2*, I, 710–711; Orni in *EJ*, III, 713–718; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 145–149; *TIR* 68–70).

Ascalon was the last city in Palestine to be captured by the Arabs. After a short siege the city capitulated to the Arab armies of caliph, Muᶜāwiya in 19 H. (640 C.E.), although previously it may have been briefly occupied by the Muslim general ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜĀṣ who used it as a base for the conquest of Egypt. The city was designated as a border settlement and garrisoned with special troops. The political instability of the caliphate in the 680s meant that the Byzantines were able to recapture the city, although instead of occupying it, they exiled the inhabitants and destroyed the fortifications. A decade later, under ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, the Muslims were able to re-establish their control over the coast. Both Ascalon and Caesarea were refortified by ᶜAbd al-Malik and a mosque was constructed in Ascalon (Balādhurī cited in Le Strange 1890, 400). There followed a period of prosperity and stability as indicated by the establishment of a mint, which from 712 C.E. issued copper coins. Under the ᶜAbbasids the city continued to flourish as indicated by an inscription recording the rebuilding of the mosque by the caliph al-Mahdī in 772 C.E. (*RCEA*, I, No.42; although see comments in Sharon 1997, 144–147). In 969 C.E. the Fatimid general Jawhar conquered Palestine and most of Syria, and Ascalon became an important link between these areas and Cairo, the Fatimid capital. At the end of the tenth century the city was visited by Muqaddasī, who gives the following description:

> Ascalon on the sea is a splendid city and well defended. Fruit is here in plenty, especially that of the sycamore (*jummīz*). The great mosque, in the market of the cotton merchants, is paved throughout with marble. The city is beautiful, superior, and well fortified. They make the finest silk, and other resources abound, and life there is pleasant. Also its markets are good and well defended. Only its harbour is unsafe, its waters brackish, and the sandfly (*dalam*) are a nuisance (Le Strange 1890, 401).

During the 1070s most of Syria and Palestine was conquered by the Saljuq Turks. Ascalon's position next to the sea and its proximity to Egypt enabled it to resist any attempts at conquest by the land-based Saljuqs. The arrival of the Crusaders and their conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 presented a new threat to the Fatimids. Nevertheless they were able to resist the Crusaders until 1153 and were still producing coins at Ascalon in the twelfth century. Ascalon posed a threat to the Crusaders hold on Palestine and they imposed a blockade on the city (cf. Prawer 1969–1970, I, 328–331). The blockade was enforced by three fortresses Beth Gibelin (Bayt Jibrīn), Ibelin (Yibnā) and Blanchgarde (Tal al-Ṣāfī) although they were unable to prevent the city being resupplied by sea.

In 1150 the Crusader king, Baldwin III, undertook large-scale preparations for the conquest of Ascalon and it was finally taken in August 1153. The city remained in Crusader hands until 1187 when it was captured by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who held it for four years. As a precaution against the Crusaders retaking the city and using it as a base, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn destroyed the city walls (Sharon 1997, 139). In 1192 the Crusaders briefly regained possession of the city and rebuilt the walls in less than a month. Later that year Richard I of England and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn agreed to a peace which involved the demolition of the fortifications. In 1239 the deserted site was temporarily taken by Tibald IV of Champagne before returning to France in 1240. Later that year the site was acquired by Richard of Cornwall who established a castle in the north-west corner (Pringle 1984, 138). Seven years later the castle was taken by the Ayyubid amir, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Shaykh. The castle, harbour and any remaining fortifications were finally destroyed in 1270 C.E. by the Mamluk sultan Baybars in order to prevent the Crusaders establishing a coastal base (Maqrīzī 1934–1972, I, 590). Since then the site has been largely uninhabited except for a few farmers from the nearby village of Jūra who tilled the field there as recently as 1947 (for a description of Jūra see Khalidi 1992, 116–117). At the end of the nineteenth century the port was being used for the export of small quantities of agricultural products (Cuinet 1896, 613).

Fortifications

The principal standing remains of the Islamic and medieval city are the ruined walls which stretch for over 1.5km. Characteristic features of the walls are narrow courses of ashlar masonry strengthened with granite or marble columns. Three different forms of tower are visible: round, rectangular and triangular (cf. Pringle 1984, 140 Table I). The visible walls are built on top of earlier Roman and Byzantine walls which in turn rest on huge earthen ramparts which may date to the Middle Bronze Age.

The major problem in interpreting these remains is defining different phases and relating these to known building campaigns. Pringle has attempted to identify the latest major phase which he ascribes to Richard I. There are problems with this analysis such as the short period of time available for the construction; however the presence of a building inscription recording the construction of a wall from gate to gate does suggest substantial rebuilding at this time (Pringle pers. comm. June 2000). As Pringle admits, a final assessment must await the outcome of a more comprehensive study of all the surviving fabric of the defences (1984, 142).

We do, however, have a good account of the Fatimid fortifications given by William of Tyre in his account of the siege of the city by the Crusaders in 1153–1154:

> The whole town sits in a kind of basin, sloping towards the sea. It is surrounded on all sides by artificial earthworks, upon which are walls with closely-spaced towers. These are solidly constructed and are bonded with cement that exceeds the hardness of [the] stone. The walls are thick as they should be, and are correspondingly high. The town is also ringed, however, by outer walls, wrought with the same solidity, and it is fortified with great care... there are four gates in the enceinte, each well defended with high massive towers. The first of these facing east, is called the Greater or Jerusalem gate, because it faces the Holy City; it is flanked by two very high towers, which like a bulwark a strongpoint seem to dominate the town below. In front of it in the outer walls this gate has three or four smaller gates, from which it is approached by certain tortuous paths. The second gate faces west and is called the sea gate, because through it the townspeople have a way out to the sea. The third gate on the south faces the town of Gaza... and is therefore named after it. And the fourth, facing north is called the Joppa [Jaffa] gate, after the town lying along the same coast (William of Tyre 1976, II, 219; and see Pringle 1984, 135–136).

This account is corroborated by the Muslim author, al-Idrīsī, who visited the city in 1154 after its capture by the Crusaders (1971–1984, 357).

The historical descriptions have recently been corroborated by archaeological discoveries at the site. Excavations near the north (Jaffa) gate have recovered a Fatimid inscription dated 1150 relating to the construction of one of the towers (presumably from the gate itself) (Sharon 1995). Sharon, who has published the inscription, gives the following description of the slab:

> The inscription was engraved on a large slab of whitish grey marble (1.49m x 0.63m x 0.10m), broken into ten pieces... The large size and imperial nature of the inscription indicate the exceptional importance of the tower which may have been one of the towers defending the northern gate of the city... The marble slab was at first used for the engraving of a long Arabic inscription: 22 lines of highly sophisticated highly professional late Fāṭimid imperial script, decorated with barbs and 'swallow tails'... The inscription commemorates the building of a fortification tower by the local Fāṭimid governor on the orders of the Grand Vizier in Cairo (1995, 61 and for a translation of the inscription, see 74–75).

A second inscription was recorded lower down on the talus of the tower. The simple two-line inscription was translated by Sharon as 'Dominion/possession (*mulk*) is Allāh's'. On epigraphic grounds the inscription is dated earlier than the main inscription (1995, 79).

At a later date the marble slab carrying the main inscription was reused, placing it sideways and carving five heraldic shields over the Arabic inscription. The shields, identified by Sharon as those of Hugh de Wake who accompanied Richard of Cornwall on his Crusade, may be dated to the 1240s when the latter was in possession of Ascalon (Sharon 1995, 83). According to Sharon the evidence of the shields proves '... that the rebuilding of Ascalon by Richard of Cornwall... encompassed the whole town and was not limited to the citadel' (1995, 83). This seems unlikely and is based on Benvenisti's belief that the citadel was in the southern part of the city. However, Pringle has shown that the citadel was in the northern part of the town; thus the slab could easily have been incorporated into the citadel's fortifications (Pringle 1984, 143–146).

Mosques

It is known that Ascalon contained at least three mosques including the Great Mosque, although no trace of any of these structures has survived.

Great Mosque

It is often assumed that the Great Mosque of Ascalon was built on top of an earlier Byzantine church, although there is no real evidence for this. The earliest mention of the Great Mosque is by al-Balādhurī, who wrote:

> In Ibn Zubayr's day the Greeks raided and destroyed Ascalon and its mosque. The caliph ʿAbd al-Malik [685–705] rebuilt the city, fortified it, and rebuilt the mosque also (translation in Le Strange 1890, 400).

Some years later, in 772, the mosque was restored by the ʿAbbasid caliph, al-Mahdī (see Sharon 1997, 144–147), according to an inscription discovered by Clermont-Ganneau. The inscription has been translated as follows:

> Al-Mahdī, the Commander of the Faithful, hath ordered the building of this minaret and of this mosque, at the hands of al Mufaḍḍal ibn Sallām and Jahūr ibn Hishām, in the month of Muḥarram, in the year 155 (*RCEA*, I, No.42).

At the end of the tenth century a mosque was mentioned by Muqaddasī, who described its location in the clothing market and its marble floors (ed. de Goeje, 174). In the mid eleventh century the Persian traveller, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, visited Ascalon and saw two mosques. His description is as follows:

> Ascalon is a great town which possesses a beautiful mosque and a magnificent bazaar. I noticed an antique monument of arcades, which someone told me, had been a religious edifice. It consisted of a stone arcade of enormous dimensions, that should any desire to destroy it, they would have to spend a considerable sum (from translation by Schefer, 109).

Whether the ancient mosque is that built by ʿAbd al-Malik and restored by al-Mahdī (or al-Manṣūr) or some other ruin is not known though it seems likely that the mosque in the bazaar was a new structure built by the Fatimids in the eleventh century. Support for this view is contained in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of Ascalon, where he describes two mosques: one of them was built by the Fatimids, according to an inscription above the door, and the other was in ruins and known as the mosque of ʿUmar. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the mosque of ʿUmar is as follows: '...nothing now remains but its wall; in it are many marble columns, some standing some fallen down' (Defremery and Sanguinetti, I, 126).

When the Crusaders took over Ascalon in 1153 they converted the Great Mosque into the Cathedral Church of St. Paul (or St. John) (Pringle 1994, 62–63).

The Green (khiḍr) Mosque

The Orthodox Church of St. Mary the Green had existed in Ascalon until its destruction by a combined mob of Muslims and Jews in 936 C.E. According to Pringle (1993, 64): 'it was quite possibly this abandoned building which later became the Green Mosque'. When the Crusaders took possession of Ascalon in 1154 there was a plan to reconvert it to a church, although it is not known whether this took place. It is likely that the site of this mosque is occupied by the Maqām al-Khiḍr (see below, shrines).

Other Mosques

At least two other mosques in Ascalon are known to us from Crusader documents which confirm the ownership of property to religious orders. Pringle (1993–, I, 69) has observed that there was probably an intention to convert the mosques into churches, although this was not neccesarily carried out.

Muslim Shrines

After Baybars' destruction of the harbour and fortification of Ascalon, very little remained except for the memory of the once great city. This memory manifests itself in various Muslim shrines in the vicinity of the ancient site. Unfortunately, the turmoil of recent years has meant that even these buildings and the associated traditions are under threat.

Maqām al-Khiḍr

Location 1069.1163

This is the only Muslim shrine to survive within the walls of the ancient city. As mentioned above, the maqām is generally considered to mark the site of the Green Mosque. The shrine stands on a cliff overlooking the sea at the top of Tal Khiḍr, a hill which occupies the centre of the ancient site. The building consisted of a square cross-vaulted room with an open-vaulted canopy at the front and a smaller vaulted structure on the south side. The doorway was surmounted by a white marble lintel and either side there was a rectangular window. When it was photographed in the early part of the twentieth century (PAM photo 1643) the outer canopy appears to have been destroyed although it is otherwise in a good condition. The date of construction is not known although it is generally agreed that it was built during the Ottoman period (probably eighteenth or nineteenth century).

Today (27.6.94) the building is derelict, many of the facing stone have been removed and the building appears to be in danger of falling into the sea.

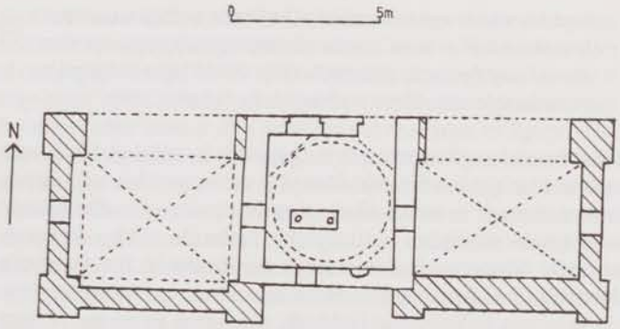


Fig. 18. Ascalon (No. 13). Plan of Shaykh ʿAwaḍ.

Plate 39. Ascalon (No. 13). Shaykh ʿAwaḍ.

Plate 40. Ascalon (No. 13). View of Shaykh ʿAwaḍ from north.

Plate 41. Ascalon (No. 13). View of Shaykh ʿAwaḍ from west.

Maqām Shaykh ʿAwaḍ
Location 1088.1220
This structure stands on the cliff overlooking the sea some 2km north of the ancient city of Ascalon.

The shrine consists of a square domed room flanked by two cross-vaulted chambers (Fig. 18, Plates 39–41). The roof of the central domed room is significantly lower (approximately 2m) than the vaulted structures either side. The vaulted structures each have a similar design consisting of a large open archway facing north with windows on the west and east sides, one leading into the central chamber and the other open to the exterior. There are no openings on the south side. Each of the open archways is surmounted with a cornice decorated with a billet moulding. The roof is drained by four water spouts which project from the south side (only one of these is complete).

The central chamber is entered through a doorway at the east end on the north wall. In the centre of the north wall there is a window (possibly the original doorway). Both the doorway and the window are slightly recessed from the exterior wall of the building. Inside the room is a cenotaph (aligned east–west) with a plain mihrab on the east side of the south wall (i.e. in line with the doorway). The dome rests on four squinches and four blind arches. Each squinch consists of two stone arches, a large outer arch and a smaller recessed inner arch. Within the smaller arch is a small pendentive terminated by a twin-lobed impost block (console).

To the north of the shrine there are traces of a rectangular enclosure which has since been demolished.

The age of the building is not known although it is clear that the two side chambers are later and may be confidently dated to the nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries on the basis of architectural features such as the billet moulding used as a cornice, high arches, and large windows. The central domed room is more problematic, although the use of squinches usually implies an earlier date (i.e. pre-eighteenth century).

Shrine of Ḥusayn's Head
This is probably the most famous shrine in Ascalon, although unfortunately it has now disappeared.

According to Shīʿite tradition, after the death of the prophet's grandson, Ḥusayn, at the battle of Karbalāʾ in 680 C.E. his head was sent to the Umayyad caliph, Yazīd I, in Damascus. However, supporters of ʿAlī rescued his head and took it to Ascalon where it was buried (although other sites including Damascus, Ḥomṣ, Aleppo, Raqqa, Baʿalbak, Madīna, and Merv also claim to be the site of the burial. See Williams 1983, 41). More than 400 years later the head was miraculously 'discovered' and the Fatimid general Badr al-Dīn al-Jamālī ordered the construction of a mashhad to house the holy relic (see below for detailed description). Before the Crusaders eventually took Ascalon in 1154 the head was removed to Cairo where it was housed in a specially built mosque, Jāmiʿ al Fakāhīn (Williams 1983, 42; Sharon 1995, 73–74).

Despite its removal from Ascalon, the tradition of the head's burial place persisted and a shrine was established on the site. The shrine disappeared in recent years although the place is still venerated. The location of the shrine is probably now in the grounds of Ashqelon General Hospital.

Ottoman Agricultural Installations
The interior of the ancient city of Ascalon preserves a number of agricultural installations from the time when the area was farmed by the villagers of Jūra. The age of these installations is not known although they appear to be of similar date, probably sometime in the nineteenth century.

Wells
The principal remains are a series of six wells with attached cisterns. The design of each installation is similar and consists of an arched vault above a deep circular well with an adjacent cistern for water storage. In front of each well there are two pillars which would have originally supported an animal-powered lifting device. One of these devices has recently been reconstructed within the park.

Farmhouse and Cistern
This is located on the main road between Majdal and the ancient city of Ascalon. The complex appears to be a rectangular structure with two wings separated by a rectangular central courtyard. On the south side of the building facing the road there is a sabil fed by a cistern in the courtyard. To the left (west) of the sabil there is an arched entrance leading to the courtyard. The cistern is a rectangular structure (approximately 5m x 7m) with raised sides. The north wing has an arched opening in the centre similar to that on the south side. The exact function of the building is not clear although it clearly seems to be associated with water management. A building of similar design is located approximately 150m further west.

References: Abel 1967, II, index; Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 239; Abū Shāma RHC OR, index; Adler 1930, 93; Alderson 1843, 23 n.7, Pl. between 22 and 23; Baedeker 1876, 315; Bloom 1989, 32 n.56, 92, 95; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 191, 427, 428; Cuinet 1896, 613, 675; Stager in *EAE*, I, 103–112; Hartmann [Lewis] in *EI2*, I, 710–711; Orni in *EJ*, III, 713–718; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 135–149, 153–171; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 75–76; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Heyd 1956, 207, 215, Pl.29; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa Defremery and Sanguinetti I, 126–127; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, index; Idrīsī ed. Bombaci, 357; Khalidi 1992, 116–117; Le Strange 1890, index; Maqrīzī ed. Ziada and Ashour I, 590; Marmadji 1951, index; *MPF*, 10 No.30, 14 No.46; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 174–176; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 428–429; Nāṣir-i Khusraw ed. Schefer, 109; Palmer 1881, 358; PAM photo 1643; Prawer 1969–1970, index; Pringle 1984; Pringle 1993–, I, 61–68; Pringle 1997, 21 No.20; *RCEA*, I, No.42, VI, No.2188, VII, Nos.2698, 2788, 2789, VIII, No.2803; Robinson 1841, II, 368; Sharon 1995; Sharon 1997, 131–189; *SWP*, III, 237–242 (map XIX); *TIR* 68–70; al-ʿUlaymī translated by Sauvaire, index; Volney 1959, 165, 347; William of Tyre 1976, index; Williams 1983, 41–42; Wilson 1884, III, index; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 673.

14. al-ʿAwjā/ ʿAwjā Ḥafīr

Visited 4.96
Location 095.031
30.52N/34.26E

This site (Hb. Nizzana) is located on the northern part of the Israeli border with Egypt at the intersection of the Gaza–Red Sea route and the Syria–Egypt route (ca. 80km south-west of Bīr al-Sabʿ/ Hb. Beersheba).

The settlement (ancient Nessana) was founded as a Nabataean border post in the third century B.C.E. (for a concise history of the site, see Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XII, 1188; Shereshevski 1991, 49–50). During the later Roman period there was a considerable expansion of settlement with two churches and a fortress established on the site (*TIR* 196). The Nessana papyrii record the presence of a Muslim judge (*qāḍī*) in the town in 67 H. (687 C.E.) and excavations have revealed lamps dating to the ʿAbbasid period in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus (cf. Schick 1995, 420–421). Sedentary occupation appears, however, to have ceased in the eighth century C.E. (Gill 1992, 275, n.40). There was no permanent settlement on the site until the early 1900s when the Ottoman government established it as a *Qā'im-maqāmlik* to control bedouins in the area (Woolley and Lawrence 1915, 133). Construction at the site began in 1908 but was soon abandoned, only to be resumed at the outbreak of World War I, when it was used as a base for attacks against the Suez canal (Colt 1962, 1). The site contained a number of barracks and a military hospital which is still standing (see below and Colt 1962, Pls.I.1, I.2, V.1, LXVI).

Hospital (Plates 42–3)
The hospital is located on the summit of a hill which forms the centre of the site. It has a rectangular shape (approximately 10m x 20m) and is built on a low vaulted basement. The walls are constructed of reused ashlar masonry from the local churches and fortress. The roof was made of Marseille tiles resting on wooden beams (subsequently removed). The interior consists of a cruciform central hallway opening into a series of rectangular rooms or wards. The windows and doorways (four) are rectangular openings with decorative jambs and composite lintels.

References: Noy in *EAE*, III, 1145–1150; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XII, 1188; Colt 1962; Gill 1992, 275, n.40; Schick 1995, 420–421 *et passim*; Shereshevski 1991, 49–60; *TIR* 196; Woolley and Lawrence 1915, 89–147.

Plate 42. ʿAwjā Ḥafīr (Hb. Nizzana) (No. 14). Turkish military hospital.

Plate 43. ʿAwjā Ḥafīr (Hb. Nizzana) (No. 14). Turkish military hospital, basement.

15. ʿAyn Ḥayya (Khirbat)

Visited 25.4.94
Location 1991.2258
32.38N/35.31E

Ruined Building

This site is a ruined rectangular structure on the north side of Wādī al-Bīra (Hb. Nahal Tavor) near Belvoir castle. This is the largest of a group of buildings located on an old road (Ottoman or earlier) descending into the wadi.

Conder and Kitchener describe the site as: '... foundations of buildings apparently modern' (*SWP*, II, 121). More recently the building was surveyed by Gal who gives the following description: 'Apparently a Mameluke farmhouse or caravanserai; rooms arranged around a courtyard. Entrance to courtyard on western side facing a spring' (1991, 33*).

The building measures 34m by 38m and is built out of large (0.5m) roughly squared basalt blocks. The outer walls are 1m thick with an inner and outer face and a central core of rubble. There are no traces of mortar, suggesting either that the walls were laid dry or that mud mortar was used which has subsequently washed out. At present the maximum height of the wall is 1m although the rubble covering the lower parts of the wall implies that it was once considerable higher.

The interior contains a number of rooms built against the exterior walls (approximately six per side). On the north-west side there appears to be the remains of a corner tower whilst at the north end of the west wall there is evidence of a gateway.

Although Gal has suggested a Mamluk date for the building, the Ottoman period is perhaps more likely. The precise function of the building is not known although is likely that it was some part of a farm complex, possibly for the storage of grain before it was taken to the flour mills in the wadi below.

Mill

Location 1991.2248
This is located at the bottom of Wādī al-Bīra on the north side of the stream.

The remains comprise a mill race with a projecting conduit bringing water into the top of the mill. The lower part of the mill is now in ruins although a few walls and part of the water chute are visible. The exterior of the basalt walls is covered with mud and lime plaster and the interior is composed of rubble set in a matrix of mud mortar.

Several other mills were located in Gal's survey although these were not found during the present investigation.

References: Gal 1991, 33*; Palmer 1881, 162; *SWP*, I, 121 (map IX).

16. ʿAyn Jiddī

Visited 1.97
Location 187.097
31.28N/35.23E

ʿAyn Jiddī (Hb. En-Gedi) is one of the largest freshwater springs located on the west shore of the Dead Sea.

As might be expected the site has been settled from earliest times (for a summary of the ancient history of the site, see Barag in *EAE*, II, 399–409; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 204–207; Aharoni 1979, 434). Remains of a Chalcolithic temple have been excavated as well as a substantial Iron Age (seventh century B.C.E.) settlement known as Tel Goren (Hb.) which continued to be inhabited into the second century B.C.E.. The site was later turned into a Hasmonean royal estate which in the first century C.E. was taken over by the Romans. An unusual elongated bathhouse built in the second century C.E. testifies to Roman activity at the site. In the third century C.E. the settlement was of considerable size with its own synagogue. It is not clear when the settlement contracted although it now seems likely that the Muslim conquest did not result in the abandonment of the site. Evidence of occupation during the Umayyad period has recently been recognised (cf. Poree 1995, 405; Keynar 1986) and there are several references to the site during the Crusader period (Pringle 1993–, I, 30). In the

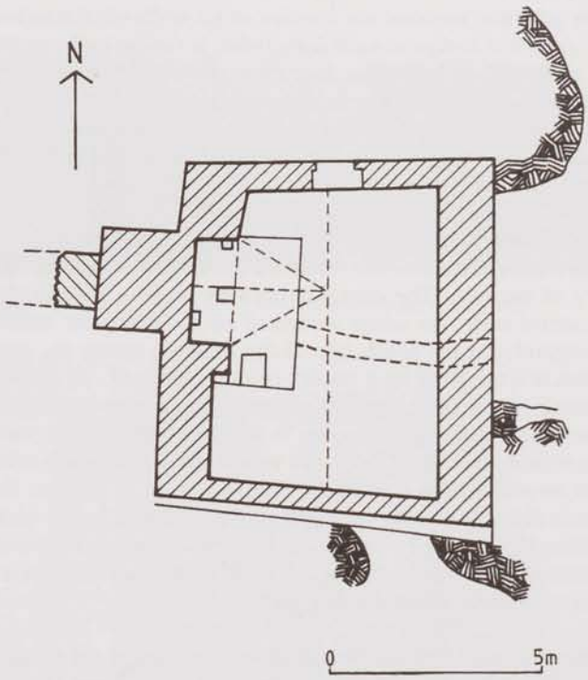


Fig. 19. ʿAyn Jiddī (Hb. En Geddi) (No. 16). Plan of mill.

Plate 44. ʿAyn Jiddī (Hb. En Geddi) (No. 16). Mill with entrance and 'chimney'.

Plate 45. ʿAyn Jiddī (Hb. En Geddi) (No. 16). South face.

Ottoman period the mill was rebuilt and continued in use until the mid nineteenth century (*SWP*, III, 386).

Mill

The mill is located on the side of the hill approximately 1km west of the Dead Sea and 700m north of Tel Goren. Approximately 20m north of the mill is a series of rock-cut plaster lined cisterns which stored the water used to power the mill.

The mill is an irregular rectangular structure made of squared blocks laid in regular courses with rubble blocks used for the vault (Fig. 19, Plates 44–45). On the north side it is built into the hill and on the south side it stands on large boulders and an artificial terrace or revetment. The aqueduct or mill race feeds into a square tower which is attached to the middle of the north side of the building. The entrance to the mill is a doorway in the middle of the east side. The interior was originally covered with a barrel-vaulted roof although this has now mostly collapsed. Set into the north side of the mill is a low platform which is the roof of a small (1m x 2.2m x 2.5m) vaulted chamber. This chamber originally housed the water wheel which must have been horizontal (cf. McQuitty 1995, 749). The wheel was powered by a jet of water emerging from a narrow hole (diameter 0.15m) almost 9m below the top of the tower.

The date of the building is not certain although it is claimed that the mill is an Umayyad (seventh–eighth centuries C.E.) construction which was rebuilt in the Ottoman period (Poree 1995; Keynar 1986). Whilst it is possible that the mill was used in the Islamic period for the processing of sugar, it should be noted that all reports of sugar cultivation in the Jordan valley date to before ca. 1500 C.E. (for the decline of the sugar industry in the fifteenth century, see Ashtor 1981, 112–120). Any rebuilding in the Ottoman period would probably have been for the purposes of milling grain (cf. McQuitty 1995, 749).

References: Abel 1967, II, 93, 152; Baedeker 1876, 284; Barag in *EAE*, II, 399–409; Keynar 1986; McQuitty 1995; Palmer 1881, 416; Poree 1995; Pringle 1993–, I, 30; Robinson 1841, II, 214–216; *SWP*, III, 384–388 (map XXII); Volney 1959, 160; Wilson 1884, III, 190, 192, 199–207.

17. ʿAyn Kārim

Visited 11.93
Location 1653.1304
31.46N/35.10E

ʿAyn Kārim is located on a steeply terraced hillside approximately 7km south-west of Jerusalem.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the site was settled as early as the Bronze Age (second millennium B.C.E.) and continued to be occupied during the Iron Age (Petrozzi 1988, 27). During the Roman and Byzantine periods the area was used for agriculture although the precise location of the settlement has not been determined (*TIR* 82; Petrozzi 1988, 28–32). Traditionally, the site is associated with John the Baptist who was brought here as a child to avoid Herod's edict ordering the killing of all new-born boys (Matthew 2:16–18). According to medieval tradition John began his ministry in the desert 3km to the west of the village (Petrozzi 1988, 140–148). The village is also connected with the Virgin Mary who is said to have made several visits to the site. Her visits are commemorated by the well bearing her name (Khalidi 1992, 269). The earliest mention of the village itself is in the tenth century Calendar of Sinaiticus where it is described as a village and a hamlet (Petrozzi 1988, 32 and 149).

There are two principal churches in the village both of which were founded in the Byzantine period. The Church of John the Baptist was built over the place of his birth. It was rebuilt by the Greeks in the eleventh century and in the twelfth century it was taken over by the Augustinian abbey of the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock). The other church was built to mark the place where, according to the Proto-Gospel of James, St. Elizabeth hid herself and her child, John the Baptist, to escape the massacre of the innocents by Herod. In the twelfth century this was rebuilt as the Cistercian abbey of St. John in the woods. Both churches are still standing although with alterations from subsequent periods.

After the Crusaders had withdrawn in 1187 the village appears to have declined in importance and may even have been abandoned. In 1300 control of the Church of the Visitation was given to the Armenians (Abel 1967, II, 295). By 1303 the village was part of the *waqf* of the hospice of the Maghribis (*zāwiya maghāriba*) in Jerusalem. The endowment deed described the place as follows: 'embracing land cultivated and uncultivated... rocky and plain... and derelict dwelling houses for its cultivators,... a small orchard, pomegranate and other trees watered from the village fountain, old olive trees, and carob, fig, and oak trees' (translation in Tibawi 1978, 11. And see *MPF*, 28 No.20; for the zawiya see al-ʿUlaymī 1876, 162). During the next two centuries descriptions of the number of inhabited houses differ widely, perhaps suggesting that the population was seasonal. Nevertheless, a small permanent settlement seems to have been established. The sixteenth-century Franciscan friar, Nicolas of Poggibonsi, describes the village as follows: '... the place is vast, with many houses and there live many wicked and grim Saracens' (cited in Petrozzi 1988, 46).

The first reliable accounts of the population of the village come from the sixteenth-century Ottoman tax registers which have been analysed in depth by Singer (1994, 71–75). The registers show that the population rose from 10 households in 1518–1519 to 39 in 1545 after which the level stabilised for the rest of the century. The rise in population is paralleled by a rise in tax yields of 50–60 percent. The taxable products included wheat, barley, grapes, olives, and carob trees. One-third of the revenue was sent to the hospice of the Maghribis in Jerusalem. In 1674 the Ottoman Sultan gave ʿAyn Kārim to the Franciscans (*SWP*, III, 19–20; Petrozzi 1988, 32–34). In the period between 1679–1681 some of the inhabitants of Bethlehem were moved to the village. In 1726 the village had nearly 90 houses, seven of which were inhabited by Christian families. In 1767 the place was visited by Mariti (1769–1776, II, 300) who noted the cultivation of fruit as the main activity of the locality. During

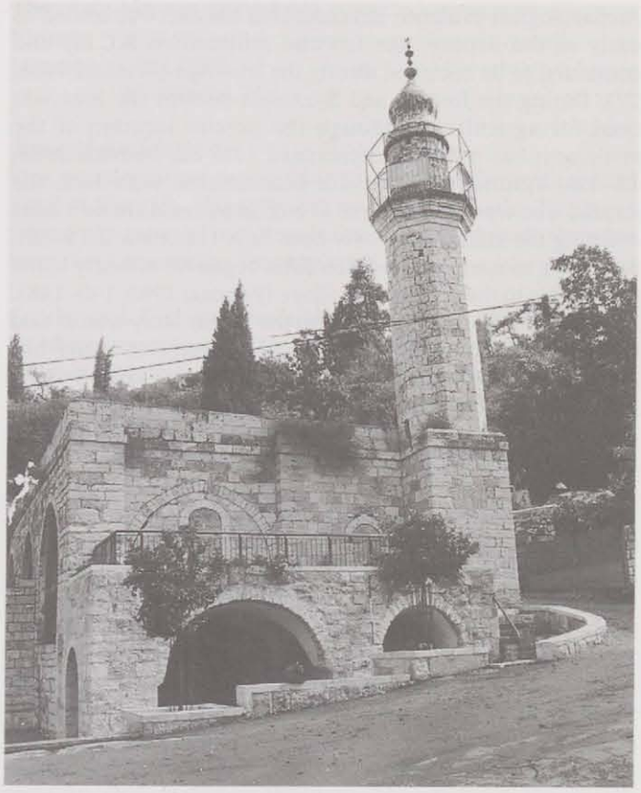


Plate 46. ʿAyn Kārim (No. 17). Mosque with St Mary's well.

the early 1800s the village was visited by Buckingham who described it as a small village with a few Christian inhabitants (Buckingham 1821, 227–229). In 1860 a convent for the sisters of our Lady of Sion was established, followed in 1871 by the establishment of a Russian monastery known as Mar Zachariah. At least six more religious orders established houses in the village between 1870 and 1948. In 1945 the village had a population of 2,500 Muslims and 670 Christians.

Mosques

It is not known when a mosque was first established in the village although an *imām* is recorded in 1531 (Singer 1994, 138). It is likely that a second mosque was established in the nineteenth century when the population expanded again.

Mosque over Mary's Well

This building is located to the south of the main road from Jerusalem to ʿAyn Shams (Hb. Bet Shemesh) which passes through the village. The west end of the mosque is built directly over the Well of the Virgin (Plate 46). The well is fed by a conduit passing underneath the mosque and is covered with a cross-vault resting on four piers.

Before 1948 the mosque was a two-storey structure although it is now reduced to a single level (see Petrozzi 1988, 30 Fig. 5). As it now stands the mosque consists of three main components: a courtyard, a prayer hall, and a minaret (Fig. 20). The courtyard is a rectangular enclosure on the north side of the prayer hall. The entrance to the courtyard is through an ornamental doorway set into the west side. The doorway is approached by a small flight of steps and is decorated with a marble panel in the tympanum of the arch. The semi-circular panel is carved with a design in low relief containing a central floral motif flanked by two star and crescent symbols and a date of 1244 H. (1828–1829 C.E.). The interior of the courtyard is roughly rectangular with an open arcade on the south side leading into the prayer hall. There is another doorway to the prayer hall at the west end. This entrance is approached by a flight of steps built over Mary's well. The interior of the prayer hall is a rectangular area divided into six cross-vaulted bays supported by two central piers and eight engaged piers. At the north side of the east end is an additional vaulted area which may be of a different date. In the south wall of the central bay there is a shallow mihrab built of dressed stone. To the west of the mihrab is a stone minbar decorated with a floral design carved in relief (Plate 47).

The minaret stands at the south-west corner of the prayer hall. This structure is approximately 12m tall and has an octagonal shaft supporting a bulbous dome with an elaborate finial at the top. There is a doorway into the tower from the roof and there may also have been a doorway from the ground floor (now blocked).

Domed Mosque

To the south of the Girls' School established by the Sisters of Sion there was a small domed mosque (now disappeared). A four line *naskhi* inscription was found on the lintel above the doorway of the mosque. The inscription commemorates the construction of the mosque by a 'Yūsuf' and describes its *waqf*.

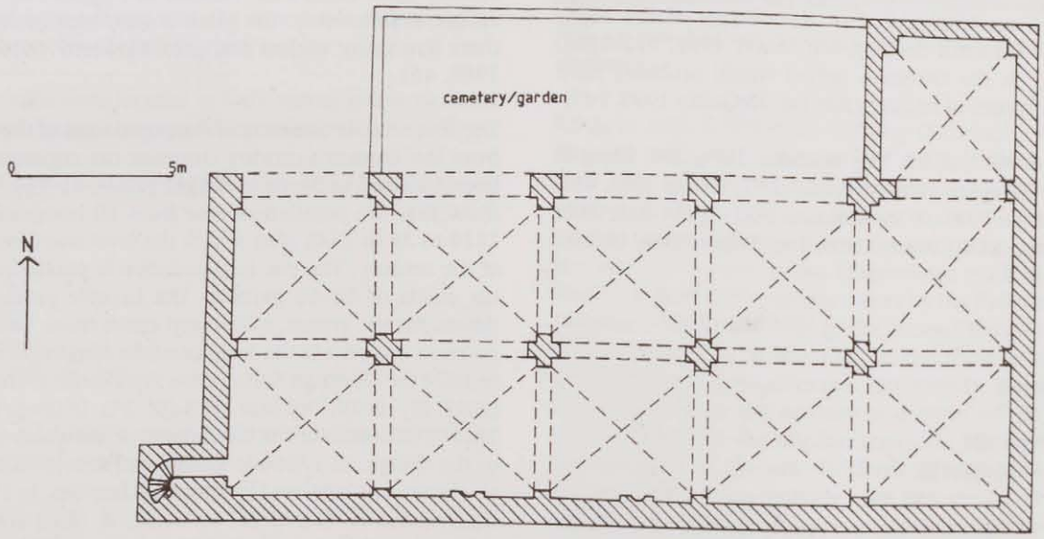


Fig. 20. ʿAyn Kārim (No. 17). Plan of mosque.

Plate 47. ʿAyn Kārim (No. 17). Prayer hall with mihrab and minbar.

Unfortunately, the inscription was badly worn and the date could not be read although Husseini, who saw the inscription earlier this century, suggests a sixteenth or seventeenth century date (PAM File 13.3.39). If the inscription is of this date it may be that this was one of the mosques established by imperial decree in 1537 (cf. Singer 1994, 9).

Shrine

Not visited

In the 1920s a record was made by McCown of a small maqām attributed to 'Abū Sall'. The photographs (McCown 1923, Pl.9) show it to be a square stone structure surmounted by a low dome and surrounded by a courtyard area paved in stone. The building appears to have had one entrance framed by a relieving arch. The interior contained two mihrabs as well as a cenotaph of the shaykh, and others of his descendants. The interior appears to have been plastered with roughly applied (henna?) paint at the top of the mihrabs (McCown 1923, Pl. 8). It is not clear whether this building is now extant.

References: Abel 1967, II, 295; Baedeker 1876, 275; Buckingham 1821, 173, 227–229; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, I, 462; Cuinet 1896, 532, 567, 653; Guérin, *Judée*, I, 83, II, 2; *HG*, 118; Khalidi 1992, 269; McCown 1923, 50–51, 53, Pls.7–9; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 300; *MPF*, 28 No.20; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 208; Palmer 1881, 280; PAM Husseini 13.3.39; Petrozzi 1988; Pringle 1993–, I, 30–47; Singer 1994, index; *SWP*, III, 19–20, 60–61 (map XVII); Tibawi 1978, 11; *TIR* 82.

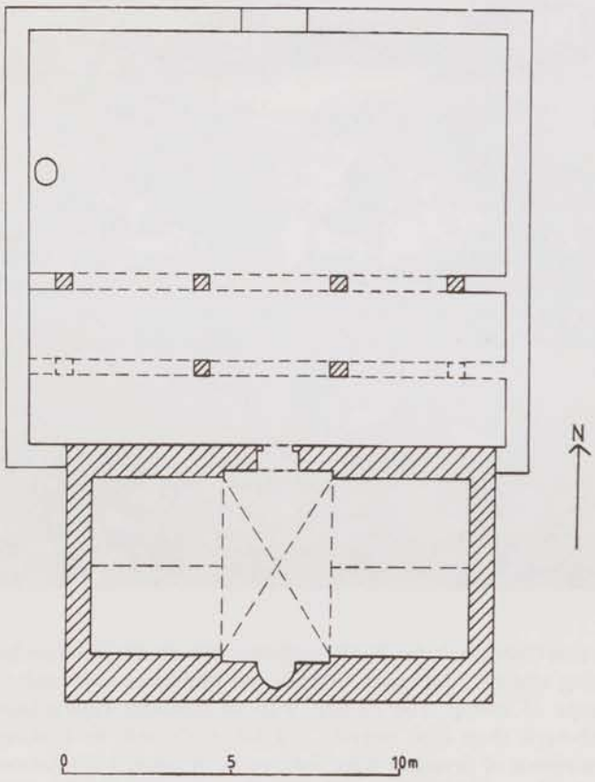


Fig. 21. ʿAyn Shams (No. 18). Plan of mosque.

18. ʿAyn Shams

Visited 19.8.93
Location 1475.1285
31.45N/34.58E

The deserted village of ʿAyn Shams is located 20km west of Jerusalem on the southern edge of the modern Israeli settlement of Bet Shemesh (Hb.).

The site is located on a spur overlooking the coastal plain. Immediately to the south of the site are the remains of the ancient settlement of Khirbat Rumayla (Hb. Tell Bet Shemesh). The ancient site has been extensively excavated revealing remains from the Bronze age to the Byzantine period (for the early history of the site, see Bunimovitz and Ledermann in *EAE*, I, 249–253; for the Roman period see *TIR*, 86). Following the Byzantine period the settlement appears to have shifted to the northern site. In the 1596 *daftar* ʿAyn Shams contained 39 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', vines, fruit, and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 152). By the nineteenth century the village had fallen into ruin

Plate 48. ʿAyn Shams (No. 18). South wall of mosque.

Plate 49. ʿAyn Shams (No. 18). Mosque interior with mihrab.

so that Guérin (*Judée*, II, 18) only saw five or six Arab families living amongst the ruins. Conder and Kitchener observed: '... heaps of stones and ruined wall of modern appearance' although they also noted '... a large 'Ozbeh, or summer settlement of drystone huts, with roofs of boughs inhabitated during harvest time' (*SWP*, III, 60). The reason for the desertion of the village is given by Grant as follows:

> Story says that a few generations ago the village of Dayr 'Aban was at feud with 'Ain Shems and wrecked it killing or driving away all the men, taking the women and the lands, the really valuable part, and that is why the possessions of Dayr 'Aban are so extensive (1929, 17).

Maqām Abū Mayzar

This is located on the north side of the main road which divides ʿAyn Shams from Khirbat Rumayla. The building is ruined and only the presence of the mihrab testifies to its identity (Fig. 21 and Plates 48–49). The mosque was mentioned both by Guérin and the *Survey of Western Palestine* although neither does more than note its name. The best description of the building is given by Grant who used it as a finds room during his excavations there in 1928. As the building is now destroyed it is worth quoting his description in full:

> On the other side of the hill is the country mosk with its walled yard, a fig tree and a cistern. In the south-western corner of the yard is a raised platform. Outside stone steps lead to the roof. Signs are plentiful that a Christian sanctuary preceded the mosk, and probably a Hebrew and a Canaanite place were there. Flanking the mosk door on either side of the yard are portions of column tops with Christian carving. The hollow ground around, the stone press-bed just outside the gate, here a bit there another tell of former sanctuaries (1929, 17).

> The mosk, or wely of Abu Meizar, at the foot of the hill is a great advantage. It has been swept and serves as a magazine and museum temporarily. In the yard which has a six foot wall or more, is a big fig tree and a pair of triple arches parallel

> with the front wall of the room. We have blocked up two openings in the wall of the yard and put a wooden gate at the entrance. The mosk room has a wooden door (1929, 78).

The extant remains consist of the south wall which stands to a height of 3m. The wall is built out of reused limestone blocks with an inner core of rubble. On the interior of the wall is the mihrab which is constructed of dressed stone with a pointed arch and no keystone.

References: Baedeker 1876, 320; Cuinet 1896, 608; Bunimovitz and Ledermann in *EAE*, I, 249–253; Grant 1929, 17, 78; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 18–22; *HG*, 152; Palmer 1881, 282; Robinson 1841, I, 37, III, 17–20; *SWP*, III, 60 (map XVII); *TIR*, 86; Wilson 1884, III, 153, 155, 156.

B

19. Bāb al-Wād

Visited 7.6.92
Location 1522.1355
31.49N/35.01E

Bāb al-Wād (Hb. Sha'ar Hagai) is located on the main Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road and marks the border between the coastal plain and the Judaean mountains. Three standing buildings are located at the site, a fort, and two late Ottoman khāns.

Fort

The fort stands on the north side of the road partially hidden by trees and bushes (Figs 22–23 and Plates 50–52). It is a square-plan building having the appearance of a large cube with a smaller cube resting on top. Next to the fort is a deep bottle-shaped cistern and on the east side is a ruined rectangular structure (possibly a cistern). The entrance to the fort is on the north side and comprises a large rectangular doorway with an arched head set within a shallow recess. The recess is bordered by a raised rectangular frame and the arch of the doorway is crowned with a rosette carved in relief. Either side of the doorway are projecting pierced stones for tethering horses. Directly above the entrance is a projecting machicolation resting on two corbels. The parapet either side of the machicolation is pierced by small (0.05m x 0.30m) gun slits, five on each side. Above the parapet are the remains of two trilobed stepped merlons. Each corner of the fort has a sloping triangular cut at the top for a splayed gun embrasure.

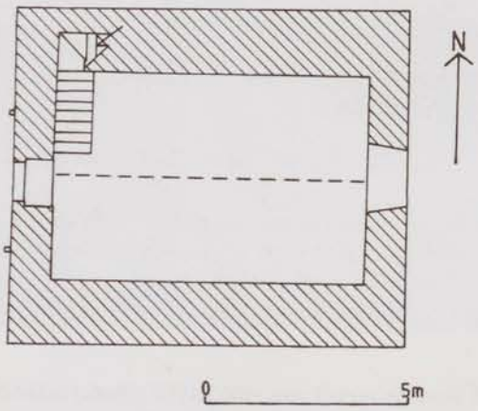


Fig. 22. Bāb al-Wād (No. 19). Fort. Ground floor.

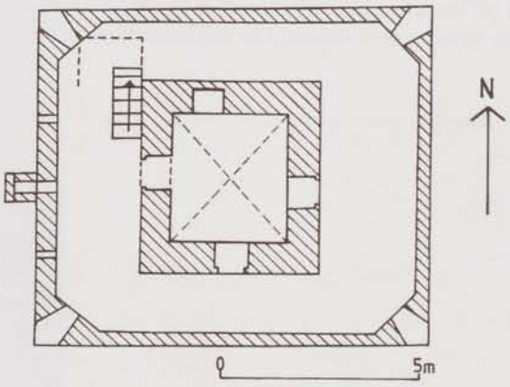


Fig. 23. Bāb al-Wād (No. 19). Fort. First floor.

The ground floor consists of a rectangular barrel-vaulted chamber with niches in the side (three in the east side and four in the west side). At the east end is a large window with an arched head.

To the left (north) of the entrance a staircase leads to the upper floor. Half-way up the stairs there is a right angle turn at which point there are two gun-slits, one facing west, the other north. The staircase emerges onto the upper floor through a hooded canopy.

In the centre of the upper floor is a small room covered by a cross-vault springing from brackets in the corners. The doorway to the room is on the north side and there are windows in the other three sides. There is a large hooded niche on the left-hand side of the east wall. The niche is now strengthened by a concrete lintel although it seems likely that it may once have been a chimney (there is much black soot in the niche). The parapet only survives on three sides and has collapsed on the east side.

The fort was built between 1859 and 1869 to protect the Jaffa to Jerusalem road (Kark 1990, 221). The other surviving example is the fort between Bayt Dajan (Hb. Bet Dagan) and Holon (Hb.) in greater Tel Aviv. Both forts have an archaic appearance and bear some resemblance to the sixteenth-century walls of Jerusalem which they were probably trying to imitate. Despite these archaic, probably ornamental features (machicolation and merlons) the fort was equipped with modern gun embrasures (cf. nineteenth-century Ottoman fortifications at Suakin on the east African coast. See Greenlaw 1976). The soldiers

Plate 50. Bāb al-Wād (No. 19). Fort, north side.

Plate 51. Bāb al-Wād (No. 19). Fort, with entrance and machicolation.

Plate 52. Bāb al-Wād (No. 19). Fort, interior.

manning the fort would have used the upstairs rooms whilst the lower part was probably used as secure stables for the horses.

Khān (1)

This building is located on the south side of the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv road next to the turning for ʿAyn Shams (Hb. Beth Shemesh).

This is a two-storey courtyard building with two major phases of construction. The first phase is characterised by weathered stone blocks of greyish colour, and the second phase by whitish yellow blocks of smaller size with tightly fitting sharp joints. Doorways and windows of both phases have segmental arches. At present the building is entered via a courtyard on the west side of the building. Immediately outside the courtyard are the remains of a collapsed barrel-vaulted room. In the north-west corner of the courtyard is a barrel-vaulted room containing a chimney and oven, which appears to have been a bakery. Other features of interest in the courtyard are a well or cistern, and a series of feeding troughs set beneath a large arch in the east wall. There are three doorways on the south side of the courtyard, each with a threshold more than 1m from the floor of the courtyard. The middle doorway leads into a passage providing access to the back of the building. The other two doorways each lead to a cross-vaulted room.

The gateway at the east end of the courtyard leads into a later part of the building. Inside is a large area originally covered by two large cross-vaults which have now collapsed. A door to the left (south) leads to the upper floor. The rooms on the eastern part of the upper floor have collapsed, although a cross-vaulted room survives on the south side (above the courtyard).

Khān (2)

This building is located 30m north-east of khān (1) at the edge of the motorway (Plate 53).

Plate 53. Bāb al-Wād (No. 19). Khān (2).

There are two entrances to this khān, one on the north side leading to the stables on the ground floor, and one on the south side leading directly to the upper floor. The stables were not examined in detail but appeared to comprise two vaulted rooms to either side of a central corridor.

The upper floor is entered via a set of steps leading into a vaulted vestibule (4m x 4m). The vestibule contains an oven with a chimney to the right of the door and a latrine in the north-east corner. A door on the left (west) leads to a room of similar dimensions. Both these rooms open onto a raised courtyard. Either side of the courtyard are large cross-vaulted rooms (both are now subdivided into smaller rooms). The north wall of the courtyard facing the road is made of a wooden framework filled with broken tiles and plaster. The courtyard was at one time covered with a tiled wooden roof. A photograph of the building taken in 1910 shows that there was originally a balcony on the front of the building approached by an external set of steps.

Unfortunately, the relative dates of the khans are not known, although it seems likely that they were in use at much the same time. In 1869 the Jerusalem–Jaffa road was paved for wheeled vehicles in honour of the visit of the Austrian emperor, Franz-Josef. It is suggested by Gavrieli that khān (2) was opened by a local Jew in response to this improvement in transport. If this is the case it may be that khān (1) was built some time earlier possibly at the same time as the construction of the fort (i.e. 1859). All three buildings became largely redundant in 1892 when the Jerusalem–Jaffa railway was opened.

According to Gavrieli (1976, 117) the khans and fort were classified as an historical site by the Ministry of the Interior in 1969. Since the construction of a new road junction in 1997 the khans have been conserved.

References: Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, I, 8, 38; Gavrieli 1976, 117; Kark 1990, 221; Palmer 1881, 287; *RCEA*, I, No.15; *SWP*, map XVII.

20. Badāwiyya (Khirbat al-)/ Dayr al-Badāwiyya

Visited 19.8.93
Location 1472.1268
31.44N/34.57E

This site stands on the east side of the road approximately 1km south of Bet Shemesh (Hb.) near the turning for Bayt Jimāl. The site contains the remains of several structures including rock-cut presses and wall lines. There is only one standing building, a large rectangular structure of large (reused) limestone blocks laid with lime mortar. The interior is divided into two rooms although the partition wall appears to be of a later date. Each room has its own doorway with a composite lintel beneath a shallow relieving arch. Both rooms were covered with large cross-vaults although only one of these has survived. Iron tie beams have been inserted to stop the building falling down (possibly since the collapse of one of the vaults). There were originally six windows (two on each long side and one at either end) although the windows on the north side have been blocked. At the north-east corner there are steps leading to the roof.

The building seems to represent several stages of construction as the blocked windows on the north side are very low and have distinctive pointed arches. It is possible that the building incorporates the remains of a medieval structure, although the latest phase clearly belongs to the late Ottoman period (see, for instance, the use of iron tie beams).

References: Guérin, *Judée*, II, 27.

21. Balad al-Shaykh

Visited 12.7.94
Location 1543.2419
32.46N/35.02E

Balad al-Shaykh is located on a north-facing slope at the foot of the western extension of Mount Carmel (Hb.). Although early remains have been found within the vicinity, the village does not appear to have been extensively occupied before the Ottoman period. The name is derived from the sixteenth-century sufi, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Sāḥilī (sp.), whose shrine stands at the centre of the village. According to Khalidi (1992, 151) the shaykh was granted the right to collect taxes from the village by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (1512–1520). In 1859 the village was visited by Edward Rogers, the British vice consul in Haifa, who estimated a population of 350. Sixteen years later Guérin estimated the population to be 500 (Guérin, *Galilée* I, 402; *SWP*, I, 281; Khalidi 1992, 152). In 1887 a secondary school was established in the centre of the village. The village was deserted by its Arab inhabitants in 1948 and is now a predominately Jewish town.

The two principal historic buildings in the village are the tomb of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Sāḥilī and a khān (now destroyed).

Tomb of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Sāḥilī (sp.)

The tomb stands within a walled cemetery (the wall is modern) surrounded by tall blocks of flats (Fig. 25, Plate 54). The south side of the shrine is cut into the rock of the hillside whilst the north side is built on a raised platform. On the south-west corner is a large buttress with sloping sides which appears to be of

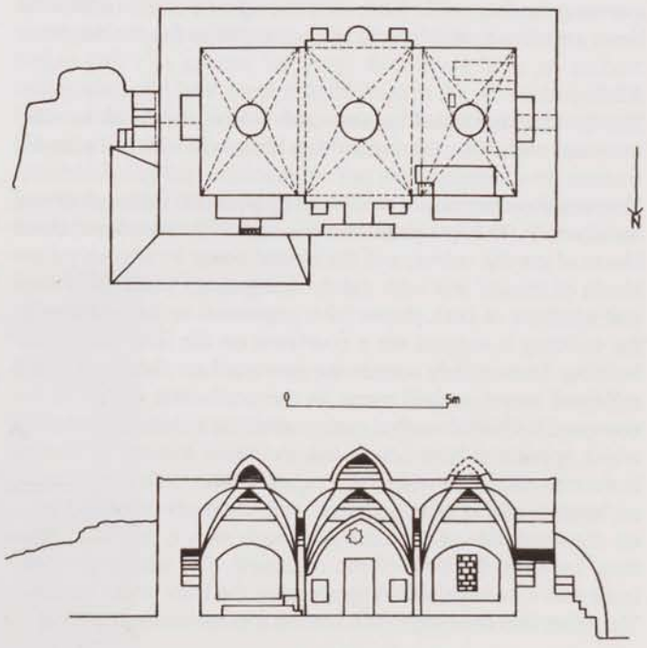


Fig. 25. Balad al-Shaykh (No. 21). Shrine of Sh ʿAbd Allāh al-Sāḥilī.

Plate 54. Balad al-Shaykh (No. 21). Mosque interior.

some considerable age. The main entrance is in the middle of the north side and consists of an arched recess (2m wide) with a rectangular doorway in the centre. Above the doorway, in the tympanum of the arch, is an opening in the form of an eight-pointed star. There is a smaller entrance on the east side reached by a small flight of steps, although this may originally have been a window. The interior is divided into three cross-vaulted bays. Each bay is roofed with a folded cross-vault with a small dome in the centre. In the middle of the south wall is a mihrab flanked with two square windows. In the west bay there are three cenotaphs or graves, one of which belongs to the shaykh. Ronen and Olami (1983, xvii, 40) refer to a rock-cut mihrab and steps leading to the roof of the shrine although neither of these was visible in 1994.

Khān

Until recently (at least 1965) there was a large building known as the khān which stood immediately to the south-east of the shrine. Today no trace of this structure survives and the area is covered with a car park (for plan see Fig. 24).

Ronen and Olami (1983, xvii) give a description of this building as follows:

> A stone-paved area bordered by a fence lies at the right and left of the khan's facade. On the south-western side of the building, there are a number of tombstones and additional tombs... The khan structure is located south-west of the tomb, built completely of ashlar stones. Its entrance is from the south-east; consists of two chambers, each of which is divided into two storeys by large wooden beams supporting the floor of the second storey. The roof of the khan is reached by a staircase from the second floor.

Ronen and Olami (1983, xvii) suggest that both the khān and the shrine date from the Mamluk period. This is unlikely if shaykh ʿAbd Allāh was a sixteenth-century saint, although it is possible that the shrine dates from the early Ottoman period (i.e. sixteenth or seventeenth century). The khān is likely to be of a later date and probably accommodated pilgrims and other visitors to the shrine.

References: Buckingham 1821, 114; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 402; Israel 1976; Khalidi 1992, 151–152; Palmer 1881, 107; Robinson 1841, II, 124; Ronen and Olami 1983, xvii, 40; *SWP*, I, 281 (map V).

22. Bardagha (Khirbat)

Visited —
Location 120.128
31.45N/34.41E

This deserted site was located on a hill approximately 8km north of Majdal (2).

The site contained a number of ruins including cisterns and has been dated by pottery finds to the Roman and early Islamic period. The most distinctive feature of the site is a large square building with domed room in the centre, which was located at the base of the mound. The stone facing of the building had been robbed, leaving the rubble core exposed.

References: Mandate Photos 29.830, 3315; Palmer 1881, 269; *SWP*, II, 423 (map XVI).

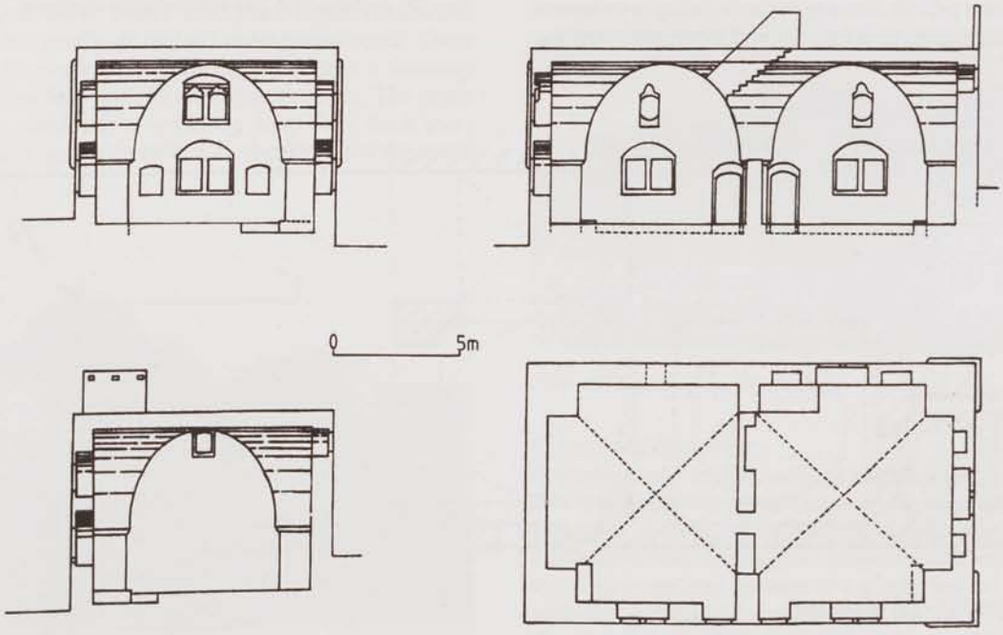


Fig. 24. Balad al-Shaykh (No. 21). Khān.

23. Bashshīt

Visited 23.6.94
Location 1264.1370
31.49N/34.45E

This site is located in the centre of the modern Israeli settlement of 'Asseret (Hb.) north-west of Gedera (Hb.) junction.

The village was obviously of some antiquity and was known to the Crusaders as Basit. The thirteenth-century geographer, Yāqūt, noted that the village was in the Ramla district and that Abū'l-Qāsim Khalaf b. Hibba Allāh b. Qāsim b. Samāḥ al-Bashshīṭī came from there (ed. Wustenfeld, I, 635). Ibn al-ʿImad al-Ḥanbalī (died 1678) noted that the famous grammarian and chronicler, Jamal al-Bashshīṭī (died 1417), came from this village (Khalidi, 1992, 363). In the nineteenth century Bashshīt was an important village between Yibnā and Isdūd, with mudbrick houses, gardens with cactus hedges, a triple-domed mosque, and a masonry well (*SWP*, II, 1882, 409). Today little remains except two houses and the mosque.

Mosque

The mosque, known as Nabī Shīt, stands on the side of a hill in the centre of the former village (Fig. 26 and Plates 55–56). It is an 'L'-shaped building with a long rectangular courtyard to the east. At the west end of the courtyard is an arcade of three vaulted bays, two in front and one behind. Two of the bays are domed whilst the third bay (on the north-east side) is roofed with a cross-vault. The north wall of this bay contains a small blocked window. To the south are the two domed bays, both with south-facing windows. The south-east bay also has a mihrab and a fixed minbar set into the south wall. A doorway at the back of the south-west bay opens into a small dark room covered with a tall dome. In the south wall of this room is a very shallow mihrab. Externally both mihrabs are visible as conical buttresses. The location of the tomb of Nabī Shīt is not clear although it seems likely that it was in the inner room.

The description of the site in the Mandate Files (PAM Ory 26.7.47) notes a building 'that may once have been domed'. If this is the case it suggests that the domes were rebuilt during the British Mandate period. The age of the building is unknown although it certainly dates to before the mid nineteenth century. The present structure is not likely, however, to be much older than the sixteenth century although the shrine itself may be more ancient.

References: Guérin, *Judée*, II, 66; Khalidi 1992, 362–363; Palmer 1881, 266; PAM Ory 26.7.47; *SWP*, II, 409 (map XVI); Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, I, 635.

Plate 55. Bashshīt (No. 23). Mosque from south-west.

Plate 56. Bashshīt (No. 23). Mosque from courtyard.

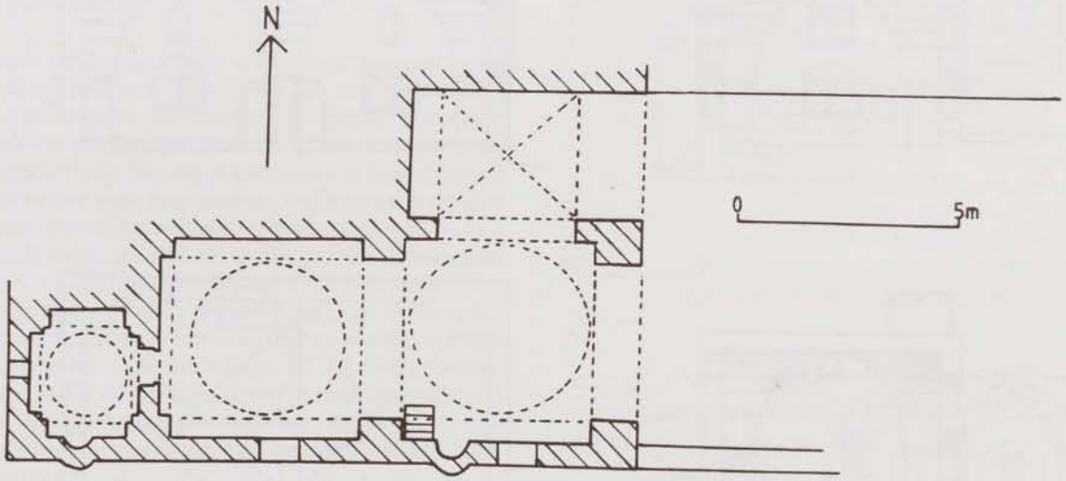


Fig 26. Bashshīt (No. 23). Plan of mosque.

24. Baṣṣa (ʿAyn al-)

Visited 9.92
Location 164.276
33.05N/35.08E

The village of Baṣṣa was located at the foot of the hills which form Lebanon's southern border.

During the Roman period the village, known as Bezeth, belonged to the territory of Tyre. During Byzantine times the village contained the church of St. Zacharias and nearby was the monastery of Shelomi (*TIR*,89). In the twelfth century it was called ʿAyn al-Baṣṣa. The site was used in 1189 C.E. as a Crusader encampment during a military campaign (Abū Shāma RHC Or, IV, 406). In October 1200 the village was sold by Aimery, King of Jerusalem, and Cyprus to the Teutonic Order (Strehlke, *Tab Ord. Teut.* 31, No.38). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in the *nāḥiya* of Tibnin and contained 104 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olives, cotton, and fruit (*HG*, 181). During the eighteenth century the village was part of a disputed area between Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar and the chiefs of the Jabal ʿAmil (Khalidi 1992, 6). Under Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha, governor of Acre in the latter part of the eighteenth century, al-Baṣṣa became capital of the *nāḥiya* (Cohen 1973, 124). In the latter part of the nineteenth century the population was estimated at just over a thousand people (*SWP*, I, 145). The village was depopulated in 1948.

Although most of the houses have been destroyed, a number of historic buildings survived including two churches, a mosque, and a maqām.

Mosque

This appears to be a fairly modern construction, probably built in the early 1900s. It consists of a tall square room with a flat roof supported by iron girders. At the north-east corner is a short cylindrical minaret. There are tall pointed windows on all four sides and a mihrab in the middle of the south wall. At present the building is used as a sheep pen.

Maqām

This building is located approximately 20m to the east of the mosque described above (Plate 57). The maqām consists of two parts, a walled courtyard and a domed prayer room. There is a mihrab in the south wall of the courtyard and a doorway in the east wall leading into the main prayer room. The dome is supported by pendentives springing from four thick piers which also support wide side arches. In the middle of the south wall there is a mihrab next to a simple minbar made of four stone steps.

Plate 57. Baṣṣa (No. 24). Mosque from west.

References: Abū Shāma RHC Or, IV, 406; Baedeker 1876, 424, 430; Cohen 1973, 124; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 153; *HG*, 181; Khalidi 1992, 6–9; Palmer 1881, 39; Strehlke, *Tab Ord. Teut.* 31, No.38; *SWP*, I, 145, 156, 167 (map III); *TIR*, 89.

25. Baṣṣūm (Khirbat)

Visited 8.94
Location 1954.2378
32.44N/35.28E

This deserted village site is located at the foot of an escarpment 7km west of the Sea of Galilee and 5km east of Kafr Kāma.

The site was inspected by the Department of Antiquities in 1921 and described as: 'a deserted Arab village on an ancient site' (PAM Report 22.11.21). The site consists of a number of basalt ruins amongst which can be distinguished a large courtyard building, the mosque of Shaykh Baṣṣūm, and a large graveyard. The site appears to have been deserted for some time (at least a hundred years). There is a spring south-west of the site.

Mosque

This is a rectangular domed structure built into the hillside (Plate 58). There is a low entrance in the middle of the north wall. The doorway leads directly into a central domed area with a mihrab in the south wall. Either side of the domed area are vaulted galleries, each of which is approximately 5m long.

Cemetery

Between the mosque and the main part of the village is a large disused graveyard. Graves are marked with kerbs of field stones with larger blocks used as headstones.

Plate 58. Baṣṣūm (No. 25). Mosque.

Courtyard Building

Approximately 100m north of the mosque is a large square courtyard building (approximately 25m per side). The central courtyard is enclosed by vaulted rooms, most of which have collapsed or are inaccessible. However, the southern range has survived better and consists of a single vaulted room or gallery with the remains of a manger on the south wall (Plate 59). The function of this building is not known although its shape resembles that of a khān.

Plate 59. Baṣṣūm (No. 25). Vault in courtyard building.

References: Abel 1967, II, 17; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 265; Palmer 1881, 128; PAM Report 21.11.21; Robinson 1841, III, 237; *SWP*, I, 365–366 (map VI).

26. Baysān

Visited 11.93, 5.95
Location 1976.2115
32.30N/35.30E

This site is located 30km south of Tiberias at the junction of the Jezreel (Hb.) and Jordan valleys.

Baysān is one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in Palestine with occupation dating back to the Late Neolithic period (for a discussion of the ancient periods, see Tzori in *EAE*, I, 214–235; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 171–175). The site is mentioned in Egyptian sources from the New Kingdom and in the Amarna letters from the fourteenth century B.C.E. (Aharoni 1979, 151, 432). During the Hellenistic and Roman periods the city was known either as Nysa or Scythopolis (*TIR* 223–5). In later Roman and Byzantine times the city was capital of the metropolitan see of Palaestina Secunda. Excavations carried out from the 1920s to the present day have confirmed the importance of the city during all these periods.

Pre-Hellenistic settlement is centred around Tal al-Ḥuṣn, a tall mound which dominates the later city. From the Hellenistic to early Islamic periods, activity was concentrated in a flat area at the base of the tell. The city was captured by the Arabs in 636 C.E. under Shurabḥīl b. Ḥasana and incorporated into the *jund* of al-Urdunn (for a concise history of Islamic Baysān see Sourdel-Thomine in *EI2*, I, 1138–1139). During the early Islamic period there was renewed occupation of the tell with the construction of a fortification wall which enclosed a number of houses and a small mosque (Fitzgerald 1931, 11–17, Pl.XXIII, 2). During this period the centre of the Classical city appears to have become an industrial and commercial area (evidence of textile dyeing and pottery production has been uncovered during recent excavations). Textile dyeing was carried out within a large domed building of the early Byzantine period. The dome rested on four large piers between which smaller rooms were built. Each room contained six plastered vats fed with water from an open channel and drained by pottery pipes (Bar-Naton and Mazor 1993, 37–38 and colour Pl.E). In view of the presence of an indigo industry in the early sixteenth century (*HG*, 168), it is possible that the vats could have been used for dyeing with indigo (see also Koren 1993, 20–21). Pottery production was carried out in the north-east part of the theatre complex and included 10 kilns, a settling pool, and a store room for clay. The area was paved with fragments of marble and basalt slabs (Bar-Naton and Mazor 1993, 36–37). There was a market area entered through a gateway carrying a glass mosaic inscription (Khamis 1997, 45–64 and 188).

After the earthquake of 749 C.E. settlement continued, although the plan of the earlier city appears to have been abandoned. During the ʿAbbasid and Fatimid periods a narrow street ran over the line of the previous Roman street. Either side of the street there were courtyard buildings with workshops attached. To the rear of the Nymphaeum a small mosque was built (Tsafrir and Foester 1993, 7, 13, 14 and Fig.2). Muqaddasī, who visited the place in the latter part of the tenth century, described it as a flourishing city producing all the rice that is consumed in the provinces of al-Urdunn and Filasṭīn (ed. de Goeje, 162). Other sources confirm that, until the end of the fifteenth century, Baysān remained a centre of specialised agriculture (for instance, see: Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 243; Ibn Shaddād ed. Dahan, 136). There is evidence, however, that the town itself decreased in size and in significance: the twelfth-century writer Idrīsī notes of Baysān that it is 'now very small' (Idrīsī, ed. Bombaci, 356).

In 1099 C.E. the town was captured by the Crusaders who referred to it as Bethsan and made it the centre of a barony (Ellenblum 1998, 62). In 1187 the town returned to Muslim control after its capture by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Apart from a brief raid in 1217 the city remained under Muslim control for the remainder of the Crusader period. Although there are traces of Ayyubid and Mamluk settlement in the centre of the Classical city and on the tell (Mazar 1995, 59–60), the nucleus of the site appears to have moved to the area around the Crusader castle (Tsafrir and Foester 1993, 19–20, Figs. 23, 30). The construction of Khān al-Aḥmar is evidence of the prosperous economy of Baysān in the fourteenth century (see Khān al-Aḥmar below). The town was also a terminus on the postal route running east–west across the Jordan valley (al-ʿUmarī ed. Shams al-Din, 248; Sauvaget 1941, 73–75; Kareem 1992).

During the Ottoman period the town continued as an agricultural centre although the khān is not mentioned in official records. Baysān appears in the 1596 *daftar* as a village (*qarya*) in *nāḥiya* Ghawr. The population was recorded as 38

households (*khāna*) and four bachelors (*mujarrad*). Produce included wheat, barley, 'summer crops', sesame, water buffalo, and 'goats and bees'. Of special importance was the production of indigo (*nīla*) which was a tropical plant restricted to the Jordan valley (*HG*, 83, 168).

During the later Ottoman period the village continued to be inhabited, although it attracted little interest. In 1812 Burckhardt visited Baysān and described it as a village with 70 or 80 houses. He also noted that the inhabitants were in a miserable condition: '... from being exposed to the depredations of the Bedouins of the Ghor, to whom they also pay a heavey tribute' (1822, 343).

Mosques

Muqaddasī noted that the mosque stood in the market place and that 'many men of piety make their home in this town' (1963, 180). A later writer, al-Harawī, says that the mosque was attributed to ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb (ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 54). It is possible that the mosque referred to by Muqaddasī and al-Harawī is that which was discovered during recent excavations (Tsafrir and Foester 1993, 7, 13, 14, Fig.2). Conder and Kitchener record three mosques, the Jāmiʿ al-Arbʿayn Ghāzawī (the 'Mosque of the Forty Warriors'), Jāmiʿ ʿAlam al-Dīn, and a mosque by the tree south of the castle (*SWP*, II, map facing 115). Only Jāmiʿ al-Arbʿayn has survived (see below).

Jāmiʿ al-Arbʿayn

Visited 15.11.93

Location 1977.2117

This building is located on the edge of the plateau overlooking Wādī Jalūd (Hb. Nahal Harod) approximately 250m north-east of the Crusader fortress/Old Sarāy (Fig. 27, Plate 60). In the 1870s the building was in ruins although it was later rebuilt, possibly at the same time as the construction of the New Sarāy (see below). At present the building is used as a store by the Israel Antiquities Authority.

In its present form the mosque consists of a prayer hall set within a large rectangular enclosure. At the back of the prayer hall is a square minaret. The enclosure wall is approximately 2m high and has a gateway in the west side. In front of the prayer hall are remains of a square ablutions fountain which in Mandate times was connected to the prayer hall by a covered walkway (Ben-Dor 1943, 21). At each corner of the prayer hall

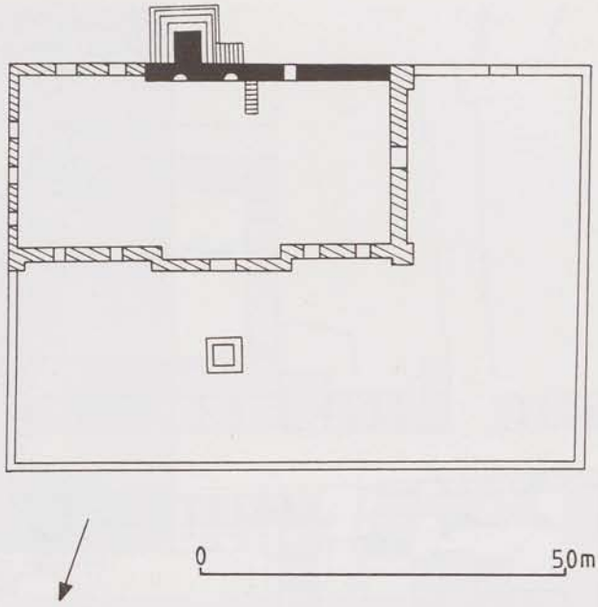


Fig. 27. Baysān (No. 26). Jāmiʿ al-Arbʿayn. Plan.

there are projecting square buttresses. The central part of the north face of the building is offset from the main part of the facade. There are two entrances to the prayer hall, one in the west side and one in the north side.

The minaret is approximately 10m tall and rests on a solid rectangular base. The junction between the base and the shaft is made by a series of five steps. On the west side of the base there are series of steps leading up to the roof. A doorway in the north face of the minaret gives access to a staircase leading to the top of the tower

The interior of the prayer hall is a large rectangular area lit by 10 windows. The roof is made of concrete supported by iron girders. Approximately in the middle of the south wall is a tall stone minbar with a canopy supported by columns at the top. To the left (east) of the minbar are two plain mihrabs. Before its rebuilding there was apparently an inscription on the wall above the mihrab. The inscription was read and translated by Drake as follows:

Plate 60. Baysān (No. 26). Mosque from south-west.

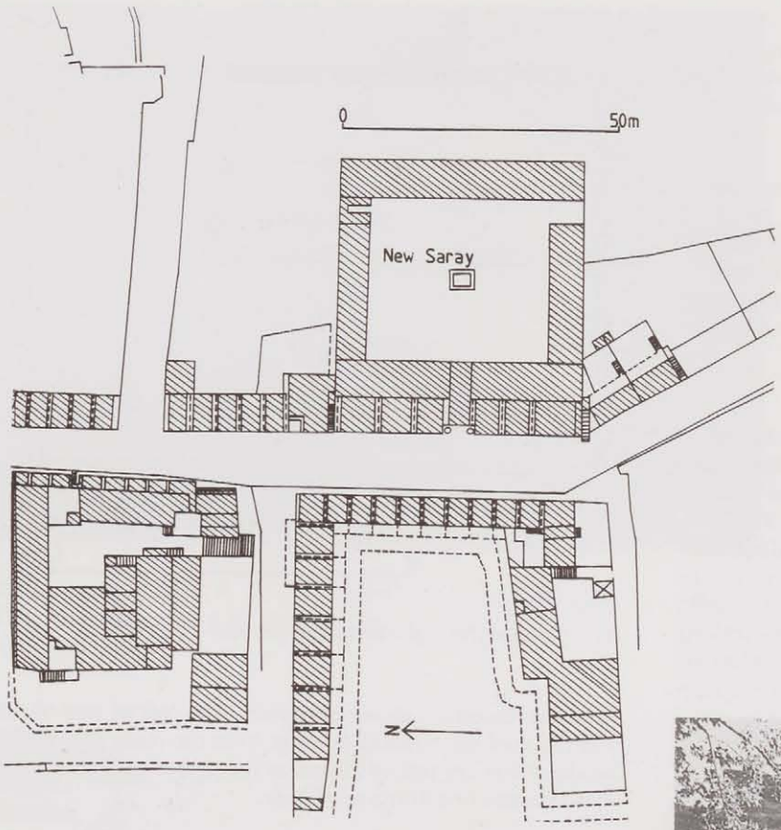


Fig. 28. Baysān (No. 26). New Sarāy. Plan.

> In the name of God... through God, when the end of the building was accomplished by the ransom [this word is doubtful] of Akka, the blessing of God be perfected and prayers in it upon Muhammed. And the completion was in the year..[lacuna] and ninety and one hundred (A.D. 806) (cited in *SWP*, II, 105).

This translation led Ben-Dor to the conclusion that the mosque was built in 1403 C.E. based on an assumption that '806' was actually the *hijra* date. Whilst it is difficult to establish from this translation what may have been included in the lacuna in the latter part of the text, it seems likely that a ninth-century C.E. date can be assigned to the inscription.

Although in its present form the mosque dates to the latter part of the Ottoman period, it clearly incorporates elements of an older structure. The eastern part of the prayer hall and the iron girders of the roof were probably added when the mosque was rebuilt after the 1870s. The rest of the building was also restored in the nineteenth century although it was constructed upon the ruins of an older building. The shape of the minaret is consistent with an early date, possibly in the ᶜAbbasid period (see above).

New Sarāy

Visited 15.11.93
Location 1976.2115

This building is located 200m to the east of the Roman amphitheatre and next to the Crusader fortress (Fig. 28 and Plates 61–62). It was built to replace the Old Sarāy which was housed in the remains of the twelfth-century Crusader castle (Boaz 1990, 129 and Pringle 1997, 25).

The New Sarāy stood at the centre of the Ottoman village opposite the Old Sarāy and facing the main road to Tiberias and al-Rīḥā (Jericho). It is a square building with a central courtyard and a gateway in the west side. The west range is two storeys high; the other sides are only one storey high. The east side of the building is now in ruins. The entrance consists of a broad arch carried on two reused marble columns with Corinthian capitals. Behind this arch is a gateway covered with a lintel above which there is an inscription. This states that the saray was built in 1302 H. (1884–1885 C.E.) during the reign of the Ottoman sultan ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II. The gateway leads into a barrel-vaulted passage providing access to the interior. Either side of the entrance are long cross-vaulted galleries which give access to vaulted rooms. In the centre of the courtyard there is a square pool.

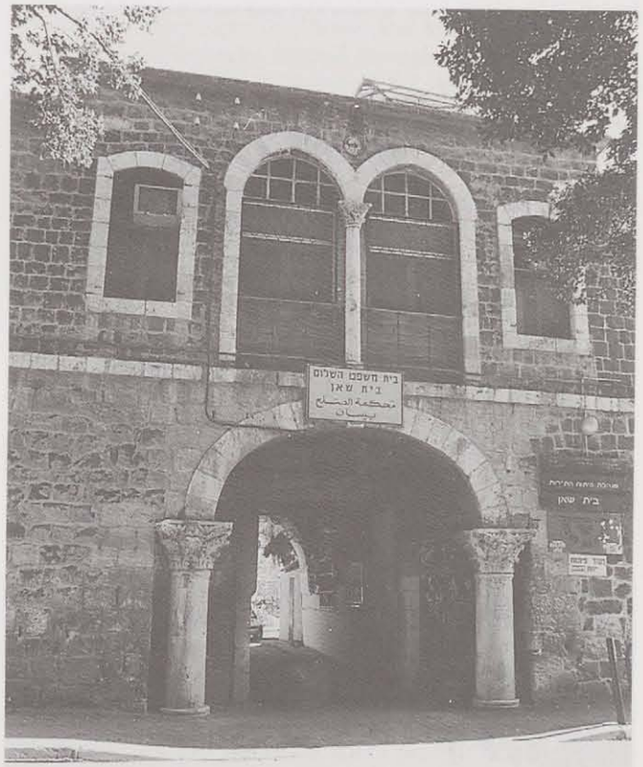


Plate 61. Baysān (No. 26). New Sarāy entrance.

Plate 62. Baysān (No. 26). New Sarāy interior (A. Petersen 1993).

Plate 63. Baysān (No. 26). Khān al-Aḥmar from south (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Khān al-Aḥmar
Visited 27.5.95
Location 1967.2134

This building is located on the west of the town centre near the old railway station (now disused). According to Mayer (1932) the name of the Khān al-Aḥmar (the 'Red Khan') is derived from the red soil on which it stands rather than from any red masonry incorporated into the structure (1932, 96). In 1923 Jaussen published the text of the khan's foundation inscription. This was written on a piece of stone (a lintel ?) measuring 3.2m long and 0.6m wide (Plate 64). The inscription was written in three lines and may be translated as follows:

> The foundation of this blessed khan was ordered by the poor servant of Allāh, who waits for the pardon of his master, Salār son of ʿAbd Allāh, functionary of al-Malik, al Manṣūrī al-Nāṣirī, viceroy of all the Muslim provinces, may Allāh strengthen his companions - and him that constituted and preserved and consecrated the revenues for those people who desire it, the face of Allāh the Highest, and asking for the agreement of Allāh the

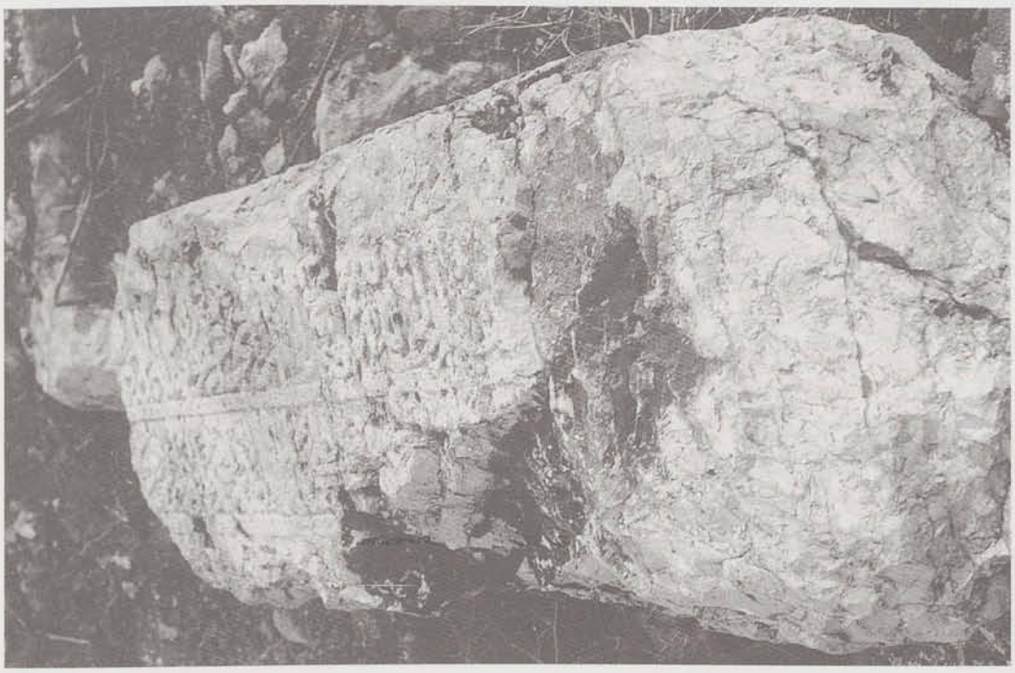


Plate 64. Baysān (No. 26). Khān al-Aḥmar. Inscribed lintel (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

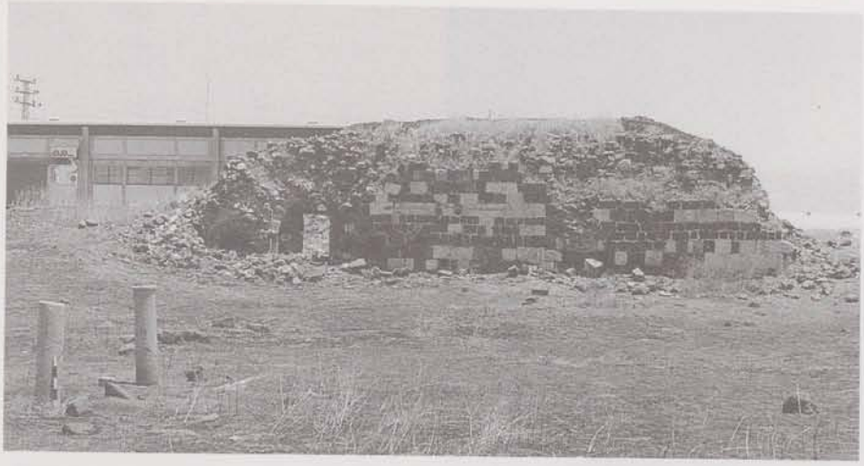


Plate 65. Baysān (No. 26). Khān al-Aḥmar. Interior.

Plate 66. Baysān (No. 26). Mill (2) looking north (A. Petersen 1991).

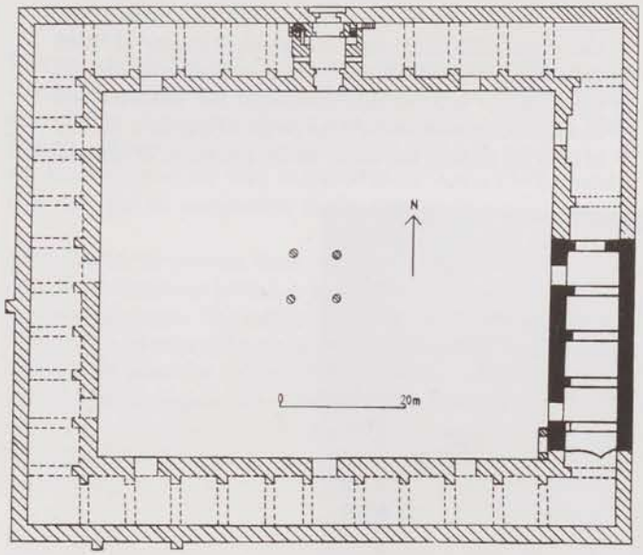


Fig. 29. Baysān (No. 26). Khān al-Aḥmar. Plan.

> Highest: who receives from him this benefit. It was done on the first day of Jumādā in the year 708 H. [October–November 1308 C.E.](adapted from translation in *RCEA*, XIV, No.5235).

Mayer also notes that Salār is recorded by al-Ṣafadī as having built a khān at Baysān (cited in Mayer 1932, 96, n.1).

The khān consists of a huge rectangular enclosure (82.3m x 71.6m) with four marble columns in the centre (two of these have fallen). The only part of the structures still standing is a section of three vaults at the southern end of the east side (see Fig. 29 and Plates 63 and 65). The rest of the structure is only visible as earth mounds with occasional fragments of rubble. There are several reused Classical elements amongst the ruins of the khān including a badly eroded capital and part of a cornice.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the khān was visited by Burckhardt who observes that it was used as a halting place for those taking the fast route between Jerusalem and Damascus (1822, 343). By the time Guérin saw it in the 1870s it was still standing but had been abandoned. He described it as follows:

> The south face is in great part overthrown, as well as the gate which opened on this side. The remaining faces are better preserved: that of the north is nearly perfect. It is built of good cut stones, which doubtless came from the ruins of Bethshaen, and is pierced by a door constructed of superb blocks, alternately black and white, very regularly dressed and of considerable dimensions. This door, which corresponds to that on the south side, now destroyed, rests on two abutments crowned by a magnificent lintel, which is itself surmounted by an ogival arch. It opens upon a vestibule formerly closed by an interior door (Guérin, *Samarie*, I, 300: translation in *SWP*, II, 120).

Several years later the khān was surveyed by Conder and Kitchener, who also published a plan of the building (*SWP*, II, fig. on p. 120). Their account gives additional information and corrects mistakes in Guérin's description (for instance, Guérin

supposed that the building was square whilst it is actually rectangular in plan). Of particular interest is the description of the gateway given by Conder and Kitchener:

> The main entrance is on the north, a gateway with a pointed arch; on either side is a staircase leading to the roof. That on the left (west) is circular... The lintel within the pointed arch of the north doorway is 15 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet wide, 3 feet high. Another lintel to the side door is 6 feet by 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, dressed to represent a stone with two bosses and a draft three inches broad. The whole is dressed smooth, and the separation is shown by a groove cut in the face (*SWP*, II, 119–120).

Mills

Recent archaeological excavations have revealed two medieval flour mills amongst the ruins of the Classical city (Tsafrir and Foester 1991, 128; Yeivin 1988, 30). The 1596 *daftar* mentions one or more water mills (*ṭāḥūn*) at Baysān paying tax of 180 *aqja* (*HG*, 168). Conder and Kitchener record five working mills and four ruined mills in the vicinity of the town. Remains of two of these mills can still be seen. Both are probably datable to the Ottoman period.

Mill (1) Ṭāḥūn al-Tufah (sp.)

This is located on the north bank of the wadi approximately 10m south of the Jisr al-Khān on the ᶜAfūla road.

The mill consists of a large room (6m x 8m) resting on a substructure of three arched vaults. Behind the room is a tower-like structure (chimney) fed by an elevated channel (mill race) running east–west. The channel splits in two before entering the chimney.

Mill (2) (Ṭāḥūn al-Ārja)

This is located approximately 250m east of Mill (1) on the south side of the wadi.

This is a rectangular structure divided into two rooms, east and west. Beneath the west room is a large barrel-vault. At the back of the structure in line with the vault is a round chimney fed by an elevated mill race.

(Other mills were Ṭāḥūn Rashīd, Ṭāḥūn al-Wādī (ruined), Ṭāḥūn al-Qūsī, Ṭāḥūn al-Kulum (sp.), Ṭāḥūn al-Mālḥa, and three unnamed and ruined mills.)

Houses

The houses of the Umayyad period on Tal al-Ḥuṣn were built either side of a planned street within enclosure walls constructed during the Byzantine or early Islamic periods (Fitzgerald 1931, 4–5). They were built around courtyards with lanes running in between. Walls were made of small stones, and roofs made of short wooden beams supported by transverse arches.

The nineteenth-century houses were described by Conder and Kitchener as: '... built in irregular blocks, with yards in front, surrounded by mud walls' (*SWP*, II, 83).

References (general): Abel 1967, II, 20, 59, 80; Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 243; Baedeker 1876, 337; Bar-Naton and Mazor 1993; Ben-Dor 1943; Boaz 1990; Burckhardt 1822, 343; Tzori in *EAE*, I, 214–235; Sourdel-Thomine in *EI2*, I, 1138–1139; Oren in *EJ*, IV, 757–764; Fitzgerald 1931; Guérin, *Samarie*, I, 284–289; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 54; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Hartmann 1918, *passim*; *HG*, 83, 168; Idrīsī ed. Bombaci, 356 *et passim*; Ibn Shaddād ed. Miquel, 136; Jaussen 1923; Khamis 1997, 45–64 and 188; Koren 1993, 20–21; Le Strange 1890, index; McCown 1923, Pl.10; Marmadji 1951, index; Mazar 1995; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 162; Muqaddasī ed. Miquel, 180; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 171–175; Palmer 1881, 160; Pringle 1993–, I, 93; Pringle 1997, 25 No.26; *SWP*, II, 83, 101–114, 119–120 (map IX); *TIR* 223–5; Tsafrir and Foester 1991; Tsafrir and Foester 1993; al-ᶜUmarī ed. Shams al-Din, 248; Wilson 1884, II, 26, 27, 80; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, I, 788–789; Yeivin 1988, 30.

References (Khān al-Aḥmar): Baedecker 1912, 241; Burckhardt 1822, 343; Guérin *Samarie* I, 299–300; Jaussen 1923; Mayer 1932; Meinecke 1992, II, 102; *RCEA*, XIV, No.5235; *SWP*, II, 119–120 (map IX).

27. Bayt Dajan

Visited —
Location 1340.1568
32.00N/34.49E

The village of Bayt Dajan was located on the coastal plain approximately 5km south-east of Jaffa.

The village has an ancient history and may be identified with Beth Dagon mentioned in the Old Testament (Joshua 15:41; Aharoni 1979, 313, 432). Between the fourth and tenth centuries C.E. the site was inhabited by Samaritans (*TIR*, 81; Khalidi 1992, 236). Muqaddasī reports that one of the gates of Ramla was called the Dājūn gate and that the village of this name contained a mosque (ed. de Goeje, 165). During the twelfth century the Crusaders built a castle which was destroyed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and later (1191) rebuilt by Richard I of England (Pringle 1997, 26, No.29). In sixteenth-century records Bayt Dajan appears in the *waqf*s of the turba and mosque of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abū Saᶜīd Qānṣūh in Egypt (dated 908 H., 1501/1502 C.E.) and the madrasa of sultan Qāyṭbāy in Jerusalem (*MPF*, 16 No.54; 40 No.52). After 1552 the village was incorporated into the *waqf* of Khāṣṣaki Sulṭān, the favourite and queen of sultan Sulaymān I (Stephan 1944, 184 n.1). The 1596 *daftar* records that the village contained 115 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', fruits, sesame, and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 155). The village continued to be inhabited in the latter part of the Ottoman and Mandate period until its destruction in 1948. A modern settlement with a similar name, Bet Dagan (Hb.), now stands on the site (Khalidi 1992, 238).

The village was inspected by Ory in 1947 for the Department of Antiquities village surveys (ATQ/722 20.3.47). The report mentions nine sites of interest including a Roman Necropolis, a large ancient stone, an old wall, two ancient wells, an underground vault, two mosques, and a shaykh's tomb. The site of most relevance is the mosque of ᶜAbd al-Ghar (Aghārr?), the notes for which are reproduced below:

> Jam'a 'Abd el-Ghar. Architectural fragments in yard and in streets about mosque. Several fragments of marble column trunks. Fragments of square screen colonette. Marble fragment at base of entrance. Main hall of mosque contains some columns supporting roof with capitals (acanthus), whitewashed. At W. side crypt, or underground cell, allegedly containing grave of saint, access to which is afforded by steps from the floor. (Not entered). At the corner, grave of saint with Arabic (cursive) inscription of twelve lines. Dimns. of slab, 73cm x 37cm. Fragments of marble column trunks, broken marble capital (acanthus) lying in street outside mosque. Relative abundance of marble here suggests possibility that this mosque superseded an earlier building, perhaps a church (ATQ/722 Ory 20.3.47).

References: ATQ/722 Ory 20.3.47; Baedeker 1876, 135; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 126–128; Cohen 1989, 122; Avi-Yonah and Oren in *EI*, IV, 719; Guérin, *Samarie*, I, 454, 455; *HG*, 155; Khalidi 1992, 236–238; Le Strange 1890, 305; *MPF*, 16 No.54; 40 No.52; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 165; Palmer 1881, 213; Pringle 1997, No.29; Robinson 1841, III, 30, 102; Stephan 1944, 184 n.1; *SWP*, II, 251 (map XIII); *TIR* 81; Wilson 1884, 154, 164; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, II, 515.

28. Bayt Fajūs/ Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (Khirbat)

Visited 14.11.93
Location 1560.1310
31.47N/35.04E

This site is located on a spur overlooking two wadis approximately 14km due west of Jerusalem. Nearby, to the south, is the modern Israeli settlement of Raziel (Hb.).

The site was registered as an ancient monument in 1929 although it was partially inhabited by villagers. In 1944 it was removed from the schedule of ancient monuments. A report by Baramki (PAM Baramki 9.9.1941) described the site as follows:

> On the ridge between Qastal and Kasla by car. To S. of site is weli of Sultan Ibrahim... To N of that a ruined vaulted (barrel) room which appears modern... The rest of the site consists of modern low silsilas built of rough stones... No potsherds were picked up as all sherds examined were found [to be] modern.

The wali of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm has disappeared, although a photograph shows that it was a rectangular or square stone-built structure covered with a dome with a (marble?) finial. The vault, however, has survived. It is aligned east–west and has a length of over 8m. The vault has a pointed arch more than 3.5m high and a span of nearly 6m. There is a rectangular hole in the middle of the vault. The outer walls are built of large roughly squared limestone blocks in courses approximately 0.4m high with small chipped stone wedges inserted into the joints. The vault is built of small elongated rubble blocks set on end, and the interior is coated with yellow/ buff lime plaster. There are two openings in the sides of the vault, one to the north and the other to the south. This vaulted room forms part of a larger ruined building of which only the lines of the outer walls are visible.

At the north-west corner of the site there are traces of a wall which may have enclosed the entire site. The wall is more than 1m thick and stretches for at least 14.7m on the north side and at least 10m on the west side. It is built out of large blocks in courses 0.4m high and the joints are filled by hard white lime mortar with an orange patina. On the northern face of the wall is a small window (0.8m high and 0.2m wide).

References: Guérin, *Judée*, II, 11; Palmer 1881, 286; PAM Baramki 9.9.41; *SWP*, II, 83 (map XVII).

29. Bayt Jibrīn/ Bayt Jibrīl

Visited 6.4.92
Location 1402.1125
31.36N/34.53E

Bayt Jibrīn is a large ancient site located at the foot of the Hebron mountains. Until 1948 there was a village on the site which is now in the process of becoming an archaeological park (Plates 67–68).

The name of the site is thought to derive from Aramaic and may be translated as 'house of the powerful [one]' (Khalidi 1992, 208). Before Roman times Bayt Jibrīn was a village and the regional centre was the nearby site of Tell Mareshah (Marisa)(Murphy O'Connor 1986, 164–165; Aharoni 1979, 416). Josephus called the site Betogabara and described it as a village in the centre of Iudemaea. The village was elevated to the status of a town and renamed Eleutheropolis by the Roman emperor Septimus Severus in 200 C.E (*TIR* 118–9). In the fourth century C.E. the town became an Episcopal see (for a short summary of the history of the site, see Sourdel-Thomine in *EI2*, I, 1140).

Bayt Jibrīn was one of the first towns in Palestine to be conquered by the Arabs under the first caliph Abū Bakr. Inscriptions in the nearby caves testify to the early Arab presence in this area. According to tradition Tamīm Abū Ruqaya, a companion of the Prophet, was buried in the town (Khalidi 1992, 209). The town was described by the tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasī, as follows:

> a city (*madīna*) [located] in hills and plains. Its lands are [known as] al-Darum and in them are marble quarries. It sends its produce to the capital (al-Ramla). It is the treasury (*khizāna*) for the surrouding area (*al-kūra*) and its lands are fertile with large towns but the population is declining as the result of the effeminacy (*al-mukhannathīn*) [of their men] (ed. de Goeje, 174).

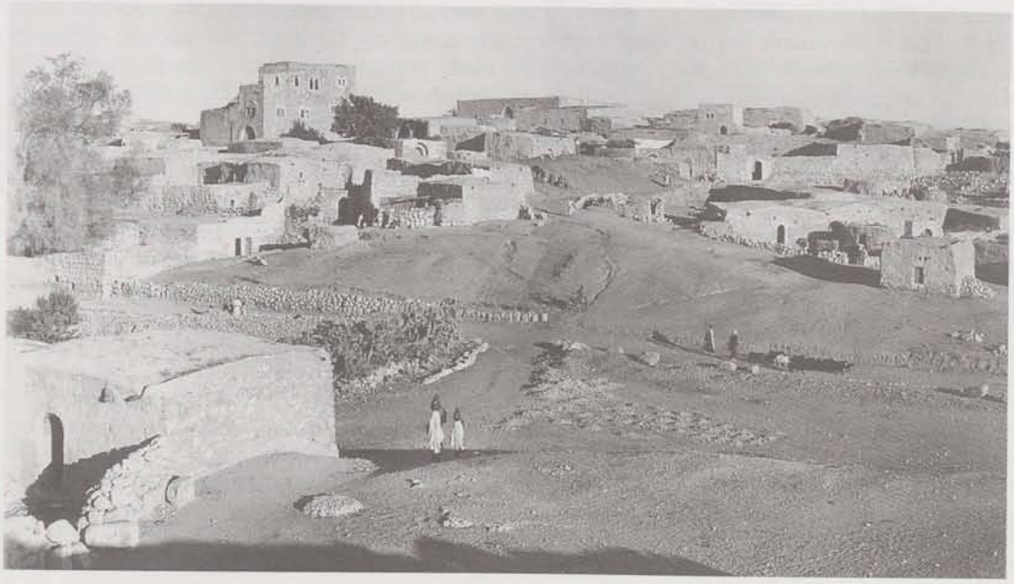


Plate 67. Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29). View of village before 1948 (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

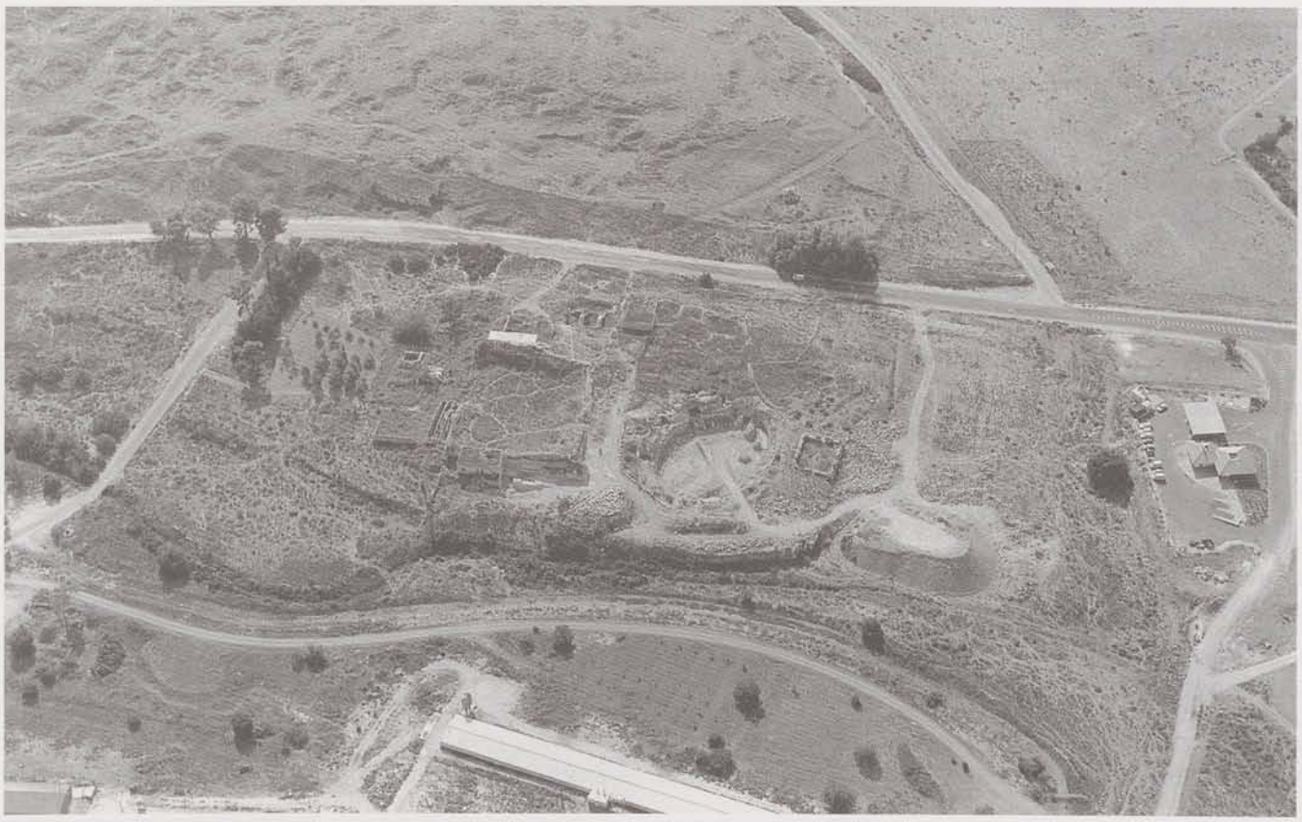


Plate 68. Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29). Aerial view of site (D. Riley 40/19).

In the twelfth century the town was captured by the Crusaders who used it as a base for the conquest of Ascalon (Prawer 1969–1970, I, 329). King Fulk established a castle at the site (Bethgibelin) in 1134, which was later granted to the Hospitallers (*EI*2, I, 1140). The thirteenth-century geographer Yāqūt, describes Bayt Jibrīn as a town between Jerusalem and Ascalon with a castle which was taken by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and destroyed (ed. Wustenfeld, I, 776). The Crusaders regained the town in the thirteenth century (1240–1244) before losing it to the Muslims. During the Mamluk period (1250–1516) the town/village was one of the stops on the Gaza to Karak postal route (al-ʿUmarī, ed. Shams al-Din, 247). In 1343 the Muslim mystic Muhammad Ibn Nabḥān al-Jibrīnī died in the hermitage he had established in the town (Khalidi 1992, 209). By the early Ottoman period the place had reverted to being a village with a population of 275 although it remained as an administrative centre with its own judge (*qāḍī*) (Heyd 1960, 42). In the 1596 *daftar* Bayt Jibrīn was classified as a village (*qarya*) within the *nāḥiya* Gaza. The site contained 50 households (*khāna*) and the taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (HG, 149). In the mid eighteenth century the village was visited by the sufi traveller al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, who described it as a pleasant place (Khalidi 1992, 209). Visitors in the late nineteenth century noted the extensive olive groves to the north of the village and the extensive limestone quarries in the area. Conder and Kitchener described a two-storey house belonging to the village shaykh in the centre of the village (*SWP*, III, 257–258). In the early twentieth century the population was estimated to be 1,000 and covered one-third of the ancient site (Baedeker 1876, 309).

Plate 69. Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29). Twelfth century church, with later mihrab inserted.

The village was depopulated in 1948 and the following year an Israeli settlement of the same name was established on the site.

The Fortress

The Crusaders built the fortress of Bayt Jibrīn in the middle of the ancient site next to the amphitheatre. Archaeological evidence suggests that it may have been constructed on the site of an earlier Roman fort. The castle had a concentric design consisting of a square inner ward with four square corner towers and an outer enclosure wall with a talus and projecting towers (Pringle 1997, 27 No.34. For an illustration of the castle, see Wilson 1884, III, pl. on 177). Some time in the latter part of the twelfth century, the south-east corner of the inner ward was demolished to make way for a church which was built adjacent to the south wall. The fortress may have continued in use under the Mamluks, although by the sixteenth century it appears to have fallen into disrepair. In the nineteenth century Guérin (*Judée*, II, 308) saw an inscription above the gateway which commemorated the restoration of the fortress by the Ottomans in 958 H. (1551 C.E.). The inscription has now been lost although Guérin's statement is confirmed by an Ottoman *firmān* dated to 1552 which states: 'at present the fortress of Jibrīn which has recently been restored has no arms and provisions' (Heyd 1960, 115). Another *firmān* issued on the same day reports that 15 soldiers who had been transferred there from the castle of Shawbak (in southern Jordan) had not arrived and that replacements were needed (Heyd 1960, 116). The problem appears to have been remedied and seven years later the situation was reversed when a large part of the garrison was transferred to Shawbak. In 1660 the fortress was manned by 60 soldiers (Heyd 1960, 190).

The Church

The church was established in the latter part of the twelfth century (Pringle 1993–, I, 95–101).

The remains consist of two aisles and a central nave each ending in an apse. Only the north aisle is standing to roof height. The rest of the church has been revealed during recent excavations. The building comprised two aisles and a central nave, all three ending in an apse. During the Mamluk period the northern aisle was converted into a mosque by the construction of a mihrab (Plate 69). At some later stage, probably during the Ottoman period, the standing remains of the north aisle were used as an olive press.

Mosques

In the Mandate period the village appears to have had two mosques for its population of nearly 2,500. The older mosque was located in the centre of the village whilst the newer mosque was located on a hill to the west. Both structures are now abandoned.

New Mosque

The new mosque is a rectangular flat-roofed building with tall arched windows on each side. At the north-west corner there is a

Plate 70. Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29). Medieval building converted into mosque.

Plate 71. Bayt Jibrīn (No 29). Interior of medieval building converted into a mosque.

large domed canopy (see Khalidi 1992, 209). The architecture of this building suggests that it was built during the Mandate period.

Old Mosque

The old mosque was located on the south side of the main road which runs through the site (Plates 70–71). It consists of a long vaulted chamber (9m x 35m) with a slight bend in the middle. It is built out of large blocks probably taken from earlier buildings on the site. The building appears to be dug into the hillside. There are four entrances to the vault on the north side and a large gap in the wall at the west end. Each of the doorways is covered with a large stone lintel. The interior was lit by four square openings in the roof of the vault and a large window at the east end (all of these openings are now blocked up). There is a deeply recessed mihrab approximately in the centre of the south wall. Next to this on the right-hand (west) side is a stone minbar.

Plate 72. Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29). Shaykh's tomb from north.

Plate 73. Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29). Shaykh's tomb interior.

The building is probably medieval in origin and was later converted into a mosque. In April 1938 the *waqf* authorities sought permission to carry out restoration work on the building, which involved extending the partition wall to the east and paving the forecourt (PAM File 25.4.38). Since 1948 the building appears to have been disused apart from a period when it was utilised as a warehouse for storing cotton.

Shrines

Shaykh's Tomb

This building is located on the south side of the main road to the west of the village mosque (Plates 72–73). The building is made of large reused ashlar blocks and consists of a single square chamber (approximately 6m x 6m) covered with a vault. It is set into the hill on the north side and has a doorway and two windows on the south.

The interior of the tomb is roofed with a domical vault (i.e. no squinches or pendentives) and there are small niches in the west and east walls. In the north-west corner is a rectangular hole which marks the position of a (now destroyed) cenotaph. The most interesting feature of the interior are the wall paintings executed in red henna. These occur on all four interior walls and traces can be also found on the exterior around the east window. Designs include trees, wavy lines, and a variety of abstract forms.

Maqām Shaykh Tamīm

This recently restored building stands to the west of Bayt Jibrīn next to a small road leading north-west to Bayt Nīr.

The shrine is a large complex contained within a square enclosure (approximately 15.5m per side). The enclosure wall is 0.8m thick and approximately 2m high. In the south-west corner of the enclosure is a large structure comprising three main elements: a portico, a tomb chamber, and a prayer room (Fig. 30, Plate 74).

The portico consists of a deep iwan covered with a cross-vault. There are three niches in the east wall, and a doorway at the back (south) leads into the tomb chamber.

The doorway at the back of the portico leads into an area roofed with a wide arch which in turn opens into the main part of the chamber. This part is roofed with a dome. The hemispherical dome rests directly on a four spherical pendentives which have traces of *muqarnas* mouldings. There is a mihrab in the middle of the south wall flanked by two rectangular niches (one either side). There are also niches in the east wall as well as two more niches in the west wall. The west wall also contains a window. In the centre of the room is a large rectangular cenotaph aligned east–west with a headstone at the west end. The sides of the cenotaph are clad with marble panels and the headstone is a fragment of a marble column.

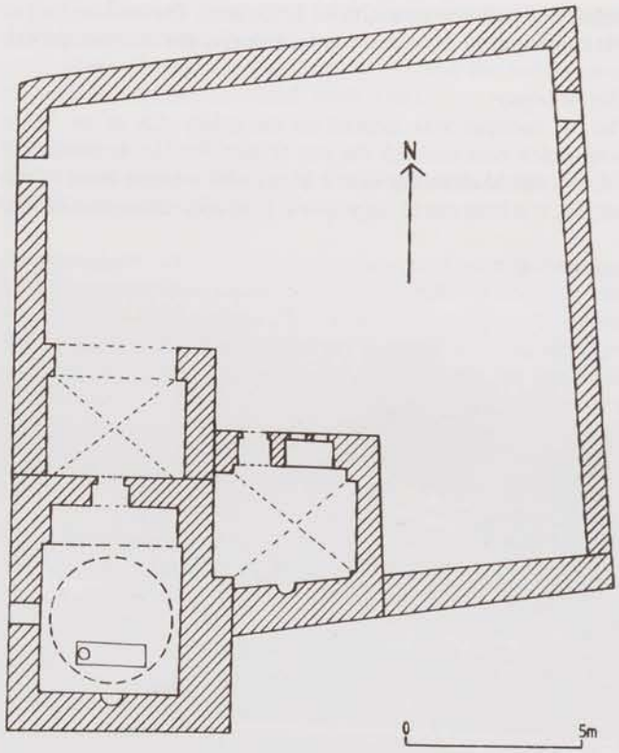


Fig. 30. Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29). Plan of Shaykh Tamīm.

The prayer room is located next to the tomb chamber although there is no doorway or window connecting the two. The entrance to the prayer room is a doorway in the north wall. Next to the doorway, on the left (east) side, is a pair of windows with a central mullion set into an arched recess. The room is roofed with a tall cross-vault and has a mihrab in the middle of the south wall. There are three large niches in the west wall and a niche either side of the mihrab.

In the courtyard outside the prayer-room there is a pomegranate tree. The courtyard also contains a cistern. During the Mandate period a Byzantine marble fragment was discovered built into the wall of the shrine. A long Arabic inscription was written along the top and the left-hand side of the panel (PAM Photo 14.346).

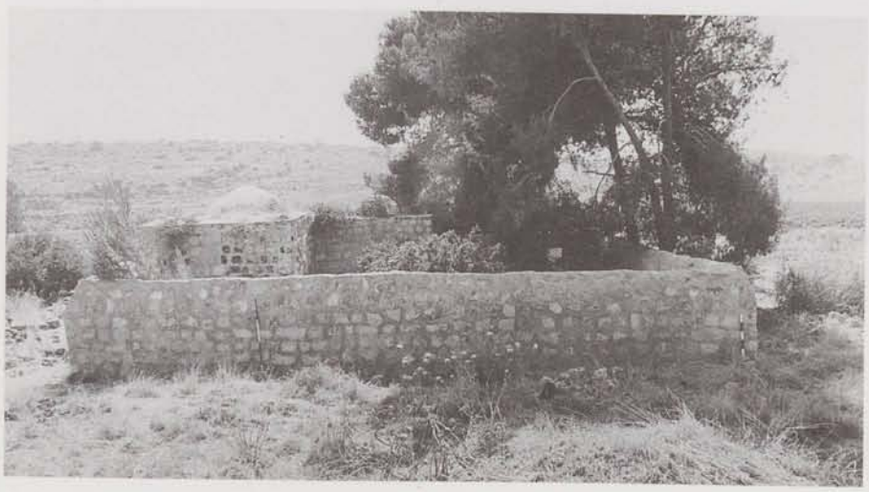


Plate 74. Bayt Jibrīn (No. 29). Maqām Shaykh Tamīm. Exterior.

Houses

The houses in the centre of the village were mostly single-room structures with small courtyards in front. The walls were built of rubble stone blocks fixed with mud mortar and plaster. Most of the houses were one-storey high although a few of the buildings had two storeys and were built out of ashlar blocks (see PAM photo 8.338). In the late nineteenth century Conder and Kitchener saw a two-storey house in the centre of the village which belonged to the local shaykh (*SWP*, III 258). Although this building has now disappeared it appears in a photograph of the village taken before 1948. The house is a large rectangular structure built of ashlar masonry. The entrance to the house is set into a large open archway or iwan framed with a decorative moulding. Directly above the doorway is a pair of windows set beneath a relieving arch with a decorative hood moulding. The upper floor contains a number of other, less decorative windows.

Houses on the Hill

There are a number of (at least four) abandoned stone houses on the hill overlooking the site. The most prominent of these was examined in detail. This is an iwan plan house with an arcade looking east. The arcade consists of four arches resting on three columns. On each side of the porch are small square rooms which have no access to the back of the house (with the exception of a small opening in the back wall of the south room). The building has a concrete roof although this may be a later feature. The main doors of the house are lined with ashlar blocks, although the walls themselves are made of coursed rubble. The house probably dates to the end of the Ottoman or early Mandate period, as do the other houses in this area.

References: Baedecker 1876, 309; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, index; Cuinet 1896, 611; Sourdel-Thomine in *EI2*, I, 1140; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 307–311; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 74–75; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Heyd 1960, 42, 115–116, 190; *HG*, 149; Idrīsī ed. Bombaci, 358; Khalidi 1992, 208–209; Le Strange 1890, index; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 174; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 164–165; Palmer 1881, 365; PAM File 25.4.38; PAM Photos 14.346, 3.338; Prawer 1969–1970, index; Pringle 1993–, I, 95–101; Pringle 1997, 27 No.34; Robinson 1841, II, 355, 361, 395, 405; Singer 1994, 28, 165–166; *SWP*, III, 257–258, 266–274 (map XX); *TIR* 118–9; ʿUmarī ed. Sayyid, 247; Volney 1959, 346; Wilson 1884, III, 171–178; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, I, 776.

30. Bayt Jīz (Khirbat)/ Shaykh Zayd

Visited 5.5.96
Location 1458.1357
31.49N/34.57E

The village of Bayt Jīz was located in the western foothills of the Judaean hills. It may possibly be identified with Gath Rimmon which in Roman times was located 12 miles from Lod on the road to Eleutheropolis (*TIR* 77, 129). During the Crusader period this was one of five villages in the diocese of Lydda (Ar. Ludd) given permission to build a parish church (Pringle 1993–, I, 101). Little is known of the village during the medieval and Ottoman periods although the inscription and the later maqām (see below) indicate that there was some activity at the site. The village was abandoned in 1948 and the site is now occupied by Kibbutz Harʿel (Hb.). A number of early Mandate houses testify to the existence of the now destroyed village (Khalidi 1992, 364–365). The most distinctive extant building is the Maqām of Shaykh Zayd.

Maqām Shaykh Zayd

This is a tall square building (3.5m x 3.5m) covered with a domical vault (Fig. 31 and Plates 75–76). The west wall and part of the vault have collapsed although the line of the wall is still visible. The walls are built out of large blocks of ashlar masonry which appear to be reused. The domical vault is built of rectangular stones (0.3m x 0.1m x 0.1m) set in mortar. There is a low doorway at the east end of the north wall and a shallow (0.35m deep) mihrab directly opposite in the south wall (Plate 76). In the middle of the east wall is a small window (0.4m wide). There is no trace of a tomb or cenotaph although this could have been on the west side of the chamber which is now covered with collapsed rubble from the west wall (this may also account for the off-centre position of mihrab and doorway).

Plate 75. Bayt Jīz (Kh) (No. 30). Maqām exterior.

Plate 76. Bayt Jīz (Kh) (No. 30) Maqām interior.

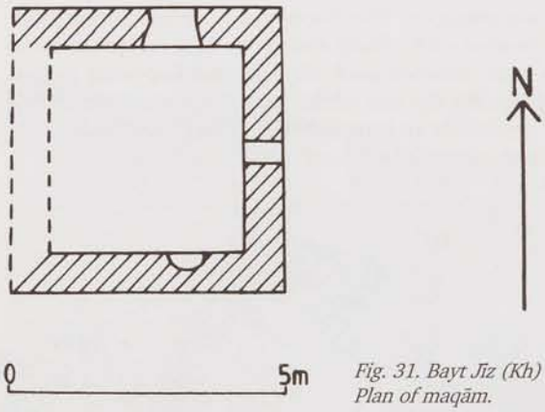


Fig. 31. Bayt Jīz (Kh) (No. 30). Plan of maqām.

An inscribed stone bearing was found near the maqām during construction work in 1972–1973. The inscription records the reconstruction of a building in 734 H. (1334 C.E.) by the mamluk Baktamur on behalf of amir Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl (Amitai-Preiss 1994, 235–237). The connection of the inscription with the maqām is not known although the presence of some medieval pottery indicates some activity at the site during this period.

References: Amitai-Preiss 1994; Khalidi 1992, 364–365; Palmer 1881, 329; Pringle 1993–, I, 101; *SWP*, II, 108 (map XVII); *TIR* 77, 129.

31. Bayt Maḥṣīr

Visited 28.4.94
Location 153.133
31.48N/35.02E

The village of Bayt Maḥṣīr (Hb. Bet Me'ir) was located 16km west of Jerusalem on a spur overlooking the coastal plain.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the village had a population of 450 living in a mixture of stone and mud-brick houses (*SWP*, III, 16). The village was trapezoidal in shape and divided into four quarters (Khalidi 1992, 275). In February 1947 the village was visited by Husseini on behalf of the Palestine Antiquities Department (PAM Husseini 19.2.47). He noted three buildings of historic interest, Ottoman vaults, a medieval press and a shaykh's tomb (Maqām al-ʿAjamī). The village was depopulated in 1948 and subsequently most of the village was destroyed.

Ottoman Vaults

The vaults were described by Husseini as: 'two large seventeenth-century vaults belonging to Diab and Hassan Musa Asad'. The basis for this dating is not given but the appearance of the vaults does not contradict the validity of this observation.

Unfortunately, only one of the vaults was photographed although it is likely that the other was of similar size and design. The vault consisted of at least four cross-vaulted bays, each with its own entrance. The doorways were tall rectangular openings covered with a lintel and in one case with a relieving arch. The area between each bay was marked with ragged masonry following the line of the vault, indicating either that there was previously an extension to the north or that one was planned. Both of these buildings have been destroyed.

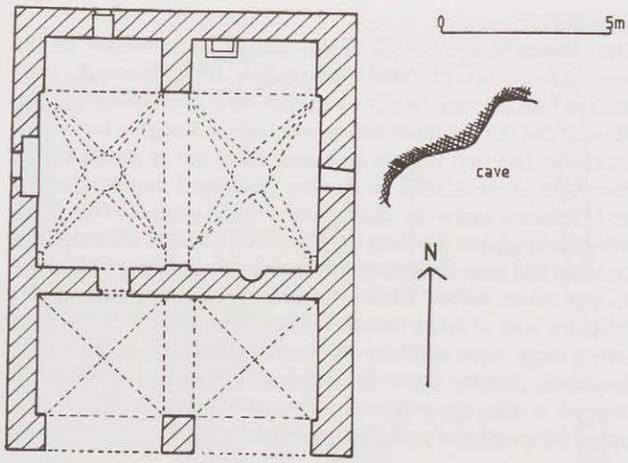


Fig 32. Bayt Maḥṣīr (No. 31). Plan of Maqām al-ʿAjamī.

Medieval Press

This was described by Husseini as follows: 'el-Badd at NW. side of village: large medieval barrel-vault c.35m long and 10m wide, and walls about 2.30m thick, three round openings pierced in the ceiling. The vault contains two disused presses. The general character of the building resembles that of Jami' al-Masakin in Nablus'. Photographs of the interior of the building show that the vault was approximately 5m high. Husseini thought that the building was either Ayyubid or Crusader and more recently Pringle (1997, 28 No.35) identifies the building as Crusader. This building has also been destroyed.

Maqām al-ʿAjamī

This building stands on the summit of a hill to the east of the village in an area now designated as the 'Hamasrek Nature Reserve'.

The maqām has a rectangular shape (10.21m x 13.45m) and is built above a cave (Fig. 32, Plates 77–78). On the south side of the building there is a double-vaulted portico (riwaq) leading via a doorway into the prayer hall. The prayer hall is roofed with two folded cross-vaults each with a small decorative dome at the apex. The west bay is lit by two windows, one in the west wall and one in the south wall. There is a mihrab in the centre of the south wall of the east bay. Also in the east bay against the north wall there is a rectangular opening into the cave beneath. The cave is divided into two compartments. The exterior compartment contains a mihrab.

Plate 77. Bayt Maḥṣīr (No. 31). Maqām al-ʿAjamī. Exterior.

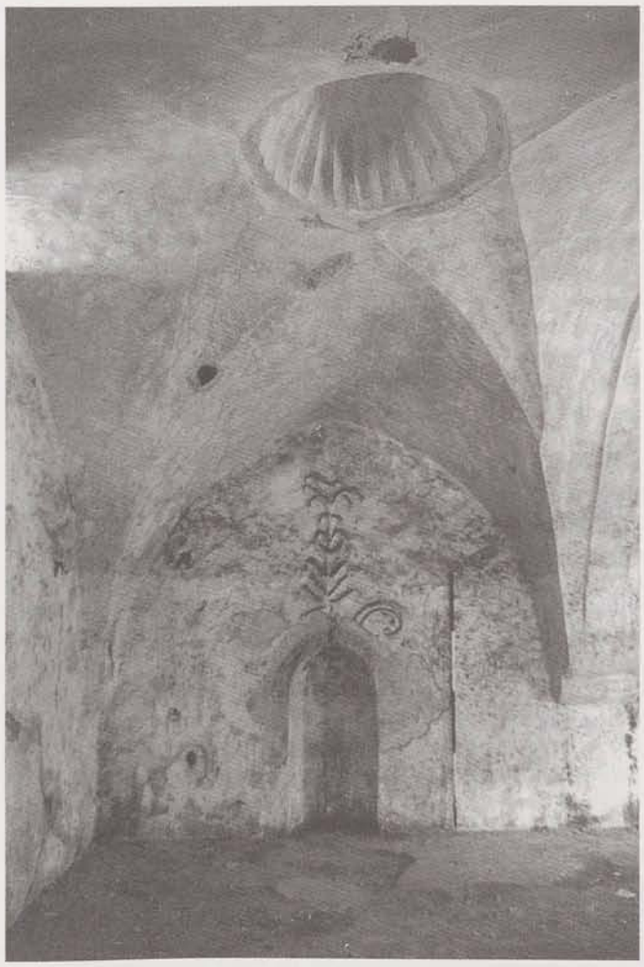


Plate 78. Bayt Maḥṣīr(No. 31). Maqām al-ʿAjamī. Interior.

The mihrab in the prayer hall is decorated with two decorative schemes which appear to have been applied at different times. The more recent decoration comprises plaster relief moulded designs in the form of a stylised tree with a bird on the top. Beneath this is an earlier layer of plaster decorated with red (henna) painted designs including dots, triangles and circles.

Canaan identifies the saint as Aḥmad al-ʿAjamī ('the Persian') although he doubts that he was of Persian origin (Canaan 1927, 251). He also noted that the saint was said actively to defend his shrine. Canaan relates the following story: 'Es-Seh Ahmad el-'Adjami appearing to Hamdan Mohamed Saleh ordered him to tell a man who was building a wall in the property of the weli [shrine]... If he does not turn back from his course, I shall cut him off from his posterity' (1927, 250–251). Husseini dates the tomb to the seventeenth century (PAM Husseini 19.2.47), a date not inconsistent with the architecture of the building.

References: Canaan 1927, 250–251; Khalidi 1992, 275–277; Palmer 1881, 286; PAM Husseini 19.2.47; Pringle 1997, 28 No.35; SWP, III, 16 (map XVII).

32. Bayt Nattīf

Visited —
Location 149.122
31.42N/34.59E

This village (Hb. Horbat Bet Netef) is located on a high ridge overlooking the coastal plain. During the Roman period it was

Plate 79. Bayt Nattīf (No. 32). Jāmiʿ al-Arbaʿīn looking east (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 80. Bayt Nattīf (No. 32). Jāmiʿ al-Arbaʿīn. North facade (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 81. Bayt Nattīf (No. 32). Jāmiʿ al-Arbaʿīn with re-used chancel post (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

known as Betholetepha or Pella and was the headquaters of the Judean toparchy (*TIR*, 84). According to the 1596 *daftar*, the village was located in the *nāḥiya* Quds (Jerusalem) and contained a population of 94 households (*khāna*) and 10 bachelors (*mujarrad*). The taxable produce of the village comprised wheat, barley, olives, fruit trees, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 114). In the nineteenth century the village had a mosque and several shrines including those of Shaykh Ibrāhīm and Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh (*SWP*, III, 24; PAM File 32). The village has since been completely destroyed (Khalidi 1992, 211–12).

The mosque, known as Jāmiʿ al-Arbaʿīn, was a small stone-built structure comprising a double-arched portico and an inner prayer hall roofed with a dome (Plates 79–81). Many of the stones in the building appear to have been reused including a marble chancel post.

References: *HG*, 114; Khalidi 1992, 211–212; Palmer 1881, 286; PAM File 32; *SWP*, III, 24 (map XVII), *TIR* 84.

33. Bayt Ṭima

Visited —
Location 116.115
31.37N/34.38E

This village was located on the coastal plain approximately 8km south-east of Ascalon (Khalidi 1992, 89–90). According to the 1596 *daftar* it belonged to the *nāḥiya* of Gaza and contained a population of 126 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', fruit trees, almonds, sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 142). In the nineteenth century it was described as a mud-brick village with two pools (*SWP*, III, 259). During the Mandate period the village was inspected by the Department of Antiquities (PAM File 33) and a number of ancient remains were noted, including a tessellated pavement, Greek capitals, and two Arabic inscriptions built into the mosque (Plate 82).

References: *HG*, 142; Khalidi 1992, 89–90; Palmer 1881, 365; PAM File 33; *SWP*, III, 259 (map XX).

34. Beer Shema (Hb.)

Visited 13.9.93
Location 1048.0743
31.15N/34.31E

In Roman times there was a Limes fort here garrisoned by Equites Thaumudeni Illiricani. Remains at the site include a settlement, a church, and wells (*TIR* 91). Two of the wells belong to the Ottoman period, and are located to the west of route 234 between Urim (Hb.) (104.079) and Ze'elim (Hb.) (105.068).

Both wells have the same form consisting of a deep shaft (approximately 20m) covered with an arch linked to small cisterns (Plate 83). They are built of well dressed masonry with

Plate 82. Bayt Ṭima (No. 33). Mosque of Nabi Ṭima (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 83. Beer Shema (No. 34). Well with cistern.

tightly fitting joints. Either side of the arch above the well shaft are twin cisterns, one small and one large. The larger cistern is higher up than the small cistern and both are fed by channels leading from the arch at the top of the well. The second arch has traces of mechanical pumping equipment. It is likely that these wells date from the last years of Ottoman rule and may be part of the policy of increasing settlement in the desert areas bordering Egypt (cf. Bīr al-Sabᶜ).

35. Bīr Isyar (Khirbat)

Visited 25.5.94
Location 1557.2023
32.27N/35.03E

This deserted site lies 0.5km north-east of the village of Shaykh Maysār. As its name suggests this is an ancient settlement built around a deep well (cf. *SWP*, II, 58). Pottery collected at the site was dated to the Roman, Byzantine, early Islamic, Mamluk, and Ottoman periods. On the upper part of the site are the remains of a late Ottoman farmstead including a house (Neʿeman 1990, 49–51 Sites 37, 38).

The house is a roughly square structure (6.2m x 6.9m) built out of rubble and reused blocks. There is a doorway in the centre of the north side, and in the centre of the north wall. There are groups of niches in the north-west and north-east corners. The roof has collapsed, but it would probably have been a flat roof with central pillars and an earth covering on top. The doors and windows have jambs and arches made of dressed stone. The outside lintel of the south doorway is a reused piece of an antique cornice.

References: Neʿeman 1990, 49–51; Palmer 1881, 148; *SWP*, II, 58 (map VIII).

36. Bīr al-Sabᶜ

Visited 9.93
Location 1298.0724
31.15N/34.33E

Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Hb. Beersheba/Beersheva) stands in a wide hollow with steep rocky hills to the north. It is located 45km south-east of Gaza and 45km south-west of Hebron (Ar. al-Khalīl).

According to Muslim tradition Ibrāhīm (Abraham) is said to have dug the wells here with his own hands (Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, V, 14; Honigmann in *EI2*, I, 1233) although the thirteenth-century writer al-Harawī, locates this event in ᶜAsqalān (al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 75–76). In Biblical times Beer-sheba was the southernmost town of Palestine (Judges 20:1; Sam. 3:20; 2 Sam. 3:10; Aharoni 1979, 431). The Romans established a camp at the site garrisoned by Equites Dalmatae Illiricani (*TIR*, 75). During the later part of Roman rule it was capital of Palaestina Tertia. The town continued to be inhabited during the early Islamic period although by the fourteenth century it had been abandoned (*EI2*, I, 1233). For five hundred years the site was devoid of permanent settlement although the wells were no doubt used by bedouin. The site is mentioned by Cuinet in the 1890s although it is not clear whether it was settled at this time (1896, 615). In 1900 the Ottoman Turks re-established a permanent settlement on the site which by 1914 had grown to the size of a small village (for founding of Beersheba and its effect on the Bedouin see Ben-David 1990). During World War I Beersheba became a major base

Plate 84. Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Beersheba) (No. 36). Ottoman mosque from West.

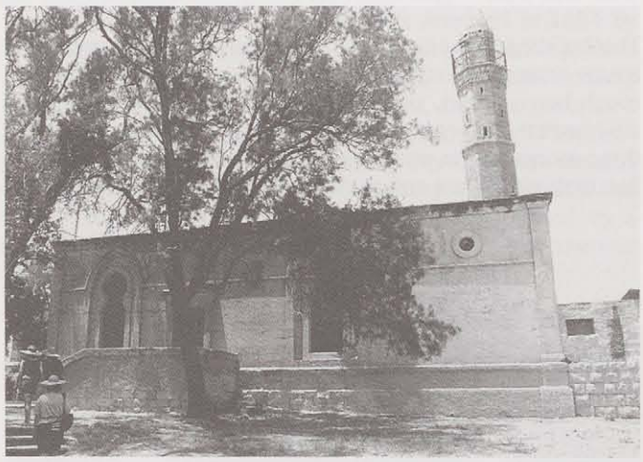


Plate 85. Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Beersheba) (No. 36). Ottoman mosque from east.

for Turkish forces until its capture by the British in 1917 (Kedar 1999, 46–7).

Archaeological evidence from the early Islamic period has recently been uncovered during excavations of Ramat Nof (Hb.), a suburb of modern Beersheba. Excavations revealed houses built within rectangular compounds which were founded in the late Byzantine period and continued in use in the early Islamic period (Ustinova and Nahshoni 1994, 157–170). The same excavations also revealed evidence of late Ottoman/early Mandate structures built out of reused material from the earlier occupation (Ustinova and Nahshoni 1994, 171–177). The layout of the late Ottoman/early Mandate settlement consisted of regular blocks of four houses, each within its own compound. The principal standing remains of the Ottoman period are the mosque and the governor's residence.

Mosque

Location 1298.0724

The mosque stands at the south end of the old city. It was built in 1905 as part of the Ottoman new town. It comprises a prayer hall, minaret courtyard and ancillary rooms (Plates 84 and 85). The small courtyard stands in the middle between the prayer hall and the ancillary rooms. The prayer hall is approached via a four-arched portico. The prayer hall is divided into nine bays, with the central bay covered by a tall dome standing on an octagonal clerestory. Each bay is lit by a set of three windows, two long windows with a horseshoe arch, and one small circular window above. Both the portico and the prayer hall are covered with a flat roof made of girders and reinforced concrete. The

minaret rests on a square base and has an octagonal shaft divided into two sections. At the top there is a balcony supported by a zone of *muqarnas* corbelling. The building is currently a museum but is closed for structural reasons. The design of this building is similar to the Ḥasan Bey mosque in Jaffa.

Governor's Residence

Location 1300.0724

This building stands 300m to the east of the mosque. It was built one year after the mosque, in 1906. It is a square building covered by a red tiled roof with overhanging eaves. On the south side is a triple arched portico providing access to the front door. Both the door and windows are built in European neoclassical style. The building now houses an art gallery.

'Bedouin House'

Location 1295.0872

This structure is located on the west side of Route 40 between Bīr al-Sabᶜ and ᶜIrāq al-Manashiyya (Hb. Qiryat Gat).

The building comprises a large rectangular enclosure with rooms arranged along the north and west sides. It is built of rough hewn stones, laid dry with wedges and covered with mud mortar. The complex is entered from the east. There are three rooms on the west side of the compound, one of which has multiple niches and probably served as a columbarium.

Plate 86. Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Beersheba) (No. 36). Bedouin house.

Plate 87. Birkat al-Fakht (No. 37). Interior of cistern (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

The northern room of the west wing contains a shaykh's tomb set into the floor (probably the owner of the house). The west wing has a rectangular room and a smaller room. The long room has a central pier and two internal buttresses which supported the roof (Plate 86).

References: Abel 1967, II, 51, 89; Baedeker 1876, 287; Cuinet 1896, 615; al-Dimashqī ed. Mehren, 213; Herzog in *EAE*, I, 161–173; Honigmann in *EI*2, I, 1233; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, IV, 383–384; Kedar 1999, 46–7; Le Strange 1890, 402, 403; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 156–159; *Naval Intelligence Division* 1943, 318; Palmer 1881, 421; Robinson 1841, I, 300; Schick 1995, 259–260; *SWP*, III, 392 (map XXIV); Ustinova and Nahshoni 1994; Wilson 1884, 168, 207, 209; Woolley and Lawrence 1915, 89–147; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, V, 14.

37. Birkat al-Fakht

Visited —

Location 194.215
32.31N/35.29E

This site (Hb. Sede Nahum) was located north-west of Baysān in an area now used as a reservoir.

The cistern had a square plan and was covered by a vault with a shallow pointed profile (Fig. 33, Plate 87). The walls were built of dressed limestone blocks and lined with plaster. A number of Arabic inscriptions were visible in the plaster. It was dated to the medieval period by the Department of Antiquities (Israel 1976, 68).

References: Israel 1976, 68; Pringle 1997, 113 (Supplementary list, P.12).

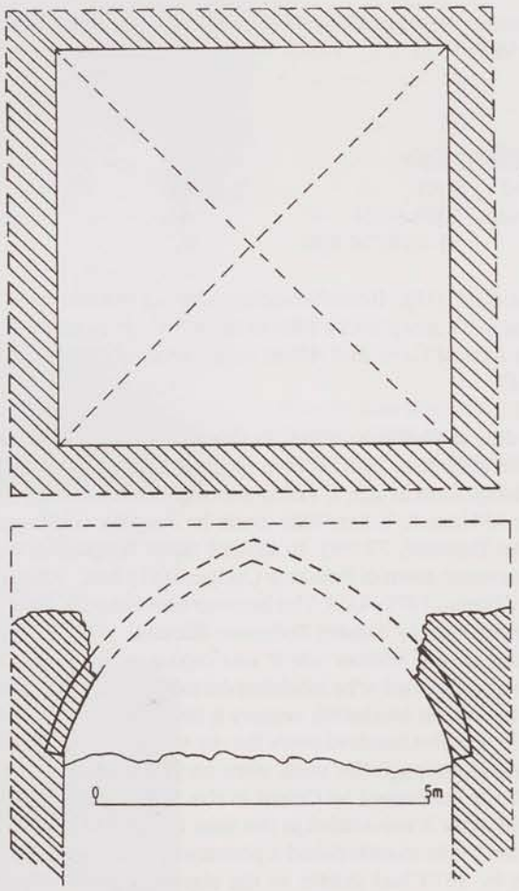


Fig. 33. Birkat al-Fakht (No. 37). Plan and section.

C

38. Caesarea (Ar. Qaysāriyya/ Qayṣāriyya/ Qīsārya)

Visited 5.4.92
Location 1401.2120
32.30N/34.54E

Caesarea is located in an area of sand dunes on the coast, roughly mid-way between Jaffa and Haifa.

The city was founded between 22 and 10 B.C.E. by Herod the Great on the site of an earlier Phoenician trading colony. It was the capital of Roman Judea and later of Syria Palaestina and Palaestina I and later a metropolitan Episcopal see (*TIR* 94–96). In 19 H. (640 C.E.) it was captured by the Arabs under the leadership of Muʿāwiya (for a concise history of the site, see Sharon in *EI*2, IV, 841–842; Orni in *EJ*, V, 6–13). The tenth-century traveller Muqaddasī, describes the city as follows:

> There is no city more beautiful, nor any better filled with good things... its lands are excellent, and its fruits delicious; the town is also famous for its buffalo-milk and its bread. The city is protected by a wall, outside of which is a populous area and a fortress. The water for the occupants is gathered from cisterns. Its Great Mosque is beautiful (ed. de Goeje, 174).

Recent excavations have given credence to Muqaddasī's glowing description of the city. The excavators have identified a precise urban plan in which all houses were connected to a sewerage system (Toueg 1995, 22*; and see Josephus cited in Murphy O'Connor 1986, 179). It is likely that the post-Byzantine city walls also date to the early Islamic phase although some later Crusader construction has also been identified (cf. Raban and Hollum in *EAE*, I, 286).

In 1101 C.E. the city was captured by the Crusaders who held it until 1187 (for a study of this period, see Hazard 1975). In 1190 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in anticipation of the arrival of the Third Crusade, supervised the destruction of the fortifications (Abū Shāma RHC OR, IV, 462). The Crusaders regained the city in 1191, although no attempt was made to rebuild the fortifications until 1217. A raid by Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā in 1219–1220 interrupted the reconstruction work until 1228. The refortification was finally completed by Louis IX of France in 1252 (Pringle 1993–, I, 166; and see description in Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 86, II, 70). Thirteen years later in 1265 the city was captured by sultan Baybars who spent two weeks demolishing the defences (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 86–87, II, 71–72).

During the Mamluk period Caesarea lay deserted (for instance, see Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud de Slane, 239) but in the seventeenth century the site began to be reoccupied. At this time it contained a population of 100 Moroccans and seven or eight Jewish families (Roger 1664 cited in Ringel 1975, 174). In the eighteenth century the population again declined and the site was used as a quarry for rebuilding of Acre and Jaffa (Sharon in *EI*2, IV, 842). The site was resettled in 1884 by Bosnian refugees fleeing from the Austrian occupation of their country. The new settlement was planned by a German architect and included a bakery, several mosques, and the governor's house (Hollum *et al.* 1988, 238–239, Fig.178; Kedar 1999, 166–7). Approximately 0.5km east of the city there are more remains of the Bosnian settlement including a deep well, cisterns, and a farm building. These buildings are characterised by a rectangular plan and tiled roofs (cf. Ilan 1978). The site was again deserted after 1948 (Khalidi 1992, 184).

Houses

Muslim houses of the pre-Crusader period (i.e. seventh to eleventh centuries) were one or two storeys high and built around courtyards. Constructed of *kurkar* stone, some had *opus sectile* floors. In the tenth century the dwellings were built in blocks (*insulae*) on a network of streets (Toueg 1995, 23*). The nineteenth-century houses were also built in blocks, generally one storey high with the exception of the governor's house. Most of the houses have now been demolished although those on the western side near the sea survive.

Mosques

Although pre-Crusader Caesarea probably contained several mosques only the Great Mosque (see below) is mentioned by Muslim writers. During the nineteenth century there were a number of mosques although only one has survived (see below 'Bosnian mosque').

Plate 88. Caesarea (No. 38). Bosnian mosque.

The Great Mosque

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Qaysāriyya in 439 H. (1047 C.E.) saw this building which he described as follows '... a beautiful Friday mosque, so situated that in the court one can enjoy a view of the sea' (from translation in Nāṣir-i Khusraw ed. Scheffer, 62).

After the Crusader conquest the Great Mosque was converted into the church of St. Peter. Later in the same century the mosque was demolished and rebuilt as a typical Crusader church. Recently Pringle (1993–, I, 167–171) has identified a wall which may belong to the mosque. He describes it as follows: '... a wall about 0.60m thick built of header and stretcher blocks with no rubble infilling, which runs north–south beneath the western footings of the church's east end' (1993–, I, 170–171).

Bosnian Mosque

This is located at the southern end of the city next to the harbour (Plate 88). It is a simple stone building with a red-tiled roof and a cylindrical minaret. It is now used as a restaurant and gift shop.

References: Abel 1967, II, index; Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 239; Abū Shāma RHC OR, index; Adler 1930, 97, 143; Baedeker 1876, 351; Bloom 1989, 23; Buckingham 1821, 126–138; Raban and Hollum in *EAE*, I, 270–291; Sharon in *EI2*, IV, 841–842; Orni in *EJ*, V, 6–13; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 321–339; al-Harawī ed Sourdel-Thomine, 33; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Hazard 1975; Heyd 1956, 215, Pl.30; Hollum *et al.* 1988; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, index; Ilan 1978; Kedar 1999, 166–7; Khalidi 1992, 182–184; Le Strange 1890, index; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 301–310; Marmadji 1951, 7, 103, 106, 169–170; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 174; Nāṣir-i Khusraw ed. Schefer, 61–63; Palmer 1881, 140; Pringle 1993–, I, 166–183; Ringel 1975; Robinson 1841, III, 44; *SWP*, II, 12–29, 34 (map VII); Toueg 1995; al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 80–81, 237; *TIR* 94–6; Volney 1959, 287, 343; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 214.

D

39. Dabburiyya/ Daburiyya

Visited —
Location 1852.2331
32.42N/35.22E

The village of Dabburiyya is located on the west side of Jabal al-Ṭūr (Mount Tabor). In the Bible it was known as Daberath and was one of the boundaries of the territory of Zebulon (Aharoni 1979, 257, 433). In Roman times it was known as Dabaritta and functioned as an administrative centre for Galilee under the jurisdiction of Diocaesarea (*TIR* 106).

The majority of the buildings in the village are new, although the remains of a Crusader church (Pringle 1993–, I, 192–194) and a mosque are still visible. The mosque is built on the site of a defensive medieval tower (Plates 89 and 90). Above the entrance is an inscription recording the building of the tower by al-Muᶜaẓẓam ʿĪsā in 610 H. (1213 C.E.). Pringle has argued that this tower was built on top of the tower constructed by the Crusaders (Pringle 1997, 46 No.79).

Plate 89. Daburiyya (No. 39). Masonry in medieval tower (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 90. Daburiyya (No. 39). Inscription recording construction of tower (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

References: Abel 1967, II, 16, 61, 63; Baedeker 1876, 364; Oren in *EJ*, V, 1218; Le Strange 1890, 427; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 140–142; Marmadji 191, 72; Palmer 1881, 125; Pringle 1993, I, 192–194; Pringle 1997, 46 No.79; Robinson 1841, III, 210, 279; *SWP*, I, 363, 366 (map VI); *TIR*, 106; Wilson 1884, 44; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, II, 546.

40. Damūn

Visited —
Location 167.254
32.54N/35.10E

The village of Damūn was located on a hill approximately 12km east of Acre.

The village is known to have had a long history and may possibly be equated with Damin, in lower Galilee, which is mentioned in Roman times (*TIR* 107–108; cf. Khalidi 1992, 11). The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw, visited the shrine of Dhū'l-Kifl which was located in the village (Nāṣir-i Khusraw ed. Scheffer, 14). In 1859 Rogers reports that the village had two mosques and a population of 800 (cited in *SWP*, I, 270). In 1948 the village was completely destroyed.

The village contained a number of eighteenth or nineteenth-century stone houses, some of which had decorated facades.

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 424–425; Khalidi 1992, 11; Le Strange 1890, 435–436; Mandate Photo 038.582; Nāṣir-i Khusraw ed. Scheffer, 14; Palmer 1881, 108; *SWP*, I, 270 (map V); *TIR* 107–108.

41. Dayr al-Assad

Visited 4.94
Location 175.260
32.56N/35.16E

The village of Dayr al-Assad is located on the north side of the Acre–Ṣafad road. The village is located at the foot of a cliff that marks the southern extent of the north Galilee hills. The village contains important Crusader buildings including a church and convent with a vaulted hall (cf. Pringle 1993–, I, 80–92; Ellenblum 1998, 166–169) as well as the mosque and tomb of Muḥammad Assad al-Ṣafadī.

Mosque and tomb of Muḥammad al-Assad al-Ṣafadī

This building stands 50m south of the Crusader church and convent. The mosque consists of two domed chambers standing side by side with a courtyard on the east side (Plate 91). The corners of the building are supported by thick square buttresses. The south chamber is the prayer hall of the mosque, whilst the north chamber houses the tomb of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Assad. Each chamber has its own entrance. The entrance to the prayer hall is contained within a projecting portal and comprises a doorway framed by a tall arched recess. The entrance to the tomb chamber is a small plain doorway set into the south wall. In the centre of the room is a rectangular cenotaph containing the grave of Muḥammad al-Assad. The room is covered with a large dome resting on pendentives.

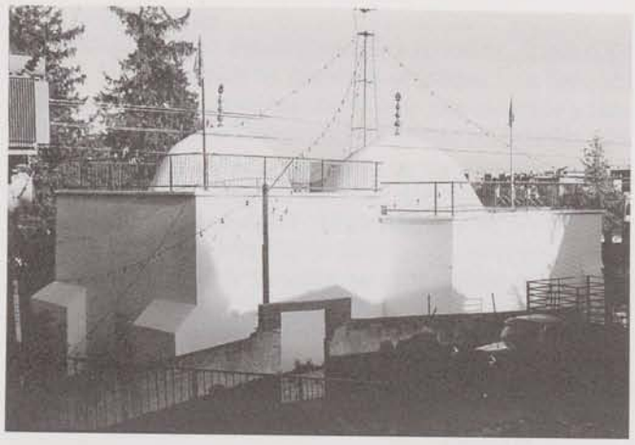


Plate 91. Dayr al-Assad (No. 41). Rear of mosque.

The prayer room to the south is larger than the tomb chamber. Immediately inside the doorway is a staircase leading up to the roof. The prayer room has three windows (one on each external face) and a deep mihrab set into the south wall. Although the two rooms are only separated by a thin wooden partition, it seems likely that the prayer hall was added later. The courtyard contains a fountain and a cistern.

The Muslim biographer al-Muḥibbī, writing in 1569 C.E., gives the following description of Muḥammad al-Assad: 'al-Assad al-Ṣafadī died... he was a sufi sage who settled in the monastery at the foot of the mountains of Ṣafad near the village of al-Baᶜana. In the past, the place was known as Dayr al-Hadr and was inhabited by Christians. Sultan Sulayman drove them out and in their place settled Assad, his children and followers'. A more colourful version of the same story was related by Ḥusayn al-Assadī in the 1970s. According to this version Muḥammad Assad stopped at the ᶜAyn al-Assad spring on his way to Ṣafad. Whilst at the spring he was insulted by the local Christians and his donkey was killed by a lion. He solved his transport problem by saddling the lion and riding it to Ṣafad where he met the Ottoman emperor Selim (or Sulaymān). The emperor rewarded Muḥammad al-Assad for his bravery by giving him the Christians' village of Dayr al Baᶜana which then became known as Dayr al-Assad (cited in Israely 1977, 117–119. For a detailed discussion of the *waqf* of sultan Selim, see Layish 1987).

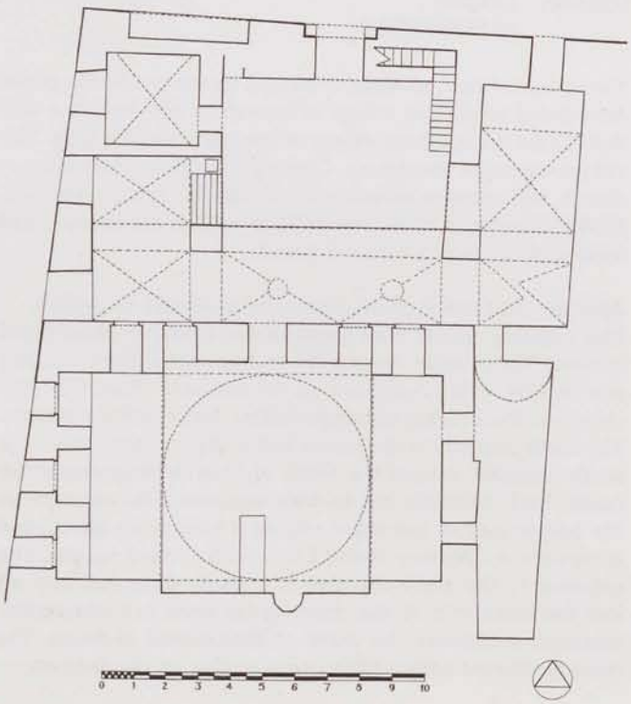


Fig. 34. Dayr Hanna (No. 42). Plan of mosque.

References: Ellenblum 1998, 167–169 Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 446; Israely 1977, 117–119; Layish 1987; Palmer 1881, 42; Pringle 1993–, I, 80–92; *SWP*, I, 150 (map III).

42. Dayr Ḥannā/ Dayr Ḥanā

BSAJ Survey 1990 and 1992
Location 184.252
32.52N/35.22E

Dayr Ḥannā is located in the Galilee hills approximately midway between Acre and Tiberias. The village is located on long spur running east–west with the highest point in the middle.

The place was identified with the ancient site of Chinntuna'i. In Roman times the site was referred to as Kefar Iohannah and was the seat of the priestly family Yakhin (*TIR*, 163). According to Frankel (1988, 265) the village was known to the Crusaders as Ber Henne, a fief in the possession of Phillipe le Rous. There are, however, no traces of Crusader occupation within the village. Dayr Ḥannā is not mentioned in the 1596 *daftar*, although this does not necessarily mean the site was uninhabited at this time. In the eighteenth century the village rose to become one of the most important villages in Galilee, being one of the main bases of Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar and his family, the Zaydānīs (for a full review of Dayr Ḥannā in this period, see Edwards *et al.* 1993).

The principal remains in the village are the palace (*dar*), the mosque, and a series of fortifications, all of which may be attributed to Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar or his sons.

The Palace

This is a large rectangular complex (60m x 40m) on the south side of the old village. The entrance on the north side leads via a bent passageway into a rectangular courtyard. The north side of the courtyard is formed by the entrance passage and a high wall pierced with windows and traces of projecting galleries

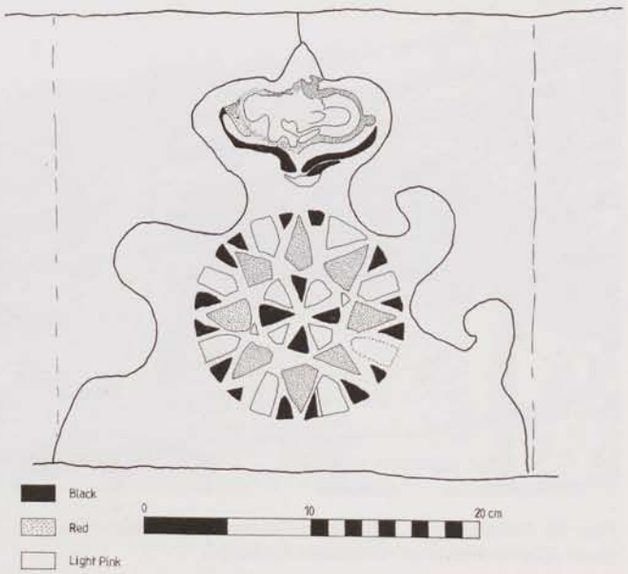


Fig. 35. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Detail of mihrab.

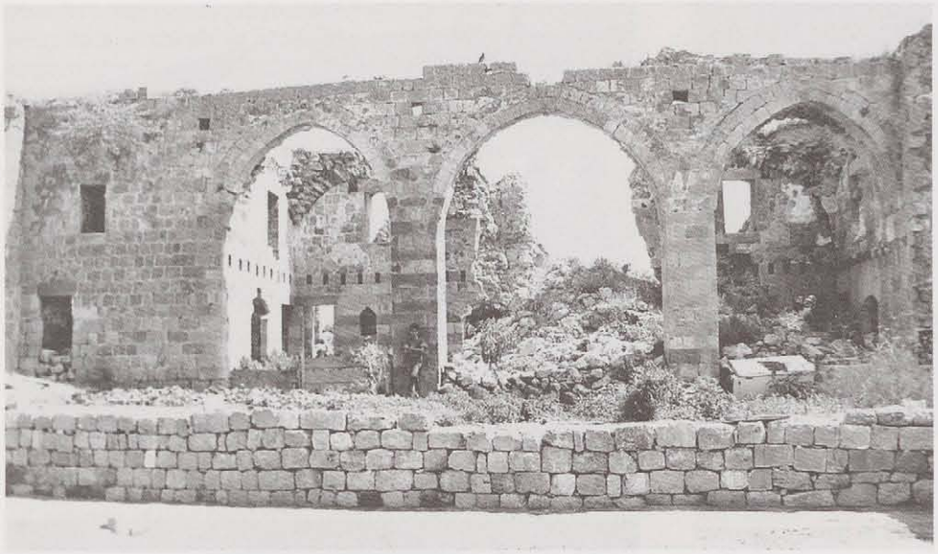


Plate 92. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Palace, view of facade.

Plate 93. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Palace, detail of corbels.

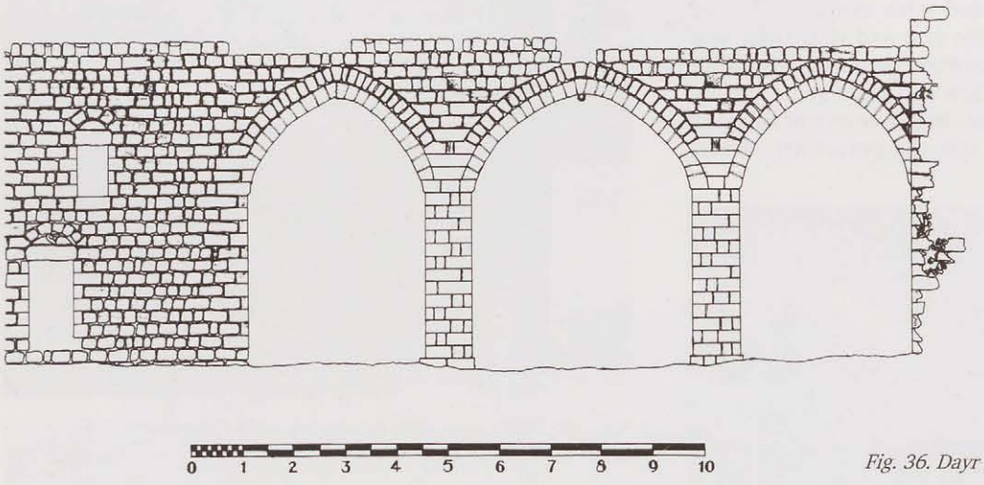


Fig. 36. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Elevation of palace.

or corbels. The buildings on the west side of the courtyard are in ruins making it impossible, without excavation or clearance, to reconstruct their original layout. On the east side of the courtyard is a range of small cell-like rooms opening from the courtyard with projecting corbels at roof height (possibly to support a gallery).

On the south side of the courtyard is an arcade of three arches (Fig. 36, Plate 92) which originally supported a cross-vaulted roof (now collapsed). Doorways at the back and sides of the arcade lead off into cross-vaulted rooms and a staircase which has now collapsed, but was visible in 1990. The doorways are covered with shallow round arches built out of joggled vousoirs (Plate 94). There are also small niches with hoods made of lobed arches. On the west wall of the arcade is a row of 's' shaped corbels (Plate 93). At the same height around the rest of the walls are rectangular gaps, set at similar intervals, which may also have contained 's' shaped corbels. The function of

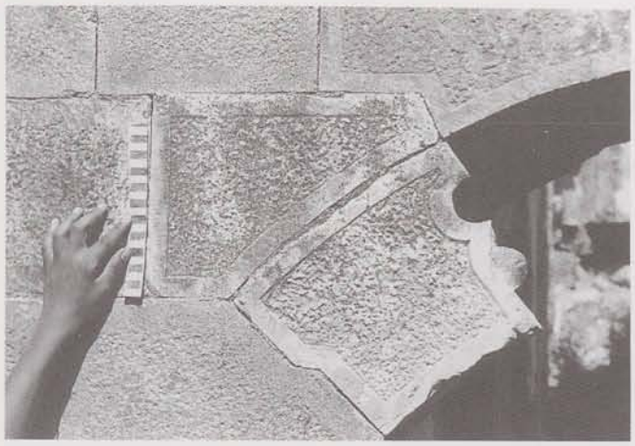


Plate 94. Dayr Ḥanna(No. 42). Palace, joggled voussoirs.

Plate 95. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Mosque, exterior of dome.

the corbels in not clear as they are unlikely to have supported a floor. It is possible that they may have supported a shelf or simply functioned as decoration.

Below the main level of the palace there was a lower level which may have formed an undercroft similar to that in Qalʿat Jiddīn (Pringle *et al.* 1994) or Shafā ʿAmr. Traces of an arrow or gun slits can be seen on the exterior wall of this area although the vaults themselves were not examined.

Mosque

This is located in the north-west corner of the palace complex (Fig. 34, Plate 95). Although this structure has its own entrance from the street outside it is possible that there was also a direct entrance from the western part of the palace.

The entrance from the street leads into a small rectangular courtyard with an arcade on the south, east, and west sides. A set of stairs in the north-east corner provides access into a staircase minaret, the upper part of which appears to be new (although it may be the result of the rebuilding of an earlier structure). The arcade is roofed with cross-vaults and consists of one bay on each of the east and west sides, and three bays on the south side. The southern wall of the arcade is built of alternate layers of yellow and black stone (ablaq) similar to that used in the palace. In the centre of this wall there is a rectangular doorway into the prayer hall. Either side of the doorway very shallow blind niches serve as external mihrabs.

Plate 96. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Mosque, minbar.

Plate 97. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Mosque, detail of mihrab.

The prayer hall is a large rectangular room covered with a central dome and two wide arches at the east and west ends. The walls of the prayer hall have a dado of white and yellow/ orange ablaq masonry. There are four windows in the north wall and three in the west wall. Two doorways in the east wall lead into a narrow corridor-like room which has its own entrance from the portico. Approximately in the centre of the south wall is a mihrab lined with inlaid marble panels (Fig. 35,

Plate 97). The panels are decorated with red and chevrons on a white background above which are cusped finials in a fleur-de-lys pattern (for details including photograph and drawings, see Edwards *et al.* 1993, 85–86). To the right (west) of the mihrab is a tall minbar also built out of marble blocks (Plate 96). Underneath the steps of the minbar are two arches with cusped niches.

Fortifications

Dayr Ḥannā is the best example of a fortified village in Galilee. An eighteenth-century chronicler described the fortifications as follows:

> It was surrounded by a double wall, the inner circle having been built by Saᶜd, Ẓāhir's brother; this was fairly high and studded with twelve towers. The outer wall was erected by Ẓāhir himself and his son, ᶜAlī added two towers, one on the eastern and one on the western side, each completely detached from the main fortress and intended to cover it in the event of siege (Saʿīd Effendi cited in Cohen 1973, 95 n.59)

Although some of the wall and tower have been destroyed a considerable amount has survived. In 1960 the village still retained the shape of a fortress with no houses outside the line of the original walls (see Edwards *et al.* 1993, 65 Fig. 2).

The extant fortifications can be divided into two types, those enclosing the old village and those outside. The wall surrounding the village survives in two places, one to the north and the other on the south side of the old village. In addition it seems likely that the south wall of the palace formed part of the village wall (Edwards *et al.* 1993, 88 Fig.31). On the west side is the remains of a tall tower projecting from the wall (Plate 98). There are three towers detached from the walls (Plate 99). These are each wide circular constructions (approximately 8m in diameter) built of rubble stone with a facing of dressed stones (now mostly robbed out).

References: Cohen 1973, 95; Edwards *et al.* 1993; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 463; Palmer 1881, 125; *SWP*, map VI; *TIR* 163; Volney 1959, 265.

Plate 98. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Remains of tower.

Plate 99. Dayr Ḥanna (No. 42). Tower with facing stones removed.

43. Dayr al-Shaykh

Visited 4.9.93 (surveyed 8.94)
Location 1564.1283
31.45N/35.04E

The abandoned village of Dayr al-Shaykh stands on the north side of Wadi Ismaʿīn (Hb. Nahal Soreq) directly below the Israeli settlement of Nes Harim (Hb.).

The village is located on a spur, surrounded by abandoned terraces overgrown with cactuses and various trees, including olive and almond. The village is mostly in ruins although the plan of houses and the line of streets can still be seen. Some of the houses appear to have been barrel-vaulted structures. The only standing building amongst the ruins is the mosque.

According to tradition the maqām of Dayr al-Shaykh contains the tomb of Sulṭān Badr. The history of Badr is recorded both by Canaan (1927, 305–308) and by Masterman and Macalister (1916) who give substantially the same story. The title 'sulṭān' refers to Badr's religious significance rather than indicating any secular power. He originated either from Khurāsān (Canaan 1927, 307) or the Ḥijāz (Masterman and Macalister 1916, 12), and came to Jerusalem as a Dervish. According to al-ʿUlaymī (cited in Canaan 1927, 305) all the saints of his time followed his teachings. Badr first lived in Shuʿfat, in Jerusalem, but after his daughter's death (he had two or three daughters) he moved westwards to Wādī al-Nusur (sp.) (now known as Wādī Ismaʿīn) where he lived in a cave. When he died he was buried in a tomb within the zawiya he had built for himself, which became known as Dayr al-Shaykh. His tomb was visited by all the holy men and even by the animals. When his son Muḥammad died he was buried near his father, although Badr's daughter has her own tomb at Shuʿfat. The exact dates of Badr's life are not known although it is known that his son Muḥammed died in 663 H. (1264–1265 C.E.) and that Badr was alive in the time of the Mamluk sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277 C.E.). A date in the mid thirteenth century may be suggested for the shrine of Badr.

According to the 1596 *daftar* a village had grown up on the site with a population of 29 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olives, and fruit (*HG*, 113). By the 1870s the population had risen to 400 although by 1881 it was apparently deserted (*SWP*, III, 25). Under the British Mandate the village was repopulated and in the mid 1940s it had a population of 220 (Khalidi 1992, 288). Traditionally the shrine is visited by pilgrims from the region of Bethlehem and the western villages of Jerusalem.

The mosque comprises four main elements; a courtyard, a prayer hall, a maqām, and a crypt (Figs 37–38, Plate 100).

The courtyard is bounded by the prayer hall and the maqām to the north, and an irregular-shaped enclosure wall on the other sides. The exterior ground level on the west side is considerably

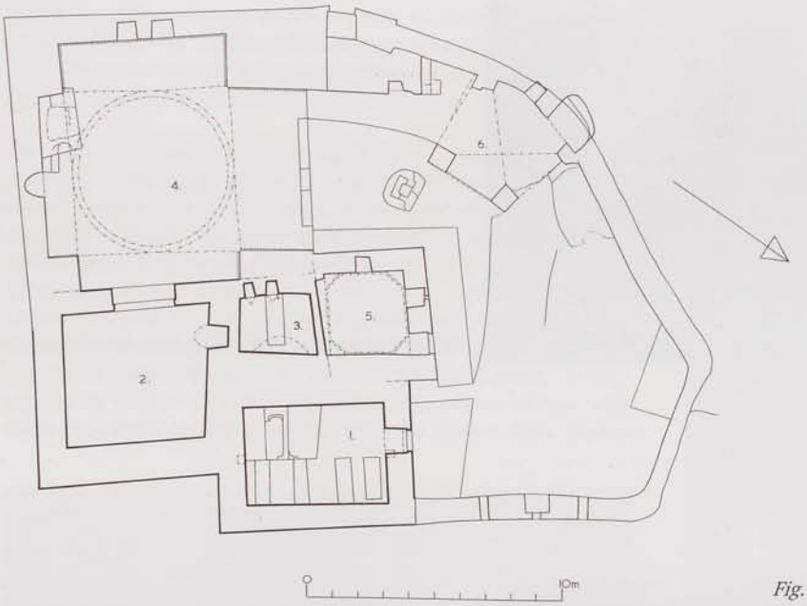


Fig. 37. Dayr al-Shaykh (No. 43). Plan of complex.

Plate 100. Dayr al-Shaykh (No. 43). View of shrine (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

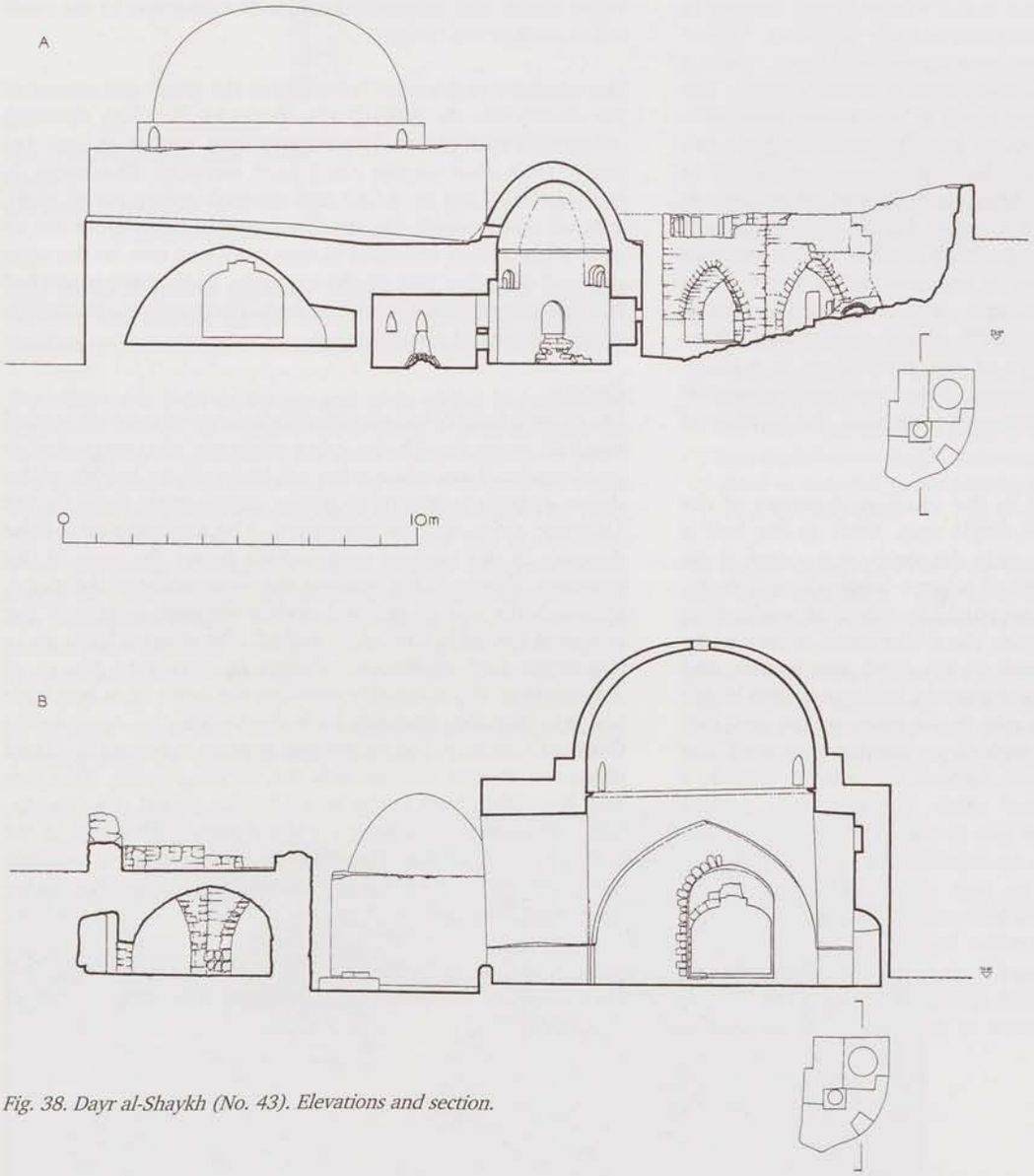


Fig. 38. Dayr al-Shaykh (No. 43). Elevations and section.

higher than that inside the mosque, although the ground falls sharply away on the other sides. As a result the height of the enclosure wall varies between 2m and 4m with an average thickness of 0.5m. There is a window looking out over the wadi on the east side of the enclosure wall. A doorway on the west side of the enclosure wall provides access to a rectangular platform, from which a staircase leads down to the courtyard. The courtyard may be divided into two areas, a lower part to the south paved with stone slabs, and a higher area to the north. In the southern part of the courtyard, next to the west wall, there is a vaulted pavilion consisting of a cross-vault resting on four piers. There is a niche and a blocked archway in the back wall which is covered with soot from camp fires. On top of the structure is a low wall or kerb suggesting that it may have been a viewing platform (there is a door at the back). Between the pavilion and the maqām is a low platform containing the entrance to a well or cistern (not investigated). The north end of the courtyard contains a large number of vaulted tombs built one on top of the other. Each tomb is approximately 2m long and 1.5m high with a pointed barrel-vault.

The maqām stands at the south end of the courtyard and to the north-east of the prayer hall. From the exterior this is a square building surmounted by a white dome with an elliptical profile. The entrance is on the left hand (east) side of the north face of the building and there is also a narrow slit window on the same side. The interior of the maqām can be divided into two areas, the domed chamber and a vaulted extension (iwan) to the rear. The domed chamber measures approximately 2m

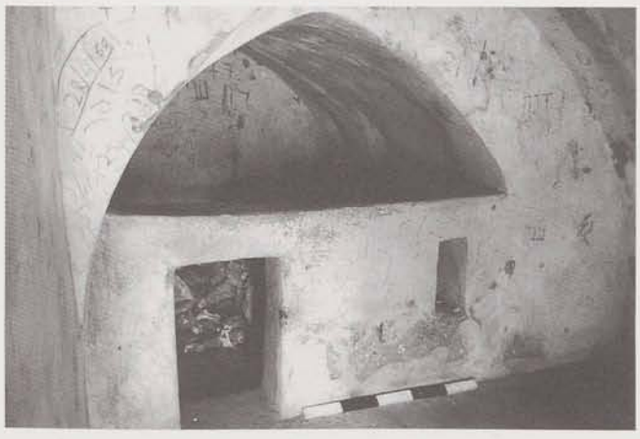


Plate 101. Dayr al-Shaykh (No. 43). Interior of maqām.

per side, with two niches, one in the west wall and another in the north wall (this also contains the slit window). Corner squinches form the transition from square to octagon, whilst a plain cornice marks the transition from octagon to dome. The dome could perhaps be described as a domical vault as it converts the octagonal space into a circle without the intervention of a drum or further squinches. A small hole in the south side of the dome admits more light to the interior. At the south end of the domed chamber a large open arch leads into a low vaulted chamber partially blocked with a low wall (Plate 101). The alignment of the arch to the vault is not exact, suggesting that the vault existed before the domed chamber. The vault runs north–south and springs from ground level. In the centre of the vault there is a badly damaged grave lying east–west. There are two triangular niches in the west wall although otherwise the interior of the vault is very plain.

The prayer hall is located in the south-west corner of the complex and is the largest single unit. Entry to the hall is through a large open archway in the south-west corner of the courtyard. The roof consists of a large hemispherical dome, resting on a circular drum, supported by spherical pendentives springing from massive corner piers. The drum is pierced by four large windows, one each on the north, south, west, and east sides. The corner piers are joined by large arches which form large recesses on each side. In the recess on the west side there are two large niches set high up into the west wall. The south recess contains several features including a mihrab, a minbar, and a large vaulted tomb. The mihrab is a plain undecorated deep set niche and next to it (on the west side) there are steps which form the minbar. The vaulted tomb is a large structure (2m long, 1m high and 1m wide) which has been broken into in the middle. In the middle of the east wall is an arched opening (2m wide) leading into a large barrel-vaulted chamber. The ground level of this chamber seems to have been raised, as the vault springs from the current floor level. In the north-west corner of the room is a low vaulted niche, which may originally have been a doorway to the vault at the back of the maqām.

The entrance to the crypt is located in the south-east corner of the courtyard. At present the doorway is a low opening overgrown with plants. The interior floor level is at least 1m lower than that of the courtyard outside. The room is rectangular (5.5m by 3.5m) and covered with a barrel-vault, aligned north–south. On the floor of the room there are at least seven graves arranged in two rows, one row on the west side and the other row on the east side. Each grave is marked by a low rectangular platform or kerb. There are no inscriptions or other forms of identification.

Dating

The present form of the complex obviously evolved over several hundred years though the exact sequence of construction is problematic. If we relate what we know of the history of the shrine with the structural sequence, approximate dates for the different parts may be suggested. The earliest part of the complex is the vaulted crypt which forms the core of the structure. This probably predates the construction of the shrine, although the use of pointed arches suggests a date in the medieval (possibly Crusader) period. The maqām butts on to the crypt and probably belongs to a second phase of construction. It presumably contains the tomb of Sulṭan Badr and was therefore probably built shortly after his death in the thirteenth century. The prayer hall appears to belong to a third phase which may also include the enclosure wall. This part may have been built in the later Mamluk period (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries) although it could equally be dated to the early Ottoman period. The cross-vaulted pavilion is probably the latest part of the complex and was built some time during the Ottoman period.

References: Canaan 1927, 305–308; *HG*, 113; Khalidi 1992, 288; Masterman and Macalister 1916, 12; Palmer 1881, 293; *SWP*, III, 25 (map XVII).

F

44. Farrāḍiyya/ Farrādhiyya

Visited —
Location 190.259
32.56N/35.25E

This site is located in northern Galilee, approximately half way between Acre and the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Before 1948 there was a village on the site which has since been destroyed.

The village was built on the remains of an earlier Roman period settlement known as Parod (*TIR*, 200). It was mentioned (as Farādhiyya) by Muqaddasī in the tenth century, who described it as a large village with a mosque in an area with plentiful water where vines were cultivated (ed. de Goeje, 162; see also Gill 1992, 327). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village had a population of 43 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olive trees, fruit trees, 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees', and pasture land (*HG*, 177). In the late nineteenth century Conder and Kitchener note that the village had a population of 150 involved in the cultivation of olives and figs in small garden plots (*SWP*, I, 203).

In 1933 the village was visited by Makhouly for the Department of Antiquities. He gave the following report:

> A maqām known locally by the name of 'Sheikh Mansur' is standing in the main track leading to the village at a point about half way between the village itself and the Govt. School for boys. It is a square room in a ruinous condition about 4m x 4m.
>
> The only part of it which is still to be seen in position is the northern wall—it consists of nine courses above the basement with an average of 27cms height; each course; making a total of 2.45m high. The N.E. corner as well as the middle of the wall have worn pilasters with 1/2 inch projections. The bases and capitals have simple mouldings. The top most course is made of moulded stones forming a cornice (PAM Makhouly 11.2.33/ ATQ 676).

An earlier report describes the maqām as 'a square building with arch and niche.' The report also notes that there was a medieval arch in the cemetery (Plate 102).

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 456; *HG*, 177; Khalidi 1992, 449–450; *MPF*, 58 No.6; Le Strange 1890, 39, 439; Marmadji 1951, 160; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 162; Palmer 1881, 72; PAM Makhouly 11.2.33/ ATQ 676; SWP, I 203; *TIR*, 200.

Plate 102. Farrāḍiyya (No. 44). Medieval arch in cemetery (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

G

45. Ghābsiyya

Visited 9.91
Location 164.267
33.00N/35.09E

This site is located on the hillside overlooking the plain of Acre. Less than 500m to the south are the twin villages of Shaykh Danūn and Shaykh Dāwūd.

Remains discovered at the site suggest that there may have been a Roman and Byzantine settlement here (Thompson *et al.* 1988, 36). During the Crusader period the site was known as La Gabasie and was one of the fiefs of Casal Imbert (Frankel 1988, 264). The village probably corresponds to that of Ghābiyya in *nāḥiya* Ṭabariyya (Hb. Tiberias) mentioned in the 1596 *daftar*. This village contained a population of 60 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, fruit trees, cotton, and water buffalo (*HG*, 194). In the nineteenth century the village was described by Conder and Kitchener as follows:

> A village, built of stone, containing about 150 Moslems, on the edge of the plain, surrounded by olives, figs, pomegranates and gardens; a stream of water near, plentiful supply (*SWP*, 1, 145).

Guérin (*Galilée*, II, 30) called the village 'el-Rhabsieh' and noted that it was 109m above sea level and had a population of 100 Muslims. In 1886 the Ottoman government established a school in the village (Khalidi 1992, 14). In 1948 the village was abandoned and was subsequently destroyed. The site is now covered with trees.

Mosque

The only extant building on the site is the village mosque. This building was seen by Guérin in the 1870s who described it as:

> Elle paraît avoir été bâtie en partie avec matériaux antiques assez reguliers et trouvés sur place. Dans la cour qui la précède s'élèvent plusieurs beaux cyprès, hauts comme nos peupliers. Des terrasses de cet édifice, on jouit d'une vue très étendue sur la plaine et sur la mer (*Galilée*, II, 30).

The mosque consists of a large (10m x 30m) rectangular walled complex built around a central courtyard. The complex is entered through a doorway in the west wall of the enclosure. The paved courtyard contains a cistern, date palms, and a tall cypress tree (presumably one of those seen by Guérin in the 1870s). At the north end of the courtyard is a vaulted room presumably used for religious education. A staircase built into the thickness of the west wall of the compound leads up to the roof.

At the south end of the courtyard is a tall portico (riwaq) divided into three cross-vaulted bays. At the back of the east and west bays there are windows (one on each side) opening from the prayer hall of the mosque. A single doorway in the back of the central bay of the portico leads into the prayer hall. Both the windows and the doors are covered with shallow round arches.

The interior of the prayer hall is a rectangular space with a dome covering the central area and two narrow cross-vaults covering the two side areas. The dome is supported by arches springing from tall thin piers. There is a plain mihrab centrally placed in the south wall and the remains of a fixed stone minbar. The east and west walls are each pierced by two windows, one near floor level and one at roof level. In addition there is a rectangular window above the mihrab. According to Guérin (*Galilée*, II, 30) the mosque dates from the time of ʿAlī Pasha, father of ʿAbd Allāh Pasha (i.e. some time before 1818 C.E.).

References: Frankel 1988, 264; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 30–31; *HG*, 194; Khalidi 1992, 13–15; Palmer 1881, 42; Pringle 1997, 119 (Supplementary list); *SWP*, 1, 145, 168 (map III); Thompson *et al.* 1988, 36.

H

46. Ḥaddar/ Ḥadra

Visited 9.9.91
Location 133.168
32.07N/34.49E

This site (Cr. Tres Pontes) is located near the mouth of the ʿAwjā (Hb. Yarqon) river in what is now a suburb of Tel-Aviv (Hb.). Although the site is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (April 1941) its condition has considerably deteriorated since its registration. In particular the course of the river has altered and the area behind the dams has silted up. Many of the installations have been destroyed (see Fig. 39 and Plates 103–106).

A detailed report on the site was written for the Antiquities Department by Johns with assistance from Hill, the District Engineer (PAM Johns 19.3.41). As much of the site has been destroyed or covered over in recent times it is worth reproducing most of Johns' unpublished report.

> These remains consist of (a) dam now partly broken down; (b) embankment wall well preserved, one end of which is crossed by an early road-way; (c) ruined mills
>
> (a) Dam built across the stream at a sharp bend in the river; now broken down in the stream, originally it was about 30m. long and 5m. wide. In remaining part at W. there are two arched openings at 2 to 3m. below the top; apparently these were sluice gates, and presumably others existed in the part now broken down in the stream.

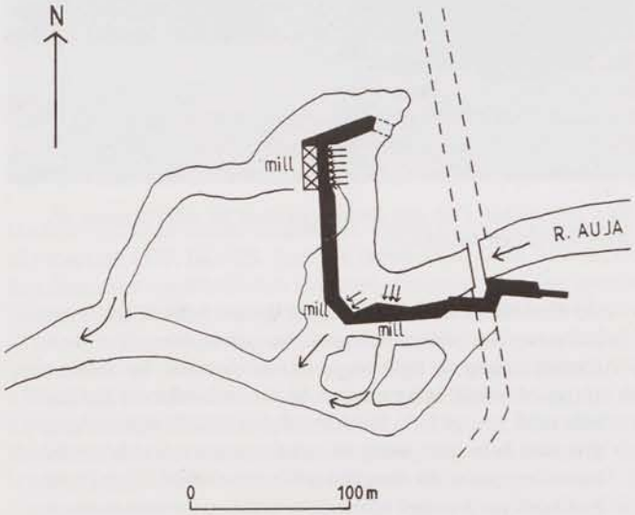


Fig. 39. Ḥaddar (No. 46). Plan of dam and mills.

Plate 103. Ḥaddar (No. 46). Remains of mill (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 104. Ḥaddar (No. 46). Dam general view (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 105. Ḥaddar (No. 46). Arched openings for mill (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

(b) Embankment wall built along the left bank of the river, following the bank southward for about 80m. and then turning through a right angle to run eastward for another 100m., this end being crossed by the embankment for the new road. Except for a break through a little E. of the angle, this wall is in tact, being of much the same width as the remaining part of the dam, and of the same height. It is pierced by a number of arched openings resembling those in the dam wall, and at the same height; eleven were counted, arranged in three groups, six in the N. arm, two at the angle, and three in the S. arm; others may exist in that part of the embankment wall covered by the new roadway. Each of these openings leads to a wider channel of rubble masonry, and the three groups appear to have served three separate mills.

(c) The two mills on the E. arm and at the angle respectively are both ruined down to the top of the embankment wall, but of the third and largest situated on the N. arm, three adjacent ruined vaults are to be seen, the piers of which stand up to springing level and above. Most of the vaulted substructure survives at each of three mills. Between the second and third there is a similar deep pit lined with masonry, the purpose of which was not clear, either to Mr. Hill or myself.

The construction of all these buildings is of small sandstone masonry laid in good lime mortar. No distinctive tooling was to be seen. In style this masonry may equally well be of Arab, Crusader or Turkish times, but it is hardly large enough to be Roman work. The top of the embankment must have been repaired within the last 50 years, for fragments of Marseille tiles are embedded in the mortar here and there. No doubt these mills were among the several mentioned in the *Survey of Western Palestine*, (Vol. II, p.251) as existing in the 1870s. When the dam was complete the impounded water rose to a level less than a metre below the parapet of the embankment, as is shown by a well marked water-line which runs the whole length of the wall. Consequently, it wholly submerged the archways leading water to the mills. Water discharging from the mill must have been conducted across the neck of the peninsula; there is a marked depression here which suggests a pool, but if remains of masonry embankments or channels exist, they are now silted over. Presumably it was to drain off any water standing here that the breakthrough at the angle was made after silting up of the outlet.
Signed C.N. Johns, Field Archaeologist.

From Johns' report and the plans made of the structure it can be seen that the dam and much of the embankment has been destroyed. At present (1991) some remaining sections of the embankment are visible where there have been excavations (non-archaeological) through the silt. The exposed sections of the embankment include several arched openings, sluice gates, pointed cutwaters, and overflow channels. It is probable that this section belongs to the mill at the northern end of the embankment, as marked on the 1941 sketch plan.

As indicated in Johns' report, the date of construction of the dam and embankment are not known. It is, however, known that the mills existed in Crusader times as they were granted to the Hospitallers in 1133 C.E. (Pringle 1997, 49 No.98). As the masonry used in the construction does not bear any traces of Crusader workmanship it seems likely that the dam and embankment had been built earlier, perhaps during the period of Fatimid occupation of the region. The mills were in use until 1918, until a bridge connecting the embankment to the shore was blown up by the Turks. The dam appears to have remained intact until it was damaged by floods in 1941 (PAM ATQ/781 19.4.41). The destruction of the dam caused the undermining of a new road which was built next to it. It seems likely that

Plate 106. Ḥaddar (No. 46). Remains of cutwater on dam.

the central part of the embankment was destroyed by road contractors wishing to alter the flow of the river away from the road (PAM ATQ/781 4.5.41).

References: Baedeker 1876, 420; Palmer 1881, 215; PAM ATQ/781 19.4.41, 4.5.41; PAM Johns 19.3.41; Pringle 1997, 49 No.98; *SWP*, II, 251, 265 (map XIII).

47. Haifa (Hb.) (Ar. Ḥayfā)

Visited 24.3.95
Location 149.248
32.50N/35.00E

The city of Haifa is located on the southern shore of the bay of Acre at the foot of Mount Carmel (Fig. 41). It has deep water and is sheltered from the south, south-west and east winds, making it one of the best natural anchorages in Palestine (Naval Intelligence Division 1943, 300).

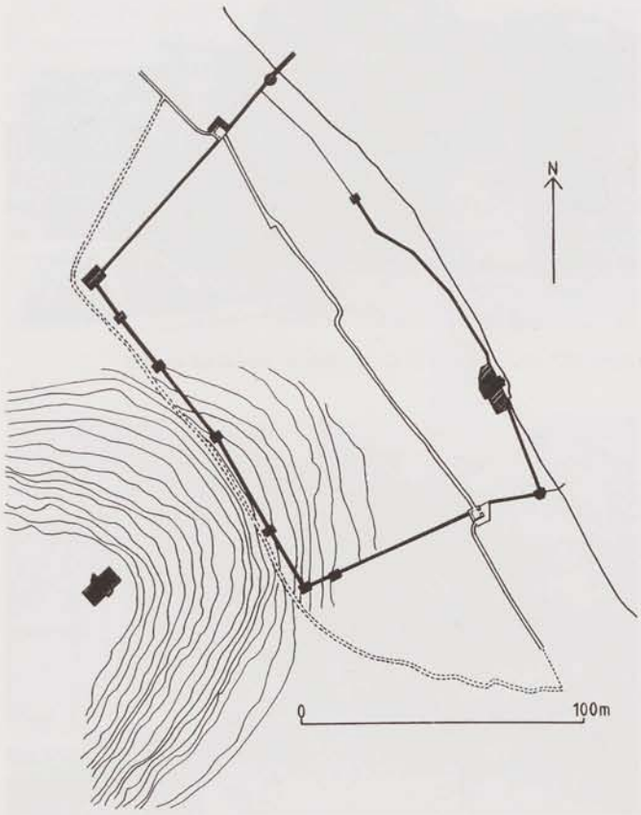


Fig. 40. Haifa (No. 47). Plan of town.

During the Bronze Age the site of Tal Abū Hawam (sp.) (for a discussion of this ancient site, see Balensi *et al.* in *EAE*, I, 7–14) was one of the major trading settlements in Palestine with connections to Egypt and the north (for a concise history of Haifa, see Lewis *et al.* in *EI2*, III, 324–326; Carmel in *EJ*, VII, 1133–1140; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 297–300). In the Roman period the site was a small village known as Hefa (*TIR*, 141–2). Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited the town in the middle of the eleventh century, describes it as a village on the sea-shore with a large number of date palms and other trees. Significantly, he also notes that there are shipbuilders in the town who build very large sea-going ships (ed. Scheffer, 61). The city was captured by the Crusaders in 1100 C.E. after a siege of a month. According to Albert of Aix the inhabitants of the town were predominantly Jews who were allowed to live there under a special licence from the Fatimid caliph (*EI2*, III, 324). When the Crusaders captured the town both the Jews and the Muslim troops were massacred. Idrīsī, writing in the second half of the twelfth century, states that Haifa lies under Carmel and is the port for Tiberias (1971–1984, 365). After the fall of Acre in 1187 Haifa was occupied by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who held it until 1191 (Abū Shāma RHC OR, IV, 301, 303, 306, 315). Before leaving the town, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had the fortifications demolished to prevent them being used by the Crusaders. In 1250 the walls were rebuilt by Louis IX of France only to be destroyed 15 years later when the town was conquered by Baybars (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 89, II, 72). Some years later the Crusaders once again occupied the town until it was taken in 1291 by the Mamluk sultan, al-Ashraf Khalīl. For the remainder of the Mamluk period the town seems to have been of little or no importance (*EI2*, III, 325). Qalqashandī refers to the site as a ruin (ed. Ali, IV, 155).

Haifa is not to be found in the first Ottoman cadastral surveys of Palestine (*EI2*, III, 325. And see Heyd 1956, 206, 210–211). It is, however, mentioned in the 1596 *daftar* as a village within *nāḥiya* Sāḥil ʿAthlīth containing a population of 32 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 158). There is also some evidence that the place continued as a port. An imperial *firmān* dated 1019 H. (1611 C.E.) indicates that Frankish merchant ships were landing and carrying on trade (Heyd 1960, 129). Throughout the sixteenth century Haifa seems to have been under the control of the Ṭurabāy family. In 1623 it was besieged by Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn who sought to prevent raids on Ṣafad. The Ṭurabāy family refused to negotiate and the town was destroyed (Abu Husayn 1985, 196).

The absence of fortifications at the site led to it becoming a haven for Maltese pirates who established business contacts in the area (Cohen 1973, 137). In response to the growing strength of the pirates, the Ottoman government issued a *firmān* (dated 1716 C.E.) ordering the construction of towers (*abrāj*) in the port of Ḥayfā. Eventually (between 1723–1725) two towers were built, one at each end of the bay. Each tower was equipped with five or six cannon and 25 soldiers. As a further measure to improve security in the area the Ottoman government issued tax exemptions to 41 fief holders in the *liwāʾ* Lajjūn. In return the fief holders were to move to Ḥayfā where they would live in houses in the vicinity of the towers. The measure was introduced in 1723 and worked for a number of years until 1736 when the *wālī* of Ṣaydūn (Sidon) revoked the tax exemptions.

In the early 1760s Ḥayfā came under the control of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar who introduced improvements, although not at the expense of Acre. The principal measure introduced by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar was the demolition of the old settlement and establishment of a new walled town 2km to the north-east (Fig. 40). In addition, water was provided from new wells and a market place was established by the port. The value of the newly-revived port is shown by the dispute over its control between Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar and the new governor of Damascus, ʿUthmān Pasha (Holt 1966, 125).

In 1799 the town was briefly occupied by the French during the siege of Acre (cf. Alderson 1843, 26–27). In 1837 the town was again occupied, this time by the Egyptian, Ibrāhīm Pasha. He held the town until 1840 when it suffered bombardment by British, Turkish, and Austrian ships. Despite these setbacks the town continued to thrive and began to outstrip Acre which was suffering from the silting up of its harbour (for statistics

concerning the harbour at the end of the nineteenth century, see Cuinet 1896, 108–109). In the latter part of the nineteenth century the town became the base for two religious groups: the Baha'is and the Templars. The Templars had a modernising effect on the town introducing four-wheeled carriages and a steam mill. On the occasion of a visit by the German emperor and empress in 1898 a pier and a carriage road to Jaffa were built. A few years later the Haifa to Damascus railway line was completed, and in 1902 it was transferred from a private company to the Ottoman government (Kreiser 1997, 110–111). The importance of the town was recognised by the British in the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 where the Templars claimed: '... a small enclave of the Palestinian coast including Haifa and Acre' (Holt 1966, 270).

Mosques

It is not known when the first mosque was established in Haifa although the presence of Muslims in the town must have required some such building. During the Mamluk and early Ottoman period there was probably a small village mosque, although no direct evidence of such a building has survived. When Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar established the new town of Haifa it is likely that he equipped it with a mosque.

Buckingham (1821, 115) noted that there were two mosques in the town, one of which was formerly a Christian Church. Mary Rogers (1989, 83) who stayed in the town in 1855 observed: '... a simple mosque and minaret, with a palm tree near it.'

Great Mosque

This building is located near the sea in the north-east part of Haifa (Fig. 41, Plates 107–108). The entrance is through a gateway surmounted by a tall square clock tower dated to 1316 H. (1897–1898 C.E.). Immediately inside the gate are steps leading down to a courtyard. To the right of the gate in the south-east corner is an external mihrab. This mihrab is built of stone and has engaged colonettes and a bell-shaped hood.

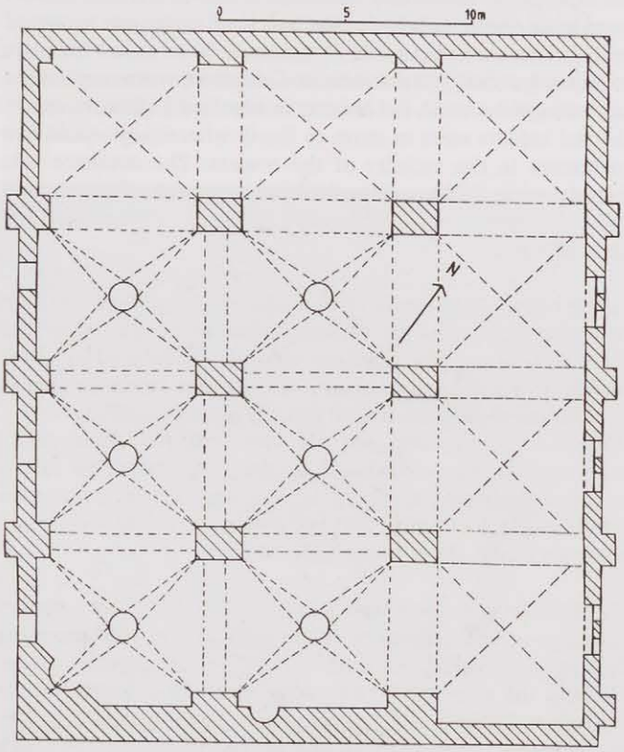


Fig 41. Haifa (No. 47). Plan of Friday Mosque.

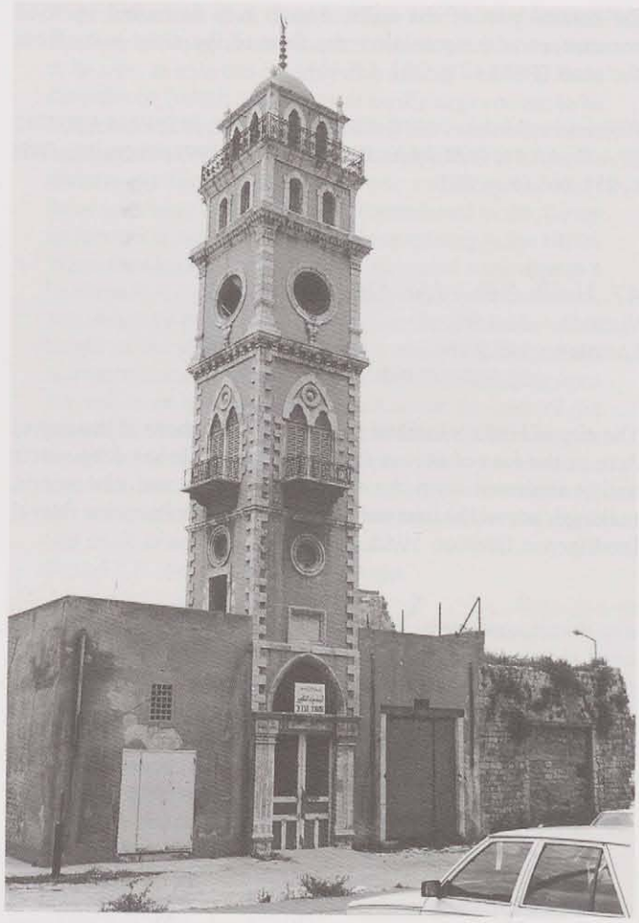


Plate 107. Haifa (No. 47). Great Mosque and clock-tower.

Plate 108. Haifa (No. 47). Great Mosque interior.

The prayer hall is on the north side of the courtyard. It is entered through a small doorway surmounted by a six-line Arabic inscription. The exterior of the prayer hall is marked by large buttresses which support piers on the interior of the structure. The interior of the prayer hall is a huge area (approximately 20m by 15m) divided into 12 bays supported on 20 large rectangular piers. The arrangement of the interior is slightly odd, suggesting at least one major phase of rebuilding. The earlier part of the mosque appears to be the south-east part comprising six bays roofed with folded cross-vaults. The mihrab for this earlier phase seems to be in the central bay of the east wall (this feature is now covered by a wrought iron gate).

During the second stage six additional bays were added: three on the north and three on the west side converting it from six

to 12 bays. The later bays are covered with simple cross-vaults. During this phase of construction a new mihrab was built into the south-west corner (presumably with a better qibla alignment than the original mihrab).

It is noticeable that the central aisle of the mosque (i.e. the north aisle of the original building) is raised up, possibly to emphasise the qibla direction. If this is the case there may well have been another aisle further to the north which was destroyed before being replaced with the present north aisle. It is likely that this was the Great Mosque of Haifa erected during the rule of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, and subsequently expanded to meet the demands of a growing population.

Small Mosque (name unknown)
This building stands in an industrial area to the south of the Great Mosque.

This building is of similar design to the Great Mosque and originally comprised at least four cross-vaulted bays (Plate 109). One of these bays has been destroyed and it is difficult to establish the position of the mihrab which seems to have disappeared. At the north-west corner of the mosque is a cylindrical minaret approximately 12m high. It is possible that this was the mosque seen by Mary Rogers in 1855 (see above).

Plate 109. Haifa (No. 47). Small Mosque.

Bathhouses
Only one bathhouse has survived in Haifa known as Hammam al-Basha. It was built between 1908 and 1911 during the last years of Ottoman rule (for a detailed description, see Dow 1996, 74–75).

Fortifications
Although it is probable that the town was fortified during the Fatimid period there are no extant remains or descriptions. The earliest fortification for which we have direct evidence is St. Margaret's castle built by the Templars in the Crusader period, it was probably built on the site of an earlier Islamic fort mentioned by Yaqut (Le Strange 1890, 446). The castle stood on the promontory of Mount Carmel overlooking the town until its destruction in 1821. The ruins of the building now serve as a foundation for the lighthouse. The building was described in the fifteenth century as a square building with corner towers (cf. Pringle 1993–, II, 205–206). South-east of St. Margaret's castle (also on the Carmel ridge) is another Crusader castle, now known as Khirbat Rushmiyya. This building is located in a park in the district of Rumayma (sp.). It consists of a rectangular vaulted area with a tower added to the north-east corner. Excavations outside the building have indicated extensive later occupation (cf. Ronen and Olami 1993, 22–24, xiii, Site 34; Pringle 1997, 90–91, No.190).

It is possible that the eighteenth-century towers described in the Ottoman *firmāns* are merely renovations of these Crusader structures. Support for this suggestion is found in *firmāns* which ordered that: '... two towers should be built, one on each side of the bay, in the places where similar towers had been in the past' (Cohen 1973, 139).

The fortifications attributable to Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar are the town walls, the citadel (or saray), and a tower or fortress on a hill outside the walls overlooking the town.

Town Wall
Unfortunately, none of the city walls survive, although there are several good descriptions, a plan, and a drawing by David Roberts. The earliest account is given by Buckingham who visited Haifa on January 14th 1816. His description is as follows:

> We arose early, and walked around the town of Caypha. It is walled and badly fortified, having two gates opening to the north and south, with only six cannon mounted on the ramparts. It was also entirely without guards, as the troops had all departed for Damascus (1821, 114–115).

Twenty-five years later during the revolt of Ibrāhīm Pasha against the Ottoman government Lt. Col. Alderson of the Royal Engineers made a plan of the fortifications of the town (see Alderson 1843, Pl. facing 26). In September 1855 Mary Rogers, sister of the British Consul, visited Haifa and gave an account of her entry into the town which incudes a graphic description of the south gate as follows:

> ... so I mounted, and, with my brother and a few of his Arab friends walking by my side traversed the bridle path by the gardens, and approached the embattled stone gateway; its heavy wooden doors (covered with plates of iron) were thrown open for us, on their creaking hinges, by the sleepy wardens, whose mattresses were spread on stone platforms in the square vaulted chamber of the gate (1989, 83).

A more comprehensive description of the walls is given by Conder and Kitchener:

> The town is surrounded with walls on three sides, and is traversed by a main street parallel to the shore. The walls are well-built of small masonry, with round towers: on the sea-side they project to the water. They are said to have been built by Dhâher el 'Amr, as well as the Serai. The gate in the south wall was partly destroyed in 1875 to make an easier entrance. It previously resembled in its arrangement the Jaffa Gate at Jerusalem (*SWP*, I, 282).

The Citadel
This structure was located near the southern gate of the town. Remains of this structure are still to be found in a car park between Jaffa street and Hameginin street. The remains consist of a series of large cross-vaults resting on thick square pillars. The eastern part of the building is today used for warehouses whilst the western part is derelict.

Burj Ḥayfā
This structure, located on the hill above the city, survived until the 1970s. In the late nineteenth century it was seen by Conder and Kitchener who described it as follows:

> Burj Haifa is said to have been built by Dhâher el 'Amr. It is now dismantled, but has one gun yet in place. It is a square tower in two storeys. Some of the English cannon-balls are embedded in the walls since 1840 (*SWP*, I, 303).

References: Abel 1967, II, 347–348; Abu Husayn 1985, 185–196; Abū Shāma RHC OR, index; Adler 1930, 115–116, 143–144; Alderson 1843, Pl. facing 26; Baedeker 1876, 348; Buckingham 1821, 114–121; Cohen 1973, index; Cohen 1989, 122; Cuinet 1896, 4, 9, 13, 92, 105–110; Dawling 1914; Dow 1996, 74–75; Balensi *et al.* in *EAE*, I, 7–14; Lewis *et al.* in *EI2*, III, 324–326; Carmel in *EJ*, VII, 1133–1140; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 251–259; *Galilée* I, 499–500; Heyd 1956, 210–211, 215–216, Pl.30; Heyd 1960, 128–129; *HG*, 158; Holt 1966, 125, 270, 272, 286; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, index; Idrīsī ed. Bombaci, 365; Kreiser 1997, 110–111; Le Strange 1890, 351, 446, 482; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 113–127; Marmadji 1951, 58; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 39–40; Meinecke 1992, I, 14; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 297–300; Nāṣir-i Khusraw 1881, 60–61; *Naval Intelligence Division* 1943, 300; Oliphant 1887; Palmer 1881, 109; Pringle 1993–, I, 222–223, II, 150–152, 205–206; Pringle 1997, 90–91 No.190; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 155; Rogers 1989, 83; Ronen and Olami 1993, 22–24, xiii Site 34 *et passim*; *SWP*, I, 283–285, 303–307 (map V); *TIR*, 141–2; Volney 1959, 250, 254, 258, 306; Wilson 1884, III, index; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, II, 381.

48. Ḥammāma/ Ḥamāma

Visited —
Location 111.122
31.42N/34.35E

This site is located on the coastal plain approximately 3km north-east of the modern city of Ashqelon (Hb.). Until 1948 the site was occupied by a village.

The village is thought to have been the birthplace of the fifteenth-century Muslim scholar Aḥmad al-Shāfiʿī (Khalidi 1992, 97–98). In the 1596 *daftar* the village is recorded as containing 84 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised 'occasional revenues' and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 142). A share of the income of the village formed part of the *waqf* (dated 734 H. 1333/4 C.E.) of the turba and madrasa of Aqbughā b. ʿAbd Allāh in Cairo (*MPF*, 10 No.30). In the eighteenth century it was visited by the sufi mystic, al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (Khalidi 1992, 98). The seventeenth-century traveller al-Nābulsī, records that the tomb (*qabr*) of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Abī ʿArqūb (see below) was located in the village (ed. Murad, 425–426).

During the British Mandate the village was visited by inspectors of the Department of Antiquities who noted two mosques (PAM File; and see the brief description in Guérin, *Judée*, II, 129–130). One of these, known as Shaykh Ibrāhīm Abī Arqūb, included marble columns (in the mihrab?) and capitals in the liwan (iwan). The other mosque, known as Shaykh Ḥamīd, also incorporated marble fragments. Neither these mosques nor the village has survived.

References: Guérin, *Judée*, II, 129–130; *HG*, 142; Khalidi 1992, 97–100; *MPF*, 10 No.30; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 425–426; Palmer 1881, 267; PAM File; *SWP*, II, 422 (map XVI).

49. Ḥaram Sidnā ʿAlī

Visited —
Location 1310.1773
32.11N/34.48E

This large shrine is located on the coast between the modern Tel Aviv suburb of Herziliyya (Hb.) and the ruins of the Crusader fortress of Arsūf. The complex stands on a bluff overlooking the sea. Until 1948 there was a small village in the immediate vicinity of the shrine. This has now disappeared.

History
Together with Maqām Nabī Rūbīn and Maqām Nabī Mūsā this is one of the three major Muslim shrines of Palestine (excluding Jerusalem and al-Khalīl). The shrine contains the remains of the holy man ʿAlī ibn ʿAlīl (alternatively ʿAlīm or ʿAkīr) a descendant of caliph ʿUmar ibn Khaṭṭāb. Until the 1940s there was an annual summer festival (*mawsim al-ḥaram*) which was attended by the inhabitants of Jaffa and the coastal plain (Canaan 1927, 215). The origin of this festival, held during the melon harvesting season, is obscure although it was well established by the fifteenth century (cf. al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 212–213).

A description of the site is given by al-ʿUlamyī:

> Among the famous saints in the land of Palestine, [there is] the great and magnificent *sayyid*, the sultan of all saints... Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAlīl,...whose genealogical tree reaches the caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb... The tomb of *sayyid* ʿAlī ibn ʿAlīl is on the shore of the Mediterranean in the coastal district of Arsūf, and over it is a great venerated shrine (mashhad) with a high minaret. All the inhabitants of the region enjoy his protection and the blessing of his spirit. One of the particular qualities of this *sayyid* is that the Franks believe in him and his righteousness. I have been told that when the Franks sail past his tomb they bare their heads and bow in its direction. He died on Saturday, 12th of Rabīʿ the first 474 H. (20th August 1081 C.E.). When al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars alighted on the day of his conquest of Jaffa and Arsūf, he visited it and promising votive offerings and *waqf* donations, prayed at the tomb, and Allāh let him conquer the country... In our time our lord Shams al-Dīn Abū'l-ʿAwn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī... an inhabitant of Jaljūliyya, shaykh of the *sayyids* of the Qādiriyya sect... has been appointed custodian...He repaired the mausoleum (mashhad) determined its rules and ceremonies, and made fine works such as marble lining the tomb. This he did in the year 886 H. (1481 C.E.). Before this his tomb was made of wood. He dug the well which is in the courtyard of the mosque until he reached the waters of the spring. Then he built a tower over the west hall (iwan) for the holy war, and put into it arms for fighting the Franks... The tower was built after the year 890 H. (1485 C.E.) (based on a translation in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 36–37; also see translation by Sauvaire in al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 212–213).

Description (Fig. 42, Plates 110–111)
The shrine is built around a large rectangular courtyard containing the tomb of Sidnā ʿAlī. The principal entrance to the complex is a gateway in the middle of the north side. The gateway leads into a small outer courtyard. In the south wall of this courtyard is a second gateway opening into the main courtyard. Next to this inner gateway is the base of the minaret. On the left (east) side of the small courtyard is an octagonal fountain and on the right (west) side is a series of vaulted rooms now used for ablutions. Another entrance to the complex

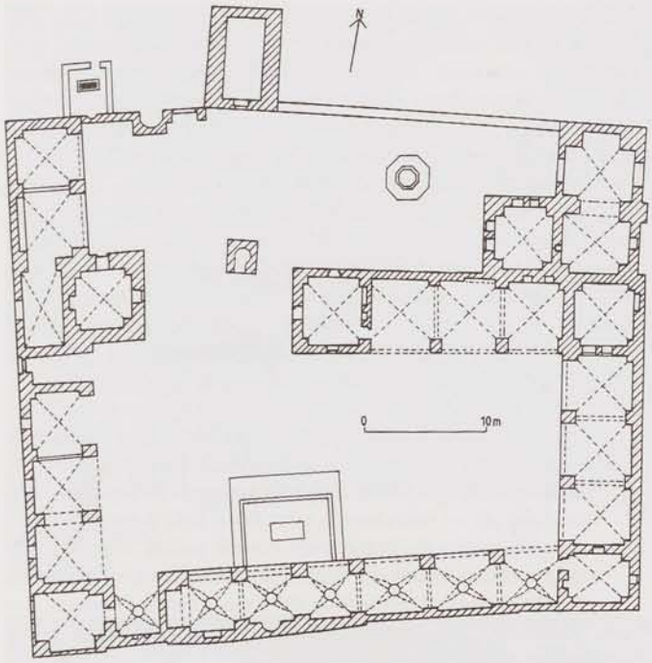


Fig. 42. Ḥaram Sidnā ʿAlī (No. 49). Plan.

is a doorway in the centre of the west side which opens into a small corridor leading directly into the central courtyard.

The main courtyard measures approximately 40m east–west by 15m north–south. Each side of the courtyard is lined with an arcade consisting of a series of cross-vaulted bays supported by thick stone piers. In each corner is a separate cross-vaulted chamber. The south side of the courtyard is divided into seven bays each covered with a folded cross-vault in the form of a star. The mihrab is a wide niche set into the south wall of the second bay from the west. The east and west ranges each consist of three bays of ordinary cross-vaults and have upper rooms. The north side of the courtyard also has three open cross-vaulted bays and a single vaulted chamber similar to the corner rooms. The tomb of Sidnā ʿAlī stands at the south-west side of the courtyard in front of the mihrab. The tomb is contained within an enclosure open to the sky.

The upper floor can be reached by three staircases, one in the outer courtyard and two in the main courtyard (in the south-west and north-west corners). The upper floor contains five vaulted rooms and seven flat-roofed rooms. The flat-roofed rooms are more recent and probably date from the late nineteenth century. Of the five vaulted rooms: two are cross-vaulted; one is covered by a domical-vault; one has two intersecting barrel-vaults; and the last contains a decorated plaster dome.

The minaret has a tall octagonal shaft supporting a circular balcony. The minaret is entered through a cylindrical kiosk covered with a dome. This is a fairly recent construction as an earlier minaret was destroyed by naval bombardment during World War I (PAM Ory 15.5.45).

In addition to the structures described above there was also a barrel-vaulted room next to the main entrance. This has disappeared since 1950 when it was described by Mayer *et al.* as probably the oldest part of the complex (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 37).

The complex contains several inscriptions, the most important of which is set into the back of the tomb opposite the mihrab. Originally this was placed above the entrance, although in 1926 it was moved to its present position. The inscription has been read by Mayer who gives the following translation:

> This is the maqām of the sultan of those endowed with [mystical] knowledge and the chief of saints who have reached perfection, the sun of the existing world and the sea of excellence and generosity, the one whose miracles are renowned and whose blessings are enjoyed by all mankind, Shaykh ʿAlī ibn ʿAlīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of the illustrious companion [of Muḥammad] ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the Prince of the Faithful, our Lord ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fārūq, of the Quraysh family, may Allāh be pleased with him. He passed away Saturday, 12th of Rabīʿ I, of the year 474 (20th August 1081) (from translation in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 38; and see Fig. 35).

Although the inscription is undated Mayer has observed that the script, the form of the text and the rendering of the date, all indicate an Ottoman date (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 38–39).

Dating

Several periods of building and repairs are indicated both by the building itself and by the historic and epigraphic sources. It seems clear that there was some structure on the site before the fifteenth-century building programme mentioned by al-ʿUlaymī, although nothing in the present building appears to date from before the 1480s. Perhaps the now vanished barrel-vaulted building on the north side, described by Mayer *et al.*, may belong to this earlier phase. The arcades of the main courtyard may be attributed to the fifteenth-century programme of Shams al-Dīn Abū'l-ʿAwn. The positioning of the buildings of the outer courtyard (i.e. the north-east and north-west corners of the complex) suggests that they may be slightly later although they are constructed in a similar style. All the rooms on the upper floor may be attributed to the Ottoman period. The room with a plaster decorated dome is similar to eighteenth-century architecture in Ramla (cf. Waddington

Plate 110. Ḥaram Sidnā ʿAlī (No. 49). View of complex from west.

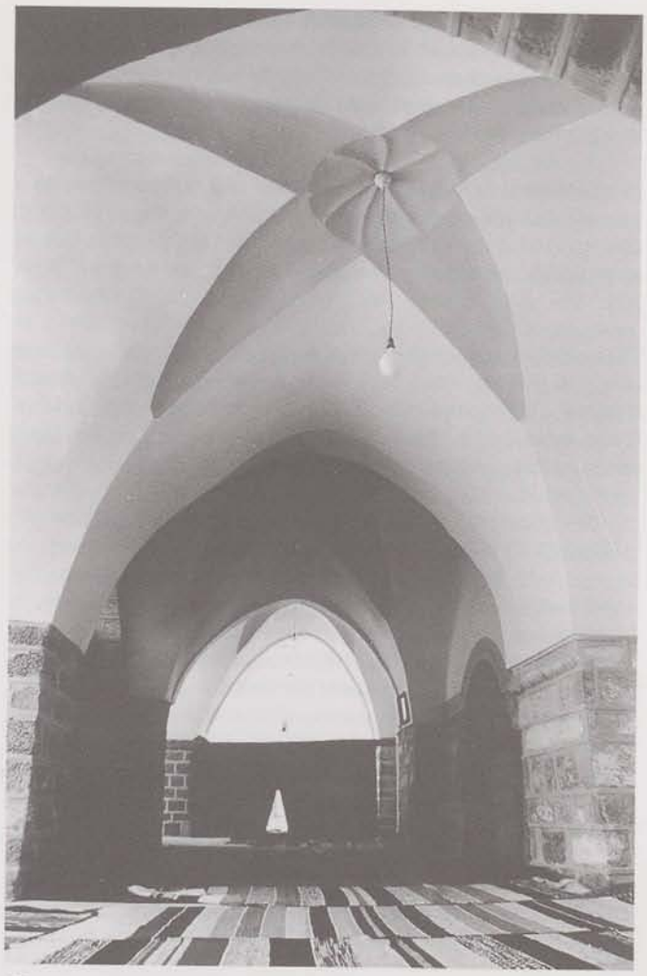


Plate 111. Ḥaram Sidnā ʿAlī (No. 49). Interior of prayer hall.

1935) and probably dates to the same period. The other vaulted rooms are probably all of a similar date. The rooms with flat ceilings reinforced with iron girders probably date to the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. There have been three major restorations in the post-Ottoman period: the first in 1926 and commemorated by an inscription above the gate; one some time in the 1950s after the Mayer *et al.* report; and one in 1991–1992.

References: Canaan 1927, 88 n.5, 215; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 374–375; Karmon 1960, 170; Khalidi 1992, 240–241; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 36–39, Figs.26–31; Palmer 1881, 174; PAM Ory 15.5.45; *SWP*, II, 134 (map X); al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 212–213.

50. Ḥaṭṭīn/ Ḥiṭṭīn (including Maqām Nabī Shuʿayb)

Visited 7.93
Location 193.245
32.48N/35.27E

Ḥaṭṭīn (village)

The village of Ḥaṭṭīn is located on the northern slope of Jabal Ḥaṭṭīn.

The village is of considerable antiquity and is believed to be the site of the Canaanite town of Siddim. In the third century B.C.E. the village was known by the Hebrew name Kefar Hittin (village of grain) and during the Roman period it was known as Kefar Hittaia (*TIR* 163; Khalidi 1992, 521; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 241–242). According to al-Harawī the village was also known by the name, Ḥuṭaym (1957, 51–52). After 1187 C.E. the village was made famous by its association with the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. According to the thirteenth-century Rabbi, Samuel ben Samson, the tombs of Hosea or Jethro (see below Nabī Shuʿayb) and Zephaniah were also located in the village (Adler 1930, 106 and see Rabbi Jacob (p.125) cited in the same volume). The fourteenth-century chronicler al-ʿUthmānī, states that the village formed part of the *waqf* of the tomb of Nabī Shuʿayb (ed. Lewis, 485). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village contained a population of 110 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olives, and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 190). In 1649 the village was visited by Evliya Çelebi who describes it as follows:

> It is a village in the territory of Ṣafad, consisting of 200 Muslim houses. No Druzes live here. It is like a flourishing little town (*bulayda*) 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, bordered on both sides by low rocks. There is a mosque, a public bath and a caravanserai in it (from translation in Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.III, 72).

The village was visited at the begining of the nineteenth century by Burckhardt (1822, 250) who described it as a small village with houses built of stone. In the latter part of the same century the village had a population of 400 (SWP, I, 360). In 1897 a village school was established by the Ottoman government. The village was finally abandoned in 1948 (Khalidi 1992, 522).

Today the abandoned site is overgrown and most of the houses have been demolished. One of the few standing buildings is the mosque which is located at the bottom of the slope on which the village was constructed. The mosque has a short cylindrical minaret and an arched portico.

'Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn'

Location 1934.2448

The 'Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn' are the twin peaks of volcanic hill which overlook the scene of the most famous battle of the Crusades. The peaks are separated by a depression which forms the crater of the volcano. It has been identified by Gal as the Iron Age site of Madom/Marom (Gal 1992, 214). Excavations also revealed the foundations of a medieval building (dated by the use of comb-dressed masonry and plaster). The building had walls 1.3m wide and comprised two chambers (3.75m x 6m and 2.5m x 6m) which were thought to be remains of cisterns. Gal believes that the building might be part of a 'Dome of Victory' erected by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after his victory. The building is referred to by two thirteenth-century Frankish writers, the German pilgrim Thietmar and the continuator of William of Tyre (cited in Kedar 1992, 207). The Arabic writer al-Dimashqī gives the following account:

> He [Ṣalāh al-Dīn] broke the Franks (*al-afranj*) on the Horn (*qarn*) of Ḥaṭṭīn, and killed many of them, and took their kings prisoner. And he built on the Horn [of Ḥaṭṭīn] a dome, which is called the dome of victory (*qubbat al-naṣr*) (ed. Mehren, 212).

Maqām Nabī Shuʿayb

Location: 1925.2456

The shrine of Nabī Shuʿayb (Biblical Jethro) is located on a north-facing hillside, to the north east of the village of Ḥaṭṭīn (Plates 112–113). Today the shrine is principally venerated by the Druzes.

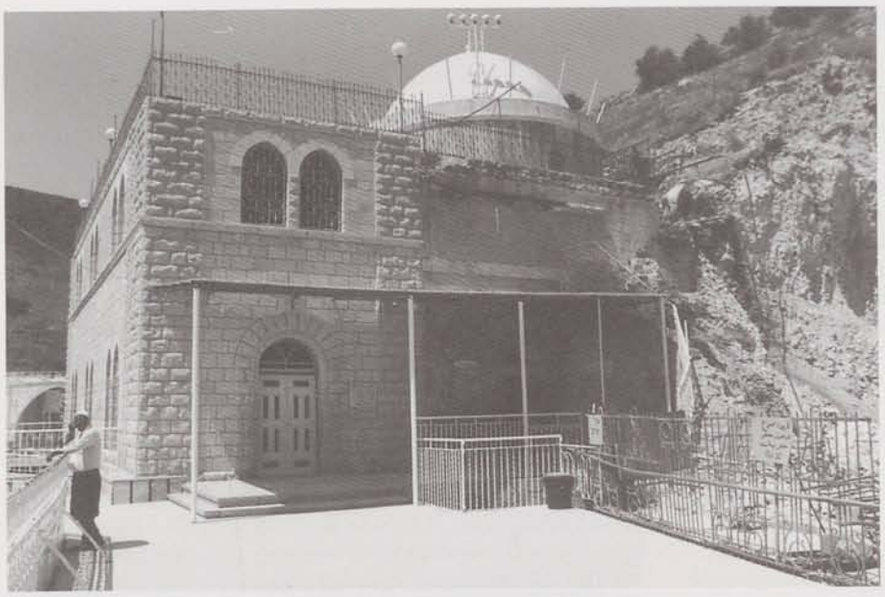


Plate 112. Ḥaṭṭīn (No. 50). Maqām Nabī Shuʿayb. Exterior.

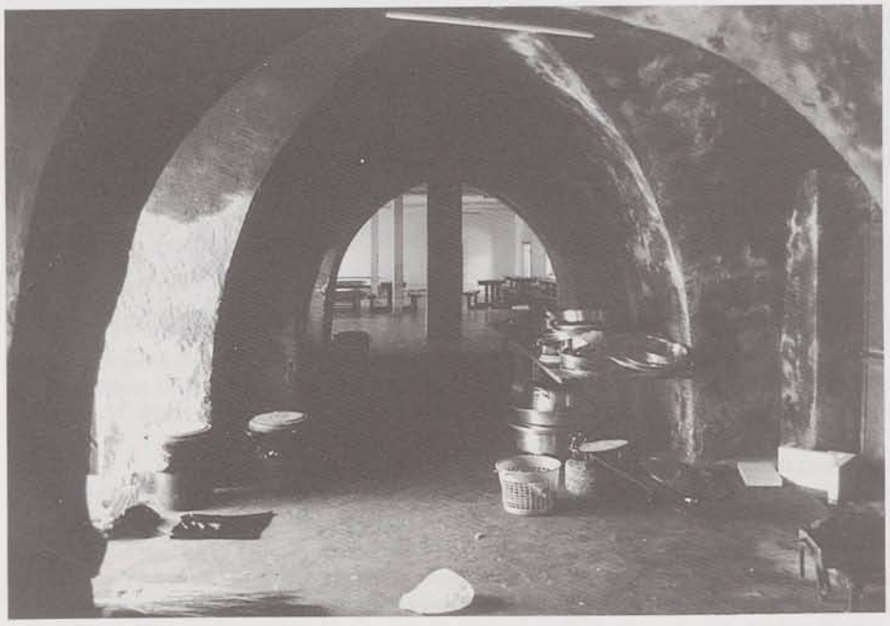


Plate 113. Ḥaṭṭīn (No. 50). Maqām Nabī Shuʿayb. Vaulted rooms.

According to the Qur'ān (Sura 7, V.83–91) Shuʿayb is one of the prophets who lived in the time between Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad. His mission was to the people of Midian and he is usually equated with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses (Glasse 1991, 370). Al-Harawī states that the tomb of Shuʿayb and his wife are located at Ḥaṭṭīn, although he notes that there was also a tradition that they were buried at Mekka (1957, 51–52). In the sixteenth century an Imperial Ottoman *firmān* confirmed the status of the shrine, and that the village of Ḥaṭṭīn was part of the *waqf* of Nabī Shuʿayb whose sacred tomb is there (Heyd 1960, 83). In the mid seventeenth century the tomb was visited by Evliya Çelebi who saw a second shrine containing the tomb of Shaykh ʿImād al-Dīn, one of Shuʿayb's descedants. Evliya Çelebi's describes the origin of the first shrine as follows:

> The family of the prophet Shuʿayb is connected with this *tekke*. On one side of it are caves, while gardens extend on the other. The saint lived in this shrine, as did also his forefathers. Shaykh ʿImād al-Dīn lived for two hundred years in continence and in fighting the infidels. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Sultan of Egypt, came to visit him, the saint honoured the sultan by putting his blessed head on the sultan's lap, as he breathed his last. He was then buried in this place. Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed to (the service of the shrine of) this saint a Maghrabī shaykh from his retinue who was a descendant of the Fatimids. This shaykh built the *tekke*, wherefore it is called the Maghrabī *tekke* (from translation in Stephan, III, 72)

Today the location of ʿImād al-Dīn's shrine is unknown. Although the testimony of Evliya Çelebi should be treated with caution, it is possible that the choice of a descendant of the Fatimids to look after the shrine of ʿImād al-Dīn may explain the Druze connection with the site. The connection with the Druzes may, however, derive from some earlier tradition.

At present the shrine of Nabī Shuʿayb is mostly modern although it does contain some older sections. The older parts of the complex are built of stone and roofed with cross-vaults. The tomb of Nabī Shuʿayb is contained within a long rectangular hall entered by a door at the north end. The interior is divided into three bays. Two of the bays are cross-vaulted whilst that near the doorway is covered by a dome supported by pendentives. The tomb/cenotaph of Nabī Shuʿayb stands next to the west wall at the southern end of the chamber. In the middle of the south wall is a mihrab which contains the footprint

of Shuᶜayb. To the east of this hall is another hall of similar dimensions which appears to be modern.

References: (Ḥaṭṭīn and Maqām Nabī Shuᶜayb): Abel 1967, II, 15, 65; Adler 1930, 106, 125, 146; Baedeker 1876, 366, 389; Burckhardt 1822, 250; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP, II, 219; al-Dimashqī ed. Mehren, 212; Gal 1992, 214; Buhl [Cahen] in *EI2*, IV, 510; Glasse 1991, 370; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 190–192, 193–198; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 51–52; Hartmann 1918; Heyd 1960, 83; *HG*, 190; Kedar 1992, 207; Khalidi 1992, 521-522; Le Strange 1890, index; Marmadji 1951, 31, 54, 56, 117, 168; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 241–242; Palmer 1881, 126; Robinson 1841, III, 238, 250; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.III, 72–73; *SWP*, I, 360, 366, 384–385, 413 (map VI); *TIR*, 163; al-ᶜUthmānī ed. Lewis, 485; Wilson 1884, II, index; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfled, I, 291–292.

51. Ḥūnīn

Visited 7.93
Location 2011.2917
33.13N/35.33E

Ḥūnīn (Cr. Chastel Neuf, Castellum Novum) is located on the top of Jabal ᶜĀmila on the edge of the escarpment overlooking the Ḥūla valley. The site was part of Lebanon until 1923 when France and Britain, as a result of the San Remo peace conference of April 1920, agreed a border which placed Ḥūnīn within Palestine (Khalidi 1992, 455, 572–573).

The castle (Cr. Chastel Neuf/Castellum Novum) was built by Hugh of St. Omer in 1105–1107 C.E. (Murphy O'Connor 1986, 242). Captured and destroyed by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zankī in 1167 C.E. (Elisséeff 1967, II, 612) the fortress was rebuilt by Humphrey II of Toron after 1174 (Prawer 1969–1970, I, 555). In 1185 the Arab traveller Ibn Jubayr, visiting the nearby town of Bāniyās, described Ḥūnīn as: '... a fortress still belonging to the Franks which lies three *farāsikh* from Bāniyās' (ed. Wright, 300). Ibn al-Furāt (ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 123, II, 97) relates how the fortress was captured by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and later destroyed so that by 1266 C.E. the castle was no longer standing.

The village and castle of Ḥūnīn are not mentioned in the 1596 *daftar* and it may be that it had become deserted by this time. In the eighteenth century the site was taken over by the Metouali (sp.) shaykhs and refortified as one of their principal strongholds. In 1781 it is mentioned as one of seven Metouali fortresses razed to the ground by Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha (Cohen 1973, 101). In 1786 the Metoulis attempted to recapture the destroyed fortress, but were decisively defeated by Jazzār's deputy Selim Pasha.

In the late nineteenth century Ḥūnīn was described as a ruined Crusader castle with a stone-built village of about 100 houses (Khalidi 1992, 455). The land in the vicinity of the village remained uncultivated, although the valley below was used to grow crops (*SWP*, I, 87).

Castle

The geographer, al-Dimashqī writing at the beginning of the fourteenth century describes the castle as: '... a fort which stands on a single rock' and states that it has lands belonging to it (ed. Mehren, 211). Little of the original castle remains, with the exception of the moat and a rectangular tower on the east side (for summaries of the Crusader castle see Boas 1999, 103 and Pringle 1997, 79–80, No.164 which includes a plan; for recent excavations at the site see Shaked 1997, 117–118). The moat is a rock-cut ditch which encloses a rectangular area (85m x 67m). The principal standing structure is the gatehouse on the south side of the enclosure (Plate 116). This consists of a monumental doorway leading into a large vaulted hall and three smaller vaulted rooms. The gate house appears to be built on Crusader foundations and incorporates Crusader masonry, although the main part of the structure probably belong to the eighteenth century. The later masonry is characterised by narrow courses 0.26m–0.27m high, with a stony wall core and a rough ashlar facing (Pringle 1991, 89). The doorway is set within a rectangular frame made of freestone with a *cyma recta* cornice. The arch of the doorway has either collapsed or been removed, although its original position can clearly be seen. Either side of the doorway there are narrow gun-slits four courses high. To the right (east) of the main entrance, and lower down, is a small postern gate which may date to the medieval period. The rooms inside consist of tall barrel-vaulted chambers only one of which is still complete.

Mosque

The mosque stood opposite the castle gatehouse and has now entirely disappeared. Photographs taken during the Mandate period show that the building was already in ruins, although a tall octagonal minaret was still standing (Plates 114–115). An inscription (now lost) found within the mosque referred to the construction of the building in 1166 H. (1752–1753 C.E.). The area is now covered with trees.

Plate 114. Ḥūnīn (No. 51). Mosque facade with inscription (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 115. Ḥūnīn (No. 51). Octagonal minaret (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Village

The village was located lower down on the ridge to the south of the castle and mosque. The houses were one-storey, flat-roofed buildings built in a cluster (Wilson 1884, II, 99, 108–109).

References: Baedeker 1876, 387; Cohen 1973, 101; Dimashqī ed. Mehren, 211; Elisséeff 1967, II, 612; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 370–372; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 123, II, 97; Ibn Jubayr ed. Wright, 300; Khalidi 1992, 454–455, 572–573; Le Strange 1890, 418, 456; Marmadji 1951, 9, 14, 168, 202; Meinecke 1992, II, 23; Palmer 1881, 21; Prawer, 1969–1970, I, 555; Pringle 1991, 89; Pringle 1997, 79–80 No. 164; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 152 (citing al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār* and al-ʿUthmānī, *Tārīkh al-Ṣafad*); *SWP*, I, 87 (map II); Wilson 1884, II, 99, 108–109.

52. Hūsha/ Hawsha (Khirbat)

Visited —
Location 163.244
32.47N/35.07E

This site is located on low hills 15km east of Haifa and 3km south-west of Shafā ʿAmr.

In the late nineteenth century the site was uninhabited and belonged to the inhabitants of Shafā ʿAmr. It was described by Conder and Kitchener as heaps of stones with a small maqām (see Plate 117) at the south-west (*SWP*, I, 311). During the Mandate period a small settlement developed on the site and was classified as a hamlet (Khalidi 1992, 162).

There is also a well at the site known as Bīr Hūsha. There is a local tradition that the famous governors of Acre, Jazzār Pasha and ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, always had their drinking water supplied from this well.

Plate 117. Khirbat Hūsha (No. 52). Nabi Hūsha (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Maqām

The maqām was more fully described by Guérin who wrote: '... sur une colline voisine couverte de beaux chênes et de broussailles, une voute cintrée construite avec des pierres de taille d'apparence antique, et au fond de laquelle a été pratiquée une petite niche en guise de mihrab. Des lambeaux de vêtements flottent au-dessus de cet *oualy*, comme des espèces d'*ex-voto*. Il est consacré a Neby Houchan, le 'prophète Hosée' (*Galilée*, I, 415–416).

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 415–416; Khalidi 1992, 162–163; Palmer 1881, 111; *SWP*, I, 311 (map V).

Plate 116. Ḥūnīn (No. 51). Crusader castle with eighteenth-century modifications.

I

53. Ijzīm/ Iqzīm

Visited 12.7.94
Location 1491.2278
32.39N/34.59E

The village of Ijzīm is located on a mountain peak in the Carmel range 17km south of Haifa.

According to the 1596 *daftar* the village of Ijzim was located in the *nāḥiya* Sāḥil ʿAthlīth in the *liwāʾ* Lajjūn and contained 10 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', olive trees, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 158). In the early nineteenth century the village became the headquarters of the al-Madi (sp.) family which dominated the coastal strip south of Haifa. In 1859 the village was visited by British vice consul, Rogers, who estimated the population as 1,000 and the land under cultivation as 64 *faddāns* (*SWP*, II, 41). In the 1880s a schoolhouse, which still stands, was built by the Ottoman authorities, it is now used as a synagogue (Slymovics 1998, 94; von Mulinen 1908, 89). Amongst the prominent people from the village was Yūsuf al-Shāfiʿī, appointed judge of the Bayrūt court in 1887 (Khalidi 192, 164).

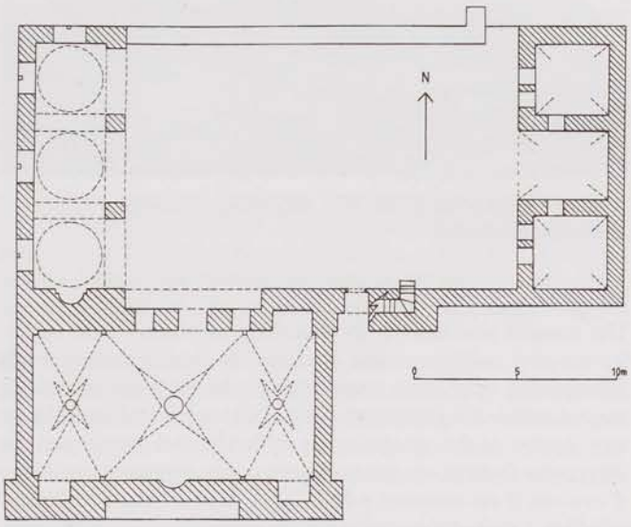


Fig 43. Ijzīm (No. 53). Mosque plan.

After 1948 the village's Arab population was evicted, although many of the houses remained intact and are today Israeli homes. Two buildings of particular importance have survived, the mosque and the 'castle' of the al-Madi family (Khalidi 1992, 164–165).

Mosque

This is a large courtyard complex standing on the slope of the hill to the north of the 'castle'. The mosque is built on a terrace which on one side is over 4m high. The complex comprises four main elements; the courtyard, the prayer hall, an arcade, and a range of other rooms (Fig. 43, Plates 118–121).

The courtyard has two gateways, one from the north, and the other on the south side facing the 'castle'. The courtyard is a rectangular (19.45m x 12.2m) area paved with large flagstones. On the west side of the courtyard is the arcade, to the south the prayer hall, and to the east a range of rooms. At the south-east corner of the courtyard is a set of covered steps leading up to the roof. The north side of the courtyard is bounded by a low (1m) enclosure wall with a gate at the east end. In the north-west corner of the courtyard is an entrance to a deep cistern.

The arcade comprises three domed bays opening on to the courtyard. On the west side of the arcade is a wall with a pair of windows for each bay. At the south end of the arcade is a mihrab with flanked engaged pilasters with carved foliate capitals. At the north end of the arcade is a window looking over the Carmel.

The entrance to the prayer hall is a very prominent feature flanked by two plain arched windows. The door panel is set within a rectangular frame, containing a shallow niche, with a trefoil arch at the top, which in turn contains the rectangular doorway. The outer edge of the arch is outlined by a billet moulding. In the tympanum of the arch is an inscription and two panels of low relief carving above. At the apex of the arch is a formalised depiction of a vase with flowers, below this is a rectangular panel of geometric decoration consisting of interlocking diagonally positioned squares. The inscription is on a marble panel which appears to be larger than the space originally intended (it is possible that this is a replacement of an earlier inscription). The panels consists of six lines of *naskhi* inscription in two rows with the date 1226 H. (1811–1812 C.E.) in a separate cartouche below. Either side of the date is a five-pointed star and a cypress tree.

Plate 118. Ijzīm (No. 53). Exterior of mosque (A. Petersen 1994).

Plate 119. Ijzīm (No. 53). Mosque arcade (riwaq) with mihrab on west side of courtyard (A. Petersen 1994).

Plate 120. Ijzīm (No. 53). Mosque, detail of mihrab.

Plate 121. Ijzīm (No. 53). Entrance to prayer hall (Courtesy of Mahmoud Harwari).

The prayer hall is a large rectangular space (14m x 7.35m) with a large central vault and two side vaults. The apex of each vault is decorated with a star pattern containing a central raised dome. The mihrab in the centre of the south wall is of similar design to the external mihrab with columns either side of a wide niche.

The 'Castle'

This two storey tower house (Plate 122) located on the summit of the hill is the most prominent building in the village.

More correctly known as the diwan or meeting house of Masᶜūd al-Madi (sp.) this building is thought to date from the eighteenth century (cf. Khalidi 1992, 164). At present it is used as a showroom for furniture makers.

Plate 122. Ijzīm (No. 53). Castle from north.

There are two entrances to the ground floor of the building, as well as a staircase which leads directly to the first floor. The first entrance is on the west side, beneath a large cross-vaulted canopy which may have been a meeting place. At the back of the canopy is a plain doorway opening into the interior. The other entrance is more like a gateway (now filled with a glass doorway) with the arch above emphasised by a billet moulding. The ground floor consists of two rooms either side of a large cross-vaulted iwan. Above the entrance to one of the rooms is a billet moulding, below which are three discs carved in relief. Each disc carries a different design (one swirled, one segmented, one floral) and is surrounded by four bosses. The windows are generally arranged in pairs in wide arched casements. The plan of the upper floor is similar to the ground floor, with a central iwan flanked by two large reception rooms. In addition there appears to have been a small bathhouse and latrine on the first floor level. A staircase leads up from the first floor to the roof.

Although the building appears clean and well cared for it has serious structural problems with large cracks on all four sides.

References: Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 300; *HG*, 158; Khalidi 1992, 163–165; Palmer 1881, 146; *SWP*, II, 41, 53 (map VIII).

54. Imām ᶜAlī (Maqām)

Visited 27.4.94
Location 1548.1346
31.48N/35.03E

This open air shrine is located at the bottom of the wadi to the east of Bāb al-Wād between the west-bound and east-bound lanes of the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv motorway. The shrine, comprising an open air prayer area and a small domed structure, is hidden amongst tall trees and bushes. The shrine was described by Baedeker as follows:

> The road which was formerly miserable bad, now enters the Wady 'Aly and leads in 1/4 of an hr. to the ruins of a mosque situated at a spot called Ma'asara, the narrowest part of the valley... after the ravine is quitted, we come to a fine group of terebinths and fruit trees called the 'trees of Imam 'Aly with an adjoining spring' (1876, 136–137).

The open air mosque (*musalla*) is enclosed by a wall 2.2m high except for the north side where it is only 0.5m high. In the middle of the north wall there is a gateway leading into the prayer area (Fig. 44). There is a tall mihrab in the centre of the south wall, the head of which rises up above the enclosure wall. According to Canaan (1927, 14 n.5) the walls of the shrine were coated in the hand prints of pilgrims and travellers who frequented the shrine.

Several metres north-east of the prayer area is a small domed structure (1.6m x 1.65m) with an arched opening on the north side. Inside is a small rock-cut basin with a shelf at the back (Fig. 45). This structure probably served as a sabīl (water fountain) for thirsty travellers (Canaan 1927, 39).

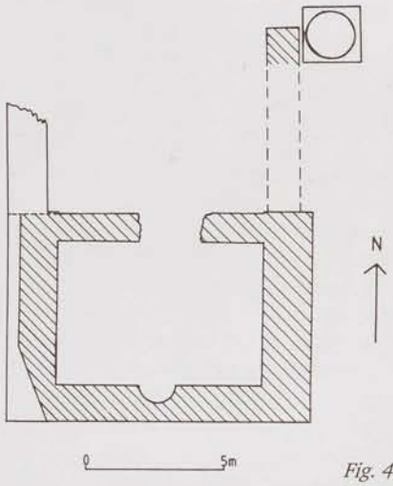


Fig. 44. Imām ᶜAlī (No. 54). Plan of mosque.

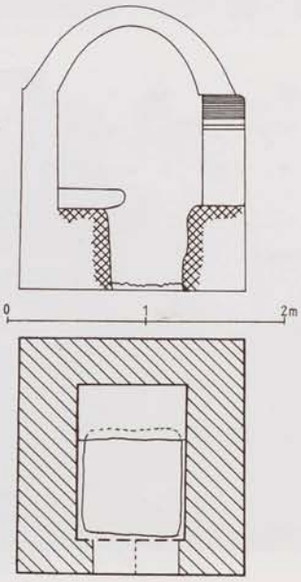


Fig. 45. Imām ᶜAlī (No. 54). Building over spring.

The purpose of this shrine appears to have been to offer a place of prayer, rest and refreshment for travellers on the road (Canaan 1927, 18). The name of the shrine probably represents a dedication to Imām ᶜAlī rather than indicating any actual association with the locality.

References: Baedeker 1876, 136–137; Canaan 1927, 18, 39; Palmer 1881, 323; *SWP*, map XVII.

55. ᶜIrāq al-Manashiyya

Visited 14.6.94
Location 1299.1135
31.36N/34.47E

The village of ᶜIrāq al-Manashiyya was located at the foot of Tell Shaykh Aḥmad ᶜArayni (now Tell Gat) near the modern Israeli settlement of Qiryat Gat (Hb.). The village may correspond to that of ᶜIrāq in the *nāḥiya* of Gaza reported in the 1596 *daftar*. The village contained a population of 61 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', olive trees, vineyards, sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 145). In the late Ottoman period a railway station was established near the village, this was destroyed in 1917 during World War I (see Kedar 1999, 64–65). The village itself was abandoned in 1948 (Khalidi 1992, 106–108; Kedar 1999, 65).

Maqām Shaykh Aḥmad al-ᶜArayni

The shrine of Shaykh Aḥmad was located on the summit of the tell. It is described by Conder and Kitchener although they do not provide the name of the occupant (*SWP*, III, 259, 266). It consisted of a roofless walled enclosure made of reused stone blocks. The doorway was located in the middle of the north wall. Above the doorway there was a marble lintel and either side there were two inscriptions (see below). A deep concave mihrab was located in the back (south) wall of the enclosure.

The shrine stood until at least 1946 when it was inspected by the Antiquities Department. During the 1950s it was reported to be in a very ruinous condition (Yeivin 1961, 3) and now there are no standing remains. An outline on the ground is the only visible remains of the building.

The inscriptions were recorded by L.A. Mayer and later published (1933a, 62 No.6. And see *RCEA*, XIV, No.5385; Meinecke 1992, II, 120 No.68). The texts referred to a khān which was established at the site in 717 H. (1317–1318 C.E.) by al-Malik Jūkandār during the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn.

References: Oren in *EI*, VII, 334; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 123–124, 304; *HG*, 145; Kedar 1999, 64–65; Khalidi 1992, 106–108; Mayer 1933a, 62 No. 6; Meinecke 1992, 120 No. 68; Palmer 1881, 365; *RCEA*, XIV, No. 5385, XVI, No. 6011; Robinson 1841, II, 369; *SWP*, III, 259, 266 (map XX); Yeivin 1961, 3.

56. ᶜIribbīn/ ᶜUribbīn (Khirbat)

Visited 9.91
Location 172.276
33.05N/35.13E

This deserted settlement is located on the top of the escarpment which forms the border with Lebanon. Before 1948 it was the home of the ᶜArab al-Qulayṭāṭ bedouin (Khalidi 1992, 17–18). The remains of the village consist of several widely spaced rectangular houses. The houses are all one storey high and are made of rough field stones laid dry, although in places there are traces of older coursed masonry. The houses were covered with flat roofs, made of earth on top of short branches, resting on transverse arches (cf. Jaᶜthūn (Khirbat)).

References: Khalidi 1992, 17–18; Palmer 1881, 47; Pringle 1997, 51 No. 105; Pringle 1993, I, 250–251; *SWP*, I, 171 (map III).

57. Isdūd/ Izdūd

Visited 24.9.91 and 2.5.92
Location 118.129
31.45N/34.40E

Isdūd (Hb. Ashdod) is located on the coastal plain roughly midway between Jaffa and Ascalon. There are two ancient sites near the modern town. These are Mīnāt al-Qalᶜa or Ashdod Yam (Hb.) which is located next to the sea and Tell Ashdod (Hb.) located 5km inland.

There was a settlement on the site of Isdūd from at least the seventeenth century B.C.E. (for the early history of the site, see Dothan in *EAE*, I, 93–102; Kaplan in *EAE*, I, 102–103; Aharoni 1979, 218, 431). The town was destroyed in the second century B.C.E. but was rebuilt by the Romans (who called it Azotus Hippenos) less than one hundred years later. In the fourth century it became an Episcopal see (*TIR*, 72). During the Byzantine period the port city became more important than the main city (Mīnāt al-Qalᶜa, see below). In the ninth century the town was mentioned as a stop between Gaza and Ramla (Ibn Khurdādhbih 1889, 80) and in the tenth century as a stop between Ramla and Jaffa (Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 192). By the mid thirteenth century (i.e. early Mamluk period) the centre of activity had shifted away from the port and back to the main site, although by this time it appears to have been reduced to a village. In 1477 the Mamluk Sultan Qāyṭbāy passed through the village on his way from Cairo to Damascus (Ibn al-Jiᶜān cited in Hartmann 1910, 696). The 1596 *daftar* records a village (*qarya*) of Sdūd which contained 75 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, sesame, 'summer-crops', fruit, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 143. For other records, see Lewis 1954, 490). In the early eighteenth century the Egyptian sufi, al-Luqaymī, stayed at the khān in the village (Khalidi 1992, 110). At the end of this century the traveller, Volney, remarks that the town was famous only for its scorpions (1959, 347).

At the beginning of the twentieth century the village had a predominantly Muslim population of 5,000 (Khalidi 1992, 111). Photographs show that the houses were built of mud-brick and roofed with thatch (Weir 1989, 19, 94, 204–205). During the British Mandate period the village contained two mosques and three shrines, as well as the remains of a ruined khān. The village was deserted after its capture by the Israelis in 1948. Most of the village buildings have been destroyed with the exception of a mosque and a shrine.

Mosque

Location 118.129

This is a large rectangular stone building located on the southern slope of Tell Ashdod (Hb.) (cf. Khalidi 1992, 112). It consists of two main parts, a portico (riwaq) and a prayer hall. The portico consists of four cross-vaulted bays resting on square piers. There are four entrances to the building, one at the back of each bay. Above the main entrance is a rectangular recess

which would have carried an inscription. The interior of the prayer hall is divided into eight cross-vaulted bays also resting on square piers. There are tall arched windows on the north, west and east sides. The two eastern bays were probably added later. The mihrab is set within a slightly projecting frame and may originally have had columns either side (which have subsequently been removed).

Plate 123. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Late Ottoman mosque.

Shrine of Aḥmad Abū Iqbāl

Location 117.129

This building is located between the mosque described above and the railway track (for view of shrine, see Khalidi 1992, 111). It consists of two parts arranged side by side, a square domed chamber (approximately 5m x 5m) on the east and a cross-vaulted iwan to the west (Fig. 46). It is apparent that the iwan abutts the tomb chamber and was built some time later.

The domed chamber is entered from a low doorway in the middle of the north wall. In the centre of the chamber beneath the dome is a large rectangular covered cenotaph. There is a

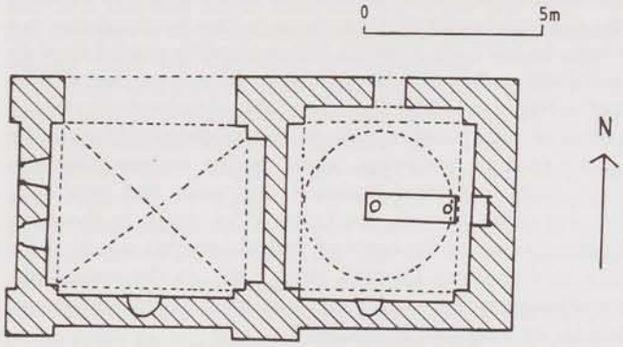


Fig. 46. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Plan of tomb of Aḥmad Abū Iqbāl.

Plate 124. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Shrine of Aḥmad Abū Iqbāl from north.

Plate 125. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Shrine of Aḥmad Abū Iqbāl. Interior.

plain concave mihrab in the middle of the south wall and a square niche for lamps set into the east wall. The room is covered with a shallow (saucer-shaped) dome resting on pendentives springing from ground level. The dome is crowned with a broken marble finial.

The cross-vaulted iwan is taller than the domed chamber although it has a ground plan of equal size. The north side of the building consists of an open arch with a *cyma recta* cornice above. There are two projecting waterspouts set into either end of the cornice. The west side of the iwan contains two rectangular windows covered with shallow arches. In the middle of the back wall of the iwan is a shallow mihrab with a pointed arched hood.

Mosque of Ibrāhīm al-Maṭabūlī (destroyed)

Location 117.129

This building was located near the remains of the khān (see below) and may be the small mosque referred to by Conder and Kitchener (*SWP*, II, 421). During the 1930s the building was inspected by Mayer who wrote an article on the inscriptions (1934, 24–25). Mayer later persuaded Dothan make a survey of the building which was carried out in 1949, a few years before its destruction during the 1950s (Dothan 1964, 172*

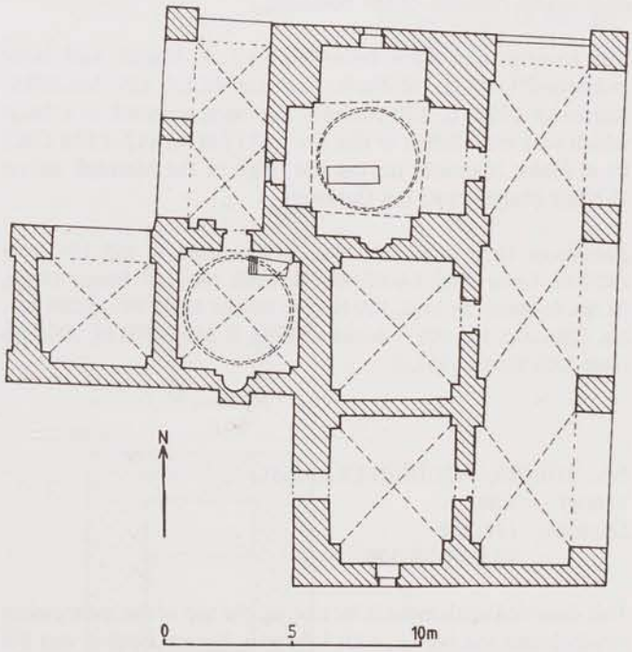


Fig. 47. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Plan of Ibrāhīm al-Maṭabūlī.

Plate 126. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Mosque of Ibrāhīm al-Maṭabūlī. Riwaq (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 127. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Mosque of Ibrāhīm al-Maṭabūlī. Entrance on west side (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

and 98–101). The following description is based on the account given by Dothan (see Fig. 47).

The mosque was a large complex (23m x 24m) set within an enclosure wall. It contained two tombs or shrines, one dedicated to Salmān al-Fārisī, dated 667 H. (1229 C.E.) and the other belonging to Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Maṭabūlī, dated 877 H. (1472 C.E.). Both shrines were identified by inscriptions on marble panels set into the walls of the building (Mayer 1934, 24–25; Sharon 1997, 126–128) and are also noted by the seventeenth-century traveller al-Nābulsī (1989, 423–424). An unpublished inscription referred to by Dothan states that the complex was restored in 1858.

The earliest part of the structure was the tomb of Salmān al-Fārisī which according to the inscription was erected in 1229 C.E. The tomb chamber was entered through a doorway in the middle of the north wall. The interior is a square room (4.67m x 4.75m) with a mihrab in the south wall marked on the exterior by a rectangular projection. The tomb of Salmān al-Fārisī was located next to the door in the north-east corner. To the west of the tomb was a cross-vaulted iwan open to the

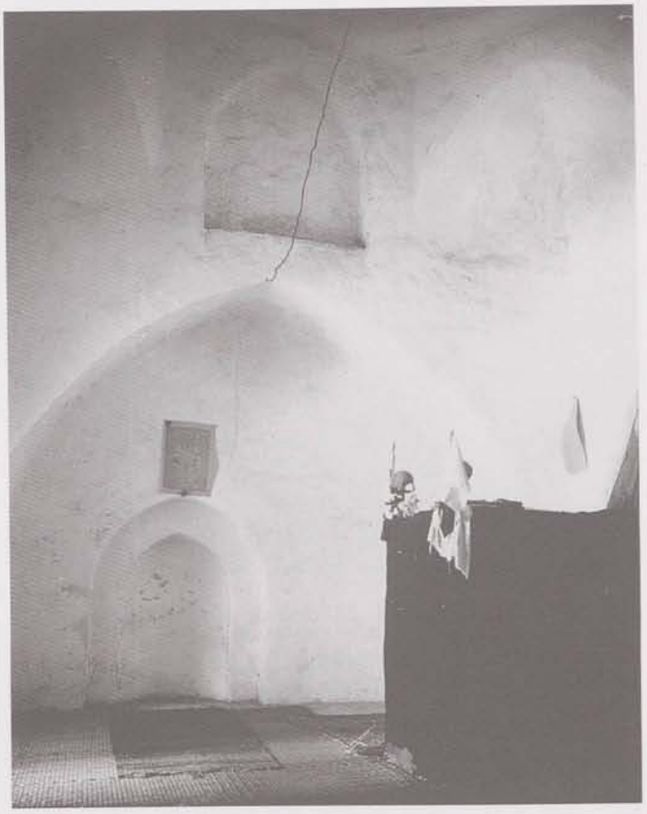


Plate 128. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Mosque of Ibrāhīm al-Maṭabūlī (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

north. Outside the doorway was a portico composed of two cross-vaulted bays.

The larger main tomb marks the grave of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Maṭabūlī (Sidnā Ibrāhīm). He was an Egyptian mystic who died in 1472 C.E. after making pilgrimages to Jerusalem and al-Khalīl (Hb. Hebron). In front of the tomb there was a large wide portico consisting of three cross-vaulted bays resting on square piers. At the back of the portico there were three doorways. Two of the doorways led into side rooms which probably served to accommodate pilgrims and mystics. The north doorway led into the main tomb chamber. This tomb chamber consists of a square central area surmounted by a dome resting on squinches. On each side of the central area are wide arched recesses, those on the north and west sides contain windows, the eastern recess contains the doorway, and the southern recess has a concave mihrab.

Khān Isdūd (destroyed)

Location 117.129

This building was located to the south of Tell Ashdod although all traces have now disappeared (Fig. 48). It was one of the series of Mamluk khans on the Damascus–Cairo route (see Edhem 1916, 26–27). Ottoman *daftar*s record the tolls exacted from travellers passing to and from Egypt (Lewis 1954, 497). Descriptions of the building in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries document its gradual destruction. In the early nineteenth century the khān was visited by Irby and Mangles (1823, 179–180) who referred to it as 'a very ancient khan' and gave the following description:

> The inclosed court is entered by an arched passage, within which, on each side, are piazzas formed of five arches, two on each side of a larger one at the centre. On each side of the south entrance are chambers, on the right, steps to ascend to the top of the building. The chamber on the left has evidently

Plate 129. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Remains of khān (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

> been used as some sort of primitive Christian chapel, as appears by an altar and a cross; and there is an inscription in some eastern language over the door.

More than 50 years later the khān was visited by Guérin (*Judée*, II, 70–73) who gave the following description:

> South of the same mosque extend the ruins of a vast abandoned Khân. Outside it forms a rectangle. Within, long galleries, sustained by ogival arcades, chambers, and magazines run round a central court. The entrance faces the north. In the vestibule of the doorway, an ancient column of marble, lying on the ground, serves as a threshold... the inhabitants of Esdud have been pulling down this Khân in order to sell its materials (translation Conder and Kitchener: *SWP*, II, 421).

Conder and Kitchener also give their own brief description of the khān which differs slightly from that of Guérin. Their description follows:

> A fine Khân, with small mosque attached. On the east, near the door of the mosque, is a large sarcophagus ornamented on the side with wreaths, now used as a watering trough. The Khân has fallen into ruins within the present century (*SWP*, II, 422).

Parts of the structure were still visible during the time of the British Mandate (1918–1948) (PAM Esdud) although today all traces of the khān have vanished.

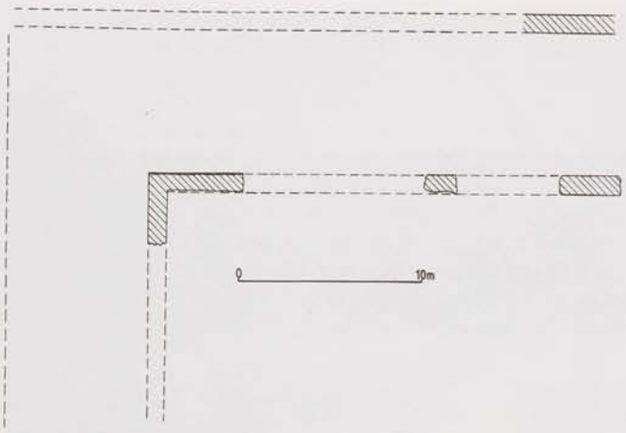


Fig. 48. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Plan of khān.

Cistern

Location 1185.1290

This structure is located approximately 500m west of Tell Ashdod. It consists of a rectangular tank made of *kurkar* blocks. The interior is plastered and the corners have a triangular shape. It is likely that the cistern was fed by a well which is now covered over.

Jisr Isdūd

Location 1187.1323

This bridge is located south-east of the modern city of Ashdod. The bridge is still in use and forms the northbound part of Route 42 where it crosses the Nahal Lakhish (Hb.) (formerly Wadi Sukrayr). A separate modern bridge carries the southbound traffic of the dual carriageway.

The bridge was used by Clermont-Ganneau (*ARP*, II, 186) who described it as: '...a bridge of three arches, which seem to be of Arab construction'. He also suggested that the bridge might contain medieval materials like the bridges of Yibnā and Lydda. The bridge is also noted by Conder and Kitchener who dismissed any idea of antiquity and described it as 'a bridge with pointed arches, and apparently modern' (*SWP*, II, 422).

The bridge is carried on wide tall vaulted arches resting on two long central piers. Each arch has a pointed profile and is outlined by a double band of voussoirs. The central arch has a span of over 7m and a length of at least 14m. The outer casing of the central arch appears to have been removed at some stage and has been replaced by a casing of reinforced concrete. The east face of the north arch has also been repaired in this way. On the up-stream (east) side the piers of the bridge are re-enforced by two triangular stone cutwaters. On the west side the piers are strengthened by two square stone buttresses.

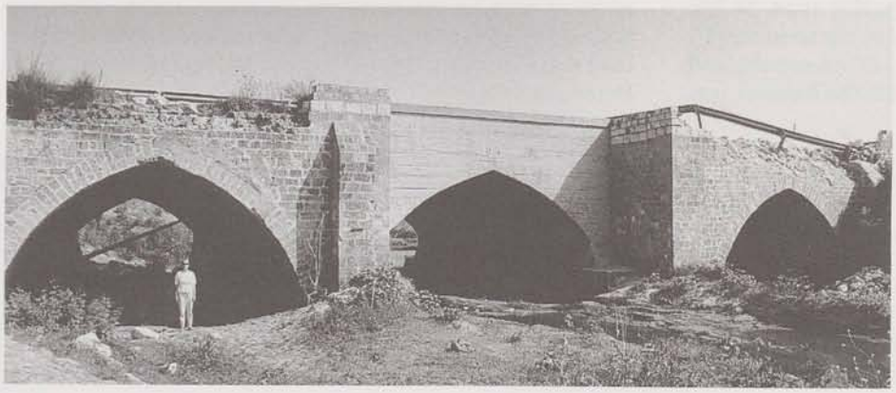


Plate 130. Isdūd (Ashdod) (No. 57). Medieval bridge.

Below the springing of the arch in the central vault there are large square socket holes presumably for beams used during the construction of the arch.

The general design of the bridge and its position on the route to Gaza suggests that it was built in the thirteenth century, like the bridges of Lydda and Yibnā. A bridge near Isdūd is noted by the thirteenth-century author Ibn Shaddād (cited in Meinecke 1992, II, 38). A detailed study of the structure and fabric of the bridge would be required to confirm this dating. Although still in use, the bridge is vulnerable both from neglect of the stonework and from the heavy traffic on the road above.

Nabi Yunis

Location 1165.1358

This building was located on top of a dune to the south of the mouth of Nahr Sukreir. It was described as a 'late maqām' in the Files of the Antiquities Department of Palestine (Israel 1976, 123). Distant views of the building taken in 1917 and 1918 appear in Kedar (1999, pp. 66–67). The building has disappeared in recent times.

References: Abel 1967, II, index; Baedeker 1876, 317; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 186; Cohen 1989, 87; Dothan 1964, 172*, 98–101; Dothan in EAE, I, 93–102; Avi-Yonah and Dothan in *EI*, III, 695–697; Edhem 1916, 26–27; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 70–73; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; *HG*, 143; Ibn Khurdādhbih ed. de Goeje, 80; Irby and Mangles 1823, 179–180 and 1861, 56; Khalidi 1992, 110–112; Le Strange 1890, 381, 405; Lewis 1954, 490, 497; Marmadji 1951, 102; Mayer 1934, 24–25; Meinecke 1992, II, index; Muqaddasī ed de Goeje, 192; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 423–424; Palmer 1881, 267; PAM Esdud; Pringle 1997, 116–117 Supplementary R.8; *RCEA*, XII, No.4600; Robinson 1841, II, 368; Sharon 1997, 124–128; *SWP*, II, 409–410, 421–422 (map XVI); *TIR* 72; Volney 1959, 347; Weir 1989, 19, 94, 204–205; Wilson 1884, III, 154, 165.

58. Mīnāt al-Qalʿa

Location 132.114

This fortress is located on the coast 3km south of the modern town of Ashdod (Hb.) in an area now known as Ashdod-Yam (Hb.).

In the Byzantine period there was a large settlement here known as Azotus Paralious (*TIR*, 72). The remains of this town now cover an area 2km long by 1km wide with the fortress of Mīnāt al-Qalʿa in the centre (see Fig.15 in Gibson 1999). Although there may have been a period of economic decline in the sixth century the town continued to flourish after the Arab conquests. During the seventh and eighth centuries the coast of Palestine was subjected to Byzantine raids. In response to these attacks a number of measures were introduced to improve the security of the coastal cities. One of the measures introduced was the construction of coastal forts. The territory of the capital (Ramla) included fortifications at Gaza, Ascalon, Isdūd port, Yibnā port, Jaffa and Arsūf. There were also forts further north at Caesarea, Kafr Lām, Haifa, and Acre.

Until recently it was assumed that the fort was a Crusader construction. However, excavations at the site and comparisons with other buildings have conclusively shown that it was built in the early Islamic period.

The fort is a large trapezoidal structure 60m long and 40m wide. The fort is enclosed by walls 2m thick, built out of long thin slabs of squared and dressed *kurkar* stone (average size 0.2m high by 0.5m long). At present the walls stand to a height of 4m although they would originally have been 7m high (Pipano 1988, 165). There are solid towers at the corners and either side of the two gateways. The eastern corner towers are square whilst western corners and the gateways have round or

Plate 131. Isdūd (Ashdod) Mīnāt al-Qalʿa (No. 58). Aerial view (D. Riley 52/1).

Plate 132. Isdūd (Ashdod) Mīnāt al-Qalʿa (No. 58). East side of fortress.

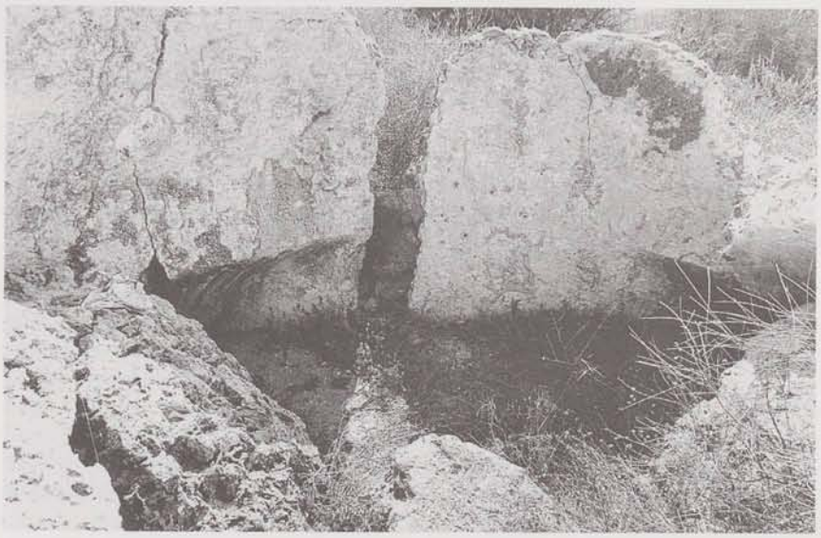


Plate133. Isdūd (Ashdod) Mīnāt al-Qalʿa (No. 58). Remains of bathhouse.

half round towers. Between the large towers are smaller rectangular buttresses, four on each side, except for the west side where the walls are heavily eroded. The west side of the fort, facing the sea, is built on the remains of an earlier structure, either a sea wall or a pier, probably dating from the Byzantine period. On the east, north, and south sides the fort is enclosed by a stone-lined moat 3m deep and 6m wide.

The interior of the fortress is divided into a northern section and a southern section. The northern sector, containing a series of vaulted rooms against the eastern wall, has been interpreted as a barracks area. The southern half was apparently built around a courtyard and contained upright marble columns still *in situ*. Finds from inside the fortress indicate that it continued in use as late as the thirteenth century.

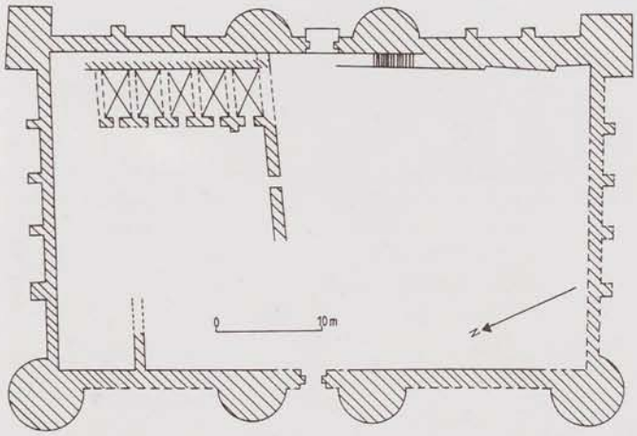


Fig. 49. Mīnāt al-Qalʿa (No. 58). Plan of fortress.

Bathhouse

Approximately 100m to the east of the fortress there are the fragmentary remains of a bathhouse. The ruins are filled in with sand up to a level just below the springing of the dome, part of which is still standing. The dome has a tall ellipsoidal profile and is perforated by several circular holes (0.25m diameter). The dome rests on scallop-shaped squinches and formed the roof of a small square room. To the south of the main chamber is a stretch of wall 2.9m long which is probably part of the same building. The walls of the building are made of thin blocks of *kurkar* stone similar to those used in the fortress. The dome is made from a mixture of *kurkar* rubble and white lime mortar with a high shell content (for a discussion of comparative structures in Palestine, see Dow 1996).

References: Abel 1967, II, index; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 191; Kaplan in *EAE*, I, 102–103; Avi-Yonah and Dothan in *EJ*, III, 695–697; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 72–73; Le Strange 1890, 22–24, 498; Palmer 1881, 267; PAM Minat al-Qala; Pipano 1988, 165; Pringle 1997, 72 No.153; *RCEA*, XII, No.4600; Robinson 1841, II, 368; Sharon 1997, 124–128; *SWP*, II, 426–427 (map XVI); *TIR* 72.

J

59. Jabal al-Ṭūr

Date 16.4.94
Location 1870.2326
32.41N/35.23E

Jabal al-Ṭūr (Mount Tabor/Hb. Har Tavor) is one of the most prominent landmarks of Galilee. It has a long history of human occupation and features prominently in Biblical narratives (Murphy O'Connor 1986, 301; Avi-Yonah and Brawer in *EJ*, XV, 692–693; Aharoni 1979, 224–225). It was fortified as early as the Hellenistic period and remained an important strategic location in subsequent centuries. In 66 C.E. the site was taken by Josephus and a year later in 67 C.E. by the Romans who referred to it as Thabor Mons (*TIR* 246–247). During the Byzantine period it was associated with Christ's transfiguration and a number of Churches and a monastery were established on the summit (for a concise history of the site, see Battista and Bagatti 1976, 13–40). During the Crusader period the monastery was inhabited by Benedictines who built a defensive wall. The monastery survived a Muslim attack in 1183 C.E. but was forced to surrender after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn four years later. In May 1212 Malik al-ʿAdil began the construction of a castle which was continued by al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā until 1225 (Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 557). It was attacked by the Fifth Crusade in December 1217 and was dismantled by al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā in the summer of 1218. The Benedictines regained control of the site in ca. 1230 and in 1255 gave it to the Hospitallers to refortify and garrison. In 1262 Qalʿat al-Ṭūr is described as being under Frankish control (the Hospitallers) although it seems to have been evacuated before the arrival of sultan Baybars who, in 1263, destroyed the church (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, II, 47–48 and notes on 199–200). In the nineteenth century Christian convents were re-established on the site and extensive restoration of the ruins was carried out.

Plate 134. Jabal al-Ṭūr (Mount Tabor) (No. 59). Detail of arrow loop.

There are a number of travellers' accounts which mention the castle in passing, but few give useful descriptions (for a discussion of these, see Battista and Baggati 1976, 41–45). A schematic plan of the castle was published in the *Survey of Western Palestine* (*SWP*, II, Pl. facing 388). A detailed study of the castle was carried out in the 1970s (Battista and Bagatti 1976).

The castle comprises a defensive wall around the summit strengthened with 12 towers. The walls are built of large blocks (approximately 0.5m x 0.7m x 0.5m) with rough bosses and drafted margins. Arrowslits were set within wide arched embrasures with sloping vaults (Plate 134). The principal gate is the Bāb al-Ḥawā on the west side. The gate was rebuilt in 1879 although an earlier drawing shows how it looked before restoration (Wilson 1884, Pl. on 51). There are a number of features inside the fortress including a large circular cistern and two bath houses (Battista and Baggati 1976, 57–68). The southern bath house is connected to a cave grotto and consists of four rooms connected by corridors. The northern bathhouse is entered from a small courtyard and comprises four small rooms and one large square room covered with a dome.

References: Abel 1967, II, 59, 74, 138, 203, 474; Abū Shāma RHC OR, index; Baedeker 1876, 364; Battista and Bagatti 1976; Buckingham 1821, 103–109, 449; Honigmann in *EI*, IV, 869–870; Avi-Yonah and Brawer in *EJ*, XV, 692–693; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 143–163; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, index; Le Strange 1890, 75, 434–435; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 210–221; Marmadji 1951, 134; Meistermann 1900; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 301–303; Palmer 1881, 127; Pringle 1993–, II, 63–85; *RCEA*, index; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 85; *SWP*, I, 367–368, 388–391 (map VI); *TIR*, 246–247; Volney 1959, 177, 307; Wilson 1884, II, index; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfled, II, 649, 675, III, 557.

60. Jaffa (Ar. Yāfa/ Yāfā)

Visited 9.91; 19.5.92; 24.5.92; 4.6.92
Location 126.163
32.02N/34.45E

History

Jaffa (Hb. Yafo) was captured by the Arabs in 15 H. (636 C.E.) (for a concise history of the site, see Tolkowsky 1924; Honigmann in *EI*, IV, 1143–1144; Brawer and Aronsen in *EJ*, IX, 1248–1258; *TIR* 152–153; Ahahroni 1979, 437). The establishment of Ramla as regional capital in the early eighth century probably stimulated greater commercial activity in the port. This relationship between the two sites continued through the Islamic period. Indeed, in the seventeenth century Jaffa was often referred to simply as the 'port of Ramla' (Heyd 1956, 207).

In the eighth century Ibn Ṭūlūn, the ʿAbbasid governor of Egypt, established a fortress at Jaffa on the ruins of the ancient city (*EJ*, IX, 1252; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 33). This was one of a series

of forts built to protect the Palestinian coast from Byzantine attacks (cf. Isdūd, Mīnāt al-Qalᶜa for a full list of forts). Muqaddasī writing at the end of the tenth century gave the following description of the city: 'Jaffa it is small town on the sea. It is a storehouse (*khizāna*) of Palestine and the port (*furḍa*) of Ramla. Over it is a mighty fortress, with ironclad gates, the sea-gate (*bāb al-baḥr*) being wholly of iron. The mosque overlooks the coast of the sea and the harbour is good' (ed. de Goeje, 174; and see translation in Le Strange 1890, 550–551). Yāqūt, quoting the mid eleventh-century author, Ibn Buṭlān, gives an impression of decline describing Jaffa as: '... a famine-struck town (*balad qaḥṭ*) and few are born there, so that there is not even a teacher for children' (ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 1003). There are few extant remains of the pre-Crusader Islamic city with the exception of some sea walls discovered in 1978 (see below 'Fortifications').

In June 1099 C.E. the city was captured by the Crusaders who re-established it as a major port with a citadel and lower walled town (for a summary of the history of the Crusader period, see Pringle 1993–, I, 264–266). The castle was built on the remains of ancient Joppa and contained the residence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as well as that of the Count of Jaffa. The lower town had two gateways, one facing south towards Ascalon and the other facing east towards Jerusalem. The city was briefly recaptured by the Arabs in 1187 under the Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil, but was recaptured by Richard I in 1191 (for a summary of this phase, see Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 134–136, II, 106–108 (citing Ibn Shaddād)). Five years later al-ᶜĀdil recaptured the city which remained under Muslim control until 1204 when it was ceded to the Crusaders by treaty. During the next half century fortifications were rebuilt including the construction of the Tower of the Patriarch (cf. Pringle 1993–, I, 268, 271–272). In 666 H. (1268 C.E.) the Mamluk sultan Baybars, finally captured the city and destroyed the fortifications, bringing an end to more than one and a half centuries of Crusader rule. Baybars himself took part in the attack and subsequently ordered the removal of marble and wood from the ruins, for reuse in his new mosque in Cairo (Maqrīzī ed. Ziyada and Ashour, I, 588–589 (translation in Creswell, *MAE*, II, 155); Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, II, notes on 221). Further evidence of the significance of this victory is the foundation inscription of the minaret of the White Mosque in Ramla, which celebrates the defeat of the infidel (*RCEA*, XII, No.4588; and see Bloom 1989, 183).

During the fourteenth century there was a gradual recovery in the city (cf. description given by Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud de Slane, 239) exemplified by the construction of Qubbat Shaykh Murād in 736 H. (1335 C.E.) (see below). One year later the development was brought to an abrupt end when the city was razed and the harbour filled in to prevent its capture and reuse by Christian powers (Tolkowsky 1925, 82–84). There was little activity on the site for the remainder of the Mamluk period, except for the construction of a tower built to protect the harbour (Piri Re'īs translation in Heyd, 1956, 207–208).

During the sixteenth century there was a gradual increase in the size of the settlement, so that by 1525–1526 there were 27 registered tax payers (Kark 1990, 8), although a German botanist visiting in 1575 could not find a single house (Tolkowsky 1924, 133). According to the 1596 *daftar* Jaffa (Yāfa) was a village (*qarya*) of 15 households (*khāna*) in *nāḥiya* Ramla. The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', vines, fruit, sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 151). The Belgian traveller, Jan Zvallaert, does describe a small port and warehouses in 1586 (cited in Tolkowsky 1924, 133) and the 1596 *daftar* indicates that the port derived a tax (*rasm iskala*) of 40,000 *aqja* (*HG*, 95). By the mid seventeenth century there were enough European pilgrims landing at Jaffa for the Franciscans to establish the convent and hospice of St. Peter. Some years later the Armenians and Greek Orthodox established convents dedicated to St. Nicholas. A drawing of 1675 by the Dutch painter, Cornelius van Bruyn, depicts some warehouses, a mosque, and a number of isolated houses (Tolkowsky 1924, 137, Fig.13).

Jaffa continued to grow during the eighteenth century leading the Egyptian pilgrim, Muṣṭafa Asᶜad al-Luqaymī, to describe it as: '... a nice town on the seashore. It is the harbour of Ramla, Jerusalem and Nāblus and their districts. On its outskirts are orchards with water channels, trees, fruit and flowers' (cited in Mayer *et al.*, 1950, 33). During this period a third tower was added to the city's defences and a garrison of 100 men were placed there to protect the port from pirates and bedouin. In 1740 an Armenian from Constantinople came to Jaffa and expanded the port's facilities by building a road along the water front and establishing warehouses and a khān. By the mid eighteenth century the town had 400–500 houses and a population estimated to be 5,000–6,000 (Kark 1990, 9). Niebuhr travelled to Jaffa in 1766 and noted that the town contained several mosques and extensive gardens, whilst Volney, visiting some 10 years later, noted the existence of a city wall (see below).

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the growth of the town was threatened by disputes which developed between the local ruler, Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar, the governor of Egypt, ᶜAlī Bey, and the Ottoman Sultan. Between 1769 and 1775 the city was twice besieged and sacked. The Ottomans eventually secured a victory by entering the town during peace negotiations and killing more than 1,200 of its inhabitants. The heads of the victims were used to build a pyramid in a field south-east of the town, a fact confirmed by a local resident who encountered hundreds of skulls whilst planting an orchard fifty years later (Tolkowsky 1924, 141). Despite damage to the orchards and fields, the city appears to have gradually recovered until the siege of Jaffa by Napoleon in 1799.

This time the Ottoman Turks were the defenders against a modern European army (cf. Alderson 1843, 23–27, n.8). After a short siege more than 4,000 defenders surrendered themselves to Napoleon. Unable to look after so many prisoners and unwilling to let them escape, the French executed all of them on the beach south of the city (*EI*1, IV, 1143). The massacre was followed by a plague which further devastated the town and forced the French to leave. After Napoleon's withdrawal the city's defences were repaired by Turkish and English engineers and were able to withstand two more sieges between 1803 and 1805. By 1805 the population of Jaffa was reduced to only 2,500.

Despite the appalling death tolls and destruction in the last quarter of the eighteenth century Jaffa continued to develop during the nineteenth century. In 1800 Muḥammad Agha Abū Nabbūt was sent by the Ottomans to recapture Acre. In return for his services he was appointed governor of Jaffa and Gaza. Abū Nabbūt was responsible for a large number of building projects in the city, in particular, the completion of the fortifications, the renovation of the Great Mosque, the erection of two sabīls and the construction of cotton and wool markets (for a detailed discussion of this period, see Kanaᶜān 1998).

In 1831 Jaffa surrendered to the forces of Ibrāhīm Pasha and was used as the base for his operations in Palestine. During this period a large number of Egyptians arrived in Jaffa and were settled in four suburbs (*sakīna*) known as al-Maṣriyya,

Abū Kabīr, Ḥamad, and Darwīsh. In 1841 Ibrāhīm Pasha was defeated and the city was returned to Ottoman rule. In the last year of Ibrāhīm Pasha's rule Lebanese people arrived in the city and introduced mulberry trees to the area. The plantations were successful and by the end of the 1850s there was a thriving silk industry. For some unknown reason the industry did not survive more than a few decades and by the end of the century seems to have died out completely (Tolkowsky 1924, 160). Large quantities of soap were also manufactured and exported from Jaffa (*EI*, IX, 1254).

Jaffa's rapid growth was strengthened by the end of the Crimean war in 1856 and the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 (Kark 1990, 34). Despite the improving security situation the city gates continued to be closed at night as late as 1860. During the 1870s the city walls were gradually dismantled and the moat filled in; a process that was complete by 1888. Also during this period the ʿAjamī quarter developed around the wali of Shaykh Ibrāhīm (Tolkowsky 1924, 162). According to Conder and Kitchener there were 1,131 homes in Jaffa in 1876 (*SWP*, II, 254).

In the last decade of the nineteenth century there was an acceleration in growth following the opening of the Jaffa–Jerusalem railway in 1892 (*EI*, IX, 1255–1256; Cuinet 1896, 613). For the first time public buildings were erected outside the old city, including an elegant saray at which the *qāʾim maqām* resided. The town also contained telegraph and postal stations (Cuinet 1896, 664). To commemorate sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's 25th year of rule a clock tower was erected in the square in front of the Great Mosque. The outbreak of World War 1 did not halt development and in 1914 the new governor, Ḥasan Bey, inititiated a number of projects including the paving of Jamāl Pasha street, the widening of the harbour road, and the construction of the Ḥasan Bey Mosque.

Following the British victory and the establishment of the Mandate, most development in the area was in the Jewish settlement of Tel-Aviv (cf. Ram *et al.* in *EI*, XV, 916–925). The old city became a neglected area and centre of Arab resistance. In response to the Arab riots of 1936 the British authorities decided to drive two routes through the old city, one east–west and the other a crescent-shaped route above the harbour. The routes were 10–30m wide and involved the demolition of hundreds of houses with less than 24 hours warning (Gavish 1984). The transfer to Israeli rule in 1948 meant further destruction to the old city which has only recently begun to be renovated as a tourist attraction.

Fortifications

The only evidence of the early Islamic walls of Jaffa are in nineteenth-century photographs (although these may depict Crusader constructions) and the remains uncovered during excavations in 1978 (Pringle 1993–, I, 264; Pringle 1997, 52 No.110). The early Islamic remains consist of sections of wall bonded together with antique columns, like the sea walls of Acre, Caesarea, and Ascalon. The layout of these walls is not known, comparable examples from Isdūd, Mīnāt al-Qalʿa (Hb. Ashdod Yam) and Kafr Lām comprise a rectangular or square enclosure, strengthened by solid round corners and semi-circular buttress towers. It seems likely that the arrangement at Jaffa was similar, a square or rectangular fortress with solid round corner towers and semi-circular buttress towers. This fortress probably formed the core of the Crusader citadel to which was added a perimeter wall enclosing the lower town. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Crusaders strengthened the fortifications and built the stronghold known as the Tower of the Patriarch. The conquest by Baybars in 666 H. (1268 C.E.) was followed by the dismantling of the city's defences. The Flemish traveller, Jean Zvallaert described the ruins in 1586:

> The haven was in times past walled all around, except towards the north, where was the entrance: the remains of the said walls can be seen to the present day emerging slightly out of the water like reefs (translation in Tolkowsky 1924, 133).

Sometime before 1516 the Malmuks had erected a tower to protect the harbour and by the time of Zvallaert's visit the Ottomans had added a second tower. It is not clear, however, whether these constituted reconstructions of Crusader foundations. Zvallaert describes the towers as having windows and battlements: '... into which several pieces of iron cannon and arquebuses have been placed' (translation in Tolkowsky 1924, 133). In 1602 a Dutch pilgrim, Ferdinand Muhlau saw the towers and observed that both were square and without a roof, although one was larger than the other (cited in Tolkowsky 1924, 133). During the eighteenth century a third fort was built to protect the harbour; this appears to have been a round tower overlooking the port. This may be the tower incorporated into the Franciscan convent which is described by Bagatti (1979, 179–180). This tower is 10m high and has three cruciform arrow slits with shouldered arch splays set within pointed arch casemates (Pringle 1993–, I, 264–267).

Later in the eighteenth century Jaffa was enclosed within a wall. The French traveller, Volney, gives the following unflattering description:

> The town was surrounded by a wall without rampart, of 12 to 14 feet high, and two or three in thickness. The battlements at the top were the only tokens by which it could be distinguished from a garden wall (translation from Volney 1959, 92).

The French sacking of Jaffa in 1799 proved the inadequacy of the walls and in 1800 Turkish and British engineers began to rebuild the fortifications. The task was completed between 1810 and 1820 under the rule of Abū Nabbūt, who added a monumental eastern gate crowned with three cupolas (Tolkowsky 1924, 133). The form of these fortifications can be seen in a map of Jaffa made by Bedford in 1863 (and see Alderson 1843, map between 23 and 24). The fortifications were specially designed to cope with European artillery and possessed thick walls with substantial angled corner bastions, capable of supporting large cannons. Similar fortifications have survived at Acre (see Acre, 'Fortifications').

Within 40 years of the completion of this enterprise new work was needed to provide greater access to the town than was afforded by the single gateway. In 1869 a second land gate, which came to be known as the New Gate, was built. A few years later the walls were redundant and in 1875 the governor of Jaffa told the Italian Jewish developer, Montefiore, that: 'Jaffa... has much improved; the walls of the town have been razed to the ground, and the stones and other buildings thereof are used for the construction of shops and houses along the street' (Kark 1990, 36, n.93). By 1888 the process of dismantling the fortifications was complete and the moat was entirely filled in.

Little remains of the nineteenth-century fortifications with the exception of two gateways and a short section of wall.

Jerusalem Gateway

Location 1269.1624

This structure is located south-west of the Great Mosque at the base of the hill. It consists of a long gateway roofed by two cross-vaults beneath a set of rooms which are now inaccessible.

To the west are the traces of another arch, which may have formed part of the original gateway. On the north side (exterior face) of the gateway some projecting wooden beams are the remains of a projecting wooden window (*mashrabiyya*). On the south side (interior) above the arch are the remains of two arched windows.

The present structure differs from a nineteenth-century depiction of the gate (cf. Or *et al.* 1988, No.5) and contemporary written descriptions. The gateway may therefore, be a remodelled version of the structure built in 1800 by the English general, Sidney Smith.

New Gate
Location 1268.1623
This building is located on the south-east side of old Jaffa, at the south end of the road leading from the Jerusalem Gate (cf. Or *et al.* 1988, No.17). The exterior of the gate opens onto Yefet (Hb.) street which roughly follows the line of the old wall.

Built in 1869 the gateway consists of a long vaulted passage (approximately 35m in length). In the middle of the passage is an open courtyard. Parallel to the main passage is an arcade of four bays roofed with cross-vaults. Corresponding to each bay is a vaulted shop unit with a doorway, a rectangular window, and a circular hole for ventilation.

Fragment of Wall
The only surviving section of wall is located on the south side of the old city. The outer face of the wall has been systematically robbed out, leaving the core of the wall and some tall arches.

Mosques
It is known that there was a mosque in Jaffa as early as the tenth century C.E. (Muqaddasī 1906, 174). Although remains of this structure have yet to be identified, it is possible that it occupied the site of the present Great Mosque (see below). There is no record of a mosque in the city during the Mamluk period, although it is known that the amir Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Isḥāq, founded the wali known as Qubbat Shaykh Murād in 736 H. (1335 C.E.) (see below). There is no evidence of a mosque in the sixteenth century, although the fact that there were 15 Muslim families resident in 1596 (*HG*, 151) suggests that there must have been some form of communal prayer area. The first reliable evidence for a mosque is the 1675 engraving of Van Bruyn, which depicts a mosque with domes and a minaret. By the time of Niebuhr's visit in 1766 there were 'several mosques' (cited in Tolkowsky 1924, 141) and in 1871 there were five mosques. Before the end of Turkish rule another two mosques were built, one in 1883 and another in 1914. During the British Mandate another mosque was built on Jamāl Pasha Street.

Great Mosque
Location 1272.1626
This building is located at the north-east corner of the old city and, perhaps significantly, appears to be outside the nineteenth-century city walls.

Also known as the Maḥmūdiyya mosque, after the early nineteenth-century restoration carried out by Abū Nabbūt, this remains the principal mosque in Jaffa. The building has a long structural history which has developed over, at least, the last two hundred years (for a detailed study of this building, see Kanaʿān 1998, 152–175). The complex has an irregular plan based around two large courtyards and a domed prayer hall. The exterior walls of the mosque are obscured by shops and

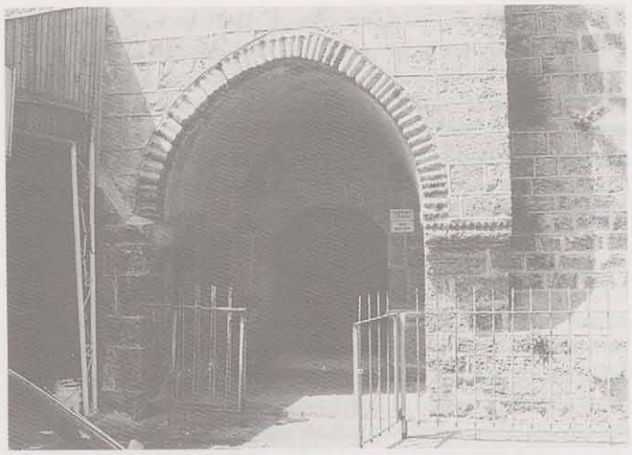


Plate 135. Jaffa (No. 60). Entrance (2) to Great Mosque.

Plate 136. Jaffa (No. 60). Entrance (4) to Great Mosque.

cafes established at the beginning of the twentieth century. With the exception of the minaret the only parts of the building visible from the exterior are the gateways which, for ease of reference, are numbered 1–4 below.

1) The present main entrance to the mosque is on the west side next to the sabīl. It leads into the west courtyard via a short vaulted passageway.
2) The south-west doorway is located directly below the minaret (Plate 135). The doorway is set into a recessed entrance covered with a round arch formed by cushion-shaped voussoirs. Either side of the door are stone benches, or plinths, capped with marble slabs. The doorway itself is approximately 2m wide, with a reused marble column as a

threshold and a shallow arch above. The door is made out of wooden panels with a carved vegetal motif on the top (cf. Biger and Liphshitz 1991, 97).

3) This doorway is located at the end of a narrow alley. Unfortunately, an iron grid halfway along the alley prevents close examination of the gateway and the only noticeable detail is an Ottoman *ṭughra* (possibly of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II) above the arch.
4) The east doorway faces the clock tower square (Plate 136). The doorway is set into a 5m tall rectangular panel with a gabled pediment. The panel is built out of alternating courses of white and pink stone (ablaq) and the arch is carved with a chevron design. An inscription set above the arch gives the date of construction as 1315 H. (1897–1898 C.E.). The doorway was probably built to provide easy access to the mosque from the new government house opposite (Or *et al.* 1988, No.7).

The interior of the mosque comprises four major components, the main courtyard, the east courtyard, the prayer hall, and the minaret.

The main courtyard forms a parallelogram with the prayer hall to the south, the ablutions area to the north, and a second courtyard to the east. The main entrance opens into the fourth of eight bays which form the western arcade of the main courtyard. Each dome rests on arches and pendentives supported on either antique marble columns or circular stone piers (Plate 137). Each bay (with the exception of the entrance) corresponds to a small cross-vaulted cell with a doorway and window opening on to the courtyard. The north side of the courtyard is also composed of an arcade, although this is less regular, consisting of three domed bays and a large cross-vault. Each bay is supported by reused antique columns, made either of green or red marble, with Corinthian capitals which, in some cases, have been inserted upside down and utilised as column bases.

The arcade on the south side of the courtyard forms the portico of the prayer hall. This comprises a series of cross-vaults supported on thick rectangular piers which may also function as buttresses for the domed prayer hall. There is a mihrab set into the south wall of the arcade in a position corresponding to one of the internal piers of the prayer hall. The entrance to the prayer hall is in the second bay from the west.

The east side of the main courtyard is divided into two sections, the north section is a wall forming the west side of a two storey building, whilst the south section is an arcade of four bays providing access to the eastern courtyard. The outer piers of the arcade are supported on cylindrical buttress towers similar to those on the famous sabīl of Abū Nabbūt outside Jaffa. Above the entrance to the east courtyard is a large vaulted room used for study of the Qur'ān.

Plate 137. Jaffa (No. 60). Great Mosque. Interior of courtyard.

The area between the west (main) and east courtyards is a structurally-complex vaulted area, supported by an array of square and rectangular piers. The other three sides of the east courtyard comprise regular arcades supported on uniform square piers. The roofs of these bays are flat (i.e. not vaulted) whilst the shallow arches between the piers are decorated with a denticulated carving and round openings within the spandrels. The arcade on the south side is two bays deep and has a mihrab in the centre of the south wall.

The prayer hall is a large rectangular area roofed with two domes resting on pendentives and arches supported by six massive piers (Plate 138). There are three large windows in the north wall of the mosque and two large windows set into the west wall. An upper gallery runs around the west, north, and east sides of the prayer hall connected by tunnels through the piers. There is a mihrab in the centre of the south wall of each of the two domed areas. Next to the west mihrab is a tall late Ottoman minbar made of wood and metal and decorated with stars and crescents.

Plate 138. Jaffa (No. 60). Great Mosque. Prayer hall.

The minaret stands at the south-west corner of the mosque above the south-west entrance. This is a tall cylindrical structure with two balconies and is probably a replacement of a smaller minaret seen in a drawing of the mosque of the 1840s. A denticulated moulding at the base of the present minaret is similar to the decoration in the eastern courtyard, suggesting that both features may be of similar date.

Although it is recognised that the building had an early foundation, it is generally thought that virtually nothing remains of the pre-nineteenth-century mosque (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 34). It seems likely, however, that a detailed survey may reveal traces of the early building. It is noticeable, for example, that there are fragments of geometric interlaced (Mamluk?) carving incorporated into the south wall of the mosque. It also seems probable that the reused antique columns in the main courtyard were also used in an earlier mosque on the site. Generally, however, the mosque in its present form seems to date from the restoration of Abū Nabbūt between 1227–1229 H. (1812–1814 C.E.). At the end of the nineteenth century there was a further construction phase resulting in the addition of the eastern courtyard and the minaret.

Plate 139. Jaffa (No. 60). Sea Mosque.

Jāmiʿ al-Baḥr (Sea Mosque)
Location 1267.1626
As its name implies, this building is located next to the sea, on the north side of the old city (Plate 139).

The mosque forms only the upper part of this two-storey structure built into the side of the hill. There is no connection between the mosque and the rooms below. The entrance to the mosque is from the hill behind (to the south) and access to the lower rooms is directly from the harbour road. Although derelict in September 1991, the building is now (1995) being restored for use as a mosque.

The lower part of the building consists of two cross-vaulted rooms connected by a small doorway (also roofed with a narrow cross-vault). The vault of the east room had almost completely collapsed in September 1991, but has since been rebuilt using stone and concrete. It seems likely that these spaces would originally have functioned as storerooms or simply as a vaulted substructure for the mosque above.

The upper floor now consists of two rooms corresponding in size to the vaulted rooms below. The entrance is through a doorway into the western room. Although this is now (1995) a single room, it was originally divided into two, a southern and a northern part. The southern part containing the entrance was covered with a vault (traces of which were visible in 1991), whilst the northern part was an open courtyard facing the sea to the north (Bushell 1969, Pl. facing 71). There was a staircase leading up to the roof from the north-east corner of the courtyard. Today the whole area is covered with a modern reinforced concrete roof.

The west room has suffered less and, with the exception of some cracks in the vault, is still in its original state. There are pairs of windows on the west, north, and east sides and a connecting door on the east side. In the south-west corner a doorway leads into a staircase at the base of the minaret. The vaulting in the upper part of the building is made from earthenware vaulting tubes (for a discussion of this building technique, see Petersen 1994), whilst the ground floor vaults are made of rubble, earth, and mortar.

The minaret stands at the south-west corner of the mosque and can be divided into two zones. The lower zone is approximately 5m high and includes the base and the lower part of the shaft. The base is a solid square block which rises approximately 4m above ground level. The lower part of the shaft is octagonal with the transition from base to shaft marked by angular cuts in the top of the base. The upper part of the minaret comprises a cylindrical shaft with a narrow balcony supported on corbels and a conical roof. The transition between the upper cylindrical part and the octagonal lower shaft, indicates that the upper part may be a rebuilding of the original octagonal minaret.

This mosque is not mentioned by Mayer as one of the mosques of Jaffa, possibly because it suffered during the 1948 Israeli war. According to Or *et al.* (1988) the mosque was built in 1780 although no evidence is given for this. A painting of Jaffa by the Dutch painter Lebrun, in 1675, shows a mosque next to the waterfront with a minaret of similar form to the Jāmiʿ al-Baḥr, although this could be the Great Mosque (Tolkowsky 1924, 137 Fig.13; and see illustrations of Jaffa in Alderson 1843, Pls. between 24 and 25). On structural grounds it seems certain that there are at least two phases present: the first phase represented by the lower part of the minaret and possibly the vaults of the ground floor; and a second phase represented by the first floor and the upper part of the minaret. Octagonal minarets are common from the fourteenth century until at least the sixteenth century. The date of the introduction of the cylindrical minaret into Palestine is not known, although the Ottomans obviously used this form in Anatolia. Lebrun's painting seems to depict a cylindrical minaret. Without a detailed study it is difficult to be conclusive about dates, but it seems likely that the first phase was built before the eighteenth century and the second phase was built in either the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

Jāmiʿ Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭābiyya
Location 1266.1624
This building (also known as the Mosque of the Bastion) stands next to the lighthouse (built 1875) on the south-west side of the old city.

The mosque is approached by two flights of steps leading down from the main road. An inscription above the entrance dates the construction of the mosque to 1143 H. (1730–1731 C.E.) which, according to Mayer *et al.* (1950, 33) makes it the earliest extant mosque in Jaffa. A Christian family, which also looked after the lighthouse, was said to be living in the building (1950, 33–34).

The interior of the mosque comprises two cross-vaulted bays which have now been divided into two rooms. The mihrab is located in the southern room (at present closed to the public). The cylindrical minaret, standing at the south-west corner of the building, is entered from the roof of the mosque.

The building is frequently referred to as the House of Simon the Tanner, where, according to the Bible (Acts 10) Peter saw the vision of clean and unclean foods. According to Pringle (1993–, I, 271–272), whilst there is little evidence for the

association with Simon the Tanner, it does seem likely that the building may be part of the Tower of the Patriarch built in the thirteenth century. Pringle also notes that when part of the mosque wall collapsed during the 1920s two apses of a large medieval church were exposed.

Plate 140. Jaffa (No. 60). Jāmiʿ Siksik. Sabīl and minaret.

Jāmiʿ Siksik
Location 1272.1623
This mosque is located 500m east of the old city in Rehov Beyt Eshel (Hb.) (previously Jerusalem Road). The only remains of the mosque are the sabīl (see below 'Sabīls'), the minaret, and a small vaulted room behind the sabīl (Plate 140). The minaret has a cylindrical shaft and is entered from the roof of the sabīl. At a height of approximately 40m is a balcony supported by a thick torus moulding (similar to that of the Dahmash (sp.) mosque at Lydda). Behind the sabīl is a small vaulted room now used as a factory workshop. The room is lit by two roof lights and a window next to the door.

The prayer hall has not survived although it was still extant in 1950. Mayer *et al.* state: 'Structurally it is in good condition, but the doors and the windows need repair in order to prevent unauthorised entry and damage by wind and rain. Missing taps and boards should be replaced' (1950, 34). According to an inscription on the sabīl the mosque was built in 1300 H. (1883 C.E.).

Jāmiʿ al-ʿAjamī
Location 1264.1615
This mosque stands on a hill overlooking the harbour to the south of the old city.

The ʿAjamī quarter grew up around the wali of Shaykh Ibrāhīm in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and it seems likely that the mosque was founded at this time (Tolkowsky 1924, 162). The building has been rebuilt since it was visited by Mayer in 1948 (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 34) and none of the original structure has been preserved, except for the tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm (see below).

Ḥasan Bey Mosque
Location 1278.1638
This building stands near the sea front midway between the old city of Jaffa and the centre of Tel Aviv (Plates 141–143).

The mosque, comprising a prayer hall, minaret, and courtyard, is built out of white limestone with marble for decoration. The roofs are constructed of concrete and iron girders. The complex stands on a raised terrace enclosed by a wall decorated with crenallations and pierced with tall rectangular windows. A flight of steps in the centre of the north side leads up to an ornamental gateway decorated with a *muqarnas* arch.

The courtyard contains two octagonal sabīls placed symmetrically either side of the entrance. On the south side of the courtyard is the entrance to the prayer hall flanked by two projecting wings. The east wing is used as an office for the mosque officials and the west wing has recently (1992) been rebuilt. The angle between the wings and the main facade is filled by the base of a tower on each side. The tower on the east side is only 5m high whilst the tower on the west side is a minaret over 30m tall.

The minaret is a tall structure divided into four successively thinner stages. There are two entrances to the minaret, one from the courtyard and one from the roof. The doorway from

Plate 141. Jaffa (No. 60). Ḥasan Bey Mosque. Courtyard.

Plate 142. Jaffa (No. 60). Ḥasan Bey Mosque. View of prayer hall.

Plate 143. Jaffa (No. 60). Ḥasan Bey Mosque. Interior.

the courtyard has a marble lintel. The shaft of the minaret is lit by small lancet windows. At the top a doorway opens onto a narrow balcony supported by a torus moulding. (Although the minaret appears to be of stone the interior is made entirely of reinforced concrete with a central steel core. According to worshippers at the mosque, the minaret has only recently been rebuilt after being bombed. This was the third bomb attack on the mosque since 1948.)

The entrance to the prayer hall is a projecting portal centrally placed and approached by a flight of steps. To the west of the entrance is a marble panel commemorating the complete rebuilding of the mosque in 1333 H. (1914–1915 C.E.).

The interior of the mosque is a square space divided into nine bays supported by four central piers. With the exception of the central bay, each bay has a flat roof. The central bay is surmounted with a dome set on a circular drum (externally octagonal). The mihrab is in the centre of the south wall below a badly worn Arabic inscription. To the west is a tall wooden minbar. The most notable feature of the mosque's interior are the windows glazed with red and green glass. The windows are either tall rectangles with horseshoe arches at the top, or small round windows divided into three lobes.

This mosque was built between 1914 and 1916 by Ḥasan Bey, the last civilian governor of Jaffa under the Ottomans. The design of the mosque has obvious parallels with the Friday Mosque at Bīr al-Sabʿ (Hb. Beersheba) built a few years before in 1905. Important similarities are the windows with horse-shoe arches, the central dome, and the minaret. The location of this mosque, at some distance from the old city in an area associated with the growth of the modern Jewish city, has interesting political implications. The use of white limestone, instead of the usual yellow-brown *kurkar*, would also have made this building stand out from earlier buildings in Jaffa. Equally important is the use of tarred concrete roofs (cf. Kark 1990, 111–113) which enable large areas to be roofed without heavy vaults and thick piers.

Jabaliyya Mosque
Location 1263.1606
This mosque is located approximately 1.5km south of the old city (Plate 144).

The building stands isolated in an open sandy area which is probably the remains an Egyptian suburb settled in the early nineteenth century (cf. Kark 1990, 73). The structure comprises a large modern prayer room with porch, an older vaulted area, and a short cylindrical minaret.

Plate 144. Jaffa (No. 60). Jabaliyya Mosque. Exterior.

The modern prayer room was added fairly recently (post-1960). The old part of the mosque consists of an area (approximately 8m square) covered by four cross-vaults supported by a central pier and engaged wall piers. In the north-east corner is a low barrel-vault set into the base of the minaret. There are three windows in this part of the mosque, two in the north wall and one in the east wall. The main door is in the centre of the north wall. In addition there are three side doors, two in the west wall and one in the south wall leading to the *mu'adhdhin*'s room.

The mihrab is located in the centre of the south wall of the south-east bay. The alignment of the mihrab is slightly different from the orientation of the rest of the building, suggesting that it has been adjusted after a recalculation of the direction of the qibla.

The minaret is a short cylindrical tower entered from a door on the north side of the mosque. There are no inscriptions in the building but the *imām* stated (in 1992) that the mosque was 120 years old (i.e. dating to the 1870s). The architecture and position of the building seem to confirm this date.

Shaykhs' tombs and shrines

There are few shaykhs' tombs or shrines in Jaffa especially compared with a town like Ramla. It is possible that there were more shrines in the past which were destroyed during one of the many sieges, demolitions, or redevelopments which have occurred since the eighteenth century. The small population of the town between 1268 and the Ottoman period may also be a factor in the low number of popular shrines within Jaffa.

Qubbat Shaykh Murād

This structure is located in a cemetery 2.5km east of the old city.

The tomb consists of a square chamber containing a tall dome supported on squinches. Inside is the cenotaph of Shaykh Murād. The entrance is on the south side.

This building was first reported by Clermont-Ganneau (*ARP*, II, 152–154) who relates how a large inscription had been found in the vicinity of the tomb. The inscription is now in a collection in Oslo, Norway. One side of the inscription carries a fragment of a Crusader text and bas relief (Pringle 1993–, I, 267) whilst the other side contains a complete inscription in Arabic relating to the foundation of the tomb. Clermont-Ganneau gives the following translation of the Arabic inscription:

> [*Bismallāh*] Of a certainty, he builds (or restores) the mosques of God, who believes in God, and in the day of resurrection, who prays, who gives alms, and fears God only, it may be that there will be among those that follow the right road (Sura IX, V.18). The building of this blessed mosque (*masjid*) was ordered by the humble amir and poor before God most high, Jamāl al-Dīn... son of Isḥāq on whom may God have mercy. In the year 736 H. (1335 C.E.) (from translation in *ARP*, II, 154; and see *RCEA*, XV, No.5687 for a more fragmentary reading).

It is possible that during the sixteenth century the tomb was used by navigators wishing to find the port of Ramla (i.e. Jaffa) although it is not certain that it would have been visible from the sea (Piri Re'īs in Heyd 1956, 207–208 n.39).

Walī of Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-ʿAjamī

Location 1264.1615

This tomb is located in the graveyard of a mosque (see above) on a bluff overlooking the port of Jaffa.

The tomb is contained within a cross-vaulted chamber which has recently (1992) been rebuilt. The date of the structure is not known, although it was probably constructed some time during the nineteenth century because it appears on Sandel's map of 1878–1879 (Kark 1990, 68–69 and site No. 21 on map). The graveyard contains several late Ottoman tombstones.

Maqām Shaykh Ibrāhīm

Location 1269.1624

This small domed structure stands to the east of the bathhouse.

The structure has been very severely damaged and no longer has a dome or any traces of a tomb. The remains consist of four piers joined by arches, from which spring the pendentives supporting the base of a circular drum. The interior of the drum has a lip running around it which would have been the base of the dome. It seems possible that this building may have been something other than a tomb as there is little to confirm its identity (see also Or *et al.* 1988, No.2).

Sabīls

One of the best known features of Jaffa's architecture are the famous sabīls of Abū Nabbūt, governor of Jaffa at the beginning

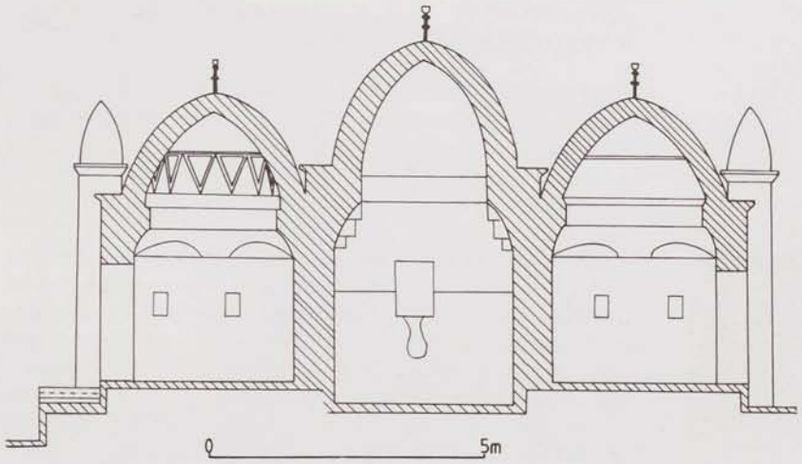


Fig. 50. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl Abū Nabbūt. Section.

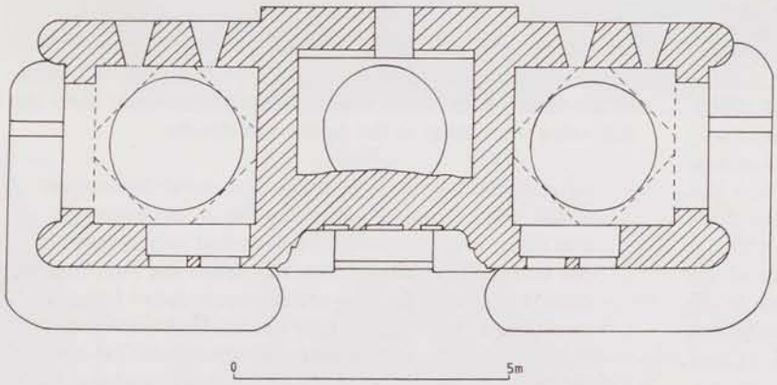


Fig. 51. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl Abū Nabbūt. Plan.

of the nineteenth century. Sabīls were an excellent way of advertising the wealth and power of a ruler because they provided an essential resource and lent themselves to ornamentation (see, for example the sabīls of Sulāyman the Magnificent in Jerusalem). Four nineteenth-century sabīls have survived in Jaffa, two from the beginning and two from the end of the century.

Sabīl Abū Nabbūt
Location 1277.1618
This structure is located to the east of Jaffa on the old Jerusalem road (now Derech Yitzak Ben Zvi). For a comprehensive discussion of this structure see Kanaʿān (1998, 131–140).

This is a rectangular building with three domes consisting of two tombs with a sabīl in the centre (Figs. 50–51, Plates 145–147). At each corner of the building is a cylindrical pier with a projecting domed finial (these have recently been broken off). The principal building material employed is *kurkar* stone although marble is used for decoration and some reused limestone blocks are incorporated into the masonry.

The west face of the building comprising the fountain is the principal facade. The fountain is contained within a large shallow niche or recess framed with a *cyma reversa* moulding. Within this larger arch is a facade consisting of four flat white marble columns set against a background of red marble. Between the two central columns is a small blind niche containing the metal pipe which functions as the water outlet. Above this is a block of marble carved in the form of flattened out *muqarnas*. Above the columns is a plaque commemorating the construction of the sabīl in 1236 H. (1820–1821 C.E.).

Plate 145. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl Abū Nabbūt. West face.

Plate 146. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl Abū Nabbūt. Side.

A convex band runs along the front of the building and over the arch containing the sabīl. Directly on top of the arch is a short (0.5m) flat pillar which may have some unknown significance.

Either side of the large arch are windows which look into the tombs. These windows are now blocked but were open before 1960 (cf. Kark 1990, Pl. 19). Each window is set within an arched recess decorated with lozenges carved in low relief. Above the left-hand window is a stone intricately carved in low relief. The centre of the stone contains a swirled rosette enclosed by two bands, one with stylised merlons the other with six-pointed stars. The edges of the stone are jagged or serrated with 'V' shaped cuts suggesting that it may have been a joggled voussoir. The origin of the stone is not known although it evidently belonged to a building of the Islamic period.

The entrances to the tombs are at the north and south sides of the building. Although now blocked, each tomb had an open arch or iwan facing outwards. The arches are decorated with a band containing diamond-shaped lozenges similar to those used on the other side. Each of these entrances is flanked by the cylindrical corner buttresses. On the east side of each tomb is a pair of windows now also blocked. In the centre of the east side is a doorway opening into the domed room at the back of the sabīl. The interior of this room is undecorated and is now used as a park keeper's hut. The dome rests on an octagonal drum supported by small squinches. Above the doorway is a cantilevered buttress resting on projecting corbels. The purpose of this feature is not known, although it may act as a counterbalance to the weight exerted by the dome.

The domes have an unusual form not encountered elsewhere in Palestine. Each dome has a tall humped profile and is divided into flat segments. All three domes rest on octagonal drums although the central drum is 0.5m higher. At present the domes are covered in bitumen and painted dark red.

The sabīl of Abū Nabbūt was one of the most famous late Ottoman buildings in Palestine seen by numerous travellers and pilgrims making the journey between Jaffa and Jerusalem. The building frequently appeared in nineteenth-century paintings and drawings although often in a different context. See, for example, the painting entitled 'European Tourists' which places the sabīl in the background of a scene showing Europeans attempting to ride camels (cf. Shepherd 1987, Pl. facing 127).

Despite the fame of this building very little is known about its origin and design (see Kanaʿān 1998, 131–140). During his enquiries in Jaffa in the 1870s Clermont-Ganneau encountered a master mason named ʿAlī Sīda of whom he wrote:

> This man, now of advanced age, directed all the works that were set on foot at the beginning of the century by the legendary Abû Nabbût, Governor of Jaffa, the same that gave his name to the pretty fountain, or Sebîl Abû Nabbût which is to be seen near his tomb, some ten minutes' from the town as you go to Jerusalem. It would be most interesting to gather from his mouth, on the spot, precise information, in technical terms, of the alterations which Jaffa underwent at that period (*ARP*, II, 3).

Plate 147. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl Abū Nabbūt. East face.

As indicated above there was also a tomb belonging to Abū Nabbūt which survived until at least 1950 (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 32) although this has now disappeared.

There are three other buildings (one no longer extant) which have architectural similarities to the sabīl of Abū Nabbūt. The first of these is the Great Mosque, which was rebuilt by Abū Nabbūt four or five years earlier, between 1814 and 1816. On the east side of the courtyard of the mosque there are cylindrical buttresses capped with small domes which are identical to those on the sabīl. The second building is the east gate of the city, also dated to 1816, which was built: '... in monumental style and crowned with three cupolas' (Tolkowsky 1924, 154–155). Unfortunately, the gate was demolished during the 1870s although descriptions indicate that its appearance was similar to that of the sabīl. It is possible that a painting entitled 'Market in Jaffa' by Bauerfeind includes a representation of the gate, although it may also be the sabīl put into another context (Shepherd 1987, reproduced on front cover). The third building is the other sabīl built by Abū Nabbūt, which now stands to the west of the Great Mosque (for description see below). Although structurally different, many of the decorative details are the same.

Sabīl west of Great Mosque

This structure is presently located next to the west entrance of the mosque although it originally stood in the square to the south of the mosque.

The fountain is a hexagonal structure made out of six white marble panels (Plates 148–150). The angles between the panels are covered with short marble engaged columns. Each panel is individually decorated with carvings in low relief.

Plate 148. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl west of Great Mosque. South-west panel.

Plate149. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl west of Great Mosque. South-east panel.

Plate 150. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl west of Great Mosque. Detail of south-east panel.

The first panel depicts an arch supported on two pillars with a lamp hanging in the centre. Flanking the lamp are palm trees and either side of the top of the arch is a cup. The arch is decorated with diamond-shaped lozenges, similar to those on the sabīl of Abū Nabbūt and the entrance to the Old Saray. The second panel also has an archway although this is now covered with branches. The third panel contains a stylised vase consisting of a spray of flowers on top of a central disc, resting on a semi-circular base. There are cypress trees either side of the top of the panel. The fourth panel is similar to the first with slight variations (i.e. diamonds are replaced by circles and flowers). The fifth panel has a simple design comprising two ansate discs set one above the other. The sixth panel is similar to the third except that the central disc is filled with vegetation.

A nineteenth-century drawing of the sabīl shows it covered with a wooden roof supported by pillars (Kark 1990, 294–295). This design is similar to the sabīl outside the Jazzār Pasha mosque in Acre.

Sabīl Sulaymān

This structure is built into the south wall of the Great Mosque (Plate 151).

The sabīl comprises a large arch (approximately 8m wide x 4m high) resting on columns (the right column is hidden by a modern shop front). Set 1m in from the wall, the sabīl is decorated with marble panels, pilasters, and inscriptions. There are three blind niches at the bottom containing pipes which dispensed water. The structure is dated to 1308 H. (1890–1891 C.E.).

Sabīl Siksik

This structure faces south on to Rehov Beyt Eshel (Hb.) and forms part of the Siksik mosque (Plate 140).

Plate 151. Jaffa (No. 60). Sabīl Sulaymān.

The sabīl comprises three niches framed within a *cyma reversa* moulding and recessed 0.75m into the wall. The lower part of the sabīl contains a trough (now filled in) above which are four evenly-spaced, flat colonnettes decorated with vertical fluting. The niches are located between the colonnettes and each contains a water pipe (now blocked). Above the colonnettes is a band made of a repeated wave pattern. Set awkwardly within the tympanum of the arch is a large rectangular marble plaque commemorating the construction of the mosque in 1300 H. (1882–1883 C.E.). Above the outer arch of the sabīl is a rectangular recess which may once have held an inscription. The top of the sabīl is decorated with a classical pediment.

Public Buildings

The absence of any public buildings from before the nineteenth century is not only indicative of Jaffa's violent history, but also of the fact that in earlier periods it functioned simply as a port with no defined urban identity. The extant public buildings are evidence of the city's development from a walled town to a modern city. In particular it is noticeable that the public buildings of the early 1800s are huddled in a close group on the top of the hill, whilst the buildings of the early 1900s are located around a spacious square. The architecture reflects the increasing influence of Europe either through direct contact (e.g. the new Town Hall) or via Istanbul (e.g. the Clock Tower).

Plate 152. Jaffa (No. 60). Old Sarāy entrance.

The Old Sarāy

This building is located on top of the hill in the centre of the old city (Plates 152–153). At present the building is divided into two areas (the Museum and the Old Soap Factory) although originally they would have functioned as one unit.

The Museum building consists of two blocks arranged in an 'L'-shape. The staircases and ticket office are contained in the part corresponding to the short part of the 'L'. This smaller wing appears to have been added later, probably to provide access between the first floor and the ground floor. The first floor of the main block is a huge area divided into 15 cross-vaulted bays (3m x 5m). The hall is lit by four large windows, three in the north and one in the east side.

The Old Soap Factory forms the southern part of the Saray complex. The entrance to this area is set within a deep portal arch or iwan. Either side of the gateway there are long stone benches (approximately 2m). The doorway is covered by a shallow arch decorated with nine diamond-shaped lozenges, above this is a continuous denticulate band running across the entire facade of the gateway. The interior of the building is a tall vaulted area containing olive presses and vats.

Although there is no conclusive evidence, it seems probable that this was built as a saray (palace) by Abū Nabbūt at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The diamond-shaped lozenges above the doorway support this identification. When

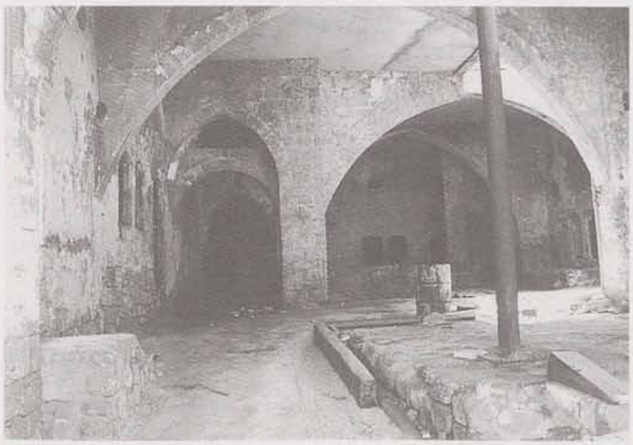


Plate 153. Jaffa (No. 60). Soap factory.

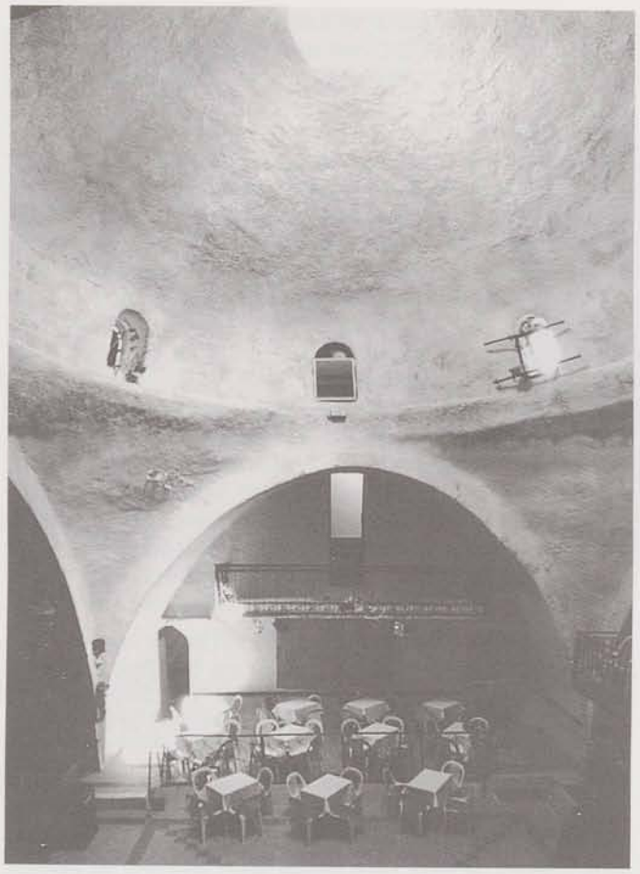


Plate 154. Jaffa (No. 60). Ḥammām. Summer undressing room.

the city administration moved to the New Town Hall at the beginning of the twentieth century this building was converted into a soap factory.

Ḥammām
Location 1268.1625
This building is stands in the centre of the old city at the rear of the Old Sarāy (Plate 154).

At present this is a night-club known as 'the Hammam'. The building is over 40m long with an entrance directly into the former hot room. Originally the entrance was at the west end of the complex, although this has now been blocked. At the west end is a large room roofed by a dome with a central lantern. The dome rests on an octagonal drum supported by pendentives springing from heavy piers. The area of the room is increased by wide vaulted recesses opening from the central domed area.

A doorway in the south-east wall opens into a series of rooms leading eventually into the domed hot room (this is now the entrance hall). Doorways in each of the four corners of this room lead off into small vaulted rooms. The doorway in the north-east corner leads into a suite of four rooms now used as the kitchen of the nightclub. A corridor to the east opens into a large area divided into six vaulted bays.

Both the proximity of the Old Saray and the architecture of the ḥammām suggest that it may be the bathhouse built by Abū Nabbūt in the early 1800s, although Dow (1996, 84) indicates that it must have been built after 1840 (for a detailed description, plan, and history of this building, see Dow 1996, 84–86).

New Town Hall
Location 1272.1626
This building stood on the south-east side of clock tower square.

Only a fragment of the town hall has survived (the rest was destroyed by a Jewish terrorist group in 1948). This was a large building with a neo-classical facade. The facade had engaged columns and was approached by a wide flight of steps. The remains consist of a section of wall attached to two large pillars. Between the pillars is a doorway with a window above. The pillars are made of rubble and mortar, and cannot have served any structural purpose.

The construction of this building began in 1897 as part of a development of this area which included an army barracks and later a clock tower (see below).

Clock Tower
Location 1272.1625
This stands in the centre of the square to the south of the Great Mosque (Plate 155).

This is a square tower four storeys high with a cross-gabled roof. Each face of the lower three storeys is decorated with a blind niche, flanked by flat double pilasters. On the east face of the second storey is the *ṭughra* of sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II.

The tower was one of a number of projects in Jaffa to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the accession of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Other projects included a municipal garden and a new fountain in the harbour. Clock towers were a popular feature of late Ottoman architecture as they symbolised modernisation and the increasing secularisation of the empire

Plate 155. Jaffa (No. 60). Clock tower.

(Goodwin 1971, 418–419). Other examples of clock towers in Palestine are in Haifa, Acre, Nāblus, and at Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem (now destroyed).

Houses

We know nothing of the houses in Jaffa from before the Ottoman period, although it is hoped that archaeological excavations will shed some light on occupation in the Crusader and early Islamic period. Records from the sixteenth century indicate little or no permanent occupation on the site. In 1675 there were 'a number of isolated houses on the hill' and in 1766 between 400 and 500 houses (Tolkowsky 1924, 133, 137, 141). Most of the extant houses in the old city date from the nineteenth century and are built of stone. Before the twentieth century most of the houses outside the old city were built out of mud and straw and have not survived (Kark 1990, 73).

The principal building material was *kurkar* (calcified sandstone) although limestone and wood were also used (for use of wood in construction, see Biger and Liphshitz 1991). Traditional houses had vaulted rooms built around courtyards on the ground floor, and domed rooms with terraces above. Both the domes and the parapet walls enclosing the terraces were built of terracotta tubes. These were produced locally and had the advantage of being light and easy to assemble (cf. Petersen 1994, 89–91).

During the 1860s American Christians established a colony using pre-fabricated wooden houses. Only eight houses were assembled and the colony did not survive (Kark 1990, 86–87; *EJ*, IX, 1256). Towards the end of the nineteenth century some stone houses were built outside the old city. These were built around a courtyard and painted white with red tile roofs. In the early twentieth century roof tiles were replaced with flat concrete roofs covered in tar. Houses of this type usually had elegant verandas and elaborate windows.

'Aladdin Restaurant'

Location 1267.1626

This building is located on the hill in the middle of the old city overlooking the Jāmi al-Bahr. Although now used as a restaurant, it is clear that this building was originally a house abandoned either in 1936 or 1948 (it stands next to the path cleared through the city by the British in 1936).

This is a two storey building comprising a vaulted ground floor, used as kitchen and store rooms, and an upper floor with a domed room and terrace, now used as the dining room. It was not possible to examine the ground floor because it is built into the hillside. The first floor can be entered directly from the street, although originally there would have been some other means of access.

The upper floor comprises a square domed room connected to another square room and two terraces. The domed room is 5m per side with niches in each wall. On the north side is an arched window and on the west side a large opening leading to the second room. Resting on pendentives, the dome is decorated with carved plaster designs based on a central rosette, with twelve semi-circular designs around the edge. The second room appears to have been added at a later date. At present the second room is covered with a shallow concrete dome added twenty-five years ago, although originally it would have had a flat roof. This room had arched windows on all three sides, these have been replaced with large plate glass windows.

Although there is no direct evidence, it is likely that the vaulted ground floor belongs to the nineteenth century or earlier. The domed room above dates to the nineteenth century and the room with the modern concrete dome dates to the early twentieth century (pre-1936).

References: Abel 1967, II, index; Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud de Slane, 239; Abū Shāma RHC OR, index; Adler 1930, 139, 197; Alderson 1843, *passim*; Baedeker 1876, 127–132; Bagatti 1979, 179–180; Bedford 1863 (map); Biger and Liphshitz 1991; Bloom 1983, 183; Buckingham 1821, 146–160; Bushell 1969, Pl. facing 71; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, index; Cohen 1989, 4, 81, 87, 89, 119; Creswell, *MAE*, II, 155; Cuinet 1896, index; Dow 1996, 84–86; Kaplan in *EAE*, II, 655–659; Honigmann in *EI*1, IV, 1143–1144; Brawer and Aronsen in *EJ*, IX, 1248–1258; Ram *et al.* in *EJ*, XV, 916–925; Gavish 1984; Guérin, *Judée*, I, 1–22; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Heyd 1956, 207–208, 215, Pl.29; Heyd 1960, 131, 133, 182; *HG*, 93, 95, 151; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, index; Kana'ān 1998; Kaplan 1972; Kark 1990; Le Strange 1890, 550–551 *et passim*; Lewis 1968; Maqrīzī ed. Ziada and Aashour, I, 588–589; Marmadji 1951, index; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 32–34; Meinecke 1992, II, 26, 30, 31–32; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 174; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 345–347; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 418; Or *et al.* 1988; Palmer 1881, 220; Prawer 1969–1970, index; Pringle 1993–, I, 264–273; Pringle 1997, 52 No.110; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 100; *RCEA*, XV, No.5687; Robinson 1841, I, 367, 368, III, 31; Shepherd 1987, *passim*; Singer 1994, 116, 128; *SWP*, II, 254–258, 275–278 (map XIII); *TIR* 152–3; Tolkowsky 1924; Tolkowsky 1925; al-'Ulaymī translation Sauvaire, index; Volney 1959, index; Wilson 1884, II, 44, III, index; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 1003.

61. Jaljūliyya

Visited 10.91, BSAJ Survey 8.96

Location 1455.1735
32.09N/34.57E

The village of Jaljūliyya is located is located on the eastern edge of the coastal plain between Rās al-'Ayn and Qalqīliyya.

In Roman times the village was known as Galgulis (*TIR*, 128) and during the Crusader period it was referred to as Jorgilia (RRH, 286 no. 1100 (C.E. 1241)). Jaljūliyya is mentioned in 663 H. (1265 C.E.) when sultan Baybars allocated third shares of the village to the amirs Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī, Alā' al-Dīn Kushtughdī al-Shamsī, and Badr al-Dīn Baktūt Bajkā al-

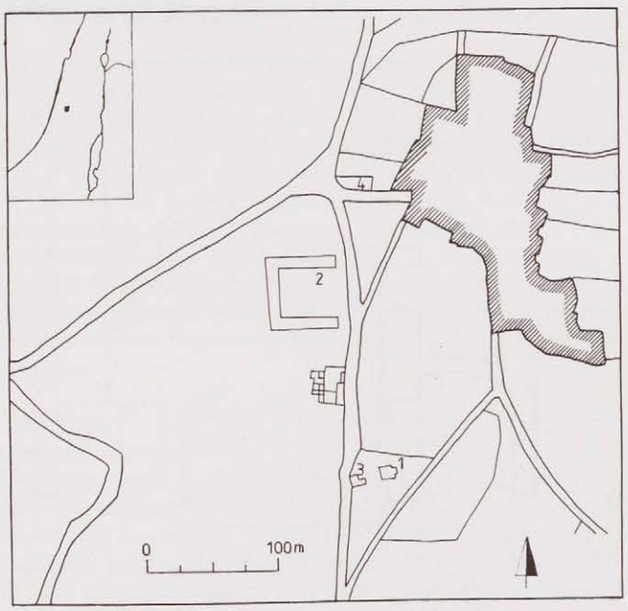


Fig. 52. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Plan of village.

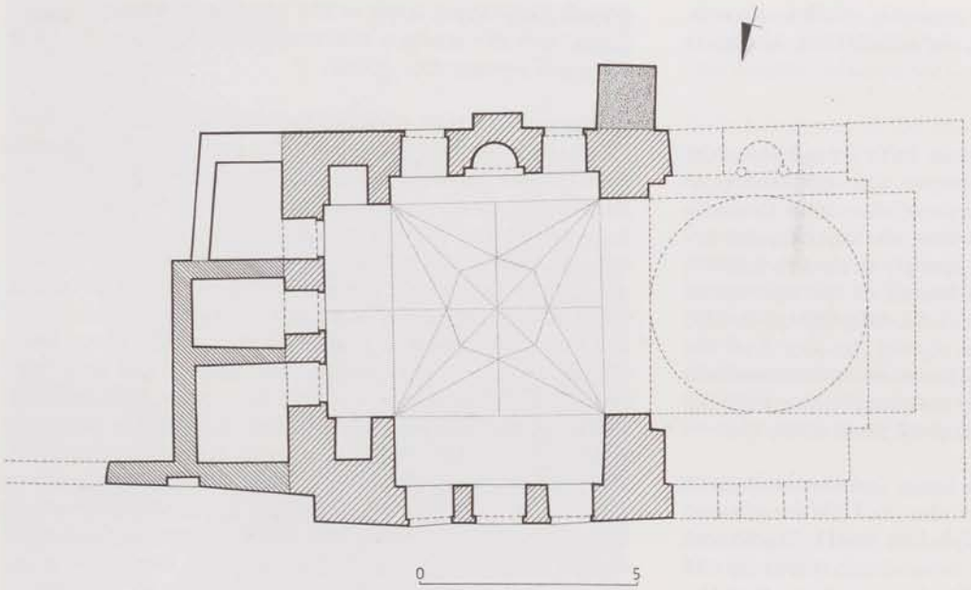


Fig. 53. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn.

Rumī (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 104, II, 82). The first of these, Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh al-Fakhrī, included his section of the village in his *waqf* (MPF, 92 No.20). In the 1596 *daftar* Jaljūliyya was located in the *nāḥiya* Banū Saʿb in *liwā'* Nāblus and comprised 100 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce consisted of wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees', and a market toll (*bāj bazār*). There was also a poll tax (*jizya*) levied on the Christians and Jews in the locality (HG, 140).

The principal extant monuments in the village are a mosque and a khān, although there was previously a large pool (birka) and a vaulted building of unknown function (Fig. 52). Outside the village to the north there is a ruined shaykh's tomb (maqām) standing on the edge of the wadi (for a full discussion of the village, see Petersen 1996).

Mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn

Location 1454.1733

This building stands on the east side of the main road which passes through the village.

At present the structure consists of one large vaulted chamber and three small barrel-vaulted cells (Figs 53–54, Plates 156–158). Originally there was a second large chamber to the west but this was destroyed by British artillery during World War I.

The west side of the building is a large open archway flanked by two piers. Each of the piers retains traces of the springing for the destroyed second chamber. A photograph from the early part of this century (PAM 71/26) shows the remains of this room soon after the bombardment. The room was covered with a large dome resting on a dodecagonal drum supported by spherical pendentives. Each side of the drum was pierced by rectangular windows. The dome was made of rubble set in mortar and covered in plaster. Also visible in the photograph are a window and marble-lined mihrab. A report written in 1930 indicates that stones were removed from this wall for use in the new mosque and states that: 'the destruction extended to the mihrab the eastern part of which was still in tact' (ATQ/296).

At the south-west corner of the surviving portion of the mosque is a large buttress supporting the arch. This is a modern (i.e. Mandate period or later) addition. Beside the modern buttress on the south face of the building there are two rectangular windows either side of a small rectangular projection which

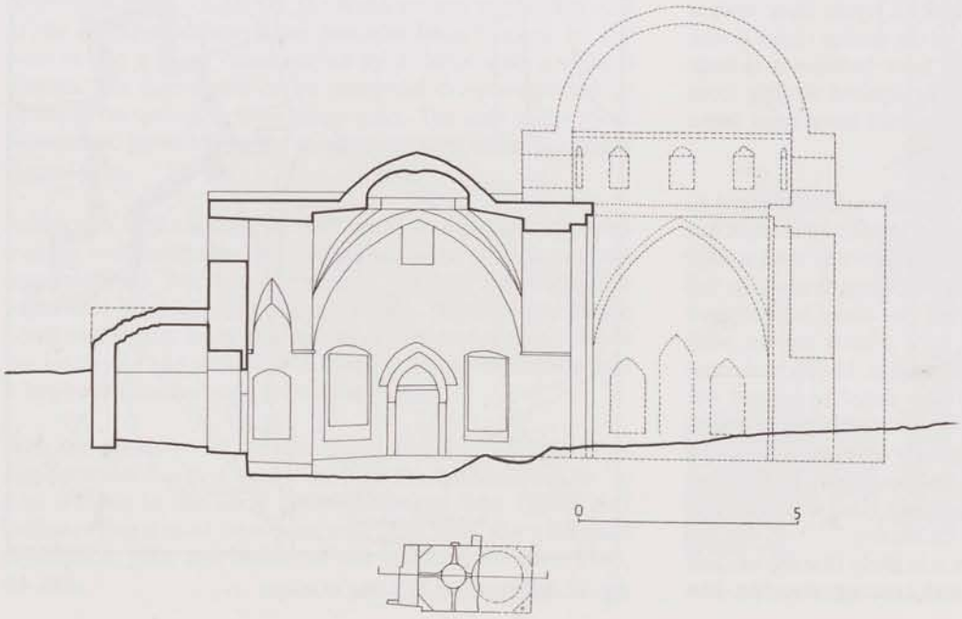


Fig. 54. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn. Section.

Plate 156. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn from north (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

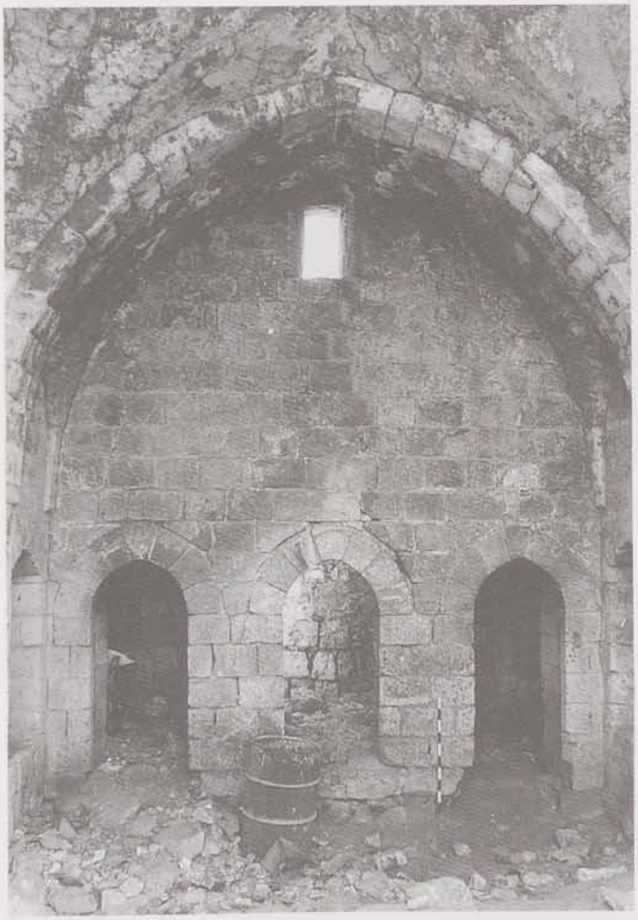


Plate 157. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn. Interior with entrances to cells.

marks the position of the mihrab. In the centre of the wall, just below roof level, is a narrow rectangular window capped with a semi-circular lintel. There are similar high level windows on the east and north sides of the building. On the east side of the mosque are three small vaulted cells. The main part of the north facade consists of a rectangular doorway flanked by two large windows, each covered with a plain lintel beneath shallow relieving arches.

The interior has a cruciform plan, with a central vaulted area resting on four corner piers and four large arches. The springing of the arches which support the vault is marked by a plain *cyma recta* cornice. The vault is in the form of a folded cross-vault, with a shallow octagonal dome in the centre decorated

Plate 158. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Mosque of Abū'l-ʿAwn. Mihrab.

with shallow flutes. On the east side there are three doorways with tall pointed arches which open into the three barrel-vaulted cells. In the walls on either side there are rectangular niches which may have functioned as cupboards or bookshelves. The south wall contains the mihrab flanked by two rectangular windows. It is set within a frame with a slightly pointed arch. The arch is emphasised by a lightly incised band of cushion voussoirs. The niche itself has a shallow (0.5m) concave form with an arched hood. The transition from the sides of the niche to the hood is marked by a band of shallow *muqarnas* with stylised vegetal decoration.

Locally the mosque is known as Jāmiʿ Abū'l-ʿAwn which associates it with the fifteenth-century spiritual leader, Shams al-Dīn Abū'l-ʿAwn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, who is known to have come from Jaljūliyya (al-ʿUlaymī cited in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 37). It is also known that he was the benefactor of the shrine of Sīdnā ʿAlī at Arsūf and that he was buried in Ramla at a mosque which also bears his name (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 29) The architecture of the Jaljūliyya mosque is consistent with a fifteenth or early sixteenth century date. The small rooms to the east of the prayer hall may be paralleled with the side rooms in the mosque in Ramla and may be connected with his dervish activities

The Khān

Location 1453.1736

The khān stands on the opposite side of the road from Jāmiʿ Abū'l-ʿAwn (Fig. 55, Plates 159–162). It was built in the early fourteenth century by Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz, the governor of Damascus 1312–1340 (Maqrīzī cited in al-Nuʿaymī 1894–1895, III, 315 n.126). An inscription incorporated into the nearby tomb of Nabī Yamīn may record this event, although it may refer to some other construction (Mayer 1933, 219–20;

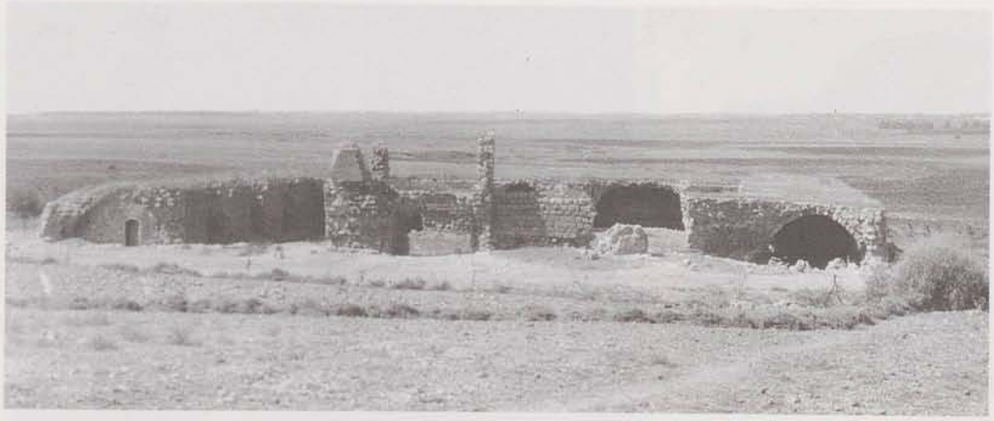


Plate 159. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). khān from east (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 160. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). General view of khān.

Meinecke 1992, II, 185 No.406). The caravanserai was still functioning in the sixteenth century when it was mentioned in an Imperial Ottoman *firmān* (Heyd, 1960, 110). In the nineteenth century it was seen by Guérin who described it as a beautiful khān with a (ruined) polygonal minaret (*Samarie*, II, 368).

The khān is a large square enclosure (more than 50m per side) surrounded by vaulted galleries. With the exception of a fragment of the gateway, most of the east side facing the road has been destroyed. A photograph taken in the 1920s (PAM 1204) gives a number of clues about the original design of the gateway. The entrance passage was covered with a tall barrel-vault made out of rubble stones set in mortar. Directly above the entrance was the minaret noted by Guérin. Traces of the minaret are still visible, including the robbed out remains of a staircase. The photograph also indicates that the gateway projected outwards from the face of the khān. This was confirmed by an examination of the remains.

The best preserved exterior face of the khān is on the north side (the south and east sides are overgrown or covered in rubble). The wall is built of roughly squared limestone blocks, the gaps being filled with wedges for mortar (now mostly washed out). There are no windows in the wall and the only features are narrow buttresses with sloping sills which occur at approximately 8m (similar to Khān al-Idham (sp.) at Ramla). The wall stands an average height of 5m above the current ground level.

The interior of the khān consists of three continuous vaulted galleries with no visible divisions into individual rooms (as at the Ramla khān). The walls are built of squared blocks up to the springing of the vaults which are made out of small rubble stone set in mortar. At intervals of approximately 5m there were projecting stone brackets or corbels from which arched ribs would spring (some of these have survived *in situ*). In the middle of the north range there is a break in the line of the vault with another vault intersecting at right angles. This, together with a projection in the courtyard wall, suggests an entrance from the courtyard at this point. This arrangement was probably mirrored on the other three sides, although not

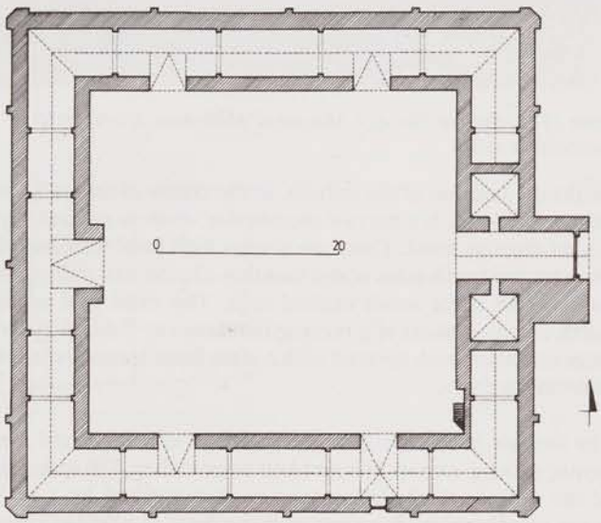


Fig. 55. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Caravanserai restored plan.

Plate 161. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Detail of vault.

Plate 162. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Caravanserai, second entrance.

enough survives to establish this interpretation with certainty. The courtyard is entirely overgrown and it is not possible to detect any features within, although Ritter (1866, 249) noted that there was 'a great round well' in the centre.

Old Mosque (Jāmiʿ al-ʿUmarī)

Location 1453.1737

This building stood approximately 100m north of the khān, next to the Qalqīliyya–Rās al-ʿAyn road (Figs 52 and 56, Plate 163). Unfortunately it was destroyed some time after 1948 and all that remains is a stretch of wall at the back of a metal-working shop. The wall (2m long and 1.5m high) is built out of large squared limestone blocks laid in rough courses. Fortunately, it is possible to identify this as part of the north

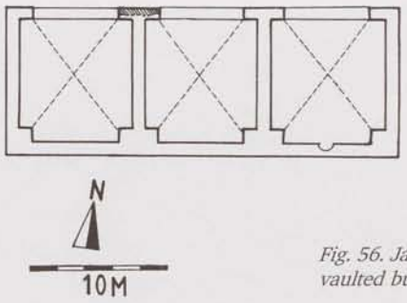


Fig. 56. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Plan of vaulted building.

Plate 163. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Jāmiʿ al-ʿUmari. Iwan (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

face of the building from a photograph taken in 1933. The building is not mentioned by Guérin or other nineteenth-century writers, although it is clearly an ancient structure. It was first mentioned in a report by Baramki (PAM Baramki 19.6.42) which describes the structure as follows:

> The... building is composed of three cross-vaulted chambers facing north. Two appear to be ordinary rooms, but the third, which is further east is a mosque with a mihrab. There is a tradition in the village that it is of the same date as the adjoining khān.

Later the building was mentioned in a series of reports by Ory in connection with the construction of a new road between Rās al-ʿAyn and Qalqīliyya. The first report, dated 16.7.42, states:

Plate 164. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Well next to mosque (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 165. Jaljūliyya (No. 61). Shaykh's Tomb.

> ... inside curve [of road] building of three cross-vaulted halls. W. chamber is in a ruinous condition. E. chamber has a mihrab and was evidently used for prayer but is actually filled with straw and filth which made it difficult of close inspection.

A later report, dated 27.3.43 states: '... all damage to the three chambered building with mihrab at Jaljūliyya has been avoided.'

Regretably, a few years later the building was destroyed when an army checkpoint was established at the site.

Well and cistern

Location 1454.1733

This installation was located approximately 10m west of Jāmiᶜ Abū'l-ᶜAwn. The only extant remains are a set of ten steps at the road side. The installation comprised a rectangular birkat approached by a set of steps attached to a cylindrical well covered with an pointed arch (Fig. 152, Plate 164). The west wall and corners of the cistern were destroyed in 1942 during the construction of the Rās al-ᶜAyn–Qalqīliyya road. The rest of the cistern and the well were destroyed some time subsequently.

Shaykh's tomb

Location 1454.1730

This ruined structure is located on the south bank of the Nahal Qara (Hb.) (Wādī Musharra (sp.)) approximately 400m south of Jaljūliyya. Unfortunately, the vault or dome has collapsed leaving four piers of the springing of a vault exposed. Within this ruined structure there is a square box-like concrete hut covering the tomb (Plate 165).

References: ATQ/296; Baramki (archive report); Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 37, 340; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 368–369; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Heyd 1960, 110; *HG*, 140; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 104 and II, 82, 210; Marmadji 1951, 166; Mayer 1933a, 219–220; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 29, 37; Meinecke 1992, II, 185 No.406; *MPF*, 92 No.20; al-Nuᶜaymī translation Sauvaire, III, 315 n.126; Ory (archive report); Palmer 1881, 230; PAM Baramki 19.6.42; PAM Ory 16.7.42, 26.7.42. 10–11.8.42, 6.11.42, 27.12.42, 27.3.43; Petersen 1996; Pringle 1997, 52 No.112; Ritter 1866, 249; *RRH*, 286, no.1100 [C.E. 1241] Singer 1994, 77; *SWP*, II, 288–299 (map XIV); *TIR* 128.

62. Jaᶜthūn (Khirbat)

Visited 8.91
Location 1684.2686
33.01N/35.12E

Khirbat Jaᶜthūn (Hb. Ga'aton) is located on a hill above the confluence of two wadis which unite to form the Ga'aton river. The hill forms an elongated oval shape aligned east–west, with a farmstead at the west end and a maqām at the east end.

The settlement of Ga'aton is mentioned in Talmudic sources as representing one of the borders of the Holy Land (Abel 1967,

Plate 166. Jaᶜthūn (No. 62). General view.

I, 307; *TIR*, 125). During the Crusader period the site was known as Jazon (also Jasson, Ihazon, Jashon). It was held as part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until ca. 1283 (Frankel 1988, 259). A village called Jaʿthūn in the *nāḥiya* ʿAkka (Acre) is recorded in the 1596 *daftar*. The settlement contained 11 households (*khāna*) and the taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, fruit trees, cotton, 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees', meadow land, and a water mill (*ṭāḥūn*) (*HG*, 192). The Italian traveller, Mariti, who visited Jaʿthūn in the eighteenth century described it as containing gardens with fruit trees belonging to the shaykh of Jiddīn (Mariti 1769–1776, II, 157–158). Guérin who visited the area in the 1870s described a walled village of about fifty people (*Galilée*, II, 48). The site continued to be inhabited until 1948 when it was abandoned. The principal standing remains at the site consist of the farmhouse, a maqām, and at least two mills.

Farmhouse

This is the largest building on the site, it consists of a large rectangular walled courtyard (75m x 45m) with rooms arranged around the sides (Plate 166). The complex has obviously developed over time and there are at least four phases of construction. The earliest parts are characterised by thick-walled construction with large square piers and cross-vaults, the second stage by the addition of flying buttresses, and the third stage by thin-walled buildings roofed with wood and mud roofs resting on transverse arches. The fourth phase comprises the addition of a second storey to the southern wing (which is roofed with red/orange Marseilles tiles). The earliest phase should perhaps be attributed to the eighteenth century or earlier on the basis of the resemblance to the buildings at the neighbouring site of Jiddin. The third phase with the thin walls and transverse arches may be the houses seen by Guérin in the 1870s (and therefore of mid nineteenth century date). The construction of the fourth phase with Marseilles tiles may be dated to a period from the late nineteenth century until 1921 (the tiles are visible in a photograph taken in this year). For a full description of the building, see Petersen 1995).

Maqām

This structure is located amidst trees at the east end of the site. A number of graves in the vicinity suggest that the area developed as a cemetery.

The maqam consists of two parts, a domed chamber and an outer room (Fig. 57, Plate 167). The outer room is approximately square (6.66m x 6.54m) with a niche in the east wall and a tree in the middle. This room was probably entered through a doorway on the north side, however because

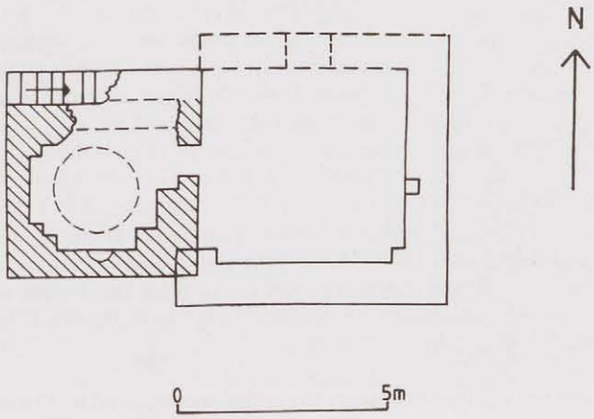


Fig. 57. Jaʿthūn (No. 62). Plan of Shaykh's Tomb.

Plate 167. Jaʿthūn (No. 62). Maqām west side.

Plate 168. Jaʿthūn (No. 62). Maqām interior.

the north wall is now in ruins, the exact position of the original entrance is uncertain. It is not clear whether this room was ever roofed although traces of piers in the south-west, south-east, and north-east corners suggest that it may have been covered with a cross-vault. The outer room was certainly built later than the inner room as can be seen from the butt joint in the south-west corner.

The inner chamber is entered through a low doorway in the south wall of the outer room. Half of the dome has survived although the eastern part has collapsed. The dome was supported by spherical pendentives resting on shallow arches springing from corner piers. In the south wall the top part of a mihrab can be seen although the lower part is below the current floor level. On the outside a set of stairs runs up the north wall to the roof.

The date of construction is not known although the use of spherical pendentives rather than squinches suggest an Ottoman date.

Mills

Traces of three mill races can be detected in the vicinity of Khirbat Jaʿthūn. The mills themselves have disappeared although one of the chimneys survives to the north of the farmhouse. The location of the mills and mill races have been plotted by Frankel (forthcoming).

References: Abel 1967, I, 307; Frankel 1988, 259; Frankel (forthcoming); Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 48; *HG*, 152; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 157–158; Palmer 1881, 48; Petersen 1995; *SWP*, I, 154, 176 (map III); *TIR* 125.

63. Jazīl al-Khiyām (Khirbat)

Visited 10.91
Location 1285.1472
31.55N/34.46E

This site (Hb. Ayanot) is located on the east side of the main road between Yibnā and Jaffa.

The structure comprises a domed well and a rectangular cistern and was known as Sabīl Shāhīn Aghā (Plates 169–171). The well has a cylindrical shaft with the well-head made of a stone vault pierced with two rectangular holes. Above the stone arch is a broken domical-vault made of earthenware jars (for a discussion of this method of construction, see Petersen 1994). On the south side of the well is a waterspout which feeds into the adjacent cistern. The plastered cistern is rectangular (approximately 4m x 6m). It is noticeable that the cistern and well-head are not bonded together, indicating that they were built separately (it is likely that the cistern was built later). The use of ceramic vaulting tubes indicates a late eighteenth or nineteenth century date for construction for the well (cf. Petersen 1994). This is confirmed by a report on the Mandate Files (PAM File) which states that it was alleged to have been built at the time of 'ᶜArabī Pasha' and is contemporaneous with Sabīl Abū Nabbūt, near Jaffa.

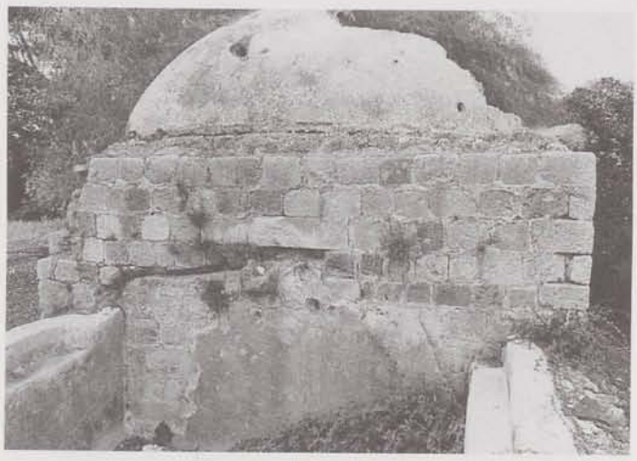


Plate 169. Jazīl al-Khiyām (No. 63). View of well.

Plate 170. Jazīl al-Khiyām (No. 63). Well, detail of dome.

Plate 171. Jazīl al-Khiyām (No. 63). View of cistern.

References: Oren in EJ, III, 944; PAM File; Petersen 1994.

64. Jisr Banāt Yaᶜqūb

Visited 9.91
Location 2090.2685
33.01N/35.57E

This bridge was located to the north of the Sea of Galilee about 20km north-east of Ṣafad.

The west side of the bridge is in Israel and the east side is in Syria (at present Israeli-occupied Golan). At the east end of the bridge there is a large Mamluk khān with a French Mandate period police post inside (this building does not form part of the present study). To the south of the west end of the bridge are the remains of the Crusader castle of Le Chastelez/ Vadum Iacob (Ar. Qaṣr al-ᶜAthra) (Pringle, 1997, 85 No.174), and several mills.

The bridge was part of the ancient road (*Via Maris*) linking Damascus with Cairo (for a concise history of the bridge, see Sourdel-Thomine in *EI2*, II, 555). During the Crusader period the crossing was a ford known as *Vadum Jacob* (Jacob's ford) from which the Crusaders would launch attacks on lands east of the Jordan. In 1178 Baldwin IV built the castle of Le Chastelet to protect the crossing although it was razed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn a year later (William of Tyre 1976, II, 437, 444). A bridge must have been constructed some time before 1266 C.E. because a 'Jisr Yaᶜqūb, one stage (*marḥala*) from Safad', is mentioned by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir describing events in that year (Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir ed. al-Khuwaytir, 257; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 116 and II, 91). The same bridge is recorded by al-Dimashqī writing in ca. 1300 (ed. Mehren, 107). This bridge became the most frequently used crossing between Syria and Palestine with tolls payable to the Governor of Damascus. A merchant constructed a large khān near to the bridge, as part of a series of similar structures before 1444 (al-Nuᶜaymī translation Sauvaire, VI, 262). In the sixteenth century there was a toll post at the bridge which in the year 963 H. (1555–1556 C.E.) collected the sum of 25,000 *aqja* (Lewis 1954, 497; and see Cohen and Lewis 1978, 165–166). A *firmān* dated 985 H. (1577 C.E.) commanded that post horses be stationed at Jisr Yaᶜqūb (Heyd 1960, 126–127). Throughout the Ottoman period the road from Aleppo to Cairo continued to cross the Jordan on this bridge (for instance, see al-Nābulsī cited in Hartmann 1910, 700. See also Volney 1959, 323).

In the late eighteenth century the bridge was repaired by Aḥmad Jazzār Pāsha, governor of Acre. A few years later, in 1799, this was the furthest point reached by Napoleon's troops who defeated a Turkish brigade at the bridge. The Ottomans added

a fourth arch to the bridge in 1904 (*EI2*, II, 555). The bridge was finally destroyed by Jewish colonists draining the Hūla marshland in 1934.

An account of Jisr Banāt Yaʿqūb is given by Conder and Kitchener (*SWP*, I, 206–207) and by other nineteenth-century travellers, but the best description of the bridge is given by Creswell. He writes:

> A bridge of four arches, of which the first commencing from the west end is of good masonry, the second has been blown up, the third resembles the first, and the fourth of wider span is braced from side to side by two tie-bars with S-ends and must be quite modern. The masonry of the first and third arches is of fair sized blocks, many of which have rusticated centres and drafted edges. The stone has taken a pale golden-brown tint. The arches have a median joint. Between the first arch and the west bank there are irregularities in the masonry, but elsewhere it appears to be uniform. The masonry, of fine large blocks, of the first arch is not carried right through, the lining of the tunnel being of smaller stones. There are two 'V' shaped piers on the north side, but where the third would be there is a long spit of land rendering a third less necessary. That part of the bridge above the fourth arch is narrower than the last. The parapet is modern, and is built of small blocks of black basalt. (PAM File Creswell).

At present the remains of the bridge consist of a few stubs of masonry projecting from the river bank.

Plate 172. Jisr Banāt Yaʿqūb (No. 64). Mill.

Mill
Visited 9.91
Location 2090.2677
This mill is located on the river bank immediately to the south of the Crusader castle of Le Chastelet (Plate 172).

Although there are several mills in the immediate vicinity of Jisr Banāt Yaʿqūb, only one of them is on the west bank of the Jordan and therefore included in the present work.

The mill is a rectangular building (approximately 10m x 5m) with three chutes set at an angle of 45 degrees (only two remain intact) feeding into it from the north. Each chute is a stone-built channel approximately 8m long, 0.15m wide and 0.2m deep. The chutes fed into the lower part of the building implying that it was a Norse type mill. The upper part of the building had a flat roof resting on three or more transverse arches. The lower part of the building comprised three barrel-vaulted tunnels for the water outlet. There appear to be at least two phases of construction. It is suggested that the latest phase belongs to the late Ottoman period and that the earlier phases may be medieval (post-Crusader).

References: Baedeker 1876, 387; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 78; Cohen and Lewis 1978, 165–166; Dimashqī ed. Mehren, 107; Sourdel-Thomine in *EI2*, II, 555; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Hartmann 1918; Heyd 1960, 123 n.3, 126–127, 159 n.2; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir ed. al-Khuwaytir, 257; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 116 and II, 91; Le Strange 1890, 53; Lewis 1954, 497; Marmadji 1951, 7; al-Nuʿaymī translation Sauvaire, VI, 262; Palmer 1881, 76; PAM File Creswell; Pringle 1997, 85 No.174; Robinson 1841, III, 361; Stekelis and Picard 1936–1937; *SWP*, I, 206–207, 217 (map IV); William of Tyre 1976, II, 437, 444; Volney 1959, 256, 323.

65. Jisr Jindās

Visited 17.12.91
Location 1408.1529
31.58N/34.55E

This bridge crosses a small wadi, now known as the Nahal Ayalon (Hb.), on the old road between Ramla and Lydda (Plates 173–176).

This is the most famous of several bridges erected by Sultan Baybars in Palestine (see also Yibnā and Isdūd). The bridge was first studied by Clermont-Ganneau in the late nineteenth century (*ARP*, II, 110–115). The bridge was also visited by Conder and Kitchener who gave a brief report (*SWP*, II, 251). Soon after World War 1 the bridge was inspected by Creswell who wrote a report on the bridge for the Department of Antiquities. In 1936 Norburn, an engineer employed by the Palestine Works Department, wrote a structural report on the bridge (Figs 58–59). Two years later P.L.O. Guy used the findings of this report in a study of the bridge and its conservation in relation to soil erosion. The report was published posthumously (Guy 1954).

The bridge rests on three pointed arched vaults, supported by two central piers and abutments embedded in the river bank. The central arch is wider (6.6m) than the other arches (5.2m) with an elevation of 3.25m above the springing. The bridge is over 30m long, 10m wide, and runs from north to south. The west side of the bridge has two triangular cutwaters to divert the flow of the river away from the piers. At the north and south ends are abutments (not visible at present) protected by stone revetments. Although the bridge is medieval, it has a

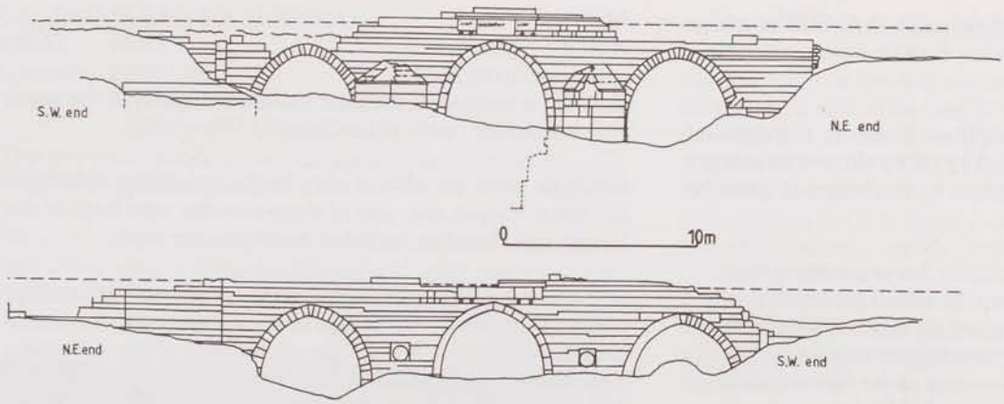


Fig. 58. Jisr Jindās (No. 65). Elevations.

modern road on top, resting on a 'reinforced concrete mat' laid down in 1936. Creswell, who visited the bridge before 1936, described the road as follows: '... the width of the causeway is about 17 paces. It rises slightly towards the centre and is paved with stone slabs about a third of a metre square' (PAM Creswell).

On the west and east faces of the bridge are nearly identical inscriptions flanked by two lions (or leopards) and surmounted by a cornice. The inscription on the east face reads as follows:

> *Bismallāh*..., and blessings on our lord Muhammad, his family and all his companions. The building of this blessed bridge was ordered by our master, the great Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars, ibn ʿAbd Allāh, in the time of his son our Lord Sulṭān al-Malik al-Saʿīd Nāṣir al-Dīn Baraka Khān, may Allāh glorify their victories and grant them His grace. And that, under the direction of the humble servant aspiring to the mercy of Allāh. ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Suwwāq, may Allāh grant grace to him and his parents, in the month of Ramaḍān, the year 671 H. [March–April 1273 C.E.] (based on translation in *RCEA*, XII, No.4660).

The inscription on the west side differs in a few details, but is essentially the same although it carries no date (see *RCEA*, XII, No.4661). ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Suwwāq is the same official who was charged with the construction of the Great Mosque at Lydda three years earlier (see Lydda). The mention of Baybars' son was part of the process of *taqlīd* by which the sultan invested his son with royal power, an event which had occurred some four years earlier (Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 112; and for a discussion of this term, see Schacht in *EI*, IV, 629–631). Either side of the inscription on both sides of the bridge are low relief depictions of lions. In each case the lion is shown in profile with his head turned forwards and a small creature between its front paws. The lion or panther was a symbol of Baybars and appears on a number of other buildings associated with his reign (cf. Creswell *MAE*, II, 150–154; see also Mayer 1933a, 106–110). Below each lion are the ends of two thin (diameter 0.2m) marble columns projecting approximately 0.1m from the face of the bridge.

There is a considerable build up of silt on the eastern side of the bridge which has effectively blocked the southern arch. This process was noted by Norburn who wrote in his 1937 report that: 'the wadi bed has risen considerably since the building of the bridge, especially at the S.W. end where the silt is 1.5 metres above the springing of the arches... under the N.E. arch which now takes the main flow of water; the bed is

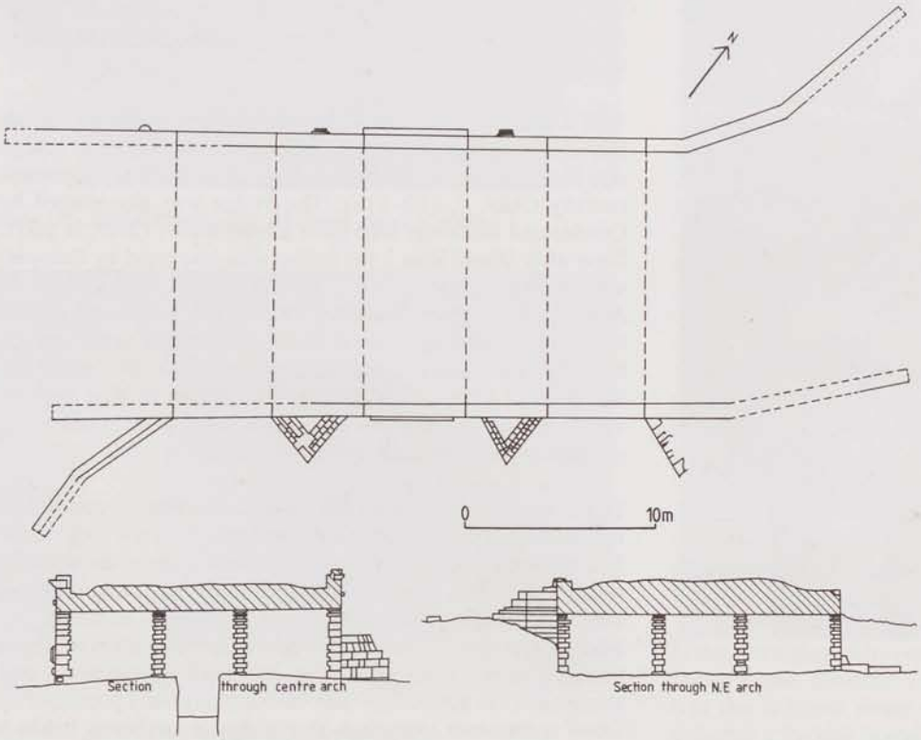


Fig. 59. Jisr Jindās (No. 65). Plan and sections.

Plate 173. Jisr Jindās (No. 65). Cutwaters.

Plate 174. Jisr Jindās (No. 65). Detail of lions.

about at springing line of the arch' (PAM Norburn 5.6.37). Essentially the situation has remained unchanged since 1937, probably as a result of decreased water flow in the wadi and the process of afforestation which has restricted soil erosion.

The large quantities of reused Crusader masonry in the structure led Clermont-Ganneau to the conclusion that it was built out of material from the demolished Crusader church. More specifically he states that: '... the central arch of the bridge, at any rate, is simply one of the arches of the church indifferently set up' (*ARP*, II, 117). This view is based on the use of a median joint instead of a keystone on the east side, a technique often associated with Crusader architecture. Creswell, however, argues that the use of a median joint and a keystone in the same structure: '... deprives the distinction of all relevance despite the stress which Clermont-Ganneau has laid upon it' (PAM Creswell). In addition, the west face contains several pieces of reused Roman material, such as two blocks carved with *tabula ansata* (either side of the central arch), two column bases set into the central piers, and various fragments of marble columns.

Although it is known from an inscription that the bridge was built in 1273 C.E. (see above) there is evidence of an earlier bridge on the same site. This was first noticed by Clermont-Ganneau who wrote: 'I discovered inside one of the small lateral arches... the remains of a ruined arch of still earlier date... the keystone must have been more than 13 feet below the intrados of the ogival arch which surmounts it at the present day' (*ARP*, II, 117). These observations were confirmed by Norburn's report in which he states:

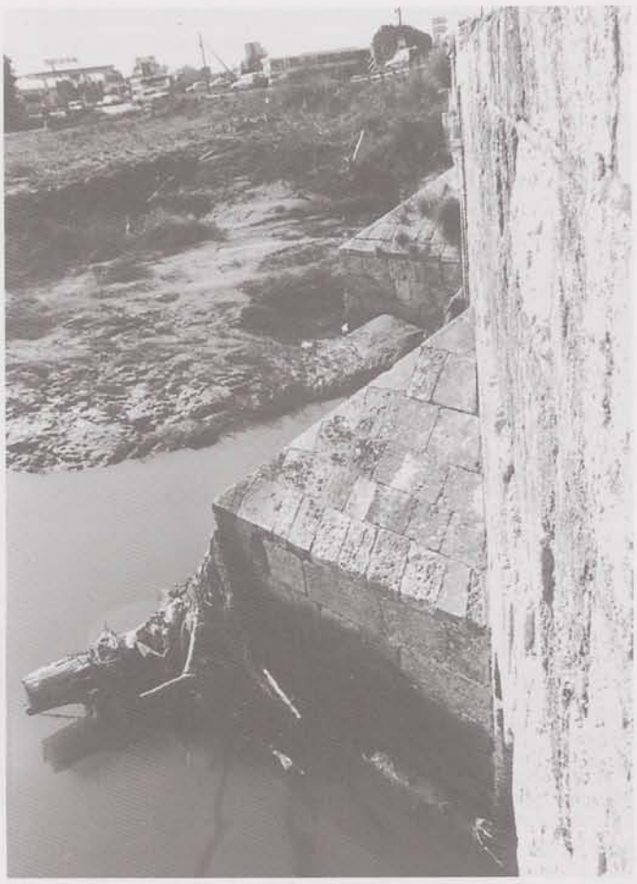


Plate 175. Jisr Jindās (No. 65). Detail of cutwaters.

Plate 176. Jisr Jindās (No. 65). Lions and re-used column base.

In the N.E. arch the lower courses project, indicating the possible existence of earlier work on a different alignment, but I was unable to dig here owing to water in the wadi. I had an excavation made under the centre arch opposite this projection, and at level 39.40 found a rubble mass on which the masonry rests. This corresponds in level to the rubble found next the N.W. cut-water during a former sounding. At level 38.00 a masonry facing was found which was opened up over an area of 2.00 x 1.50, and of which a survey and photographs were made. Records of all the information are incorporated in the drawings, and indicate that this pier at least, rests upon the pier of an earlier bridge, but which is not in the same alignment, possibly it was the centre of a large two arched bridge. The Director of Antiquities inspected this

and suggested that this was the remnant of a bridge of classical date, and that the arabic bridge was raised on the levelled off rubble core of the former structure. (PAM Norburn 5.6.37).

Further clarification of the history of the bridge must await the excavation of the mud lying up against the abutments on both the west and east sides.

References (for additional citations, see Lydda): Clermont-Ganneau 1887; Clermont-Ganneau 1888, 305–310; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 110–118, 470; Creswell, *MAE*, II, 152, Fig.81; Guérin, *Judée*, I, 322; Guy 1954, 77–87; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Mayer 1933a, 109; Meinecke 1992, II, 157; Palmer 1881, 215; PAM Creswell; PAM Norburn 5.6.37; *RCEA*, XII, Nos.4660, 4661; *SWP*, II, 251, 264–265 (map XIII).

66. Jisr al-Majāmīᶜ

Visited 11.93, 8.95
Location 2032.2256
32.37N/35.33E

The ancient bridge and khān are located on the Jordan, 20km north-east of Baysān and several hundred metres south of the confluence of the Yarmūk and Jordan rivers. At this point in its course, the east bank of the river is in Jordan and the west bank is in Israel. There is also a modern (Mandate period) road bridge crossing the river at this point obscuring the south side of the ancient bridge from view. The discovery of a Roman milestone makes it quite likely that there was a river crossing here in the Roman period. A rather fanciful explanation of the name of the bridge was recorded by Consul Finn in the nineteenth century which stated that it took its name from '... a contest of forty poets who here contended in verse for the love of an Arab maiden' (PAM Anon. 27.3.25). It seems more likely that the name, *majāmīᶜ* (according to Wehr 1989, 160: 'pl. place or point of union') describes the confluence of the Jordan and Yarmūk rivers ca. 200m further north. During the Mandate period there was a small village at the site although all trace of this has now disappeared. At present the Israelis are developing their side of the river as a tourist area although access to the bridge itself and the adjacent khān are prohibited on grounds of security.

The Bridge

The bridge comprises a large central arch and three side arches (Fig. 60, Plates 177–180). The central arch is much higher than the other arches and gives the bridge a pronounced hump. The entire structure is approximately 70m long, with a height of over 10m above water level at the centre. In addition to the main side arches there are six smaller arches at a higher level (four on the west side and two on the east) which may be designed to reduce pressure on the fabric of the bridge during times of flood. The central arch is the only one which has a permanent stream underneath. The other arches are presumably only used during times of high water when the level can reach up to 2.5m below the apex of the bridge (this occurred for example on 30.1.40). At the west end of the bridge there is a slight realignment towards the north-west.

The central arch is built of high quality dressed basalt masonry with large voussoirs forming the arch. An important feature of the arch, first noted by Creswell (PAM Creswell), is that the entire under surface of the vault is built out of voussoirs rather than rubble, as is the case in comparable bridges (cf. Jisr Banāt Yaᶜqūb or Jisr Jindās). On either side of the central arch there is a break in the masonry and the bridge continues in smaller roughly dressed blocks with wide mortar-filled joints.

An anonymous letter, written by a member of the Department of Antiquities in 1925 (PAM Anon.), states that the bridge was first built in the Roman period and subsequently repaired several times until it received its present form.

Possibly the earliest mention of a bridge at the site is by al-Muqaddasī writing in the tenth century who described: 'a large bridge on the route to Damascus' (1906, 161). However, it seems more likely that the author was referring to the Jisr al-Sidd further north (Muqaddasī ed. Miquel, 178 n.137). To the Crusaders the bridge was known as 'Pont de la Judaire' and to the Arabs it was known as Jisr Usāma after the man who (re)built it, Usāma al-Ḥalabī, an amir of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Sauvaget, 1941, 73 n.291). In 664 H. (1266–1267 C.E.) during the rule of Sultan Baybars the bridge was repaired by Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Nahār al-Mihmandār al-Ṣāliḥī (Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir ed. al-Khuwaytir, 246; Meinecke 1992, II, 22 No.86). The fourteenth-century source, al-ᶜUmarī, notes that there was a newly-

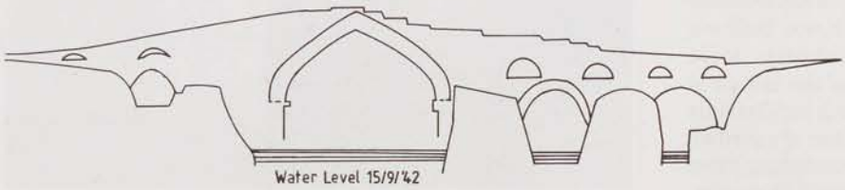


Fig. 60. Jisr al-Majāmīᶜ (No. 66). Sketch of bridge.

Plate 177. Jisr al-Majāmīᶜ (No. 66). View of bridge.

Plate 178. Jisr al-Majāmiʿ (No. 66). View from west.

Plate 179. Jisr al-Majāmiʿ (No. 66). View of khān.

renovated stop (*markaz*) on the route from Baysān to Irbid called al-Mujāmiʿ, also known as Jisr Usāma (ed. Shams al-Din, 248).

It will only be possible to give an accurate idea of the bridge by careful analysis of the existing structure combined with further examination of the historical texts. For the moment it can be said that the structure is of at least two periods: the first period represented by the east and west sides of the bridge, and the second period represented by the central arch. It seems feasible that the first period corresponds with the medieval bridge and that the central arch represents a later, possibly sixteenth-century, repair.

The Khān

The khān is located on the bank of the river a few metres north of the west end of the bridge.

Although at present the remains of the khān are thickly overgrown ruins, the square outline of the building is clearly

Plate 180. Jisr al-Majāmiʿ (No. 66). North-west corner of khān.

visible. The masonry employed is similar to that used in the lateral arches of the bridge (i.e. small roughly squared basalt stones with thick mortar joints). On the north-east side of the square is a ruined tower two storeys high and to the east are two open arches which lead into a vaulted hall.

In the nineteenth century the building was described by Conder and Kitchener (*SWP*, II, 116) as '... a large square building with vaults beneath, still in a good state of preservation'. An R.A.F aerial photograph taken in 1925 shows the khān and bridge with the surrounding village (PAM File). The north-east, north-west, and south-east sides of the khān appear to be well preserved although the south-west range seems more fragmentary. A large doorway can be seen in the middle of the south-east side which may have been the main gate. In the middle of the north-west side of the khān a tower can be seen which may correspond with that visible today.

As with the bridge, the date of the khān can only really be established through a systematic archaeological survey. Generally however, it may be said that the khān is of similar date to the first period of the bridge although it may subsequently have been enlarged or partially rebuilt. The evidence of al-ʿUmarī (d.1348) suggests that a post station already existed at al-Mujāmiʿ, between Baysān and Zaḥar, (and on to Irbid) which was recently built up (perhaps converted into a full-sized khān).

References: Baedeker 1876, 338; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 285; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir ed. al-Khuwaytir, 246; Kareem 1992, 125; Le Strange 1890, 53, 335; Marmadji 1951, 7; Meinecke 1992, II, 22, No.86; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 168; Muqaddasī ed. Miquel, 178, n.137; Palmer 1881, 161; PAM Anon. 27.3.25, PAM Creswell; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, XIV, 380 (quoting al-ʿUmarī); *SWP*, II, 116 (map IX); Sauvaget 1941, 73; al-ʿUmarī ed. Shams al-Din, 248.

67. Jisr al-Sidd/ Umm al-Qanāṭir/ Umm al-Qanāṭir

Visited —
Location 2035.2345
32.42N/35.33E

This bridge crossed the river Jordan at Degania (Hb.) approximately 1km south of the Sea of Galilee (Fig. 61, Plate 181).

A bridge is mentioned on or near this site as early as the end of the tenth century by the writer Muqaddasī: 'at the bottom of the Lake [Tiberias] is a magnificent bridge (*jisr ʿaẓīm*) on the

Plate 181. Jisr al-Sidd (No. 67). Remains of bridge piers (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

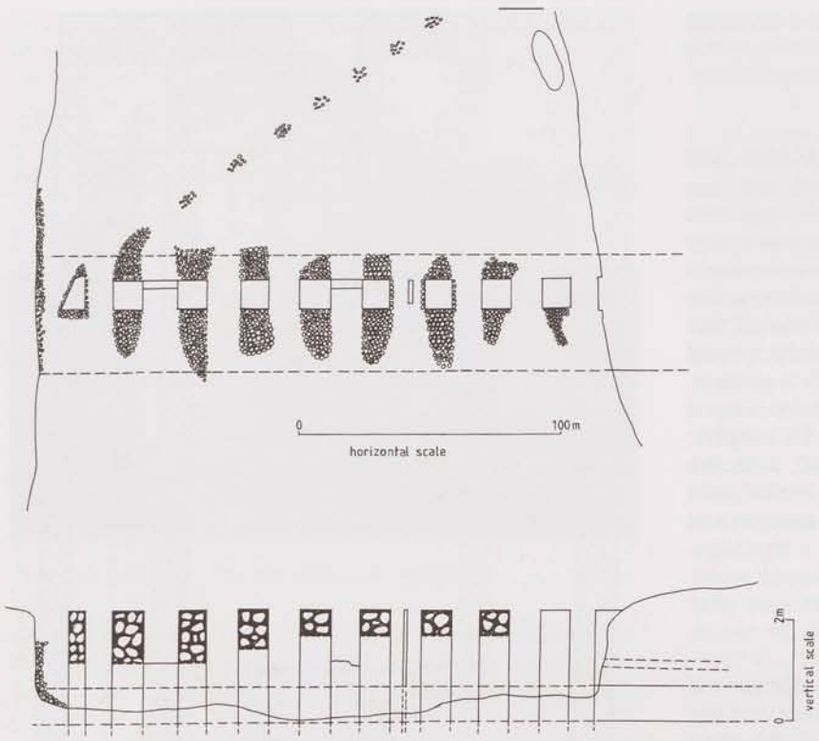


Fig. 61. Jisr al-Sidd (No. 67). Plan and section of bridge.

Damascus road' (ed. de Goeje, 161). In the Mandate Files the bridge is referred to as Umm al-Qanāṭir (PAM File 189. This is also the term used by Guérin who visited the site in the 1870s. See *Galilée*, I, 282), whilst there is a separate entry for Jisr al-Sidd. An examination of the records indicates that they were probably the same structure. The identification of this structure with Jisr al-Sidd is based on the similarity of the grid references, similar descriptions and the design of the bridge.

Although the bridge has now entirely disappeared, it is possible to reconstruct something of the form of the structure from earlier accounts and records held in the Mandate archive (PAM File).

This structure was described in the unpublished notes of the Survey of Western Palestine as a: 'ruined bridge of five arches over the Jordan; [with] pointed arches [and] Saracenic masonry'. In 1920 there was an application to remove the bridge on the grounds that it obstructed the free flow of the river and so aggravated the effects of flooding. The letter (PAM File 26.7.20) states that: 'the waters overflow the low lying banks, and stay that way on to the early months of summer; thus becoming a breeding place of mosquitoes, causing malaria in these neighbourhoods'. As a result of the application to remove the bridge, Lee-Warner, an assistant custodian of Antiquities, was sent to inspect the remains. The inspector's report gave a brief description of the remains as follows:

> The abutments appear to have formed an aqueduct, which at a later period has been used as a bridge. There are ten abutments at considerably closer intervals than is the case with an ordinary bridge and all stand clear of the water at a single level- equal to the banks, which are about 8 feet [1.5 metres] high. The abutments are composed of solid masonry at the base (squared stones, firmly cemented), but the condition of the upper portions is less sound (PAM Lee-Warner).

The description was followed by an assessment of the problems caused by the piers, with a recommendation that they not be removed until a new bridge had been built. The reason for this decision was that the piers of the bridge protected a vital pontoon bridge 150m to the south.

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 282; Le Strange 1890, 52, 335; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 161; Palmer 1881, 127, 136; PAM File 189; PAM Lee-Warner; PAM 26.7.20; *SWP*, I, 391 (map VI).

68. Jubb Yūsuf

Visited 10.4.94, BSAJ Survey 1988
Location 200.258
32.55N/35.32E

This site is located on the slopes of a hill approximately 20km north of Tiberias. Until 1948 there was a village at the site which has now been replaced by Kibbutz 'Ammiad (Khalidi 1992, 459–460). The principal remains at the site are a large caravanserai and a pit associated with Yūsuf (Biblical Joseph).

Arabic geographical texts of the ninth and tenth centuries mention the site as being a stop on some of the major routes through northern Palestine (Iṣṭakhrī ed. de Goeje, 59; Ibn Ḥawqal ed. de Goeje, 114; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 190–191). In the fifteenth century Jubb Yūsuf is mentioned as a stop on the route between Damascus and Ṣafad (al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 120). According to al-Harawī and Yāqūt, both writing in the early thirteenth century, the place was associated with Yūsuf. Both sources note that Sinjīl and Nāblus also claim to contain the well of Yūsuf (al-Harawī ed. Sourdel Thomine, 51; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, II, 18). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village contained 13 households (*khāna*) and was taxed for wheat, barley, fruit trees, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (HG, 175). According to the seventeenth-century traveller al-Nābulsī, the village had a handsome mosque next to the pit (cited in Khalidi 1992, 460). By the nineteenth century the village appears to have been deserted although the khān was still in use. In the early part of the twentieth century the village was resettled by the ʿArab al-Suyyad (sp.) tribe who built houses out of stone with mud-mortar (Khalidi 1992, 460). After the

abandonment of the village in 1948 Kibbutz 'Ammiad converted the land into orchards. In 1988 the khān was surveyed by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (Lee *et al.* 1992).

Yūsuf's Pit

According to Guérin (*Galilée*, I, 346–347) Yūsuf's pit was located on a hill to the north-east of the khān. This identification was followed by Conder and Kitchener (*SWP*, I, 234) and later writers (for instance Lee *et al.* 1992, 74). The feature is now covered with a domed canopy resting on four masonry piers (Plate 183). This identification seems, however, to be a late nineteenth century tradition. Before that period the pit was located much closer to the khān, probably under the vaulted cistern in the north-west corner. Evidence for this is given by the Swiss traveller, Burckhardt, who wrote as follows: 'Here is shown the well into which Joseph was let down by his brothers; it is in the courtyard by the side of the khan' (1822, 318). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa writing in the fourteenth century provides further proof when he states: 'the pits lie in the court of a small mosque, and are both large and deep' (1853–1858, I, 133).

The Khān

Visited 10.4.94
Location 200.258

The khān is located on flat grass-covered plateau. The date of construction is not known although it is likely to be of the Mamluk period. In the early Ottoman period the khān functioned as a toll post (Cohen and Lewis 1978, 166). In the summer of 1812 the khān was visited by Burckhardt who made the following observations: 'The khan is falling rapidly into ruin; near it is a large Birket... It is inhabited by a dozen Moggrebyn soldiers, with their families, who cultivate the field near it' (Burckhardt 1822, 318). In the latter part of the nineteenth century it was visited by Guérin who described it as fallen into ruin (*Galilée*, I, 346). However a few years later it was visited by Conder and Kitchener who described it as follows: 'It is still in very good repair, and is used as a resting-place by merchants on the road. Long vaults for stabling animals, with small dwelling rooms and places for prayer, are the principal points in the building' (*SWP*, I, 234).

The khān is built around a rectangular courtyard with an entrance in the middle of the north side (Fig. 62, Plate 182). The walls are generally built in alternate layers of black and white (ablaq) masonry, although in places the regular pattern disintegrates. The gateway leads into a passageway, 18m long, divided into a cross-vaulted section and a barrel-vaulted section. Either side of the gateway are small barrel-vaulted rooms and at the south-east end is a staircase leading to the roof. The north-west corner of the building contained a second courtyard surrounded by an enclosure wall (cf. plan in *SWP*, I, 234 and sketch by Dauzatz reproduced in Schiller n.d., 79; Lee *et al.* 1992, 81). To the south of this small courtyard there is a small barrel-vaulted mosque with a deep mihrab. On the west and east sides of the main courtyard there are long barrel-vaulted galleries, one of which (the western) has a right angle turn so that it also forms part of the southern wing of the building. The eastern barrel-vaulted gallery is subdivided into a number of smaller units by rubble walls of a later, probably nineteenth century date. The plan of Conder and Kitchener (*SWP*, I, 234) shows that both the east and west galleries were entered by doorways in the middle of the courtyard facades, although the west gallery had an additional doorway from the south. In the centre of the south side is another small mosque with a small side room to the east. At the north-east corner of the roof are the remains of a set of rooms which are now incomplete, although they would have presumably provided accommodation for travellers (see sketch by Dauzatz which shows three domed upper rooms). On the east side of the khān there is a large enclosure which was presumably used as a pen for animals.

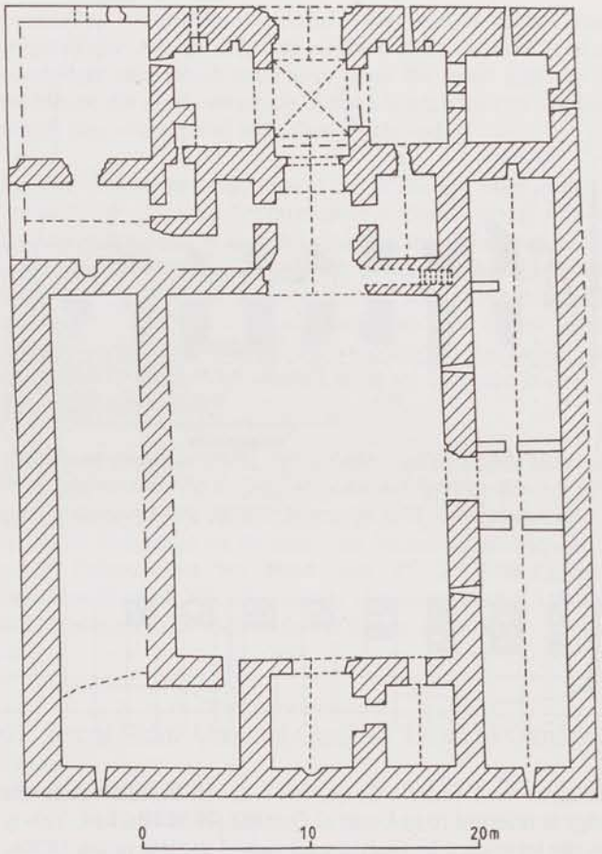


Fig 62. Jubb Yūsuf (No. 68). Plan of khān.

Plate 182. Jubb Yūsuf (No. 68). View of khān.

The khān was probably constructed some time after 1266 C.E. when the postal route from Ṣafad to Damascus was initiated (Sauvaget 1941, 26). The form of the khān with its long vaulted galleries and mosque opposite the entrance, is similar to other postal relay stations such as that near Bālis in Syria (Sauvaget 1941, 62 Fig.14). What is unusual about the Jubb Yūsuf khān is the second mosque and the pit in the north-east corner suggesting that the building also fulfilled a religious function.

References: Abū Shāma RHC OR, IV, 413; Baedeker 1876, 375; Burckhardt 1822, 318; Cohen and Lewis 1978, 166; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 346–349; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 51; Hartmann 1918; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti, I, 133; Ibn Ḥawqal ed. de Goeje, 114; Iṣṭakhrī ed. de Goeje, 59; Khalidi 1992, 459–460; Lee *et al.* 1992; Le Strange 1890, index; Marmadji 1951, 43; *MPF*, 65 No.29; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 190–191; Palmer 1881, 81; Robinson 1841, III, 316; Sauvaget 1941, 26,

Plate 183. Jubb Yūsuf (No. 68). Dome over Joseph's Pit.

62 Fig.14; Schiller n.d., 79; *SWP*, I, 217, 23–235 (map IV); Wilson 1884, III, 76, 88; Yāqūt ed Wustenfeld, II, 18; al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 120.

69. Jūlis

Visited 15.4.94
Location 1677.2608
32.56N/35.11E

The village of Jūlis is located in northern Galilee 12km east of Acre. The village stands on low hills at the edge of the coastal plain. The village is the seat of the spiritual leader of Israel's Druze community.

According to the 1596 *daftar* the village had a predominately Muslim (Druze?) population with a number of Jews (total population: 79 households). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', fruit trees, and 'goats and bees'. The village also had a press for olive oil or grape syrup (*HG*, 191). In the early part of the eighteenth century Jūlis was one of the major cotton producing villages in the area (Cohen 1973, 12). Later in the same century it was one of five villages in *nāḥiya* Sāḥil ʿAkka (Acre coast). These villages were owned directly by the governor of Acre and were exempt from the usual Ottoman taxes (Cohen 1973, 126, 133). In the nineteenth century Jūlis was described by Conder and Kitchener as '... a village built of stone containing about 200 Druzes, surrounded by olives and arable land' (*SWP*, I, 146). The present village is largely modern although there are a few older houses in the centre.

Maqām Shaykh al-Farsī

Location 1677.2608

This building is located to the south of the old village. The shrine is a modern religious complex which includes two older buildings; a square open area, formerly covered with a dome, and a domed area of equal size standing next to it. The open area contains two cenotaphs with modern inscriptions which record the life of Shaykh al-Farsī and give a date of death of 1167 H. (1753–1754 C.E.). The domed building is entered through a separate doorway on the north side. This building appears to be used as a prayer or meeting room. There is a large double window on the west side and a smaller window to the west of the door. There are several niches in this room but no indications of a mihrab. The dome appears to have been rebuilt recently and rests on shallow arched squinches (which themselves appear to be modern).

House

Location 1678.2611

There are several old houses in Jūlis all with similar features (including projecting corbel stairs, and transverse arches).

References: Cohen 1973, 12, 126, 133; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 8; *HG*, 191; Palmer 1881, 43; *SWP*, I, 146, 169 (map III).

K

70. Kabrī/ Kābrī

Location 163.268
33.01N/35.09E

The village of Kabrī was located to the east of Nahariyya. It was built on an ancient site with origins in the Bronze Age (Kempinski in *EAE*, III, 839–841). In Roman times it was referred to as Kabritha (*TIR*, 159). During the Crusader period the village was known as Le Quiebre and formed part of the lands belonging to Casal Imbert (al-Zib)(Frankel 1988, 264; *RRH* 1208[1253 C.E.] and 1250 [1256 C.E.]).

The 1596 *daftar* records a 'Kābrā' in *nāḥiya* ʿAkka (Acre) which may correspond to the present settlement. This village contained a population of 10 households (*khāna*) and the taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer-crops', cotton, and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 193). During the eighteenth century Kabrī was an important cotton producing village, as well as owning several mills and providing flour for Acre (Cohen 1973, 135). In the late nineteenth century the village had a population of 400 living in stone-built houses growing olives and cereal crops (*SWP*, I, 146). The village was destroyed after 1948 and the site is now occupied by the modern Israeli settlement of Kibbutz Kabri (Khalidi 1992, 20).

Mill (1)

Visited 9.91
Location 164.268
This structure is located amidst trees in a National Park south-east of Kabrī junction on route 70.

It consists of a long water channel running east–west and a rectangular building (mill house) at the end. The mill house has two chambers which appear to have been built at different times. The older of the two is on the north side and is roofed by a cross-vault mounted on four piers. The two piers nearest the southern chamber have the remains of the springing of a vault, indicating that there were originally two cross-vaulted chambers. The southern chamber is presently covered with the remains of a flat timber roof. There is a hole in the floor of the northern room exposing the vaulted water channel beneath.

Mill (2)

Visited 9.91
Location 163.268
This mill is located 1km due west of mill (1). The most visible part of this structure is the mill race which is carried on three tall arches before it enters the mill house. Only the back wall of the mill house survives.

Mill (3)

Visited 8.91
Location —
This building is located in a small park on the south side of the Nahariyya–Miʿilya (Hb.) road. The mill consists of a square mill house and a tall mill race carried on arches.

Birkat

Visited 8.91
Location —
This structure stands approximately 50m north of al-Tal. The birkat is of similar design to Birkat al-Mafshūkh (see al-Tal), consisting of a rectangle with a semi-circular extension at one end (Plate 184). The birkat has been modified for modern agricultural use.

References: Cohen 1973, 135, 317; Kempinski in *EAE*, III, 839–841; Oren in *EJ*, X, 657; Frankel 1988, 264; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 31–33; *HG*, 193; Kempinski and Niemer 1994; Khalidi 1992, 19–20; Palmer 1881, 43; *RRH* 1208[1253 C.E.] and 1250 [1256 C.E.]; *SWP*, I, 146, 148, 169 (map III); *TIR* 159.

Plate 184. Kabrī (No. 70). Cistern (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

71. Kābūl

Visited 12.7.94
Location 1702.2575
32.52N/35.13E

Kābūl is a small Arab village located on the eastern edge of the plain of Acre.

This ancient site appears as Chabulon in Roman sources (Avi-Yonah 1940, 33; Aharoni 1979, 437; *TIR* 102–103). In 66 C.E. the village was the headquaters of Josephus and in the fourth century it became an Episcopal see. In the Crusader period the village was referred to as Cabor (also Cabur, Chabor and Kaber) and was the centre of a rural estate comprising three villages (Ellenblum 1998, 194–198; see also Pringle 1993, 283).

The village is also described by later Jewish and Muslim writers. Both al-Harawī and al-ʿUthmānī note that the mashhad/maqam of the children of Yaʿqūb (Biblical Jacob) was located in Kābūl (al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 55; al-ʿUthmanī ed. Lewis, 483–484). The sixteenth-century source, Rabbi Uri of Biel, writes that the tombs of three rabbis could be found there, although he may be referring to the same structure as the previous writers (cited in *SWP*, I, 271). In the 1596 *daftar* the village is reported to contain 64 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce consisted of wheat, barley, vines, cotton, 'occasional revenues', and bees. A poll tax (*jizya*) was paid by the small Jewish population (*HG*, 193). By the time of the visit of Consul Rogers in the 1850s Kābūl consisted of 400 inhabitants cultivating 30 *fiddān* of land (cited in *SWP*, I, 271). The buildings are predominately modern although there are a number of older houses at the eastern end of the village and near the centre. The Mandate Files (File 116) record: '... ancient remains beneath the village' and two maqams, Banāt Yaʿqūb and Shaykh Rūm (there is only a record in the Mandate files for one of these buildings, see Shaykh Rūm below).

Plate 185. Kābūl (No. 71). Maqām Shaykh Rūm (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Village Mosque

This stands amongst the older houses at the centre of the village and is referred to as the old mosque. It is a small building covered with a flat concrete roof. Although the roof is new and there are some recent extensions, the qibla wall appears to be old. The mihrab is a plain undecorated niche with a slightly pointed arch. On the exterior of the qibla wall there are traces of an arch or vault below the present floor level. This may either indicate an underground vault or some now vanished structure.

Maqām Shaykh Rūm

Unfortunately, this domed building has now disappeared (Plate 185). The doorway to the maqam had a roughly made arch built out of two stones.

References: ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq 1852–1854, II, 469; Abel 1967, II, 14, 67; Avi-Yonah 1940, 33; Ellenblum 1998, 194–198; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 422–424; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 55; *HG*, 193; Le Strange 1890, 15, 39, 289, 467; Mandate File 116; Marmadji 1951, 5, 102, 117, 170; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 162; Palmer 1881, 110; PAM File 3770; Pringle 1993–, I, 283; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 144; *SWP*, I, 271, 308 (map V); *TIR* 102–3; al-ʿUthmānī ed. Lewis, 483, 484; Wilson 1884, III, 71.

72. Kafr Lām/ Kafr Lāb

Visited 4.7.94
Location 1460.2269
32.38N/34.56E

This site is located on a ridge between the beach and the Tel Aviv–Haifa motorway.

Muqaddasī mentions Kafarsalam in the neighbourhood of Caesarea and notes that there was a Friday Mosque (*jāmi*) there (ed. de Goeje, 176). Kafr Lāb is also mentioned by the thirteenth-century geographer, Yāqūt, who describes it as follows: 'a town on the coast of Syria near Qayṣariyya (Caesarea). It was built by caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik' (ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 290). During the early Crusader period the site was owned by the lord of Caesarea who, in 1213, sold it to the Hospitallers. In 1255 C.E. ownership of Kafr Lām (Cr. Cafarlet) passed to the Templars who held it until 1265 when it was captured by the Mamluks (Prawer 1969–1970, II, 246, 465). Later the fortress was recaptured by the Crusaders who held it until 1291. In 1596 there was a farm at the site which paid taxes to the Ottoman government (Khalidi 1992, 170). In the mid nineteenth century the site was visited by Guérin (*Samarie*, II, 302) who estimated a population of about 300 people. He also noted that the interior of fortress was divided into many compartments which were used as family apartments

Plate 186. Kafr Lām (No. 72). Aerial view of fortress (D. Riley 22/33).

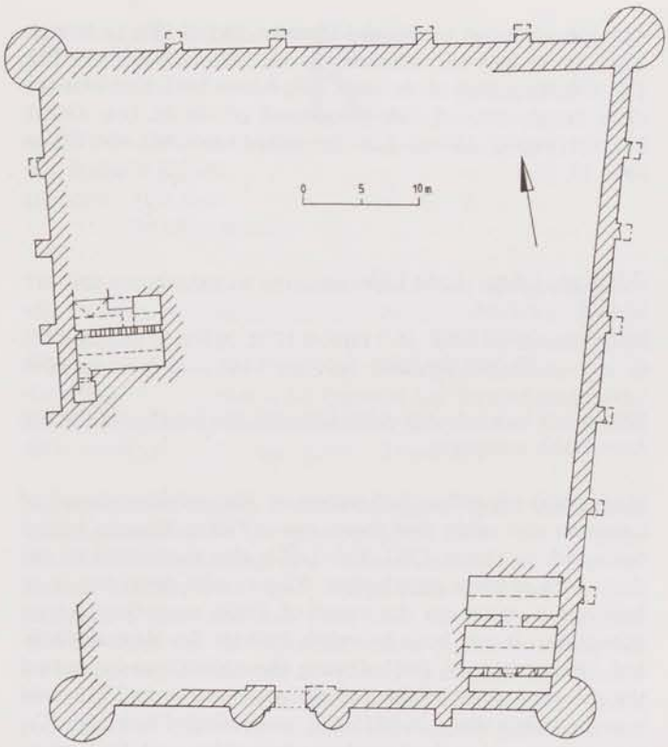


Fig. 63. Kafr Lām (No. 72). Plan of fortress.

by the villagers. Fifteen years later Mary Rogers, sister of the British consul in Haifa, stayed at the village. She describes her arrival as follows: 'The sheik, and all the chief men of Kefr Lamm, came out to meet us, for we were expected, and well known there. We rode through flourishing fields of Indian wheat, millet, sesame and tobacco, and alighted on the outskirts of the village which consists of low houses built of mud and stone' (1989, 348). She also notes that there was no mosque or minaret in the village and that prayers were conducted in the open air on the threshing floor (1989, 349). Several years later a mosque was built and in 1882 a school was established although this closed after the 1918 (Khalidi 1992, 170).

Fortress

This is a trapezoidal structure with solid round corner towers and intermediate square buttresses on the outside (Fig. 63, Plate 186). The walls are built out of small rectangular *kurkar* blocks similar to those used at Isdūd, Mīnāt al-Qalʿa (Hb. Ashdod Yam). The main gate is on the south between two semi-circular buttress towers (Plate 187). The interior contains a number of buildings dating from the late Ottoman and early

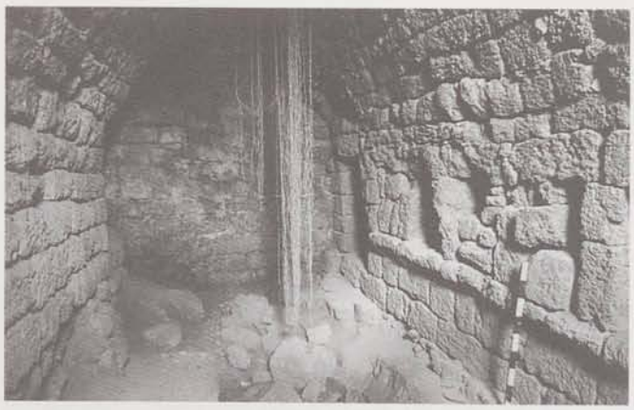


Plate 188. Kafr Lām (No. 72). Vaulted room inside fortress.

Mandate period, as well as remains of the original structure. In the south-east corner is a pair of tall pointed barrel-vaults. Roughly in the middle of the west side is another pair of vaults of similar design (Plate 188). Originally there seem to have been openings in the wall connecting the vaults, although these are now mostly blocked up. At the west end is a connecting doorway and a corridor leading to the other rooms now filled in. Approximately 500m to the south of the fortress some marble columns and capitals are displayed; these were probably found within the fortress.

This was probably one of the forts built during the Fatimid period to protect the coast from Byzantine invasion (cf. Isdūd, Mīnat al-Qalʿa). Some time during the Crusader period the gateway was remodelled to make it narrower and lower (Pringle 1997, 58 No.121).

Ottoman Building

Approximately 150m south of the fortress is a mansion attached to a range of vaulted buildings (probably stables). The mansion is a two storey structure with a pitched tile roof. On the west side a first floor balcony overlooks the sea. The stables are attached to the east side of the house and comprise six barrel-vaulted chambers. The date of construction is not known although the architectural style indicates a late nineteenth or early twentieth century date.

References: Baedeker 1876, 352; Gil 1992, 332, 941; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 302; Khalidi 1992, 170; Le Strange 1890, 470; Marmadji 1951, 175; Muqaddasi ed. de Goeje, 176; Palmer 1881, 140; Prawer 1969–1970, II, 246, 465; Pringle 1991; Pringle 1997, 58 No.121; Rogers 1989, 348–349; *SWP*, II, 29–30 (map VII); Wilson 1884, III, 114, 117; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 290.

Plate 187. Kafr Lām (No. 72). Main entrance to fortress from south.

73. Kafr Ṣūm

Visited 20.5.94
Location 158.126
31.44N/35.05E

Kafr Ṣūm is located in hills to the west of Jerusalem, approximately 1km to the south of the destroyed village of Rās Abū Ammār (Khalidi 1992, 312–313). Archaeological evidence indicates that the site was inhabited in Byzantine or Roman times, although neither the name nor the nature of the settlement is known (Israel 1976, 163). During the sixteenth century the inhabitants of the village continuously refused to pay taxes and attacked officials sent to collect them (Singer 1994, 104–105) The site appears to have been abandoned sometime between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. It is likely that the population migrated to the nearby village of Rās Abū Ammār which appears to have become established at this time.

Maqām Shaykh Musāfir

Ancient remains at the site include an ancient road, fragments of columns, and ruined buildings. The only standing structure is Maqām Shaykh Musāfir (Fig. 64, Plate 189). This is a rectangular complex built into the hill on the north side and onto a raised terrace at the south end. The maqam comprises four main elements; a small courtyard, a vaulted ante-room, a vaulted prayer room, and the shrine itself. The complex is entered through a small doorway (originally a window) which leads into the courtyard containing a small niche in the south-east wall. On the south side of the courtyard is a cross-vaulted canopy which serves as the antechamber to the tomb. Originally the vaulted canopy was open on the north and east sides, but these were later blocked with rubble walls. At the apex of the vault is a stone (or iron?) ring, presumably for fixing a lantern.

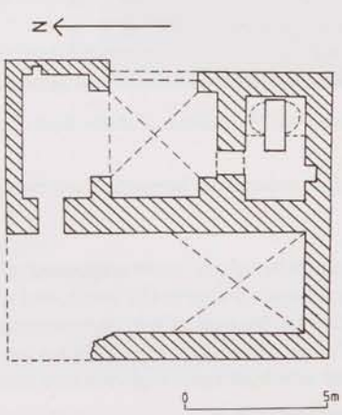


Fig. 64. Kafr Ṣūm (No. 73). Plan of shrine.

Plate 189. Kafr Ṣūm (No. 73). View of maqām from north.

Both the walls and the piers of this room are covered with white plaster and painted with traditional designs in red henna. The tomb chamber is entered through a doorway in the south of the ante-room. The inner chamber is a rectangular room (approximately 2m x 5m) aligned east–west. The western part near the entrance is covered with a barrel-vault whilst the eastern end above the grave is roofed with a small domical-vault of conical form. To the west of the shrine is a large rectangular room covered with a cross-vault (now partially collapsed). This was probably the prayer room although no mihrab was visible.

References: Israel 1976, 163; Khalidi 1992, 312–313; Pringle 1997, 58 No.122; Palmer 1881, 298; Robinson 1841, II, 327; Singer 1994, 104–105, 106; *SWP*, III, 25 (map XVII).

74. Kawfakha

Visited 27.6.94
Location 117.098
31.29N/34.39E

This site is located at the northern limit of the Negev, between Gaza and Bīr al-Sabᶜ (Hb. Beersheba). The surrounding countryside is made up of low rounded hills bisected by numerous wadis.

The first settlement at the site, now known as Khirbat al-Kawfakha, dates from the Byzantine period or earlier. Conder and Kitchener reported finding there a marble capital carved with acanthus leaves (*SWP*, III, 283). There are no records for any settlement at the site during the early Islamic or medieval periods although it was used by bedouin. In the late nineteenth century, during the reign of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II, the site was resettled by inhabitants of Gaza who wished to exploit the agricultural potential of the area. The village had a linear plan with a large mosque at the centre. The site was abandoned in 1948 and a new Israeli settlement established to the south in 1953 (Khalidi 1992, 119–120).

Mosque

The only remains of the village are the mosque (Fig. 65, Plate 190) which stands in the middle of a large cemetery (radius approximately 40m). The graves are marked with roughly shaped kerb stones without inscriptions. The mosque is built out of well cut ashlar blocks (approximately 0.2m x 0.4m) with the corners emphasised by a slight offset. At the north-west corner there is a thick square minaret 10–15m high with chamfered corners. A plain cornice runs around the top of the square shaft, above which is a small square kiosk. There are three doorways on the north side, two of which provide access into the prayer hall, whilst the east door leads into a separate room. Above each doorway is a round opening or ventilation hole. The central door also has a rectangular recess above it

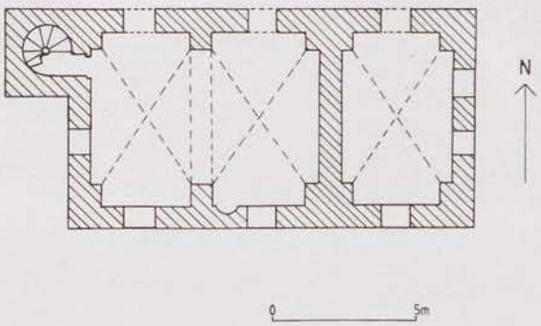


Fig. 65. Kawfakha (No. 74). Plan of mosque.

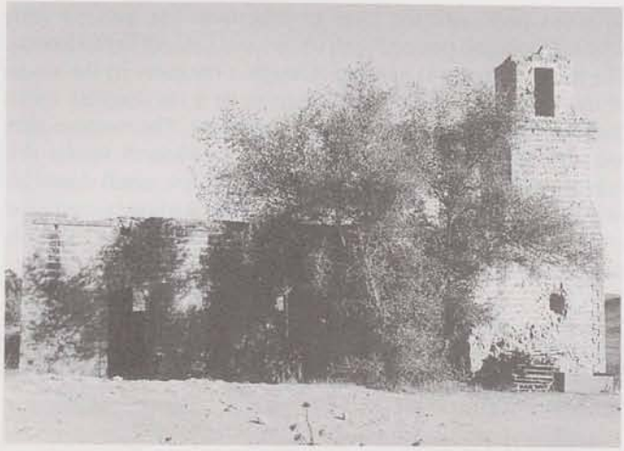


Plate 190. Kawfakha (No. 74). Mosque from north.

which originally must have contained an inscribed plaque. On the south side of the building there are three large windows with shallow arched heads. On the west side is a single window and on the east side two windows.

The interior of the prayer hall is divided into two bays covered with two cross-vaults springing from corner piers. A wide rib marks the division between the two bays. Next to the window in the east bay is a shallow mihrab with a round arched hood. In the north-west corner of the room is a small doorway leading into the minaret. The separate room to the east is of equal size to one of the bays in the prayer hall and is cross-vaulted in a similar manner. The room has two windows in the east and one in the south wall.

At present the mosque is used as a storehouse for the nearby by farm ('Avi's Ranch').

References: Khalidi 1992, 119–121; Palmer 1881, 372; *SWP*, III, 283 (map XX).

75. Kawkab (shrine)

Visited 13.4.94
Location 1739.2491
32.50N/35.15E

This shrine stands on a hill to the north of the village of Kawkab approximately 25km east of Haifa. The building has recently been restored but appears to be more than two hundred years old.

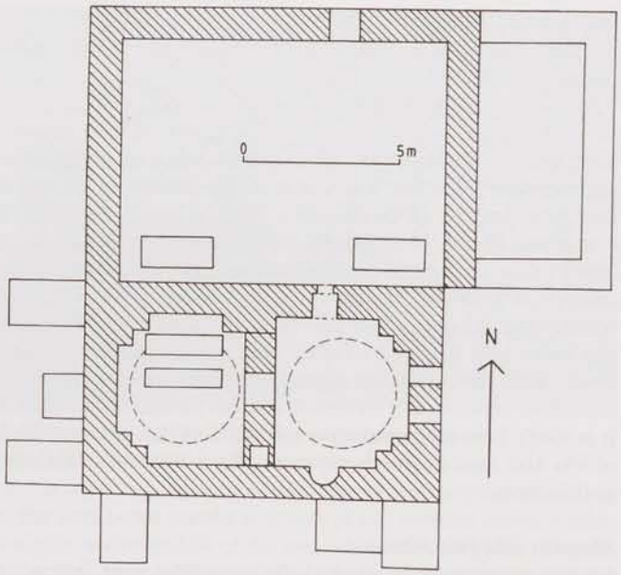


Fig. 66. Kawkab (No. 75). Plan of shrine.

Plate 192. Kawkab (No. 75). Interior of shrine from east.

The complex comprises three main elements; a double-domed shrine, a rectangular enclosure to the north, and a modern utility building attached to the east side of the courtyard. The south-west and south-east corners of the building are supported by large square concrete buttresses and concrete reinforcing beams

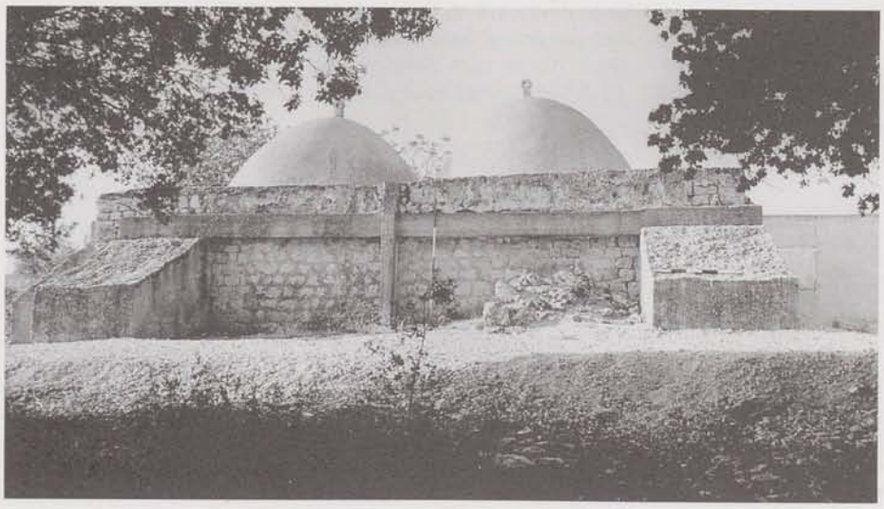


Plate 191. Kawkab (No. 75). View of shrine from south.

(Plate 191). The utility building has two rooms and was probably added at the same time as the concrete buttresses.

The courtyard is a rectangular space covering approximately the same area as the shrine. The south wall has an average height of 3m and is up to 1m thick. On the south side of the courtyard abutting the shrine are two tombs, one either side of the door. The one to the east of the door carries an inscription dated to 1181 H. (1767–1768 C.E.) and belongs to Husam Abu al-Hayja. The other tomb also carries an inscription but the date of this was not legible, although according to Slymovics (1998, 131) it belongs to Ali Badawi Abu al-Hayja who died in 1183 H. (1769 C.E.). Each tomb is 2.3m long, 1m wide, and approximately 1.5m high, with a triangular lid.

The entrance to the shrine is through a doorway on the left hand (east) side of the courtyard. The interior of the shrine is divided into two rooms each covered with a dome (Fig. 66, Plate 192). The first room appears to be a prayer chamber and has a mihrab in the south wall. The mihrab is quite deep but not very tall (less than 1m). A partition wall (0.95m thick and 2m high) separates the two chambers. The second chamber contains two large cenotaphs of similar design to those outside (both are covered in green cloth). Both tombs are aligned east–west and are located on the north side of the chamber. According to Slymovics (1998, 131) one of these tombs marks the grave of Husam al-Din Abu al-Hayja, founder of the village of 'Ayn Hawd. In the south-west corner is a buttress support for the corner pier. There is a large window in the west wall which may originally have been a doorway. The domes both have the same semi-elliptical form and rest directly on a circular collar supported by pendentives springing from massive corner piers.

It seems likely that the shrine dates to some time before 1767–1768 when the two external tombs were added.

References: *MPF*, 70 No.49; Palmer 1881, 110; Slymovics 1998, 130–1; *SWP*, I, 268 (map V).

76. Khāliṣa

Visited 9.92
Location 204.290
33.12N/35.34E

The village of al-Khāliṣa is now occupied by the modern Israeli settlement of Qiryat Shimona (Hb.).

In the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* Jīra and had a population of 29 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, vegetables and fruit, 'occasional revenues', bees and water buffaloes (*HG*, 178). In the nineteenth century the village had a population of 50 (*SWP*, I, 88). Only two of the village buildings remain. These are the offices of the British Mandate period (1919–1948) and the mosque (Khalidi 1992 462–463).

Mosque

The mosque is located in a park in the south-east part of Qiryat Shimona and is now used as a local history museum.

This is a square structure with a tiled hipped roof and a square minaret at the north-east corner (Plate 193). On the north side there is a portico or verandah. The walls are predominantly built of white limestone with courses of black basalt to produce an ablaq effect. The minaret has a cylindrical shaft on a square base.

The use of Marseilles tiles and the form of the roof indicate that this was built either in the last years of Ottoman rule (1900–1918) or during the Mandate period.

References: Abel 1967, II, 237, 313; *HG*, 178; Khalidi 1992, 462–463; Palmer 1881, 23; *SWP*, I, 88 (map II).

77. Khān al-Tujjār/ ʿUyūn al-Tujjār/ Sūq al-Khān

Visited 4.94
Location 1879.2364
32.45N/35.24E

This site is located in the plain 5km north-east of Jabal al-Ṭūr (Mount Tabor). The site consists of two large buildings either side of the main road and several smaller structures. The larger of the two buildings (see building (1) below) stands on the east site of the road and is generally called a 'khan'. The building on the west side of the road (see building (2) below) is usually referred to as a 'fort' or 'fortress'. There have been a number of studies concerned with these buildings but this has produced little consensus over the dating. The information and interpretations of the dating of the 'khan' and the 'fortress' will be presented in the discussion at the end of this section.

Building (1) ('khan') (Fig. 68, Plate 194)

Evliya Çelebi visited Khān al-Tujjār on one of his two journeys through Palestine in 1059 H. (1649 C.E.) and 1071 H. (1660

Plate 193. Khāliṣa (No. 76). Mosque.

Plate 194. Khān al-Tujjār (No. 77). Interior of khān.

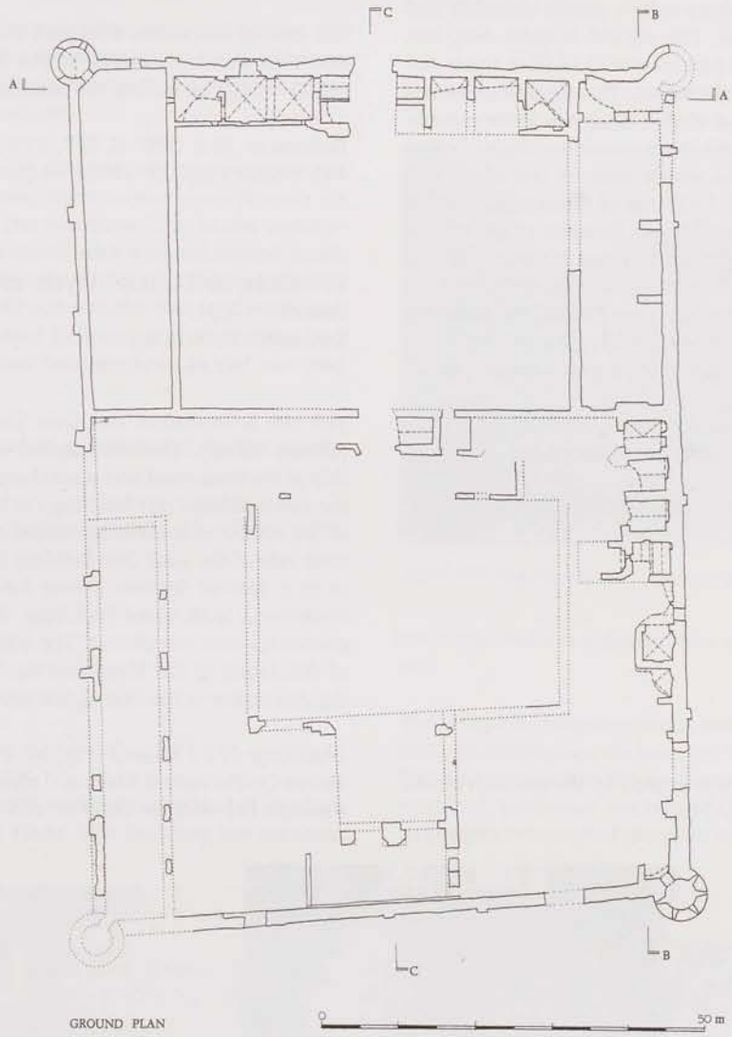


Fig. 68. Khān al-Tujjār (No. 77). Plan of khān.

C.E.). He noted that there were two main buildings located on the east and west sides of the road. Describing the larger (eastern) building he writes:

> It is a square, perfect fortress, built of masonry in the midst of a 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 are between forty and fifty rooms for the garrison... The garrison of the fortress have the charge of travellers, pilgrims and merchants... Inside is the mosque of Sinān Pasha, 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... and seven high domes... On either side of the fortress is a caravanserai with eight shops. No buildings are outside except a public bath now out of use... (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 84, repr. 1980, 32–33).

Evliya Çelebi also notes the presence of a spring, north of the gate, which was surrounded by a porch with benches and other temporary structures (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 84). A cistern

north of building (1), as well as small ruined structures to the west and south-east have been located by Gal (1985, Fig.1 C–E).

Conder and Kitchener also visited the two main buildings of the site, although by the late nineteenth century building (1) was no longer utilised as a khān (SWP, I, 394). Unfortunately, the speed of their survey meant that they failed to note the internal division into two courtyards. Creswell (PAM Creswell) visiting the site in 1919 noted that: 'a line of rooms appears to have run across the centre of the courtyard from east to west' although he did not appreciate that this might indicate two separate phases. The first person to appreciate that this division represented different phases was Daj, an official of the Department of Antiquities. However, he assumed that the southern range was later, writing: 'a crack is seen between the two walls which made me sure that the southern one is an additional building' (PAM File letter 2.10.47). Both the surveys carried out during the 1980s came to the same conclusion; that the southern part was earlier, dating to the fifteenth century, and that the northern part was later, dating to the sixteenth century (Gal 1985, 84; Lee *et al.* 1992, 70–72). It is hoped that the results of excavations carried out in 1994 will shed more light on the phasing and dates of construction.

The following description of the khān is based on three visits to the site, the latest in 1994 after clearance of much of the northern part of the building. The khān has four round corner towers each of which is pierced by five arrow-slits (this has only been verified on the north-west and south-east towers). In between the corner towers the walls are strengthened by small rectangular buttresses.

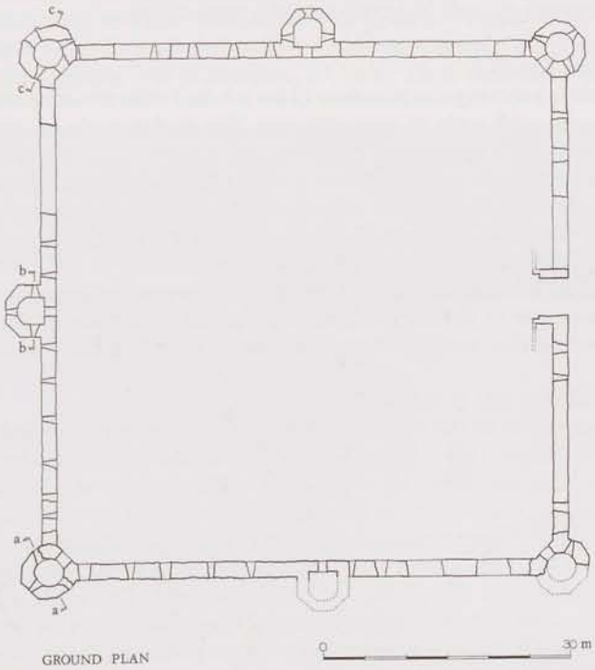


Fig. 67. Khān al-Tujjār (No. 77). Plan of fortress.

The entrance, in the centre of the north side, is a large gateway (almost 5m wide and 4m high). The ashlar facing stones have been removed from all but the lower two or three courses, leaving a core of coursed rubble stones set in a mortar. Evidence from the facing stones indicate that the gateway originally projected approximately 2m from the north face of the khān. Outside the doorway there were rectangular plinths either side of the gate which may have functioned as seats (only one of these has survived *in situ*). Inside the gateway is a pair of vaulted iwans either side of the central passage leading into the outer courtyard (although see Gal 1985, 73 Fig.4; Lee *et al.* 1992, 67 Fig.18).

The north range of the outer (north) courtyard comprises six cross-vaulted chambers (three either side of the gateway). The east side of this courtyard appears to have been a long hall divided into 12 cross-vaulted bays (i.e. two aisle bays and six bays long) supported on piers. The west range has a similar design, although it appears to be cut off from the rest of the courtyard with no visible doorways connecting the two. In the south-east corner of the courtyard are the remains of a spring or well and a small cistern which corresponds to that mentioned in Makhouly's report (PAM File 179, report dated 16.9.35). The south side of the outer courtyard is a blank wall which is the north wall of the first phase of the khān.

The entrance to the inner (south) courtyard is through a gateway in the centre of the south wall of the outer courtyard. The internal arrangement of this courtyard is less well defined as it has not yet been cleared of undergrowth and rubble. The surface remains indicate the following arrangement: a rectangular courtyard in the centre with a square building on the south side; a series of small chambers on the east side; and a long range of rooms on the west side. The square building in the centre of the south side has been interpreted as a mosque by Gal, who equated the three buttresses on the south side with the three minarets mentioned by Evliya Çelebi (Gal, 1985, 74).

Building (2) ('fortress') (Fig. 67)

The fortress stands on a hill 150m north-west of building (1). This structure has received less attention than the khān due to its relative isolation, the difficulty of access, and the fact that it has been abandoned for a longer period. Evliya Çelebi provides the following description of building (2):

> At a distance of two hundred paces to the west of this fortress [building (1)] is another ancient one [as well preserved] as if it had just left the hand of the architect. It has no additional buildings (*ḥawālīsi*) whatever. Its gate faces east and is situated on an elevated side. It measures six hundred paces in circumference. There are eight watchtowers, yet it is not inhabited. When winter sets in, sheep and goats of the guardians of the fortress are kept there (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 84–85, repr. 1980, 32–33).

In the nineteenth century the building was described by Conder and Kitchener as: '...a fortress on a slight eminence in which the inhabitants of the khân could protect themselves from any raid of Arabs' (*SWP*, I, 385). When Creswell visited the site, in 1919, he called the fortress the 'Northern building' and gave the following description:

> ...a rectangular building measuring about 200 feet by 160, with octagonal towers at the angles and a tower octagonal, but of smaller size, in the centre of the north, west and south faces. In the centre of the east face there appears to have been a doorway. The south-west tower is decorated with a band of black basalt, otherwise the stone is light in colour, but the style of the masonry resembles that of the khan. The angle towers are circular internally, roofed with a shallow dome, and have three splayed arrow slits each (PAM File Creswell report 1919).

Discussion

There are several written sources of the late Mamluk and early Ottoman period which provide evidence concerning the construction phases of building (1) and (2) at Khān al-Tujjār.

According to al-Nuʿaymī, a khān was first built at the site by the Damascene merchant, al-Mizza (d. 1438), to promote his own business interests (al-Nuʿaymī translation Sauvaire, VI, 262; Hartmann 1918, 55).

Two *firmāns* dated 6 Ramaḍān 989 (4 October 1581) and 11 Shawwāl 989 (8 November 1581), discuss the necessity to construct a fortress at ʿUyūn al-Tujjār because of the harassment of pilgrims and travellers by local bedouin (Heyd 1960, 110–113). The former of the two documents specifies that it should consist of: 'a caravanserai (*khān*) with a tower (*burc*) on each of its four sides [corners]' (1960, 111). A further *firmān* dated 11 Shawwāl 989 states: 'the Grand Vizier, Sinān Pasha has some buildings under construction at his personal expense at Saʿsaʿa and ʿUyūn al-Tujjār, adjacent to those which are being constructed by the Government out of tax arrears' (1960, 114).

This evidence appears to suggest that both the Ottoman authorities and Sinān Pasha were involved in the construction of separate but nearby buildings. The account of Evliya Çelebi (although he is not always a reliable source) indicates that it was building (1) which contained the mosque of Sinān Pasha and so it seems likely that it is the 'khan' which should be associated with his patronage. Evliya Çelebi also notes that building (2) was abandoned at the time of his visit. Travellers' accounts from the latter part of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries attest to the use of Khān al-Tujjār as a way station, but give no indication of the date when building (2) fell out of use (cf. Hartmann 1910, 698, 700).

Recent architectural studies (Gal 1985; Lee *et al.* 1992) and unpublished excavations have shown that building (1) is the result of more than one construction phase and so any conclusions concerning dating and identification should be tentative. Gal makes the suggestion that building (2) corresponds to early Islamic structures such as Khān al-Minyā or Kafr Lām, although this seems unlikely on historical and architectural grounds. There is ample historical evidence for building work on the site in the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods. On the architectural side, one can note that: first, early Islamic 'forts' tend to have solid buttress towers which are round or semi-circular in plan, whilst the towers at building (2) contain chambers (with functioning arrow slits) and have an octagonal plan; and second, the masonry of building (2) resembles that of its neighbour, building (1) far more than it does any early Islamic structure.

The identification of the fifteenth-century khān described by al-Nuʿaymī is problematic if one asserts that the two remaining structures at Khān al-Tujjār date to the late sixteenth century. It is possible that the Mamluk khān (and statements in the *firmān* dated 6 Ramaḍān 989 appear to indicate that this earlier building, if extant by the latter part of the sixteenth century, was no longer functioning as an adequate protection for travellers) was incorporated into one of the later buildings. Building (1) certainly shows signs of more than one phase of construction. It is, however, possible that the secondary construction at building (1) postdates an initial building episode in the 1580s. Lastly, the reason why building (2) was abandoned by the mid seventeenth century is unclear. In the absence of any documentary evidence, one may speculate that the revenue from the local area proved insufficient to support the two khāns/forts and one fell out of use soon after it was built.

References: Abel 1967, II, 64, 219, 312, 439; Bakhit 1982, 97, 118, 209, 221; Buckingham 1821, 456–458; Gal 1984; Gal 1985; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Hartmann 1918, 55–56; Heyd 1960, 102, 111–115, 127 n.9, 187–188, 190; Lee *et al.* 1992, 56–72; al-Nuʿaymī translation Sauvaire, VI, 262; Palmer 1881, 128; PAM File 179, 23.4.26; PAM Creswell 1919; Robinson 1841, III, 236; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 85–86, repr. 1980, 32–33; *SWP*, I, 379, 394–396 (map VI); Wilson 1884, II, 57.

78. Khulda

Visited 19.8.93
Location 1408.1360
31.49N/34.54E

This abandoned village stands on a hill overlooking Zomet Hulda (Hb.) (Hulda Junction). The ruins of the pre-1948 village stand at the southern end of the Israeli settlement of Kibbutz Hulda (Hb.).

According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* Ramla and contained 12 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 153). In the nineteenth century this was a large village with stone and mud houses (Khalidi 1992, 389; *SWP*, II, 408). The remains of at least four stone buildings can be seen although only two of these are still standing. Both appear to date from the latter part of the Ottoman or early Mandate period (1900–1930).

Building (1)

This is a rectangular structure (12m x 6.5m) with two separate rooms, each with its own entrance. The roof is made of iron girders with reinforced concrete and the walls are made of dressed limestone. The doors are each flanked with two large windows. Both doors and windows are covered with lintels, above which is a relieving arch. To the north of this building are some deep circular wells. The purpose of the building is not clear, although it must have served some public function (an inscription above one of the doors has been removed). It is likely to date from the final years of Ottoman rule or the early Mandate period.

Building (2) (Mosque?)

This stands to the north of building (1) and is approximately half the size (6m x 6m). The roof is also made of iron girders and concrete. The walls are built of boulders and rubble stone held together with mud mortar. The entrance on the east side is next to a large rectangular window. There is another window (now blocked) on the west side and a shallow niche (possibly a mihrab) in the middle of the south wall. The walls are decorated with blue-green stencilled friezes of palm trees and palmettes. There is a barely legible inscription above the door which gives a fourteenth century H. date.

References: Clermont-Ganneau, ARP, II, 252, 467; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 34; *HG*, 153; Khalidi 1992, 389–340; Palmer 1881, 268; Robinson 1841, III, 21, 434, 435; *SWP*, II, 408 (map XVI).

L

79. Lajjūn

Visited 19.8.93
Location 167.219
32.34N/35.11E

Before its destruction after 1948, the village of Lajjūn was located to the south-west of ʿAfūla near the ancient settlement of Meggiddo (Hb.). The site derives its importance from its position at the north-east end of the 'Iron Pass', one of the principal routes through the Carmel mountain range (Murphy O'Connor 1986, 286). The village is thought to derive its name from the Roman camp of Legio VI Ferrata which is believed to have been in this area, although this has yet to be demonstrated archaeologically. From the time of Diocletian and Maximian the town was known as Legio-Maximianopolis and from the fourth century it was an episcopal see (*TIR* 170; cf. Avi-Yonah 1940, 31). It has been suggested that Lajjūn may be identified with Ijnadayn, the site of a battle in 634 C.E. where the Muslims defeated the Byzantines, although this has yet to be proved (Gill 1992, 55).

In medieval times the small town of Lajjūn continued to be a regional centre and in 731 H. (1331 C.E.) a khān was constructed by Shaykh Amīn al-Dīn ibn al-Baṣṣ al-Tājir (al-Nuʿaymī translation Sauvaire, VI pt.2, 275; Meinecke 1992, II, 157 No.272). During the Ottoman period Lajjūn was the centre of a *sanjaq/liwā'* (Bakhit 1982, 209 n.78; *HG*, 42–45, 157–161). According to Yāqūt, near to the town was a rock surmounted by a domed structure (*qubba*) which local legend associated with Ibrāhīm (ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 351). Little remains of the village, with the exception of a few ruins, which have been covered with a forest planted at the site (Khalidi 1992, 335). The principal extant buildings at the site are a khān and a bridge.

The Bridge

Location 1675.2197

The bridge crosses a major tributary of the Kishon (Hb.) river. The structure is approximately 4m wide and 16–20m long. It is carried on three arches comprising a large central arch and two smaller side arches. The north side of the bridge has been robbed of its outer face, whilst the south side is heavily overgrown with vegetation. The bridge already seems to have been in a ruined condition in the 1870s when it was drawn by Wilson (1884, II, Pl. on 24).

The Khān

Location 1673.2197

This building is located on a low hill 150m to the south-west of the bridge. This is a square enclosure measuring approximately 30m per side with a central courtyard (Plates 195–196). The ruins are covered with vegetation and the remains of only one room are visible. The khān continued in use after the Ottoman conquest and is listed as one of the stopping places on the Damascus–Cairo road (Heyd 1960, 127 n.7 and n.9). In the mid seventeenth century the khān was seen by Evliya Çelebi, although he did not stop there and gives no indication of its condition (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 86). Another seventeenth-century traveller, Maundrell, notes of the place: '... we came to a small brook, near which was an old

Plate 195. Lajjūn (No. 79). Aerial view of khān (D. Riley 13/20).

Plate 196. Lajjūn (No. 79). Remains of khān.

village, not far from which was an old village and a good khān called Legune' (in Wright 1848, 430). By the 1870s, when it was drawn by Wilson, (1884, II, Pl. on 24) the khān was in ruins.

References (Settlement, bridge, and khān): Abel 1967, II, 219, 439; Avi-Yonah 1940, 31; Baedeker 1876, 346; Bakhit 1982, 209 n.78; Cohen 1989, 68; al-Dimashqī ed. Mehren, 212; Bakhit in *EI2*, V, 593–594; Gill 1992, 55; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 59; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Hartmann 1918; Heyd 1960, index; *HG*, 42–45, 157–161; Khalidi 1992, 334–337; Le Strange 1890, index; Marmadji 1951, index; Meinecke 1992, II, 157 No.272; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 162; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 286; al-Nuʿaymī translation Sauvaire, VI, Pt.2, 275; Palmer 1881, 151; Pringle 1993–, II, 3–5; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 154–155; Robinson 1841, III, 177; Singer 1994, 10, 81; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 86, repr. 1980, 34; *SWP*, II, 48–49, 64–66 (map VIII); *TIR* 170; al-ʿUthmānī ed. Lewis, 483; Wilson 1884, II, 23, 24, 26, 39; Maundrell in Wright 1848, 430; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 351.

80. Legia/ Leqeyea (Hb.)

Visited 9.93
Location 1365.0798
31.19N/34.52E

This bedouin village is located in the desert to the north of Bīr al-Sabʿ (Hb. Beersheba). It is a large dispersed settlement which in 1990 had a population of 8,000 (*Jaffa Research Centre* 1991, 404–405).

On a hill above the modern village are the remains of an older settlement partly built into the caves (Plate 197). There are a number of standing buildings, the most impressive of which has a boldly executed *shahāda* above the doorway. Nearby is a large cenotaph (1.5m high), presumably belonging to an important local leader. Below the hill is a village well which appears to be old. There is a considerable amount of pottery in the vicinity attesting to occupation phases in the Roman, Byzantine, early Islamic, and middle Islamic (i.e. ca. 1100–1600) periods.

References: *Jaffa Research Centre* 1991, 404–405.

81. Lūbiya/ Lūbiyā/ Lūbyā

Visited —
Location 1905.2424
32.47N/35.25E

The village of Lūbiya was located in central Galilee approximately 10km west of Tiberias. It stood on a rocky hill overlooking the plain of Tur'ān to the south (Khalidi 1992, 526–528).

In Roman times the site (known as Lavi) was occupied by a road station on the Tiberias–Sepphoris road. The village is mentioned in Crusader documents where it is referred to as Lubia (Khalidi 1992, 527). The army of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn camped near the village prior to the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (Prawer 1969–1970, I, 651). During the fifteenth century the prominent Muslim religious scholar, Abū Bakr al-Lūbiyānī, was born in the village before moving to Damascus where he became a teacher (Khalidi 1992, 527). In the 1596 *daftar* the village is located in the *nāḥiya* Ṭabariyya and had a population of 214 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees', and the use of a press for olives or grape syrup (*HG*, 187).

The village contained a number of ancient remains including rock-cut tombs, a stone sarcophagus, and various carved stones reused in more recent houses. To the south-west of the main village there was a large farmhouse which may have been the citadel or a watchtower (PAM 'Khirba'). According to Ory there were also two walis in the village, one of these was the wali of Nabī Shūʿ b. Yamīn, and the other was a zawiya containing the tombs of three saints (PAM 'Lubiya').

Khān

Location 193.243
This structure was located at a distance of 2km from the main village (Plate 198). A 1923 report stated: '... little of the khan

Plate 197. Legia (No. 80). Bedouin houses (A. Petersen 1993).

Plate 198. Lūbiya (No. 81). Remains of khān (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

remains but sufficient to establish its plan and position' (PAM 'El Khan Lubieh'). A later report (PAM 'Lubiya') by Ory describes the khān as the: '... large ruins of a square building with two cisterns on the west and a basalt hill called Tellet el-Heimah close to it on the south'.

References: Baedeker 1876, 367; *HG*, 187; Khalidi 1992, 526–528; Palmer 1881, 130; PAM 'Khirba'; PAM 'El Khan Lubieh'; PAM 'Lubiya'; Prawer 1969–1970, I, 649–651; Pringle 1997, 119 (Supplementary list); Robinson 1841, III, 358; *SWP*, I, 361, 412 (map VI); *TIR*, 170.

82. Lydda (Ar. Ludd)

Visited
Location 1405.1512
31.58N/34.54E

The city of Lydda is located in the coastal plain 17km from the sea.

This is one of the most ancient cities in Palestine (for a concise history of the site, see Sharon in *EI2*, V, 798–803; Hasson in *EJ*, XI, 619–620; Aharoni 1979, 439). The city is mentioned in the list of towns conquered by the Egyptian Pharaoh, Thutmos III (1468–1436 B.C.E.) and is mentioned four times in the Old Testament. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods it was predominately under Jewish control. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. it remained a centre of Jewish learning. In the third century C.E. the city was given the name Diospolis by the Roman emperor Septimius Severus, a name which it officially retained until the Muslim conquest. Under the Byzantine rulers the city assumed pre-eminence as the site where St. George was buried and acquired the name Georgiopolis (*TIR* 171). During the time of Justinian a church was built at the site, with the altar constructed over the supposed tomb of the saint. The principal industry of the city under the Byzantines was the production of dyed textiles (Schwartz 1991, 173).

According to Arab tradition, the city was conquered by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in 15 H. (636–637 C.E.) after he had conquered Nāblus and Samaria. After the foundation of Ramla (ca. 712 C.E.) Lydda rapidly declined. In 1010 C.E. the Byzantine basilica was destroyed on the orders of the Fatimid caliph, al-Ḥākim, although one source claims that it was rebuilt 30 years later by Stephen I, King of Hungary. In 1099 C.E. however, the Crusaders found the Byzantine church in ruins. Fifty years later the Crusaders constructed a new cathedral on the remains of the earlier building. During this period the fortunes of the city revived at the expense of its neighbour Ramla because of its predominantly Christian population. Between 1191 and 1204 the city briefly returned to Muslim control, during which time Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took the opportunity to destroy the cathedral. In 1267–1268 Baybars finally returned the city to Muslim control and built the Great Mosque on the remains of the Crusader and Byzantine churches (see below). During the Mamluk period the city benefitted from the redevelopment of the postal road from Damascus to Cairo. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Lydda was the administrative centre of a *wilāya* (Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 199). In the fifteenth century al-ʿUlaymī describes Lydda as a pleasant village with an active Friday mosque (translation Sauvaire, 210). At this time the settlement was both a stop on the route between Gaza and Damascus, and a station on the postal route (also used for the conveyance of snow from northern Syria to the Mamluk capital) between Cairo and Damascus (al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 118, 119).

After the Ottoman conquest Lydda was a village under the jurisdiction of the deputy judge of Ramla (Heyd 1960, 55–56). In 1552 the village was made part of the *waqf* of Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān (Stephan 1944, 184 n.1; Sharon 1983, 802). According to the 1596 *daftar* Ludd is located in the *nāḥiya* of Ramla and is classed as a village, although it contained a large population of 498 households (*khāna*). Included in the production figures for Lydda are 300 spinning wheels (*dawālib*) and a market, which indicates an urban rather than rural economy. Other items taxed were wheat, barley, 'summer crops', vineyards, fruit trees, sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees'. Approximately half (233 households) of the population was Christian (*HG*, 154).

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the region around Lydda was dominated by various Bedouin tribes, including the Sawālma, Kushūk and Sawtariyya (*EI2*, V, 801). In the nineteenth century the fortunes of the town began to revive, although in the 1851 census the population was recorded as only 1,345 (*SWP*, II, 279). In 1870 work commenced on rebuilding the church on a much reduced scale. Further growth was encouraged by the construction of the Jaffa–Jerusalem railway in 1892. In 1902 growth was checked by a cholera epidemic which swept through southern Palestine killing 700 of Lydda's inhabitants.

In 1917 the town was captured by the British who replaced the narrow gauge railway track with a standard gauge, making

it one of the most important railway junctions in Palestine. In 1927 Lydda was hit by a severe earthquake which killed 40 people and destroyed 500 homes (*EI2*, V, 802). It was this earthquake which destroyed the minaret of the mosque and the apse of the Byzantine church incorporated into the mosque (see below).

Mosques

The earliest description of a mosque in Lydda is given by al-Muqaddasī in the second half of the tenth century. He wrote: 'There is here a Great Mosque, in which many people from the capital [Ramla] and the surrounding area assemble' (1906, 176). Nevertheless the church of ?? continued to be the most significant building in the town and even Muslims attended the feast of St. George on 23 April (*EI2*, V, 800). Following the expulsion of the Crusaders, the Mamluk Sultan Baybars built a large Friday mosque on the site (see below) incorporating elements of the Byzantine and Crusader churches. The other mosques in the town were small structures built during the Ottoman period.

Great Mosque (Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr/ Jāmiʿ al-ʿUmarī)
Visited 12.5.92
Location 1405.1512
The mosque is a large building incorporating the remains of Byzantine eccelesiatical buildings (probably including a baptistery) that were attatched to the south side of the Cathedral of St. George (for history of Churches at Lydda see Pringle 1993–, II, 9–27).

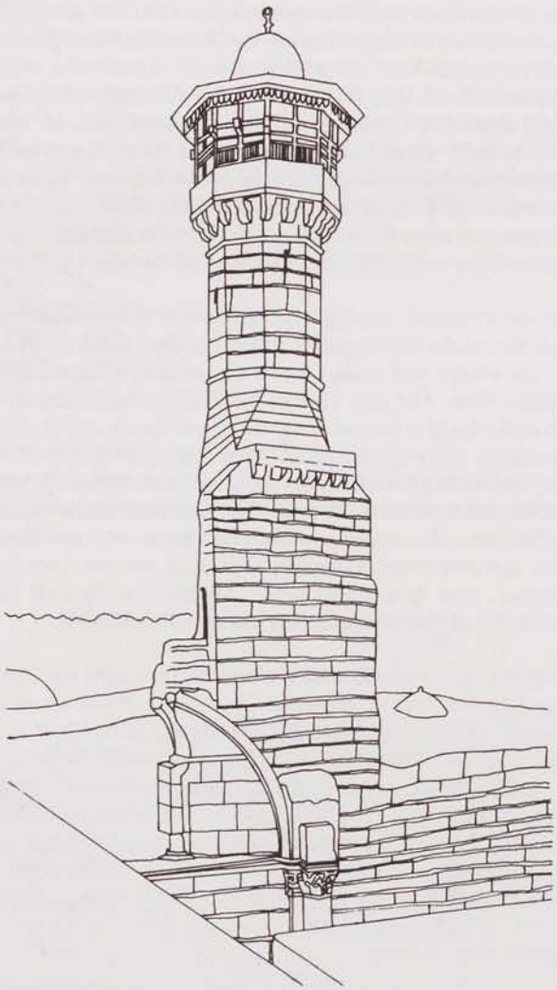


Fig. 69. Lydda (No. 82). Minaret of Great Mosque.

The mosque comprises a courtyard, and a large prayer hall to the south (Figs 69–70, Plates 199–201). The courtyard occupies the western part of the demolished nave of the church, while the eastern part, containing the tomb of St. George, is occupied by the Greek church, rebuilt in 1870. The courtyard is entered through a gateway in the north wall. At present the gateway is covered with a green dome, although originally there was a cross-vault. On the west and east side of the courtyard are cross-vaulted arcades (riwaq) resting on large square piers. In the south-east corner of the courtyard is a large ablutions fountain also covered with a cross-vault. To the south of the courtyard is the north wall of the prayer hall. Approximately in the centre of this wall is a plain recessed mihrab. To the right (west) of the mihrab is the main entrance to the mosque.

In the south-east corner of the courtyard is a tall cylindrical modern minaret (twentieth century)built on older foundations. Evidence for an earlier structure is given by al-ʿUlaymī (late fifteenth century) who notes that the mosque is surmounted by a very tall minaret (1876, 211). Clermont-Ganneau (*ARP*, II, 102–103) has an engraving of this minaret by Lecomte, which shows it as an octagonal structure built onto one of the piers of the medieval church (see Fig. 69).

The interior of the mosque is a large prayer hall which can be divided into two areas, a main central section, and an older eastern part incorporating elements of the earlier Byzantine church.

The main part of the mosque runs on a north–south axis with the doorway at one end and the mihrab at the other. It is divided into 15 cross-vaulted bays (the central bay in the second row from the back is roofed with a folded cross-vault). The third row of piers from the entrance are linked to pairs of marble columns. The mihrab is a large wide modern construction which includes ancient marble columns. There is also a modern built minbar.

The eastern part of the mosque may be divided into two areas, a southern and a northern part. The southern part is a mixture of medieval and Byzantine masonry. Here are the remains of the main apse of the smaller Byzantine basilica, with an opening at the back leading to a small domed area that was formerly the baptistery. The wall on the southern side, containing a mihrab, represents the blocking of what had formerly been an open arch like the one to the north. The dome is set on top of a circular drum pierced with four windows. To the north of the apse is a low barrel-vault. The north-eastern part of the mosque is roofed with cross-vaults replacing the main apse of the Byzantine church which was visible in the nineteenth century.

Evidence for the construction of the mosque is a long *naskhi* inscription over the doorway translated as follows:

> ...ordered the building of this blessed Friday mosque our Lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn, Abū'l-Fatḥ Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī, the associate of the Commander of the Faithful, may God make his victories glorious and forgive him. This was done under the direction of the servant, yearning for the mercy of his [divine] Master, ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sawwāq al-Ṣāliḥī, may God forgive him in the month of Ramaḍān 666 [began 15 May 1268 C.E.] (based on translation in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 31).

The date of the inscription, soon after Baybars' conquest of the city, implies that the construction of the mosque was one of his first priorities. The work carried out appears to have been

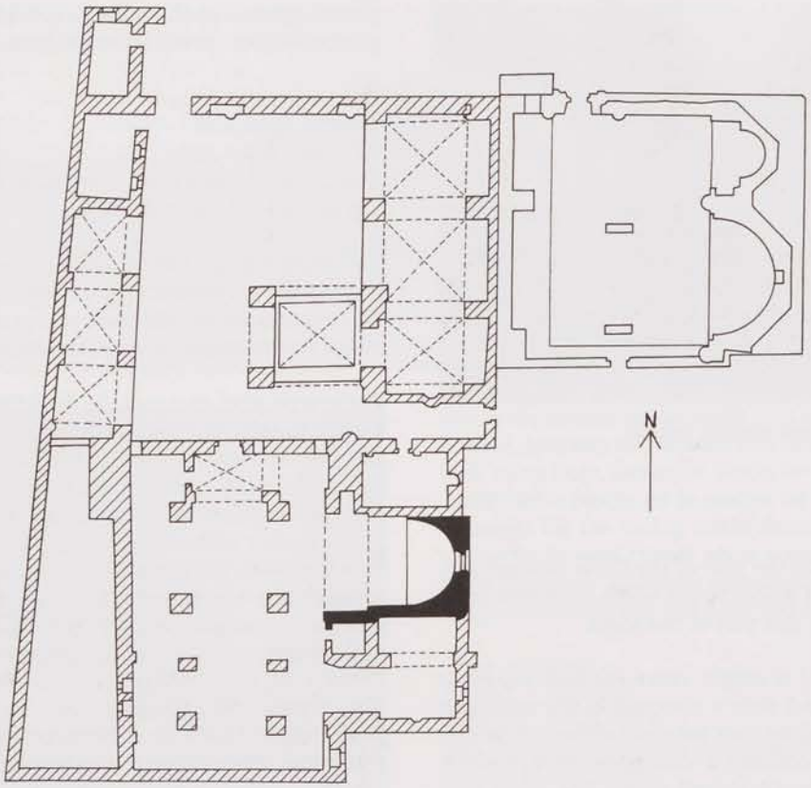


Fig. 70. Lydda (No. 82). Plan of Great Mosque.

the final destruction and clearance of the western part of the nave of the cathedral and the conversion of the baptistery into a mosque. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sawwāq was also responsible for the construction of the famous bridge, Jisr Jindās (*EI*2, V, 801), and it is likely that he used some of the materials from the cathedral for the bridge. The eastern part of the cathedral, containing the tomb of St. George, remained in Greek Orthodox hands and the main apse and part of the choir arcade are still standing.

Another medieval inscription, in the name of the Mamluk sultan Qāytbāy, records the abolition of unjust taxes on the inhabitants of the city and is dated to 13 Ramaḍān 892 H.(September 2nd 1487 C.E.). The inscription includes the name of an official, Khalīl ibn Ismaʿīl, who was responsible for recruiting soldiers to fight against the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd II (*EI*2, V, 801).

Plate 200. Lydda (No. 82). Great Mosque. Courtyard.

Plate 199. Lydda (No. 82). Great Mosque. Exterior.

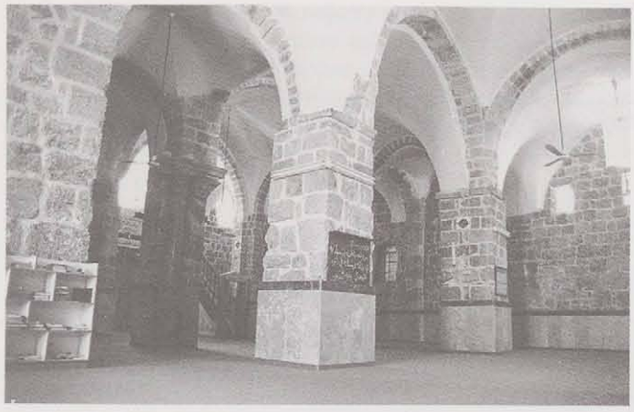


Plate 201. Lydda (No. 82). Great Mosque. Interior.

Small Mosque (1)
Visited 12.5.92
Location 1409.1513
This structure is located to the east of the Great Mosque in a derelict area of ground. It stands to the south of an east–west track which runs through this part of the town.

The mosque consists of a single cross-vaulted chamber (approximately 6m square) with a doorway in the middle of the east wall. Either side of the door are small niches for candles or lamps. The south wall contains a rectangular mihrab which appears to have been altered several times. The north wall contains a large arched window blocked with iron bars.

The walls are built out of ashlar masonry, which is slightly decayed and has been replaced in some places by concrete blocks. The vault is made of small rubble stones set in mortar.

Small Mosque (2)
Visited 5.6.92
Location 1408.1513
This is located to the north of the Great Mosque, in the south-east corner of the open market (Plate 202). At present the building is surrounded by a modern concrete wall on three sides and has a steel fence on the north side.

The mosque consists of a cross-vaulted chamber with a mihrab in the south wall. There is a window (now blocked) in the west wall and probably also in the east wall (this was covered with rubbish). The front of the building was originally open, although it is now blocked with steel shutters. The floor level inside the building is considerably (1.5m) lower than the present ground level. Although generally the building is not in good condition recent attempts have been made to repair it.

Plate 202. Lydda (No. 82). Small Mosque (2).

Dahmash (sp.) Mosque
Visited 12.5.92
Location 1404.1516
This is located approximately in the centre of the old city on the east side of the main road.

The building consists of a tall cylindrical minaret and a rectangular prayer hall. The decoration of the minaret and the way the mosque fits into the street plan, suggest that it belongs to the late Ottoman or early Mandate period.

Industrial and commercial buildings

During Roman and Byzantine times the production of textiles was the principal industry in Lydda. The city was particularly known for its dyed fabrics. Andrew of Crete observed that the church contained a statue of the Virgin wearing a purple garment, as a reflection of the city's dyeing industry (cited in Shwartz 1991, 173). With the founding of Ramla much of the industry was transferred to the new city, although the presence of spinning wheels in the 1596 *daftar* (*HG*, 154) probably indicates that textile manufacture continued to be an important factor in the economic life of Lydda. In the nineteenth century soap production appears to have been one of the principal industries in Lydda as elsewhere in Palestine (for a general discussion of this industry in Palestine, see Ashtor and Cevidalli 1983).

Soap Factory (1)
This is located 200m north-west of the Great Mosque and the Orthodox Church of St. George. The immediate vicinity is an area of wasteland recently reclaimed for use as a car park.

The building occupies a large trapezoidal area (10–30m x 40m) and has two floors. At present the building is entered through an opening at the south side, although the original entrance was on the north side (now blocked by the rise in ground level caused by the post-1948 destruction of the old city). The ground floor is an area roofed by 12 cross-vaults supported on wide stone piers. There are several pits in the floor and one large iron vat still *in situ*. There are also two large ovens built into the vaults (one in the north-east corner and one in the west side). A staircase (now blocked) gives access to the upper floor.

At least two phases of construction are evident. The first phase comprises the eight northernmost bays of vaulting. The second phase is an additional four bays added to the south of the structure. Most of the upper storey belongs to the second phase. The first phase is distinguished by the use of squared finely dressed limestone blocks and the second phase is characterised by roughly squared blocks, often of irregular shape. Some of the vaults of the upper floor are built with earthenware jars (for a discussion of this building technique, see Petersen 1994).

Soap Factory (2)
Visited 12.5.92
Location 1409.1513

This is a large building standing 500m east of the Church of St. George.

This building is made up of two rectangular blocks joined at an angle of approximately 30 degrees. The main block (located at the west end) comprises 13 cross-vaulted bays. In the centre is a large rectangular stone-lined pit and to the east, a furnace. The east wing communicates with the west wing through a

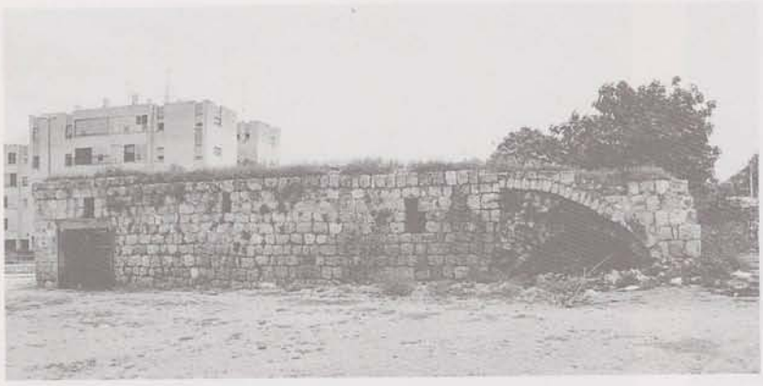


Plate 203. Lydda (No. 82). Vaulted building (oil press), exterior.

Plate 204. Lydda (No. 82). Vaulted building (oil press), interior.

large doorway. The east wing has a separate entrance to the street on the north side. This area is divided into eight cross-vaulted bays and contains an oven, a stone press, and a rectangular trough. In the centre of the north wall is a staircase leading to the roof. The west wing is the earliest part of the structure with the east wing added subsequently.

Vaulted Building (Oil Press?)
This stands 400m east of the Church of St. George and to the south of Khān al-Ḥalwā (see below). The eastern side is joined to a house which is still inhabited.

The building is a rectangular structure (20m x 30m) divided into 12 cross-vaulted bays (Plates 203–204). The four southern bays appear to have been added later as they butt against the rest of the building. Each of the four southern bays is separated from the next by a thin rubble wall. There are three entrances, one in the middle of the north side, one on the south side, and a small doorway on the east side. The entire structure is well built using large limestone blocks for the outer walls and piers, small rubble blocks set in mortar for the vaults, and limestone voussoirs for the arches strengthening the vaults. A staircase in the north-west corner gives access to the roof. There is a large millstone (diameter approximately 2.5m) *in situ* in the north-east corner and two detached millstones lying elsewhere.

Khān al-Ḥalwā
Visited 12.5.92
Location 1408.1514
This building is located opposite the Great Mosque and the Church of St. George.

The khān consists of a trapezoidal enclosure with an entrance on the south side (Plate 205). The gateway is located at the east end of the south side and is decorated with a denticulate hood moulding. To the west of the entrance, the south facade consists of a series of seven vaults (iwans) opening on to the street. These were probably shop units.

The interior of the khān is built around a large courtyard. On the east side, facing the courtyard, is an open arcade supported on square piers providing access to five separate cross-vaulted rooms. In the north-east corner is a small courtyard opening into three cross-vaulted rooms. The north side consists of a single long barrel-vaulted chamber. The west side of the khān has been almost completely destroyed so that it is not now possible to detect its original form. The south side consists of a series of seven barrel-vaulted rooms opening directly into the courtyard. Although no traces of a staircase could be found there are rooms on the south side of the roof above the shop units.

Plate 205. Lydda (No. 82). Khān al-Ḥalwā. Interior.

Plate 206. Lydda (No. 82). Sabil.

Water installations

Sabil

Visited 12.5.92
Location 1405.1508
This stands on the north side of Route 443 south-east of the old city and opposite the Muslim cemetery.

The sabil has little decoration. It is a square structure (approximately 6m x 6m) roofed with a barrel-vault set over a well. The exterior faces are made of well-dressed ashlar masonry. The front of the structure, facing the road, consists of a recessed archway containing two holes for water pipes and a long trough below (Plate 206). Each water spout is set into a square frame. Above the water spouts is a rectangular recessed panel, which would originally have contained an inscription. The arch is recessed in three steps to a depth of approximately 1m. The outer arch originally rose above the top of the rest of the building, although this feature is in a damaged condition. Comparison with the sabils in Jaffa suggests a late Ottoman date for this installation.

Bīr al-Zaybā'

Visited 17.12.94
Location 1395.1499
This is located on the west side of the main road (No. 484) between Lydda and Ramla.

The structure consists of a single square domed chamber with a doorway on the east side. The exterior of the building is decorated with a denticulate cornice running around all four sides (Plate 207). On the north and south sides there are pairs of arched windows set within wide relieving arches. The doorway is placed within an arched niche, with a bench on either side. Above the door is a deep square recess which would originally have contained an inscription. The interior is a square tiled area containing a fragment of a marble column with a hole in the centre providing access to the well or spring (Plate 208).

Plate 208. Lydda (No. 82). Bīr al-Zaybā'. Interior.

The dome is set on pendentives springing at a height of 1.5m above the floor. The interior of the dome is decorated with carved plaster designs. The lower part consists of thick plaster ribs of triangular section. The middle section has smaller ribs.

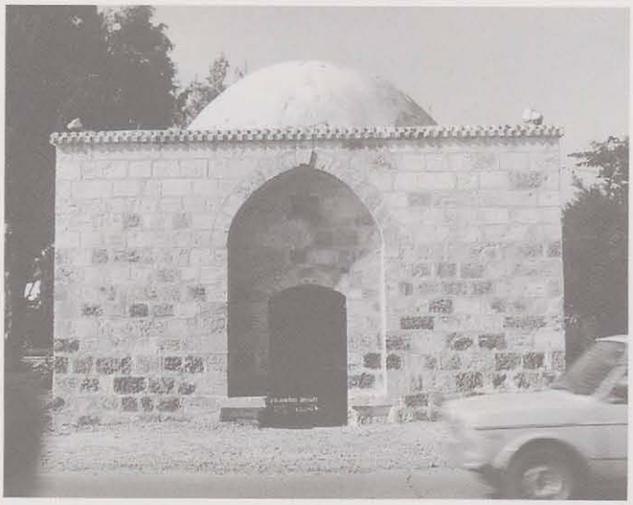


Plate 207. Lydda (No. 82). Bīr al-Zaybā'. Exterior.

Plate 209. Lydda (No. 82). Maqām Shaykh Ibrāhīm. Exterior.

At the top of the dome is a swirled disc pattern. The condition of this monument is excellent.

Shrines

The principal shrine in Lydda is the tomb of St. George which before the Crusades was venerated by both Muslims and Christians. After the Crusades a tradition grew which attributed the grave of the companion of the Prophet, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜAwf, to a place to the east of the city (for a discussion of this figure, see Houtsma and Montgomery-Watt in *EI2*, I, 84; and Nābulsī ed. Murad, 409–410). Al-ᶜUlaymī, writing in the latter part of the fifteenth century notes, however, that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ᶜAwf died and was buried in Madīna (translation Sauvaire, 211). The location of this shrine is now unknown and the only extant Muslim shrine is that of Shaykh Ibrāhīm.

Maqām of Shaykh Ibrāhīm

This building stands in the Muslim cemetery on the south side of Route 443. It is built on the ruins of an older structure near the entrance to the graveyard.

The maqām consists of a rectangular cross-vaulted structure (4m x 4m) with a small dome in the top (Plate 209). The east face is open and there are windows in the north and south sides. The outlines of a grave or cenotaph can be seen outlined on the floor. There are niches in each corner probably for holding candles. An inscription dated to 1119 H. (1706–1707 C.E.) on the exterior of the building states that this is the tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Suwayq.

References (general): Abel 1967, II, index; Adler 1930, 92, 138; Baedeker 1876, 136; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, index; Cohen 1989, 32, 89, 90, 122; Dimashqī ed. Mehren, 201; Sharon in *EI2*, V, 798–803; Hasson in *EJ*, XI, 619–620; Guérin, *Judée*, I, 322–334; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Heyd 1960, index; *HG*, 154; Le Strange 1890, 28, 303, 493; Marmadji 1951, 82, 108, 160, 190–191; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 31–32; MPF, 12 No.33; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 176; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 409–410; Palmer 1881, 216; Pringle 1993–, II, 9–27; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 199; Robinson 1841, III, 49–50; Schwartz 1991; Singer 1994, 81, 111, 112; Stephan 1944, 184 n.1; *SWP*, II, 252, 267–268 (map XIII); al-ᶜUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 210–211; *TIR*, 171; Volney 1959, 7, 256, 343–345; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 354; al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 118, 119.

M

83. Majdal (near Tiberias)

Visited 9.91
Location 198.248
32.49N/35.31E

Majdal is located on the west shore of Lake Tiberias approximately 1km north of the city of Tiberias.

The village is generally identified with the town of Magdala which appears in the New Testament as the home of Mary Magdalene. During the Roman period the town was also known as Tarichea, Migdal Nunia or Migdal Sebaya (*TIR*, 173). Little is known of the village during the medieval and Ottoman period, presumably because it was either small or uninhabited (Pringle 1998, II, 28, No.139). During the nineteenth century the village was visited by a number of European travellers interested in the Christian associations of the site. In the early nineteenth century Burckhardt (1822, 320) described the poor condition of the village, whilst at the end of the century it was described as a stone-built village with a population of 80 (SWP, I, 361). After 1948 the village was deserted and it is now part of an archaeological park administered by the Israel National Parks.

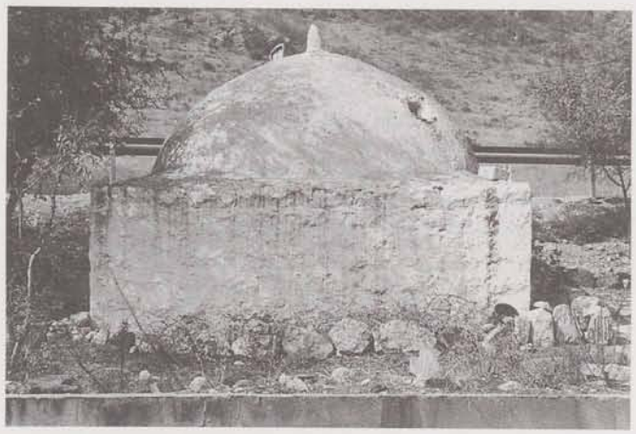


Plate 210. Majdal (near Tiberias) (No. 83). Exterior of Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī.

Maqām

The only remaining structure from the village is the shrine of Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī (Plates 210–211). This building stands between the lake, and the main road between Tiberias and Qiryat Shimona (Hb.). The shrine is a small square building with a shallow dome supported by squinches. The shrine is entered by a doorway on the north side (there is also a small window on the same side). There appear to be two tombs inside, one is approximately 1m high, whilst the other is marked only by a low kerb of stones. The larger tomb is covered with purple and green cloth (see Petersen 1999, 124–125).

References: Baedeker 1876, 371; Buckingham 1821, 466; Burckhardt 1822, 320; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 203–206, 416; Khalidi 1992, 529–530; McCown 1923, Pl.19; Palmer 1881, 131; Petersen 1999, 124–125; Pringle 1998–, II, 28; *SWP*, I, 361, 369, 413 (map VI); *TIR* 173; Wilson 1884, II, index.

84. Majdal (near Ascalon)

Visited 17.12.91, 27.6.94
Location 1108.1196
31.40N/34.35E

Majdal is located on the coastal plain approximately 1km north-east of the ancient remains of Ascalon. Today the city forms one of the outer suburbs of the modern Israeli city of Ashqelon (Hb.).

It is possible that Majdal (more precisely Tell al-Dhurur) may be indentified with the settlement of Migdal-yene mentioned in the campaign of Pharaoh Amen-hotep II in the fifteenth century B.C.E. (Aharoni 1979, 166–168). In Roman times the settlement was known as Peleia (Palaia) (*TIR*, 200). In general, however, the site appears to have been of little importance until the medieval period. After the destruction of the ancient city of Ascalon by the Mamluk Sultan, Baybars, Majdal became the local regional centre. In the 1596 *daftar* the village is part of the *nāḥiya* of Gaza and contains a population of 559 households (*khāna*) (twice that of Ramla at the same period) (Cohen and Lewis 1978, 19). The taxable produce comprised 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees', and a market toll (*bāj*

Plate 211. Majdal (near Tiberias) (No. 83). Interior of Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī.

bāzār) (*HG*, 144). The village (described as Majdal ʿAsqalān) also appears in two *waqfs* listed in Gaza (*MPF*, 1 No.1, 10 No.30). In the seventeenth century the site was visited by the traveller, al-Nābulsī (ed. Murad, 426–427). Throughout the Ottoman period there are records which indicate that Majdal acted as a regional centre together with Ramla and Jaffa, and contained a *mukhtār* (Cohen 1973, 145 n.104). It is not clear, however, whether this administrative significance remanied constant from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. In the late Ottoman period the town became known as a centre of textile production, as well as a local market centre (Weir 1989, 28–32).

Great Mosque (Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr)

Location 1108.1196

This building is located on the west side of the main street in the centre of old Majdal (Plates 212–215). At present many of the buildings in the area are derelict, although before 1948 it was the main market-place for the district (cf. Weir 1989, 22–23 for 1939 photograph of market and mosque in use). The modern market is located in a newly cleared area to the west of the mosque. The mosque is now used as district museum and art gallery.

The building consists of a rectangular courtyard with a large prayer hall at the south end and a short thick octagonal minaret. The exterior of the complex contains a number of shop units that have recently been re-opened. The main courtyard has a trapezoidal shape formed by arcades on three sides and the portico of the mosque on the fourth. There is a second courtyard attached to the north side of the complex that may have been either an ablutions area or, contained some teaching rooms (this area was not visited). The main entrance to the mosque is a doorway in the middle of the east side of the main courtyard. The door is set into a rectangular frame containing red, white, and black marble panels. The inner face of the entrance is flanked by two antique marble columns with foliated capitals (of Crusader date?). There is a second entrance from the north courtyard which consists of a long barrel-vault. The arcades comprise a number of domed bays supported by masonry piers or antique columns.

Plate 214. Majdal (near Ascalon) (No. 84). Great Mosque portico.

Plate 212. Majdal (near Ascalon) (No. 84). Great Mosque courtyard.

The southern side of the courtyard is formed by a vaulted portico, originally open but now filled with glass. The central part of the portico was covered with two small domes which are now broken and have been replaced with perspex. The side vaults are made out of black ceramic jars similar to those used in Jaffa (and see below Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr).

Plate 213. Majdal (near Ascalon) (No. 84). Great Mosque from south.

Plate 215. Majdal (near Ascalon) (No. 84). Great Mosque interior with mirhab.

The doorway to the prayer hall has a marble lintel covered with a shallow relieving arch. Above the arch there is a marble panel (1.6m x 0.42m) containing a four line Arabic inscription. The inscription: '... commemorates Sayf al-Dīn Salār, the guarantor or representative of the noble empire, who caused the construction of this mosque in the month of Muḥarram in the year 700 H. [1300 C.E.] ' (based on translation in PAM File 135. See also Yadin 1964, 108–109; Meinecke 1992, II, 91; Lapidus 1984, 51). Above the panel is a round window, framed with a decorative band of interlaced stonework.

The prayer hall consists of a large square chamber roofed with a cross-vault supported on four massive corner piers. The two

Plate 216. Majdal (near Ascalon) (No. 84). Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr arcade (riwaq).

northern piers each contain a small doorway with a marble lintel covered with a shallow relieving arch. The purpose of these doorways is not clear, although it seems likely that one or both gave access to the roof and the minaret. The prayer hall is lit by four circular windows placed high up in the centre of each wall. In addition there are square recesses near floor level on the west and east sides which may originally have been windows.

In the centre of the south wall is a rectangular stone panel projecting 0.03m from the face of the wall. Set into this panel is a mihrab. The mihrab is a deep polychrome niche lined with black, red, and white marble panels and surmounted by a six-pointed star carved into the stone (for a partial view of the mihrab, see Graham-Brown 1980, 169 Photo 22).

Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr

Location 1110.1196

This building stands on the east side of the main road running through the old town (Plates 216–217).

It is located on a hill (tell) in the middle of waste ground formerly occupied by mud-brick houses. The entire structure is contained within a fenced enclosure with a gate in the north wall.

The mosque has an 'L' shaped plan, with a small courtyard in front, facing the road. On the south side of the courtyard is an arcade of three bays. Each bay is covered with a tall cross-vault made of black or grey ceramic jars (for a discussion of this construction technique, see Petersen 1994). At present the bays are separated by concrete partition walls, although it would

Plate 217. Majdal (near Ascalon) (No. 84). Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr prayer hall.

originally have been a single space. In the centre of the south wall of the middle bay there is a tall (2m high) plain mihrab. There are also small square niches in the south walls of each bay.

The west wing has a long facade decorated with a decorated cornice. The decoration consists of a series of small prism-shaped dentils irregularly spaced. Approximately in the middle of the facade is a vertical break in the masonry, which may indicate that this part of the building was built in two parts. To the south of this break is a marble panel containing an Arabic inscription (see below). Inside there is a long room aligned north–south composed of two cross-vaulted bays. The north bay appears to be earlier and may originally have been a single vaulted canopy open on all four sides. The east side is still open to the courtyard. The south bay has niches in the walls and a doorway in the east leading to the arcade.

The inscription mentioned above consists of nine lines of roughly engraved *naskhi*. The inscription records that it is part of the wali of Tamīmī Idari (sp.) and gives a list of property belonging to this *waqf* (PAM File 135). The inscription is dated to 958 H. (1551–1552 C.E.).

References: Baedeker 1876, 318; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 187, 190, 437; Cohen 1973, 145 n.104; Cuinet 1896, 304, 456, 480; Graham-Brown 1980, 169, Photo 22; *HG*, 144; Meinecke 1992, II, 91; *MPF*, 1 No.1, 10 No.30; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 426–427; Palmer 1881, 272; PAM File 135; *RCEA*, XIII, No.5099; *SWP*, II, 410–411 (map XVI); *TIR*, 200; Volney 1959, 347; Weir 1989, 22–23, 28–32; Yadin 1964, 108–109.

85. Majdal Yābā (Majdal al-Ṣaddīq)

Visited 11.5.92
Location 1464.1653
32.05N/34.57E

This large site is located on the western slopes of the Nāblus mountains overlooking the modern Israeli settlement of Rosh ha-Ayin (Ar. Rās al-ʿAyn). The hills in this area are subject to large scale stone quarrying and this activity threatens the site on all sides.

In pre-modern times the site was of great strategic importance because it overlooked part of the main north–south highway (*Via Maris*) from Egypt to Damascus. In the Roman period the

Plate 218. Majdal Yāba (No. 85). General view of village (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 219. Majdal Yāba (No. 85). View of village from north.

Plate 220. Majdal Yāba (No. 85). Interior of fortress.

site was known as Aphecou Pyrgos or Aphek Turris (tower of Aphek) after the nearby town of Aphek or Antipatris (see Rās al-ʿAyn No.117). It was a Jewish stronghold until it was conquered by Cestius Gallus in 66 C.E. and later housed the martyrium of St Cyriacus (*TIR*, 64). The Crusaders called the place Mirabel and established a castle at the site which functioned as an administrative centre (Pringle 1997, 67–69 No.144). The castle was captured by the Ayyubid army in 1187–1188 who used it as a base for attacks on the Crusaders (Abū Shāma RHC (Or.), IV, 300, 303; Khalidi 1992, 396). In 1191 the castle was destroyed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to prevent its reuse by the Crusaders. According to Yāqūt (ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 418–419) the village had a strong fortress (*ḥiṣn*) and was known as Majdal Yābā (probably to distinguish it from other villages of the same name i.e. Majdal near Tiberias or Majdal near Ascalon). According to the 1596 *daftar* Majdal Yābā was located in *nāḥiya* Jabal Qubāl and had a population of eight households (*khāna*). The taxable produce of the village comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees'. A poll tax (*jizya*) was levied upon the non-Muslims (*HG*, 137).

Some time in the seventeenth century the village was taken over by the Rayyān family who were part of the Banū Ghāzī tribe from Transjordan. By the early nineteenth century the family was a powerful force in the area and had gained control of 22 villages. In the mid nineteenth century the village acquired the alternative name of Majdal al-Ṣaddīq after al-Ṣaddīq, head of the Rayyān family at the time. Warfare during the 1850s lead to the decline of the Rayyān family and by the 1860s they controlled little outside Majdal Yābā.

Until 1948 the village was a group of mud and stone houses clustering around the fortress (Plate 218). Today little survives of the village with the exception of the fortress and Maqām Shaykh Barāz al-Dīn (Plate 219).

Fortress (Plate 220)

The fortress is a large rectangular complex with a central courtyard. The courtyard is enclosed by buildings on all four sides. On the ground floor there are a series of massively built cross-vaulted chambers supporting an upper storey of less substantially built rooms. On the south side is a low arcade supporting an upper floor containing two rooms. The east side is the most built up part of the fortress. On the ground floor of the east side are two large cross-vaulted halls and a small courtyard. This second courtyard is separated from the main courtyard by a wall with a doorway in the middle. The doorway is set into a recess with benches either side. The arch above the door is decorated with a billet moulding. The north side of the courtyard is a large two storey block containing the gateway. This is a short passage covered with cross-vaults. On the west side of the gateway is a doorway set into the base of a tower built out of large (0.5m x 1m) limestone blocks. Above the doorway is a massive lintel with a monumental Greek inscription (cf. Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 132). The east side of the gateway rests on older foundations, similar to those of the tower on the west side.

At least three main building phases can be detected: first, Crusader (twelfth century); second, Ottoman (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries); and third, Mandate (1918–1948). First, Crusader period: the earliest phase is associated with the tower in the north-west corner. It is generally assumed that the lintel is a secondary use and was removed from a nearby church. The tower itself is dated to the early twelfth century, whilst the inner ward (lower level of courtyard) and an outer wall were added later in the same century (Pringle 1996, No.144). Second, Ottoman period: the wall dividing the main courtyard

Plate 221. Majdal Yāba (No. 85). Mausoleum of Shaykh Barāz al-Dīn.

Plate 222. Majdal Yāba (No. 85). Interior of Shaykh Barāz al-Dīn.

and the inner courtyard is certainly from the Ottoman period, as are the cross-vaulted rooms on the first floor. Third, Mandate period: buildings from the last phase are characterised by roofs made of iron girders (railway track) and concrete.

Maqām Shaykh Barāz al-Dīn (Plates 221–222)
This stands on a hill approximately 300m north of the fortress. Since 1948 the west side of the hill has been removed by massive quarrying operations so that the tomb now stands on the edge of a cliff. The tomb was built in the nineteenth century for one of the leaders of the Rayyān family. In Mandate times the area around the tomb served as the village cemetery (PAM Ory 29.8.39).

The shrine consists of a square domed chamber built directly onto the rock. A mulberry tree stands immediately to the north of the building opposite the entrance. There are windows on the north and west sides of the building. The interior of the chamber is roofed by a domical-vault resting on very small squinches in the corners. In the middle of the south wall opposite the doorway is a small mihrab with a pointed arched hood. Stone foundations on the floor of the building may be the remains of a cenotaph. Most of the interior is covered with a thick layer of plaster, although in places this has fallen off leaving the raw masonry exposed. The doorway and windows are made out of dressed limestone blocks whilst the walls are built out of roughly squared Dolomite blocks or large (probably reused) limestone blocks. The dome is made out of small stones set into lime mortar.

References: Abū Shāma RHC (Or.), IV, 300, 303; Baedeker 1876, 335; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 76, 159, 340; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 131–133; HG, 137; Khalidi 1992, 396–397; Le Strange 1890, 56, 498; Marmadji 1951, 192; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 412; Palmer 1881, 238; Pringle 1993–, I, 104–106, II, 28–29; Pringle 1997, 67–69 No.144; *SWP*, II, 286, 360–361 (map XIV); Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 418.

86. Malaḥa

Visited 4.7.94
Location 1446.2311
32.40N/34.56E

This site is located near the coast west of the Haifa–Tel Aviv motorway. Conder and Kitchener tentatively associate the site with ancient Magdiel which is listed in the *Onmasticon* as five Roman miles north of Caesarea on the way to Tyre (*SWP*, I, 289; *TIR*, 174). They also note that the site consists of a ruined village with one modern arch standing and ancient rock cuttings (*SWP*, I, 314–315). No mention is made, however, of the tomb of Shaykh Burayk (although see Ronen and Olami 1978, 68–71, 18* Site 124).

According to the 1596 *daftar* a site named Malaḥa was located in *nāḥiya* Sāḥil ʿAthlīth and contained a population of eight households (*khāna*). Taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 158). The site does not appear to have been inhabited in the Mandate period, apart from temporary occupation around the shrine of Shaykh Burayk.

Tomb of Shaykh Burayk/ Abrayk (Fig. 71)
The shrine is surrounded by a dense growth of cactuses on the south and east sides. On the west side there is a rectangular enclosure approximately the same size as the tomb. On the north side, to the left of the entrance, is an old mulberry tree.

The building is covered with a dome, at the top of which is an inverted basalt olive press. The interior of the tomb has two shallow arches running east to west. At either end are shallow transverse arches leaving a square central area which is covered

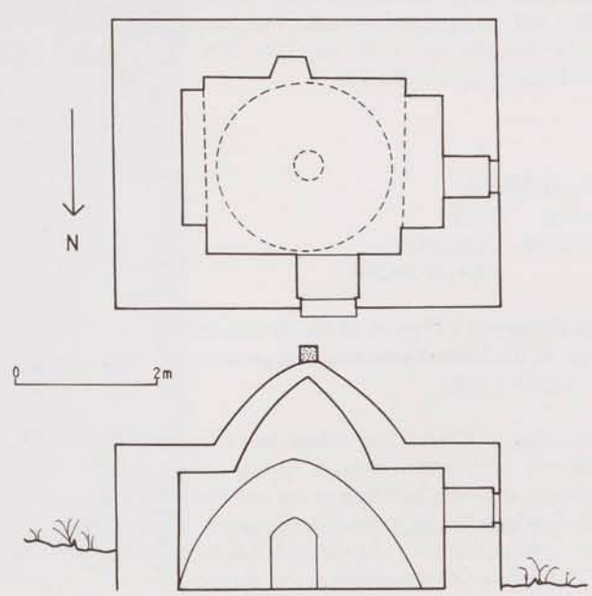


Fig. 71. Malaḥa (Kh) (No. 86). Shaykh Burayk.

with the dome. There is a window in the west wall of the tomb and a low mihrab slightly off-centre in the south wall. The arches above the doorway and window are each made of a single stone with the underneath cut away to resemble a shallow arch.

Ottoman Bridge (Fig. 72)
Location 1444.2307
This is located south-west of Shaykh Burayk on the west side of the motorway and east of the railway line.

This structure is 7m long resting on a single arch with a 3m span. The arch is 6m long with a raised keystone on the east and west face. According to the *Survey of Israel* it rests on ancient foundations (see Ronen and Olami 1978, 73, 19* Site 131).

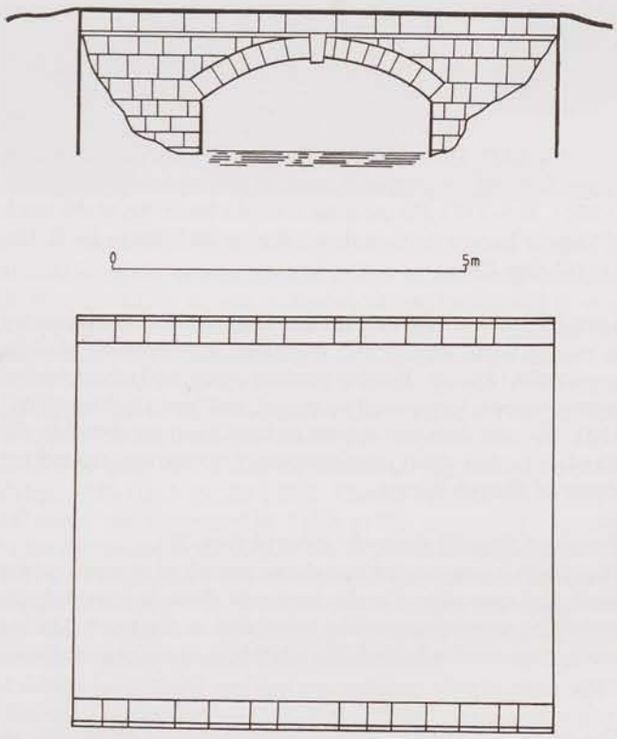


Fig. 72. Malaḥa (Kh) (No. 86). Ottoman Bridge.

References (shrine and bridge): Abel 1967, II, 92; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, I, 461; *HG*, 158; Palmer 1881, 112; Ronen and Olami 1978, 67–68, 18* Site 123; 68–71, 18* Site 124; 1978, 73, 19* Site 131; *SWP*, I, 314–316 (map V); *TIR*, 174.

87. al-Mazār
Visited 4.7.94
Location 1470.2321
32.41N/34.58E

The destroyed village of al-Mazār was located on the western slope of the Carmel mountains approximately 3km south-west of ᶜAthlīth (ᶜAtlīt).

According to Khalidi the village had a square shape and was supplied with water from a spring (1992, 178–179). The principal standing building at the site was the tomb of Shaykh Yaḥyā, which has been destroyed since it was surveyed by the archaeological Survey of Israel in 1964/1965 (Ronen and Olami 1978, 63–65). Other remains at the site included rock-cut tombs, cup-marks, a plastered bell-shaped cistern, and surface pottery.

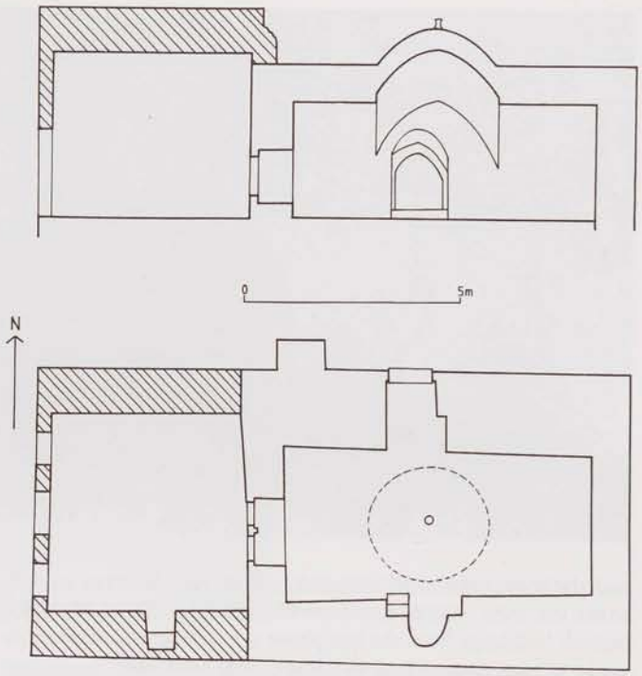


Fig. 73. Mazār (No. 87). Shaykh Yaḥyā.

Shaykh Yaḥyā/ Aḥyā
This was located on the lower slopes of the hill in an area which has now been converted into an orchard.

The shrine consisted of two rooms aligned east–west (Fig. 73). The eastern room was built out of *kurkar* stone and has a rectangular buttress next to the door on the north side. The doorway was covered with a pointed arch made out of large voussoirs. The interior was a rectangular barrel-vaulted room with a dome over the central area. A fragment of a marble column was embedded in the top of the exterior of the dome. The walls and vault were coated with plaster strengthened with sherds of Byzantine pottery. In the centre of the south wall was a low mihrab set into an arched recess. To the right (west) of the mihrab were two stone steps. A window in the west wall opened into the west room.

The western room was built of limestone and was evidently of a later date than the eastern room. The room was entered through a doorway in the west wall flanked by two windows. In the middle of the south wall was a square mihrab. (This description is based on a translation by John Woodhead of Ronen and Olami 1978, 63–65).

References: Khalidi 1992, 178–179; Palmer 1881, 116; Ronen and Olami 1978, 63–65; *SWP*, map V.

88. Mazrᶜa
Visited 7.91, 22.8.91, 14.4.94.
Location 159.265
32.59N/35.06E

The village of al-Mazrᶜa is located on the north coastal plain 2km south of the modern town of Nahariyya and 10km north of Acre (see Jaffa Research Centre 1991, 538–539).

The village is mentioned in the treaty of 1283 between Qalaun and the Latin kingdom where it was said to be still under Frankish control (Barag 1979, 205). In the 1596 *daftar* the

Plate 223. Mazr'a (No. 88). Remains of arrow loop (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 224. Mazr'a (No. 88). Medieval building from south (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 225. Mazr'a (No. 88). Medieval building from north (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 226. Mazr'a (No. 88). Interior of medieval building.

village was located in *nāḥiya* ʿAkka (Acre) and contained a population of 27 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, cotton, 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees', and water buffaloes (*HG*, 194). In the eighteenth century Mazrʿa was one of five villages that made up the area known as (*nāḥiya*) Sāḥil ʿAkka (Acre coast), the other villages being Judayda, Samīriyya, al-Makr, and Jūlis. In the 1760s, under Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, the villages became *Viftlik* estates (i.e. under his direct control) and were specially developed. With the death of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar in 1775 however, the villages were abandoned and became the haunt of bedouin and bandits. The new governor of Acre, Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha, returned the villages to their local shaykhs. Later he received permission from the Ottoman Sultan to grant their income as *malikane* (i.e. they paid no tax to the government). In order to encourage development of the area, the income was then divided between Jazzār Pasha and the local shaykh (Cohen 1973, 133–135). In the early nineteenth century Mazrʿa was subject to further investment with the construction of the Kabrī aqueduct which ran along the west side of the village.

Vaulted Medieval Building (Fig. 74, Plates 223–226)

The medieval vaulted building is on the east side of the aqueduct in the old part of the village. Externally the structure appears as a high wall facing the road with several openings and windows (cf. Pringle 1997, 70 No.150). The masonry of the wall is consistent with a medieval date, being composed of large blocks (average size 1m x 0.5m) set into hard white mortar. Some of the facing blocks have been robbed out and the wall is now severely weathered. Unfortunately, it was not possible to investigate the whole complex which consisted of at least three vaulted rooms.

The area investigated comprised two chambers, a long vaulted hall aligned east–west, and a smaller vaulted chamber aligned north–south. The main chamber is barrel-vaulted and measures 11.4m x 6.35m. There are three openings on the north side of the vault; a window, a doorway, and a modern opening cut through the wall of the vault. The smaller chamber is separated from the long hall by a wall which has been mostly destroyed (there would probably have been a communicating door). The smaller chamber may be divided into two areas, an outer and an inner section. The outer section is covered with a vault running north–south although the southern part seems to be truncated. The inner section of the smaller chamber (which is covered with a separate vault running east–west) is partially rock-cut. At the east and west end of this inner section are rock-cut troughs indicating that this may have been a stable.

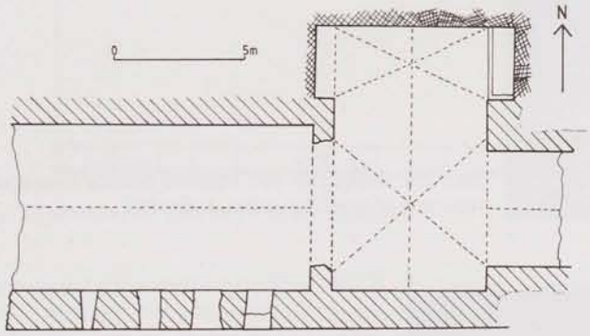


Fig.74. Mazrʿa (No. 88). Plan of medieval building.

Plate 227. Mazrʿa (No. 88). Bridge from south (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Bridge

To the north of the village there is a small single span bridge which crosses the wadi (Plate 227). It is described in the Mandate Files as a 'late Arab bridge' and should perhaps be associated with the improvements of the eighteenth century.

Oil Press and Flour Mill

These buildings are located on the north side of the wadi approximately 500m north of the village (Plate 228). The flour

Plate 228. Mazrʿa (No. 88). Mill next to Kabri–Acre aqueduct.

mill stands at the foot of the aqueduct (on the east side) and was apparently powered by water from it. The water was brought through a tall square tower next to the aqueduct. The mill house consists of a rectangular cross-vaulted building. To the west of the aqueduct there was a large square building (also cross-vaulted) which was said to be an oil press (not entered).

Khān al-Wāqif (Plates 229–231)
This building is located approximately 800m north of the village of al-Mazrʿa.

This is one of the buildings associated with the construction of the Kābrī aqueduct at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Despite its appearance it seems likely that the building served as an agricultural building or depot, rather than as a conventional khān for travellers and merchants. There is a similar building nearby known as Khān Evron (Hb.) nearby.

The building is a square enclosure one storey high with rooms arranged around the east, south, and west sides. The north side is a simple enclosure wall 3m high with an entrance in the middle. In the north-east and north-west corners of the courtyard are staircases leading to the flat roof. The south range of the building consists of a continuous vaulted hall, with an arcade of six open arches resting on piers facing the courtyard. At present the lower part of the arches are blocked, although originally they must have been open. The west and east ranges are of identical design consisting of six vaulted cells. Each cell is barrel-vaulted with a low arched doorway next to a square window with a narrow opening (for ventilation and light) at the apex of the vault. The courtyard is paved with stone slabs which have been removed in several places for the cultivation of bananas. There are also several recent temporary buildings in the courtyard although these have done little to affect the main structure.

Khān Evron (Hb.)
This building stands about 1km north-east of al-Mazrʿa immediately to the south of the Kābrī aqueduct.

The general design of this building is similar to that of Khān al-Wāqif although it differs in its present condition. Like Khān al-Wāqif, the entrance is in the middle of the north side and retains part of the original gate reinforced with iron. It should also be noted that there is an additional entrance in the south-east corner, although this is not original. On the interior, either side of the gateway, there are traces of the two staircases which led to the roof. The east range comprised five barrel-vaulted chambers, at present open to the courtyard, although it seems likely that there was originally a wall along the front containing doorways and windows. In the north-east corner remains of the original wall survive, although this has been haphazardly repaired in recent times and used as a dwelling. The west range is in a similar condition to the east range, although here it is the south-east corner where part of the original wall facing remains. The south range consists of a single hall divided into five cross-vaulted bays with a doorway leading into the courtyard at either end. In addition to the long vaulted hall it seems likely that there was originally another range of rooms in front, possibly an arcade, facing the courtyard. Evidence for this arcade are the remains of vaults in the south-east and south-

Plate 229. Mazrʿa (No. 88). Entrance to Khān al-Wāqif.

Plate 230. Mazrʿa (No. 88). Khān al-Wāqif. Stairs to roof.

Plate 231. Mazrʿa (No. 88). Khān al-Wāqif. Interior.

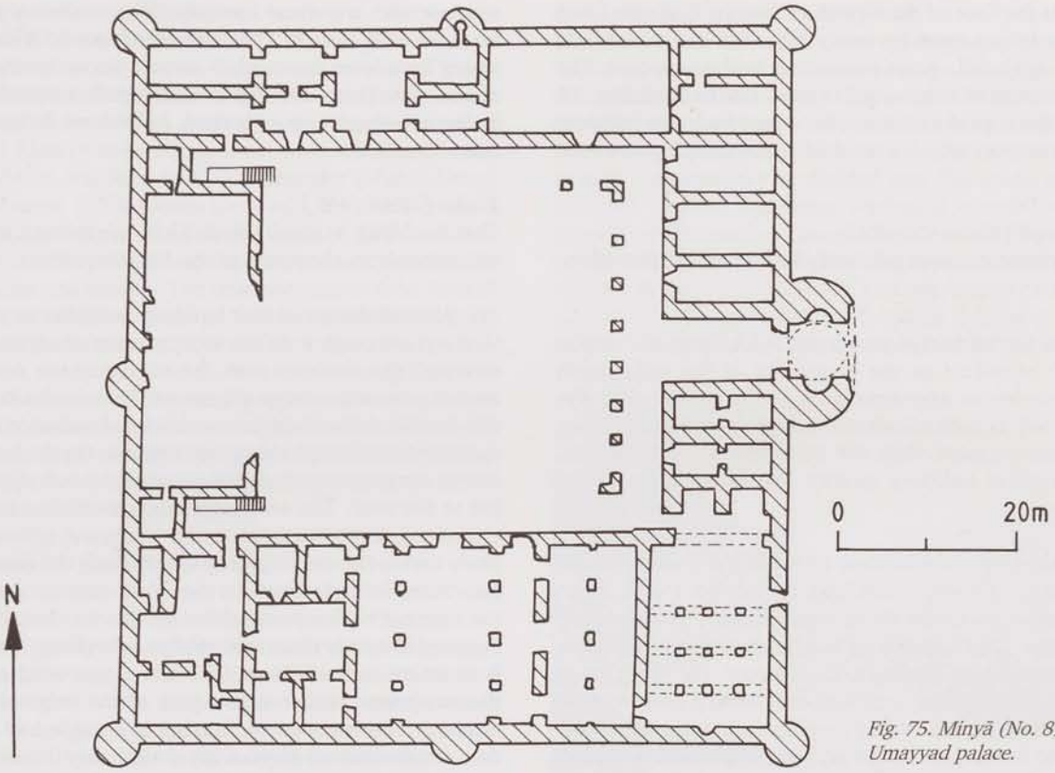


Fig. 75. Minyā (No. 89). Plan of Umayyad palace.

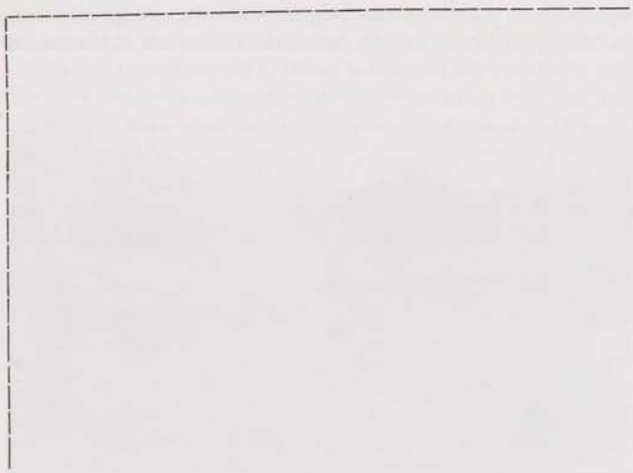


Plate 232. Khirbat al-Minyā (No. 89). Exterior walls.

Plate 233. Khirbat al-Minyā (No. 98). Column base.

west corners. The design of this building is so similar to Khān al-Wāqif that they must be of virtually the same date.

References: Barag 1979, 205; Cohen 1973, 133–135; Frankel 1988, 250, 265; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 405; *HG*, 194; *MPF*, 66 No.36; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 321; Palmer 1881, 52; *SWP*, I, 147 (map III).

89. Minyā

Visited 8.93
Location 200.252
32.52N/35.22E

Two important sites are known by this name, Khirbat al-Minyā and Khān al-Minyā. Both sites are located within 300m of each other on the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee.

Khirbat al-Minyā (Fig. 75, Plates 232–234)

The most famous of the two sites is the Umayyad palace known as Khirbat al-Minyā. The site was first excavated by German archaeologists during the 1930s who originally thought they were excavating a Roman fort (Puttrich-Reignard 1938; Puttrich-Reignard 1939). In 1960 the site was excavated by an Israeli-American expedition, with the intention of refining the chronology and the plan of the palace (Grabar *et al.* 1960; Grabar in *EAE*, III, 1050–1051).

The remains of the palace comprise a large square building with a central courtyard and a gateway on the east facing the lake. The lower parts of the walls, up to a height of nearly 0.5m, are made of roughly squared basalt blocks whilst the upper parts are built out of finely cut ashlar masonry. The walls are preserved to a maximum height of 4.5m and were originally capped with a cresting of stepped merlons. At each corner of the structure is a solid round tower. In the centre of the north, south, and west sides there are semi-circular buttress towers. The entrance is approximately in the middle of the east side and consists of an elliptical gateway formed out of two half

Plate 234. Khirbat al-Minyā (No. 98). Merlons.

round towers either side of a central domed chamber. The domed entrance chamber contained arched entrances in the east and west sides and large semi-circular niches in the north and south sides. The dome rested on a carved stone cornice probably supported on pendentives.

The gateway leads into the central courtyard through a vaulted iwan. Only the edges of the courtyard have been excavated, leaving a large central area about which nothing is known. Nevertheless, enough has been revealed to show that there was an arcade running around the sides, resting on 'L' shaped corner piers and marble columns (six per side).

The southern side of the courtyard is 20m wide and contained the principal rooms of the palace. In the north-east corner is a mosque consisting of a small rectangular courtyard and a prayer hall. The prayer hall is four aisles wide by four aisle deep, supported on pillars. The mihrab, comprising a plain concave niche, is located in the centre of the south wall. The main entrance to the mosque is through a corridor leading off the courtyard. There is a second doorway leading directly into the courtyard from the exterior and a third door opening into the qibla end of the prayer hall from the ceremonial room to the west.

Three doorways in the middle of the south wall of the courtyard lead into a large square room divided into three aisles (comprising a wide central aisle and two narrower side aisles). This room was lavishly decorated with floor mosaics, marble dados and wall mosaics made of glass and gold. On the east side of the hall are three doorways leading into a large single rectangular room. The hall is divided in two by a single line of piers. A doorway in the south-east corner of this room opens into the mosque. There are also three doorways on the west side of the main hall leading into a suite of five rooms (four small rooms and a large central room) with elaborate floor mosaics.

The remainder of the palace has not been so intensively excavated. The north, west, and east ranges are all narrower than the southern range with an average width of 12m. The excavation by the Israeli-American team on the west side of the courtyard clarified the room plan and revealed a further floor mosaic. There are remains of staircases in the south-west and north-west corners of the courtyard, indicating that there was probably an upper floor. The central bastion in the north side is hollow possibly to provide an exit for the drains.

The date of the palace was suggested by a fragment of reused inscription inserted into the gate house during a later rebuilding. The inscription is in the name of the Umayyad caliph, al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 705–715 C.E.), indicating a seventh- or early eighth-century date for the original construction. After an initial period of use there appears to have been a second phase of occupation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Grabar *et al.* 1960, 236). In view of the construction of Khān al-Minyā in the fifteenth century, it seems likely that the building may have been used as a khān

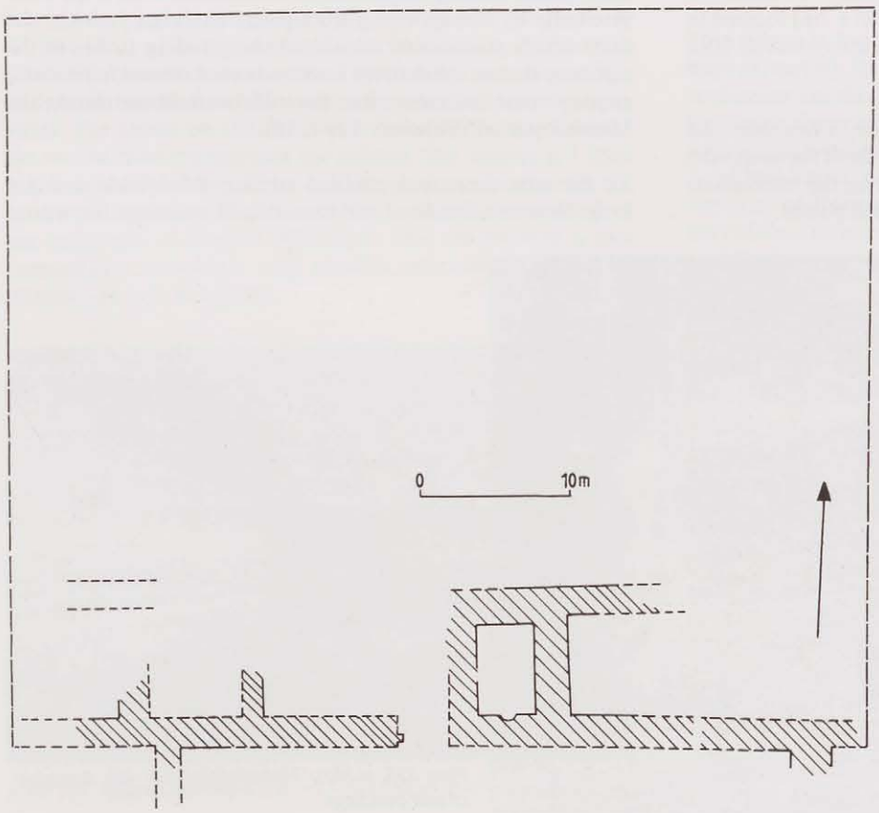


Fig. 76. Minyā (No. 89). Plan of Khān.

during this second phase. There was also a third phase of occupation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries before its final abandonment.

Khān al-Minyā (Fig. 76)
The remains of this building are located 300m north of Khirbat al-Minyā on the southern slope of Tell Kinneret (Hb.).

It seems likely that the khān can be dated to the middle of the fifteenth century. Khalīl a-Ẓāhirī, writing in the 1430s, mentions Minyā as a considerable village within the *mamlaka* of Ṣafad although he makes no mention of a khān (1894, 44). The khān stands at a cross-roads between the main Damascus–Cairo route and a secondary route to Ṣafad via Khān Jubb Yūsuf (see comments in Grabar *et al.* 1960, 242, n.29). Khān Minyā is mentioned on the itinerary of sultan Qāyṭbāy during his tour of Bilād al-Shām in 1477 (Ibn Jīʿān cited in Hartmann 1910, 695). In 1577 an imperial Ottoman *firmān* ordered that post horses should be placed at the khān along with 45 families who were responsible for their maintenance (Heyd 1960, 127). The khān appears to have been in ruins by the latter part of the nineteenth century (Wilson 1884, II, 75) when it was surveyed by Conder and Kitchener (*SWP*, I, 394 Fig.62). In 1920 the khān was demolished (with the exception of the south-west corner) when a spa was established at the site. Later, during the 1960s, the remaining corner was demolished during the construction of the National Water Carrier (an artificial canal supplying water to the Negev). In 1988 salvage excavations were carried out by the Department of Antiquities before further development at the site. At present little remains of the khān although a few ruined walls are still visible.

The khān was a rectangular structure measuring 50m x 50m with large square corner towers and rectangular buttresses. The walls of the khān were 2m thick and built out of roughly squared basalt blocks with a rubble core. The gateway in the middle of the south wall appears to have been built out of dressed ashlar masonry. There appears to have been two phases of construction and in the latter phase the khān was extended to the east. There was a small mosque (2.17m x 7m) located in the south-east corner of the khān with a concave mihrab built of dressed ashlar masonry.

The floor of the mosque was paved with square stone slabs and the entrance appears to have been in the middle of the west side. Baked bricks and a marble capital found during the excavations were probably taken from the nearby Umayyad palace.

References (palace and khān): Abel, II, 219, 226; Baedeker 1876, 372; Creswell, *EMA*, I, 381–389; Grabar in *EAE*, III, 1050–1051; Grabar *et al.* 1960; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Hartmann 1918; Heyd 1960, 127; Lewis 1954, 491; Palmer 1881, 129; Puttrich-Reignard 1938; Puttrich-Reignard 1939; Robinson 1841, III, 287, 288; *SWP*, I, 369, 394, 403–404 (map VI); Wilson 1884, II, 73, 75, 76, 82, 83, 84; al-Ẓāhirī ed. Raviasse, 44.

90. Mirr/ Maḥmūdiyya

Visited 10.91
Location 1425.1688
32.07N/34.54E

Al-Mirr is located on the south bank of the ʿAwjā river, west of the fortress of Rās al-ʿAyn.

The site is mentioned in 1158–1159 C.E. in reference to the Byzantine mill and dam repaired by the Crusaders (Pringle 1997, 72 No.154). A village was founded on the site in the early nineteenth century during the reign of sultan Maḥmūd II (1808–1839) from whom the village derived its other name (al-Maḥmūdiyya). The village was abandoned after 1948 and the area is now covered with trees (Khalidi 1992, 250). The only extant structure is the ruined mill and dam referred to in the Mandate files as 'Jisr al-Maḥmūdiyya'.

The Mill (Plate 235)
This is a long rectangular building (60m N–S x 10m E–W) with two levels. The lower level consists of at least 13 parallel water inlets, whilst the upper floor has a roofed area to the west and an open causeway to the east.

This is a complex structure which appears to have been built in several phases. Evidence for this constructional history can be found all over the site. For instance, there are two types of water inlet: those with a flat slab roof; and those with a pointed vaulted roof. The northern covered area was roofed with 13 cross-vaults resting on piers. The cross-vaults were supported internally by ribs springing from piers. There are holes in the floor which presumably connected the grinding stones to the turbines. Recent excavations have recovered several fourteenth-century coins, indicating that the mills were in use during the Mamluk period (Shkolnik 1994, 32).

To the east there is a cobbled surface 2.5m wide and 5m long. Beneath this floor are two arched openings for water.

Plate 235. al-Mirr/ Maḥmūdiyya (No. 90). Remains of mill buildings.

It seems likely that this was part of a causeway associated with the mill.

References: Khalidi 1992, 250; Palmer 1881, 216; Pringle 1997, 72 No.154; Shkolnik 1994, 32; *SWP*, II, 252 (map XVII).

91. Muᶜāwiya

Visited 15.6.94
Location 1599.2151
32.32N/35.05E

The village of Muᶜāwiya is located in hilly country that forms the southernmost extent of the Carmel range. To the south of the village is the Nahal 'Iron (Hb.) which runs from Caesarea to ᶜAfūla.

There are a few old houses in the village which may be as much as 100 years old. These are flat-roofed buildings made out of rubble stone and mud mortar. The principal historic building in the village is the tomb of Shaykh Muᶜāwiya after which the village is named. According to local tradition, Muᶜāwiya was a soldier of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who died in a battle nearby and was buried at this place along with 12 of his men.

Shaykh Muᶜāwiya (Fig. 77, Plate 236)
The shrine stands on a hill in the middle of a large graveyard. The building has the same basic form as many other shrines, comprising a square room covered with a dome. The entrance to the tomb is on the north side where there are traces of rebuilding (realignment of the walls). At the north-east corner are steps leading up to the roof. On the west side are two projecting water spouts and a small window. The exterior of the building is covered in a uniform concrete render which prevents any detailed examination of the stonework.

The floor level of the interior is approximately 0.3m below the outside ground level. The interior consists of a central space covered by a dome and four large arched recesses set between four corner piers. The recesses to the south and north are fairly narrow (2m) whilst the east and west recesses are much wider (5m). The transition to the dome is made by crude squinches and the dome itself should perhaps be described as a domical-vault. The recess on the north side contains the door, whilst the southern recess contains the mihrab. The mihrab is 1.35m high and 0.65m deep. There is a large square window in the centre of the west wall. Immediately in front of the mihrab is the cenotaph of Shaykh Muᶜāwiya. The cenotaph is a low rectangular structure, with marble columns used as the headstones and footstones.

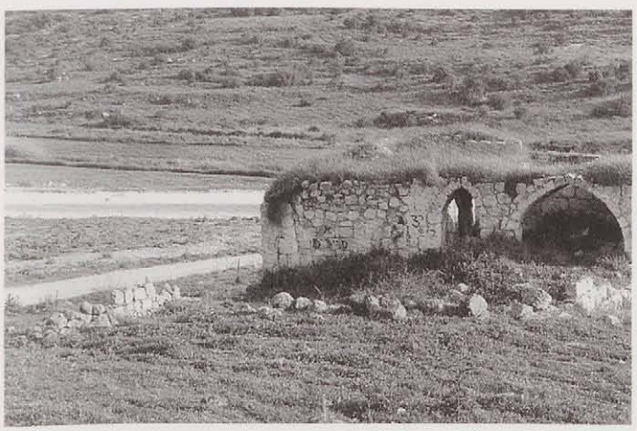


Plate 236. Shaykh Muᶜāwiya (No. 91). Exterior of mausoleum.

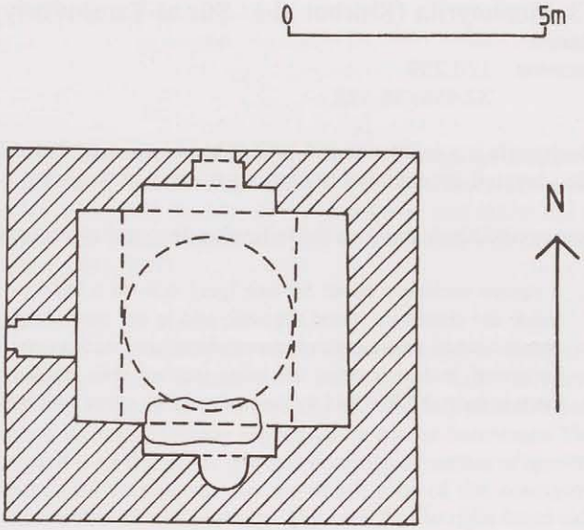


Fig. 77. Muᶜāwiya (No. 91). Plan of Shaykh's Tomb.

According to local tradition, the shrine was built 100 years ago and the village was built up around it. However, examination of the structure itself suggests it may be considerably older, with subsequent rebuilding in the later-nineteenth century. Evidence of rebuilding includes the setting of the dome and the realignment of the north wall.

References: Jaffa Research Centre 1991, 135–136; Palmer 1881, 149; *SWP*, II, 61 (map VIII).

92. Muqbayla

Visited 27.5.94
Location 1799.2134
32.31/35.17

This village is located on the edge of the Jezreel (Hb.) valley approximately 2km south-west of Ṣandala. There was a settlement on the site (known as Muqeibleh) in Roman and Byzantine times attested archaeologically by a Byzantine well and pottery workshop near the present village. According to a local inhabitant, the people of this village moved here from the area of Ḥaram Sidnā ᶜAlī (Hb. Herziliyya) in the latter part of the Ottoman period. Muqbayla is described by Conder and Kitchener as: '... a mud village in the plain, supplied by cisterns' (*SWP*, II, 45). Guérin notes that the village contained 400 inhabitants and had a number of cisterns (*Samarie*, I, 327).

In the centre of the village is a large, square, courtyard building resembling a khān called the '*ḥawsh*'. On the east and north sides are ranges of rooms. On the south side there is a simple enclosure wall 3m high. The entrance is on the east side through a small gateway, leading into a tall iwan. To the right of the doorway is a set of steps up to the roof. The central courtyard measures approximately 30m per side. The masonry of the structure suggests that it was built either in the late Ottoman or early Mandate period.

References: Guérin, *Samarie*, I, 327; Palmer 1881, 151; *SWP*, II, 45 (map VIII); *TIR*, 189.

93. Mushayrifa (Khirbat al-)/ Ṣūr al-Ṭarabulusiyya

Visited —
Location 170.239
32.45N/35.12E

Mushayrifa is a small village (*Jaffa Research Centre* 1991, 422–423) located approximately 8km north-west of Nazareth.

Conder and Kitchener give the following description of the site:

> A square enclosure about 50 feet [per] side on a hill-top. Inside are chambers round the wall, and in the north-west corner a small tower built of stones about nine inches cube undressed, laid in courses, the joints patched with smaller joints in mortar... It is said by the natives to be a fort built by Dhaher el 'Amr about 1162 A.H. [1749 C.E.), as a protection against Jezzar Pasha of Acre (*SWP*, I, 280).

In September 1921 the site was registered as an historic site by the Department of Antiquities. Seven years later ʿAbd al-Maʿti (sp.) from Ṣaffūriyya began building a house out of the remains. The site was then inspected by Makhouly who noted the following: '... the existing walls which are very roughly built are not old. They are of late Arab work from the time of Daher el 'Amr's sons about 150 years' old only' (PAM File).

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 491–492; *Jaffa Research Centre* 1991, 422–423; Palmer 1881, 112; PAM File Makhouly; Pringle 1997, 119 (Supplementary list); *SWP*, I, 280 (map V).

N

94. Nabī Būlus (Khirbat al-)

Visited 2.5.94
Location 1483.1247
31.43N/34.58E

This is located on the north side of a wadi to the south of Bayt Jimāl. The site is an extensive area of Byzantine ruins including a cistern and the foundations of a rectangular building identified as a church (Bagatti 1983, 131; Ovadiah and Gomes de Silva 1984, 142 No.34). At the south-east end of the site is Maqām Nabī Būlus. Nabī Būlus may be identified with St. Paul (Conder 1881, 267).

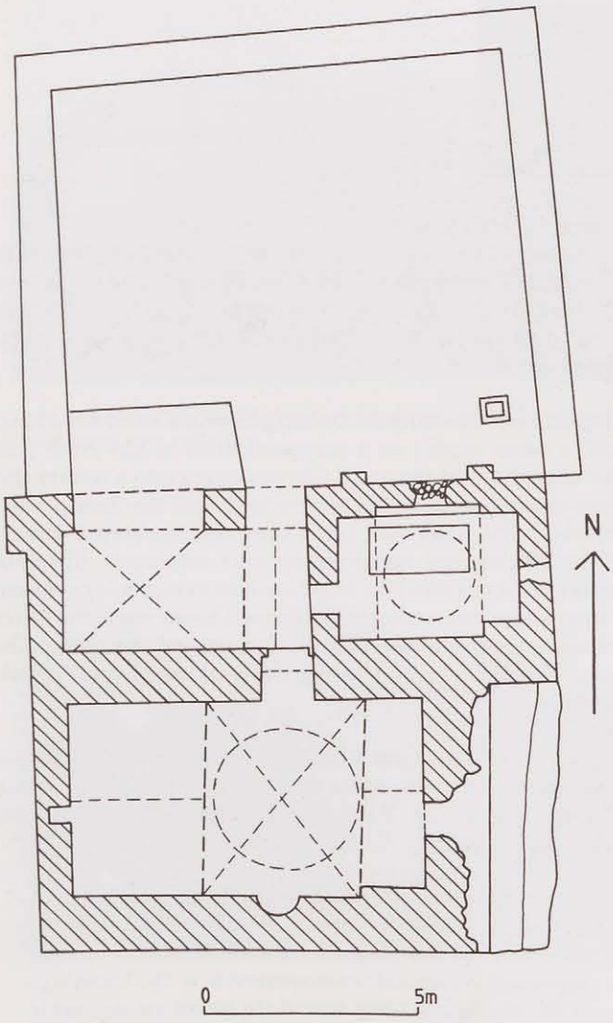


Fig. 78. Nabī Būlus (No. 94). Plan of shrine.

Maqām (Fig. 78, Plates 237–9)

The maqām is a rectangular complex comprising; a courtyard, a vaulted portico, a domed tomb, and a prayer hall. The north side of the complex is built into the hill and the southern part stands on a raised terrace supported by corner buttresses. The courtyard is on the north side and contains a number of ancient architectural fragments. On the south side of the courtyard are two arches of unequal size. The arch on the right hand side (west) is large and leads into a cross-vaulted canopy with small window in the west wall. The arch on the left hand (east) side is smaller and leads into a small vaulted passageway providing access to the prayer hall. The west side of this passage is open with a doorway on the east leading into the tomb chamber. This chamber is a small square room roofed by a cross-vault with a small dome at the apex. The cenotaph is located in the northern part of the room and there is a small window in the east wall. Baramki noted traces of painting on the walls (PAM 22.11.33).

The entrance to the prayer hall is a small doorway with a large lintel covered by a relieving arch. The prayer hall is a long room (10m east–west x 3.5m north–south). At present the prayer hall lacks a roof, although it is likely that it would

Plate 238. Nabī Būlus (No. 94). From south.

Plate 237. Nabī Būlus (No. 94). From north.

Plate 239. Nabī Būlus (No. 94). Vaulted room below.

originally have been barrel-vaulted. In the southern wall there is a deep mihrab with a semi-circular arch. Beneath the prayer hall is another large room roofed with a barrel-vault of pointed form. Conder and Kitchener suggested that this vault below belonged to the Crusader period (*SWP*, III 123) although Pringle (1997, 117 (Supplementary R.12)) thought it more likely to be Byzantine. In view of the pointed form of the vault, it is more likely that it is a medieval construction (i.e. post Byzantine).

References: Baggati 1983, 131; Ovadiah and Gomes de Silva 1984, 142, 34; Palmer 1881, 309; PAM Baramki 22.11.33; Pringle 1997, 117 Supplementary R.12; Robinson 1841, II, 343, III, 17; *SWP*, III, 123 (map XVII).

95. Nabī Daḥī / Nabī Duḥī

Visited 7.93
Location 1832.2249
32.37N/35.21E

The shrine of Nabī Daḥī is located on the top of a mountain of the same name (Jabal Daḥī), although in Hebrew it is known as little Hermon (Hb. Givat ha-Moreh). The shrine stands in an area of forest and is overlooked by a fire watch tower.

Plate 240. Nabī Daḥī (No. 95). From south.

Maqām Nabī Daḥī

The shrine consists of a domed tomb chamber (maqām) set in a rectangular compound (Plate 240). The enclosure is bounded by a wall of basalt blocks up to two courses (1m) high, although it was probably higher originally. Within the enclosure several graves are visible.

The maqām is a rectangular building (approximately 8m x 16m) with a dome resting on a polygonal drum at the south end. The entrance is on the north side and opens into a rectangular cross-vaulted room, which in turn leads into the domed tomb chamber. The south-east, south-west, and north-east corners of the building are supported by thick buttresses. In recent years (1970s or 1980s) the Israel Institute of technology erected a wind tower next to the tomb. During a heavy storm the tower collapsed on top of the tomb and destroyed the dome. The dome was rebuilt by local villagers several years later (Yitzhaki 1986, 14).

The shrine of Nabī Daḥī was built some time before the mid seventeenth century when it was visited by the Turkish traveller and pilgrim, Evliya Çelebi, who gave the following description:

> The shrine of Shaykh Daḥī, 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* 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 (translation in Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 86, repr. 1980, 34).

Several stories about the shaykh have survived in local memory. One of these relates how Daḥī went to Jordan to buy two sacks of corn. Having lost his money on the way, Daḥī filled his two sacks with earth which turned into corn before he reached home (Canaan 1927, 290). Another story relates how Daḥī punished those who defiled his shrine by destroying their village (Yitzhaki 1986, 260). The shrine is still venerated by Palestinians in the area although it has been fenced off to prevent vandalism.

References: Baedeker 1876, 345; Canaan 1927, 290; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 114–115; Palmer 1881, 166; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.IV, 86, repr. 1980, 34; *SWP*, II, 85 (map IX) (Qaryat al-Duḥī); Wilson 1884, II, 41; Yitzhaki 1986.

96. Nabī Kifl

Visited 13.3.95
Location 1432.1571
32.01N/34.55E

This building is located in a field to the east of Ben Gurion airport (Fig. 79, Plates 241–246).

Remains at the site comprise a twin-domed shrine and some fragmentary Roman ruins. The ancient ruins include an oil press, capitals, dressed stone work, and scatterings of pottery. There was also a rectangular cistern at the site although this is no longer visible. The shrine of Nabī Kifl was known as an important shrine and traditionally had a festival (Ar. *mawsim* or *mawlid*) on the 14th day of the Islamic month of Shaʿbān (Canaan, 1927, 215). According to Canaan the association of this place with the Qur'ānic prophet Dhu'l-Kifl (possibly to be identified with either the Biblical Job or Ezekiel) arises from a mutation of the 'r' in *kafr* (small village) to 'l' which is a process '... quite regular in Palestinian Arabic' (Canaan, 1927, 288). There is a more famous shrine dedicated to Dhu'l-Kifl on the Tigris in Iraq (for a discussion of this shrine see al-Janabi 1982, 96–105 for the Qur'ānic figure see Vajda in EI2, II, 242; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 174).

Plate 241. Nabī Kifl (No. 96). View of shrine from east (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

The shrine stands on a low rise heavily overgrown with bushes, grass, and trees. The main building is a square structure measuring 10m per side, with the remains of a courtyard of similar dimensions on the north side. The distinctive features of the building are its two tall domes (cf. Kawkab No.75), one (the south) slightly higher than the other. On the south side of the building is a rounded apse-like projection which indicates the position of the mihrab. There are also small windows on the west and east sides of the building although, in general, the exterior of the building is very plain. During the mandate period there were also two houses on the site, but these have since disappeared. In the north-east corner of the courtyard are the remains of a cross-vaulted chamber, the interior of which is filled with rubble. The entrance to the courtyard would either have been on the north or west side.

Plate 242. Nabī Kifl (No. 96). From east.

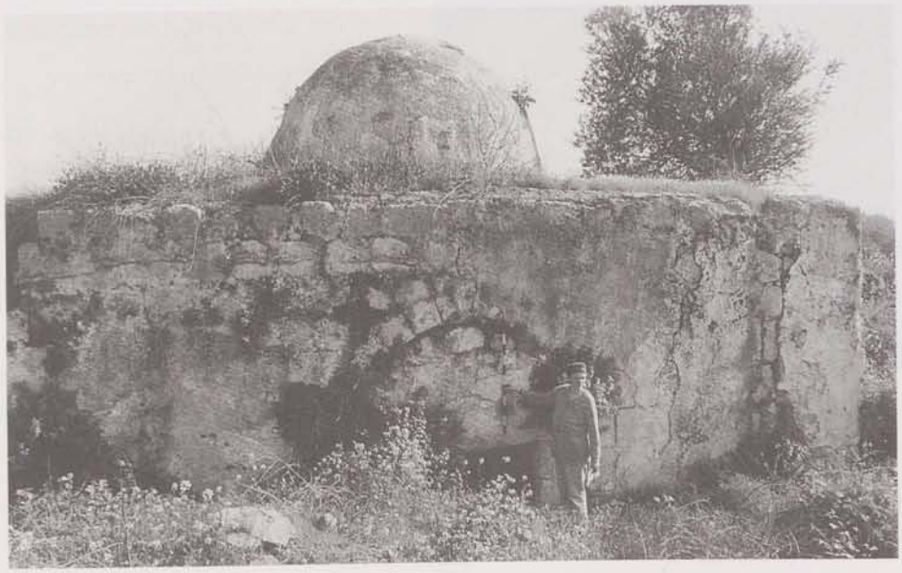


Plate 243. Nabī Kifl (No. 96). Entrance.

Plate 244. Nabī Kifl (No. 96). Interior with blocked window.

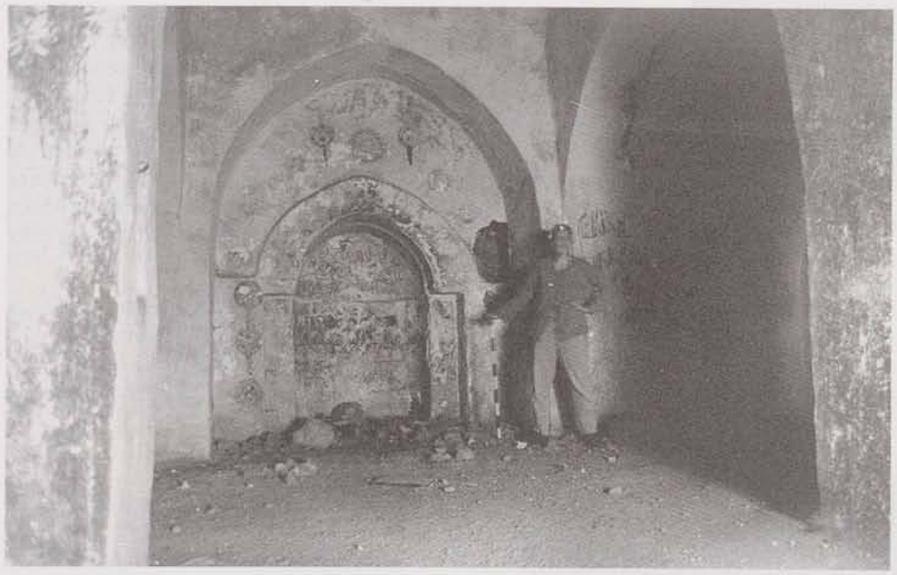


Plate 245. Nabī Kifl (No. 96). Interior view of dome.

Plate 246. Nabī Kifl (No. 96). Interior view of dome.

The shrine is entered through a low rectangular doorway in the middle of the north side. It seems likely, however, that the doorway is a later insertion and that originally there was a wide open arch. Immediately inside is a domed space flanked by two barrel-vaulted chambers or iwans. The dome rests on four large corner squinches, with small squinches above completing the transition from square to circle. In the chamber on the left-hand side (east) are the broken remains of a cenotaph and a window in the east wall. The right-hand (west) chamber is empty except for a blocked window in the west

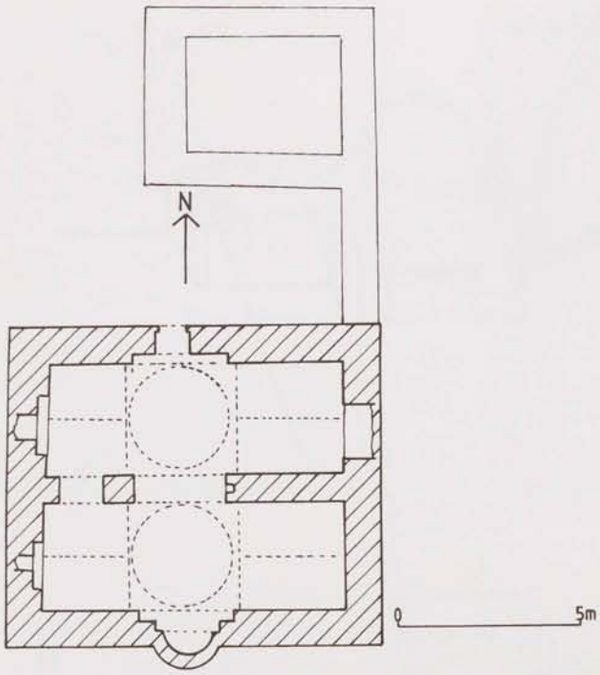


Fig. 79. Nabī Kifl (No. 96). Plan of mosque/shrine.

wall. The window consists of a wide arched niche or embrasure with a small arched window (now blocked) in the middle. On the south side of the chamber is a wide arched opening into the west chamber of the southern part of the building.

The southern half of the building is entered through a large archway in the centre, or a smaller archway on the west (see above) of the north side. This section of the building has a similar design to the northern half, comprising a central domed area and two side vaults or iwans. The dome is of similar design to that in the northern section except that it is slightly higher. In the south wall of the domed area is a large, deeply recessed mihrab. The mihrab, which has a semi-circular plan, is set within two arched recesses. The entire area of the mihrab is covered with symbolic paintings in red henna. The motifs used include crescent moons, stars, suns, triangular latticework, and forms resembling the finials used on domes or banners (Ar. *ʿalam*). The eastern chamber or iwan is a dark windowless area with no noteable features. The western chamber has a window of similar design to the north-west chamber and a small niche in the south wall.

References: Canaan 1927 215, 288; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 174; Palmer 1881, 216; *SWP*, II, 269 (map XIII).

97. Nabī Rūbīn

Visited 10.91
Location 1249.1485
31.55N/34.44E

This building stands next to the river Rūbīn at a spot roughly equidistant between Isdūd (Hb. Ashdod) and Tel Aviv (Hb.).

The site comprises a mosque, minaret (now demolished), a maqām, and at least nine wells dispersed in the sand dunes nearby (for a concise history of the site, see Khalidi 1992, 401–403 and Petersen 1996, 103–108). The site is located in an area of shifting sand dunes which are gradually covering the buildings. In particular sand is building up against the west wall of the enclosure and spilling over into the compound.

Main complex (Figs 80–81, Plates 247–249)
The main complex comprising, the mosque, minaret, and maqām are at the south end of a large walled compound. The compound has a trapezoidal shape with a tree in the centre and three gateways (one on each side except the south). There are a number of graves (aligned east–west) lying along the west wall of the enclosure (at least three were clearly visible although sand may have covered others). The main entrance is located in the north wall and consists of a rectangular stone frame containing a doorway set in a recess covered with a trefoil arch. Immediately above the doorway is a rectangular recess which probably carried an inscription. The entrances on the east and west sides are rectangular doorways. The east entrance is now blocked. There are two phases of building discernible in the enclosure wall, the earlier (lower) phase uses white lime mortar and plaster, whereas the later (upper) phase uses a dark pinkish red mortar. This later phase was probably added to reduce the amount of sand blowing into the courtyard.

The mosque consists of an arcade (riwaq) of three tall vaulted bays supported on square piers with rounded corners. The south face of the arcade, opening on to the courtyard, is decorated by a double hood moulding over the tall arches and a *cyma reversa* cornice along the top. The mihrab is a niche with a slightly pointed arched hood set in the south wall of the central bay. There was a direct entrance to the arcade from the exterior at the west end, although this has been blocked (presumably to prevent sand coming into the mosque). The entrance to the minaret is in the south-west corner of the arcade although the staircase is now blocked. The roof of the mosque is surrounded by a low wall two courses high with rainspouts on the north side.

The minaret stood at the north-west corner of the complex. The lower part formed an integral part of the south-west corner of the mosque. The base of the minaret up to the level of the roof of the mosque was a square socle. Above the roof the minaret became a tall cylindrical structure, reaching a height of approximately 14m. The shaft is decorated with three torus mouldings set at intervals of 4m, 3m below the top is a circular balcony supported by projecting stone corbels. At the top of the tower is a small dome. The spiral staircase of the minaret was accessed either from ground level, or from the roof of the mosque. The minaret was destroyed in the winter of 1993 by 'bad weather' (the site is adjacent to an army firing range).

The maqām is located at a lower level than the rest of the complex. The structure is surrounded by a wall 1.2m high which acts as a revetment against the sand. The maqām comprises two rooms, a domed chamber, and a vaulted chamber next door. The entrance to the domed chamber is set beneath a low arch which appears to be connected with the vaulted room. The low arch obscures part of the doorway which carries a Mamluk inscription covered with thick layers of paint (Mayer 1933a, 230–231, Pl.LIX.1). To the right (west) of the door is a rectangular window with an iron grille. The interior has a roughly rectangular shape with the dome covering the east end and a barrel-vault covering the west end. The dome is a semi-elliptical structure resting on an octagonal drum made up of four corner squinches alternating with blind arches. In the centre of the chamber is a large cenotaph (2m long, 1m wide, and 1.5m high) covered in green and black cloth. There is a plain deep mihrab set low down in the south wall. The walls are coated with grey and white plaster containing fragments of grey and red ribbed pottery. Currently the tomb seems to be used as a Jewish shrine. The cross-vaulted room to the east is badly damaged and partially filled with sand. It is not possible to determine whether the room originally had a mihrab.

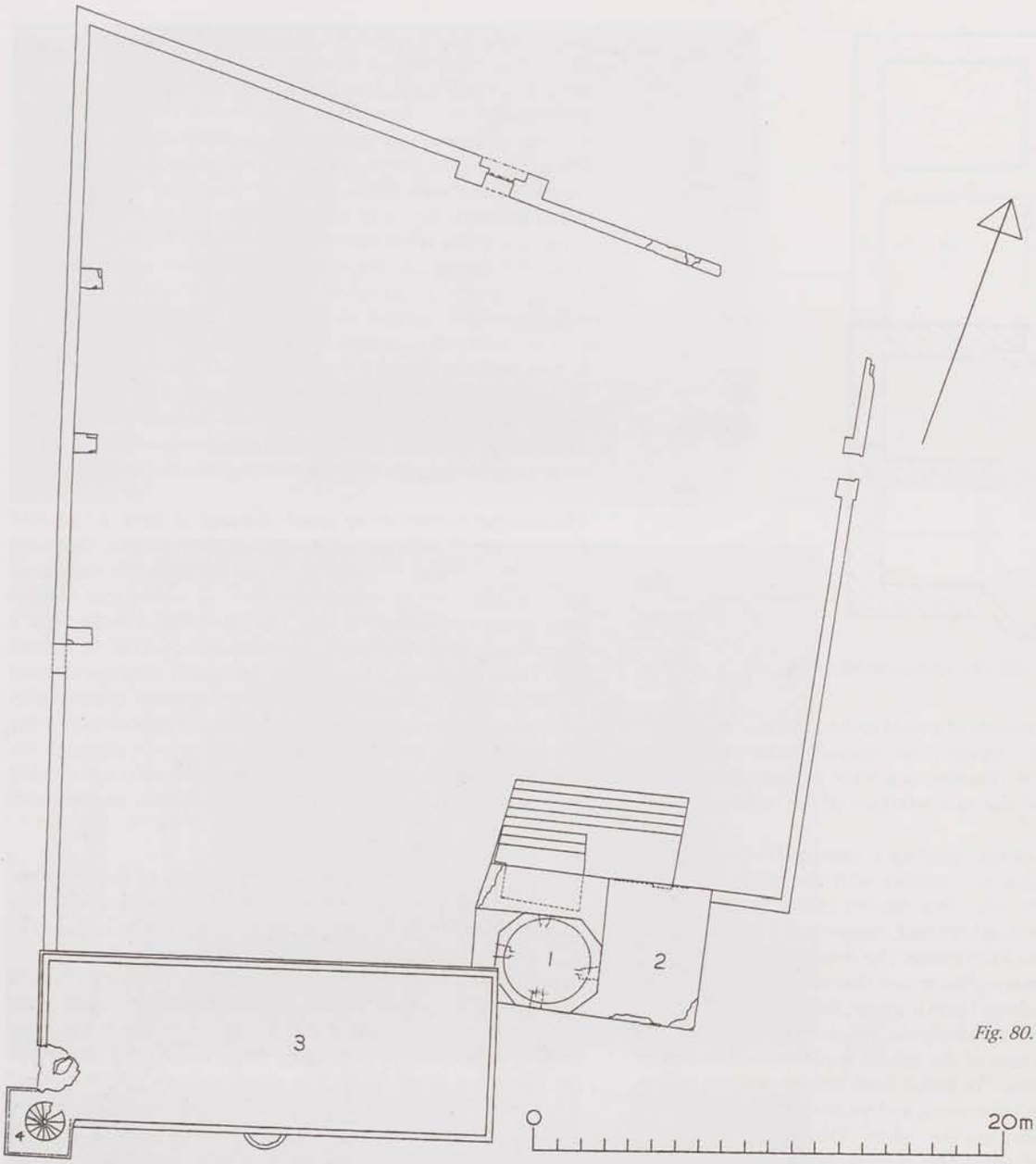


Fig. 80. Nabī Rūbīn (No. 97). Plan of complex.

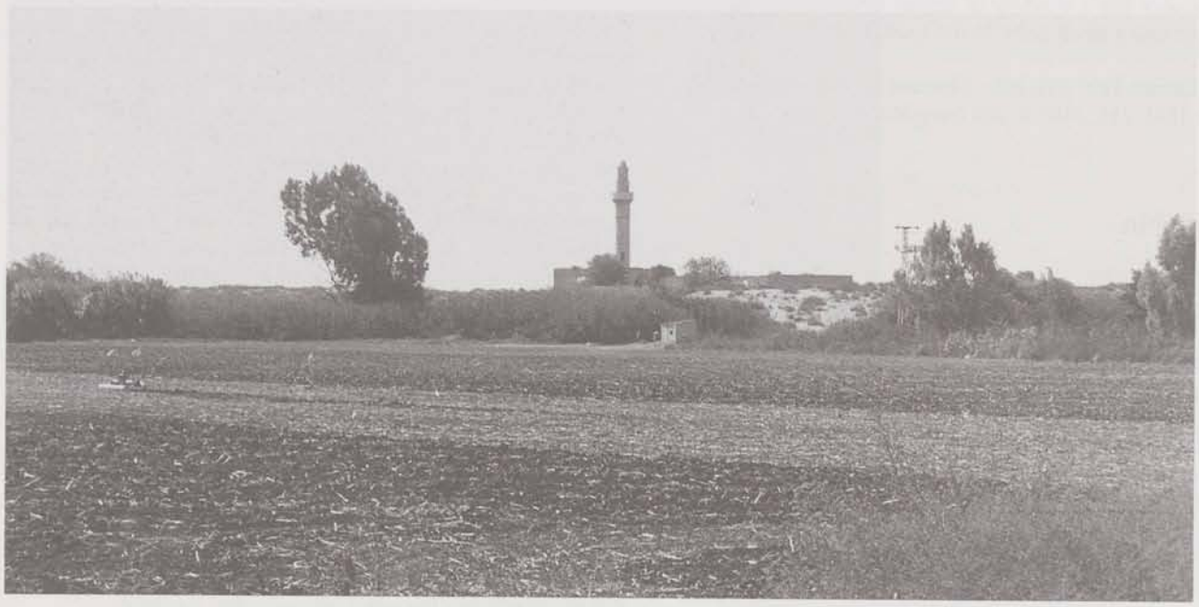


Plate 247. Nabī Rūbīn (No. 97). General view from south.

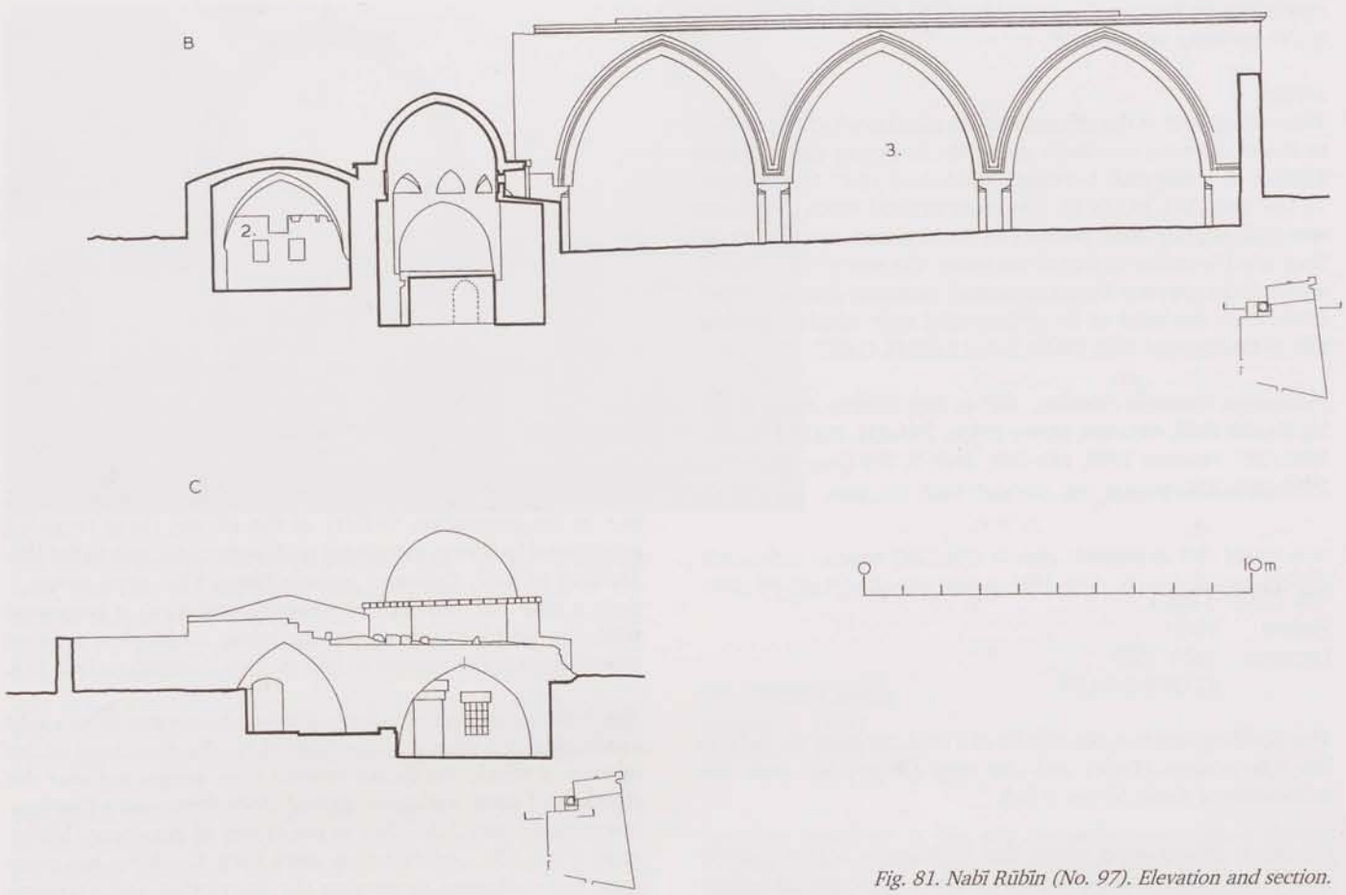


Fig. 81. Nabī Rūbīn (No. 97). Elevation and section.

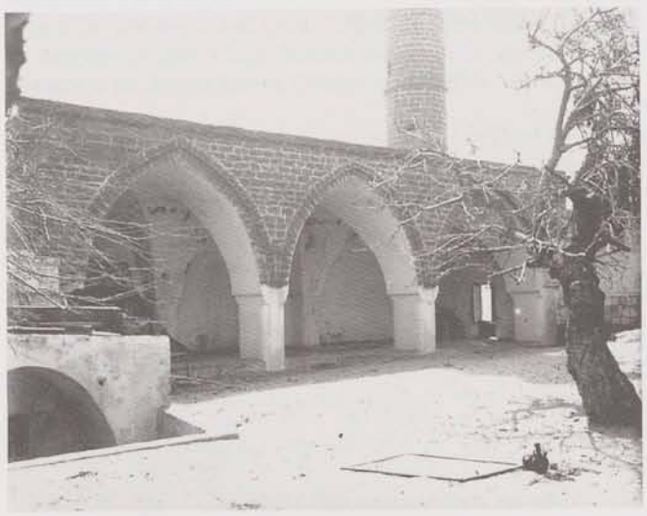


Plate 248. Nabī Rūbīn (No. 97). Courtyard (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

The wells were widely dispersed around the west and north sides of the shrine, the furthest being 1km from the shrine. All the wells are partially covered in sand and none appears to be currently in use. The design is standard and consists of a circular well shaft covered with a shallow dome with an arched opening on the north-east side (i.e. away from the wind). Each well is made of dressed limestone with a core of rubble held together by a hard lime mortar with shell inclusions.

Despite its obvious importance very little is being done to protect this site, either from the processes of erosion (natural and man-made), or from continuous action of the sand. Large

Plate 249. Nabī Rūbīn (No. 97). Interior of maqām.

cracks can be seen on the west side of the dome as the result of a tree growing on the roof.

Dating

The earliest part of the structure is the maqām which, according to the inscription, was built under the orders of the governor Timrāz al-Mu'ayyadī between 1436 and 1437 C.E. (Mayer 1933a, 230–231, pl.LIX.1). The cross-vaulted room to the east was built slightly later, possibly in the sixteenth century, as the floor level is similar to that of the tomb. The rest of the complex was built in the later Ottoman period, probably the nineteenth century, on the basis of its architectural style which resembles that of the riwaq of Nabī Yāmīn dated 1223 H. (1817–1818 C.E.).

References: Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 163; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 52–53; Khalidi 1992, 401–404; Mayer 1933a, 230–231, Pl.LIX.1; Palmer 1881, 217; Petersen 1996, 103–108; *SWP*, II, 269 (map XIII); Weir 1989, 207–209.

98. Nabī Thārī

Visited 10.91
Location 1431.1638
32.04N/34.55E

This building stands in the middle of a field, between the railway line (Jerusalem–Haifa) and the road (Route 40) near the settlement of Kefar Sirkin (Hb.).

Historical information about this building is scarce. Guérin noted that a saint was buried here under a dome and had given his name to the locality (*Samarie*, II, 389). The identity of the Nabī Thārī is not certain, although Canaan (1927, 295) equates

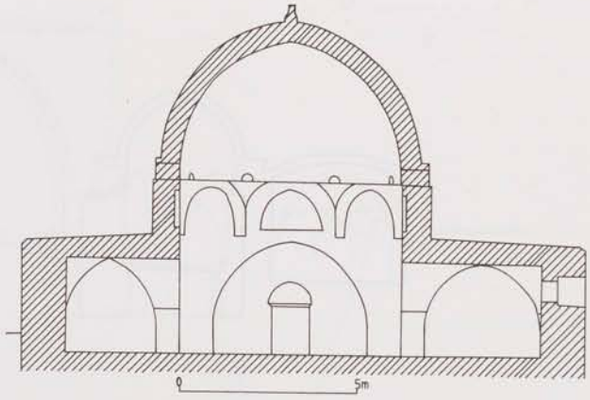


Fig. 83. Nabī Thārī (No. 98). E–W Section.

him with Asher, son of Jacob. In 1996 excavations were carried out in the immediate vicinity of the shrine, these revealed substantial buildings associated with pottery datable to the late Mamluk or early Ottoman period (Fanny Vito, pers. comm.). Such a date (i.e. fifteenth or sixteenth centuries) is consistent with the architecture of the building, which bears some resemblance to the mosque of Abū al-ʿAwn in Jaljūliyya (No. 61).

The building comprises a large domed chamber with two side vaults (Figs 82–83 and Plates 250–251). The floor level of the interior is nearly 1m below ground level suggesting that the shrine is of some antiquity. Before 1948 there was a Qur'ānic inscription (Sura 2, V. 256) in the crown of the dome (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 35). Unfortunately since then, the dome has more than half collapsed destroying the inscription and exposing the interior to the elements. Although still standing, the building requires urgent conservation.

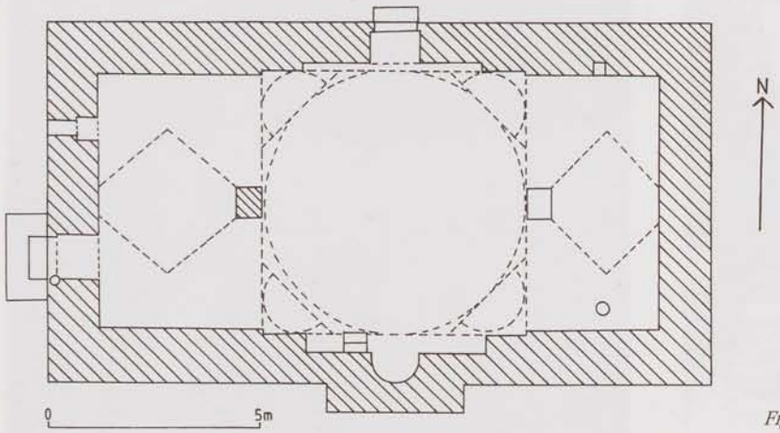


Fig. 82. Nabī Thārī (No. 98). Plan.

Plate 250. Nabī Thārī (No. 98). General view from south.

Plate 251. Nabī Thārī (No. 98). Interior with mihrab.

The interior may be divided into three areas; the central domed area, and two vaulted aisles arranged east and west of the central domed area. The entrance to the building is through a door in the middle of the north wall of the central chamber. Directly opposite the door in the south wall is the mihrab and next to it are two stone steps which form the minbar. The mihrab is a deeply recessed concave niche with no decoration, it is visible externally as a rectangular projection from the south wall.

The dome rests on a circular collar (diameter 6.2m) supported by an octagonal drum. The octagonal drum is made up of alternating squinches and blind arches. Above the drum are smaller squinches at the junction between each side, which transform the octagon into a circle. The full height of the dome was 8.5m above ground level. Originally there was a fragment of marble column which formed the finial of the dome; this feature is no longer visible (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 36).

Each of the side aisles consists of two cross-vaulted bays with a single pier on the side facing the interior. In the south bay of the west aisle is a fragment of marble column marking the grave of Nabī Thārī.

References: Canaan 1927, 295; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 389; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 34–36, Figs.22–25; Palmer 1881, 217; *SWP*, II, 269 (map XIII).

99. Nabī Yamīn

Visited 10.91
Location 1450.1762
32.11N/34.56E

Standing buildings at this site comprises two domed shrines located either side of Route 55 between Kefar Sava (Hb.) and Qalqīliyya. Excavations at the site in 1992 revealed remains of a large Roman bathhouse which, according to the excavators, was located at the junction of the Antipatris–Caesarea and Apollonia–Nablus roads. In the Byzantine period the ruins of the bathhouse were converted into fish pools and later into some form of industrial installation (cf. Ayalon 1982).

Nabī Yāmīn (Figs 84–85, Plates 252–253)
The larger of the two shrines is Nabī Yāmīn which stands on the east side of the road. This is a large complex comprising a

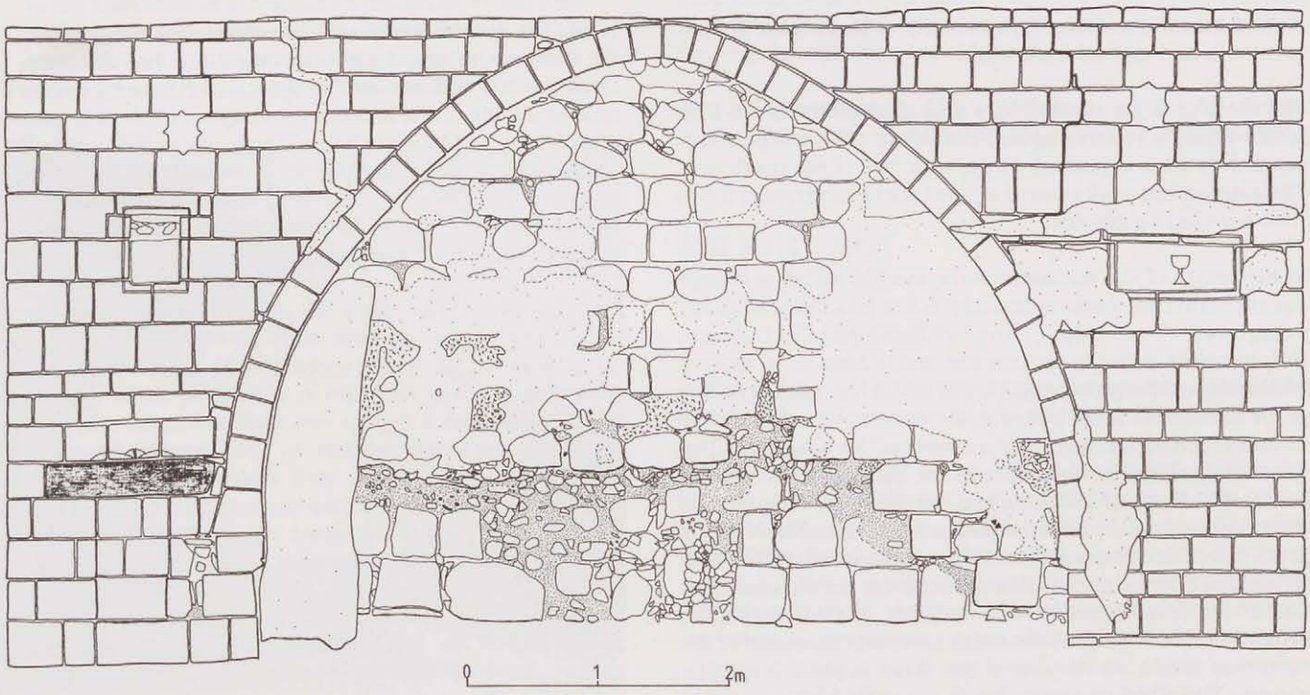


Fig. 84. Nabī Yamīn (No. 99). Elevation of sabil.

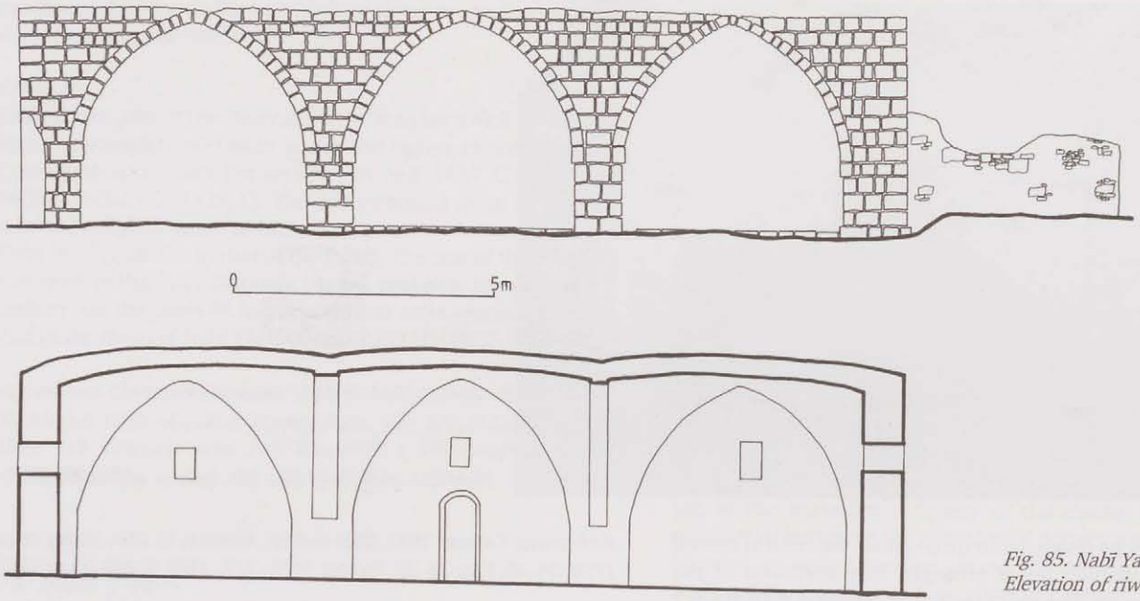


Fig. 85. Nabī Yamīn (No. 99). Elevation of riwaq.

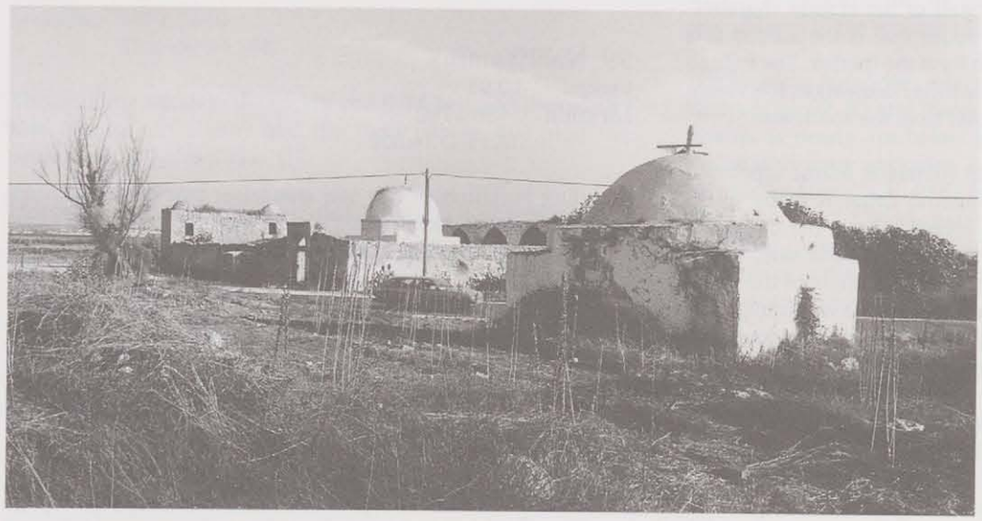


Plate 252. Nabī Yamīn (No. 99). View of complex with Nabī Serakha.

domed maqām, a riwaq (prayer hall), a large sabil (public fountain), and an enclosure wall.

The complex is surrounded by a wall approximately 2m high which forms a roughly square enclosure. The compound is entered through a gateway at the west end of the north side. The gateway has a tall pointed arch set into a rectangular frame with a projecting cornice.

In the centre of the enclosure is the maqām which is a large square structure (approximately 6.5m per side) with an octagonal drum supporting a hemispherical dome. Unfortunately both the outside and inside have been covered with thick weatherproof paint/plaster which has obscured many of the fine details of the building. The doorway is set into a tall arched recess on the north side, covered with a hood moulding which runs along the north face of the building at a height of nearly 2m. There are windows on the west and east sides of the structure and the external projection of the mihrab on the south side. The mihrab projection is a three sided feature with a rounded hood. On each side of the drum, corresponding to one of the four corners of the building, is a hemispherical projection. These projections are an external expression of the squinches inside. At the top of the drum is plain projecting cornice. The dome is crowned with a marble finial (or *ʿalīm*) in the form of a pillar crowned with a turban.

Inside the maqām measures approximately 4.5m per side. In the centre is a large (approximately 2m x 1m) cenotaph or tomb covered with two marble slabs, which now appears to be used as a table (i.e. it is not covered with a cloth as is usual in most Jewish and Muslim shrines). In the south wall is a shallow recessed rectangular panel framing the mihrab. The dome is supported on squinches alternating with blind arches. It seems likely that the blind arches originally contained windows, although these have now been blocked up.

The riwaq occupying the south side of the enclosure consists of an open arcade of three wide pointed arches. Each bay consists of a cross-vault supported by masonry piers. The transition between each bay is marked by a flat rib. In the middle of the central bay is a very shallow concave mihrab niche above which is a small window. In 1942 Husseini discovered an inscribed slab built into the north face of the middle arch. The two-line inscription recording the construction of the riwaq is dated 1223 H. (1808 C.E.) (PAM Report 242 14.10.42). Unfortunately, no trace of this inscription is visible today.

On the east side of the enclosure is the sabil, probably the best known part of the complex. The sabil comprises a wide arch approximately 6m wide surmounted with two domes, one either side. The arch springs from a narrow offset low down on either side. The back face of the arch (tympanum) is badly damaged,

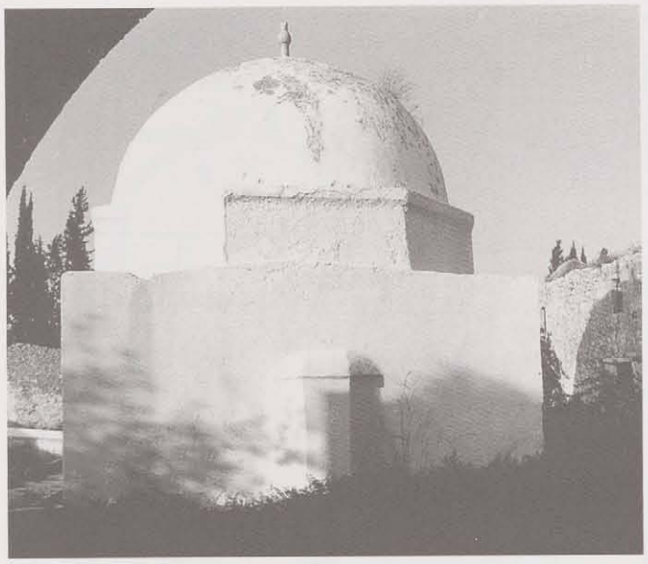


Plate 253. Nabī Yamīn (No. 99). Mausoleum of Nabī Yamīn.

although traces of pipes used in the construction can be seen. To the left (south) of the arch is a small doorway covered with a marble lintel beneath a shallow relieving arch. On both sides of the front elevation are small eight-pointed star shaped openings/windows and an additional square opening on the left side. In the same position on the right-hand side is a rectangular marble panel bearing an inscription and blazon (see below). Whilst the front of the sabil is built of dressed limestone, the rear (inside the enclosure) is constructed of coursed rubble blocks. At either end of the rear, directly beneath the domes there are rectangular arched windows. The original configuration and functioning of the sabil is not known and would repay detailed study.

The inscription embedded on the right side of the arch of the sabil was recorded by Mayer who made the following observations:

> The above mentioned inscription... is clearly legible and refers to the foundation of a fountain for the public by the Emir Tankiz, governor of Damascus (appointed 712 A.H. [1311/1312 C.E.])... The main interest of this inscription consists in its being the only one known, with an inscription on the coat of arms. There are a few words written on the heraldic cup, the first of which reads 'on the date of,' the next one is unfortunately not clear enough on the squeeze... The date is apparently given not in numerals but as a chronogram. At any rate it seems beyond question that the inscription on the cup is contemporary with the main inscription (PAM Report 10.1.23).

Plate 254. Nabī Yamīn (No. 99). Mausoleum of Nabī Serakha.

Plate 255. Nabī Yamīn (No. 99). Interior of Nabī Serakha.

Mayer subsequently published the inscription (1933a, 219) and suggested that it may have originated from the nearby caravanserai at Jaljūliyya, which is known to have been built by Tankiz (see also Meinecke 1992, II, 185). In 1922 Ory found another early inscription on a tombstone within the enclosure (PAM Ory 13.8.22). The five-line inscription recording the grave of Sayf al-Dīn Bari (sp.) is dated to 700 H. (1299/1300 C.E.). The present location of this inscription is not known.

Nabī Serakha (sp.) (Plates 254–255)
This shrine is located on the west side of the road approximately 40m from Nabī Yamīn. The building is much lower than its near neighbour and comprises a square base with a narrow octagonal drum and a low dome crowned with a marble pillar. The building is entered from a doorway in the east wall. Inside the chamber is quite small, measuring approximately 3.5m per side. There is a mihrab in the south wall whilst the tomb of Nabī Serakha is a rectangular cenotaph lying along the west wall. The dome rests on pendentives and there is a large crack running through the west side of the building.

References: Mayer 1933a, 219–220; Meinecke 1992, II, 185; Palmer 1881, 189; PAM Ory 13.8.22; PAM Mayer 10.1.23; *SWP*, map XI.

100. Nabī Yūshaᶜ

Visited 9.91, 8.94
Location 202.279
33.07N/35.33E

This building is located high up on the western side of the Ḥūla valley, looking east towards the Golan heights.

The site comprises the shrine of Nabī Yūshaᶜ and the remains of a small village. Immediately to the north is the British Mandate police post (for a concise history of the site, see Khalidi 1992, 481). Now known as Koah (Hb.) Junction, it is at present an Israeli police station and a war memorial. The ground rises up steeply to the west and north of the site and falls away sharply on the east side. Little remains of the village except some cisterns, an extensive graveyard, and some ruined houses of which the outlines are barely visible. The site was surveyed by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1994 (Petersen 1995).

Fig. 86. Nabī Yūshaʿ (No. 100). Plan of complex.

Plate 256. Nabī Yūshaʿ (No. 100). Courtyard.

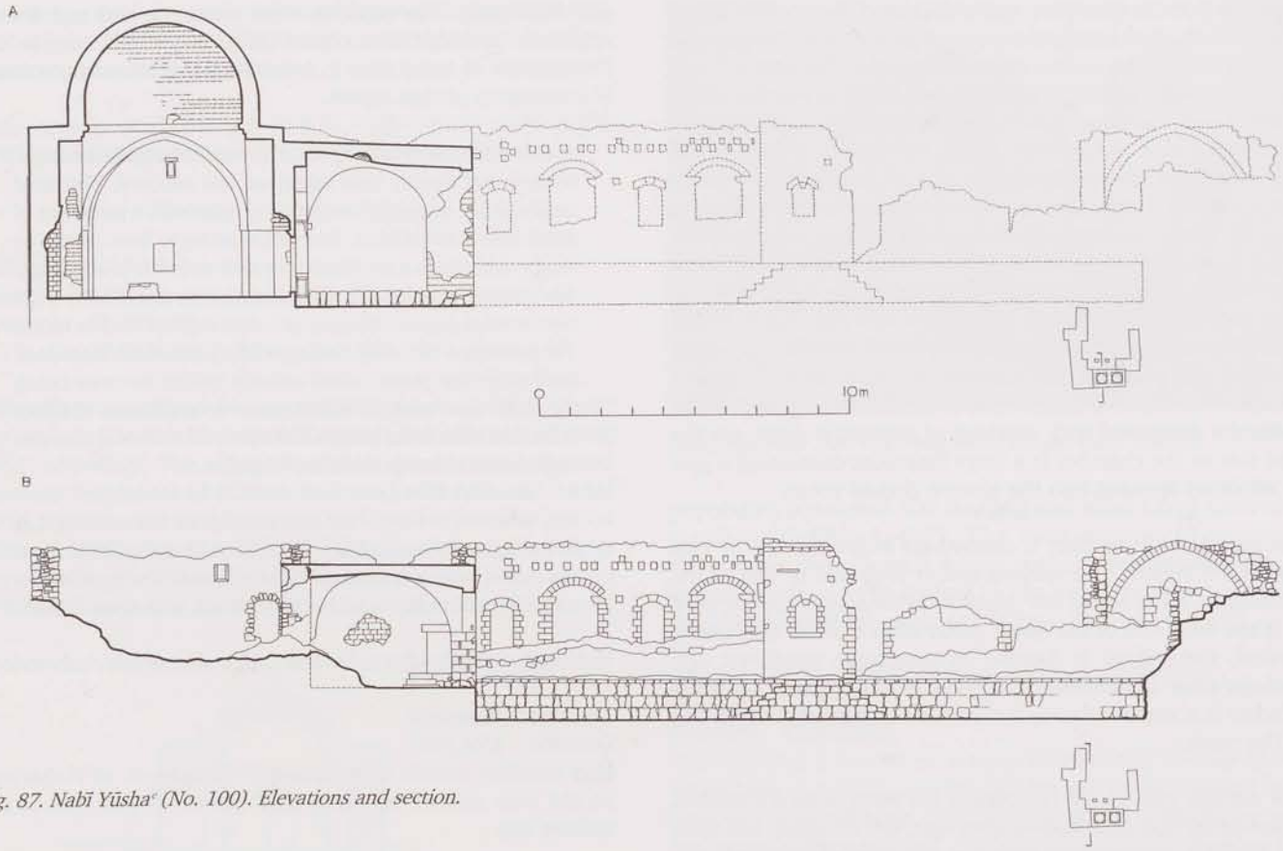


Fig. 87. Nabī Yūshaʿ (No. 100). Elevations and section.

Plate 257. Nabī Yūshaʿ (No. 100). Interior.

The shrine forms a rectangle aligned north–south, with the principal rooms at the south end and auxiliary rooms on the east and west sides (Figs 86–87 and Plates 256–257). At the south end is an enclosure wall. The complex was entered through a gateway at the north end, the only remains of which are a set of steps descending into the courtyard. The courtyard is paved with stone slabs, barely visible under the grass and undergrowth. The west range of the building consists of a range of seven rooms built on a raised platform or terrace. A double set of steps near the centre of the west side of the courtyard leads up to a broad pavement from which the rooms could be entered. Each room had a door and window, and was roofed with short branches of wood covered with earth resting on transverse stone arches (now mostly collapsed). The buildings on the east side of the courtyard have a similar design, although they are on a lower level without the raised terrace in front.

The principal rooms are at the south end of the courtyard. They comprise a vaulted arcade, three auxiliary rooms, and two domed chambers. The arcade is divided into three cross-vaulted bays springing from brackets set in the walls and two large square piers. The floor of the arcade is raised approximately 0.5m above the level of the courtyard with the exception of two pathways each leading to a domed room. At the west end of the arcade is a flight of stairs leading to the roof. South of the staircase is a large rectangular room cut off from the rest of the complex and with an external doorway. On the east side of the arcade is a square room entered by a

doorway from the courtyard, and to the east of this another square room with the floor resting on a series of small arches. The principal room of the complex is the western domed chamber, entered from a doorway in the middle of the south wall of the arcade. Set within a trefoil arch, the doorway is flanked by two large windows fitted with iron grilles. Immediately above the door is a space for an inscribed panel (removed). The interior of the chamber consists of the central domed area and a wide arched recess on each of the four sides. The hemi-spherical dome rests on a low circular drum supported by spherical pendentives. Beneath the dome is a large rectangular cenotaph (approximately 0.5m high, 3m long and 1m wide) draped with green and pink cloth. In the arched recess on the west side is a small rectangular niche, whilst in the centre of the southern recess is the mihrab. The hood of the mihrab is in the form of a horseshoe arch, with the voussoirs decorated with carvings of geometric discs. On the east side of the chamber is a large casement containing a pair of windows opening into the eastern domed room.

The east domed chamber is entered via a doorway at the east end of the arcade. The internal layout is similar to that of the western chamber with a few minor variations: first, the entrance is at the west end of the north wall rather than in the centre; second, the mihrab is flanked by two large windows; and perhaps most significantly the grave is built against the west window (i.e. close to the main chamber) instead of in the centre of the room.

The earliest part of the complex is the west domed chamber, followed by the east domed chamber, the arcades, and then the auxiliary rooms on the west and east sides of the courtyard. The architecture of the west domed chamber suggests a date no earlier than the late eighteenth or, more probably, the nineteenth centuries.

References: Baedeker 1876, 336; Khalidi 1992, 481–482; Palmer 1881, 92; Petersen 1995; Petersen 1999, 120–121; *SWP*, map IV.

101. Nahariyya

Visited 7.91, 9.91
Location 156.268
33.01N/35.05E

Nahariyya is located at the point where the Ga'aton (Hb.) river enters the sea. In Roman times there was a settlement on the site which may be equivalent to Neaa Come (*TIR*, 194). The modern town was built by German settlers in the 1920s and still has a predominantly German population (cf. Orni in *EJ*, XII, 770). There is very little in the town that predates the twentieth century except a Byzantine church excavated between 1972 and 1976, and a Bronze Age temple on the sea-shore (Dothan 1956; Barag in *EAE*, III, 1088–1094). During the 1930s the remains of a ruined khān could be seen from Herzl street although this has now disappeared (cf. Lazar n.d., 27). To the south, between Nahariyya and the village of Mazrʿa, there are a few remains of older buildings and installations.

Aqueduct

Location 1590.2680
Water channel located on the coast to the south of the modern town of Nahariyya.

This site was located on the Arḍ al-Janayin (sp.) belonging to nearby Mazrʿa village. The installation was found in August 1947 whilst digging out coarse sand (*zifzif*) for building work. The excavated remains of the channel were inspected by Dajani and Makhouly. The remains were photographed and drawn and were included in a report (PAM ATQ/943) sent to the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem. The following account is a summary of that report.

> A stretch of channel 6m long was examined although much larger sections had already been excavated and removed. The canal consisted of two parallel walls 0.64m apart with a pavement of stone slabs at the bottom. The walls were up to three courses in height although in most places they were only two courses high. The stones were smoothly dressed sandstone and of fairly large size (average size of 0.6m long by 0.45m high and 0.35m wide). The pointing of the walls overlapped the joints and was made of hard white lime plaster mixed with ash. Behind the stone facing the walls were made of rubble stones to a thickness of about 0.8m. The slabs at the bottom of the channel were of similar size only thinner (average thickness 0.15m).
>
> The direction of flow of the water could not be established, if it was towards the sea then it would be draining water from the nearby spring of al-Mafshukh (sp.), or if flowing inland it might be used to fill a pool (possibly for salt production or fish).

Makhouly dates the channel to the: '...Crusader or late Arab period'.

Ottoman Mansion

Location 159.266
This building stands approximately 1km south of Nahariyya on the west side of the main road (Route 4) and east of the railway line.

The entrance to the building from the road is marked by two large stone gateposts leading into a long avenue lined with Cypress trees. The house consists of three main elements: a central block two storeys high covered with a shallow double pitched wooden roof; a small square loggia two storeys high attached to the east of the main block; and a long portico or verandah on the west side. The roof was covered with orange clay tiles from Marseilles although many of these have now been removed.

A number of different types of window were used including: round; ogee shaped; pointed arch; and rectangular sash windows. The building appears to have been built in at least two phases, with the loggia on the east side belonging to the second. The style of architecture is similar to that of some late nineteenth-century houses in Acre or the Baha'i mansion to the north of Acre.

The date of the building and the identity of the patron are unknown although the style of architecture and general condition indicate a mid to late nineteenth century date.

Cistern and well

Location 159.266
This structure is located on the west side of the main road from Nahariyya to Acre, approximately 50m south of the entrance to the 'Ottoman mansion' (see above).

Remains at the site comprise a square cistern and a deep rock-cut well next to it. The walls of the cistern are 15m per side with a height of 3m above ground level. The top of the walls are decorated with a single offset course forming a band all around the structure. On the north side is a set of steps leading to the top of the cistern. Although the east side is well preserved half of the west side is broken down. At present the structure is used as a flower bed so it was not possible to estimate its original depth. To the north of the well is a modern (post-Ottoman) well, housing above an older rock-cut well.

The design and location of this installation indicate that it was probably built in the late nineteenth century possibly to supply water to the nearby mansion.

References (general): Barag in *EAE*, III, 1088–1094; Orni in *EJ*, XII, 770; Dothan 1956; Lazar n.d., 27; PAM ATQ/943; *TIR*, 194.

102. Naḥf/ Nuḥf

Visited 14.4.94
Location 1800.2606
32.56N/35.19E

This village is located in the middle of western Galilee near the modern Israeli settlement of Karmiel (*Jaffa Research Centre* 1991, 481–482). The village is of considerable antiquity and contains fragments of Roman and medieval remains (Israel 1976, 8). The site was known as Nef in the Crusader period (Pringle 1997, 114, P19; *SWP*, I, 255). The village appears as Nafeh on Jacotin's map of Palestine surveyed in 1799 (Karmon 1960, 166). At the time of Guérin's visit in the 1870s the population numbered 400 muslims and some Greek Orthodox families (*Galilée*, I, 452). The most prominent medieval structure in the village is a long wall (approximately 10m in length) made of large drafted blocks with a rubble core which may be of Crusader origin (cf. Pringle 1997, 114, P.19).

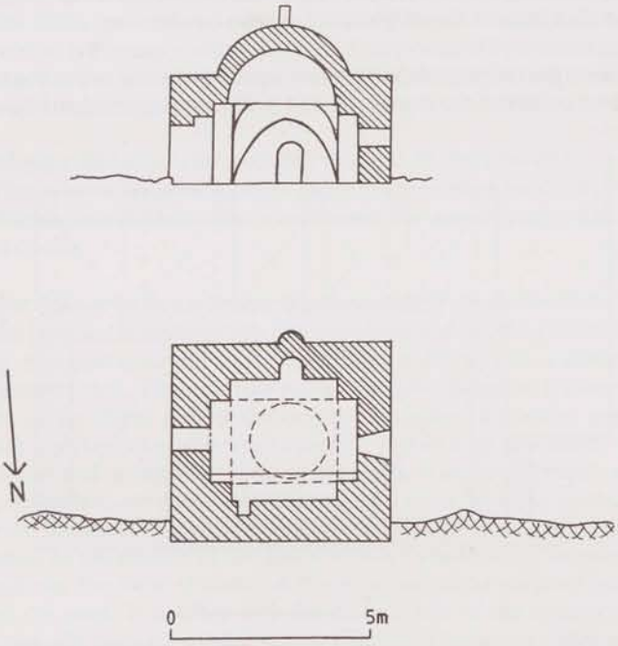


Fig. 88. Naḥf (No. 102). Plan and section of Maqām of Shaykh Rabīʿ.

Plate 258. Naḥf (No. 102). Maqām of Shaykh Rabīʿ.

Plate 259. Naḥf (No. 102). Maqām of Shaykh Rabīʿ. Interior.

Maqām of Shaykh Rabīʿ (Fig. 88 Plates 258–259)
Visited 14.4.94
Location 1800.2606
This building is located on a steep south-facing hill side above the village. It is built into the hillside and is surrounded by a cemetery set amid large boulders. The shrine is still in use and has recently been painted. The entrance is a low door on the east side. The interior is a rectangular space covered with a low dome resting on pendentives. In the middle of the south wall is a deep mihrab. The cenotaph of Shaykh Rabīʿ is an elongated feature set into the north wall. There is a small square window in the west wall.

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 451–452; Israel 1976, 8; *Jaffa Research Centre* 1991, 481–482; Palmer 1881, 92; Pringle 1997, 114 (Supplementary P.19); *SWP*, I, 203, 255 (map IV).

103. Nazareth (Ar. al-Nāṣira)

Visited 4.96
Location 178.234
32.42N/35.17E

Nazareth is located in the centre of southern Galilee, approximately mid way between the Mediterranean and the Jordan river. The town is built on the hillside around the valley running from Mary's well to the Cathedral of the Annunciation.

Nazareth is first mentioned in the New Testament (Luke 1. 26–38) as the place where Jesus grew up (for a concise history of the town, see Buhl [Bosworth] in *EI2*, VII, 1008–1009; Hasson in *EJ*, XII, 899–904; *TIR*, 194). The first church was established there some time in the fourth century. In the eighth century there were two churches in the town and the Christians were required to pay a poll tax (*jizya*). After the Crusader conquest in 1099 C.E. Nazareth was designated as a special pilgrimage centre, although it had already been an important Christian shrine before that time. The town became the seat of an archbishop and a new cathedral was built. In 661 H. (1263 C.E.) Baybars ordered the destruction of the church at Nazareth (al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 237). With the return to Muslim rule the town lost some of the status it had enjoyed during the Frankish occupation. Al-Dimashqī, writing at the beginning of the fourteenth century, describes Nazareth as a

city (*madīna*) belonging to the province of Ṣafad and inhabited by Yemeni Jews (ed. Mehren, 212). Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, writing in the fifteenth century, lists Nazareth with Kafr Kanna and Minyā within the *mamlaka* of Ṣafad as villages big enough to be considered as towns (ed. Ravaisse, 44). Qalqashandī writes that the site was the administrative centre of a *wilāya* within the *mamlaka* of Ṣafad (ed. Ali, IV, 240–241).

In the Ottoman tax registers, Nazareth is listed as a village in *nāḥiya* Ṭabariyya (Tiberias) within *liwā'* Ṣafad. In the 1596 *daftar* the taxable produce of the site is listed as wheat, barley, olives, fruit, cotton, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees'. A poll tax (*jizya*) was levied upon the small Christian population (*HG*, 188). During the century the population rose from 49 households in 1525–1526 to 232 households in 1574 (Lewis 1965, 421). Only one *imām* (as well as a *mu'adhdhin* and a *khāṭib*) was recorded for the village in 1555–1556 (1965, 419). In the early seventeenth century the town was under the control of the Druze amir, Fakhr al-Dīn, who improved conditions for Christians until his death in 1635. During this time the Franciscans were able to rebuild the Church of the Annunciation (*EI2*, 1008–1009). Conditions for Christians again improved in the eighteenth century under Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar. The rapid growth of the town put pressure on the limited arable resources of Nazareth's farmers who began to cultivate the Jezreel (Hb.) valley (Cohen 1973, 160). During the nineteenth century the number of pilgrims multiplied greatly increasing the town's prosperity. According to Buckingham, who visited the town in 1815, the population was estimated at 2,000, of whom 500 were Catholic, 300 Maronite, 1,000 Greek Orthodox ('schismatic Greeks'), and 200 Muslims (1821, 94). By 1890 the population had risen to nearly 7,500 (Schumacher cited in *EI2*, 1008). Cuinet estimates the population of the town as ca. 8,000 and counted 1,600 houses, 45 shops, three public baths, 10 cafes, four mills, four ovens, and nine olive presses, in addition to the mosque and the churches of the different denominations (1896, 117–119).

Mosques and shrines

Although it is known that Nazareth had a predominately Muslim population in the sixteenth century, the presence of a single *imām* suggests that there was only one mosque. The location of this mosque is not known, although it is likely to have been on the site now occupied by the White Mosque. Other Muslim religious buildings in Nazareth are the shrines of Shihāb al-Dīn and Nabī Sa'in, both of which are quite small. Al-Nābulsī also mentions a Maqām al-Arba'in (tomb of the forty (martyrs?)) located on Jabal ᶜĀl, whether any trace of this structure remains is unknown (1989, 300).

The White Mosque (Fig. 89, Plate 260)

This is located in the centre of the old city, approximately 500m north of the Church of the Annunciation. The mosque was built in 1812 by ᶜAbd Allāh al-Fahum (sp.), the Ottoman governor of Nazareth, whose tomb stands in the south-west corner of the courtyard.

The earliest description of the mosque is by Buckingham, who writes:

> Of the public buildings, the mosque is the most conspicuous from without, and it is indeed a neat edifice. It has five arches on one of its sides, for we could see no more of it, as it is enclosed within a wall of good masonry, and furnished with a plain white minareh, surrounded by a gallery, and surmounted by the crescent, the whole rising from the centre of the town, as if to announce the triumph of its dominion to those approaching from afar (1821, 94).

Unfortunately, Buckingham was not able to see the interior of the building which has been extensively restored in recent years, so that little of the original decoration can be seen.

There are two entrances to the mosque, a main one at the north-west corner of the courtyard, and a side door in the north-east

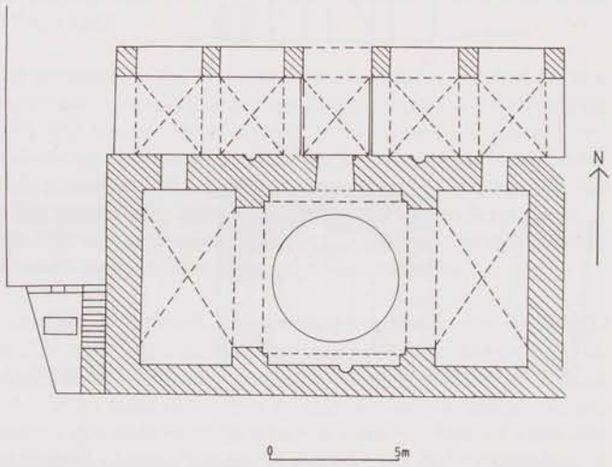


Fig. 89. Nazareth (No. 103). Plan of White Mosque.

Plate 260. Nazareth (No. 103). Interior of White Mosque.

corner. The courtyard is a rectangular area with the prayer hall in the south-west corner. It appears that there was originally an arcade on the north side of the courtyard which has recently been blocked off. On the west side of the courtyard there are a series of vaulted cells which provided accommodation to mosque officials. In the south-west corner of the courtyard, between the prayer hall and the enclosure wall, is a small triangular garden containing the tomb of ᶜAbd Allāh Fahum (sp.). Next to the garden is a set of steps providing access to the minaret.

The prayer hall is entered by an open portico divided into five cross-vaulted bays. The door of the prayer hall is located beneath the central bay. Either side of the central bay is a mihrab and the floor level is raised providing extra prayer areas. The prayer hall is a rectangular area divided into three parts. The central part is roofed by a large dome supported by pendentives springing from four large piers. The areas either side of the domed central part are roofed with tall cross-vaults. There are four windows in the prayer hall, two in the north wall, and one in each of the east and west sides. The windows in the north wall are near ground level and can be used as seats whilst the east and west windows are placed higher up below the level of the vault. There is a mihrab in the centre of the south wall next to a large stone minbar. At the top of the minbar is a canopy with conical roof surmounted by a crescent. Much of the interior of the prayer hall and the portico is covered with modern pine panelling.

Maqām Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (Fig. 90, Plates 254–255)
This is located approximately 200m south of the Church of the Annunciation. The shrine stands in a small lane opposite Khān al-Pasha.

The floor level in the shrine is approximately 2m below that of the lane and is reached by a flight of stairs. The building consists of two parts, an old part covered by a dome, and a newer concrete part. The new part has a triangular plan and is joined on to the north side of the original structure. The older part has a rectangular plan consisting of a square area covered by a dome and a shallow iwan to the east. The dome rests on pendentives springing from large corner piers. There is a small doorway in the western wall providing access to the ablutions area. In the middle of the south wall is a modern flat wooden mihrab. The tomb of Shihāb al-Dīn is located in the southern part of the iwan. It is likely that the eastern side of the iwan was originally open although it is now filled with a modern window.

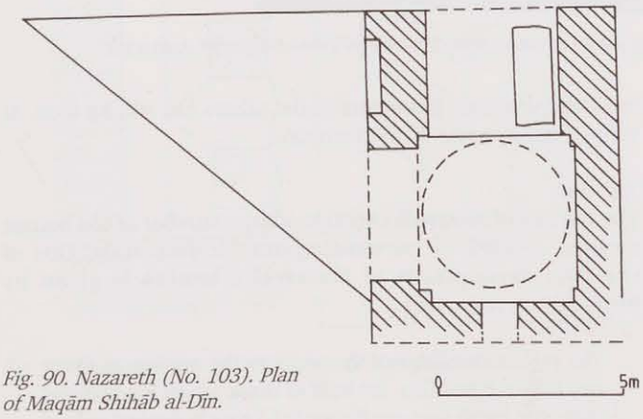


Fig. 90. Nazareth (No. 103). Plan of Maqām Shihāb al-Dīn.

Maqām Nabī Saᶜīn (sp.) (Fig. 91)
This building stands on the summit of a hill north of the old city. The identity of Nabī Saᶜīn is not known although Conder identifies him with Isaiah (1881, 265).

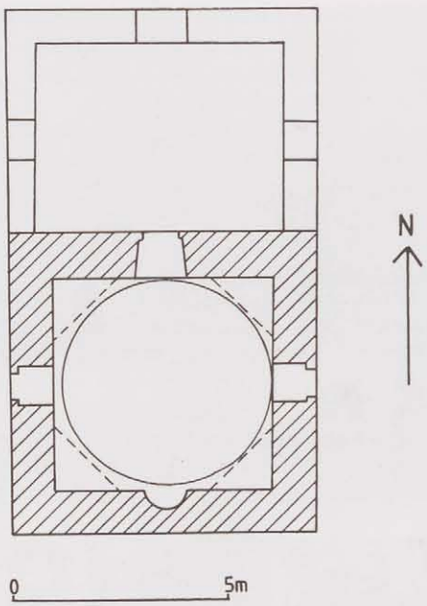


Fig. 91. Nazareth (No. 103). Plan of Maqām Nabī Saᶜīn.

Although recently restored with an extremely tall minaret, the structure retains the older stone-built shrine. This older structure consists of two areas, a domed prayer room, and an ante-room with a flat roof. The ante-room is lit by two side windows and has two doorways, one from the exterior and the other giving access to the prayer room. The prayer room is covered with a low dome resting on low squinches. There are windows in the west and east sides and a mihrab in the south wall. The date of construction is not known, although its appearance on the Survey of Western Palestine map (SWP, I, triangulation map facing p.23) indicates a date before the 1870s.

Khāns
According to Roman (1995, 27) there were five khāns in Nazareth in the nineteenth century. Apparently their purpose was to house camel caravans travelling between the Golan (Hb.) and Acre. The caravans carried grain which was then transported to Italy to be used for making pasta. It is, however, possible that the khāns also served other functions (see for example, the bathhouse in Kūr Khān).

Khān al-Pasha (Plates 261–264)
This is located in Casa Nova street approximately 200m west of the Church of the Annunciation.

The khān was built in the early 1800s during the rule of ᶜAbd Allāh Fahum Pasha (sp.). The gateway located in the middle of the south side opens into a short cross-vaulted tunnel. Above the doorway is an Arabic inscription set in a denticulate frame recording the foundation of the building. Either side of the entrance passage are stone benches and doors (now blocked) leading to the roof. The interior of the khān is built around a large square courtyard with an open cross-vaulted arcade on the north side. On the east and west sides of the courtyard are the remains of vault springers, suggesting that the original plan was to have arcades on these sides as well. It appears, however, that these arcades were not built leaving instead doorways leading directly into a series of vaulted rooms. On the east side are three large cross-vaulted rooms now used as a carpentry shop. On the west and north side are a series of barrel-vaulted rooms now used as garages. The south side is occupied by shops entered from the street (although there was originally access

Plate 261. Nazareth (No. 103). Khān al-Pasha general view (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 262. Nazareth (No. 103). Khān al-Pasha, note denticulated square containing rebate for inscription (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

from the courtyard). One of the internal doorways (Plate 264) is composed of structural fragments derived from the Crusader church of the Annunciation, probably from the west portal (pers. comm. Denys Pringle July 2000).

Kūr Khān (Figs 92–93)
This is located at the northern end of the old city near Mary's well. It was built in 1880 by the mayor of Nazareth whose family had earlier migrated from Jordan (Roman 1995, 27).

This a linear building with a central passage leading to the back. The area to the right of the passage is now a restaurant, whilst the area to the left is used to contain shops. One of these shops is built over the remains of an ḥammām which was built inside the khān in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The bath-house was built on a classical hypocaust system rather than the usual Turkish method of a boiler with hot flowing water. Remnants of the pillars can still be seen, as well as the remains of the furnace.

Houses

The old city of Nazareth contains a large number of old houses some of which have outstanding interior decoration. One of the first descriptions of Nazareth's houses is given by Buckingham who wrote:

> The private dwellings of the town, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, are built of stone, which is a material always at hand; they are flat roofed, being in general only of one story, but are sufficiently spacious and commodious for the accommodation of a numerous poor family (1821, 94).

The houses described by Buckingham obviously predate the larger two storey houses with painted ceilings and Marseilles

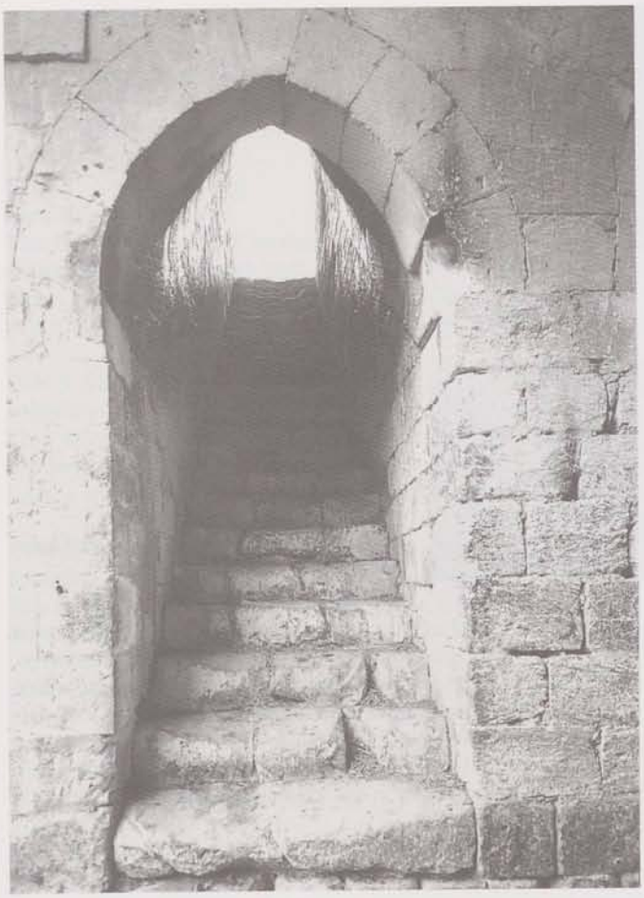


Plate 263. Nazareth (No. 103). Khān al-Pasha. Detail of stairway (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority. Neg No. 12.094).

Plate 264. Nazareth (No. 103). Khān al-Pasha. Doorway of re-used medieval stonework from Church of the Annunciation (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

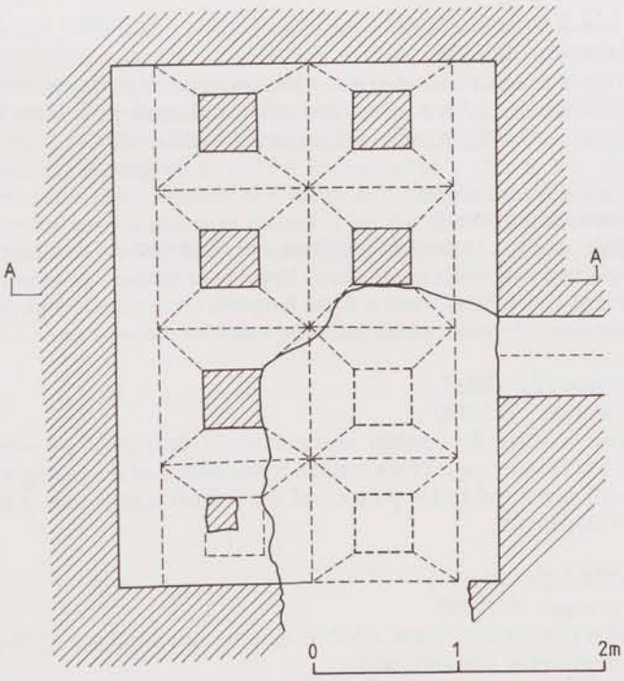


Fig. 92. Nazareth (No. 103). Bath house. Hypocaust plan.

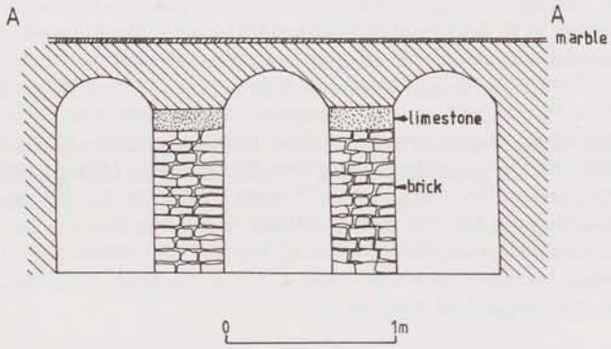


Fig. 93. Nazareth (No. 103). Bath house section through hypocaust.

tiled roofs for which Nazareth is now famous. According to Roman (1995, 36) there are more than 100 of these houses built during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The principal living rooms appear to have been on the first floor while the ground floor was used for storage. It is possible that the ground floors are the remains of the older flat-roofed houses, whilst the upper floors represent fashionable nineteenth-century additions.

The Sarāy

This is located approximately 50m east of the White Mosque.

The building is thought to date from the time of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar (Roman 1995, 30). At present, it is in the process of being restored and access was restricted. It is built around three sides of a courtyard, with tall vaulted rooms on the ground floor. A set of steps on the west side of the courtyard leads up to the first floor. Overlooking the courtyard on the first floor is an open arcade with a wooden roof.

Plate 265. Nazareth (No. 103). Fahum house interior.

Fahum (sp.) House (Plate 265)
This is located in the vegetable market 50m west of the Church of the Annunciation.

This is apparently the largest of Nazareth's mansions, built by the same family which founded the mosque (Roman 1995, 31). Only the upper apartments were examined. These consist of a huge rectangular room, or salon, with triple arches at either end opening into extensions lit by tall arched wooden windows. The main ceiling is painted with a central arabesque with Ottoman flags at either end. The floor is laid with marble with opus sectile designs. Tall double-leafed French windows lead into a range of large side rooms.

References: Baedeker 1876, 358; Buckingham 1821, 91–100; Cohen 1973, 160; Cuinet 1894, 116–120; Dimashqī ed. Mehren, 212; Tzaferis in *EAE*, III, 1103–1106; Buhl [Bosworth] in *EI2*, VII, 1008–1009; Hasson in *EJ*, XII, 899–904; Guérin, *Galilée* I, 83–102; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 55–56; *HG*, 188; Le Strange 1890, 301; Lewis 1965; McCown 1923, 50–51, Pl.5; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 171–189; Marmadji 1951, 90, 116, 117, 200–201; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 309–314; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 299–300; Palmer 1881, 115; Pringle 1993–, II, 116–150; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 240–241; Robinson 1841, III, 183–200; Roman 1995; Singer 1994, 7; *SWP*, I, 275–279, 328–329, and map facing p.23; *TIR*, 194; al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 237; ʿUthmānī ed. Lewis, 483–484; Volney 199, 307, 339; Wilson 1884, II, index; Maundrell in Wright 1848, 477–478; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 729; al-Ẓāhirī ed. Raviasse, 44.

104. Negev Mosques

Visited —
Location various

A number of mosques have been discovered during recent intensive archaeological survey work in the Negev. Problems of access (many are now in military areas) have meant that it was not possible to visit these sites, although they are listed here for the sake of complete coverage. The mosques are all dated to the early Islamic period (which in this context means the seventh to ninth centuries). According to Avni (1994) all the mosques in this list were open air structures, but there is the possibility that some may have had mud-brick walls and/or roofs made of tent fabric. One of the buildings, Nahal Laʿana, almost certainly had a roof. The best summary of these structures is found in Avni (1994) from which the present list is compiled (for a map showing the locations of these buildings, see 1994, 85 Fig.1). Survey work in this region has identified other structures probably constructed or occupied during the early Islamic phase (see Cohen 1985, sites 42, 106; and Sharon in Cohen 1985, 31*–35*). All of the Hebrew spellings are given in the form they appear in the cited publications.

104.1 Nahal 'Arod

Location 119.990
Open air mosque consisting of south wall (5m x 0.5m) and two side walls (2m long). There is a concave mihrab (1m x 0.8m) with a large stone at the back.

104.2 Be'er Karkom

Location 125.975
This is a large residential site with two open air mosques, one rectangular (3.4m x 5.2m) and one arc shaped. Both have a deep (1m) mihrab in the centre facing south.

104.3 Nahal Oded

Location 122.990
This consists of a straight southern wall (5m) with a flat mihrab and two side walls which curve inwards to form a horse-shoe shape (5m x 8m). There is a gap between the northern ends of the two side walls which form the entrance the structure.

104.4 Har Oded

Location 125.990
This consists of a straight southern wall (10m) with two side walls (3–4m long). There is a gap in the middle of the southern wall which marks the position of the mihrab (either removed or destroyed).

104.5 Bor Bator

Location 115.980
This rectangular (2.8m x 5.2m) mosque has a mihrab (1.3m deep) in the southern wall.

104.6 Sede Boker

Location 130.032
This is a rectangular (5m x 12m) prayer room with a courtyard (9m x 10m) to the north. The walls are built of two rows of dressed stones with a rubble fill and stand to a height of 0.8m. A large number of Arabic inscriptions were found in the vicinity of the mosque.

104.7 Nahal Hazaz
Location 136.033
This is a roughly rectangular structure (7m x 9m) with a large square mihrab in the south side. The walls stand to a height of 1.2m. Nearby is settlement of seven houses.

104.8 Horvat Sharav
Location 139.020
This is another roughly rectangular structure (5m x 6m) with a mihrab in the southern wall. The entrance is on the east side rather than the more usual north. The walls stand to a height of 0.8m. Nearby are the remains of 18 houses and a sheepfold.

104.9 Nahal La'ana
Location 116.015
This mosque formed part of the southern wing of a large residential/agricultural complex. The prayer hall measures 5m square and has a wall standing to a height of 1.8m.

104.10 Ramat Barnea
Location 104.004
This is a small oval shaped enclosure (3m x 2.5m) with a mihrab on the south side.

References: Avni 1994; Cohen 1985.

105. Niᶜilya/ Niᶜilyā

Visited —
Location 1095.1172
31.39N/34.34E

This village was located on the coastal plain 18km north-east of Gaza and 3km south of Majdal.

In the 1596 *daftar* Niᶜilya was located in the *nāḥīya* Gaza and contained a population of 80 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce of the village comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', vines, fruit, sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 144). The village is shown, but not named, on Jacotin's map of Palestine made in 1799 (Karmon 1960, 172–3). During the nineteenth century the continued encroachment of the nearby sand dunes was restricted by the cultivation of olive trees and cactus hedges (*SWP*, III, 259). The village was destroyed after 1948 (Khalidi 1992, 129).

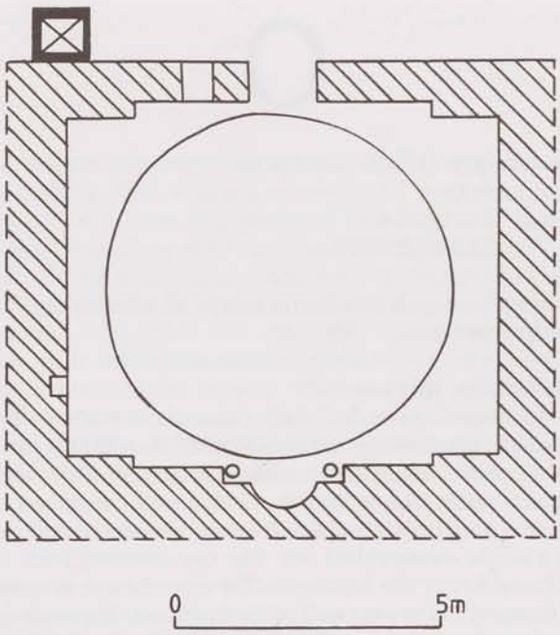


Fig. 94. Ni'lya (No. 105). Plan of mosque.

Mosque (Fig. 94)
The mosque was visited by Guérin in the nineteenth century, who notes the presence of two antique column shafts (*Judée*, II, 172). The building was also inspected by Mayer in the 1930s who drew a sketch plan and wrote a description of the building. His report is as follows:

> Mosque on sand dune outside village on the South (see sketch-plan). S. and W. walls entirely covered by the sand. The mikhrab is flanked with two marble shafts and inscription on a fragment of column is placed over the column on the left side. Waqf property. The mosque is still in religious use. Inscription in ordinary writing, 8 lines, irregular height of letters. Measurements of the inscription, 0.38m (hgt) by 0.31m breadth over concave surface. Date given 645 AH [1247C.E.]. The inscription could not be photographed.

References: Guérin, *Judée*, II, 172; *HG*, 144; Karmon 1960, 17–23; Khalidi 1992, 129; Palmer 1881, 376; PAM File Mayer; *SWP*, III, 259 (map XX).

O

106. Ofaqim (Hb.)

Visited 9.93
Location 1157.0794
31.19N/34.37E

This structure is located south-west of Ofaqim near the municipal forest.

Building (Fig. 95, Plate 267)
This tall rectangular building (20m x 5m) stands on a promontory overlooking the Nahal Pattish (Hb.). On the outside there is a series of buttresses with sloping sills which support the piers inside. The interior is divided into two rooms, the first room with three cross-vaulted bays and the second room with a single cross-vaulted bay. The one entrance leads into the central bay of the first room. The second room is reached by a doorway in the west wall of the first room. The vaulting is of high quality and the arches between the bays are ribbed. In the west room there is a staircase leading to the roof. There are tall windows on both the north and south sides of the first room and a blocked window at the east end.

The design and condition of the building suggests a construction date in the late Ottoman period (i.e. 1890–1917). The function is less clear although it must have had some official purpose, possibly a schoolroom or a mosque (although there is no mihrab). A building of similar design is the mosque at Kawfakha (built in the late nineteenth century).

Cisterns (Plate 266)
Location 1145.0817
This site is located on the south side of Route 241 where it crosses the Nahal Pattish (Hb.). In Mandate times it was known as Khirbat Futeis/Futais and is believed to be the site of ancient Patish (Vilnay 1979, 306). There are three cisterns at the site, each with the same design, consisting of a circular chamber and a conical (corbelled) dome built of rubble stone, set in mortar with many pottery fragments. The top of each dome has an opening. On one side of the dome there are ceramic tubes which pierce the side. There are Byzantine and early Islamic pottery sherds in the immediate vicinity, perhaps indicating that the cistern can be given a date in the seventh or eighth centuries C.E.

Plate 266. Ofaqim (No. 106). Cistern.

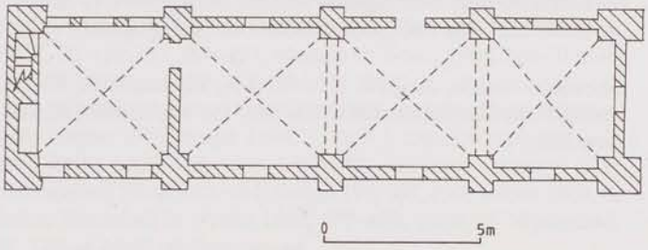


Fig. 95. Ofaqim (No. 106). Plan of building.

Plate 267. Ofaqim (No. 106). Building.

P

107. Pedaya (Hb.)

Visited 8.93
Location 1400.1400
31.52N/34.53E

This house stands in a vineyard near route 44 between Ramla and ʿAyn Shams (Hb. Bet Shemesh). It is on the west side of the road about 6km north of Nashon junction (Hb.). It is possible that this represents the remains of the village of Saydun destroyed in 1948 (cf. Khalidi 1992, 413–414).

This is a square structure (approximately 7m per side) with a doorway on the north side facing the road. The walls are made out of large, roughly squared limestone blocks which appear to have been taken from an earlier building. The joints between the stone courses are filled with wedges and lime mortar. The west wall is badly damaged, especially at the corners. This damage seems to be the result of the collapse of a later neighbouring building. The doorway contains a modern steel door because the building is now used to store agricultural machinery. To the left of the door is a large rectangular window (now blocked). Although the roof has collapsed it was originally covered with a large cross-vault resting on corner piers. Niches have been cut into the walls on the exterior. There are also small windows below the line of the vault. The form of the building is that of the traditional Palestinian stone house (cf Hirschfeld 1986–1987, 18, Fig.2). There is no indication of the date of this structure, although it is likely to belong to the latter part of the Ottoman period 1800–1917.

References: Khalidi 1992, 413–414; SWP I, 408.

Plate 268. Pedaya (No. 107). House.

Plate 269. Pedaya (No. 107). Interior of house.

Q

108. Qabū

Visited —
Location 161.126
31.44N/35.07E

Now destroyed, this village (Hb. Horvat Qove) was located on a hilltop approximately 12km south-west of Jerusalem (Plate 270). During Roman times it was known as Qobi or Qobia and had a spring (*TIR*, 209). Remains at the site include a Crusader church, a mosque, and the shrine of Shaykh Aḥmad al-ʿUmarī (PAM File 154; Pringle 1998, II, 156–157; *SWP*, III, 25). Both the mosque and the shrine are still standing. The mosque is a square structure with a courtyard and appears to be built of stones removed from the Crusader church (PAM File 154; Khalidi 1992, 307–308).

References: Khalidi 1992, 307–308; Palmer 1881, 297; PAM File 154; *SWP*, III, 25 (map XVII); Pringle 1998, II, 156–157; *TIR*, 209; al-ʿUlaymi translation Sauvaire, index 101, 157.

Plate 270. Qabū (No. 108). Exterior of mosque (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

109. Qalamāniyya (sp.)

Visited 24.5.94
Location 1427.1791
32.12N/34.55E

A sabil and cistern located on the right (east) side of the road (Route 545) from Kefar Sava (Hb.) to al-Ṭira.

This is a square structure with a cistern in the middle and a sabil on the west side facing the road (Plate 271). The sabil is set within a large arch which rises above the top of the cistern behind. There is an offset course approximately 1m above present ground level. The roof is made of reinforced concrete and is presumably modern.

Plate 271. Qalamāniyya (No. 109). Road-side cistern.

110. Qalansuwa

Visited 18.5.94
Location 1485.1878
32.17N/34.59E

The village of Qalansuwa is located on the coastal plain approximately 5km south-west of Ṭūlkarm. Since 1948 the village has grown considerably and today is the size of a small town (Jaffa Research Centre 1991, 419–420). At the centre of the village are a number of medieval buildings.

According to Yāqūt (ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 167) and Ibn Taghri Birdi (ed. Popper, I, 258, 324) many of the Umayyads were killed at Qalansuwa although this is not mentioned by other writers (see also Gill 1992, 101, n.14 and below Ras al-ʿAyn No.117). The name of the site itself probably derives from the type of headgear, the *qalansuwa*, often adopted by the Umayyads (for instance, see Hamilton 1978, 129–130). As early as the ninth century Qalansuwa is listed as a stop between Lajjūn and Ramla on the Cairo–Damascus road (Ibn Khurdādhbih ed. de Goeje, 78, 219; Muqaddasī ed. Miquel, 191; Hartmann 1910, 675–676). After the Crusader conquest the village was given to Geoffrey of Flujeac who gave it to the Hospitallers in 1128. In 1187 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn captured the village, although four years later it was returned to the Crusaders. The village finally returned to Muslim control in 1265 when it was captured by Baybars who divided it between two amirs, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Ḥalabī and Shams al-Din Sunqur al-Rumī (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 80, II, 210). The village did not regain its position as a major stop on the Cairo–Damascus road, having been replaced by the nearby village of al-Ṭira (a fuller version of this history can be found in Pringle 1986, 41–43). Nevertheless, the village retained some significance as seen by the construction of the cistern by a Mamluk official (see below).

At the end of the Mamluk period, in 922 H. (1515 C.E.), the site again appears as a stopping place on the route between Cairo and Damascus (Ibn Ṭūlūn translation Laoust, 144). In 987 H. (1579 C.E.) there was a plan to build a watch-tower at Qalansuwa, although there is no evidence to suggest the structure was ever erected (Heyd 1960, 109–110). In the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* Banū Ṣa'b and contained a population of 29 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce

comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', olives, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees'. The village also contained an olive press (*HG*, 139). In 1800 the village was sacked by the rebel leaders of the Jabal Nablus as part of an attempt to defy the Ottoman government (Doumani 1995, 19). At the time of the visit of Conder and Kitchener the place was the seat of a *qā'im maqām* (*SWP*, II, 165).

The principal medieval remains in the village belong to the Crusader period and have been discussed in some detail by Pringle (1986, 41–58). These comprise a tower, a first floor hall, and three ranges of vaulted halls. Both the tower and the hall were added to in the first part of the twentieth century, the tower being converted for use as a house and the hall being converted into a mosque in 1911. Those parts of the three ranges of vaults which do not lie derelict are utilised as storage spaces.

Maqām Shaykh ʿAlī

In addition to the buildings described by Pringle there are the remains of what appears to be a Crusader wall to the north of the hall. The wall is at least 10m long and over 1m thick. At the west end is a small room attached to the inside (south side) of the wall. The room has a modern doorway but the remainder of the structure appears to be older. The interior of the room has a square plan (4m x 4m) and is covered with a cross-vault. The cenotaph of Shaykh ʿAlī, consisting of a low platform (3m x 1m) raised approximately 0.2m above the floor, is located on the north side of the room. There is a splayed window in the north wall and a deep mihrab in the south wall. A tree in the centre of the room grows through a hole next to the modern door. The date of the shrine is not known although the form of the mihrab and the location suggest that it may be medieval (post-Crusader).

Anonymous Maqām

This structure was located to the west of the village although it has now disappeared under the modern expansion of Qalansuwa.

The building was already ruined when it was seen by Creswell in 1919. He gives the following description:

> A little to the west of the village, and quite near to the well are the remains of a little mausoleum of superior quality. On the east side are the remains of a tunnel vaulted chamber running north and south, with two doorways in the west side. The northern one leads into the corner -all that now exists- of a little mausoleum. A squinch is set across this angle on a splay-face cornice. This squinch must have converted the square lower part of the mausoleum into an octagon measuring about 7 feet a side. The arch of the semi-dome forming the squinch has a thin key-stone and well-cut voussoirs with irregular extrados. In the left-hand corner of the spandrel is a little cockle shell niche. The masonry has a rubble core and the cement is of good quality.
>
> The north east corner of this interesting fragment, which may be as early as the XIIth century, is in danger of collapsing, but the D.M.G. has promised to have it consolidated (PAM Creswell).

Pringle (1986, 56) thought a date in the late thirteenth century more likely on the basis of comparisons with Maqām Abū Hurayra at Yibnā and the mausoleum of Aydughdī Kubakī in Jerusalem (Walls 1974, 49–50). A late thirteenth-century date (i.e. after the Mamluk conquest) is also more acceptable on historical grounds although the architecture of the building allows for an earlier dating.

Cistern

When examining the maqām described above Creswell noted an inscribed panel set into a roughly built cenotaph north of the main structure. The panel consists of a seven-line Arabic inscription punctuated with three blazons depicting cups in the central line. To the left of the main panel there is a smaller block carrying a larger version (approximately 0.3m x 0.3m) of the cup-bearer's (*sāqī*) blazon. The inscription records the building of a cistern by the amir Qawṣūn in 737 A.H./1336 C.E. during the third reign of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. The inscription also records that a plot of land to the west of the cistern is to be set aside as its *waqf* (Mayer 1933a, 187–188, Pl.XXXV.3; Richards in Pringle 1986, 81–82). Unfortunately no trace of the cistern has been found.

References: Abel 1939, 41; Doumani 1995, 19; Gill 1992, 101, n.14, 553; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 350–352; Hartmann 1910, 675–676 *et passim*; Heyd 1960, 99 n.10, 102, 110; *HG*, 139; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 80, II, 210; Ibn Khurdādhbih ed. de Goeje, 78, 219; Ibn Taghri Birdi ed. Popper, I, 258, 324; Ibn Ṭūlūn, translation Laoust, 141, 233; Jaffa Research Centre 1991, 419–420; Le Strange 1890, 476; Marmadji 1951, 103, 169; Mayer 1933a, 187–188, Pl.XXXV.3; Meinecke 1992, II, 175; *MPF*, 59 No.11; Muqaddasi ed. de Goeje, 191; Palmer 1881, 187; PAM Creswell; Pringle 1986, 41–58, 81–82; Pringle 1993–, II, 161; Pringle 1997, 77–78 No.160; *RCEA*, XV, No.5708; *SWP*, II, 165, 199–201 (map XI); ʿUlaymi translation Sauvaire, index 39; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 167.

Plate 272. Qalʿat ibn Maʿn (No. 111). Exterior with arrow loops.

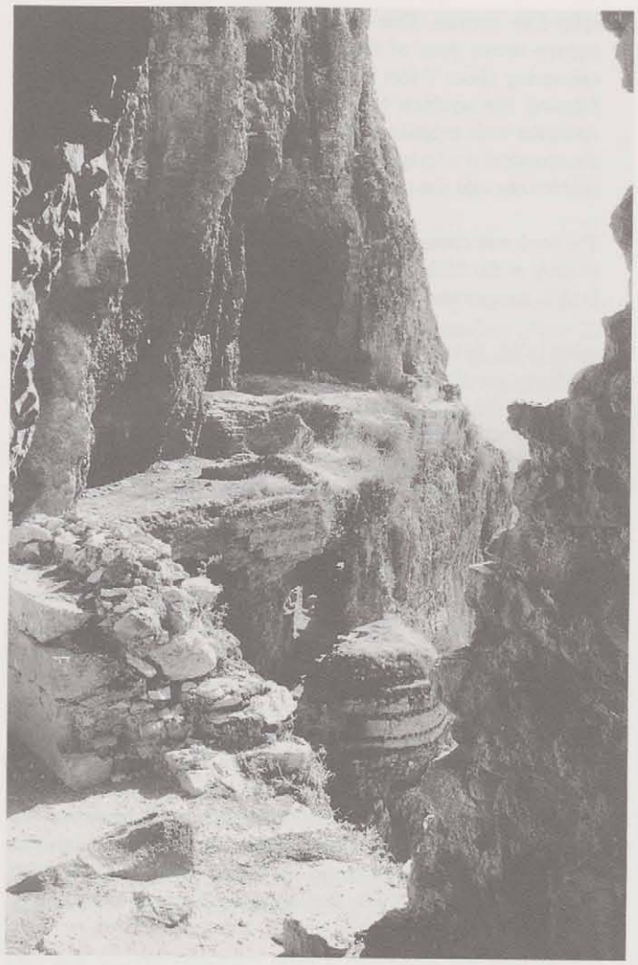


Plate 273. Qalʿat ibn Maʿn (No. 111). Interior upper level.

111. Qalʿat ibn Maʿn

Visited 7.93
Location 1968.2478
32.49N/35.29E

This fortress is built into the Arbel cliff on the south side of Wādī Ḥammām above the small village of the same name (Plates 272–274). The seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Çelebi, probably provides a description of the site and although he confuses the name (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.III, 71–72 n.4, repr. 1980, 29 n.4.) it is clear that he was referring to this building. He described the castle as follows:

> 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 to the height of a minaret thus gaining access through a gate (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.III, 72, repr.1980, 30).

The fortress is located at the junction between the cliff and the escarpment, or slope of loose stone, lying at an angle of 45 degrees. The approach to the fortress is via a winding path leading up the escarpment. At the top are traces of an ancient staircase which was probably contemporary with the fortress. The entrance has now been destroyed although Conder and Kitchener (*SWP*, I, 409) described a doorway flanked with two round towers. Above the doorway was a large block of blue limestone with a carving of two lions confronting one another (for an illustration, see Creswell, *MAE*, II, 152, Fig.83). The interior of the fortress is divided into at least four levels linked by covered staircases. The outer face of the castle is built out of basalt and limestone blocks in alternating courses. Behind the facing is a core of coursed rubble set in mortar and an inner face of ashlar blocks. The lower part of one tower has survived. This is a solid block of masonry faced with two courses of white limestone alternating with one course of black basalt blocks.

The interior of the fortress is mostly rock-cut utilising older pre-Islamic remains. Where they are not rock-cut the roofs are made out of wide barrel-vaults or occasionally corbelled lintels. Doorways are built of blocks, with free stone used for the surrounds. Remains of at least three arrow slits have survived. The best preserved is at the east end of the first floor. This is a deeply splayed arrow slit, approximately 1.75m high (inside) and 1.2m (outside), with a pointed arch made from eight voussoirs with a median joint (i.e. no keystone).

Although the fortress was used by the Maʿnids in the seventeenth century the architecture suggests a pre-Ottoman date. On the basis of the blue limestone block carved with lions, Creswell suggested that the castle was built by the Mamluk sultan Baybars in the late thirteenth century (*MAE*, II, 152). This date seems consistent with the architecture and strategic considerations of the time (i.e. protecting the Damascus–Cairo route).

Plate 274. Qalʿat ibn Maʿn (No. 111). Vaulted room with arrow loop.

References: Baedeker 1876, 371; Creswell *MAE*, II, 152, Fig.83; Palmer 1881, 130; PAM Creswell 1919; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.III, 71–72, repr.1980, 29–30; *SWP*, I, 409–410 (map VI); Wilson 1884, II, 69.

112. Qalᶜat Jiddīn

Visited 8.91 (BSAJ Survey)
Location 1710.2665
33.00N/35.13E

Qalᶜat Jiddīn (Hb. Yehiʿam) is located in the hills of north-west Galilee approximately 15km north-east of Acre.

There are a few Byzantine remains at the site including stones inscribed with crosses and fragments of a mosaic. The principal remains at the site are, however, a thirteenth-century Crusader castle which was refortified by Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar in the eighteenth century (Khalidi 1992, 19. And for a full report, see Pringle *et al.* 1994). The Crusader (Teutonic) castle was built around two towers with an outer enclosure wall. In the eighteenth century the outer enclosure walls were rebuilt, together with the gatehouse which has a bent entrance. The centre of the eighteenth-century castle was at the west end of the site where a vaulted hall was built over the Crusader walls (Fig. 96). The hall formed a basement for a palatial residence which included a mosque and a bathhouse. The vaulted roof of the hall rested on a series of square pillars standing directly on the original sloping ground of the hill side. There are a number of features built into the sides of the wall including well shafts and gun-slits. The mosque is a small square structure which was originally roofed with four cross-vaults resting on a central pillar. The bath house appears to have been a small domestic structure supplied with water from the wells below.

References: Baedeker 1876, 430; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 24–26; Khalidi 1992, 18–19; Makhouly and Johns 1946, 100, 102–103, Fig.13; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 148; Palmer 1881, 51; Pringle 1993–, II, 162; Pringle 1997, 80–82 No.165; Pringle *et al.* 1994; *SWP*, I, 154, 185–186 (map III).

113. Qāqūn

Visited 18.5.94
Location 1497.1962
32.22N/35.00E

Qāqūn is located on the coastal plain approximately 5km north of Ṭūlkarm. The village was built on a small hill (tell) which overlooked the Qāqūn plain to the west. In medieval times much of the plain was covered in thick woodland (Pringle 1986, 9–10) although this disappeared during later Ottoman times and today the plain is an intensive agricultural area producing oranges, bananas, and other fruits.

The earliest descriptions of Qāqūn come from the Crusader period although archaeological evidence suggests that an Arab village preceded the Crusader settlement (Pringle 1986, 58; for a more extensive discussion of the history of the site, see 58–63 and bibliography on 71). In the twelfth century the village contained a mixed population of Frankish settlers, Syrian Christians, and Muslims. The castle does not appear to have been built until the twelfth century (probably 1101) and the first time it is mentioned is 1123 when it was used as a base for gathering troops to relieve Jaffa (Pringle 1986, 60). In 1265 Qāqūn was captured by the Mamluks, under the command of sultan Baybars, who used the castle as a base for hunting

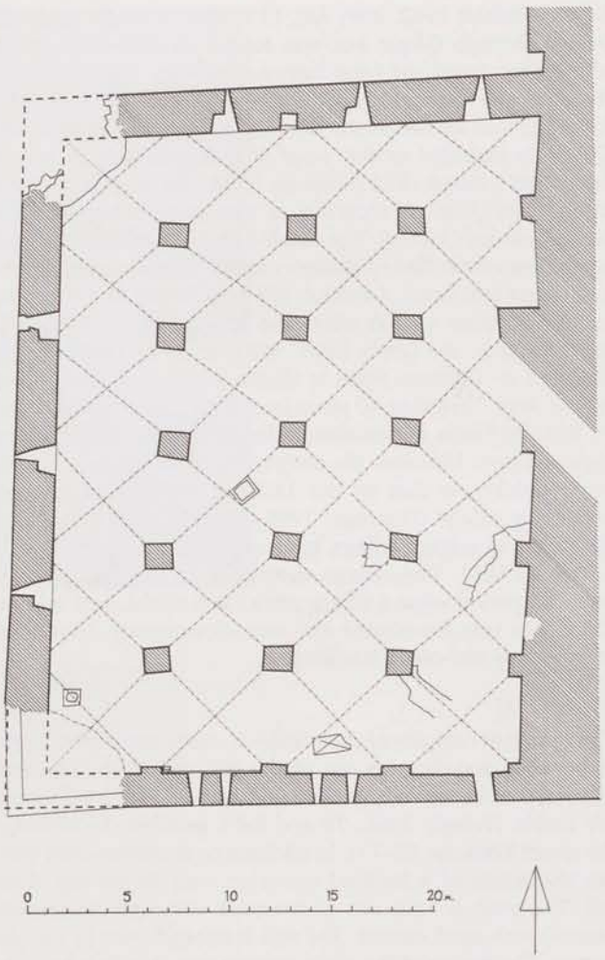


Fig. 96. Qalᶜat Jiddīn (No. 112). Plan of vaulted galleries.

expeditions in the nearby woods. A year later he ordered the rebuilding of the castle and the conversion of the (Latin) church into a mosque (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 128, II, 101; Maqrīzī ed. Ziada and Ashour, I, 557). In 1271 the Crusaders attempted to recapture Qāqūn and this forced Baybars to return from Aleppo to Damascus in order to supervise a relief operation (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 197, II, 155). Under the Mamluks Qāqūn became the centre of a *wilāya* which replaced the destroyed coastal towns of Arsūf and Caesarea (Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 199). The castle also became an important stop on the Cairo–Damascus postal road revived in the early Mamluk period (al-ᶜUmarī ed. Sayyid, 248; Hartmann 1910, 689). In 1293 the Qāqūn was badly damaged by an earthquake, which also caused damage in Ramla, Gaza, and Karak (Kallner-Amiran 1951, 228). As part of the general rebuilding a large caravanserai was constructed by the amir, ᶜAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwalī, sometime between 1299 and his death in 1345 (Mayer 1933a, 198; Meinecke 1992, 129; al-Maqrizi ed. Ziada and Ashour II/3,674:15). Qalqashandī described Qāqūn as a pleasant town with a fortress, a mosque, a bath, and a well (ed. Ali, IV, 100). In the fifteenth century the town is listed on the route between Gaza and Damascus as one of the relay stations carrying snow from Syria to Egypt (al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 118, 119). A number of significant people were buried here during the Mamluk period. One of the most important was Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī, a former governor of Aleppo and Ḥamā who was executed at Qāqūn in 1347 (Ibn Ṭūlūn translation Laoust, 10–11; Mayer 1933a, 250).

In the early Ottoman period the settlement was the centre of the *nāḥiya* of Qāqūn which belonged to the *sanjaq/liwā'* of

Nāblus (Bakhit 1982, 209; *HG*, 137–138). A major route still passed through Qāqūn but was subject to numerous attacks along the stretch of road between Qāqūn and Jaljūliyya. According to Ottoman records this area was still covered in trees and was known as the Wood of Qāqūn (Heyd 1960, 96). Qāqūn is included in the *waqf* of Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān, wife of Sulaymān I, dated 1552 (Stephan 1944, 184 n.1). In the 1596 *daftar* Nafs Qāqūn is recorded as containing a population of 23 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce of the settlement comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees'. A market toll (*bāj bāzār*) and a poll tax on non-Muslims (*jizya*) were also levied (*HG*, 137–138; for other records, see Lewis 1954, 489). In 1799 French troops defeated an Ottoman force at Qāqūn which had been sent to relieve Acre. Less than 40 years later the village was destroyed by Ibrāhīm Pasha as punishment for taking part in a rebellion against Egypt. However the settlement seems to have revived fairly quickly so that by the 1850s it is listed as a cotton producing village (Doumani 1995, 104). In the 1870s it was described as a large village built around a Crusader fortress (*SWP*, II, 152). The village continued to develop into the Mandate period when a village school was established. In 1948 the village was abandoned and was subsequently demolished leaving only the castle standing.

The Castle

The principal remains of the medieval castle are a rectangular tower-keep standing on top of the hill. Although the castle was restored by Baybars in 1266 no traces of his reconstruction are visible (Pringle 1986, 70 and for a detailed discussion of the tower-keep, see 63–71). In addition to the tower-keep there are also traces of a fortified enclosure wall on the top of the hill. The wall is built out of irregular stone blocks (mostly reused) with earth mortar. The wall is strengthened by circular towers. The design of the walls suggest that they belong to the later Ottoman period and may perhaps be identified with fortifications built to resist the attack of Ibrāhīm Pasha in the 1830s.

The Mosque

The village mosque was demolished along with the rest of the village in 1948. Fortunately, the mosque was visited in 1947 by Husseini who gives the following description: 'Only the domed part is ancient, the rest of the building is new. North of al-Jamiᶜ is an enclosed yard containing graves and a cistern'.

Husseini was able to record the inscriptions on three of these graves. The full translation and transcription of these inscriptions is given by Richards in Pringle (1986, Appendix 2, 78–80). The first of these is the gravestone of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajj which, although undated, is likely to be of the thirteenth century. The second inscription was the gravestone of Aḥmad ibn Mūsā (this was written on a marble column and dated 688 H. (1289 C.E.)). The third gravestone was that of Muḥammad ibn ᶜĪsā and was dated 792 H. (1390 C.E.). This last stone had earlier been built into the back wall of the mosque.

Shrines

Johns (PAM 18.8.22) recorded six walis (shrines) at Qāqūn although he only saw four of these. The two not visited were Shaykh Abū Shar (sp.) and Shaykh ᶜAdnān which were outside the village. Within the village there were two in the mosque (Shaykh Amma (sp.) and Shaykh Bek (sp.)), one in the north-west corner of the Crusader tower (al-Khiḍr), and one in Bīr al-Khān (al-Jāwalī).

Dār al-Ḥajjī Muḥammad Abū Hawtash (sp.)

The only surviving village house is that of al-Ḥajjī Muḥammad al-Hawtash. It is located to the west of the medieval tower-keep. The house consists of three (now two) cross-vaulted rooms with a single room on the first floor. The central vault appears to have been open on the west side, whilst the southern vault contains a doorway and window. The date of this building is unknown although the upper part clearly belongs to a later period. It is possible that the vaults belong to a Mamluk structure.

Zāwiyat al-Shaykh ᶜAdnān

This structure was already ruined in 1947 when it was seen by Husseini. It consisted of a single square chamber with a mihrab at the south end. Nearby there were some medieval graves. No trace of this structure has survived.

Khān

The khān built by ᶜAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwalī in the early fourteenth century has completely disappeared, although the memory of it may have survived. When Husseini visited the site in 1947 he noted the following:

> Further west is Bir el-Khan, south of [the] school, which is said to have been built on the remains of the khān. South of Bir el-Khan is a marble column buried in the ground and said to belong to the grave of el 'Jawji (PAM 22.7.1947).

Other Structures

In addition to Bīr al-Khān Husseini noted another ancient well, Bīr al-Ḥalw, which he said had three openings. Husseini also mentioned a medieval graveyard known as Maqbarat al-Satiriyya (sp.). A lost inscription set into the mosque apparently referred to a cistern (*ḥawḍ*) possibly connected with the khān (PAM, 18.8.22; Pringle 1986, 70).

References: Baedeker 1876, 260; Bakhit 1982, 35 n.1, 209, 210; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 114; Doumani 1995, 104; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 346–348; Hartmann 1910, 674–679, 689; Heyd 1960, index; *HG*, 137–138; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, index; Ibn Ṭūlūn translation Laoust, 10–11; Kallner-Amiran 1951, 228; Khalidi 1992, 559–560; Le Strange 1890, 495; Lewis 1954, 489; Maqrīzī ed. Ziada and Ashour, I, 557; Marmadji 1951, 108, 163; Mayer 1933a, 198, 250; Maqrizi ed. Ziada and Ashour II/3,674:15; Meinecke 1992, II, 26–27, 38, 129; *MPF*, 34 No.34, 91 No.18; Palmer 1881, 183; PAM Husseini 22.7.47; PAM Johns 18.8.22; Pringle 1986, 58–71, Appendix 2; Pringle 1993–, II, 164–165; Pringle 1997, 83–84 No.168; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 100, 199; Stephan 1944, 184 n.1; *SWP*, II, 152–153, 195 (map XI); al-ᶜUmarī ed. Shams al-Din, 227, 248, 255, 257; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 18; al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 118, 119.

114. Qaṣr al-Zuwayra

Visited 8.94
Location 183.062
31.09N/35.21E

This structure is located near the modern Israeli settlement of Zoar on a Roman route from the Dead Sea (Harper 1986). The main part of the castle is located on a high ridge sticking up in the middle of the wadi above the road (Plates 275–277). This part of the castle is ruined, although the rock-cut steps leading up to it are still visible. At the foot of the ridge is a small rectangular courtyard with a gateway and a number of windows (or gunslits). Outside the gateway are the remains of two reservoirs formed by dams built across the bed of the wadi. In the cliff above the road (on the south side of the wadi) is a small rock-cut chamber with an arrow-loop which presumably was an outlying part of the castle. The castle has been assumed to be of Roman or early Byzantine origin (Harper 1986, 336)

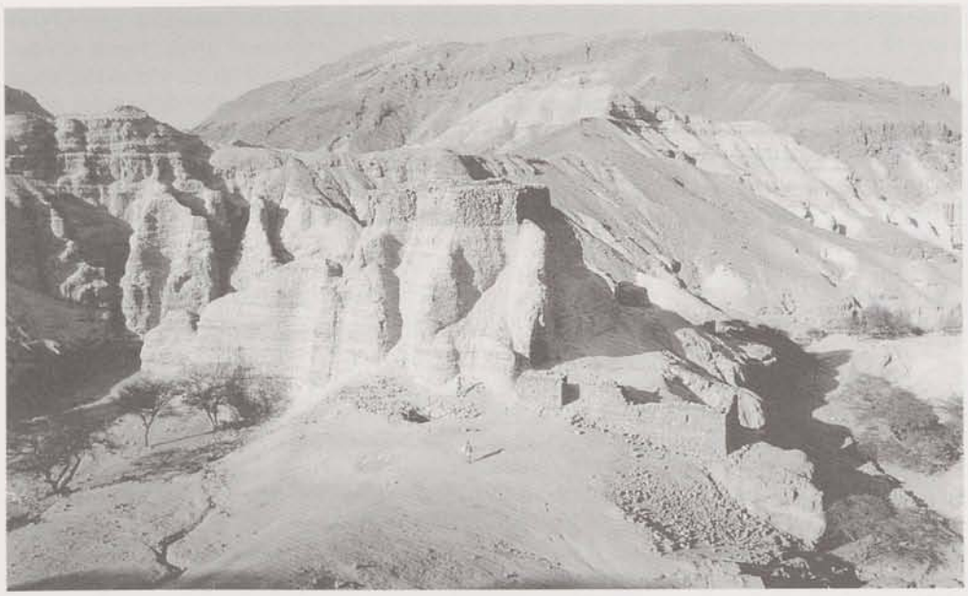


Plate 275. Qaṣr al-Zuwayra (No. 114). View from west.

Plate 276. Qaṣr al-Zuwayra (No. 114). Keep with rock cut chambers below.

Plate 277. Qaṣr al-Zuwayra (No. 114). Loop hole in keep.

although there was clearly later (medieval or Ottoman) occupation, as can be seen from the use of a pointed arch for the gateway. It seems likely that the fort continued to fulfil a strategic function during the Crusader and later Islamic periods. Al-Ẓāhirī mentions the site of al-Zuwayr on the route around the south end of the Dead Sea between al-Khalīl (Hb. Hebron) and Karak (ed. Ravaisse, 119; Hartmann 1910, 683).

References: Abel 1967, II, 85; Harper 1986; Hartmann 1910, 683; Pringle 1997, 114 (Supplementary P.21); Robinson 1841, II, 475, 477, 478, 480; al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 119.

115. Qīra (Khirbat) / Qīra wa-Qaymūn

Visited 1.7.94
Location 1599.2279
32.39N/35.08E

This site is located on the northern edge of the Carmel mountain range and south-west of the modern Israeli settlement of Yoqneam (Hb.).

In 1872 the site was inhabited by Turkoman peasants living in caves. In the late Ottoman/early Mandate period the site became recognised as a village (Khalidi 1992, 181–182). In the 1960s the site was visited by the Survey of Israel which noted the presence of a khān, a Muslim cemetery, and a cistern (Olami, 1981, 32, xi (Site 45)). Conder and Kitchener also mentioned a mill at the site (*SWP*, II, 60–61). This structure has disappeared although an Ottoman emplacement on the side of the wadi may incorporate part of the mill (Olami 1981, 20, ix (Site 29)).

The Khān

Location 1599.2279

The khān is a large square enclosure measuring 50m per side. Most of the building is ruined except for the north-west corner which is still standing. This part is a tall structure roofed with a cross-vault resting on square corner piers. There are tall windows in the west, north, and east sides whilst the south side is open to the interior of the khān. The other sides of the khān are lined with rooms which have a width of 6m.

On the hill to the east of the khān there is a small conical hill occupied by a Muslim cemetery.

References: *HG*, 133; Khalidi 1992, 181–182; Le Strange 1890, 473; Marmadji 1951, 170; Olami 1981, Sites 29, 45; Palmer 1881, 149; *SWP*, II, 60–61 (map VIII); Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 218.

116. Qūla

Visited —
Location 1459.1605
32.02N/34.57E

Now destroyed, this village was located approximately 12km north-east of Ramla.

During the twelfth century the Hospitallers established an administrative and collection centre in the village comprising a tower and a vaulted structure (Pringle 1986, 21–22; Pringle 1997, 87). Descriptions of the village in the Mandate period indicate that the majority of the houses were built of mud and were located around the Crusader tower and the vaulted structure (Khalidi 1992, 408–409; *SWP*, II, 297; PAM File 154).

Mosque (Plate 278)

The mosque stood approximately 10m east of the Crusader tower. It comprised a large vaulted iwan and a smaller room with an inscription above the entrance.

References: Khalidi 1992, 408–409; Palmer 1881, 237; PAM File 154; Pringle 1986, 21–22; Pringle 1997, 87; *SWP*, II, 297 (map XIV).

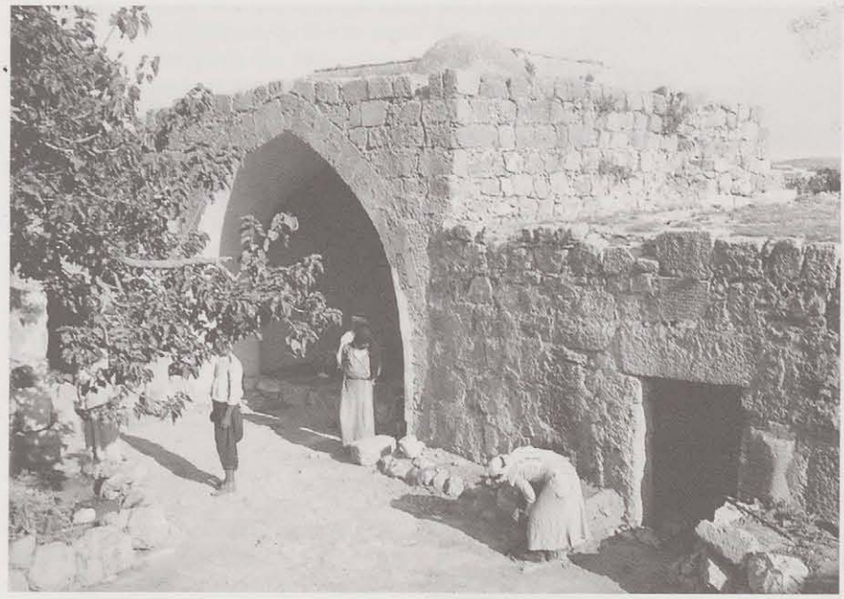


Plate 278. Qūla (No. 116). View of mosque and maqām (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

R

117. Rās al-ᶜAyn

Visited 10.91
Location 1437.1680
32.05N/34.57E

The site derives its name Rās al-ᶜAyn (literally 'head of the spring') from its position at the head of the ᶜAwjā (Hb. Yarqon) river which emerges from a spring at this point (cf. illustration in Wilson 1884, III, 21). The geographical significance of this position is two-fold: first, there is always a plentiful supply of water; and second, people travelling northwards up the coast would have to pass this point if they wished to avoid crossing the river.

As a result of its advantageous location there has been settlement on the site from at least the Bronze Age (Murphy O'Connor 1986, 141–143; Aharoni 1979, 161 No.66, 430). The principal archaeological remains at the site are contained within the artificial hill (tell) known as Tel Afeq (Hb.) derived from the settlements Biblical name (Joshua 12:18). During the Hellenistic period the town was known as Pegae and in the first century B.C.E. it was refounded by Pompey as Arethusa. Its name was again changed in 37–4 B.C.E. when Herod called it Antipatris in memory of his father. During the fifth and sixth centuries it became an Episcopal see (Wilson 1884, III, 138–139; Le Strange 1890, 472; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, III, 78; *TIR*, 63). In 750 C.E. the Umayyads were defeated near the town (al-Ṭabari ed. de Goeje, III, 47 ff).

The Ottoman fortress stands on top of the tell, so, excavations of the ancient remains had to be carried out within the walls of the castle. Fortunately, the excavators were also able to uncover destroyed parts of the fortress, although their main interest was the Bronze Age site (see, for example Kochavi 1975).

The Fortress (Qalᶜat Rās al-ᶜAyn) (Figs 97–98, Plate 279)
The fortress is a massive rectangular enclosure with four corner towers and a gate in the centre of the west side (for an illustration, see Wilson 1884, III, 120). Three of the towers have a square ground plan, whilst a fourth tower at the south-west corner is octagonal. The walls stand to their original height in several places (particularly on the south and west sides) although the north wall has been substantially destroyed. The two north towers are also badly damaged. Reports in the Mandate Archives indicate that that much of the damage to the castle has occurred within the last hundred years. More recently (since 1976) the castle has been partially restored by the Petah Tiqwa (Hb.) park authority. The extent of the restoration work can be seen by comparing photographs taken by Creswell in 1919 with the present condition of the structure (cf. Petersen 1998, Figs.2, 3, 11).

Where the walls stand to their original height stepped crenellations may be seen. It is not certain whether these are original features or modern reconstructions, although their design is consistent with other known sixteenth-century Ottoman fortifications (for examples, see Petersen 1989). In addition to crenellations the walls contained arrowslits, most of which have been robbed of their original stonework. In some cases the arrowslits have been rebuilt, although the form of the reconstructed slits is probably not accurate. An original

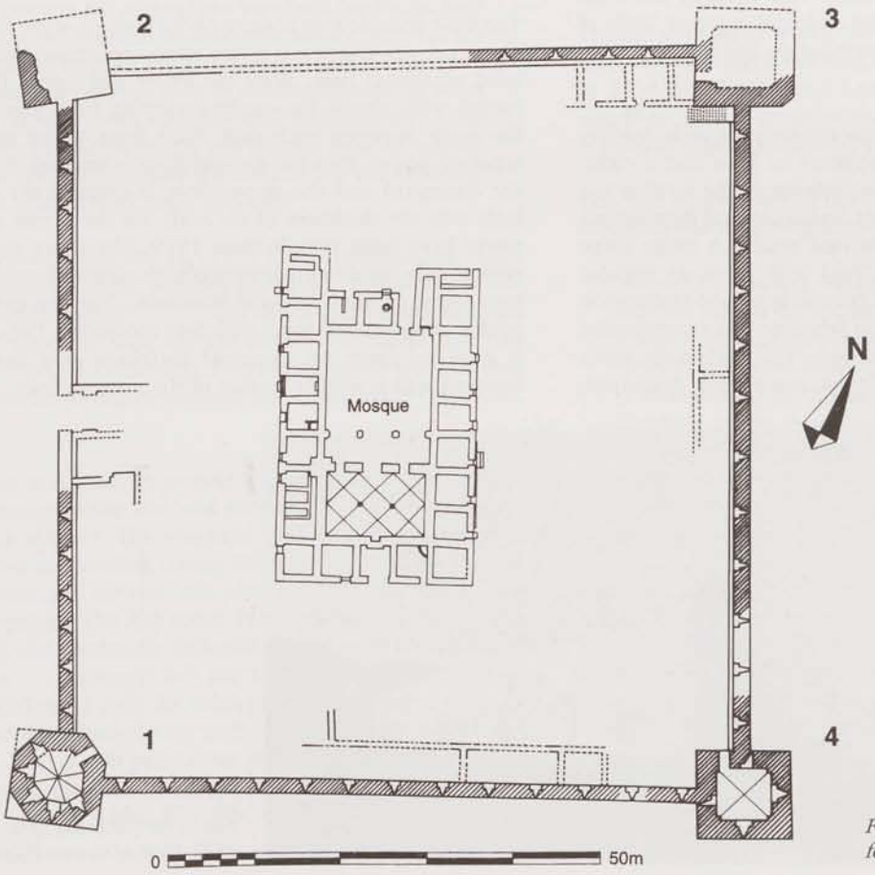


Fig. 97. Rās al-ᶜAyn (No. 117). Plan of fortress.

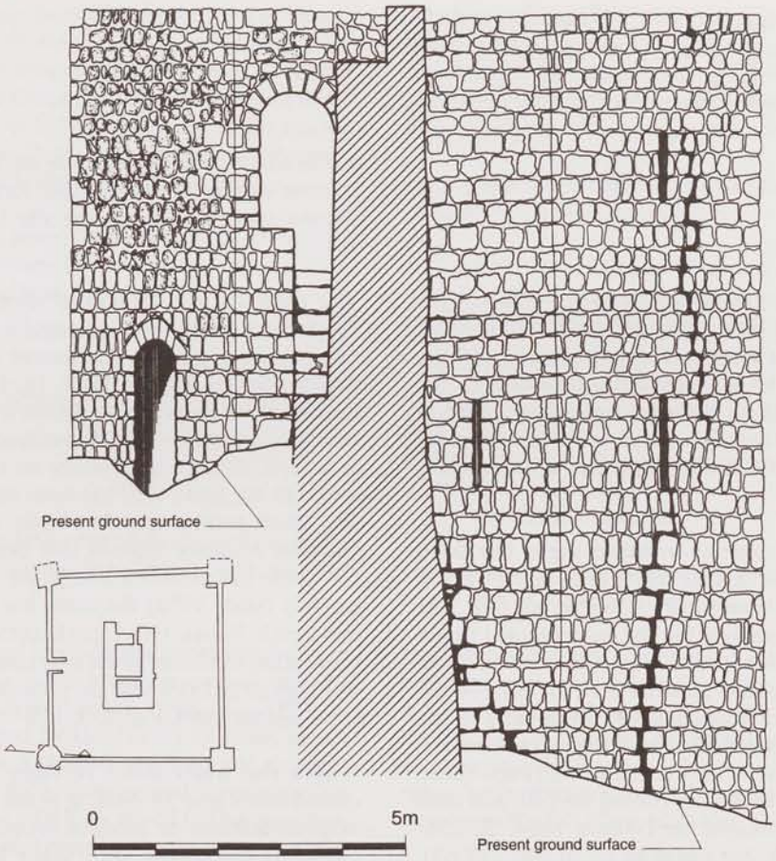


Fig. 98. Rās al-ʿAyn (No. 117). Elevation of south-west corner tower.

arrow-slit can be seen on the south side of the north-west tower. The slit is three courses high (approximately 1.2m) and made out of dressed limestone blocks, it is widened into a bell-shaped semi-circular opening at the bottom. This form of arrowslit can be compared with those of the sixteenth-century walls of Jerusalem, or with some of the contemporary *ḥajj* forts in Jordan (see Petersen 1989).

The gateway is a plain opening, approximately 2m wide, leading into a short passageway which appears to have had a right-angled turn to the left (south). The interior of the fortress is a large open area with the remains of archaeological excavations in the centre. Running along the east wall is a ledge three courses high (approximately 1.2m) with steps at regular intervals. Changes in the internal ground level and restoration work, make it difficult to ascertain whether this arrangement existed on the other sides of the fortress. The wall on the north side of the building has been almost completely destroyed, although excavations have revealed the foundations of the wall, including a stone revetment or glacis (Kochavi 1975, 30, Fig.9).

The most conspicuous feature of the interior is the four towers. The south-west tower is a two storey structure standing on a solid octagonal base. Both the lower and upper floors were roofed with simple fan-vaults springing from pendentives in the angle between each side. Each floor of the tower has a separate access, thus the ground floor is entered directly from the courtyard and the upper floor is entered via a staircase built into the thickness of the wall. All the arrow slits in this tower have been rebuilt since 1919. The other three towers were square buildings two storeys high, although only the south-east tower survives in good condition. The ground floor is a square cross-vaulted room with four arrowslits. The upper floor is entered from an external staircase and the internal arrangement is similar to that of the ground floor.

Plate 279. Qalʿat Rās al-ʿAyn (No. 117). View of fortress from north-west.

A building standing in the middle of the fortress was marked on the plan published by the Survey of Western Palestine although neither its function nor its full extent were determined (SWP, II, 266). During the 1973 excavations the full plan of the building was revealed and this clearly showed that it was a mosque with a courtyard and adjoining rooms. The excavators defined three building phases: the prayer hall was built during the first phase; a courtyard was added during a second phase; and the adjoining rooms were added during the third phase. The prayer hall is a rectangular structure roofed with two rows of three cross-vaults (i.e. six bays) resting on two central columns and ten wall piers. There was a wide mihrab in the centre of the south wall marked by a rectangular projection on the outer wall. The north-west corner of the prayer hall formed the base of the minaret, which was probably entered from the roof of the prayer hall. Three doorways in the north wall lead out to a portico comprising three vaulted bays supported by four pillars (two free standing and two engaged). The only openings in the square courtyard are the two doorways in the north wall. One of these entrances leads into a long tunnel vaulted corridor (probably a latrine) and the other gives access to the exterior. The exterior of the mosque is surrounded by 24 rooms, most of which were square (3.5m x 3.5m), with a single doorway. The function of these rooms is unknown although some appear to have had specialised utilities. A more detailed description of this area of the fortress must await full publication of the excavations.

Date

An unpublished note written by Hamilton in 1942 (PAM ATQ/8/19 22.12.42) suggested that the fortress was built by the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn. It is now generally accepted, however, that the fortress was built by the Ottomans following publication of an imperial Ottoman *firmān* dated 981 H. (1573 C.E.). The following extract from the *firmān* refers to the present fortress:

> You have sent a letter and have reported that the four walls of the fortress of Rās al-ʿAyn have been built, but inside them no mosque and houses have been built and the earth has not been removed from outside it... I have commanded that when [this *firmān*] arrives you shall, in accordance with My order and on the said terms, have the said [commandant] build the above mentioned rooms and mosque with its minaret and have the guards remove the earth outside and clean and tidy [the place] (Heyd 1960, 107–108).

Another *firmān* dated 987 H. (1579 C.E.) indicates that there may have been an older, possibly Mamluk, fortress on the site which was built over in 1573. This document begins with the phrase: 'When some time ago the fortress of Rās al-ʿAyn was built anew...' (Heyd 1960, 108). There is no visible evidence that any of the earlier structure survived the rebuilding of the 1570s.

Function

The fortress was built to protect a vulnerable stretch of the Cairo–Damascus route and was provided with 100 horsemen and 30 foot soldiers. The mounted soldiers were expected to be constantly on the alert (Heyd, 1960, 106). In addition to its main function the fortress was also supposed to supply five soldiers to protect the *ḥajj* route. It is apparent, however, that the fortress was frequently undermanned; thus a *firmān* dated 1579 states: '... although full pay has been remitted for this number [150 men] only 30 soldiers are to be found there at present and even those do not perform their duty' (Heyd 1960, 108–109). Nearly 100 years later in 1071 H. (1660 C.E.) the fortress had a garrison of 54 cavalrymen and guards (Heyd 1960, 190; Bakhit 1982, 97). For a detailed discussion, see Petersen 1998.

Ruined House

Visited 24.5.94
Location 1463.1664

This is located in the eastern suburb of Rosh ha-Ayin (Hb.) known as Afeq (Hb.). The building stands on an area of waste ground on the east side of the road next to the limestone quarry. The house is approximately 5m square with windows in the centre of the south and west sides. The remains of a doorway are located on the north side. There are also niches placed: either side of the south window; to the south of the west window; and in the north-east corner. The house was originally roofed with a cross-vault but this has now collapsed.

Other structures

A *waqf* dated 933 H. (1526 C.E.) mentions a mill (*ṭāḥūn*) located on the river (al-ʿAwjā) passing the village of Rās al-ʿAyn. No trace of this building survives (*MPF*, 77 No.11. And see 78 No.17; 80 No.30).

References: Abel 1967, II, 218, 246; Baedeker 1876, 332; Bakhit 1982, 97; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, III, 78; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 417–418, II, 178; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Heyd 1960, index; Kochavi 1975; Le Strange 1890, 472; Marmadji 1951, 80; *MPF*, 77 No.11, 78 No.17, 80 No.30; Palmer 1881, 216; PAM ATQ/8/19 Hamilton 22.12.42; Petersen 1998; *SWP*, II, 250–251, 258–262, 266 (map XIII); al-Ṭabari, III, 47ff; Volney 1959, 235–236.

118. Rās al-Naqb

Visited —
Location 1388.8882
30.01N/35.28E

This site is located on an escarpment 8km north-west of modern Eilat (Hb.) and 500m east of the Israeli–Egyptian border crossing at Netafim (Hb.).

The site consists of a rock-cut road, graves, remains of workers' huts, and two metalworking furnaces. It was first investigated in 1914 by Woolley and Lawrence (1915, 32, 143–147, 161 and Pl.III.1) and later during an archaeological survey of the southern Negev (Rothenberg and Cohen 1968, Site 224).

The best description of the road is by Woolley and Lawrence who give the following account:

> The surface is in very few cases made up; wherever possible the road was cut to rock, with little labour, since the stone is always brittle and thin, flat layers. So the masons had at once ready to their hand masses of squared blocks for parapets or retaining walls. Yet this same facility of the stone has been disastrous to the abandoned road, since the rains of a few seasons chisel the softer parts into an irregular giant staircase; while in the limestone the torrent has taken the road-cutting as a convenient course, and left it deep buried under a sliding mass of water worn pebbles (1915, 31).

The road formed part of the Egyptian pilgrimage route (*darb al-ḥajj al-miṣrī*) between Cairo and Mekka. At this point the road descends suddenly from the high plateau of northern Sinai to the plain of ʿAqaba some 400m below. The road is very steep and winds down the hill.

According to the fifteenth-century historian, Maqrīzī, the road was built in the Abbasid period during the reign of the Egyptian governor, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (r. 868–884 C.E.) (Maqrīzī cited in Woolley and Lawrence 1915, 12). However, two rock-cut

inscriptions found on the road indicate that considerable work was carried out during the Mamluk period. The earlier of the two is built into the wall of the police post and is dated to during the reign of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (Tamari and Hashimshoni 1973; Rothenberg 1972, 226). The second inscription is dated to the sixteenth century during the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–1516 C.E.) who also built the nearby khān (for the protection of pilgrims) at ʿAqaba (Ibn Iyās 1960–1974, IV, 133; Margoliouth in Woolley and Lawrence 1914, 161; Glidden 1952). Work on the road was also undertaken during the reign of the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān I (Zayadine 1985, 160). The road was probably repaired again in the mid nineteenth century by Ibrāhīm Pasha who built a small bridge at the foot of the escarpment (Woolley and Lawrence 1915, 31).

The workers' camp comprises a series of low walled circular or oval enclosures divided into a number of rooms. Pottery found on the site was consistent with a Mamluk (fourteenth or fifteenth century) date. Two of the enclosures contain installations which appear to be metal furnaces. The larger of the two enclosures consists of four chambers arranged in a semi-circle and open to the east. The walls stand to a height of 1–1.5m and are built of roughly square stone blocks. The furnace stands in the centre surrounded by charcoal fragments, lumps of copper and iron ore, white wood ash, and pieces of slag. The furnace, measuring 1.6m long by 1m wide, is built out of stone with a clay lining both on the inside and the exterior. The entrance to the furnace was on the north side next to a water quenching tank. The furnace itself had a vaulted roof and was probably driven by a bellows. Remains of a socketed iron hoe were found within the furnace indicating that it was used for the production of iron tools (probably used in the construction of the road).

References: Noam in *EI*, VI, 566–570; Glidden 1952; Ibn Iyās 1960–1974, IV, 133; Robinson 1841, I, 258, 259; Rothenberg 1972, 236; Rothenberg and Cohen 1968, Site 224; Tamari and Hashimshoni 1973; Woolley and Lawrence 1914, 11–12, 31-32, 143–147, 161; Zayadine 1985, *passim*.

S

119. Ṣafad

Visited 11.93
Location 196.263
32.58N/35.30E

The city of Ṣafad (Hb. Safet) is located in the mountains 40km east of Acre and 20km north of Tiberias. It is now the principal settlement in Upper Galilee and is a centre of Jewish mysticism.

The name of the city is derived from the Hebrew word *sefat*, which means lookout, presumably a reference to the extensive views from the hilltop (for a concise history of the site in the ancient period, see Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XIV, 626–632; Weiss in *EAE*, IV, 1324–1328). It is mentioned in the Talmud as being a place where fires were lit during festivals, although it does not appear in the Old Testament (*EJ*, XIV, 626). In 66 C.E. it was fortified by Josephus in anticipation of a Roman attack. Little is known of the settlement in early Islamic times, although a reference to a person with the *nisba*, 'al-Ṣafadī' in the Geniza documents, may indicate a Jewish presence there (Gil 1992, 213–214 and Amitai-Preiss in *EI2*, VIII, 757).

Ṣafad was one of the first towns captured by the Crusaders, who established a fortress at the site in 1101–1102 C.E. (for Ṣafad in the Crusader and Islamic periods, see Pringle 1985; Pringle 1993–, II, 206–209; Amitai-Preiss in *EI2*, VIII, 757–759). In 1140 the fortress was rebuilt by king Fulk and in 1168 it was transferred from the local lord to the Templars. After a six week siege in 583 H. (1187–1188 C.E.) the castle was captured by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who gave it as a fief (*iqṭāʿ*) to one of his commanders (Abū Shāma RHC (Or.) IV, 344, 346; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 112, II, 88). The town later passed into the control of al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā who destroyed the fortress in 617 H. (1219–1220 C.E.) fearing that it would be captured by the Crusaders. Twenty years later the town returned to the Crusaders under an agreement with al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, who sought help against al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt. The significance the Crusaders attached to the town can be seen by their restoration of the fortress at huge cost. The rebuilt castle was provided with a garrison of 1,700 which would expand to 2,200 in times of war (cf. Pringle 1985). The town finally returned to Muslim control in 664 H. when it was captured by the Mamluk sultan Baybars following a six week siege (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 112–118; II, 89–96).

Under the Mamluks Ṣafad was established as a regional centre and provided with hospitals, bathhouses, mosques, and religious schools (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 41). Abū'l-Fidā', writing in the early fourteenth century, describes Ṣafad as a town of medium size with suburbs and gardens extending over three hills (ed. Renaud de Slane, 243). In the latter part of the Mamluk period the population appears to have declined because of the devastation caused by the Black Death after 1348 (*EI2*, VIII, 758).

During the first fifty years of Ottoman rule the population more than doubled, rising from 926 households in 932 H. (1525–1526 C.E.) to 1,931 in 975 H. (1567–1568 C.E.). Ṣafad was the administrative capital of a *liwāʾ* (cf. *HG*, 175–194). The city was divided into four main Muslim quarters (al-Akrād, al-Ṣawāwīn, al-Aḥmar, and al-Waṭā) and a Jewish quarter subdivided into 12 smaller units. The rise in the number of Jewish households (from 233 in 1525 to 945 in 1567–1568) is dramatic, reflecting the Ottoman policy of accepting Jews expelled from the Iberian peninsula (Cohen and Lewis 1978, 155–161. See especially Table 6 on 161). The influence of the Jews on the economy of the town is significant, as can be seen from the Ottoman attempts to move rich Jews from Ṣafad to Cyprus, according to Lewis in order to: '... restore the commercial prosperity of the island after the expulsion of the Venetians' (Lewis 1952, 29). Textiles were the principal industry, involving both the production and dyeing of cloth. Ṣafad was particularly well suited to textile production, as it had a plentiful supply of water which was fundamental to the production of cloth, both for cleaning the wool and cotton, and to drive fulling hammers. In 1525–1526 there were two dye houses paying tax of 600 *aqja* (*aspers*) per year and in 1555–1556 there were four dye-houses paying tax of 2,236 *aqja* (Cohen and Lewis 1978, 60, 164 No.9; and see *HG*, 91 for details drawn from the 1596 *daftar*).

Although there was apparently some decline in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Ṣafad remained prosperous into the seventeenth century when it was visited by Evliya Çelebi. He described it as a densely populated city, divided into seven quarters, with 1,300 inhabited houses built of mud and lime. He does however note a decline in the prosperity of the town, which he attributes to the emigration of Jews to Salonika (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 158, 162). During the seventeenth century Ṣafad returned to the status of a small town and was ruled by the Druze amir, Fakhr al-Dīn. In the eighteenth century Ṣafad was one of the main strongholds of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, whose father had been the shaykh of the town. During this period the prosperity of the town increased due to the export of cotton to Europe. Under the administration of Ibrāhīm Pasha, in the early nineteenth century, Ṣafad once again became the chief city of Galilee. In 1880 it became the seat of a judge (*qaḍāʾ*) and in 1894 it had a population estimated as 21,313, of whom 13,971 were Muslims (although see Amitai-Preiss in *EI2*, VIII, 758). At the end of the nineteenth century Ṣafad was said to contain four mosques, three churches, two ḥammāms, one khān, two sabils, 10 ovens, 15 cafes, 45 stalls, three shops, seven olive presses, 19 mills, and 2,000 houses (Cuinet 1896, 115).

Fortifications

The castle at Ṣafad represents at least three phases of construction; Crusader, Mamluk, and Ottoman. In all phases the design of the fortress has been dependent upon the elliptical shape of the hill on which it is sited. No remains of the Roman period fortifications have been discovered, although they presumably occupied the same place as the medieval castle. Although we have excellent documentary evidence of the Crusader castle, very little has survived, and that which does remain is mostly encased in the building work of later phases. There have been attempts to recreate a plan of the Crusader castle although further excavation would be required to solve this problem (Pringle 1985, 148).

Mamluk Burj

This massive circular structure was located at the southern end of the castle mound. Unfortunately, the tower is no longer extant, although traces have been revealed by excavation (Pringle 1985, 145). A description of this tower is given by al-Dimashqī:

> Sultan Baybars laid siege to them [the Crusaders] and took the place, and put to the sword everyone who was in the fortress, slaying them on a hill-top nearby the place. Then he

> destroyed [the castle], and built inside a round tower and called it *qalla*. Its height is 120 *dhiraʿ* (Syrian cubit = 0.68m) and its breadth 70. And to the terrace of the roof [of the tower] you go up by a double passage. Five horses can ride up to the top of [the tower] abreast by a winding passageway without steps. The tower is built in three storeys. It is provided with provisions, and halls and storehouses (*makhāzin*). Under the place there is a cistern (*bīr*) for the rain-water, sufficient to supply the people of the castle (*ḥiṣn*) of the fortress from year to year (al-Dimashqī 1866, 210; see also translation in Le Strange 1890, 524).

Another account of the tower is given by al-Ṣafadī (1297–1363 C.E.) who described it as follows:

> In the castle [Baybars] built an extra tall tower to the top of which a camel could climb with its load - its height was 80 cubits [40–60m], but it was not completed until the reign of al-Manṣūr [Qalāwūn] (translation by Richards in Pringle 1985, 145).

Evliya Çelebi writing in the seventeenth century, before its rebuilding, describes the castle as: 'a round masonry building, an ancient, wonderful castle' (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 157). He also observes that the castle is no longer in use and is used as a place for keeping sheep and goats. Probably the latest description of the tower before its disappearance is given by Guérin in the 1870s:

> A powerful isolated tower or donjon, of circular form, measuring 34m in diameter...; there remain several courses composed of regular blocks worked with much care. Within one remarks the debris of a vaulted gallery constructed with similar blocks (*Galilée* II, 420–421 translation in *SWP*, I, 250)

It is likely that this was the same structure which was partially excavated by the Israeli Antiquities Department in the early 1960s (Pringle 1985, 147). The excavated remains included a doorway, a curved passageway and a vaulted room. During construction work in the 1940s, workmen discovered a large domed cistern (10m diameter x 11m high) with a rock-cut passage (8m long) leading to the outer wall of the tower. This is probably the cistern described by al-Dimashqī (see above). Pringle has suggested that the Mamluk tower enclosed an earlier Crusader tower which may have functioned as the castle chapel (1985, 147).

Eighteenth-century Castle

Ṣafad was refortified by ʿAlī, son of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, in the mid eighteenth century. The combined effect of the 1837 earthquake, stone robbing, and recent tree planting, makes it difficult to determine the exact plan of the eighteenth-century fortress, although it appears to have followed the line of the Crusader walls. Most of the Crusader round towers were encased in rubble with a facing of small stones (cf. *SWP*, I, 249). The castle continued to be used as an administrative centre until the earthquake of 1837.

Sarāy

This building was located near the sūq and the mosque of Shaykh Niʿma.

Evliya Çelebi, writing in the seventeenth century, gave the following description of the building: '... the magnificent palace, airy and elevated, is that of the Pasha. It consists of seventy rooms richly adorned, and complete. It is reserved as the governor's residence' (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 161).

Nothing remains of the palace except a fragmentary inscription recorded during the Mandate period (PAM Anon. Undated Report). This is identical with the text of an inscription seen by Evliya Çelebi above the entrance to the central hall. The inscription consists of two lines *naskhi* with a central roundel containing the date 980 H. (1572–1573 C.E.). Only the central and right hand portions were recovered whilst the left hand portion is missing. The inscription as recorded by Evliya Çelebi may be translated as follows.

> 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. [Central roundel] This is the building of the year 980 H. of Muḥamad bin Pirī of the year 980 H. Honour be to our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik [lacuna] al-Ẓāhir Abū Saʿīd (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 161)

Mosques

It is not known when the first mosque was established in Ṣafad, although it is likely that there may have been a village mosque in the town before the eleventh century. The first Friday mosque established in the city was the Jāmiʿ al-Aḥmar, after which mosques were established in each of the quarters. In the seventeenth century Evliya Çelebi listed eight major mosques. These were; al-Aḥmar, Shaykh Niʿma (Niʿmat Allāh?), al-Muʿallaq, al-Insī, al-Arbaʿīn, Shaykh ʿĪsā, and al-Sinimmāriyya (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 158–160). Six mosques (al-Aḥmar, Shaykh Niʿma, al-Muʿallaq, al-Arbaʿīn, al-Jukandār and al-Suwayqa) survived into the twentieth century.

Jāmiʿ al-Aḥmar (Figs 99–100, Plates 280–281)
This is located in the southern part of the city 150m south of Zāwiyat Banāt Ḥamīd.

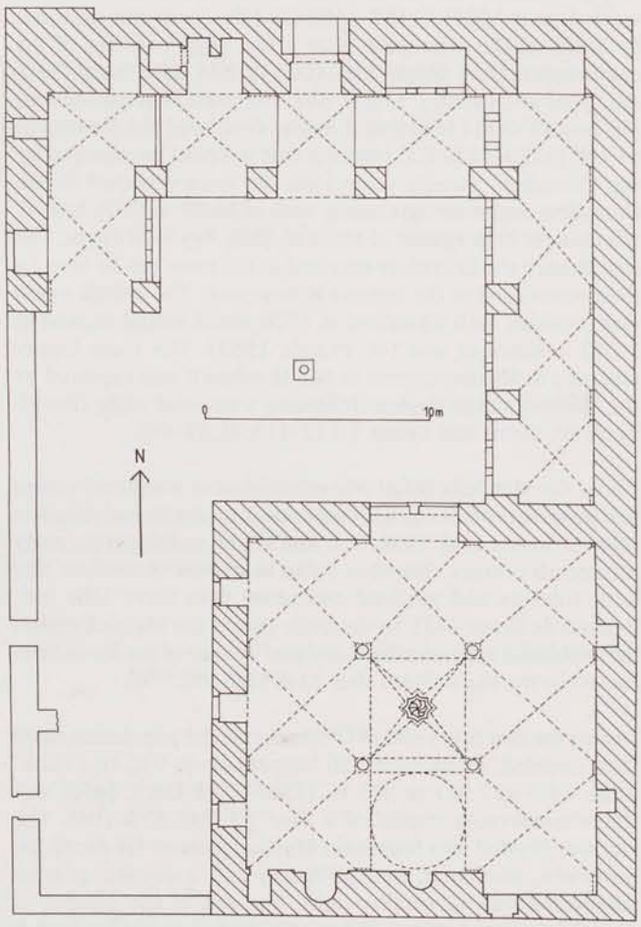


Fig. 99. Ṣafad (No. 119). Red Mosque. Plan.

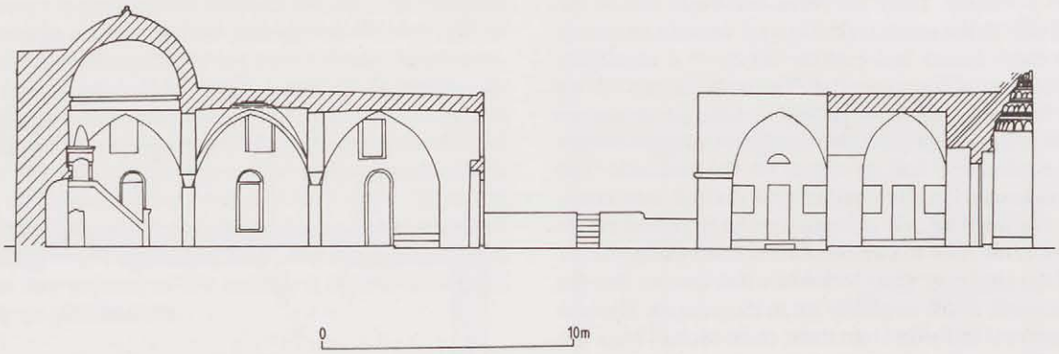


Fig. 100. Ṣafad (No. 119). Red Mosque. N–S section.

Plate 280. Ṣafad (No. 119). Jāmiʿ al-Aḥmar. Exterior from south.

The mosque was originally built in 674 H. (1275–1276 C.E.) and subsequently restored in 1082 H. (1671–1672 C.E.) by Ṣāliḥ Bey. Evliya Çelebi gives the following account of the building soon after its restoration:

> 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... 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... The length and the breadth of the 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 (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 159–160).

This description is essentially accurate although the minaret has disappeared since the seventeenth century. The mosque is set within a large rectangular enclosure (40.5m x 28.3m) containing a prayer hall and a courtyard. The enclosure wall is built out of large dressed ashlars, at least 7m tall, giving it the

Plate 281. Ṣafad (No. 119). Jāmiʿ al-Aḥmar. Courtyard.

appearance of a fortress. There are three entrances, two in the west wall and one in the north wall. The two western entrances appear to be more recent and provide access to a secondary courtyard to the west of the prayer hall. The north entrance is set into a deeply recessed niche covered with a stalactite *muqarnas* hood. Inside is a large courtyard surrounded by arcades on the north and east sides, and half an arcade on the west side. The arcades are supported on thick pillars and divided into cross-vaulted bays. The north arcade contains four large arched niches set into the wall at the back of each bay. One of these (immediately to the west of the entrance) gives access to a staircase set into the thickness of the wall, which originally led to the minaret. The east side of the courtyard is divided into three cross-vaulted bays. On the west side of the courtyard is a single bay of an arcade and the rest of this side is occupied by a small garden (8.5m x 5.5m).

The prayer hall is a nearly square room (15m x 15.5m) divided into nine bays with four central pillars (cf. Eski Cami Edirne in Goodwin 1971, 56). The main entrance is a 4m-wide pointed arch in the middle of the north wall. There is also a doorway in the west wall although this may originally have been a window. There is a tall (2.5m high) mihrab in the centre of the south wall to the right (west) of which was a tall minbar (which disappeared in ca. 1950). The area in front of the mihrab is covered with a dome resting on spherical pendentives and the bay in the centre of the interior is roofed with a folded cross-vault. Mayer *et al.* (1950, 45) suggest that this arrangement was new and that originally the prayer hall was covered with: '... a single monumental dome perhaps resting on pillars'. The reasons for this assertion are unclear and seem to contradict Evliya Çelebi's observation that the roof was covered with domed groined vaults (see above).

Two inscriptions are visible in the mosque, one above the entrance and one above the mihrab. The entrance inscription is unfortunately no longer legible, although the text was read before the damage occurred. The main part has been translated as follows:

> ... ordered the construction of this blessed Mosque our Lord, the sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir... Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn... Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī, associate (*qāṣim*) of the Commander of the Faithful. This was done in the year 674 H. (1275–1276 C.E.) (translation in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 46)

The second inscription, above the mihrab, is not dated exactly although Mayer *et al.* (1950, 46) date it the first third of the fourteenth century on palaeographic grounds. The main part of the inscription has been translated as follows:

> ... Ordered the construction of this blessed mosque and the mausoleum within, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Najm al-Dīn Firūz, [officer] of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and made a *waqf* in their favour and [in favour] of 10 persons, the *imām*, the *mu'adhdhin*, the man in charge, the readers, the mats and the lighting, [the *waqf* to consist] of all of two halls and the adjacent stables and half the garden known as 'al-Rashīdī' and the bath-house which he constructed in the [*sūq*] al-ʿAṭṭārīn. Whatever is necessary is to be paid from the income of this [property] as mentioned in the *waqf* deed, and the surplus [is to be transmitted] to his children and grandchildren and descendants (translation in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 46).

Jukandār (or Iskandār) Mosque (Figs 103–104)
This mosque is located in the north-east part of the old city of Ṣafad in the area formerly known as the Kurdish quarter (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 160; and see Cohen and Lewis 1978, 34). According to Mayer (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 48) the name of the building was derived from the amir Baktamur al-Jukandār (the polomaster), governor of Ṣafad from 709–711 H. (1309–1311 C.E.). This is confirmed by an inscription published by Yadin (1964, 116 No.17. And see Meinecke 1992, II, 111, No.22).

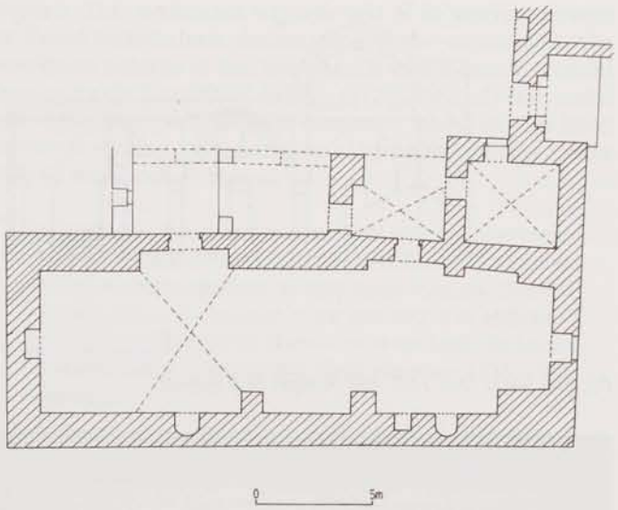


Fig. 101. Ṣafad (No. 119). Jukandār Mosque. Plan.

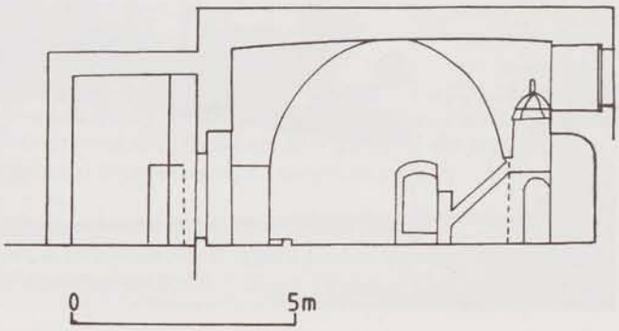


Fig. 102. Ṣafad (No. 119). Jukandār Mosque. N–S section.

The courtyard and the prayer hall are enclosed by a tall wall. The courtyard contains a built cistern set into the ground and a set of stairs leading to the roof. In front of the prayer hall is a riwaq divided into three arches. Originally cross-vaulted, only one of these has survived in its original form (the other two are covered with a flat roof). Two entrances on the left and right sides of the riwaq lead into the prayer hall. The prayer hall is a long, barrel-vaulted hall (6.2m x 22m) roofed with cross-vaults and transverse-vaults. There are two mihrabs, one corresponding with each of the doorways. Next to the eastern mihrab is a minbar with a domed canopy. The thickening of the wall at the south-west corner suggests that there may once have been a minaret (cf. Mayer *et al.* 1950, 47–48).

The Mosque of the Market (Jāmiʿ al-Sūq)
This building is located in the centre of Ṣafad to the south-west of the castle. As its name implies, the mosque is located in the main sūq. Since 1948 it has been converted into an art gallery which currently houses the 'General Exhibition'. According to an inscription above the gate it was built in 1319 H. (1901–1902 C.E.) although it is likely that it occupies the site of an earlier mosque.

The mosque consists of a rectangular courtyard and a prayer hall. The southern part of the building is built on a terrace and

the northern part is cut into the slope of the hill. The complex is entered through a cross-vaulted gateway on the east side of the courtyard. Above the gateway is a thick cylindrical minaret. The prayer hall is entered through a pair of doorways set beneath a tall, pointed, relieving arch. Above the doors is a round window and a six line inscription containing the date of construction. The interior is a rectangular area (approximately 20m x 8m) divided into two rows of five bays. With the exception of the bay in front of the mihrab, all the bays are covered in cross-vaults springing from wall piers and central columns. The bay in front of the mihrab is roofed with a tall dome resting on pendentives.

The location of the mosque suggests that it might be identified with the Jāmiᶜ al-Muᶜallaq ('overhanging' mosque) mentioned by Evliya Çelebi (see above).

The Mosque of the Forty (Martyrs?) (Jāmiᶜ al-Arbaᶜīn)
This mosque was located in the southern part of Ṣafad, in the al-Waṭa quarter, to the east of Jāmiᶜ al-Aḥmar and Zāwiyat Banāt Ḥamīd. In the seventeenth century the building was mentioned by Evliya Çelebi who also called it Athar Ṭāha (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 160).

The mosque was in ruins before 1945, according to an anonymous note in the Mandate Files. The only part of the mosque which has survived is the foundation inscription. The inscription is carved on a marble slab (1.8m long x 0.32m wide x 0.15m thick) which was built face downwards into the gate of the Government School for boys (now an architectural office. See below). The inscription consists of three lines of *naskhi* in low relief. The inscription was copied from the marble slab by ᶜAbd Allāh Mukhlis in 1923 and translated as follows:

> 1) *Bismallāh.* This was constructed seeking the noble face of Allāh by him, who hopes for 2) God's forgiveness, who acknowledges that he fears his Lord, the all rich, [viz.] Mūsā son of Amīr al-Ḥajj the Qurayshī, may Allāh treat him with his secret graces and favour,... 3) on 1st of Shaᶜbān, the honoured [month] of 857 H. [7th August 1453 C.E.]. May Allāh commend and salute our Lord Muḥammad, his family and companions (adapted from translation in PAM Anonymous report amended 9.1.45).

According to the anonymous translator line 1. was borrowed from Psalm 27:8. Another note (undated) on the inscription, by Makhouly, suggests the removal of the stone by the 'Moslem Waqf Authority' and the placing of it in a safe position, if it was not possible to restore it to its original position.

Suwayqa Mosque
This was located in the south-east of the city, in the middle of the Ṣawāwīn quarter. This could perhaps be identified with the Jāmiᶜ Shaykh Īsā mentioned by Evliya Çelebi (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 160). The mosque is mentioned briefly by Mayer *et al.* (1950, 48) who describe it as in good condition with the exception of the roof.

Quṭb al-Ḥafajī Mosque
The location of this mosque is not known. It is mentioned by Mayer *et al.* (1950, 48) who state that it was built in 1331 H. (1913 C.E.) and is in excellent condition.

Khawāja Mosque
This is located in the Ṣawāwīn quarter, to the east of the Suwayqa mosque. It is included in the Survey of Palestine map of Ṣafad (*SWP* map: sheet IV) but is found in other sources.

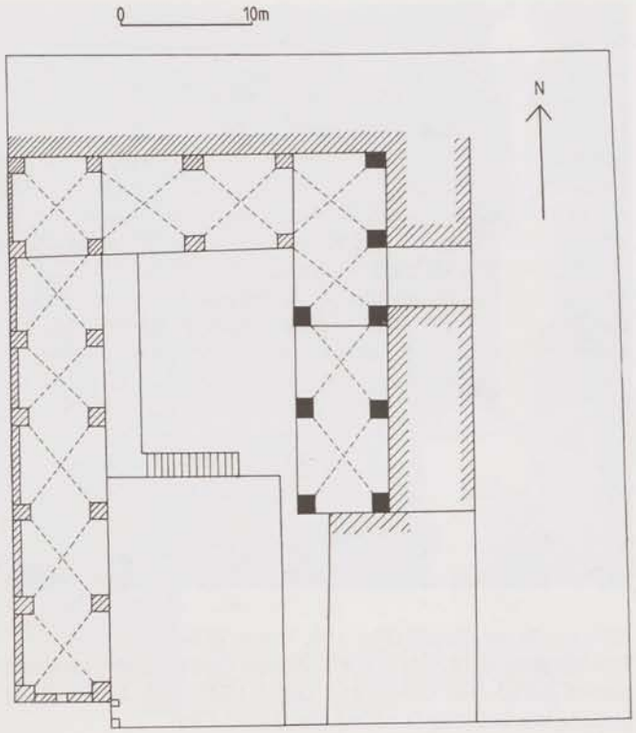


Fig. 107. Ṣafad (No. 119). Khān Niᶜmat al-Dabbūr. Plan.

Khāns
The establishment of Ṣafad as a regional centre under the Mamluks had the effect of generating considerable prosperity. In the sixteenth century Ṣafad was established as a major commercial centre, specialising in the production and dyeing of textiles. The account of Evliya Çelebi perhaps indicates mixed commercial fortunes in the seventeenth century. He notes that two of the thee covered markets were unoccupied, although he also writes about the number and quality of the shops within Ṣafad (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 161).

Khān Niᶜmat al-Dabbūr (Fig. 107)
This was located in the main sūq near Jāmiᶜ al-Sūq and Shaykh Niᶜma. In August 1944 Makhouly visited the site and gave the following description:

> Upon examination of the structure it was found that the most interesting part of it is those vaults owned by Mansur Mustafa Yasin and Hajj Said Hasan al-Shaykh and which are marked in the sketch as blue lines. They are purely medieval work with finely dressed masonry and groined vaults. The rest of the vaults on the N and W were reconstructed at a later date. I am of the opinion also that the staircase in the courtyard is an old one.
>
> The original floor is about 2m. below the present ground surface being covered with thick layers of rubbish and debris. The vaults are in very bad condition being used as stables for animals (PAM Makhouly 28.8.44).

Makhouly thought that this could be the Khān al-Pasha near the Mosque of Shaykh Niᶜma mentioned by Evliya Çelebi. He described the khān as follows: '... a flight of fifteen steps leads up to it. At both ends it is provided with iron doors. It consists of twenty shops, all built of stone' (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt. II, 161).

Shrines and Mausolea
Ṣafad's position as regional centre under the Mamluks meant that it developed a wide range of religious institutions and monuments.

Plate 282. Ṣafad (No. 119). Zāwiyat Banāt Ḥamīd. Entrance (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Zāwiyat Banāt Ḥamīd (Fig. 108, Plates 282–4)
This building is located in the al-Aḥmar quarter in the southern part of Ṣafad (see Cohen and Lewis 1978, 155–156 n.7). At present the building is called the 'Zohar Club'.

Together with the nearby al-Aḥmar mosque, this is one of the best examples of medieval architecture in Ṣafad. The building contains the tomb of the amir Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Ḥajj Aruqtāy (d. 774 H./1372 C.E.), and two other tombs of the Mamluk period.

The mausoleum consists of a rectangular domed chamber with two entrance passages, one on the north and one on the east. The exterior contains five windows, one pair on the west side and another pair, plus a single window, on the south side. Each window is blocked by an iron grille.

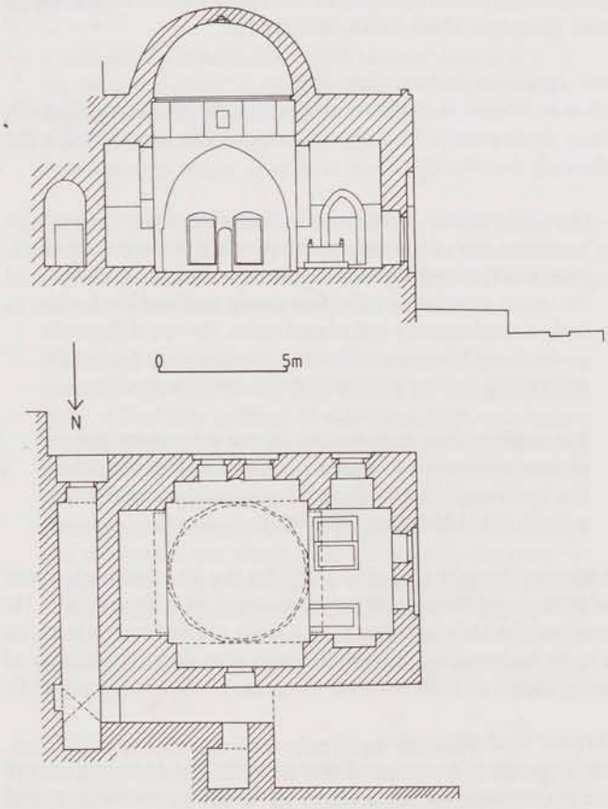


Fig. 108. Ṣafad (No. 119). Zāwiyat Banāt Ḥamīd. Plan and section.

The facades are built out of ashlar masonry interspersed with black basalt strips and white marble above the windows. Above the lintel on the west side is a joggled string course with a relieving arch above of alternate black and white blocks. The single window on the south side is set within a shallow niche with a *muqarnas* hood. The pair of windows on the south side is of similar design to those on the west, except for the absence of a joggled string course and the presence of an inscription set into the tympanum of the arch. The eight line inscription has been translated as follows:

> *Bismallāh.* It has been decreed by royal and august order of our lord, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abū Saʿīd Jaqmaq, may God make his reign eternal, that the illegal taxes which are being levied for merchandise in the Dār al-Wakāla in Ṣafad, may it be protected, shall be abolished, and that none of those who bring in the goods shall encounter any opposition whatsoever. It has been ordered to write this during the governorship of his most noble Excellency Sayf al-Dīn Yashbak al-Ḥamzāwī, governor-general of the province of Ṣafad, may God make his victories glorious, on the date of 10th of the month Dhu'l-Qada of the year 852 H. (14th January 1449 C.E.) (translation in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 43).

At the end of the south facade is a doorway leading into a barrel-vaulted passage. Above this doorway are two

Plate 283. Ṣafad (No. 119). Zāwiyat Banāt Ḥamīd. Exterior (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 284. Ṣafad (No. 119). Zāwiyat Banāt Ḥamīd, detail of tomb (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

inscriptions: one, dated to the eighth century H., is almost entirely defaced; the second, dated to Jumada I 856 H. (June 1452 C.E.), also relates to taxes during the reign of sultan Jaqmaq (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 43). At the end of this passage is a blocked doorway in the west side providing access to the north entrance passageway.

On the north side of the building is a barrel-vaulted entrance passage and a set of stairs leading to the roof. The entrance to the mausoleum is on the right-hand (south side) of the passageway and opens directly into the domed area. The interior is divided into two main zones, a central domed area (5.5m x 5.5m), and a barrel-vaulted iwan to the west. Beneath the iwan are three tombs, each with four corner posts. The dome is built of baked bricks (3–4cm thick) and has a hemispherical profile. It rests on a 12-sided drum supported by spherical pendentives.

In 1942 there was considerable concern over the condition of the building, as can be seen in this extract from a report by the Director General of Waqfs: '... the sumakh trees have sent out their roots in the fissures of the roof and walls, causing thereby great damage to the building which is crumbling away' (ATQ/167 4.5.42). Some action must have been taken, as the building today seems to be in a reasonable condition.

Mughārat Banāt Yaʿqūb (and Jāmiʿ Banāt Yaʿqūb) (Figs 103–105, Plates 285–287)

This is a cave to the south of the castle. According to Mayer, the name of the shrine 'daughters of Jacob' does not occur in Muslim religious texts before the seventeenth century (Mayer 1933b, 128–131). The name is also used for various other structures in the area, the best known of which is Jisr Banāt Yaʿqūb. The origin of the name is unknown, although it may be connected with a convent of St. James which dated from the Crusader period (Mayer 1933b, 128). Evliya Çelebi referred to the cave simply as the shrine of Jacob which he explained as follows:

> When parting from Yūsuf, he [Yaʿqūb] shut himself up and lived in seclusion in the cave known as *bayt al-aḥzān* ('House of Sorrows'), which is a huge cave south of the citadel. It forms a mosque yet it is not built (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 162).

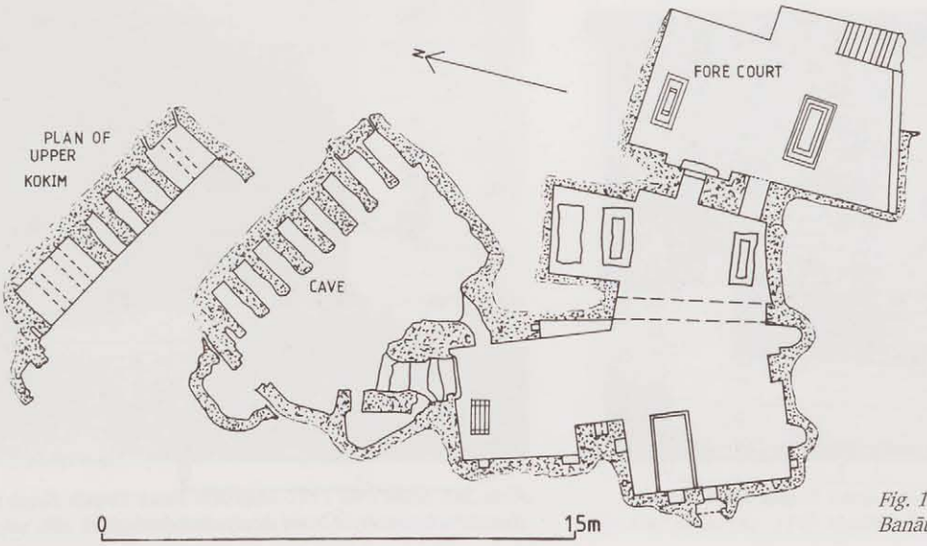


Fig. 103. Ṣafad (No. 119). Mughārat Banāt Yaʿqūb. Plan.

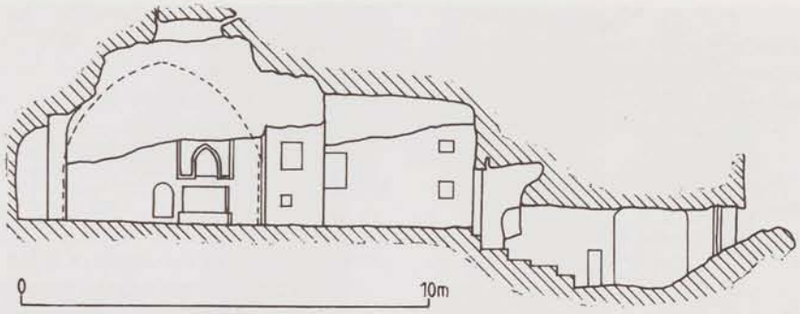


Fig. 104. Ṣafad (No. 119). Mughārat Banāt Yaʿqūb. N–S section.

Plate 285. Ṣafad (No. 119). Mughārat Banāt Yaʿqūb. Interior with graves (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

The cave is mostly rock-cut although it has a built entrance and contains several built features. It may be divided into four areas; the forecourt, the mosque, the cave with a *kokim* (row of ancient rock-cut graves), and the graves of the Banāt Yaʿqūb (see plan in Mayer 1933b, 129).

The forecourt is a rectangular area (approximately 6m x 4.5m) cut into the hillside. In the west wall of the forecourt is a built entrance. Either side of the entrance are Muslim cenotaphs. Above the entrance is a marble lintel carrying an Arabic inscription which was read and translated as follows:

> ... Ordered the building of this blessed place of pilgrimage over the cenotaph of our Lord the Messenger of Good tidings who brought the shirt of Yūsuf the righteous to his father

Plate 286. Ṣafad (No. 119). Mughārat Banāt Yaʿqūb. Main chamber (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

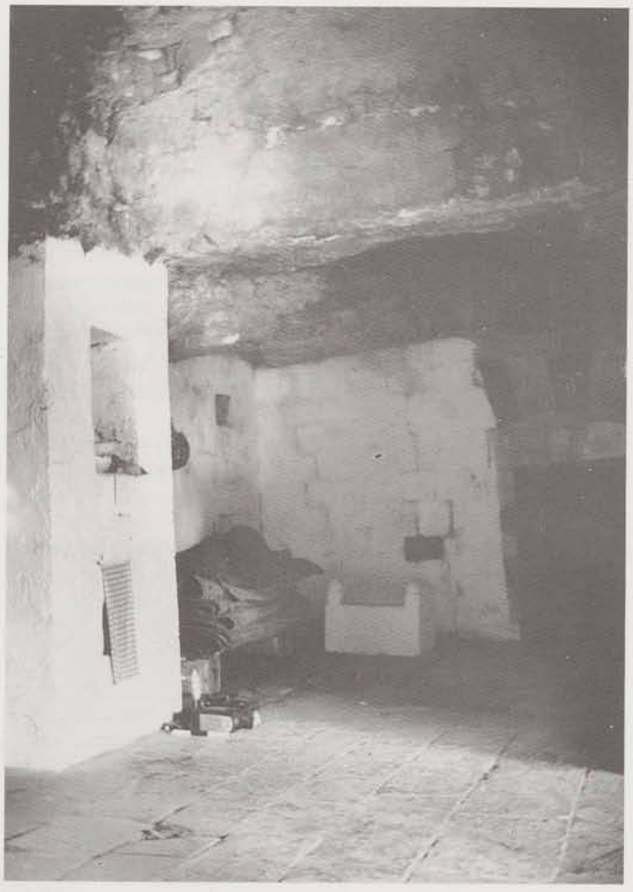


Plate 287. Ṣafad (No. 119). Mughārat Banāt Yaʿqūb. North end of main chamber (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

> Yaʿqūb, peace be upon both of them, the servant yearning for God, his excellency Sayf al-Dīn Fawzī al-Adhamī al-Tanamī, under the direction of the Lord Ḥusām al-Adhamī, God's mercy be upon him, in the month Rabīʿ I, 815 H. (began 11 June 1412 C.E.) (Mayer 1933b, 127–128. And see also Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 163).

The mosque is an irregular-shaped area divided in two by a pointed arch. There are five built Muslim tombs set into floor. One of these is dated to 909 H. (1502–1503 C.E.) and belongs to the daughter of Sūdūn al-Dāwādārī who had been appointed governor of Ṣafad in the previous year (Mayer 1933b, 128 n.5) There are two mihrabs set into the south wall, one next to the arch and another to the west. Either side of one of the doors in the east wall is a Mamluk blazon in the form of a six-petalled rosette (Mayer 1933b, 128 n.1). The interior of the mosque was described by Evliya Çelebi as follows:

> All four sides of it are embellished with tambourines, kettle drums, axes cymbals, and drums. On either side of the mihrab there are the banners of Yaʿqūb and of ʿAbbās, 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 shaykhs of the town and the shaykh [of the order of] ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī (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 Allāh, leaving them amazed. Such is the time-honoured ceremony (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 163).

In the north wall of the mosque is a doorway leading into a cave with a *kokim*. This cave is reached through a doorway in the north-west corner of the cave containing the mosque. Above the doorway is a lintel surmounted by a relieving arch. The keystone of the relieving arch is decorated with a blazon which was seen by Mayer who described it as follows: 'a red pointed shield, upper field blank (inlay missing), on the united middle and lower fields a pair of white polo sticks' (Mayer 1933b, 128 n.1). Inside there is a set of five steps leading down from the mosque. The interior is an approximately square area, with two tiers of graves (*kokim*) cut into the rock on the north side. Each tier contains 12 graves, all now empty.

In the east wall of the mosque is a small doorway providing access to the graves of the Banāt Yaʿqūb. Access to this cave is restricted and so no plans or photographs of it exist. However, in 1877 Kitchener was able to visit the cave which he described as follows:

> On regaining the outer mosque I saw a small door with a green curtain hanging over it and incense burning in front of it; this I was told was the tomb of the seven daughters of Jacob. There they were said to be all as in life, their beauty unimpaired, but it was too sacred to be approached by any but a true believer... after a little persuasion I pushed the sheikh aside and squeezed through the hole, being nearly stifled with the bad incense. After a drop of some feet I found myself on the floor of a cave that opened into another. I explored the caves, one of which had a tomb; the roof fallen in, probably in the earthquake of 1838. No recumbent Semitic beauties awaited me, and I was very glad to get out into the fresh air again (Kitchener 1878, 167).

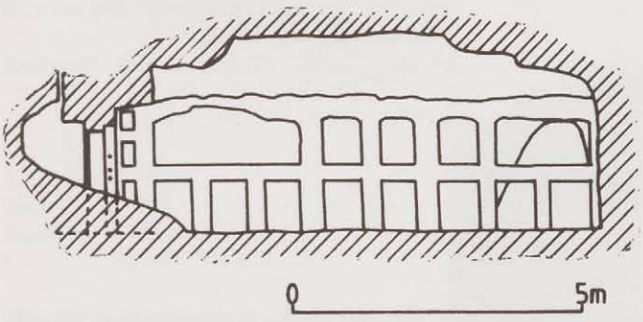


Fig. 105. Ṣafad (No. 119). Mughārat Banāt Yaʿqūb. Elevation of kokim.

Shaykh Niʿma (Niʿmat Allāh?)
This is located in the centre of Ṣafad to the south of the Jāmiʿ al-Sūq. Shaykh Niʿma was the founder of a large mosque which was described by Evliya Çelebi as follows:

> A lofty dome of elegant design covers a square enclosure. It is an imposing Friday mosque, measuring 50 feet per 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... Shaykh Niʿma, the founder (*ṣāḥib*) of the mosque, lies buried outside the southern door (Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 158–159).

The mosque has long disappeared, although a shrine bearing this name stood until 1948. An anonymous note in the Mandate Archive describes it as follows:

> A large cross-vault containing a grave superimposed with a cenotaph. The vault is not ancient. In the southern wall the mihrab is surrounded with a line of carved stones. The gateway which is a square door under a broad arch is finely built of black and white marble stones with Arabic inscriptions over the lintel written in yellow paint (PAM Anon.)

Anonymous Vaulted Tomb (Fig. 106)
This structure was located in a depression to the south of Mughārat Banāt Yaʿqūb cemetery, south of the citadel.

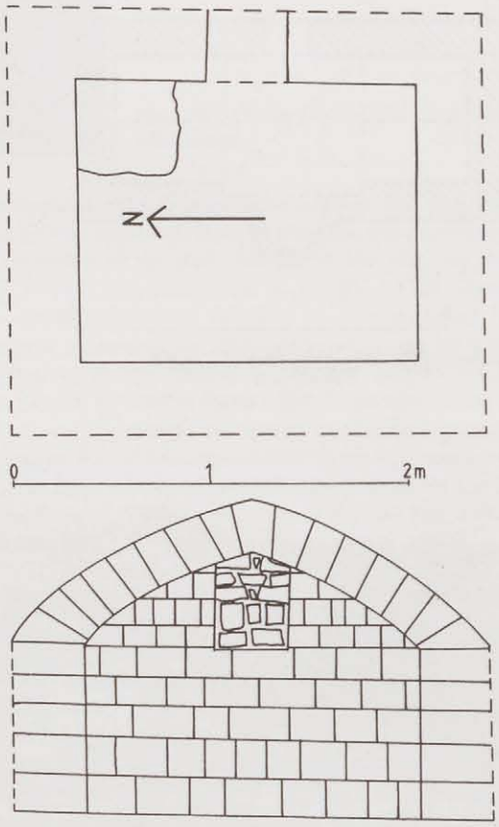


Fig. 106. Ṣafad (No. 119). Vaulted tomb. Plan and section.

The tomb was discovered by labourers in 1940 during the construction of a new street. Makhouly inspected the site and gave the following report:

> It is a small room 190cm. N-S by 165cm E-W by 150cm high. It is roughly constructed with undressed hard stones. The roof is made of a vault [with] pointed arch. In the eastern wall just below the arch there is an opening about 50 x 40cm closed with stones. This is the only opening in the room for communication with the outside. It contained a layer of rubbish inside. Upon clearing it, it yielded 1) one complete pot in safe condition... 2) a quantity of potsherds... 3) Some bones of the dead (PAM, Makhouly letter dated 22.3.40).

Zāwiyat Ibn Ḥabīb (Zāwiyat ʿIrāqiyya)
This building is located near the municipal offices in the centre of Ṣafad.

At some stage during the Mandate period this building was converted into the Government School for Boys. At present the building is used as municipal planning office.

The building is set within a courtyard, entered through a gateway carrying the foundation inscription for Jāmiʿ al-Arbaʿīn (see above). The exterior door contains traces of ablaq masonry (black basalt and white marble) although the extent of this is obscured by a covering added later. The interior is subdivided by a number of partitions. The zawiya is a rectangular building divided into two cross-vaulted areas, now subdivided into three rooms. The eastern room contains a tall, deep mihrab.

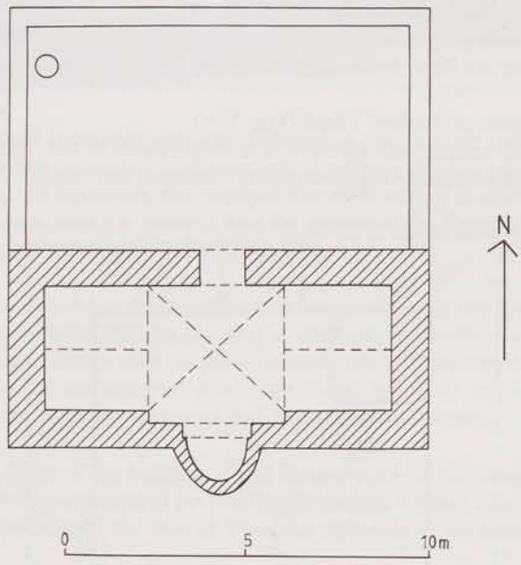


Fig. 109. Ṣafar (Kh) (No. 120). Plan of mosque.

References: Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Reinaud de Salne, 243; Abū Shāma RHC (Or.), index; Adler 1930, 107, 124, 146, 148, 245, 330; Baedeker 1876, 376; Bakhit 1982, index; Cohen 1973, index; Cohen 1989, 121; Cohen and Lewis 1978, 155–169 *et passim*; Cuinet 1896, index; al-Dimashqī ed. Mehren, 210; Dow 1996, 111–113; Weiss in *EAE*, IV, 1324–1328; Amitai-Preiss in *EI2*, VIII, 757–759; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XIV, 626–629; Gil 1992, 213–214; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 419–426; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Hartmann 1918; Heyd 1960, index; *HG*, 175–194 *et passim*; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, index; Ibn Ṭūlūn translation Laoust, index; Kitchener 1878; Le Strange 1890, 41, 524; Lewis 1952, 29; Marmadji 1951, 17, 108, 110, 114, 153; Masterman 1914; Mayer 1933a, 170–171; Mayer 1933b; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 41–48, Pls.14, 16, 36, 54, 55; Meinecke 1992, II, index; *MPF*, index; Palmer 1881, 93; PAM Anon. undated report; PAM Makhouly 28.8.44; PAM Makhouly 22.3.40; Pringle 1993–, II, 206–209; Pringle 1985; Pringle 1997, 91–92 No.191; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 149–150 *et passim*; *RCEA*, XII, No.4589, XV, No.5926; Rhode 1985; Robinson 1841, III, 318–326; Singer 1994, 3, 4, 7, 10, 30; Stephan 1935–1944, Pt.II, 156–164; *SWP*, I, 199–200, 248–250, 255–256 (map IV); al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 25, 238; al-ʿUthmānī ed. Lewis, *passim*; Volney 1959, index; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 399; al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 44.

120. Ṣafar (Khirbat al-)

Visited 29.4.92, 4.96
Location 1464.1373
31.49N/34.58E

The ruined site of Khirbat al-Ṣafar is located on the plain to the west of Latrūn.

Mosque
The only standing structure at the site is a small mosque (Fig. 109, Plate 290). The building is largely ruined and only the south wall survives to its original height (approximately 3m) although the outlines of the other walls can be discerned (all the walls are approximately 0.5m wide). The south wall is nearly 12m long and is built out of dressed limestone, with a rubble core set in mortar. In the middle of the wall there is a mihrab which consists of a large hooded niche projecting outwards from the south face of the wall. The east side of the niche is broken although its general form is still visible. On the interior of the hood there are traces of plaster decoration consisting of broad interlocking bands, each approximately 0.4m long. The plaster is covered with several layers of paint which are mostly white although one red layer is visible. The prayer hall was approximately 4m wide with a doorway in the middle of the north wall, opposite the mihrab. Either side of

Plate 288. Khirbat al-Ṣafar (No. 120). Rear of mosque from south.

Plate 289. Khirbat al-Ṣafar (No. 120). Rear of mosque.

Plate 290. Khirbat al-Ṣafar (No. 120). Interior with mihrab.

the mihrab are traces of arch springers and vaulting, indicating that the central part of the room was cross-vaulted or domed, whilst the east and west parts were roofed with barrel-vaults.

To the north of the prayer hall are traces of a rectangular enclosure or courtyard with a rock-cut cistern in the north-west corner.

The date of construction is not known, although the appearance of the masonry suggests a Mamluk or early Ottoman date (see, for example, the mosque at Rās al-ʿAyn).

References: Palmer 1881, 310; *SWP*, III, 125 (map XVII).

121. Ṣaffūriyya

Visited 11.93
Location 1765.2399
32.45N/35.17E

The site is located on a hilltop mid-way between Haifa and Tiberias, approximately 7km north of Nazareth.

Archaeological excavations have shown the site (ancient Sepphoris) was inhabited from at least the third century B.C.E. (for a summary of the early history of the site, see Weiss in *EAE*, IV, 1324–1328; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XIV, 1178). During the Roman period the town (known as Diocasearea) rose to prominence, becoming the administrative centre for Galilee. It was walled by Herod Antipas in the first century B.C.E. and later garrisoned by Equites Primi felices Palaestini. In the second century the town became the seat of the Sanhedrin and in the sixth century C.E. it was established as an Episcopal see (*TIR* 227–8). An amphitheatre and high quality mosaics (cf. Meyers *et al.* 1987) testify to the prosperity of the site (for a review of recent work at the site, see Weiss and Netzer 1994).

The town continued to thrive during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. During the Crusader occupation the site was known as La Saforie and was held until the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (Abū Shāma RHC (Or.), IV, 303). According to Jewish tradition a cave at Ṣaffūriyya is the burial place of Rabbi Judah, the compiler of *Mishnah* (various authors cited in Adler 1930, 86, 115, 125, 144–145). A *firmān* of 979 H. (1572 C.E.) describes Ṣaffūriyya as one of a group of rebellious villages within the *sanjaq* of Ṣafad which were part of the Qaysī faction (Heyd 1960, 83–84). In the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in

nāḥiya Ṭabariyya (Tiberias) and contained a population of 400 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olives, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees'. The village also contained an olive press (*HG*, 188; and for other records, see Lewis 1954, 490). A number of important scholars came from the village during this period including the *qāḍi*, al-Baqᶜa al-Ṣaffūrī (d.1625) and Aḥmad al-Sharīf (d.1633), who was a poet and *qāḍi* (Khalidi 1992, 350–353). In the eighteenth century the village was one of a number of places fortified by Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar (Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XIV, 1178). During the nineteenth century this was the largest village in the district of al-Nāṣira (Nazareth), with a school established during the reign of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II (see below). The village was depopulated after 1948 (Khalidi 1992, 352).

Tower (Fig. 110, Plate 291)
With the exception of the Crusader church of St. Anne (cf. Pringle 1993–, II, 209–218), the tower is the principal surviving medieval monument on the site. The tower is a large square (15m x 15m) structure standing to a height of approximately 10m. It is built on the summit of the hill, on the foundations of an earlier Byzantine structure (cf. Strange and Longstaff 1984). The building is generally thought to be a Crusader construction although it could be Muslim. The lower part of the walls are built of reused antique spolia including a sarcophagus with decorative carvings. The entrance is a doorway in the middle of the north side. The ground floor comprises a large cross-vaulted chamber with arched recesses containing triple arrowslits replaced by single openings (Pringle 1997, 92 No.192). Inside the doorway, to the left, is a staircase leading via a right-angle bend to the upper floor. The upper part of the building and the doorway were reconstructed by Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar during the eighteenth century. Noticable features of the rebuilding are the rounded corners which are similar to those at nearby Shafā ᶜAmr. The upper part of the building was converted for use as a school during the reign of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II in the early 1900s.

Plate 291. Ṣaffūriyya (No. 121). Tower incorporating re-used sarcophagi.

Nabī Kabāl
Not visited
A report from the 1920s records a small domed square maqām dedicated to Nabī Kabāl (or Kabīl) on a hillside near the tower (McCown 1923, 51–53, Figs. 2, 3). The interior was plastered and contained the tomb of the shaykh but no mihrab. The present status of this building is unknown.

References: Abel 1967, II, 148, 154, 158, 160, 175; Abū Shāma RHC (Or.)1969, IV, 303 *et passim*; Adler 1930, 86, 115, 125, 144–145; Avi-Yonah 1940, 32; Baedeker 1876, 357; Weiss in *EAE*, IV, 1324–1328; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XIV, 1178; Guérin, *Galilée* I, 369–376; Heyd 1960, 83–84; *HG*, 188; Khalidi 1992, 350–353; Le Strange 1890, 32, 525; Lewis 1954, 490; McCown 1923, 51–53, Figs.2, 3; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 229–232; Marmadji 1951, 4, 6, 117; Meyers *et al.* 1987; *MPF*, 71 No.54; 78 Nos.16, 19; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 298; Palmer 1881, 115; Pringle 1993–, II, 209–218; Pringle 1997, 92 No.192; Robinson 1841, II, 190, 201; Strange and Longstaff 1984; *SWP*, I, 279–280, 330–338 (map V); *TIR* 227–8; Waterman 1937, 2–4, Pls.II.2, III.1; Weiss and Netzer 1994; Wilson 1884, II, Pl. on 48 *et passim*; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 402.

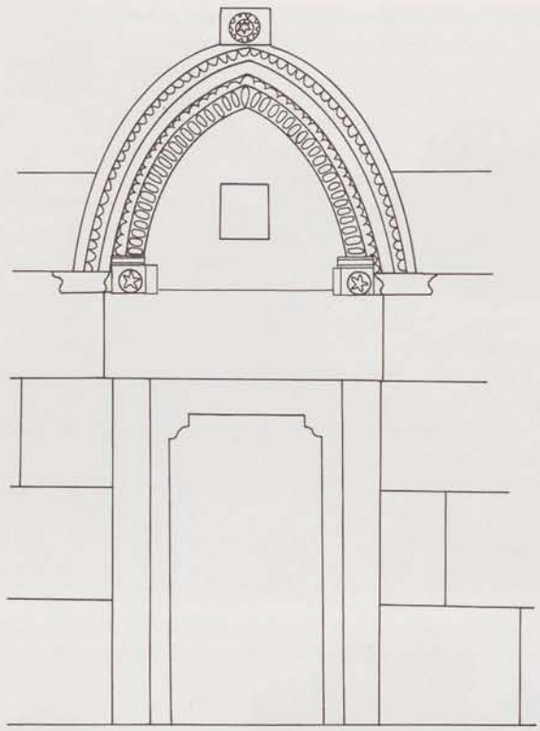


Fig. 110. Ṣaffūriyya (No. 121). Fortress. Elevation of doorway.

122. Ṣakhnīn/ Ṣukhnīn

Visited 13.4.94
Location 1778.2522
32.52N/35.17E

The village of Ṣakhnīn is located 25km south-east of Acre in the Batuf valley (Jaffa Research Centre 1991, 515–517). The old part of the village is on the northern side of the main road and contains several buildings of interest, including old houses, an ethnographic museum, and a shaykh's tomb.

The village is mentioned in a twelfth-century Crusader document (Strehlke *Tab Ord Teut* no.4, Apr. 1168, 5–6) otherwise little is known of the place in medieval times. Guérin associates Ṣakhnīn with the site of Sogane described by Josephus (*Galilée*, I, 470). In the 1596 *daftar* Ṣakhnīn was located in the *nāḥiya* ᶜAkka and contained a population of 74 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olives, cotton, orchards, 'occasional revenues', and the use of a mill (HG, 191). By the mid nineteenth century the population of the village had risen to 1,100 (Rogers cited in SWP, I, 286).

Maqām al-Ṣiddīq (Plate 292)
This is located at the west end of the village in a graveyard which also contains three modern domed tombs (post-1970).

Plate 292. Ṣakhnīn (No. 122). Maqām al-Ṣiddīq.

The maqām is built into the side of a south facing hillside and has a blue dome. The entrance is on the north side below the present ground level (the lower part of the doorway is blocked up). There is a mihrab in the south wall but no traces of a cenotaph inside. The dome rests on squinches composed of three superimposed arches.

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 469–471; *HG*, 191; Palmer 1881, 116; Strehlke *Tab Ord Teut* no.4, Apr. 1168, 5–6; *SWP*, I, 285–286 (map V).

123. Salama/ Salma

Visited 11.93
Location 132.162
32.03N/34.48E

The site of the deserted village of Salama is located on a sandy hill surrounded by modern apartment buildings. The hill is mostly desolate although remains of demolished houses (mostly mud-brick) can still be seen.

According to the 1596 *daftar* Salama was located in *nāḥiya* Ramla and contained a population of 17 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 154). Conder and Kitchener describe Salama as: 'an ordinary mud village, with gardens and wells' (*SWP*, II, 254).

Mosque of Salama (Fig. 111, Plate 293)
The mosque of Salama stands next to a modern synagogue on top of the hill. According to local tradition the shrine marks the grave of Salama Abū Hāshim a companion of the prophet who died in the village in 13 H. (634–635 C.E.). In the mid eighteenth century the shrine was visited by the sufi, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (Khalidi 1992, 254). In recent times it appears to have been used as a school or youth club. Most of the complex is inaccessible to the public, although the blocked entrance to the maqām has recently been broken through (for a discussion of the history of the village see Kanaana and 'Abd al-Hadi 1986).

The mosque is a rectangular complex comprising, a walled courtyard, a maqām, and a prayer hall. The main entrance is a gate in the north wall of the courtyard. To the left (east) of the entrance is the maqām and straight ahead is the prayer hall. In the north-east corner of the courtyard is an entrance to a cistern.

The maqām is a square domed building attached to the prayer hall to the south. The dome has a shallow pointed profile and rests on a circular drum with eight semi-dome shaped buttresses and two arched windows. Below the level of the drum the corners of the building are chamfered, a feature which increases the visual impact of the dome.

The north face contains a doorway, a window, and two arch springers. The area in front is an uneven raised square area which, together with the springers, suggests that there may have been a vaulted canopy in front of the maqām. The doorway is surmounted by a reused marble lintel. The window has been blocked with concrete.

The interior is a spacious area with no extant traces of a cenotaph or grave. In the centre of the south wall is a plain plaster covered mihrab. From the interior it can be seen that the drum was originally pierced with 10 windows, eight of which have been blocked by the masonry which forms part of the buttresses. It is also noticeable that the drum is built out of terracotta vaulting tubes (for a discussion of this construction technique, see Petersen 1994).

The main part of the mosque is masked by a modern concrete construction which covers the southern part of the courtyard. The prayer hall actually consists of three inter-connected rooms,

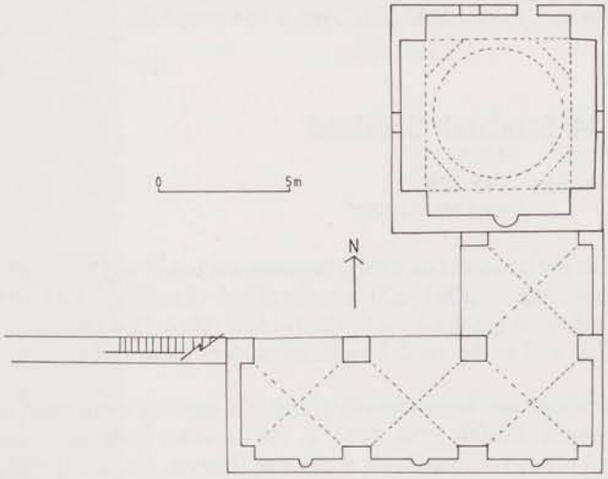


Fig. 111. Salama (No. 123). Plan of mosque and maqām.

Plate 293. Salama (No. 123). Rear of mosque complex.

Plate 294. Salama (No. 123). Mosque interior with minbar.

each of which originally opened onto the courtyard. Each room is roofed with a cross-vault and has a mihrab in the southern wall. A staircase to the right of the prayer hall leads up to the flat roof. At the east end of the roof is a square domed room. Above the doorway of this upper room is a space for an inscription. Inside this room is a wide mihrab.

References: *HG*, 154; Kanaana and ʿAbd al-Hadi 1986; Khalidi 1992, 254–257; Palmer 1881, 218; *SWP*, II, 254 (map XIII).

124. Ṣarafand/ Ṣurafand

Visited 4.7.94
Location 143.228
32.39N/34.56E

This site is located on a ridge between the beach and the coastal plain, approximately 0.5km north of Kafr Lām (Hb. Kefar Lam). To the east the site is cut by the Tel Aviv (Hb.)–Haifa motorway (M2) and to the south by a large modern (post 1948) quarry.

Ṣarafand has been identified with the ancient settlement of Sarepta (Khalidi 1992, 188). In the Crusader period a chapel and a fortress were built at the site (Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 478–481). The site was recaptured by Ayyubid forces in 1187–1188 (Abū Shāma RHC (Or.), IV, 303). The village appears in the *waqf* of the tomb (turba) and madrasa of amir Qūrqamāz in Egypt (*MPF*, 11 No.31). According to the 1596 *daftar* Ṣarafand was located in *nāḥiya* Sāḥil ʿAthlīth and contained a population of 11 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 158). In 1859 Consul Rogers estimated a population of 150, four years later Guérin stated

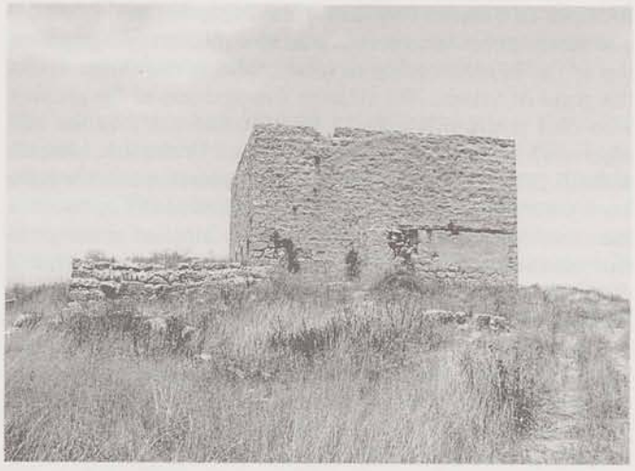


Plate 295. Ṣarafand (No. 124). Mosque exterior.

Plate 296. Ṣarafand (No. 124). Mosque interior.

that the population was 400 (*SWP*, II, 4; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 481). In 1948 the village had approximately 30 houses, a school for boys, a mosque, and two shaykhs' tombs. The remains of Ṣarafand include a mosque and several ancient vaults, one of which is mentioned in the Mandate Files (Israel 1976).

Mosque (Plates 295–296)
This is a tall rectangular box-like building standing on a terrace near the top of the ridge on which the village was built.

The mosque is entered through a doorway in the middle of the north wall. The interior is divided into two long cross-vaulted bays resting on six large piers. There are four windows in the west wall facing the sea. The mihrab is placed in the centre of the south wall and can be seen on the exterior as a rectangular projection. To the west of the mihrab are the remains of a minbar (now destroyed). The lower sections of the wall are approximately 1m thick, whilst the upper part of the south and north walls are considerably thinner (0.3m). Although the present building does not appear to be very old (late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries) it does appear to incorporate an earlier structure which is visible in the exterior walls.

Vaults (Plate 297)
To the south of the mosque is a rectangular area of ruins (approximately 30m x 40m) containing several barrel-vaulted chambers. Three of these are still accessible; one on the north side nearest the mosque, and two on the south side next to the quarry cliff. Each vault is about 7m long; one is 2.52m wide and the other is 3.52m wide. More intensive investigation could reveal a basic plan of this structure.

References: Abū Shāma RHC (Or.), IV, 303; Adler 1930, 138–139; Baedeker 1876, 431; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 100, 123, 124, 126; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 478–482; *HG*, 158; Idrīsī ed. Bombaci, 366; Israel 1976; Khalidi 1992, 188; Le Strange 1890, 531; Marmadji 1951, 104, 201; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 32; *MPF*, 11 No.31; Palmer 1881, 141; Robinson 1841, III, 413; *SWP*, II, 4, 33 (map VII); Wilson 1884, III, 114; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 382.

125. Saᶜsaᶜ/ Ṣaᶜṣaᶜ

Visited —
Location 187.270
33.02N/35.24E

Saᶜsaᶜ is located on a hilltop between Acre and Ṣafad (Plate 298). At present the site is occupied by a kibbutz (Hb. Har Sasa) replacing the village which was destroyed after 1948 (cf. Khalidi 1992, 495–497).

In the 1596 *daftar* Saᶜsaᶜ was located in *nāḥiya* Jīra and contained a population of 83 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olives, vines, fruit, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 176). The *daftar* does not

Plate 297. Ṣarafand (No. 124). Vaulted structure.

Plate 298. Saʿsaʿ (No. 125). General view of village (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

mention any non-Muslim inhabitants of the village. In the eighteenth century Saʿsaʿ is mentioned as one of the fortified villages of Galilee controlled by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's son, ʿAlī. After the defeat of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar in 1775 ʿAlī continued to resist the Ottoman authorities and defeated an army sent against him at Saʿsaʿ (Cohen 1973, 93, 97). In latter part of the nineteenth century the village contained a population of approximately 350 (Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 94). Saʿsaʿ in Galilee is not to be confused with Saʿsaʿ a khān near Qunayṭra (33.08N/ 35.49E) on the post route between Cairo and Damascus.

There are very few remains of the former village of Saʿsaʿ with the exception of the mosque (now converted into the kibbutz museum). Salvage excavations in 1972 revealed the traces of a large building on the west side of the hill (Fig. 112). The remains consist of a large rectangular structure (15m x 41m) with 2m thick walls made out of rubble stone with ashlar facing. At the south-west corner of the building there was a solid semi-circular tower (diameter 7m). The main part of the structure is a rectangular hall divided into two rows of five bays. There was a central row of four piers and two half piers which would probably have supported a cross-vaulted roof. In a later phase an outer skin (2m wide) was added to the wall making it 4m thick. At the same time the round tower was converted into a square plan. The excavator reported a fairly long period of occupation and suggested that it was probably part of the fortress built by ʿAlī in the eighteenth century (cf. Gibson and Braun 1972). Certainly the design of the building is compatible with other fortresses of the period, for example Dayr Ḥannā (cf. Edwards *et al.* 1993) or Qalʿat Jiddīn (cf. Pringle *et al.* 1994).

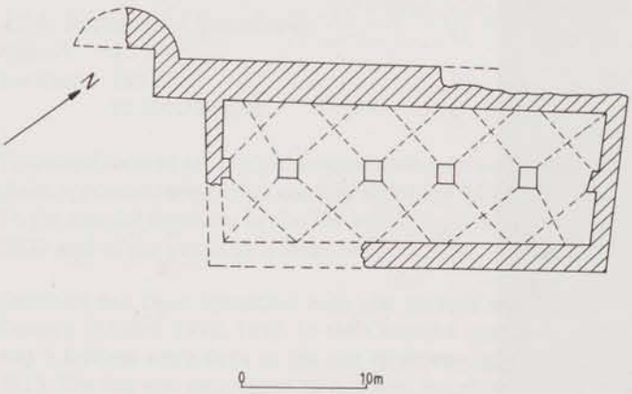


Fig. 112. Saʿsaʿ (No. 125). Plan of fortified building.

References: Adler 1930, 149; Baedeker 1876, 379; Cohen 1973, 93, 97; Gibson and Braun 1972; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 93–94; Hartmann 1918; *HG*, 176; Khalidi 1992, 495–497; Meinecke 1992, II, 413 No.92; Palmer 1881, 93; Robinson 1841, III, 368, 369; *SWP*, I, 200, 256 (map IV).

126. Ṣaṭāf/Ṣāṭāf

Visited 10.5.94
Location 1612.1305
31.46N/35.08E

Ṣaṭāf was a small village located on the northern side of Wādī Ismāʿīl, approximately 5km west of Jerusalem.

Although there are few documentary records of Ṣaṭāf, Gibson has reconstructed the history of the village from archaeological work. The results of this work are summarised thus:

> The Ottoman village at Sataf originated with the use of cave-dwellings from the late sixteenth century. A number of caves were identified during the survey. Subsequently, houses were built in front of some of the caves. It seems that during the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was a process of settlement nucleation perhaps as a response to inter-village warfare. It remained one of the smallest villages in the Bani Hassan District... During the early twentieth century, the settlement once again dispersed (Gibson *et al.* 1991, 49).

Shaykh ʿUbayd

This is a collection of buildings located on the hillside south-west of Ṣaṭāf. The buildings are currently used as a goat farm by an Israeli hermit.

The site contains a number of ancient remains including, a large installation from the Byzantine period (Gibson *et al.* 1991, 40 and Fig.19), a barrel-vaulted structure, and a Muslim shrine.

The most distinctive structure at the site is the shrine (maqām) of Shaykh ʿUbayd, which consists of a courtyard and three rooms. The courtyard is entered through a doorway of ancient appearance, surmounted by a large stone lintel. On the south side of the courtyard are two doorways. The right hand (west) side doorway leads into a square room with a collapsed vault. In the south-east corner of this room is another doorway leading into the tomb chamber. This is a small (3m per side) square room, roofed with a dome resting on wide low corner squinches. There is a hole at the summit of the dome which appears to be gradually expanding and causing damage to the room inside. The cenotaph of Shaykh ʿUbayd is marked by a rectangular kerb of stones (30cm high) aligned along the north wall of the chamber. In the south wall of the chamber is a mihrab with a rectangular plan.

The doorway on the left hand (east) side of the courtyard leads into a room roofed with a star shaped vault with a small dome in the middle. The doorway employs a reused marble chancel post.

According to Canaan (1927, 96) Shaykh ʿUbayd: '... is said to kill any goat or sheep who enters his cave'.

Vault
North of the shrine is a large barrel-vaulted hall which is open at the east end and disappears into the hill on the west side. The vault is made out of large limestone blocks (approximately 0.3m x 0.4m) and has a slightly pointed profile. The interior of the arch is plastered and the lower parts appear to be partially rock-cut.

References: Canaan 1927, 96; Gibson *et al.* 1991; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 3–4; Khalidi 1992, 316–317; Palmer 1881, 326; *SWP*, III, 22 (map XVII).

127. Shaʿab/ Shaʿib

Visited 13.4.94
Location 1730.2550
32.53N/35.14E

Shaʿab is an isolated village located on the south slope of a deep wadi approximately 18km east of Acre (Jaffa Research Centre 1991, 514–515).

Guérin associates the village with Saab mentioned by Josephus (*Galilée*, I, 435; *TIR*, 218). The village formed part of a *waqf* of the mausoleum (*ḍarīḥ*) and madrasa of Shafiʿī Manjak in Egypt (*MPF*, 71 No.53). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* ʿAkka (Acre) and contained a population of 139 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, fruit trees, cotton, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 193). In 981 H. (1573 C.E.) Shaʿab was one of a number of villages in Galilee to rebel against the Ottoman government and mount attacks on villages in the imperial domain (Heyd 1960, 84–85). According to local tradition the village was developed by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar in the eighteenth century. In 1859 Rogers estimated the population as 1,500, comprising both Muslims and Catholics (cited in *SWP*, I, 271). After Israeli independence many refugees from destroyed Palestinian villages settled in Shaʿab (Khalidi 1992, 519, 536, 540).

The buildings of interest within the village are; a mosque, a shaykh's tomb, and an abandoned traditional house. There are also two churches, one of which appears to be more than two hundred years old (dating based on architectural features and local information).

House
This building stands at the east end of the village near the old church. The exterior walls are faced with dressed stone and there is a stone staircase on the exterior leading to the roof.

The house is a rectangular structure aligned north–south with a doorway in the middle of the west side. The original wooden door is still in place within the doorway, surmounted by a shallow arch. Above the door is a stone with a concave disc carved into the centre; this motif is also found above the window on the west side of the house and on the old church.

The interior of the house is divided into four areas by three pairs of transverse arches which support the wood and earth roof. Each pair of arches springs from the walls of the house and a central stone pillar. The spandrels of the double arches are pierced with holes to reduce the weight of the arches and increase the light within the space.

There are several mud-plaster features built into the house. These include, a chimney in the north-east corner, a set of grain bins against the north wall (now mostly collapsed), and decorative motifs on the walls and arches. There are also several niches in the house, as well as a raised storage chamber set between one of the arches and the east wall.

Mosque (Plates 299–300)
The mosque is located on the centre of the old village.

Plate 299. Shaʿab (No. 127). Mosque of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 300. Shaʿab (No. 127). Antique cornice re-used in mosque (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

In 1933 the village was visited by Makhouly (PAM 29.5.33) who wrote that the mosque dates from the time of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar. Photographs of the mosque taken at this time show a ruined building with two arcades. One arcade consists of four arches springing from the side walls with two columns in the centre. The other arcade had fallen, but was of similar design. Amongst the debris inside the building was a reused Ionic capital. Above the doorway to the mosque was a reused Roman lintel (see also Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 435).

The present mosque is an old building encased within a modern (1980s) structure. The old part of the mosque is the prayer hall. This area consists of a square room, covered with a dome, resting on large squinches, supported by corbels. The entrance to the prayer hall is a door in the north wall, to the right (west) of which is a shallow exterior mihrab. It seems likely that the modern part of the mosque replaced the arcades seen in 1933. The domed prayer hall is consistent with an eighteenth century date (cf. Dayr Ḥannā and the Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar mosque in Tiberias).

Maqām Shaykh ʿAlamī (Plates 301–302)
This building is located to the south of the mosque within the mosque enclosure. This is a rectangular structure (10m x 20m) built into a slope, with the ground level close to that of the roof at the south end. At the south end a set of three steps leads from the graveyard to the roof of the maqām. The entrance is a low doorway on the east side below the surrounding ground level. Next to the doorway is the entrance to an underground cistern. The interior of the maqām is divided into two areas: the southern end, which is covered with a barrel-vault and contains a mihrab; and the northern end, which is covered with a dome and contains two large cenotaphs. In addition to the main tombs there are a number of other graves inside the maqām. The appearance of the building is medieval although there is no direct evidence of this.

Plate 301. Shaʿab (No. 127). Interior maqām Shaykh ʿAlamī.

Plate 302. Shaʿab (No. 127). Interior Shaykh ʿAlamī with mihrab.

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 434–435; Heyd 1960, 84–85; *HG*, 193; Khalidi 1992, 519, 536, 540; *MPF*, 71 No.53; Palmer 1881, 116; PAM Makhouly 29.5.33; Robinson 1841, I, 268, II, 257, 279, 305; *SWP*, I, 271, 339 (map V).

128. Shafā ʿAmr

Visited 12.91
Location 166.245
32.48N/35.10E

This village is located on top of a hill 16km east of Haifa and approximately 2km south of ʿIbillīn. Principal monuments in the village are; the castle, a tower, the mosque, and a church. In addition, the village also contains many old houses, particularly in the vicinity of the castle.

The village is of some antiquity and contains traces of Byzantine remains including a church and tombs (*SWP*, I, 343; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 414; *TIR*, 230). Under the Crusaders the site was known as Safran. It was thought to be the birthplace of St. James and St. John (Avi-Yonah and Hasson in *EJ*, XIV, 1334). The village (referred to as Shafar ʿAm) was used, between 586–

590 H., by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as a military base for attacks on Acre (Abū Shāma RHC (Or.), IV, 487; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 304). Shafar ʿAm was in Frankish hands again in 1229 and was confirmed as theirs by sultan Baybars in a peace treaty of 670 H. (1271 C.E.) and by Qalawun in 1283; it probably fell to the Mamluks in 1291 (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 199; II, 157). In the 1596 *daftar* Shafā ʿAmr was located in *nāḥiya* ʿAkka (Acre) and contained a population of 91 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees'. The inhabitants also paid for the use or ownership of an oil press (*HG*, 192). During the early Ottoman period income from the village was sent for the upkeep of religious endowments in Jerusalem (Cohen 1989, 122). A *firmān* dated 981 H. (1573 C.E.) mentions that Shafā ʿAmr was among a group of villages in *nāḥiya* ʿAkka which had rebelled against Ottoman administration. By 1577 the village had accumulated an arsenal of 200 muskets (Heyd 1960, 84–85, n.2).

It was not until the eighteenth century that the village rose to real prominence. At the beginning of the century the village was under the control of Shaykh ʿAlī Zaydānī, uncle of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar and paramount shaykh of lower Galilee. After Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's rise to power in the 1740s ʿAlī Zaydānī was replaced by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's brother, ʿUthmān, as ruler of the village. After Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's death in 1775 Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha allowed ʿUthmān to continue as ruler of the village in return for a promise of loyalty and advance payment of taxes (*mīrī*). Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha even allowed the fortress to remain intact despite orders from Constantinople that it be destroyed (Cohen 1973, 106). Several years later ʿUthmān was removed and replaced by Ibrāhīm Abū Qālūsh, an appointee of Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha (Cohen 1973, 25). Throughout this period it is clear that Shafā ʿAmr was a regional centre of some importance. It is known that there was a castle in the village as early as the 1740s, if not before (see below).

The importance of the village at this time may be attributed to two factors; firstly, its position in the heart of the cotton growing area, and secondly, its natural and manmade defences. The significance of cotton to the growth of Shafā ʿAmr is fundamental. Tax returns for the village in this period indicate that large returns were expected from this crop (Cohen 1973, 128). Towards the end of the eighteenth century there is evidence that the area had been over exploited, either as the result of rapacious taxation, or exhaustion of the soil (Cohen 1973, 325–326).

By the mid nineteenth century the prosperity of the village seems to have evaporated (for example, see the account of the Turkish governor's house in Rogers 1989, 136–137). Nevertheless by the 1880s the village was sufficiently developed for Conder and Kitchener to refer to it as: '...a town, being divided into quarters and including a mosque and bazaars'. The authors further state that it: '... is the seat of the *Caimacan* [*qā'im maqām*], or lieutenant-governor, and chief place of the district'. The population is estimated at between 2,000 and 2,500 including Muslims, Druzes, and Christians (Greek and Latin) (*SWP*, I, 271–273). By the end of the nineteenth century the village contained a telegraph and post office (Cuinet 1896, 13).

General Description of Village

The oldest part of the village is on a hill around the castle, whilst newer suburbs are found to the south in the wadi, and on the hill opposite. The centre of the village has several narrow streets and alleys. On the north-east side of the castle is what appears to be the gateway to the sūq. The gateway consists of a cross-vaulted passageway with a bent entrance. Above this is a room of a large house with finely carved decoration above the windows.

On the north side of the castle, and running parallel to it, is a section of ruined wall approximately 10m long. At the east end is the springing of an arch, whilst at the west end the top of the wall curves inwards and would have formed a vault. The stones used for the wall are large (0.5m x 0.3m) with a rubble fill between the faces. The masonry is different from that of the castle and it seems possible that this wall may be the remains of some earlier Crusader or Roman structure.

The Castle (Figs 113–4, Plates 303–304)

This huge building dominates the village. Today it is known as the 'Sarāy' and is used as a community centre and council offices. In the 1850s it was described by Mary Rogers as: '... a lofty castle, square and massive, looking almost as large as the village itself' (1989, 130). Later, when making a tour of the castle she observes its dilapidated condition stating: '... but

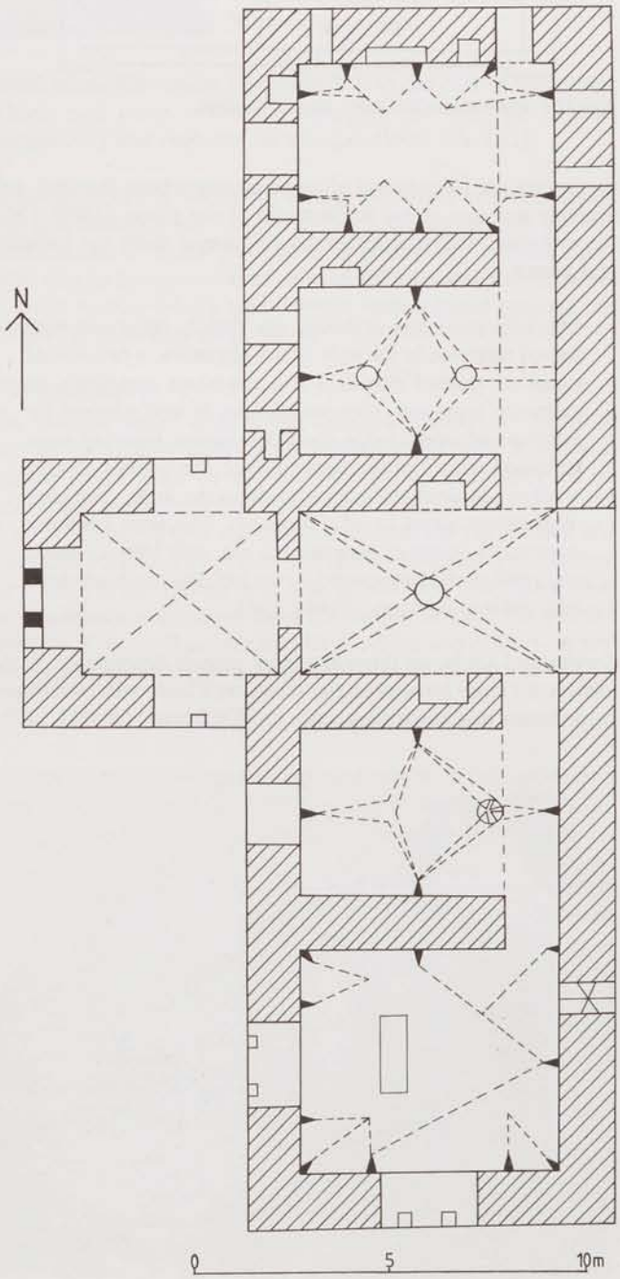


Fig. 113. Shafā ʿAmr (No. 128). Plan of palace.

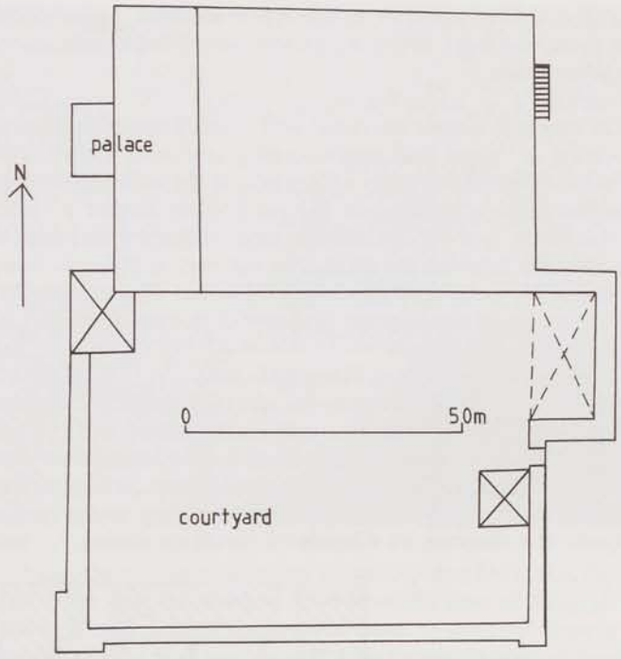


Fig. 114. Shafā ʿAmr (No. 128). Plan of fortress.

the stones are falling, and allowed to stay where they fall, and scarcely any use seems to be made of the place' (1989, 136). Nevertheless, she was generally impressed with the building and wrote:

> The lofty gates and archways are slightly decorated with fretted canopies, in the style of the Alhambra; a two storied range of vaulted corridors and chambers surrounds an extensive courtyard; the ground floor is well adapted for stabling and would lodge about 500 horses; tottering stone stairways led us to the upper floors; the pointed double windows, in deep embrasures in the outer walls, command magnificent views in all directions... The west windows overlook the plain of Acre and the sea, with Mount Carmel and Haifa in the background on the left. The north windows look towards Lebanon... (1989, 136).

Conder and Kitchener provide a more prosaic description: '... the town has a large fortress on the south, well built with crenellated battlements, and containing stalls for 400 horses' (*SWP*, I, 272).

In the 1880s, during the latter years of the Turkish rule, the castle became the seat of the local administration. During the British Mandate the building was shared between the police and a local school, the police using the building itself and the school using the courtyard as a garden. (PAM 152 Makhouly 27.6.40).

As it stands today the castle comprises two main blocks, a vaulted area to the north and a large rectangular enclosure to the south. The original entrance to the castle was through a gateway in the east side of the enclosure, although this is now blocked up. Access is now via a staircase on the east side of the vaulted area. The gate led through a vaulted passage with rooms either side. One of these rooms measuring 6m square was in danger of collapse in 1940 and was subsequently demolished (PAM, 152, Makhouly, 27.6.40). A photograph of the room (PAM 23.2.32) shows deep embrasures, with gun slits of a type similar to those of fortifications at Tiberias, Qalʿat Jiddīn, and Acre. There is a square tower at the south-west corner. The corners of the whole enclosure are rounded in a manner similar to the fortress at Ṣaffūriyya (presumably to deflect artillery).

The vaulted block on the north side of the enclosure can be divided into two parts. A vast series of vaulted halls with a terrace on top occupy most of the area, with a tall block of buildings at the west end. The vaults are open to the enclosure on the south side and it is probable that this area was the stables for 500 horses referred to by Rogers (1989, 136).

The best preserved part of the castle is the residential block at the west end of the stables. This is a huge structure, 40m long by 20m wide, with an iwan in the middle of the east face. It is likely that there was originally a courtyard in front of this block, with another range of buildings on the east side and vaulted galleries to the north and south. Evidence of these galleries may be found in the two large buttresses at the south end of the block, which may have originally have acted as piers for further vaulting. At the north end of the block is a set of stairs leading onto the roof. The interior of the building consists of vaulted rooms either side of the central iwan. On the right (north) side of the iwan are two rooms (each approximately 10m x 15m) entered from a corridor. Each room is roofed with a variety of folded cross-vaults. On the left (south) of the iwan are two rooms, one room of similar design to the northern side rooms, and the second, a large room covered with two large square cross-vaults. The windows of all the rooms are of similar

Plate 303. Shafā ʿAmr (No. 128). View of fortress from south.

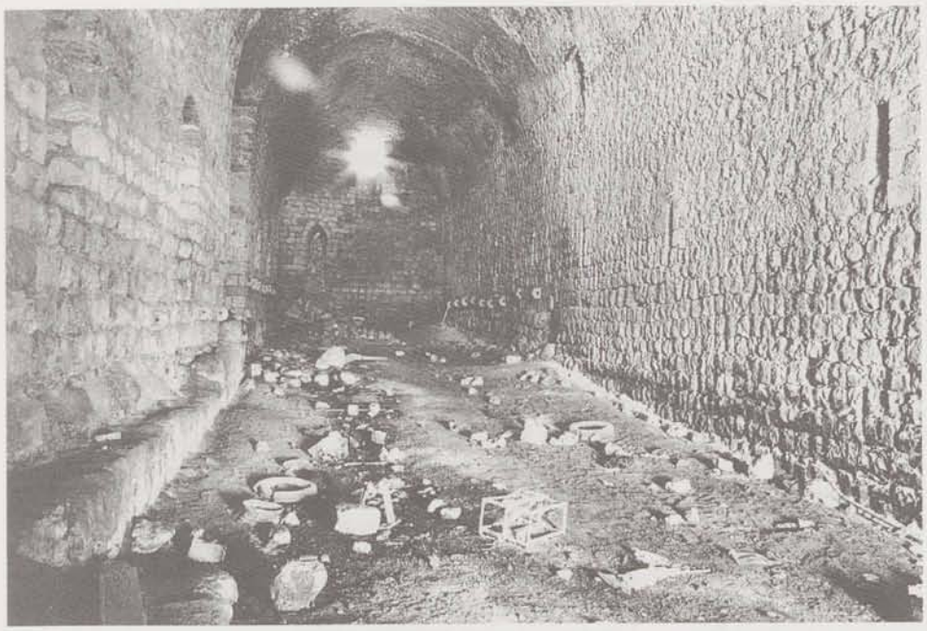


Plate 304. Shafā ʿAmr (No. 128). Vault with tethering rings.

design, consisting of a deep arched niche or embrasure containing a pair of windows.

According to Conder and Kitchener the castle was built by ʿUthmān, son of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, in 1761 (*SWP*, I, 272). This is confirmed by Sabbagh (Sabbagh, n.d.) although a different construction date is given. According to Sabbagh there was an inscription above the gate which read:

1) Stop at a house in which charity manifested themselves increasingly
2) It was constructed by the generous ʿUthmān who was given to be a lord
3) His house is the full moon upon which the lion sat. It was habitually frequented by guests
4) Look at the chronogram; verily this is the abode of happiness.
5) Year 1182 H. [i.e. 1768–1769 C.E.] (Sabbagh n.d.).

It is known, however, that there was a fortress in Shafā ʿAmr as early as the 1740s (Cohen 1973, 84). Rogers, writing in the 1850s, states that it was about 150 years' old at the time (1989, 136) giving a construction date of around 1700 (although her evidence for this dating is not given). If Rogers was correct, this would mean that the construction of the castle should be attributed to Shaykh ʿAlī, Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's uncle. In view of these statements and the nature of the building, it seems possible that the fortress was first built at the beginning of the 1700s and was later expanded to its present size.

The Tower (al-Burj/Burj al-Rās) (Plate 305)

The tower is located on a hill to the south of the town. The structure has been robbed of all of its facing stones and what remains, with the exception of the windows on the ground floor, is the rubble core. It consists of four walls standing to a height of 8m (although the north wall has been badly damaged at the west end). There are three openings at ground level, one on each side except for the north. Internally there traces of a floor level in the south-east and south-west corners where fragments of a floor platform survive. The upper part of the building consists of three massive stubs of wall separated by gaps which may have been windows or embrasures.

In his report on the tower Creswell indicates that there were originally more towers (PAM Creswell) and Conder and Kitchener specify four (*SWP*, I, 272). Makhouly writing in 1940 heard of another tower on a rocky hill to the east of the village which had been utterly destroyed (before the British occupation) and replaced by a house (PAM File 152).

Although there is no direct dating evidence, it seems likely that this building was connected with the eighteenth century fortifications of Shafā ʿAmr. If, as indicated by Creswell, there were originally more towers this would resemble the situation in Dayr Ḥannā where four towers were placed around the village (cf. Edwards *et al.* 1993).

The Mosque

The mosque stands next to the Orthodox church on the north side of the village. Although it appears to be new, it contains within it the core of an older mosque. According to an inscription on the exterior it was built in 1175 H. (1761–1762 C.E.). The old parts of the mosque include the prayer hall and a vaulted portico. The prayer hall is a rectangular area covered by a large central dome and two side arches. The dome rests on pendentives springing from the lateral arches. The portico consists of three cross-vaulted bays which are hidden behind the facade of the modern structure.

Plate 305. Shafā ʿAmr (No. 128). Tower robbed of facing stones (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

References: Abū Shāma RHC (Or.), IV, 487; Baedeker 1876, 356; Buckingham 1821, 89; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 273; Cohen 1973, index; Cohen 1989, 122 n.8; Cuinet 1896, 13, 92, 97, 100; Avi-Yonah and Hasson in *EI*, XIV, 1334–1335; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 410–414; Heyd 1960, 84–85; *HG*, 192; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 199, II, 157; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 233–235; Marmadji 1951, 111; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 297; Palmer 1881, 116; PAM Creswell; PAM 152 Makhouly 27.6.40; Petersen 2000 ; Pringle 1993–, II, 301–304; Pringle 1997, 115 (Supplementary P.25); Rogers 1989, 136–137; Sabbagh n.d.; *SWP*, I, 271–273, 339–343 (map V); *TIR*, 230; Wilson 1884, III, 71; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 304.

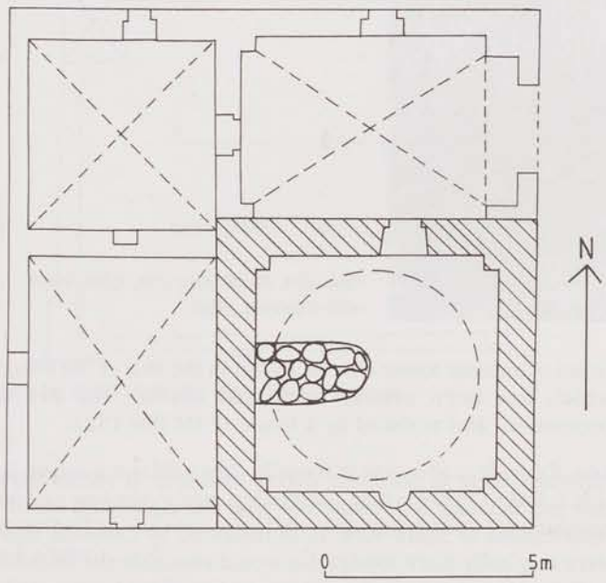


Fig. 115. Shaykh ʿAlī al-Duwāymī (No. 129).

129. Shaykh ʿAlī al-Duwāymī

Visited 21.9.93
Location 1393.1049
31.32N/34.53E

The shrine (maqām) of Shaykh ʿAlī is located on a hill top approximately 5km south of Lakhish (Hb.). The hilltop contains a number of man-made features besides the shaykh's tomb including several vaulted cisterns, a number of ruinous walls, and some graves. A brief description of the site has been published by Dagan (1992, 124–125, 94* Site 269).

Maqām Shaykh ʿAlī (Fig. 115, Plates 306–307)
The shrine of Shaykh ʿAlī is the only standing structure on the hill. It comprises four rooms the main tomb chamber, and three subsidiary rooms (one of which is in now a ruinous condition). The whole complex is roughly square, measuring approximately 13m per side. It is built of squared stones laid in rough courses with wedges in between. It seems likely that some of the stones are reused from an earlier structure. The tomb chamber is distinguished from the other rooms by a whitewashed dome. On the south side of the tomb chamber are some steps set into the wall at a height of 2m above the ground which presumably gave access, with the aid of a short ladder, to the roof.

The complex is entered through a wide arch or iwan on the east side which forms an ante-room for the tomb chamber and the north-west room. The ante-room is roofed with a cross-

Plate 306. Shaykh ʿAlī al-Duwāymī (No. 129). Exterior from south-west.

Plate 307. Shaykh ʿAlī al-Duwāymī (No. 129). Interior with mihrab.

vault. The ante-room has three doorways, one to the tomb chamber, a second to the north-west room, and a third on the north side leading outside (this last doorway may be a window). The doorway to the tomb chamber is covered with a lintel below a semi-circular arch. The tomb chamber is roofed with a dome resting on pendentives springing from ground level. In the south wall is a shallow mihrab and in the centre of the room are the destroyed remains of a cenotaph (presumably of Shaykh ʿAlī). The room on the north-west side is roofed with a cross-vault and has a window facing north.

References: Dagan 1992, 124–125, 94* Site 269; Palmer 1881, 378; *SWP*, III, 258 (map XX).

130. Shaykh Danūn/ Shaykh Dannūn

Visited 8.91
Location 163.266
33.00N/35.09E

This village stands south-west of Shaykh Dāwūd on the lower part of the hill. It is one of two villages located on a hill overlooking the plain of Acre. Both are built around shaykhs' tombs and have a similar history. Since 1948 the two villages have merged and are now referred to jointly as Shaykh Danūn.

In the late nineteenth century Guérin (*Galilée*, II, 29) describes Danūn as a hamlet containing a small number of houses grouped around the tomb of Shaykh Danūn. Conder and Kitchener give the following brief description of the place: 'A small village, built of stone; contains about fifty Moslems; on the edge of the plain, with stream of water nearby' (*SWP*, I, 147).

A 1931 report on the village by the Palestine Antiquities Department (PAM File) notes that village contains a built maqām with a few houses and rock-cutting nearby. Remnants of some of these older houses can be seen in the immediate vicinity of the shaykh's shrine, although most of the houses in the village are modern.

Maqām Shaykh Danūn

This building is located in the southern part of the village overlooking the wadi.

Although hidden amongst houses the shrine is visible because of its tall white dome (Plates 308–310). There are two main parts to the shrine, a modern concrete annex, and an older part containing a prayer room and the mausoleum. The modern annex is a single square room built over the front (north side) of the shrine. In the south wall of this room is a steel door leading into the older part of the building. Above the doorway there is a 10 line Arabic inscription (not read) carved in relief. The door opens into the prayer hall which is a large square room roofed by a large dome. The dome is supported by pendentives and arches springing from ground level. The dome rests directly on a circular collar (i.e. there is no drum). The lower part of the dome has near vertical sides and contains four windows (one for each side) whilst the dome has a shallow pointed profile. The doorway from the annex is set into a tall arched recess in the north wall. There is another doorway in the south-east corner leading into the mausoleum. In the south wall is a low mihrab next to a modern stone minbar.

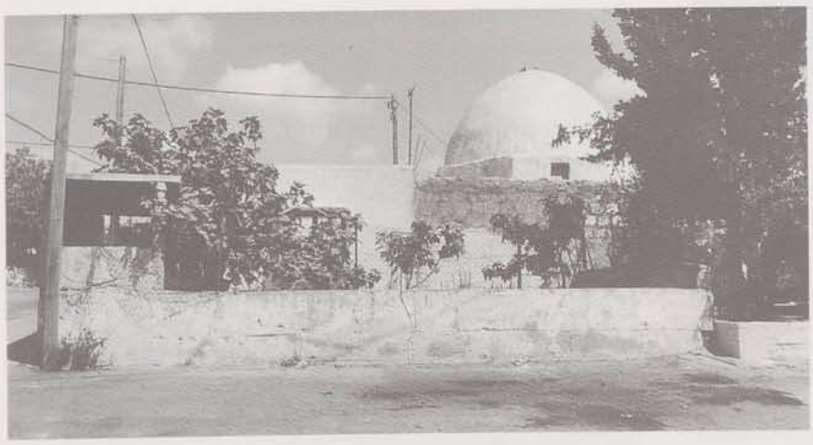


Plate 308. Shaykh Danūn (No. 130). Exterior from west.

Plate 309. Shaykh Danūn (No. 130). Exterior from north.

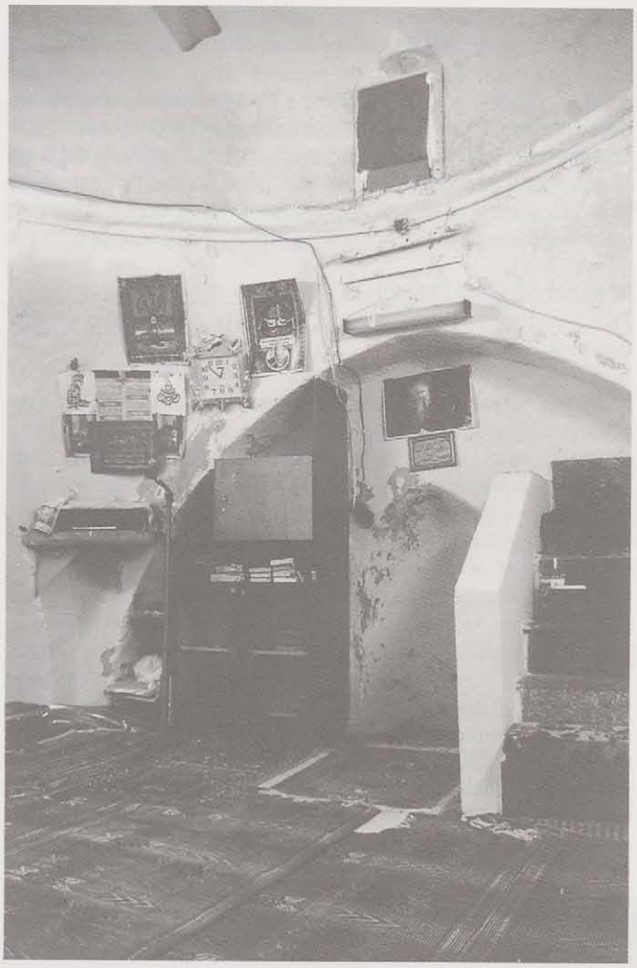


Plate 310. Shaykh Danūn (No. 130). Prayer room with mihrab.

The doorway in the south-east corner is very low and partially obscured by one of the arches supporting the dome. The mausoleum is a rectangular room divided into two areas, a square domed area and a rectangular vaulted area to the north. The doorway into the chamber is in the north-west corner. At the northern end of the room beneath the barrel-vault/iwan is a stone cenotaph covered in green cloth and with prominent head and foot stones. In the middle of the room beneath the dome is a rectangular wooden frame also covered with green cloth. Under the wooden frame is the entrance to a cave and a set of steps leading down into the interior (not inspected).

The date of this shrine is not known, although it is clear that the prayer hall was built after the mausoleum, probably during the Ottoman period. The mausoleum itself may date to the Mamluk period (on the basis of comparison with other buildings of similar design, for instance Maqām Nabī Thārī) whilst the cave is probably a reused Byzantine tomb.

References: Baedeker 1876, 424; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 29–30; Palmer 1881, 54; PAM File 1931; *SWP*, I, 147 (map III); Thompson *et al.* 1988, 37.

131. Shaykh Dāwūd

Location 164.266
32.59N/35.09E

This village is located on the top of the hill north-east of Shaykh Danūn.

Conder and Kitchener give the following brief description of Shaykh Dāwūd: 'A small village built of stone, containing about seventy Moslems, on the edge of the plain, surrounded by olives and arable land, with a stream of water near' (*SWP*, I, 147). Guérin had visited the village several years earlier and estimated the population as about 50. He noted that the shrine (wali) was surmounted by two domes, one larger than the other. He also observed that one house in the village was larger and better built than the others and belonged to a powerful shaykh (*Galilée*, II, 30). It is possible that this is the ruined house which still stands next to the shrine.

Maqām Shaykh Dāwūd

The shrine stands in the middle of a cemetery on the summit of the hill. It is covered with two large domes visible from the main road and one small dome. The interior of the shrine is divided into two rooms, a prayer room and the mausoleum. Entrance to the complex is through an arched doorway in the west wall leading directly into the prayer room. This area is covered with a tall dome resting on an octagonal drum supported by squinches on arches springing from corner piers. In the middle of the south wall is a small mihrab (1.5m high) and in the north wall there is a small niche. A small doorway in the east wall leads into the mausoleum.

The mausoleum is a rectangular room aligned north–south with a doorway in the west wall. The southern part of the room is covered with a large dome resting on pendentives, the northern part is covered with a folded cross-vault with a small dome at the apex. The room contains two cenotaphs (one beneath each dome) aligned east–west and covered with a green cloth.

According to villagers, Dāwūd was a Muslim warrior who died fighting the Crusaders (cf. Thompson *et al.* 1988, 37). The date of the shrine itself is not known, although the arrangement of a large and small dome in the mausoleum suggest that this part of the structure is probably medieval (i.e. pre-sixteenth century). The prayer room is perhaps later and may be attributed to the Ottoman period.

References: Baedeker 1876, 424; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 29–30; Palmer 1881, 54; PAM File 1931; *SWP*, I, 147 (map III); Thompson *et al.* 1988, 37.

132. Shaykh Ghāzī (Khirbat)

Visited 15.5.94
Location 1513.1212
31.42N/35.00E

This site comprises a ruined village and shrine located to the south of Moshav Avi'ezer (Hb.). The site is described in the Mandate files as a: '... ruined town with streets, remains of buildings, walls, column bases, door posts, cisterns and caves' (PAM 31.1.27; Israel 1976, 165).

The shrine is located on the left (north) side of the road into the modern settlement. At present the remains of the building are obscured by a pile of bulldozed stone and rubble which extends over the south wall of the shrine.

The shrine is a roughly square building (6.6m x 7m) with walls 1m thick standing to a height of 1.2m above present ground level (Fig. 116). There are the remains of a doorway at the east end of the north wall and the discarded lintel can be found 2m to the north. Inside, the doorway is flanked by two rectangular niches. The corners of the building are covered

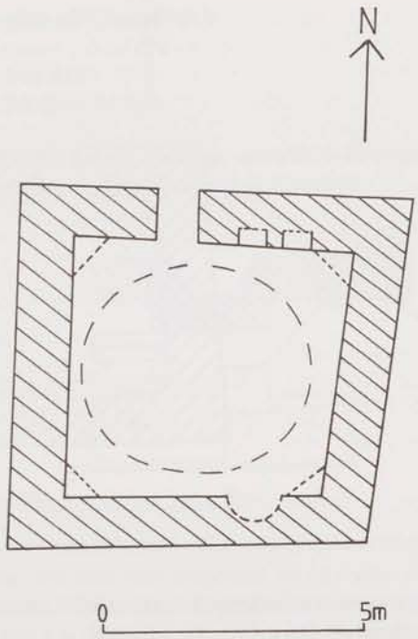


Fig. 116. Shaykh Ghāzī (Kh.) (No. 132). Plan.

with large lintels or corbels which presumably provided support for the dome (the south-west corbel is broken). A large stone from the bulldozer scoop obscures the mihrab which is located at the eastern end of the southern wall. The mihrab is mostly filled in with earth and rubble, although the hood can clearly be seen.

Plate 311. Shaykh Maysir (No. 133). Exterior from north.

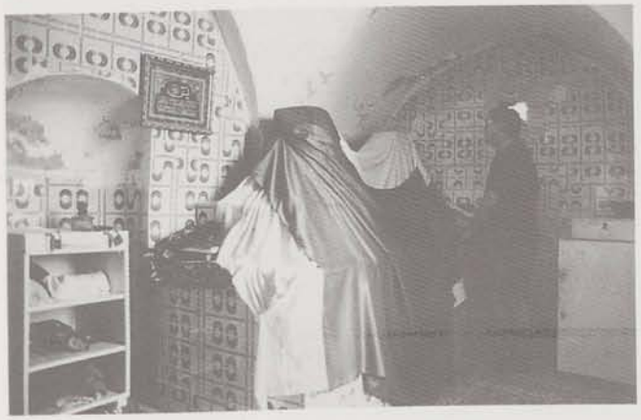


Plate 312. Shaykh Maysir (No. 133). Interior with mihrab.

An estimate of the original floor level can be made from the doorway which preserves the original setting for the lintel. On this basis the floor level is at least 1.1m lower than the present surface which is presumably made of the collapsed dome. In the Mandate files the shrine is described as having a 'conical dome' which appears in a photograph taken at the time (PAM 31.1.27).

References: Israel 1976, 165; Palmer 1881, 327; PAM File 31.1.27; *SWP*, map XVII.

133. Shaykh Maysar/ Khirbat Maysar

Visited 25.5.94
Location 1542.2055
32.27N/35.02E

The village of Shaykh Maysar is located on the northern part of the coastal plain at the end of route 5923 which also leads to Kibbutz Meizar (Hb.). In the centre of the village, next to the modern mosque, is the tomb of Shaykh Maysar (Fig. 117, Plates 311–312). Conder and Kitchener describe the tomb as 'a modern Mukâm' (*SWP*, II 68). Despite this assertion the form of the building, together with the Arabic inscription, suggests that the building may be considerably older than the nineteenth century.

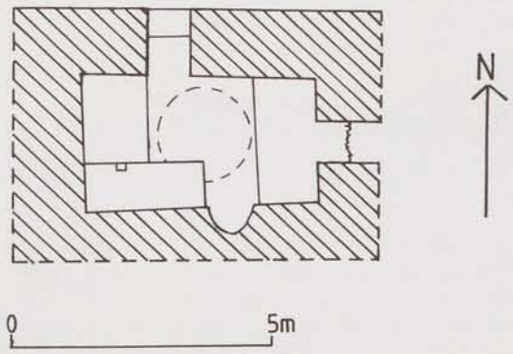


Fig. 117. Shaykh Maysar (No. 133). Plan.

The maqām is a rectangular building (6m x 4.5m) aligned east–west with a small dome on the top. It is entered through a small doorway in the centre of the north side. Five steps lead down into the room which is approximately 1m below the present ground level. In the centre of the east wall is a large rectangular niche covered with a marble lintel, indicating that it was originally a window. On the left hand (east) side of the south wall is a low mihrab approximately 1m high. The cenotaph of Shaykh Maysar is located on the west side of the east wall. It is approximately 1m high and has a small niche in the north side. The centre of the room is covered with a hemi-spherical dome resting on pendentives. The east and west ends of the room are roofed by short barrel-vaults. The apex of the tomb is approximately 4m above the floor of the tomb.

The archaeological Survey of Israel (which visited the building in 1974) saw a marble mortar with an early Arabic inscription in the modern mosque next door (Ne'eman 1990, Site 34, Fig.4).

References: Ne'eman 1990, Site 34; Palmer 1881, 152; *SWP*, II, 68 (map VIII).

134. Shaykh Ṣandāhāwī

Visited 25.9.94
Location 1549.2115
32.30N/35.02E

This building is located on a hilltop south-west of Kefar Kara (Hb.). The tomb comprises two main parts, a domed chamber and a vaulted room to the east (Fig. 118, Plates 313–314). The tomb chamber is built out of large square blocks of stone which have been recently repointed. The doorway is in the centre of the north side. Above the doorway is a small rectangular recess which probably contained an inscription (now removed). Large arches spring from four corner piers above which is a dome supported on pendentives (approximate interior height 5m). The mihrab is a deeply recessed niche (1.42m high) in the centre of the south wall. There are also small niches in the east wall and two on the south wall either side of the mihrab. The cenotaph of the shaykh is located in the south-west corner and is aligned east–west. The cenotaph has head and foot stones and a lid with a central ridge and sloping sides (see also Petersen 1999, 123 and 125).

The side chamber (now ruined) is attached to the west side of the shaykh's tomb. It consists of a cross-vault supported by four corner piers with a doorway in the north wall. The walls between the piers are thin (0.5m) and have mostly collapsed. A set of steps leads up the west side of the building and would have provided access to the roof.

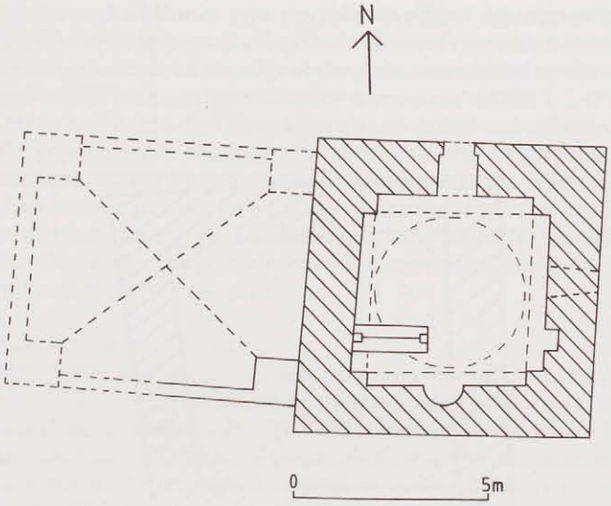


Fig. 118. Shaykh Ṣandāhāwī (No. 134). Plan of shrine.

To the south recent excavations have revealed a series of rooms (each approximately 4m x 4m). To the north is a huge circular grinding stone suggesting that there may have been a farmstead here.

References: Palmer 1881, 153; Petersen 1999, 123, 125; *SWP*, map VIII.

Plate 313. Shaykh Ṣandāhāwī (No. 134). Exterior from north.

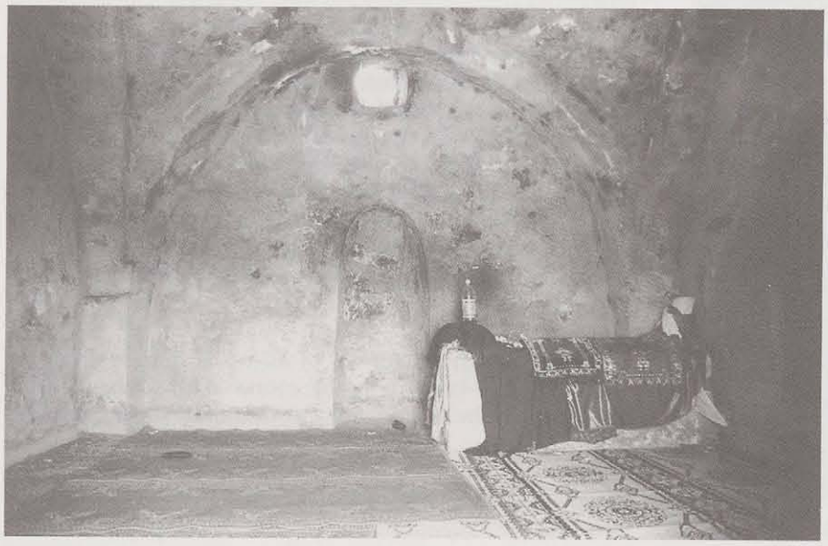


Plate 314. Shaykh Ṣandāhāwī (No. 134). Interior.

135. Shaykh al-Utah (sp.)

Visited —
Location 148.211
32.29N/34.58E

This vanished structure stood in an Arab-Turkoman cemetery located approximately 10km east of Caesarea.

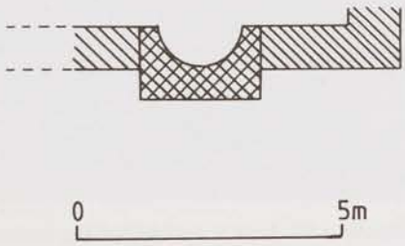


Fig. 119. Shaykh al-Utah (No. 135). Plan of mihrab.

In 1939 the structure was inspected by Ory who made a plan of the remains (Fig. 119) and wrote the following report:

> Ancient stones and shafts of columns used in the modern Arab cemetery and a ruined wely built of stones of ancient appearance with a mihrab 2.00m high (PAM Ory 6.9.39).

References: PAM Ory 6.9.93.

136. Isbaita, Shivta/ Sobata (Hb.)

Visited 28.4.96
Location 114.032
30.53N/34.40E

The abandoned town of Shivta stands in the Negev desert approximately 50km south-west of Bīr al-Sabʿ (Hb. Beersheba). The site is bounded to the north by the Wādī Zayatīn which is a tributary of the Wādī al-Abyaḍ.

The site was founded by the Nabateans in the first century B.C.E. (for a concise history of the site, see Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XIV, 1419–1420; Shereshevski 1991, 61–62; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 337–341). The greatest period of prosperity seems to have been the Byzantine period when it was known vaiously as Sobata, Sobota and Isbeita (*TIR*, 234). The site was probably occupied until the twelfth century, although the majority of buildings belong to the Byzantine period (cf. Baly 1935, 172–173). The street plan seems to have evolved organically although it converges on two large reservoirs near the centre of the town. There are two large churches (north and south) and a monastery. The transition from Byzantine to Muslim rule is marked by continuity of occupation as seen, for example, in the south church where the floor was relaid in 639 C.E., six years after the Muslim conquest (Schick 1995, 458).

Mosque (Plate 315)
This is located at the north-east corner of the south church complex next to the baptistery.

The mosque consists of an approximately square prayer hall with a small courtyard to the north. The courtyard was entered by a broad set of steps on the west side. Two of the steps were reused Byzantine lintels decorated with crosses and rosettes. In the north-west corner of the courtyard was a small square opening providing access to a subterranean cistern. Three arches on the south side of the courtyard opened directly into the prayer hall. The prayer hall was probably divided into nine bays supported on six columns and arches springing from the walls. The roof was constructed of transverse arches roofed with large flat limestone slabs (this was the most common roofing technique in Shivta). In the centre of the south wall was a deep mihrab. According to Baly the arch of the mihrab may originally have been a part of a doorway into the baptistery (Baly 1935, 177).

The precise date of construction is not known although Baly dates the Kufic inscriptions within the building to the ninth century. One Kufic inscription records the building of the mosque by a 'Ḥasan' although unfortunately it is not dated (Baly 1935, 177; Schick 1995, 458).

References: Baly 1935; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, XIV, 1419; Kedar 1957, 187–188; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 337–341; Schick 1995, 457–458; Shereshevski 1991, 61–82; *TIR*, 234; Woolley and Lawrence 1915, 89–109.

137. Sīrīn/ Sirīn

Visited 25.4.94
Location 1976.2288
32.39N/35.30E

Sīrīn is an abandoned village located on the north side of Wādī al-Bīra (Hb. Nahal Tavor).

Plate 315. Shivta (No. 136). View of mosque.

The village is of some antiquity and can be traced back to the Roman period (*TIR*, 233). Under the Crusaders the village was known as Losserin and was sold to the Hospitallers by Simon Chevron in 1168 (Pringle 1997, 95 No.205). The village probably corresponds to Sīrīn al-Mutrān described in the 1596 *daftar*. This site was located in *nāḥiya* Shāfa and contained a population of 45 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (HG, 157). In 1816 Buckingham passed through the village on his way from Umm Qays to Nazareth. He described it as follows:

> On descending over the western side of these hills, we had the Mount of Tabor immediately before us, and a waving ground, partly barren and partly cultivated, between us and its foot, extending from six to nine miles in length. In our way across this tract we passed the village of Sereen, consisting of about thirty or forty dwellings, and near it saw half a dozen Bedouins' tents pitched (1821, 449).

During the 1870s the village was surrounded by prickly pear and contained an estimated population of 100 (*SWP*, II, 86). A photograph of the village taken in 1927 shows the village mosque (Plate 316). It was a square building with a tiled roof and a minaret at the south-west corner. In 1945 the village had a mixed Muslim and Christian population of 810 (Khalidi 1992, 60).

After 1948 most of the village was destroyed with the exception of a Byzantine church (not visited) and a vaulted tower. The site was included in a survey of the region carried out during the 1970s and published by Gal (1991, Site No.13, 26, 22*–23*).

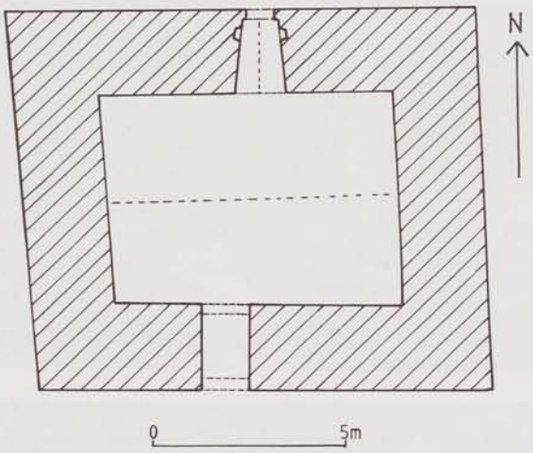


Fig. 120. Sīrīn (No. 137). Plan of medieval building.

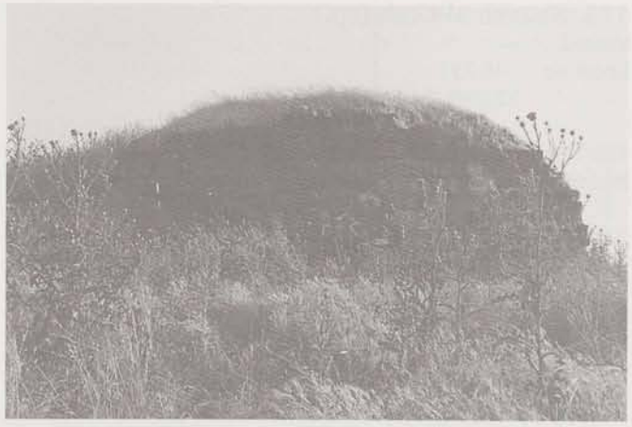


Plate 317. Sīrīn (No. 137). View of vaulted building/tower.

Plate 318. Sīrīn (No. 137). Interior of vaulted building/tower.

Tower (Fig. 120, Plates 317–318)
The vaulted building is a rectangular (10m x 12m) structure, built mostly of basalt with some hard limestone also used. There are two entrances, one on the north and another on the south side. The northern entrance is a later feature and consists of an inner and outer lintel with a shallow arch in between. The south doorway is now blocked but appears to be original. It is a rectangular opening with a lintel set within a recess surmounted by a tall pointed arch made of finely dressed limestone blocks.

The floor level of the building is approximately 1.5m below ground level. On the west and north sides of the exterior are traces of a cornice made of projecting basalt corbels. Both the corbels and the north doorway may be part of an Ottoman reconstruction phase.

Plate 316. Sīrīn (No. 137). Village mosque (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Although there is no positive identification the appearance of the building (masonry and arches) suggests a Crusader date. The position of the building to the north of Belvoir (1992.2224) and to the east of Ṭayba (1920 2283) suggest that it may have been a watchtower.

References: Buckingham 1821, 449; Gal 1991, Site No.13, 26, 22*–23*; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 136; *HG*, 157; Khalidi 1992, 60; Palmer 1881, 167; Pringle 1997, 95 No.205; Robinson 1841, III, 219; *SWP*, II, 86–87, 126 (map IX); *TIR*, 233.

138. Sukrayr (Khirbat)

Visited 7.7.94
Location 121.136
31.49N/34.42E

This site is located in the centre of the modern Israeli settlement of Bene Darom (Hb.), approximately 5km east of Isdūd. The remains stand in a wooded park next to the modern settlement's water tower.

Sukrayr is mentioned as one of the places that amir Lājīn passed through on his return to Egypt after the defeat of sultan Kitbughā in 1296 C.E. (Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 184–185). According to the 1596 *daftar* Sukrayr was located in *nāḥiya* Gaza and contained a population of 10 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 143).

Khān (Fig. 121, Plates 319–320)
In the 1870s the site was visited by Guérin who wrote the following description:

> This ruin is that of a khân, now overthrown. It is 60 paces long by 37 broad. It contains a cistern and small vaulted magazine, as yet not destroyed. Below the hillock covered by its ruins I remarked on the east a reservoir and viaduct, a well partly fallen in, but well built. A canal, the traces of which are alone visible, carried the water of the reservoir to a fountain, now demolished, and situated in the plain near the road (translation from Guérin, *Judée*, II, 79–80 in *SWP*, II, 425–426).

Clermont-Ganneau, who visited the site in 1873, gives essentially the same description but adds: 'this must have been the site of some ancient *manzêl* or posting-house, on the Arab route from Egypt to Syria' (*ARP*, II, 184). During the British Mandate the site was registered as an ancient monument (ATQ/284) although the owners were permitted to build a reservoir 20m square within the khān (this has now been replaced by a water tower).

Today the site is in much the same condition as during the Mandate period. It comprises a long stretch of wall nearly 40m long, a barrel-vaulted chamber, and some mounds which perhaps conceal further stretches of wall.

The main wall of the site runs north–south with the entrance and barrel-vaulted chamber at the north end. At the south end of the wall there is evidence of a corner. The west return wall is hidden beneath an earth embankment. The entrance at the north end is 1.85m wide and has a shallow (two centre) pointed arch. To the left (south) of the entrance is another archway of similar design (this is blocked by the east wall of the vault).

The vaulted chamber is located next to the entrance, inside the wall. Although the method of construction and the arch of the doorway are similar to the main wall, the two are not

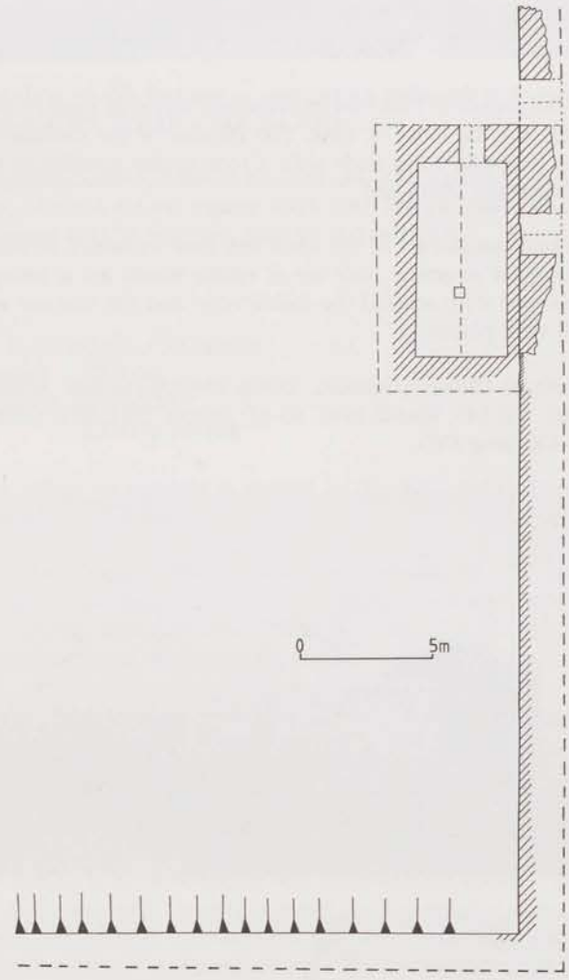


Fig. 121. Khirbat Sukrayr (No. 138). Plan of remains of khān.

Plate 319. Khirbat Sukrayr (No. 138). View of gateway from interior.

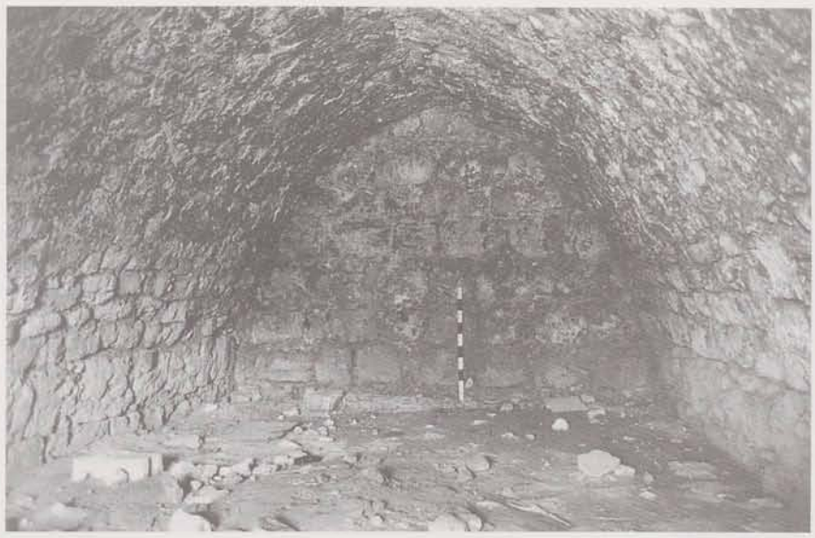


Plate 320. Khirbat Sukrayr (No. 138). Interior of vaulted chamber.

bonded together. This may indicate two stages of construction which may be close in time. The interior of the chamber is 8.3m long and 3.8m wide with a rectangular opening in the roof near the south end.

The tank south-east of the khān has now vanished. It was a rectangular structure built out of rubble blocks set in mortar. There was a lip around the inside edge and the interior was lined with plaster.

References: Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 184–185; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 79–80; *HG*, 143; Khalidi 1992, 80–81; Palmer 1881, 281; *SWP*, II, 425–426 (map XVI).

139. Sukriyya (Khirbat)

Visited 14.6.94
Location 1294.1085
31.34N/34.46E

This site is located to the south of ʿIrāq al-Manashiyya (Hb. Qiryat Gat) next to small side road leading to Moshav Noʿam (Hb.). The tomb stands in a field behind a modern Jewish cemetery.

The village of Sukriyya is included in a *waqf* established by sultan Qāytbāy in 877 H. [1471/1472 C.E.] for his madrasa in Jerusalem (*MPF*, 40 No.52). In the latter part of the nineteenth

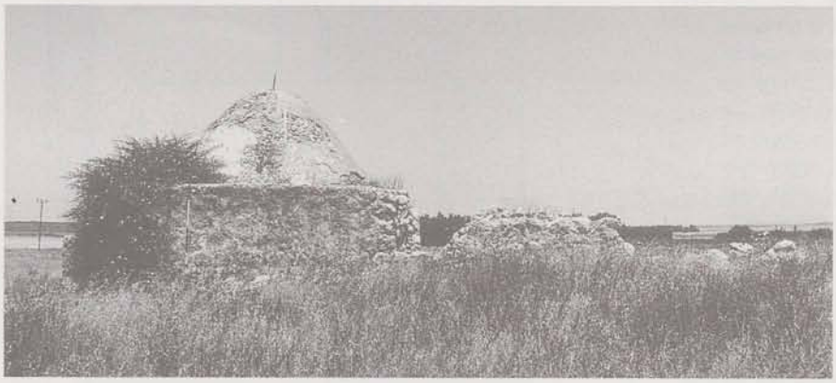


Plate 321. Khirbat Sukriyya (No. 139). Maqām with remains of khān.

Plate 322. Khirbat Sukriyya (No. 139). Interior of maqām.

century Guérin notes that it was a large village inhabited by Muslims involved in the cultivation of tobacco (*Judée*, II, 304).

The building comprises two main elements, a domed tomb chamber and a ruinous side chamber (Plates 321–322). The tomb chamber is a square building with a tall conical dome. On the outside the upper part of the corners are cut off diagonally. The entrance is in the middle of the north side. To the right of the entrance is a small window and the remains of the springing of a vault. The north wall appears to continue westwards beyond the north-west corner of the building suggesting there may have been another room to the south (see below for possible explanation).

The tomb chamber contains only one window located by the door. In the centre of the south wall is a shallow mihrab niche framed by two monolithic marble columns and capped by a lintel made from a section of marble column. Directly in front of the mihrab is a tall rectangular cenotaph with a piece of marble column as headstone. The dome rests on corbelled pendentives.

The room to the east is less well preserved, although enough remains to show that it was roofed with a cross-vault and probably had an entrance on the north side.

The Mandate files record a khān at this site, as well as an Arabic inscription (PAM File 1929). Unfortunately, no photograph of the site exists in the archives. As no shaykh's tomb is mentioned and there is no other large ruin in the area, it seems likely that the maqām was erected on the ruins of the khān at some time after the site was inspected in 1929. Features of the present structure (such as the continuation of the walls to the east and west and the unusual construction of the mihrab) strengthen this interpretation.

References: Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 139–140; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 304; Marmadji 1951, 103; *MPF*, 40 No.52; Palmer 1881, 375; PAM File 1929; Robinson 1841, II, 392–393; *SWP*, III, 286 (map XX).

140. Ṣummayl/Ṣummīl/Ṣūmmayl al-Khalīl/ Barakat al-Khalīl

Visited 18.6. 94
Location 1305.1193
34.40N/34.47E

This deserted village site is located roughly half-way between Bayt Jibrīn and Ascalon.

There is a tradition that the village originated as a fortress built by the Hospitallers in 1168 C.E. to protect the neighbouring castle of Bayt Jibrīn. In the later part of the fourteenth century the village was called Barakat al-Khalīl as its revenues were used for the Ḥaram al-Khalīl (al-Mubayyidh cited in Khalidi 1992, 137). The village also appears in a series of *waqf*s established by sultan Qāytbāy (MPF, 14 No.44). According to the 1596 *daftar* Ṣummayl was located in *nāḥiya* Gaza and contained a population of 66 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', fruit, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 151). In the nineteenth century the village was visited by Robinson (1841, II, 367–368) who noted a large section of fortress wall and an ancient well. The village was abandoned and destroyed after 1949 (Khalidi 1992, 137–138).

At present the site is covered with vegetation and hemmed in by quarries on two sides, although some substantial ruins remain. The castle appears to be roughly square with a central tower (keep) surrounded by an outer enclosure wall with square corner towers. The principal remains are those of the north enclosure wall which stands to a height of over 8m and is over 30m long and 1.5m thick. The lower part of the wall has a well-preserved glacis.

The date of the fortress is not certain although it is clearly medieval (cf. Pringle 1997, No.209).

References: Guérin, *Judée*, II, 121–122; *HG*, 151; Khalidi 1992, 137–138; *MPF*, 14 No.44; Palmer 1881, 379; Pringle 1997, No.209; Robinson 1841, II, 367–368; *SWP*, III, 260 (map XX).

141. Ṣundala /Ṣandala

Visited 27.5.94
Location 1806.2143
32.31N/35.19E

The village of Ṣandala is located in the plain approximately 4km south of Zirʿīn.

Ṣandala is described by Conder and Kitchener as: '... a small village on the edge of the plain, built of stone and mud, supplied by cisterns, and surrounded by ploughland' (*SWP*, II, 87). According to an inhabitant the village was 200 years old.

In the centre of the village is a new mosque apparently constructed on older foundations. The buildings around the mosque form the core of the old village. Part of this area has been cleared for redevelopment and the rest is scheduled for demolition in the near future. The remaining structures form a square containing houses and courtyards of various types (including transverse arches and cross-vaulted rooms). Some of the deserted houses appear to incorporate earlier masonry/structures, possibly of a medieval origin. In general the appearance of the buildings is similar to those found in Zirʿīn.

References: Guérin, *Samarie*, I, 326; Palmer 1881, 167; Robinson 1841, III, 161; *SWP*, II, 87 (map IX).

T

142. Tal/ Tall

Visited 9.93
Location 161.267
33.00N/35.08E
SWP map: sheet III
Palmer, 55

This site is a rectangular steep sided hill, located in the midst of citrus trees, in the plain east of Nahariyya close to the abandoned village of Nahr. It contains ancient remains dating back to eighteenth century B.C.E. The village does not appear on Jacotin's map of Palestine surveyed in 1799, but does appear on the PEF map made 75 years later (Karmon 1960, 246). This is confirmed by archaeological evidence, with the uppermost layers of the site containing evidence of occupation dating after ca. 1800 (cf. Hawari in Kempinski and Niemer 1994, 47*–51*). Guérin, (*Galilée*, 2, 31) describes the village as a collection of 30 dilapidated houses with mills. According to Conder and Kitchener, who visited the site a few years later, the village had a population of 200. The village owned a number of orchards containing mulberry, pomegranate, and olive trees (*SWP*, I, 148).

The only extant standing structure is a cistern, known as Birkat al-Mafshūkh, which stands at the northern edge of the tell. The birkat is a rectangular with a semi-circular extension at the west end.

References: Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 31; Karmon, 1960, 246; Kempinski and Niemer 1994, 47*–51*; Khalidi 1992, 32; *SWP*, I, 148.

143. Tal Harbaj

Visited 8.97
Location 159.241
32.45N/35.05E

This is one of a number of tells located on the plain 10km to the south-east of Haifa (Plate 323). The site (Hb. Tel Regev) stands next to the modern Israeli settlement of Kefar Hassidim and may tentatively be identified with the Biblical Achshaph (Ahahroni 1979, 429).

The site was inhabited until the end of Ottoman rule in Palestine and may have continued for a few years under the British Mandate, although by 1948 it was certainly no longer occupied (cf. Khalidi 1992). It was one of the first excavations by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (cf. Anon. 1922) during the 1920s.

The tell stood to a height of approximately 10m and had a flat top protected by a wall attributed to Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar (*SWP*, I, 285). Remains on top of the tell included 'Arab debris', an old bathhouse, and the village of al-Harbaj.

In 1935 the site was visited by Makhouly on behalf of the Department of Antiquities. He noted that, 'the portion of the outer wall on the eastern top of the site was demolished and all stones from it were taken away' (PAM Report dated 30.9.35).

The site is now overgrown with brambles and there are no visible signs of standing buildings.

References: Anon. 1922; Khalidi 1992; Palmer 1881, 109; PAM Report, Makhouly, 30.9.35; *SWP*, I, 285 (map V).

144. Tell Kurdāna

Visited 11.7.94
Location 1606.2501
32.51N/35.06E

Tell Kurdāna (Cr. Recordane) is located in the Tel Afeq (Hb.) National Park 10km east of Haifa.

According to Rothschild (1938, 50) the tell derives its name from the Kurds who formed part of the army of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, however this is unlikely in view of the fact that the name appears as early as 1154. Recent excavations at the tell have uncovered remains of the Hellenistic and Roman period (Badhi 1994, 136–137). The principal historic building at the site is the mill with its dam, although the remains of a khān were visible before 1948.

Khān

The khān was a ruined rectangular structure (150m x 80m) located on the east side of the tell (Plate 324). The fragmentary

Plate 323. Tal Harbaj (No. 134). Eighteenth-century fortifications (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 324. Tell Kurdāna (No. 144). Remains of khān (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

remains comprised a few robbed out walls (a short description is given in Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 430). The date of this structure is not known although it is assumed to be medieval.

Mill, Tower and Dam

This group of structures was built during the Crusaders period although it continued in use until 1925 (Poree 1995, 417–419). It comprises the central mill-house or tower, a dam, and five mill channels. The tower was built by the Crusaders in the twelfth century C.E. (Pringle 1997, 62–64 No.133). It is a two-storey structure with a cross-vaulted basement and a box machicolation. The upper part of the tower was rebuilt in Ottoman times. There are five mill channels, three of which date to the Crusader period (twelfth or thirteenth centuries) the other two belonging to the Ottoman period. The dam is 325m long and maintained the large head of water required to run the mill.

References: Badhi 1994, 136–137; Baedeker 1876, 358; Guérin, *Galilée*, I, 430; Palmer 1881, 117; Poree 1995, 417–419; Pringle 1997, 62–64 No.133; Rothschild 1938, 50; *SWP*, map V.

145. Tal Qasīla

Visited —
Location 1308.1677
32.06N/34.48E

This tell is located on the banks of the ᶜAwjā (Hb. Yarqon) river between Jaffa and Arsūf.

Excavations at the site during the mid 1980s revealed a large courtyard building of the early Islamic period (cf. Mazar 1988–1989). Only the northern part of the building was excavated and much of the rest of the building was only visible as robber trenches. A reconstructed plan of the building shows it as a square measuring 28m per side (Fig. 122). There was a paved entrance in the middle of the north side leading, via a vestibule, into the courtyard which was paved with gravel. On the east and west sides of the courtyard was an arcade supported on columns. In the north-west corner were the remains of a staircase. Several small rooms were exposed, one of which (in the north-west corner) contained a deep well which probably antedated the main building.

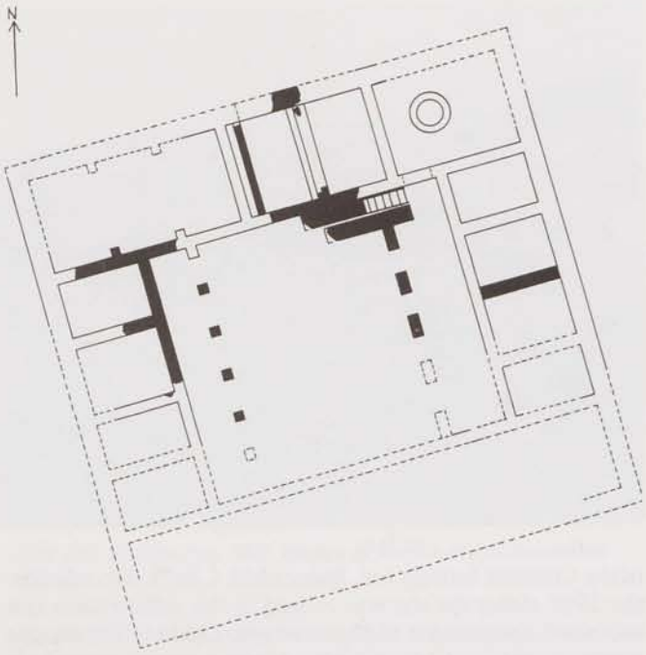


Fig. 122. Tal Qasīla (No. 145). Plan of excavated khān.

The excavators have dated the building to a period between the ninth and eleventh centuries, although earlier (Umayyad) and later (Crusader) occupation was also demonstrated at the site. The design of the building and its position at a river crossing point, indicate that the building may have functioned as a khān.

References: Ayalon *et al.* 1987; Ayalon *et al.* 1989; Maisler 1950–1951, 67–68; Mazar 1988–1989; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 347.

146. Tal al-Ṣāfi/ Tal al-Ṣāfiyya

Visited 9.93, 8.11.93
Location 1356.1236
31.42N/34.50E

Tal al-Ṣāfi is a tall isolated hill which stands between ᶜIrāq al-Manashiyya (Hb. Qiryat Gat) and ᶜAyn Shams (Hb. Bet Shemesh) near the modern Israeli settlement of Luzit (Hb.). The hill is made of limestone and forms an elongated spur running north–south and overlooking Wādī al-ᶜAjjūr (Plate 325). The highest part of the tell is the southern end where there are remnants of a Crusader castle. On the northern part of the ridge are the remains of a Palestinian village. At the foot of the hill on the western side is a spring known as ᶜAyn Ṣāfi (see below).

Archaeological excavations have indicated that the site was occupied as early as the third millennium B.C.E. During the iron age the site, known as Gath/Geth, was one of five Philistine cities in the Shephelah. In the fourth century it was a large village on the Eleutheropolis map and the name also occurs on the sixth-century Mādabā map (*TIR*, 134; Donner 1992, 56 No.68). Under the Crusaders the site was known as Blanchegarde and was of strategic importance for the conquest of Ascalon. In 1142 king Fulk built the castle of Blanchegarde with four high towers (Pringle 1997, 93, No.194). In the latter part of the twelfth century the castle was destroyed by order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Prawer 1969–1970, II, 83; Khalidi, 1992, 222). Yāqūt, writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century, mentions a castle on the site probably referring to the remains

Plate 325. Tal al-Ṣāfi (No. 146). ʿAyn al-Ṣāfi and tell (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

of the Crusader fortress (ed. Wustenfeld, I, 867). According to the 1596 *daftar* the site was located in the *nāḥiya* Gaza and contained a population of 88 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', vines, fruit trees, sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 150). Conder and Kitchener describe a village with houses made out of mud-brick or rubble stone held together with mud mortar (*SWP*, II, 415–416). In the early Mandate period the village contained a marketplace, a mosque, and a shrine for a local saint, Shaykh Muḥammad (Khalidi 1992, 222).

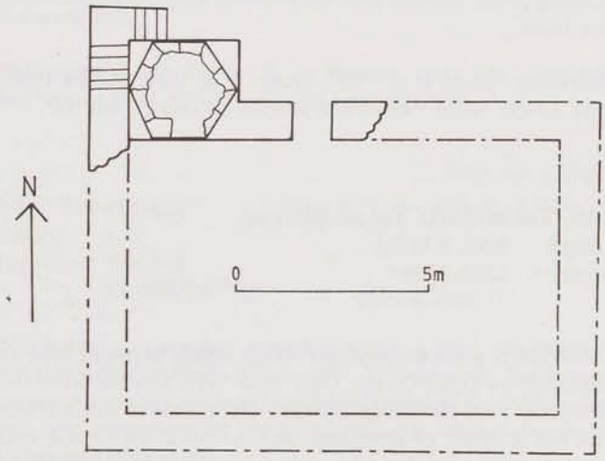


Fig. 123. Tal al-Ṣāfi (No. 146). Plan of mosque.

Mosque (Fig. 123, Plate 326)
The remains of the village are quite extensive and the lines of streets and plans of houses can still be seen. The only building left standing is the village mosque. This is a rectangular barrel-vaulted structure (13.2m x 9.2m) oriented north–south. It is not possible to determine the location of the mihrab as the qibla wall is covered in rubble. At the south-west corner of the building is a square tower which forms the base of the minaret. Above the base are the remains of an octagonal shaft (only the first two courses survive) containing a central spiral staircase. The minaret would have been entered from roof level and there is a separate external staircase leading to the roof. At the base of the minaret is an entrance to a deep cistern which may have provided water for the mosque.

Well (Plate 325)
At the foot of the hill on the western side is an ancient spring or well. The remains comprise a short aqueduct, a cistern, and

Plate 326. Tal al-Ṣāfi (No. 146). Remains of minaret of village mosque.

two ruined stone buildings. The aqueduct is about 20m long and leads to a small raised rectangular cistern. The well is circular and appears to be quite old. The well is built out of large dressed blocks which have been worn smooth (see PAM Photos 1018, 1019).

References: Abel 1967, II, 29, 89, 369; Baedeker 1876, 318; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 440; Donner 1992, 56 No.68; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 90–96; HG, 150; Khalidi 1992, 221–222; Le Strange 1890, 44, 544; Marmadji 1951, 41, 156; Palmer 1881, 275; PAM Photos 1018, 1019; Prawer 1969–1970, II, 83 *et passim*; Pringle 1997, 93 No.194; Robinson 1841, II, 363–367; *SWP*, II, 415–416, 440 (map XVI); *TIR*, 134; Wilson 1884, III, 158–161, 176; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, I, 867.

147. Ṭanṭūra

Visited 11.7.94
Location 142.224
32.37N/34.55E

The village of Ṭanṭūra (Hb. Dor) stood on the Mediterranean coast approximately 22km south of Haifa.

The settlement seems to have been mentioned (as Tawara) in an Egyptian inscription dating to the thirteenth century B.C.E. (for a concise history of Dor/Ṭanṭūra, see Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, VI, 172–173; Aharoni 1979, 182). The site appears to have been continuously inhabited until the Byzantine period, when it was

reported to be deserted by Plinius, Eusebius and Hieronymous, probably because it had been replaced by Caeasarea as a major port (*TIR* 113). In the twelfth or thirteenth centuries C.E. the site was reoccupied by the Crusaders who established the castle of Merle on the site (Pringle 1997, 99 No.218). Evidence for medieval Muslim occupation was provided by the excavation of 34 burials on the site. The sixteenth-century geographer, Piri Re'is, may refer to a tower at Ṭanṭūra (Heyd 1956, 209, n.44). In 1799 Napoleon used Tantura as the principal supply base for his siege of Acre later destroying the village when he withdrew (Khalidi 1992, 193).

In the early nineteenth century the village was visited by Buckingham who described it as a small village with a port and a khān (1821, 123–125). Consul Rogers found a population involved in the cultivation of 25 *fiddān* of land (cited in *SWP*, II, 3).

The Ottoman village has recently formed part of a landscape archaeology project covering the vicinity of Tell Dor (cf. Gibson *et al.* 1999). The principal buildings of interest comprise, a large building of European appearance, a vaulted building on the sea front, a domed mausoleum, and a khān.

Warehouse/Glass Factory
This building is located approximately 30m from the coast. It is a large rectangular structure (approximately 30m x 20m) covered with a triple gabled roof. There are two entrances on the east side, each with a relieving arch and round ventilation hole above the door. According to Kedar (1999, 170–171) it was built as a glass factory by Baron de Rothschild in 1892, although it had ceased to function by 1894. This date is consistent with the architecture of the building and the fact that it is not mentioned by *The Survey of Wetern Palestine* in the 1880s.

Vaulted sea-front building (al-Yaḥyā family house)
This is located approximately in the middle of the stretch of coast which forms the Dor beach. It is a rectangular structure (approximately 25m x 5m) built on top of the sea wall which formed the harbour of the Ottoman village. The building is divided into three parts; an open vaulted room at the southern end, a large double vaulted room in the middle, and a smaller vaulted room at the north end.

The north room is inaccessible although it appears to have a barrel-vaulted roof. The central room is divided into two areas each roofed with a semi-barrel and semi-cross-vault. The vaulted pavilion at the south end is roofed with a cross-vault (a similar vaulted pavilion exists at the village of al-Zīb (No.163) although whether the two structures performed similar functions is unknown).

At the north end of the building a set of steps leads up to the roof terrace. On the exterior is a plaque commemorating the construction of the building in 1299 H. (1882 C.E.) (cf. Hawari, 112–114 in Gibson *et al.* 1999; see also Kedar 1999, 171 n.102 which wrongly dates the building to 1878). A number of functions have been suggested for the building, thus Kedar (1999, 171) states that it was a customs house, Hawari (112–114 in Gibson *et al.* 1999) believes it was a private house and the 1946 Survey of Palestine describes it as a guest house. It is of course possible that the building performed all three of these functions.

Domed Mausoleum (Plate 327)
This is located approximately 20m east of the sea-front building. The mausoleum is entered through a doorway in the middle of the south side. Inside are three graves aligned east–west. One grave is said to be that of the builder of the sea-front building. The dome rests on an octagonal drum supported on spherical pendentives. The transition from drum to dome is marked by a torus moulding (cf. Gibson *et al.* 1999, 84 and Fig.11).

Plate 327. Ṭanṭūra (No. 147). Maqām of Shaykh Abd al-Rahman al-Mujarmi.

Khān
The remains of this building stand approximately 200m south-east of the domed mausoleum. The ruins consist of three parallel barrel-vaults each of which is approximately 10m long and 6m wide (cf. Gibson *et al.* 1999, 83 and Fig.9). It is possible that this was the khān described by Buckingham (1821, 123–125).

References: Abel 1967, II, 22, 59, 74, 103, 122; Baedeker 1876, 352; Buckingham 1821, 123–125; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 211; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, VI, 172–173; Garstang 1924; Gibson *et al.* 1999; Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 305–315; Heyd 1956, 209 n.44; Kedar 1999, 170–1; Khalidi 1992, 193–195; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 296–299; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 352–355; Palmer 1881, 141; Prawer 1969–1970, II, 80, 465; Pringle 1997, 99 No.218; *SWP*, II, 3, 7 (map VIII); *TIR*, 113; Wilson 1884, III, index.

148. Ṭarshīḥa/ Tīr Shiḥa

Visited 7.93
Location 1753.2689
33.01N/35.16E

Ṭarshīha is located in the hills of northern Galilee 20km north-east of Acre and 20km west of Ṣafad. 2km north is the neighbouring village of Miʿlya.

There was a Frankish settlement in Ṭarshīḥa (*Tersyha, Torsia, Terschia, Tarsia*) in the late twelfth and possibly early fourteenth centuries (Strehlke, *Tab Ord. Teut.*, 120, no.128: 41, no.49; cf. Ellenblum 1998, 111, 121, 119, fig.1). The village (given as Ṭīn Shīḥa) also appears in an account of 664 H. (1266 C.E.) of a raid by Frankish troops (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 125, II, 99). In 1573 Tarshīḥa is mentioned in an Ottoman *firmān* as one of the villages raided by the Lebanese feudal chief, Manṣūr ibn Furaykh (Heyd 1960, 84). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* ʿAkka (Acre) and contained a population of 110 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised 'occasional revenues' and 'goats and

bees'. The village was also taxed for the use of a press for either grapes or olive oil (*HG*, 192). In the early eighteenth century the village was under the control of the Shaykh Ḥusayn (Cohen 1973, 9). Later it became one of the major cotton producing villages in Galilee and was centre of a *nāḥiya* (Cohen 1973, 12, 121). In the early nineteenth century the village was obviously of some importance as it was endowed with a large mosque by ᶜAbd Allāh Pasha, governor of Acre. In the 1870s the village was visited by Guérin who noted the mixed Muslim and Christian population. He records that, at the time of his visit, the Greek bishop of Acre was supervising the construction of a new church (*Galilée*, II, 64).

Mosque of ᶜAbd Allāh Pasha (Plates 328–330)
Location 1753.2689
This is located at the lower (northern) end of the village opposite the shaykh's house (see below). In the 1870s it was seen by Guérin who provided a brief description of the structure and noted that it was constructed by ᶜAbd Allāh Pasha earlier in the same century. (*Galilée* II, 64). The mosque is built on a raised platform and entered via a set of steps at the north-west corner. It is built in classical Ottoman style with four main elements: a courtyard, an arcade, a domed prayer hall, and a minaret.

The entrance to the courtyard is at the north-west corner and adjoins an ablutions area built against the north wall (the toilets seem to be original). There is also a modern concrete building at the north end of the courtyard. At the south end is an arched portico and a staircase leading to the roof and the minaret. The arcade is divided into three bays: a central domed bay, and two side bays. The side bays each have a mihrab in the south wall and a raised floor making them into additional prayer areas. The prayer hall is entered through a doorway in the middle of the central bay. Above the doorway is a small balcony resting on stone corbels.

The prayer hall is a large open area covered with a tall dome carried on pendentives and four large arches resting on large square piers. Each arch forms a shallow recess (1m–4m deep) thus extending the size of the prayer hall. Each side wall is pierced by three windows, two at ground level and one below the setting of the dome. In the middle of the south wall is a mihrab with a stone marble minbar on the right (west) side. Above the entrance on the south side of the prayer hall is a wooden gallery supported by slender columns.

Plate 329. Ṭarshīḥa (No. 148). ᶜAbd Allāh Pasha Mosque. Minaret.

The minaret rests on a square base, with an octagonal zone of transition, above which is a cylindrical shaft. The entrance to the minaret is through a small arched doorway set into the base. At the top is a balcony and a conical roof. The balcony is supported by torus moulding.

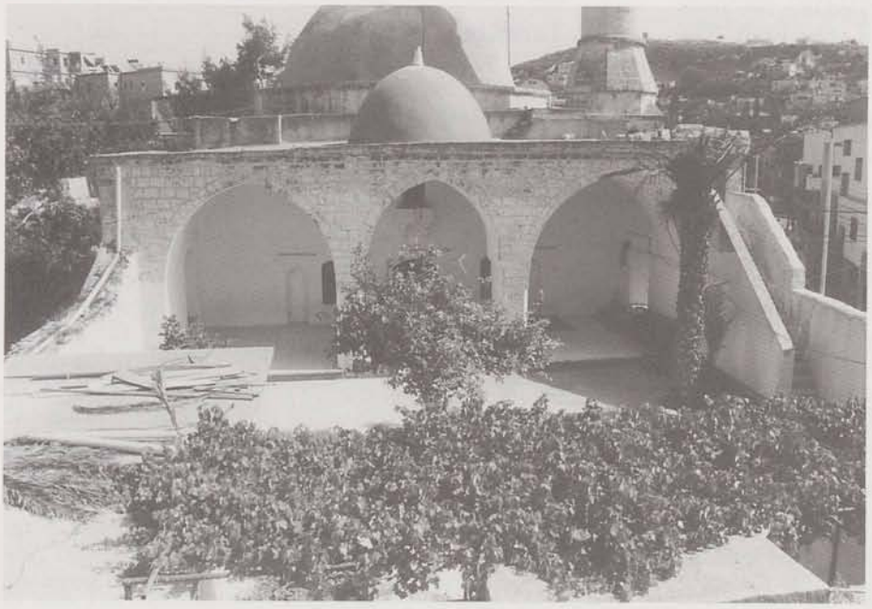


Plate 328. Ṭarshīḥa (No. 148). ᶜAbd Allāh Pasha Mosque. View from courtyard.

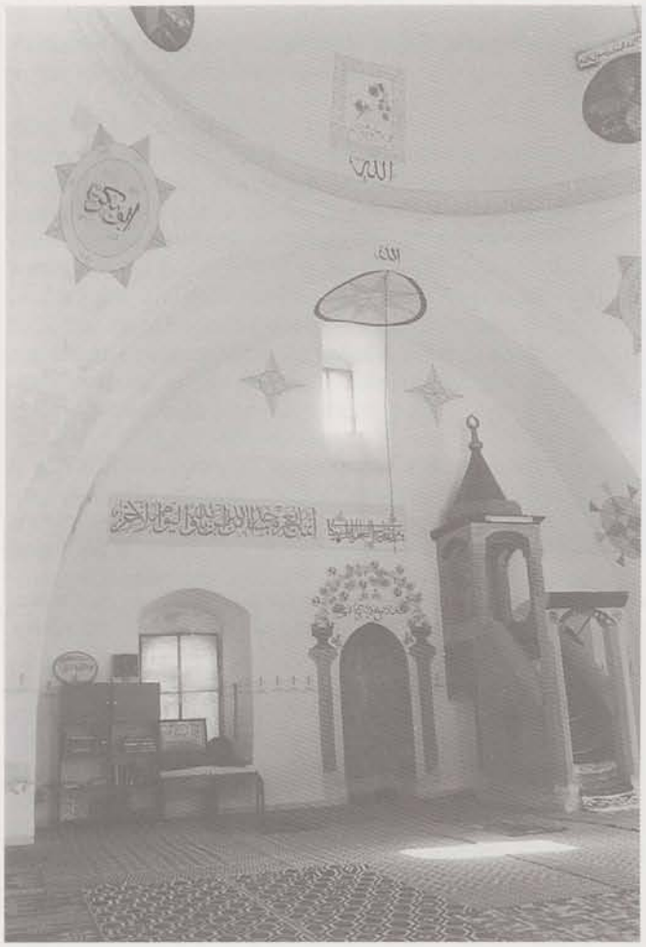


Plate 330. Ṭarshīḥa(No. 148). ʿAbd Allāh Pasha Mosque. Prayer hall.

Shaykh's House (Plates 331–3)
Location 1753.2689
The house stands opposite the ʿAbd Allāh Pasha mosque. It is built around a courtyard with the principal living rooms on the north and east sides. The main gate is on the east side. This consists of a recessed archway with benches either side and a double-leafed wooden door. The door opens into a small entrance courtyard with an iwan on the left (west) side and a door to the main courtyard in front (i.e. to the north). In the south wall of the iwan is an ablutions area with taps set into decorative panels. A door at the back of the iwan opens into a large cross-vaulted room with a decorative (star-shaped) inset at the apex of the vault. The room was originally decorated with calligraphic designs in bright cobalt blue (some of which has been preserved).

The main courtyard is a roughly rectangular area with a well at the east end and a staircase on the south side leading up to upper rooms (early twentieth century). There is a well in the middle of the courtyard and an open byre at the east end. The roof of the barn is made of wooden branches resting on wide transverse arches. On the north side of the courtyard is a large barn also roofed with wooden beams and transverse arches. There is a wooden gallery around three sides of the barn also containing private rooms and storage bins.

At the south end of the courtyard is a small vaulted room which is currently used as an office and bedroom. At the south-west corner of the courtyard is another large cross-vaulted room similar to that near the entrance (a small hole in the wall communicates with the other large vaulted room). At present this room is used as a diwan. The current living quarters are on the first floor.

This is one of the best examples of traditional village architecture in Galilee. Inside the barn there is woodwork and

Plate 331. Ṭarshīḥa (No. 148). Shaykh's house. Entrance to prayer room.

Plate 332. Ṭarshīḥa (No. 148). Shaykh's house, prayer room detail.

Plate 333. Ṭarshīḥa (No. 148). Shaykh's house, byre.

mud-plaster and vaulted rooms containing calligraphic ornament.

Mazār al-Mujāhid

This structure is located on the summit of the hill in what was formerly part of the old village.

The original tomb chamber has survived although the antechamber has been replaced by a modern concrete construction. The entrance to the tomb chamber is through a small doorway (1.74m high 0.92m wide) in the north wall. The tomb chamber is a rectangular area (6m x 5.3m) and has a concave mihrab in a qibla wall (1.72m high, 0.73m wide, 0.04m deep). In the centre of the room is a rectangular cenotaph (1.46m x 0.82m x 0.6m) marking the grave of the shaykh. There are windows in each of the west and east walls. The dome is supported by lateral arches and pendentives. Until recently there was a foundation inscription above the entrance to the tomb chamber. The inscription dated 1111 H. (1699–1700 C.E.) stated that the structure was built to commemorate al-Mujāhid Jamāl al-Dīn Shīḥa al-Ayyūbī (Mahmoud Hawari pèrs. comm., 9.97).

References: Cohen 1973, 9, 12, 121; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 63–64; Heyd 1960, 84; *HG*, 192; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 125, II, 99, 217; Palmer 1881, 55; Robinson 1841, III, 376; *SWP*, I, 149 (map III).

149. Ṭayba

Visited 18.5.94
Location 1513.1858
32.16N/35.01E

This village is located at the junction between the eastern edge of the coastal plain and the foothills of the Nāblus region.

Al-Ṭayba may correspond to Ṭayyibat al-Ism which appears in the list of lands allocated to amirs in 663 H. (1265–1266 C.E.) by sultan Baybars (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 101, II, 80; Pringle 1986, 72, No.37). The name also occurs in documents of the Mamluk period referring to village lands in the *waqf* of the mosque in Hebron (*MPF*, 27 No.19, 44 No.62). According to the 1596 *daftar* Ṭayyibat al-Ism was located in *nāḥiya* Shafā and contained 50 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', olives, 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 157). Conder and Kitchener, who visited al-Ṭayba in the latter part of the nineteenth century, provide the following description: 'a large straggling village on the end of a slope. It is supplied by cisterns and surrounded with olives' (*SWP*, II, 166).

According to Cohen (1965, 11) the large size of the village was due to migration from the mountain to the plain, and immigrants from Egypt and the south. Despite its large size the village does not appear to have been visited by many European travellers, presumably because it was not located on a main road and had no historical or Biblical connections.

Houses

The centre of the village, near the old mosque, contains a number of large houses dating to the Ottoman period. This clustering of substantial dwellings indicates a period of

Plate 334. Ṭayba (No. 149). House (1).

considerable wealth. Three blocks of particular interest were identified in the present survey, although many more houses in the village require investigation.

House (1) (Plate 334)
This exceptional three storey building is located to the east of the old mosque. The house stands on a detached plot (approximately 20m x 10m) in a lane with a slight incline. The main entrance is a large doorway on the east side (now blocked) leading into a ground floor room, with stairs to the first floor on the right. The doorway is covered with a two centre curved arch, decorated with six carved roundels. Each roundel contains a geometric pattern based on radial symmetry. Directly above the doorway, at the height of the roof terrace, is a box machicolation built into the parapet wall.

A break in the east wall has exposed the inner stair passage running up the east and south sides of the tower. The staircase is lit by small lancet windows. On the upper storey half of the floor area is roofed and the other half is occupied by a terrace enclosed within a parapet. An outside staircase leads from this terrace to the roof of the building

House (2) (Plate 335)
This is a two storey house (floor area 30m x 20m) located approximately 20m south of house (1). There are two entrances; one for pedestrians, and one for animals and mounted visitors. The pedestrian entrance is on the west side of the house. Like the entrance to house (1), the doorway is highly decorated with carved roundels set into the arch and outlined by a denticulate hood moulding. Directly above the doorway is a line of three plain recessed discs. Above these is a disc with an eight-pointed star motif encircled by pierced holes contained within a denticulate frame. Either side of this feature are lancet windows.

The other entrance is through a courtyard leading via a wide arch into the stables. On the left (west) side of the arch is a set of steps up to a raised doorway providing access to the interior.

House (3) (Nashif (sp.) family house)
This block of houses is located to the north of the mosque, next to the new municipality building.

The block comprises four courtyard houses, the latest of which was built in 1906 C.E. (according to an inscription above the door). The oldest part of the complex is entered through a monumental double door set within an arched recess. Above the doorway arch are two decorated stone discs carved in relief. According to the occupants this part dates from the eighteenth century. The houses all still belong to the Nashif family and are in a good state of repair.

Shrines

On a hill to the north of the old village is a rapidly growing new suburb. On the western part of this new development are two shrines, Shaykh Mūsā and Shaykh Desoki (sp.). Also, a more ephemeral shrine consisting of piled stones near the village was noted in the 1920s (McCown 1923, 66, Pl.22).

Maqām Shaykh Mūsā (Plate 336)
This shrine has recently been rebuilt in concrete. The shrine consists of a square building covered by a flat roof with a small pointed dome in the centre. The cenotaph of the shaykh is covered in a green cloth and lies next to another grave without a cloth. Although the present shrine is modern, it is likely that it replaced an earlier structure as a shrine of this name appears on Buckingham's map of Palestine (1821, map facing 1).

Plate 336. Ṭayba (No. 149). Maqām Shaykh Mūsā and Shaykh Desoki.

Plate 335. Ṭayba (No. 149). House (2) decorative arch.

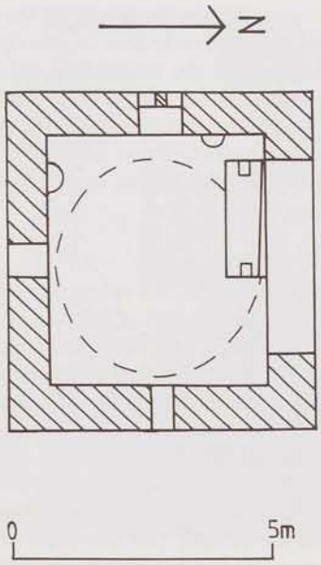


Fig. 124. Ṭayba (No. 149). Sh. Ibrahim al-Desoki.

Plate 337. Ṭayba (No. 149). Maqām of Shaykh Desoki. Interior.

Maqām Shaykh Desoki (sp.) (Fig. 124, Plates 336–337)
This shrine stands several metres to the north of Maqām Shaykh Mūsā. This is a rectangular domed structure (5.8m by 6.4m) built out of stone with a modern coating of concrete. The north side is an open arch beneath which is the tomb of Shaykh Desoki. There are windows in the centre of the other three sides, each of which has a corbelled arch made by rounded cuts to the ends of two long stones. On the south and west sides are small ledges presumably designed to carry candles/lamps. The apex of the dome is approximately 4.4m above floor level. There is a graveyard on the north and south sides of the maqām.

References: Baedeker 1876, 289; Buckingham 1821, 114, 139, map facing 1; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 280, 293, 295–298, 490; Cohen 1965, 11; Orni in *EJ*, XV, 874; Guérin, *Samarie* I, 206–207, II, 352; *HG*, 157, 160; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 101; II, 80; McCown 1923, 66, Pl.22; *MPF*, 27 No.19, 44 No.62; Palmer 1881, 193; *SWP*, II, 166 (map XI).

150. Tel Aviv (Hb.)

Location 130. 160
32.04N/34.46E

The modern conurbation of Tel Aviv (for a concise history of this city, see Ram *et al.* in *EJ*, XV, 916–925) covers a large area of land (approximately 20km x 10km) which includes several former villages (cf. Khalidi 1992). The buildings included in this section are those which stood outside these villages and whose location is best described as greater Tel Aviv.

Maqām ʿAbd al-Nabī (Plates 338–339)
Visited 5.6.92
Location 1283.1662
This building is located on a coastal bluff in the centre of Tel Aviv, immmediately to the south of the Hilton hotel. The mosque and its precincts are surrounded by a small park. The complex is set within an enclosure formed by a rubble stone wall, with a gate in the middle of the north side. The mosque consists of three units with a graveyard to the north (all the inscribed grave slabs have been removed).

The oldest part of the complex is the prayer hall, which is the westernmost of the three units. It is entered via a doorway in the north wall. The doorway is set in a portal recess with an arch made of cushion voussoirs. The doorway is decorated with ablaq masonry (white and red stone) with two large basalt blocks above the lintel. The interior of the prayer hall is a square area roofed with a folded cross-vault and a small fluted dome in the centre. There is a mihrab opposite the doorway in the middle of the south wall. The mihrab is a concave hooded niche made out of alternate blocks of pink and white marble. The south, west, and east walls each have pairs of small openings (now blocked).

The central unit is now open although it was apparently once covered with a cross-vault. There is a doorway into the room directly from the graveyard to the north. In the centre of the room is a large cenotaph (approximately 1m tall). The easternmost part of the building is a rectangular area covered by a cross-vault resting on four piers. It appears that this room was originally an iwan open to the north although it has been blocked in recent times.

Plate 338. Tel Aviv (No. 150). Maqām ʿAbd al-Nabī. Exterior.

Plate 339. Tel Aviv (No. 150). Maqām ʿAbd al-Nabī. Mihrab.

The date of the building is not certain although it appears on Sandel's map of 1878–1879 (cf. Kark 1990, 66–69) and may be the structure on the coast noted by the geographer, Piri Re'is, in the early sixteenth century (Heyd 1956, 207). The use of ablaq masonry and the folded cross-vault also support a date in the late Mamluk early Ottoman period (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries).

Ottoman Fort (Plates 340–341)
Visited 8.7.92
Location 1325.1574
This building stands next to the south-bound slip road at the junction of Route 44 and Route 4. It stands in the middle of a metal scrapyard and is used as accommodation for workers.

The fort is a square structure (approximately 8m per side) with a door in the middle of the north side. The ground floor consists of a single barrel-vaulted chamber. At the north end of the room, adjacent to the door, is a set of stairs leading to the upper floor. The upper floor consists of an open crenallated parapet with a small vaulted room in the centre. The room has a window in each of the east, south, and west walls and a doorway in the north side. The parapet wall is pierced by narrow gun slits (eight on each side) set below the level of the rounded crenallations.

The size, design, and appearance of this fort are identical with the fort at Bāb al-Wād (No.19, Figs 22–23, Plates 50–52) and was also built between 1859–1869 to protect the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem (Kark 1990, 221, 224).

Vaulted well and cistern
Visited 10.92
Location 1330.1565
This building is located on the south side of Route 44 and is marked by a signpost for the Jewish National Fund.

The structure comprises three parts; an open vault covering a well (now blocked), a raised water channel, and a rectangular cistern (approximately 10m x 10m).

References: Kaplan in *EAE*, IV, 1451–1457; Ram *et al.* in *EJ*, XV, 916–925; Heyd 1956, 207; Kark 1990, 66–69, 221, 224; Khalidi 1992, *passim*; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 345–347.

151. Tiberias (Ar. Ṭabariyya)
Visited 10.91
Location 2010.2437
32.47N/35.32E

Tiberias stands on a narrow strip of land approximately in the middle of the western shore of Lake Tiberias. Immediately to the west of the city the land rises steeply, reaching a height of more than 300m above the level of the lake.

The city was founded by Herod Antipas ca. 18 C.E. and named after the emperor Tiberias who was Herod's patron (for a concise history of the site, see Lavergne in *EI2*, X, 18–19; Avi-Yonah *et al.* in *EJ*, XV, 1130–1135; *TIR*, 249–250). The new city was equipped with a stadium, a royal palace, and a great synagogue. Following the failure of the second Jewish revolt in 135 C.E. the city became the centre of Jewish intellectual life in Palestine. Under the Byzantines there was some restriction on Jewish scholarship, although this activity was revived after the Muslim conquest in the seventh century. Under the Umayyads and their immediate successors the city

Plate 340. Tel Aviv (No. 150). Ottoman fort.

Plate 341. Tel Aviv (No. 150). Ottoman fort, basement interior.

continued to flourish and there is some evidence that there was a new planned settlement in the area of the modern town (Harrison 1992). One of the best descriptions is by the tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasī, who wrote the following:

> Tiberias is the capital of the Jordan Province, and a city in the valley of Kanaʿān (Biblical Canaan). The place is located between the mountain and the lake. The town is narrow, hot in summer and unhealthy. It is about a *farasikh* in length but has no width. Its market extends from one entrance to the other, and its graveyard is on the hill-slope (translation from ed. de Goeje, 161).

In 1099 C.E. the city was captured by the Crusaders under Tancred who made himself Prince of Galilee (for a survey of Tiberias under the Crusaders, see Pringle 1993–, II, 351–353). The city was subject to several destructive raids by Muslim forces, but remained under Crusader control until it was taken by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 583 H. (1187 C.E.) prior to the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (Abū Shāma RHC OR, IV, 264–265, 462). Tiberias was dismantled by order of the Ayyubid sultan, although it briefly returned to Frankish control between 1240 and 1247. According to the testimony of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited in 725 H. (1325 C.E.), the site remained a ruin (ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti, I, 132). Many of the remains of the medieval city were destroyed during recent urban development, although some fragments have survived, including parts of the castle beneath the Sea Mosque (Jāmiʿ al-Baḥr), and a Crusader church beneath a modern hotel (see below).

In the early sixteenth century Tiberias was capital of a *nāḥiya* within *liwā'* Ṣafad. A *firmān* dated 967 H. (1560 C.E.) describes

that the hot springs of the area attracted 2,000–3,000 Muslims, Christians, and Jews every year. The document also notes the fertility of the locality and that a revenue of 15,000 *aqja* was collected on the fish caught in the lake. The revenues appear to have become *waqf* property at this time (Heyd 1960, 140–142 and notes). Two years later in 1562 the site was granted to Josef Nāsī', a Jew from Portugal, who intended to develop the potential of the site. Nāsī' built a new town wall and planted mulberry trees in order to produce silk (Lavergne in *EI*2, X, 19; Pringle 1993–, II, 355). However, within a few years the project had failed and the town reverted to its previous condition. According to the 1596 *daftar* Tiberias is described as a village (*qarya*) with a population of 54 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, fruit, fishing, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 188).

During the seventeenth century the town seems to have been of very little importance (for instance, it was not visited by Evliya Çelebi on his way from Damascus to Jerusalem). The major revival in the town's fortunes occurred in the eighteenth century under the rule of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar. The family of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar had been important in the area during the seventeenth century and by 1703 Shaykh ʿUmar (Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's father) was considered the paramount shaykh in Galilee. In 1733 Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar was established as ruler of Tiberias and gradually extended his influence beyond Galilee. By the 1740s his power was so extensive that he was seen as a threat to the established order and Sulaymān Pasha, the *wālī* of Damascus, was sent orders to destroy the fortifications of Tiberias and punish Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's allies (Cohen 1973, 32–33). In 1742 Sulaymān Pasha unsuccessfully besieged Tiberias for three months after which he withdrew. Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's son, Ṣalībī, was then appointed governor of Tiberias whilst Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar moved his attentions further west. After Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar's death in 1775 the new governor of Acre, Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha, determined to destroy the family strongholds and in 1776 he captured Tiberias. Twenty-two years later Jazzār Pasha lost the city to the French, although it later returned to Ottoman control. In 1837 the town was badly damaged by an earthquake and did not fully recover until the beginning of the twentieth century when the first houses outside the walls were constructed (cf. Kedar 1999, 201).

Mosques

It is likely that a mosque was established in Tiberias soon after its conquest by the Arabs in 634 C.E. although no details of this structure have survived. The first description of a mosque in the city is given by Muqaddasī writing at the end of the tenth century. He writes: 'the mosque is large and fine and stands in the market-place. Its floor is laid in pebbles, set on stone drums tied(?) (*mawṣūla*) to another' (1906, 161). When Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited the city in 1047 C.E. he saw two mosques which he describes as follows:

> The Friday mosque is in the midst of the town. At the gate of the mosque is a spring over which is built a hot bath... also on the western side of the town of Tiberias is a mosque known as the 'Jasmine mosque' (*masjid-i yasmīn*). It is a fine building and in the middle part rises a great platform (*dukkān*) where they have their mihrabs. All around the platform are planted jasmine shrubs from which the mosque derives its name (based on translation in Nāṣir-Khusraw ed. Scheffer, 56–57; and see translation in Le Strange 1890, 336–337).

Unfortunately, the traces of neither the Friday mosque nor the 'Jasmine mosque' have so far been recovered. The only other evidence for a mosque predating the Ottoman period in Tiberias was found during the excavation, in 1981, of a Crusader church (now preserved under the courtyard of the Jordan River Hotel). This three-aisled basilica church (approximately 16m north–south and 26m east–west) was reused as a mosque, presumably some time after 1187 C.E. The door in the central bay of the south wall had been blocked and converted into a mihrab. It is

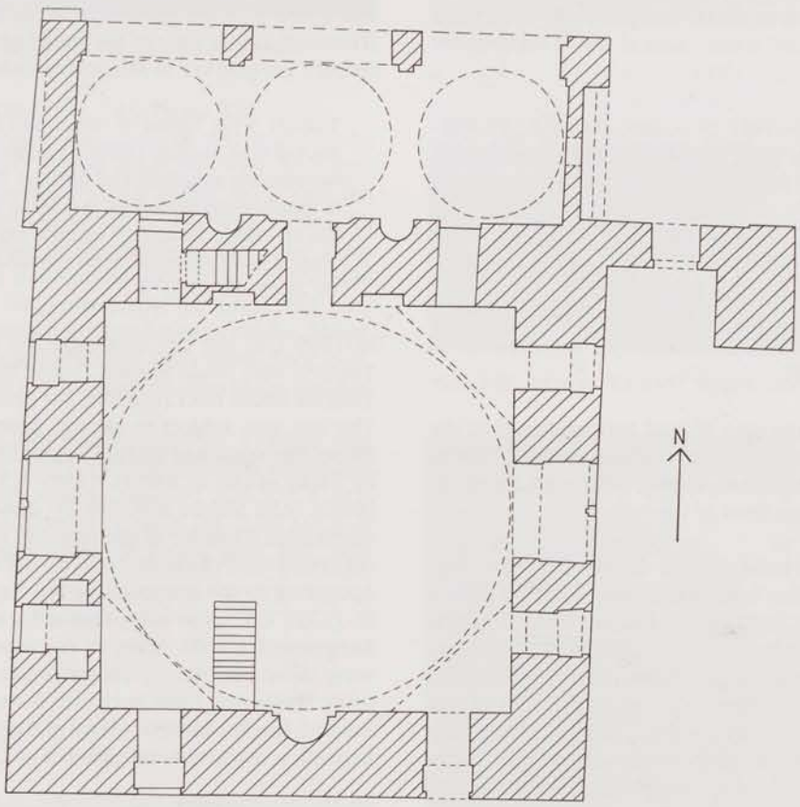


Fig. 126. Tiberias (No. 151). Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar Mosque. Plan.

not known how long the mosque functioned before being demolished (for a fuller discussion of this building, see Pringle 1993–, II, 365–366 No.268; Pringle 1997, 101–102 No.222).

The two extant mosques in Tiberias both date to the Ottoman period. These are the Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar Mosque and the Jāmiᶜ al-Baḥr (Sea Mosque). They were surveyed by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem as part of the Medieval and Ottoman Survey (cf. Bernie *et al.* 1992).

Jāmiᶜ al-Ẓāhirī (Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar Mosque) (Fig. 126)
The Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar mosque stands in a shopping centre in the middle of the modern town of Tiberias.

The date of construction is not known, although it must have been built sometime between 1733 and 1776. The most likely date is sometime during the early 1740s when it is known that Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar carried out extensive building work in Tiberias. The building was badly damaged by the 1837 earthquake. The extent of this damage is shown in a drawing of the mosque by Charles Wilson (1884, II, Pl. on 62) which shows that the main dome had collapsed. Another notable feature of Wilson's drawing is that the portico of the mosque had only two domes instead of the present three. Some time in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries the building was restored with a new central dome and three new domes over the portico. Despite these alterations the basic plan of the mosque has remained unchanged.

Before 1948 there was a small rectangular courtyard in front (to the north) of the mosque, although this disappeared during the construction of the shopping centre. In the nineteenth century there was a large wall in front of the courtyard, presumably belonging to some earlier structure. The wall contained a number of filled in arches, one of which contained a door providing access to the courtyard (cf. Wilson 1884, II, Pl. on 62). In the centre of the courtyard there was a square raised platform with the entrance to a cistern in the middle. The courtyard also contained a number of palm trees which have since disappeared.

The mosque, as it now stands, comprises three main elements; the portico, the prayer hall, and the minaret.

The portico of the mosque consists of an arcade of three tall arches supported by two central piers and two side walls. The lower part of the piers (below the springing of the arches) are built out of alternating bands of white, yellow, and black stone (ablaq). Above each pier is a two-tier basalt corbel which may have supported a wooden porch or some similar structure. The interior of the portico is divided into three bays roofed by domes supported by spherical squinches. The east and west ends of the portico are enclosed by side walls, one of which (the east end) has a small window. The back wall of the portico is faced with alternating courses of yellow and black stone. This decoration only occurs below the level of the springing of the arches, except for the area above the door. The entrance to the prayer hall is located approximately in the middle of the rear wall of the portico. The doorway is set into a shallow recessed frame with a trefoil arched head. In the tympanum of this arch is a rectangular recess which may once have contained an inscription. The doorway itself has a shallow arch decorated with ablaq masonry. The position of the doorway is emphasised by a large rectangular panel projecting 1m above the height of the ablaq masonry elsewhere on this wall. Either side of the doorway is a high semi-circular mihrab niche. The back wall of the portico also contains two windows which open into the prayer hall. Each window is a tall opening covered with a shallow arch.

On the north-east corner of the mosque are the remains of another room, including a wall with a doorway and the remains of a vault.

The prayer hall is a square area roofed with a large dome. The dome rests on an octagonal drum supported by four large squinches which alternate with blind arches of similar size. The interior of the drum consists of a series of blind arches alternating with windows of a similar size. The transition from octagon to dome is formed by a series of *muqarnas* mouldings. The lower part of the walls are decorated with black and yellow ablaq masonry, similar to that used in the portico. The top of the ablaq panelling is marked with a convex stone moulding which is raised above the mihrab. The interior is lit by 20 windows, 12 just above floor-level and eight in the drum below the dome. The windows near floor level are tall rectangular openings with shallow arched heads. The west wall contains four windows comprising a central pair with a single window either side. This arrangement is repeated in the east wall, whilst the north and south walls each contain two single windows. The mihrab is located in the middle of the south wall and was flanked by two columns (now lost). On the right-hand (west) side of the mihrab is a tall stone minbar, also made of ablaq masonry. The lower part of the minbar is pierced by two trilobed arches.

The minaret is located at the north-east corner of the mosque. It has a square base and an octagonal shaft decorated with two courses of black basalt. The transition from the square base to the shaft is marked by triangular buttresses. The tower is entered by a staircase leading from the west window on the north side of the prayer hall. Inside there is a spiral staircase which provides access up to an octagonal domed kiosk. A door leads out from the kiosk onto a small balcony.

Jāmiᶜ al-Baḥr (The Sea Mosque) (Fig. 125)
As its name implies this building originally stood on the shore of Lake Tiberias, although the area in front has now been reclaimed for commercial development ('The Galilee

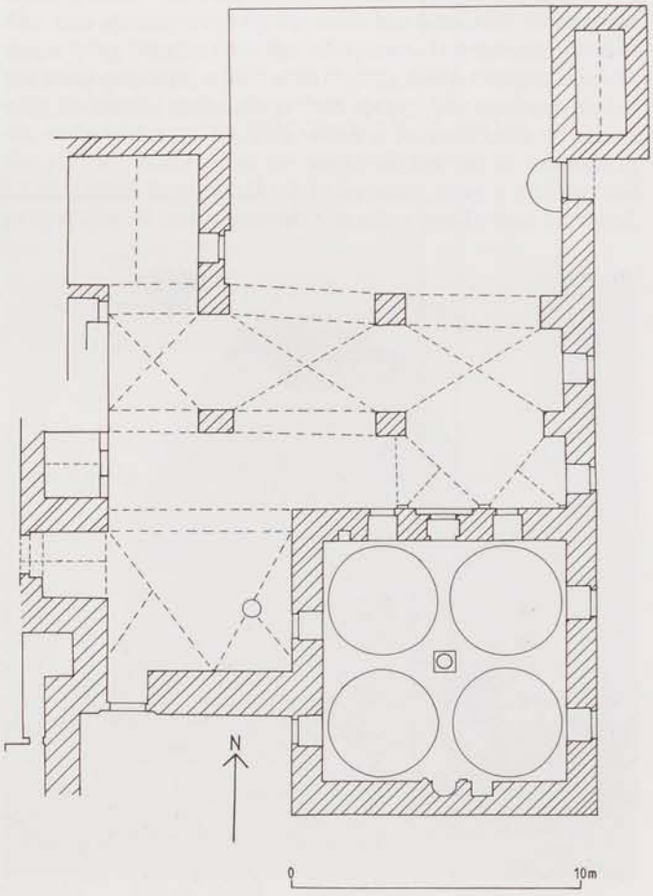


Fig. 125. Tiberias (No. 151). Sea Mosque. Plan.

Experience'). At present the building functions as a municipal museum and is well looked after.

The mosque comprises four main elements: courtyard, portico, prayer hall, and minaret. The irregular shape of the building implies that it originally formed part of some large complex, possibly a khān.

The courtyard is located at the north end of the complex and comprises a small rectangular paved area (approximately 5m x 7m) containing a mulberry tree, a shaykh's tomb (said to be the founder of the mosque), and a small barrel-vaulted room. A doorway in the east side of the courtyard opened onto a small set of steps into the lake. This was presumably the fishermen's entrance, although the steps could also have been used by worshippers for carrying out ritual ablutions (see PAM Photo 25287).

To the south of the courtyard is an 'L' shaped portico consisting of two parallel aisles connected to a vaulted space to the south-west. The aisles are divided into six separate cross-vaulted bays resting on four central pillars and the side walls. The area to the south-west is roofed by two narrow cross-vaults springing from a corbel set into the south wall. This area contains two blocked doorways to the exterior and may have functioned as the original entrance.

The prayer hall is a square room divided into four domed bays supported by a central column. The impost block above the column is decorated with a circular wreath carved in relief and appears to be of Roman origin. There are two windows in each side of the prayer hall and a mihrab in the centre of the south wall. Each window is covered with a round arch braced with a reused Roman or Byzantine lintel.

The minaret standing at the south-west corner of the complex has a cylindrical shaft standing on a square base. The shaft is decorated with two torus mouldings and has a circular kiosk at the top with a balcony. The design of the shaft appears to be modern and may be a replacement of an earlier shaft destroyed in the 1837 earthquake. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the minaret is not depicted in Wilson's engraving of Tiberias (1884, II, Pl. following 52). However, the base of the minaret does appear to be older. At the top of the base is the setting for an octagonal shaft and below this is a band of black basalt with rounded corners resembling tiny columns.

According to Pringle (1997, 101) the mosque is built on the remains of the Crusader castle of Tiberias. The date of the mosque is not known, although it is assumed that it was constructed during the rule of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar. Support for this date may be found in the mosque at Jiddīn, which has an identical plan to the prayer hall of the Jāmiʿ al-Baḥr and is also attributed to Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar (Pringle et al. 1994).

Shrines

Tiberias contained a number of Muslim shrines which were recorded by Nāṣir-i Khusraw. He noted that the 'Jasmine mosque' (see above) contained the tomb of Joshua, son of Nun, and the tombs of seventy other prophets. To the south of the city was the tomb of Abū Hurayra (also located at Yibnā) although he was not able to visit it because: '... the people who live here are of the Shiʿī sect, and if one tries to make a visit, children shout, make a nuisance, and throw stones' (based on the translation in Nāṣir-i Khusraw 1881, 59). Confirmation of the presence of this shrine was provided by the discovery, in the vicinity of Tiberias, of a marble plaque carrying the following inscription:

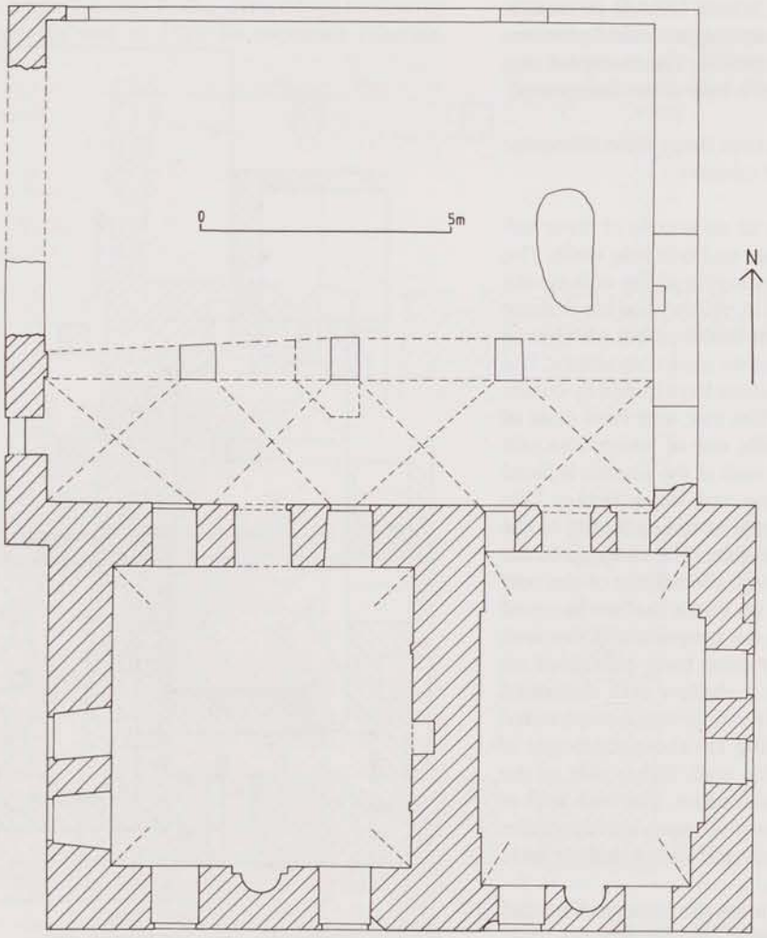


Fig. 127. Tiberias (No. 151). Maqām Sitt Sukayna.

Bismallāh... Say He is one God, God everlasting. He begetteth not, and he is not begotten, and there is no like unto him. This is the tomb of Abū Hurayra, the companion of the Apostle of Allāh upon whom be the peace of Allāh and his blessing (based on translation in Le Strange 1890, 338).

Maqām Sitt Sukayna (Fig. 127)
The shrine of Sitt Sukayna stands in a disused Muslim graveyard to the south of Tiberias. According to Islamic tradition, Sukayna was the daughter of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. She managed to escape the massacre at Kerbala and fled to Palestine.

Although now disused the shrine is well known through two important inscriptions (which have been removed from the building). The most important of these is the foundation inscription which is on a large marble slab (0.93m x 0.56m) now kept in the Bet Gordon Kibbutz Museum. The five line inscription is written in monumental *naskhi* script and records the foundation of the shrine by Fāris al-Dīn Ilbakī, governor (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) of Ṣafad, Shafiq and the littoral province (Sāḥiliyya) on 1 Rajab 694 (17 May 1295 C.E.) (*RCEA*, X, No.4980). The second inscription is eight lines long and is kept in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. It is translated as follows:

Bismallāh... These are the sites founded as *waqf* for the benefit of the shrine (*mashhad*) of Sitt Sukayna following the decision of the court: two *faddān* of Tiberias from a total of thirty *faddān* in all; two pieces of land each known as al-Ḥarithiyya; the land known as al-Minbar(?); the land known as Bustān al-Qasīs; the garden known as al-Qaṣīl; two gardens in the neighbourhood of this blessed shrine; the garden Karm Dār Masrūr; two pieces of land, one known as al-Bi'r, and the other as al-Rujm al-Kabīr; a garden known as Umm Rujm; a land known as al-Bustān;... (the *waqf*) consisting of the whole of the Bustān al-Ḥannāna, in the vicinity of the town of Tiberias and its lake... (*RCEA*, X, No.4981; and see Mayer 1932, 40).

Before 1948 the shrine was in use and well maintained (see PAM Photo 1652; and Kedar 1999, 201). At present, however, it is in a very ruined condition and is used for dumping rubbish. The shrine comprises three main elements: a courtyard, a vaulted portico, and two domed rooms. The entire complex is built out of basalt blocks with a rubble core. The courtyard is a large rectangular area enclosed by a stone wall, with a gateway on the west side. On the south side of the courtyard is a single pier, which is all that remains of a vaulted portico comprising two bays (not one as indicated in Bernie *et al.* 1992, 99). Each bay consisted of a cross-vault springing from side-vaults and the central pier. At the back of the portico are two doorways leading into two different rooms. The door on the right (west) is flanked by two large rectangular windows and leads into the main room of the complex. This is a square space roofed by a steep domical vault (now collapsed). In the centre of the south wall is a tall mihrab with a pointed arched head. In addition to the two windows flanking the doorway, there are also two windows on the west side and two on the south side of the room. To the east is the second room, which is slightly smaller although of similar layout, with two windows on three sides and a mihrab in the middle of the south wall. The interior walls of both rooms are covered in plaster and decorated with large geometric designs (e.g. repeated red triangles).

Although the shrine has two foundation inscriptions from the Mamluk period, the present structure may belong to a later period. The architecture of the building is not indicative of a Mamluk shrine which would normally be covered with a dome rather than a domical-vault. Instead it seems more likely that this is an Ottoman reconstruction of an earlier building. The date of the reconstruction is not known, although it may have taken place some time after the 1837 earthquake, probably in the latter part of the same century.

Fortifications (Plates 342–346)
It is known that Roman Tiberias was enclosed within a city wall (Wilson 1884, II, 52–53 and Pls.). In the sixth century the Byzantine town was enclosed within a wall by Justinian (Procopius, *Buildings,* V, 9, 21), although it is not known whether this remained in use into the early Islamic period. Nāṣir-i Khusraw notes that the town was surrounded by a strong wall on all sides except that bordering the lake (1881, 55). The Crusaders built walls around the city which may have have been on the same alignment as those of the early Islamic period (cf. Harrison 1992). They also built a castle of which little remains (with the exception of the vaults which underlie Jāmiʿ al-Baḥr), although before 1948 a cutwater-shaped tower was visible projecting into the lake (Pringle 1993–, II, 353; PAM Photo 25287).

The Crusader walls were destroyed in 1190 and were re-built in the 1240s. The settlement probably remained without fortifications throughout the Mamluk period. During the sixteenth century a new wall, financed by Josef Nāsī', was built around the town. The only description of this wall is a short comment by Qaramānī, writing in 1598, in which he states that Tiberias has a strong wall. It is not clear how much of this wall was incorporated into the one built by Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar in the 1730s and 1740s. After their construction the walls withstood the siege of the Pasha of Damascus in 1742 and probably remained substantially intact until the earthquake of 1837 (for an illustration of the walls of Tiberias, see Alderson 1843, Pl. facing 22).

Walls (Plates 342–343)
The area encompassed by the walls has a roughly rectangular shape lying parallel with the lake shore. The northern part of the walls surround a hilly area sloping down towards the lake with the citadel at the north-west corner. The southern part of the walls encloses a flat area which is the most built-up part of the old city. A survey of the walls carried out by Baramki in 1929 (PAM Report 10.10.29) shows that a substantial proportion of the eighteenth-century walls had survived,

Plate 342. Tiberias (No. 151). Remains of tower.

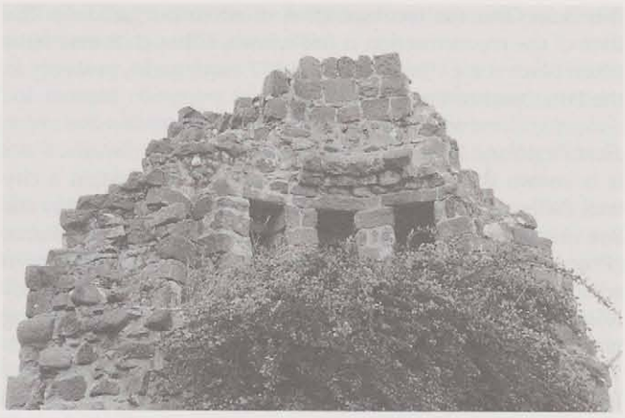


Plate 343. Tiberias (No. 151). Interior of tower.

although in many places they were either built over or obscured by modern buildings. In one case where a new building covered both sides of the wall, the wall remained intact and formed an internal partition. The survey counted 18 towers not including the four towers in the citadel. Unlike the earlier walls described by Nāṣir-i Khusraw the side bordering the lake was also fortified, with a wall including two corner towers and two interval towers. The gates have not survived in their original form although their position can be assumed from the course of the main road. The main gate appears to have been located roughly in the middle of the south wall, whilst there was a second gate at the north end of the west wall. The south gate was flanked by four closely spaced towers, whilst the north-west gate was protected by an offset or salient.

The positioning of the towers reflects strategic considerations; thus the greatest concentration of towers is on the southern side (seven within a space of less than 200m) where the approach to the walls is relatively flat. By contrast there are only four towers on the lake shore.

The design of each tower is similar, although the dimensions vary from one to another. Each tower has a circular plan and projects out from the face of the walls. There is usually a ground floor room without windows, although in some cases the lower part of the tower is solid. The upper floor of the tower contains a circular chamber which is the main firing platform and contains three to five embrasures. The design of each embrasure is the same, consisting of a wide niche set into the wall with long 'V' shaped slits on the right hand side (this design is evident in other fortifications attributed to Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar. See, for instance Qalᶜat Jiddīn and Shafā ᶜAmr).

The walls stand to a maximum height of approximately 8m above ground level. On the interior of the walls is a walkway or parapet at a height of 4m containing embrasures. One of the best preserved sections of wall is that on the north-west corner which contains four embrasures within a space of 10m. The embrasures are similar to those used in the towers comprising a niche and 'V' shaped slits.

Today only small sections of the wall have survived along with a few (eight) towers. It is possible that parts of the wall are encased in modern buildings, although in other cases the wall has almost certainly been destroyed.

Citadel (Castle) (Plates 344–346)

The castle is located at the north-east end of the fortifications on a high point which overlooks the rest of the town. After the defeat of Ẓāhir al-ᶜUmar in the 1770s the structure continued to be used for controlling the town. When Rev. Merril visited Tiberias in the 1870s he noted that: '... the spacious castle is deserted, or occupied only by a handful of soldiers- a sort of police force, whose pay is very small and whose living is precarious' (Wilson 1884, II, 53). During the British Mandate ownership of the castle was shared between the Police and the Municipality. The fullest description of the citadel is contained in a report on the castle written in by Makhouly in 1946 (ATQ/ 123 29.8.45). Below is an abridged version of that report:

> The Tiberias citadel with its four corner towers... is a nearly square building, 22 to 24 metres a side from centres of two opposite towers. It consists of two storeys: ground floor and upper floor connected by a staircase and [a] roof parapet reached from the upper floor by a staircase. The ground floor is made up of a series of three rows of vaults, all cross vaults, except for the room in the N.E. corner which has a barrel-shaped vault. The eastern row is the best preserved of all parts of the citadel... The upper floor is also made up of a series of cross-vaults, arranged similarly in three rows, each row containing three vaults. But the piers and bays on this floor have suffered great damage by having been stripped of

Plate 344. Tiberias (No. 151). View of eighteenth-century castle (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 345. Tiberias (No. 151). Eighteenth-century castle, entrance (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 346. Tiberias (No. 151). Eighteenth-century castle, interior (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

> their outer stone facing... Also serious damage has been happening to the roof vaults which have wide breaks in several places...
>
> The roof defences on the four sides of the citadel including the towers were in the form of wall-parapets about 2 metres high by 1.75 metres thick, fitted with shooting slots at intervals...

Makhouly's report also contained guidelines for repairs and restoration of parts of the building at least some of which appear to have been carried out. At present the ground floor is used as a restaurant and the upper floor is an art gallery (Rivka's Art Gallery). Unfortunately, there is no access to the roof.

Bathhouses

The hot springs must have been an incentive for the establishment of the Roman city of Tiberias and have continued to be an important factor in its development. Yaʿqūbī writing at the end of the ninth century notes: '... at the city of Tiberias are hot springs, which bubble up and do not stop. They carry the hot water into the baths by conduits, and thus the people have no need of fuel [for heating their water]' (1892, 327; and see translation in Le Strange 1890, 334). The best description of the baths of the medieval city is given by the twelfth-century geographer Idrīsī:

> ... in this city (Tiberias) are hot baths with hot water that is not heated by fire... Of the baths is one known as Ḥammām al-Damāqir(?). It is large and magnificent, and the water when it exits from the ground it is so hot that they scald goat skins(?) (*al-jidā*) and chickens in it, and you may boil eggs in it. The water is salt. Then there is Ḥammām al-Lu'lu' which is smaller than Ḥammām al-Damāqir. It is hot and pleasant; and the hot water is distributed amongst the houses in the neighbourhood being used for washing and other purposes. Of other baths is the Ḥammām al-Minjada and its water is hot and pleasant. There is no Ḥammām that is heated with fire except only the small bath (Ḥammām al-Ṣaghīr), and this was originally built by one of the Islamic kings in his private house for his own use... When he died the bath was thrown open and given to the people and children and the mob (*ḥāshiyya*) (1971–1984, 363–364; and see translation in Le Strange 1890, 338–339).

The location of these bathhouses has not been identified, although it is likely that the bathhouses of the later Ottoman period occupy the sites of some of these installations. The bathhouses continued to operate under the Mamluks and the fourteenth-century traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, notes separate bathhouses for men and women (ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti, I, 132). During the sixteenth century people came to bathe at Tiberias despite the fact that most of the city was in ruins (Heyd 1960, 140–142). During the latter Ottoman period there were three bathhouses in the town, one built by Yūsuf Zaydānī in 1743, another by Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha in 1800 and a third built by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1835 (Dow 1996, 115). The bathhouse of Yūsuf Zaydānī is no longer extant, although the Jazzār Pasha and Ibrāhīm Pasha baths are still standing.

Ibrāhīm Pasha's Bathhouse

This building retains its original design and is still used as a bathhouse. The design differs from the usual plan of the ḥammām with the hot water pool as the central element covered with a dome resting on antique columns (currently encased in concrete). There are a number of private bathing rooms opening from the central room (for plan and discussion, see Dow 1996, 115–117).

Al-Jazzār Bathhouse

The design of this building is similar to that of the Ibrāhīm Pasha bathhouse. The overall plan is smaller than the other building and the dome over the hot pool rests directly on the walls of the hot room (for plan and discussion see Dow 1996, 115–117).

Other Buildings

In addition to the buildings described above there are a few buildings whose identity is disputed. One of these is the 'khān' described by Bernie *et al.* (1992 124–128). Excavations have shown that it was originally part of the Crusader castle of the lords of Tiberias (Razi and Braun 1992).

References: Abel 1967, II, index; Abū'l-Fidā' ed. Renaud, 243; Abū Shāma RHC OR, index; Adler 1930, index; Alderson 1843, Pl. facing

22; ATQ/123 Makhouly 29.8.45; Bakhit 1982, index; Baedeker 1876, 367; Bernie *et al.* 1992; Buckingham 1821, 458–466, 479–492; Cohen 1973, index; Cuinet 1896, index; Dow 1996, 114–117; Vito in *EAE*, IV, 1464–1473; Lavergne in *EI2*, X, 18–19; Avi-Yonah *et al.* in *EJ*, XV, 1130–1135; Guérin, *Galilée* I, 250–264; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 49–50; Harrison 1992; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Hartmann 1918; Heyd 1960, 139–142, 145, 163; *HG*, 188; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1853–1858, I, 132–133; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, index; Ibn Ṭūlūn translation Laoust, 248; Idrīsī ed Bombaci, index; Iṣṭakhrī ed. de Goeje, 58; Kedar 1999, 198–201; Le Strange 1890, index; Mariti 1769–1776, II, 198–205; Marmadji 1951, index; Mayer 1932, 40; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 49–50, Figs.56–60; Meinecke 1992, II, 78; *MPF*, index; Muqaddasī 1906, 161, 185; Murphy O'Connor 1986, 362–363; Nāṣir-i Khusraw ed. Scheffer, 54–59; Palmer 1881, 136; PAM Photos 1652, 25287; PAM Report Baramki 10.10.29; Pringle 1993–, II, 351–366; Pringle 1997, 101–102 No.222; Qalqashandī ed. Ali, IV, 240–241; *RCEA*, X, No.3906, XIII, Nos.4980, 4981; Robinson 1841, III, 254; Simpson *et al.* 1991; *SWP*, I, 361–362, 418–420 (map VI); *TIR* 249–50; al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 90, 203; al-ʿUthmāni ed. Lewis, 485; Volney 1959, index; Wilson 1884, II, index; Yaʿqūbī ed. de Goeje, 327; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, III, 509–513.

152. Ṭira (1)

Visited 4.7.94
Location 1480.2410
32.45N/34.58E

The village of al-Ṭira is located on the southern slopes of the west end of the Carmel. The pre-1948 village of al-Ṭira was located north-east of the modern Israeli settlement of Tirat ha-Karmel (Hb.) which is built on the lands of the former village. Little remains of the Palestinian village, particularly the buildings on the hill, although parts of the village which extended onto the flat area have been incorporated within the Jewish settlement.

In the thirteenth century the village was known in French sources as Tire or Tyr and contained a Greek Orthodox abbey of St. John the Baptist (Pringle 1993–, II, 369). Al-Ṭira may correspond to the settlement known as Ṭirat al-Lawz in the 1596 *daftar*. This village was located in *nāḥiya* Sāḥil ʿAthlīth and contained a population of 52 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', fruit, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 158). In 987 H. (1579 C.E.) ʿAssāf, *sanjaqbey* of Lajjūn, built a mosque in the village (Heyd 1960, 110 n.4). By the late nineteenth century the population of the village had risen to 1,200 (*SWP*, I, 285; Khalidi 1992, 196).

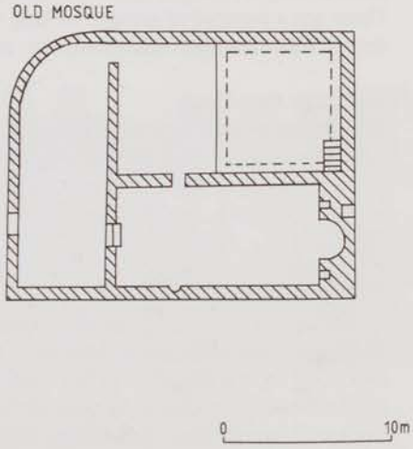
Tower

Johns and Makhouly discovered a Crusader tower embedded into the fabric of the old village (PAM File). The upper part of the building was an Ottoman house, which in 1945 was inhabited by Sulaymān Muṣṭafā Salmān. Photographs show that this was an elaborate building with a denticulate moulding running around the base (i.e. just above the intersection of the Crusader and Ottoman masonry) and a pair of windows set into an arched recess, formed out of cushion voussoirs (cf. Pringle 1997, 102, No.224, plate CII). The style of the building is similar to that of eighteenth and early nineteenth century buildings in al-Ṭayba (No. 149). Unfortunately, the building appears to have been destroyed, although a ruined barrel-vault may be the remains of the Crusader basement.

Mosques (Fig. 128)

It is known that there were two old mosques in the village before 1948. One of these was known as the Old Mosque (see above) whilst the other was called the New Mosque. The Old Mosque (which is now completely destroyed) was already disused when it was inspected in 1932 (PAM sketch 1.5.32). The building consisted of two courtyards, a cistern, and a prayer hall. The cistern appears to have been a covered structure. The prayer hall was a long barrel-vaulted room with an apse at the east end and two doorways (one in the west and another in the east end). The mihrab was a niche in the south wall. The design of the prayer hall show that it was originally a church and should probably be identified as one of the churches associated with the thirteenth century Greek Orthodox abbey of St. John the Baptist (Pringle 1993–, II, 369–372).

The New Mosque appears to be still standing, although it has now been converted into a synagogue. A sketch plan of the mosque made in 1932 shows a rectangular prayer hall with a large courtyard to the north. The courtyard had rooms on the west and east sides and was entered through a doorway in the north wall. The entrance to the prayer hall was a door set in an arched recess containing an inscription. The inscription written in provincial *naskhi* records the construction of the mosque by Isḥāq ibn Amīr in 687 H. (1288–1289 C.E.)(Pam File 186 Anon. Report; cf. Von M.'linen *ZDPV*, 31 (1908), 60–62, fig.31 which incorrectly gives the date as 1579). The interior of the mosque is divided into six vaulted bays springing from corner piers and resting on two central columns. The columns are capped with reused antique Corinthian capitals.



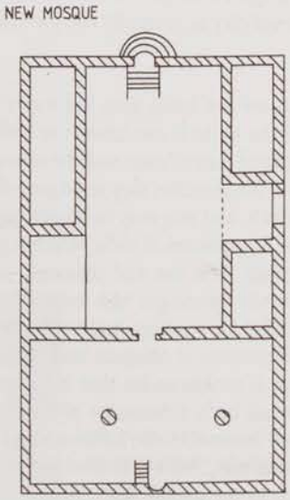


Fig. 128. Ṭira (1) (No. 152). Plan of Old and New Mosques.

References: Baedeker 1876, 358; Heyd 1960, 110 n.4; *HG*, 158; Khalidi 1992, 195–198; Palmer 1881, 117; PAM File Johns and Makhouly PAM sketch 1.5.32; Pringle 1993–, II, 369–372; Pringle 1997, 102–103 No.224; *SWP*, I, 285 (map V).

153. Ṭira (2)

Visited 24.5.95
Location 1455.1821
32.14N/34.57E

The village of al-Ṭira is located on the coastal plain 5km north-west of Qalqilya.

The site of al-Ṭira may correspond to a stopping place between Rās al-ʿAyn and Caesarea, called Mutatia Betthar, mentioned by the 'Bordeaux Pilgrim' in the fourth century (cited in Orni in *EI*, XV, 1149). During the twelfth century it was owned by the Order of St. John who leased it to Robert of Sinjil and his heirs. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century al-Ṭira is listed as a stop on the route between Gaza and Damascus (al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 119; Hartmann 1910, 689). Al-ʿUmarī notes that the construction of a khān was made on the site by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dāwādār al-Tankizī, although it was finished by others (ed. Shams al-Din). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* Ramla and contained a population of 29 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', vines, fruit trees, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (HG, 153). The village must have declined after this time because a description from the 1730s notes that al-Ṭira had been abandoned for more than a century (Cohen 1973, 296). The village appears to have recovered after this time. In the 1870s Guérin found a mud-brick village inhabited by 700 people (*Samarie* II, 355) and other sources of this period attest to the fertility of the area (Cuinet 1896, 475).

Today al-Ṭira is a large modern village with a core of traditional stone houses. Most of these appear to date from the early Mandate period. One house had an inscription above the gate dated 1348 H. (1929–1930 C.E.). There are three mosques in the village, two of which are new. The oldest of the three is dealt with below.

Old Mosque (Fig. 129, Plate 347)

The Old Mosque is located on a slope in the centre of the village. The building stands on a platform above the street and is entered through a doorway in the middle of the north side.

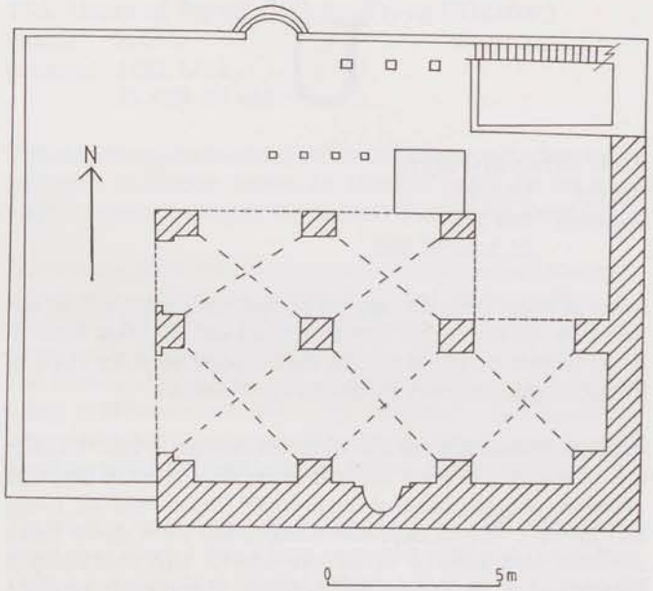


Fig. 129. Ṭira (2) (No. 153). Plan of mosque.

Two main phases of construction are evident, an older core and an outer area added later. The core of the mosque comprises a prayer hall divided into six cross-vaulted bays supported by thick masonry piers. The vault of the north-east bay has collapsed and has been replaced by a flat concrete roof. The mihrab is set into the centre of the south wall of the middle bay. It is deeply recessed and has a two centre pointed arch. The outer arch of the mihrab hood is composed of a series of cushion-shaped voussoirs. In the second phase the prayer hall was extended north and west covering the old courtyard. Also at this time a new mihrab was added in the north-east corner. This second phase may be dated to 1353 H. (1934–1935 C.E.) on the basis of an inscription above the doorway. The date of the earlier part of the mosque is not known, although the design of the mihrab and the arrangement of six vaulted bays suggests a Mamluk or early Ottoman date. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the site acted as an important stop on the route between Gaza and Damascus and this provides a plausible dating for the earlier phase of the mosque.

References: Baedeker 1876, 136, 335; Cohen 1973, 296; Cuinet 1896, 475; Orni in *EI*, XV, 1149; Guérin, *Samarie* II, 355; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; *HG*, 153; Meinecke 1992, II, 185; *MPF*, 5–6 No.12; Palmer 1881, 246; Sauvaget 1941, 66 n.265; *SWP*, II, 298, 378 (map XIV); al-ʿUmarī ed. Shams al-Din, 248; al-Ẓāhirī ed. Ravaisse, 119.

Plate 347. Ṭira (2). (No. 153). Interior of mosque.

U

154. Umm al-Faḥm

Visited 15.6.94
Location 164.213
32.31N/35.08E

Umm al-Faḥm (literally 'mother of charcoal') is located on the northern hillside border between Israel and the West Bank. It is the largest village in Galilee with a population, in 1990, of 26,000 (*Jaffa Research Centre* 1991, 433–434).

In the allocation of territories by sultan Baybars in 663 H. (1265 C.E.) the revenues from Umm al-Faḥm were given to the *nā'ib al-salṭana* of Syria, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Najībī (Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 101, II, 80). According to the 1596 *daftar* Umm al-Faḥm was located in *nāḥiya* Shaᶜrā and contained a population of 24 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', olives, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees'. A tax of 10,000 *aqja* was paid upon a press for olives or grapes (*HG*, 160). In the latter part of the nineteenth century the village was visited by Guérin who noted that the village contained 800 inhabitants and was surrounded by beautiful gardens (*Samarie*, II, 239). Conder and Kitchener observed that Umm al-Faḥm was the most important village in the area. They note that the village had a population of 500 which was divided into four quarters each with its own shaykh (*SWP*, II, 46).

There are few old buildings in the village with the exception of Shaykh Iskandār on the summit of the hill.

Maqām Shaykh Iskandār (Fig. 130, Plate 348)
This stands on the summit of the hill east of Umm al-Faḥm. The building now forms the centre of a small park dominated by a large modern water tower.

The maqām comprises three elements: a courtyard, an antechamber, and a domed room. The courtyard is located on the north side and is entered through a gateway in the middle of the north wall. To the south is the antechamber which is an open arch (iwan) with a doorway to the domed chamber at the back (south). Next to the doorway is a shallow mihrab above which is a modern inscription.

Plate 348. Umm al-Faḥm (No. 154). Shaykh Iskandār (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 349. Umm al-Faḥm (No. 154). Interior of Shaykh Iskandār.

The interior of the maqām is covered by a dome (4m high) resting on four corner squinches. The only window is in the middle of the west wall. There is also a niche in the middle of the east wall and two niches in the south wall flanking the mihrab. The cenotaph of Shaykh Iskandār is attached to the west wall of the chamber and aligned perpendicular to it.

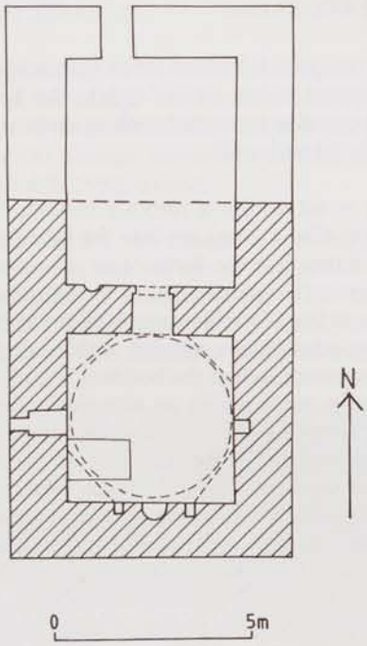


Fig. 130. Umm al-Faḥm (No. 154). Plan of Shaykh Iskandār.

References: Guérin, *Samarie*, II, 239; *HG*, 160; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 101, II, 80, 210; *Jaffa Research Centre* 1991, 433–434; Palmer 1881, 154; Robinson 1841, III, 161, 169, 195; *SWP*, II, 46 (map VIII).

155. Umm al-Ru'ūs al-Shamāliyya (Khirbat)

Visited 2.4.95
Location 1521.1212
31.41N/35.01E

This abandoned site is located on the hill above the modern Israeli settlement of Avi'ezer. During the Mandate period the site was a small hamlet belonging to the nearby village of Bet Netef (Hb.).

The remains at the site include a large standing tower (10m east–west x 10m north–south, and 8m high) and the foundations of a number of destroyed buildings. The tower is located at the centre of the site and appears to be contained within an enclosure wall. The lower part of the tower is built out of large blocks (0.3m x 0.6m) of yellow-brown stone with weathered edges, whilst the upper part is built out of smaller blue-grey blocks with bossed centres. There are remains of later buildings built up against the tower.

The tower is entered through a doorway in the south side, leading into a room covered with a large cross-vault resting on corner piers. There is a small niche or blocked window next to the doorway on the south side. In the north wall is a wide recess formed by a long shallow arch. A wall in the middle of the niche appears to support the arch. The purpose of this recess is unclear, although it may be a chimney or a relieving arch over some subterranean feature.

The upper floor has the same basic dimensions as the lower floor, although the internal arrangement is different. There is a doorway on the north side and on each of the other three sides is a double window contained in an arched recess. The room is roofed with a cross-vault supported by corner piers.

The lower part of the structure is probably medieval or earlier, whilst the upper part was probably constructed in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

References: Palmer 1881, 330; Pringle 1997, 118 Supplementary R.20; *SWP*, III, 161 (map XVII).

W

156. Wādī ʿĀra/ Zabādna (Khirbat)

Visited 25.5.94
Location 1533.2091
32.29N/35.03E

The hamlet of Wādī ʿĀra (now modern Kibbutz Barqaʿi) is located on a low hill overlooking the Wādī ʿĀra (Hb, Aruna pass cf. Aharoni 1979, 153). The site was mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih in the ninth century as a stopping place between Lajjūn and Qalansuwa (ed. de Goeje, 219; Khalidi 1992, 201). In the nineteenth century there was a small hamlet at the site known as Khirbat al-Zabādna (*SWP*, II, 42).

In the centre of the present settlement of Kibbutz Barqaʿi (Hb.) is a large rectangular building which appears to be of late Ottoman date. On the ground floor is a long hall (18.8m x 6.9m) roofed by three cross-vaults. On the upper floor is a large terrace and a single cross-vaulted room. South of this building are the remains of a high wall and a monumental gateway which now gives access to the Kibbutz swimming pool. It is likely that both buildings date to the latter part of the Ottoman period (i.e. 1880–1917).

References: Abel 1967, II, 24, 219; Hartmann 1910, *passim*; Ibn Khurdādhbih ed. de Goeje, 219; Ibn Ṭūlūn translation Laoust, 50; Khalidi 1992, 201–202; Palmer 1881, 150; *SWP*, II, 42 (map VIII).

157. Wādī Ismaʿīn

Visited 4.9.93
Location 1575.1268
31.44N/35.04E

This isolated structure is located below the main road near the modern settlement of Bar Giyora (Hb.). The building stands next to a spring and is associated with an extensive network of terraced fields (abandoned).

The building is set within a roughly rectangular enclosure (approximately 40m x 20m) set into the hillside (Plate 350). The main building has the form of an elongated rectangle aligned east–west (i.e. perpendicular to the slope of the hill). The farm is built out of rubble stone wall set in mortar. It was roofed with wooden beams covered with earth (some iron is also used). The north wall of the building is built on top of the north enclosure wall, which at this point functions as a revetment. At the west end is a small square room with windows facing north down the valley. The rest of the building may originally have been subdivided but now forms a single area. Outside the main building, at the west end, there is a spring which fills a small birkat (pool or cistern). This feature appears to have been recently restored.

References: Palmer 1881, 334; *SWP*, map XVII.

Plate 350. Wādī Ismaʿīn (No. 157). Farmhouse.

Y

158. Yāzūr

Visited —
Location 131.159
32.02N/34.48E

The Palestinian village of Yāzūr was abandoned in 1948 after which most of the village houses were destroyed. In 1948 a new Jewish settlement was established with the Hebrew name of Azor after the ancient settlement of that name (Aharoni 1979, 431; Khalidi 1992, 61–62).

In the twelfth century the village is variously described in Frankish sources as, the village of the plains (*casselum de planis*), of the baths (*C. Balneorum*), or of the Templars (*C. de Templo*). In 1191 it was demolished by Saldin and then rebuilt by the Templars. Yāqūt describes Yāzūr as a little village on the coast of Ramla (ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 1002). The village is included in the *waqf* of Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān dated 959 H. (Stephan 1944, 184 n.1). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* Ramla and contained a population of 50 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', fruit trees, sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 155). By the time of the visit of Guérin the village contained 450 inhabitants involved in the cultivation of tobacco and olives (*Judée*, II, 67).

Plate 351. Yāzūr (No. 158). Maqām Imām ʿAlī.

Three historic buildings have survived; the castle, Maqām Imām ʿAlī, and a mosque.

Maqām Imām ʿAlī (Plates 351–2)
Visited 15.10.91
Location 1309.1598

This building is located on the north side of the old main road between Jaffa and Jerusalem. Today the building is used as a synagogue by the local Jewish community and the exterior of the building has been faced with stone cladding.

In 1586 the building was seen by Zuallart (*Il devotissimo viaggio di Gierusalemme* iii, p.1) who describes it as follows '... a little further was a square mosque with nine little cupolas. Across the road there is a well or cistern'. In 1602 Seusenius described the building as ' a mosque with nine cupolas the one in the middle being the highest' (Muhlau *ZDPV* 26 (1903) pp.1–92).

The building consists of three main elements: the entrance, a courtyard, and a prayer hall. The entrance on the north side of the complex comprised an open canopy resting on four square piers. The roof of the canopy is in the form of a folded cross-

Plate 352. Yāzūr (No. 158). Maqām Imām ʿAlī, detail of capital.

vault with a raised central dome. Originally the canopy was open on the north, west, and east sides, although these are now blocked leaving a single doorway on the north side. Photographs of the building taken before 1948 show a small domed structure standing on the east side of the entrance. From the photographs this appears to have been a square building (1m per side) with a height of 3m including the dome. On the north and east sides were arched openings formed by small cushion voussoirs. The purpose of the structure is not indicated, although its position and design suggest that it was a sabil (public fountain).

A doorway at the back of the entrance hall/canopy leads into a large rectangular courtyard. Before 1948 the courtyard appears to have been mostly open except for a vaulted building in the north-east corner. At present most of the courtyard is filled by a large rectangular room which serves as a classroom for the synagogue. In one of the uncovered areas of the courtyard is a large rectangular tomb or cenotaph.

At the south end of the courtyard is a square building covered with nine domes (the prayer hall). The domes rest on arches supported by 12 engaged columns and piers, and four freestanding marble columns. The columns have simple foliated capitals. The central dome is raised up higher than the other domes and is pierced with four windows. Each dome is carried on spherical pendentives. Two of the central columns are encased in concrete sleeves as the result of structural problems. The mihrab has been blocked up and the interior of the building has been reoriented towards the *mizrah* (i.e. Jerusalem).

Plate 353. Yāzūr (No. 158). Small mosque/shrine.

The location of the building on the Jaffa–Jerusalem road and its name, suggest some relationship with the open air shrine also known as Maqām Imām ʿAlī near Bāb al-Wād. Another feature suggesting a connection is the domed sabil found at both sites. There is no clear indication of the date of either building, although it is clear that the mosque at Yazur is older than 1586 (see above Zuallart 1586 and Fischer, Issac and Roll 1996, 253–266).

Mosque/Shrine (Plates 353–354)
Visited 15.10.91
Location 1309.1595
This building stands on the opposite side of the road from Maqām Imām ʿAlī at a distance of approximately 50m. According to Fisher *et al* (1996, 253–256) it was known as Shaykh al-Katanan.

It is built to a square plan with a shallow dome resting on an octagonal drum. On the north side of the building are some ruined concrete additions. The building is entered through a doorway in the middle of the north side. Inside there are windows on the west and east sides flanked by niches. In the middle of the south wall is a shallow niche decorated with inscriptions painted in henna. The dome rests on pendentives.

Castle
Visited 5.6.92
Location 1315.1596
The remains of this castle are located on top of a steep hill at the north end of Azor (Hb.).

For a brief discussion of the castle see Pringle (1997, 108, No.233; see also Pringle 1998). The remains comprise three elements; an outer enclosure wall, a tower, and a mosque.

The mosque stands to the north of the Crusader tower. It is a large building entered from a doorway in the north wall. Inside is a large square room roofed with a massive cross-vault springing from four corner piers. In the centre of the vault is a small shallow dome. There are two small windows set into large recesses in the west wall and a large window in the east wall. The mihrab is located in the middle of the south wall and

Plate 354. Yāzūr (No. 158). Interior of small mosque.

west of it is a fixed stone minbar of three large steps. There are four large triangles set into the west side of the vault (for a discussion of this mosque see Fisher, Isaac and Roll 1996).

References: Abel 1967, II, 53, 104, 258; Abū Shāma RHC OR, V, 48, 67, 71, 73, 74; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP, II, 5, 254, 489; Cuinet 1896, 610; Perrot in *EI*, III, 1011–1012; Fischer, Issac and Roll 1996, 253–266; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 67–68; Heyd 1960, 143 n.7; *HG*, 155; Le Strange 1890, 553; Marmadji 1951, 206; Palmer 1881, 220; Pringle 1993–, II, 377–378; Pringle 1997, 108 No.233; Pringle 1998, 89–109; Seusenius in Muhlau ed. 1903, 1–92; Stephan 1944, 184 n.1; *SWP*, II, 258 (map XIII); Wilson 1884, III, 144; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 1002; Zuallart 1585, 11, 112.

159. Yibnā/ Yibna/ Yubnā

Visited —
Location 126.141
31.52N/34.45E

Yibnā (Hb. Yavne) is located on the coastal plain midway between Isdūd and Jaffa.

In Roman times the town was known as Iamnia and from the fourth century it functioned as an Episcopal see (*TIR* 149–150). According to Ya'qūbī the town of Yibnā was captured by Usāma ibn Zayd on the orders of the Prophet (ed. de Goeje, 116). In the Umayyad period the town appears to have been quite important and minted its own coins (Gill 1992, 121). Ya 'qubi (ed. de Goeje, 328–329) writing in the latter part of the ninth century noted that the inhabitants of the Yavne area were Samaritans. Muqaddasī visited the site in the tenth century and reported that it contained a pretty mosque and that 'Damascus' figs were grown in the area (ed. de Goeje, 176). The Crusaders referred to the town as Ibelin (also Ybelin or Gibelin) and built a church and castle on the site (Pringle 1997, 109, No.235; Pringle 1993–, II, 378–384). In the thirteenth century Yāqūt describes the places as a small town (*bulayda*) (ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 1007). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in *nāḥiya* Gaza and contained a population of 129 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', vines, fruit, sesame, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 143). Yibnā also appears in a number of *waqfs* from the Mamluk and Ottoman periods (*MPF*, 12 No.35, 15 No.51, 18 No.1, 20 No.1). Guérin who visited in the 1870s reports that Yibnā was a large village surrounded by plantations of fruit trees and tobacco (*Judée*, II, 56).

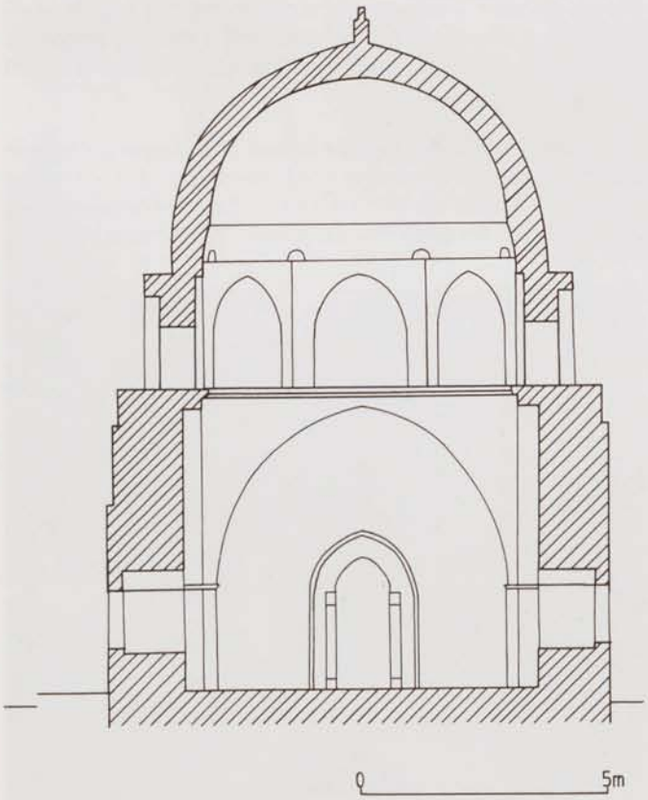


Fig. 133. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra N–S section.

Maqām Abū Hurayra (Figs 133–135, Plates 355–360)
Visited 20.10.91
Location 1257.1418
This is one of the finest domed mausoleums in Palestine. It is located in a park on the west side of the main road through Yibnā.

Most Arabic sources give Madīna as the burial place of the companion of the Prophet and traditionalist, Abū Hurayra (although Nāṣir-i Khusraw states that he was buried in Tiberias. See ed. Shefer, 59). Muqaddasī, for instance, makes no mention of the tomb in his description of the town (ed. de Goeje, 176). Al-Harawī (d.1215) suggests that Abū Hurayra was buried in Yibnā (ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 77) and this attribution is followed by other authors (for instance, Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 135, II, 107; and see comments in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 21). Yāqūt notes that the tomb was believed to contain either Abū Hurayra or 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ, an early governor of Egypt (ed. Wustenffeld, IV, 1007; 'Abd al-Ḥaqq 1852–1854, III, 334). A fourteenth-century author of a text known as *Muthīr al-Gharām* suggested that the tomb was that of the son of Abū Hurayra (cited in Mayer *et al.* 1950, 21).

During the British Mandate the porch of the building was used for school rooms. After 1948 the shrine was taken over by Sephardic Jews who believed that the tomb was the burial place of Rabbi Gamaliel of Yavne (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 22).

Until 1948 the building stood within a walled compound containing graves (the compound wall and the graves have now disappeared). There were two inscriptions above the gateway: one in the name of sultan Baybars dated to 673 H. (1274 C.E.) and the other dated to 806 H. (1403 C.E.) (see Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 179–180; Meinecke 1992, II, 301 No.26A/28). The former inscription reads:

> *Bismallāh*..., the instruction to build this blessed riwaq [was given by], our master, Sultān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Abū'l-Fatḥ Baybars, companion of the commander of the faithful, may Allāh exalt his victories, it was completed

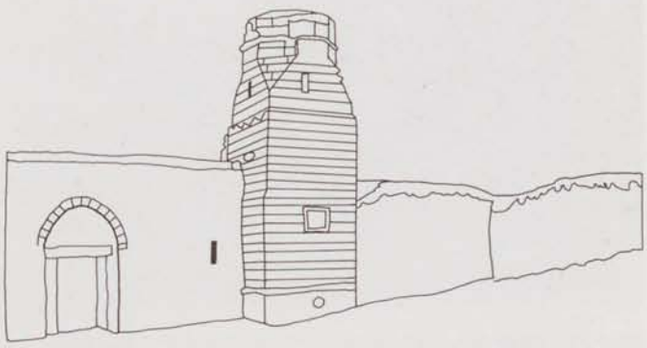
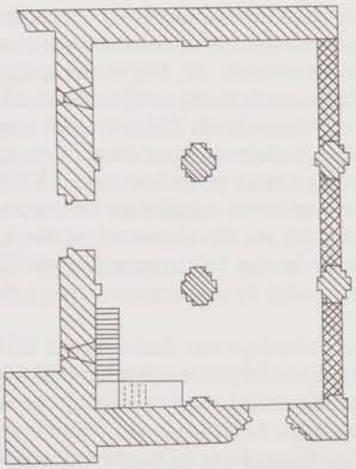


Fig. 134. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra E–W section.



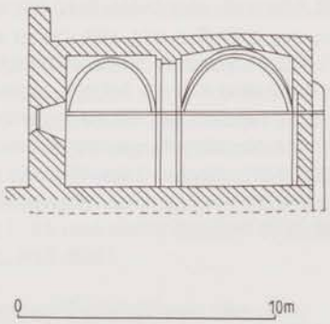


Fig. 135. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra. Plan.

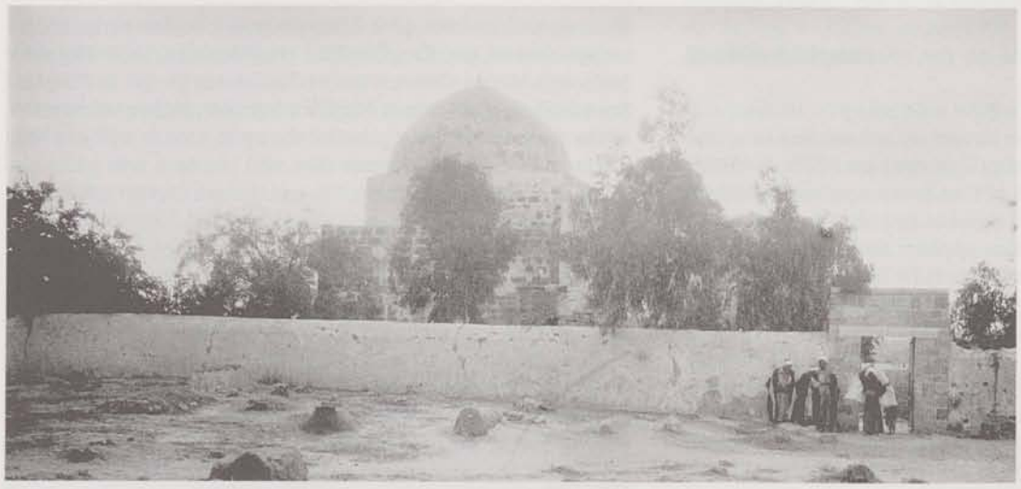


Plate 355. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

> in the month of Rabīʿ I, in the year 673. Entrusted with the building was Khalīl ibn Shawar, *wālī* of Ramla, may Allāh pardon him... (adapted from the translation in *RCEA*, XII, No.4686).

The building consists of two parts; a large domed chamber, and a six domed portico. The portico was originally open on the north side (it is now filled with large glass panels), whilst the east and west sides were walled in. The north face of the portico consists of tall pointed arches resting on square stone piers. The central arch is decorated with a chevron moulding, whilst the two side arches are outlined by a band of cushion voussoirs.

The interior is divided into six domed bays supported by two central columns and brackets or corbels set into the walls (and piers). The marble columns each have a Corinthian capital with two bands of acanthus leaf ornament. The central dome on

Plate 356. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra. Exterior with stairs to roof.

Plate 357. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra. Portico facade.

Plate 358. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra. Entrance to mausoleum.

the south side (above the entrance to the tomb chamber) is raised above the other domes and rests on an octagonal drum supported by squinches. The other five domes rest on pendentives. In the middle of the south wall of the portico, beneath the central dome on the south side, is the doorway into the tomb chamber. The doorway is set into a deep recess covered by a semi-dome resting on a series of *muqarnas* squinches. The masonry of the portal is composed of alternating layers of red and white masonry (ablaq). The door lintel is made of marble and is engraved with a *naskhi* inscription which runs around both sides of the doorway recess. This inscription reads:

> 1) *Bismallāh...*, Built this blessed tomb (mashhad) of Abū Hurayra, may Allāh receive him, companion of the Prophet of Allāh, prayers of Allāh with him, peace to our master and lord the learned and just sultan resolute champion and

Plate 359. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra. Cenotaph.

Plate 360. Yibnā (No. 159). Maqām Abū Hurayra. Cenotaph detail (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

guardian [of Islam], the victorious, al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ, honour of the world and the religion, sultan of Islam and the Muslims, lord of kings and sultans, Abū'l-Fidā' Khalīl, companion of the amir of the faithful 2) may Allāh exalt his victory, son of our master the sultan, hero, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī, may Allāh shower his reign with mercy and grace and the benefits of indulgence, may he dwell in the gardens of eternity, may he help him on the day of resurrection, and may he create for him a palace with extensive shade, abundant water and plentiful fruit, may he grant him the reward and pleasures he deserves, may he raise his position and rank in...[?] 3) [below the lintel, right] Amen and when it was finished during the months of the year 692 H. [1293 C.E.] and entrusted with the building 4) [below the lintel, left] Aydamur, the *dāwādār*, al-Zaynī, may Allāh pardon him and his descendants and all Muslims (adapted from translation in *RCEA*, XIII, No.4965).

The tomb chamber is a square room (6.2m per side) with a high dome (11.5m high). On each side of the chamber is a tall arch which supports an octagonal drum. The drum is formed by alternating squinches and blind arches. Each blind arch contains a pair of windows. The transition from the drum to the dome is effected by a series of eight small squinches (radius 0.1m).

Located in the centre of the room, the cenotaph is a rectangular structure with four marble corner posts in the shape of turbans. The lower four courses of the cenotaph are constructed of ashlar blocks, whilst the upper course is of marble ornamented with slender trefoil niches in gothic style. There is a large rectangular window with an iron grille on both the east and west sides of the chamber. The mihrab in the centre of the south wall is a tall niche with a pointed arch flanked by two marble columns with muqarnas capitals. Externally the mihrab is marked by a square projection or buttress.

On the east side of the building is a flight of steps leading to the roof. The staircase starts at about 2m above ground level, although it is probable that there was originally a ladder or wooden staircase for the lower part. Half-way up the stairs is a platform with a gateway leading to the upper flight of steps. Beneath the stairs is an arched recess which today is used for burning candles and oil.

Great Mosque (Figs 131–132, Plates 361–362)
Visited 24.9.91
Location 1261.1416
This building was located near the summit of the tell which was the site of the pre-1948 village.

Although it is known that Yibnā had a Friday mosque in the eleventh century, it is unclear what relationship this had to the twelfth-century Crusader church. With the defeat of the Crusaders in the thirteenth century the building was converted for use as a mosque (probably in a similar fashion to that employed in the Great Mosque in Ramla). In the fourteenth century the building was extensively remodelled and a minaret added. The building remained in this form until the middle of the twentieth century when it was destroyed.

In the nineteenth century Clermont-Ganneau (*ARP*, II, 168) was able to make a plan of the mosque in which he indicated those parts belonging to the earlier church. The mosque was a rectangular structure divided into six bays. Each bay was covered with a cross-vault springing from engaged piers set into the wall and one of the two central piers. Both the central piers and two other piers embedded into the south wall belonged to the earlier church, as did the doorway on the west side. In the north-west corner of the building is a staircase leading to the minaret. Today all that remains of the entire structure are the base of a minaret and sections of robbed out walls. To the north traces of the Crusader castle have been revealed during recent excavations (cf. Pringle 1997, 109 No.235).

The minaret comprises a square socle with an octagonal shaft. It is built of ashlar blocks and fragments of marble column used as headers. The minaret is entered from a doorway half way up the base. Inside is a well-built spiral staircase with a composite central column (0.25m in diameter) including fragments of marble. The top of the minaret, including the last few steps of the staircase, is built of reinforced concrete suggesting that it was repaired earlier this century. On the north side of the base is a marble plaque set within a

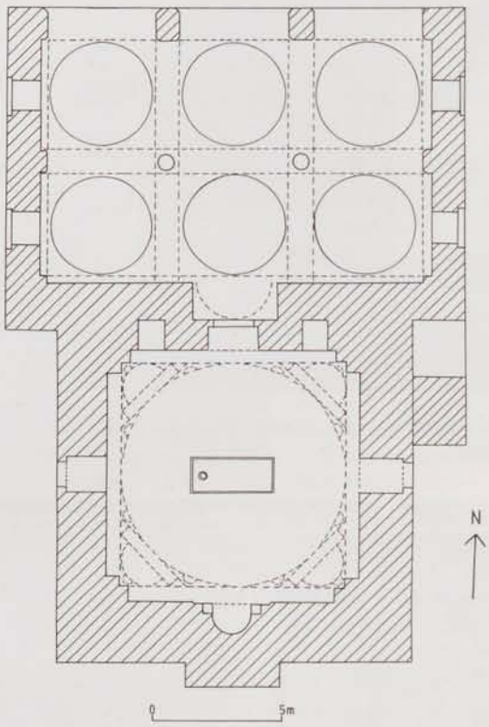


Fig. 131. Yibnā (No. 159). Mosque plan.

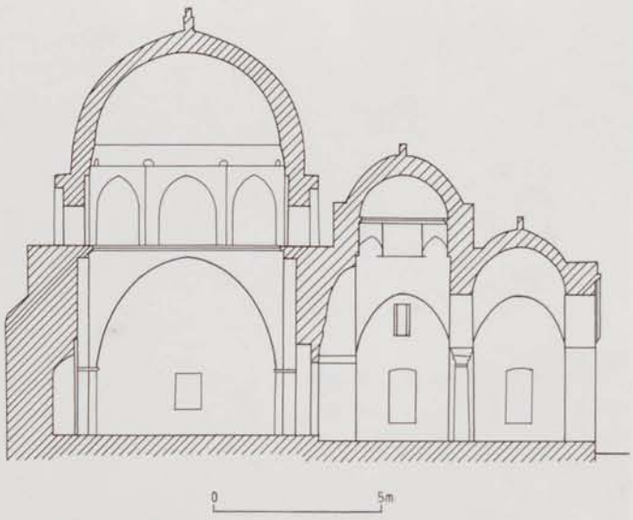


Fig. 132. Yibnā (No. 159). Mosque section.

Plate 361. Yibnā (No. 159). Mosque/church blocked entrance (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Plate 362. Yibnā (No. 159). Mosque with minaret before 1948 (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

rectangular recess. The plaque carries a four-line *nashki* inscription recording the rebuilding of the mosque and erection of a minaret by the amir Bashtaq in 738 H. (*RCEA*, XV, No.5723).

The rest of the mosque remained standing as late as 1950 when it was visited by Mayer and Pinkerfeld who wrote: 'The building itself is in good condition. At some later date a proper survey of the monument should be made, late additions removed, and the building restored to the shape it had in the fourteenth century' (Mayer *et al.* 1950, 24). Unfortunately, despite these recommendations, the building was destroyed shortly afterwards as part of the general demolition of the village.

Plate 363. Yibnā (No. 159). Medieval bridge, north side.

Bridge (Plates 363–5)
Visited 5.6.92
Location 1266.1420
This structure stands to the north of both the recent town and Tell Yavne (Hb.). The bridge is still in use and forms part of Route 410 between Yibnā and Rehovot (Hb.) where it crosses the Nahal Soreq (Hb.) (formerly Nahr Rūbīn or Wādī al-Ṭāḥūna).

This is one of a series of bridges built by Sultan Baybars in Egypt and Palestine, the most famous of which is Jisr Jindās between Ramla and Ludd. According to Clermont-Ganneau (*ARP*, II, 174; Meinecke 1992, II, 38 No.170) the bridge was built in 671–672 H. (1273–1274 C.E.). Max van Berchem, who examined it in the latter part of the nineteenth century, demonstrated that the bridge contained a large amount of reused Crusader masonry some of which carried mason's marks (Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, 182).

The bridge consists of three large arches spanning the river with a road running over the top. The total length is 48m and the width is 11.5m. The central arch is higher (approximately 1m) than the other two arches and has a width of nearly 7m. The side arches are each about 5m wide and at least 4m high (the bottom of the arches are covered with mud). The outline of

Plate 364. Yibnā (No. 159). Medieval bridge, south side with cutwaters.

Plate 365. Yibnā (No. 159). Medieval bridge, detail of inscription.

each arch is emphasised by a double line of ashlars. The bridge is not quite straight in plan (there is a slight bend in the middle).

On the south (upstream) side there are two pointed breakwaters either side of the main arch (these do not appear to be bonded to the main structure). There are also remains of a small square buttress on the west side of the west arch. A slight offset (4–5cm), marked by a ledge, runs from the west end of the bridge over the west arch and then disappears.

The north side of the bridge is supported by three small square buttresses, two either side of the central arch and one at the east end of the bridge. An offset ledge, similar to that on the south side, runs over the east and west arches like a hood moulding and then rises up at right angles to frame the main arch. To the right of the west arch is an Arabic inscription (or graffiti) which is worn, but may be the signature of the architect or mason.

Structurally the bridge is in a good condition because it is maintained by the road department.

References (all sites): ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq 1852–1854, III, 334; Abu Shāma RHC OR, IV, 313, V, 40, 44, 52; Adler 1930, 144; Baedeker 1876, 317; Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP*, II, index; Robson in *EI2*, I, 129; Orni in *EJ*, XVI, 723; Gill 1992, 121, 941; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 53–65; al-Harawī ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 77; *HG*, 143; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 135, II, 107, 210; Khalidi 1992, 421–423; Le Strange 1890, 24, 28, 553; McCown 1923, 49, 50; Marmadji 1951, 160, 207; Mayer *et al.* 1950, 20–24, Figs.1–11; Meinecke 1992, I, 16, 19 n.37, 36 n.84, II, 38, 51, 177, 42–43, 74, 301; *MPF*, 12 No.35, 15 No.51, 18 No.1, 20 No.1; Muqaddasī ed. de Goeje, 174, 176; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 421–423; Palmer 1881, 277; Pringle 1993–, II, 378–384; Pringle 1997, 109 No.235; *RCEA*, XII, No.4686, XIII, No.4965, XV, No.5723; Robinson 1841, III, 22; *SWP*, II, 414, 441–443 (map XVI); *TIR* 149–150; al-ʿUlaymī translation Sauvaire, 71 n.1; Volney 1959, 346, 347, 358; Wilson 1884, III, 150, 161, 163; Yaʿqūbī ed. de Goeje, 116, 328–329; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, IV, 1007.

160. Yotvata (Hb.)

Visited —
Location 154.922
29.53N/35.03E

Yotvata is a modern Israeli settlement in the southern Negev approximately 100km north of Eilat (Hb.). Before the establishment of the current settlement in 1948 the site consisted of a spring known as ʿAyn Ghadyan.

The principal remains date from the Roman and Byzantine periods, although there is considerable evidence of both earlier settlements and structures belonging to the Islamic period. It is known that during the Umayyad period it was a stop on the *ḥajj* route from Palestine (Frenkel 1996, 183).

Located to the north of the Roman fort, the early Islamic site consists of a khān and several lesser structures, including a bathhouse (for a review of this occupation phase, see Meshel in *EAE*, IV, 1520). The buildings were dated to the early Islamic period on the basis of finds including pottery, a gold coin, and two fragmentary Arabic inscriptions. The coin was minted during the reign of the ʿAbbasid caliph, al-Mahdī in the year 164 H. (780–781 C.E.). The inscriptions are both written in ink on camel scapulae and appear to be receipts or orders. This site was abandoned sometime in the eighth century, although it was later reused as a shelter for shepherds.

The principal building is a square structure built of mud-brick, with white plaster used both for the floors and as mortar. The roofs were made out of cedar and pine, and probably palm. The gateway in the middle of the south side is 2.5m wide with benches either side. Inside is a square courtyard with a staircase in the north-east corner. On each side of the courtyard are a series of small rooms which were enlarged during a later construction phase.

References: Meshel in *EAE*, IV, 1517–1520; Frenkel 1996.

Z

161. Zakariyyā'

Visited 21.9.93
Location 1448.1241
31.43N/34.56E

Zakariyyā' is located on the western foothills of the Hebron (Hb.) hills to the south of the main road between Jerusalem and Bayt Jibrīn. The village is located on a south facing slope above Wādī ʿAjjūr.

During Roman and Byzantine times the village was known as Caphar Zacharia and was under the jurisdiction of Bayt Jibrīn (*TIR* 99–100; Khalidi 1992, 225). In 415 C.E. the body of the prophet Zachariah was found there and a church and monastery were established on the site (for references see Pringle 1993, 204). In the Mamluk period the village was a dependency of Hebron and part of the waqf of the Mosque of Abraham (al-ʿUlaymi translation Sauvaire, 230–231). There was also a mosque (possibly the structure described below) and caravanserai in the village which were described by Felix Faber (translation Stewart, II, 427–428). According to the 1596 *daftar* the village (called Zakariyyā al-Baṭṭīkh) was located in *nāḥiya* Quds (Jerusalem) and contained a population of 47 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, olive trees, 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (*HG*, 120). In the late nineteenth century the village had a rectangular plan and was surrounded by olive groves (*SWP*, III, 27). In 1950 the Palestinian population of the village was evicted although the village itself was not destroyed (Khalidi 1992, 226). Today the population of Zakariyyā' is entirely Jewish.

Mosque (Fig. 136, Plate 366)
The mosque and shrine of Shaykh Ḥasan (Guérin identifies the tomb as that of Nabī Zakariyyā'. See *Judée*, II, 371) stand in the centre of the village next to the modern village school. The mosque consists of a large prayer hall with a square minaret attached to the centre of the east side. The prayer hall forms a large rectangle (20m north–south x 10m east–west) divided into six bays roofed by cross-vaults supported by two central piers and ten engaged piers. The entrance is in the centre of the west side. The north and east walls are each pierced by two windows, whilst the south wall has two blocked windows. There is a minbar next to the central pier in the south wall, although no traces of a mihrab can be seen. The two southern bays of the prayer hall appear to belong to an earlier phase (probably medieval). Approximately in the centre of the east wall is a doorway leading to the minaret. Inside the minaret is a spiral staircase lit by a small slit window. At the top of the tower is a small cylindrical domed kiosk opening on to a balcony. The balcony has a circular plan and overhangs the edges of the minaret (cf. fourteenth century minaret of Jami Taynal in Tripoli in Salam-Liebich, 1983, 51–68).

The shrine of Shaykh Ḥasan is built against the west wall of the mosque. This is a square building roofed with a cross-vault supported by corner piers. The shrine is entered by a door in the north wall. In the centre of the south wall was the cenotaph of Shaykh Ḥasan (removed in recent times leaving the outline of the structure in the floor and the wall).

Zakariyyā' also contains a number of old stone houses most of which date to the late Ottoman period. To the west of the mosque is a tall two storey building which may once have been the house of the *mukhtār*. The architecture of the house, with round arched windows and machine-cut blocks, suggests a date in the early part of the twentieth century (i.e. late Ottoman or early Mandate) (see Khalidi 1992, 226 for picture of this house).

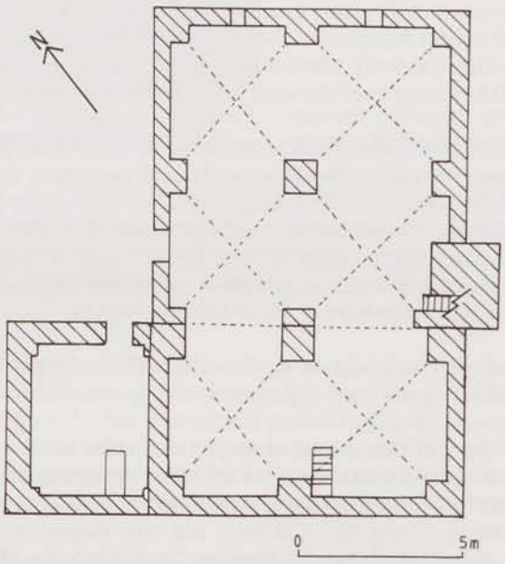


Fig. 136. Zakariyyā' (No. 161). Mosque plan.

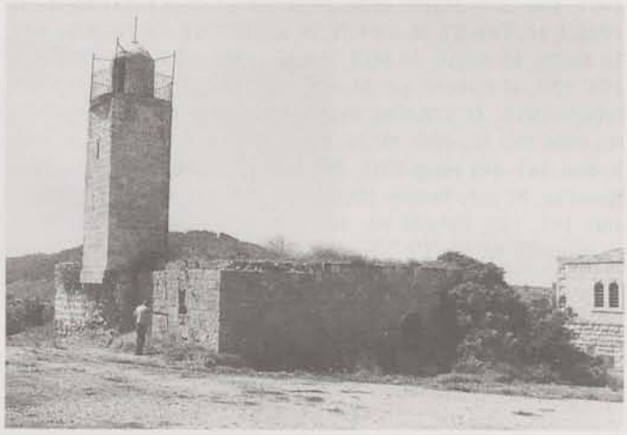


Plate 366. Zakariyyā' (No. 161). Mosque with square minaret.

References: Faber, translation Stewart, II, 427–8; Guérin, *Judée*, II, 371; *HG*, 120; Khalidi 1992, 225–226; Palmer 1881, 338; Robinson 1841, 343, 344, 350; *SWP*, III, 27 (map XVII); *TIR*, 99–100; al-ʿUlaymi translation Sauvaire 230–1.

162. Zarnūqa

Visited —
Location 130.143
31.53N/34.47E

This village was located on the plain approximately 8km south-west of Ramla. Nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts describe it as a mud-brick village surrounded by cactii (*SWP*, II, 414; Khalidi 1992, 424–425).

Mosque (Plate 367)
The village had a stone-built mosque with a projecting mihrab. It was covered with a large dome and appears to have had a staircase leading onto the roof. The building was inspected by Husseini for the Department of Antiquities in 1942. He describes it as: 'a square mosque with a dome carried on four arches' (PAM File 195, Husseini 11.5.42). Husseini also noted that it was built by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Raḥḥāl. A two-line poem inscribed in *nashki* script, included a chronogram which gave the date 1207 H. (1792–1793 C.E.) for the construction of the mosque. To the south of the mosque there was a graveyard which contained reused marble fragments.

References: Guérin, *Judée*, II, 52; Khalidi 1992, 424–425; Palmer 1881, 277; PAM File 195; *SWP*, II, 414 (map XVI).

Plate 367. Zarnūqa (No. 162). View of mosque (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

163. al-Zīb

Visited August 1991
Location 1598.2728
33.03N/35.06E

Al-Zīb (Hb. Akhziv) is located on the coast approximately 18km north of Acre.

Archaeological excavations have shown that the site was occupied as early as the eighteenth century B.C.E. (for a concise history of the site, see Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, II, 213–214; Aharoni 1979, 235, 389, 429). During the tenth century B.C.E. the settlement was enclosed by a defensive wall. The site is first mentioned in historical sources when it was captured by the Assyrians in 701 B.C.E. (Aharoni 1979, 389). During the Roman period the site was a village known as Ecdippa (*TIR*, 115). After the Crusader conquest the village was acquired by Hubert of Paceo and was known as casal Huberti de Paci (it was also called *Siph* in Frankish sources). In 1146 Baldwin III established a new town on the site, the plan of which was discernible in the pre-1948 Arab village (Pringle 1993–, II, 384–385). Al-Zīb briefly returned to Muslim hands following the defeat of the Crusader armies at Ḥaṭṭīn (Abū Shāma RHC OR, IV, 301, 303). The town and fortress of al-Zīb are mentioned in Arab geographical texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Ibn Jubayr ed. Wright, 307; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, II, 964). It finally passed to Muslim control some time between 1283 and 1291.

According to the 1596 *daftar* the village was located in the *nāḥiya* ʿAkka (Acre) and contained a population of 159 households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, cotton, 'occasional revenues', 'goats and bees', and water buffaloes (*HG*, 192). Given the the size of al-Zīb and its position on the coast, it seems plausible that the site may have operated as a port, although the account of the Ottoman geographer Piri Re'is, makes no mention of this (cf. Heyd 1956). However the village was mentioned by Jacotin in 1799 who noted that it had a population of 400 (Karmon 1960, 247).

In 1816 J.S. Buckingham passed near the village which he described as follows: 'it is small, and situated on a hill near the sea, having a few palm trees rearing themselves above its dwellings' (1821, 63–64). About 50 years later Guérin visited the village, which he described as containing houses built out of ancient material, which were enclosed by a city wall (*Galilée*, II, 164). In the 1880s Conder and Kitchener described the village as: 'stone and conglomerate village on the sea-shore, with olives, figs, mulberries and pomegranates; there is a small mosque in the village, which contains about 400 Moslems; the water supply is from a spring and cisterns' (*SWP*, I, 148). The population estimate was perhaps too low as a few years later Schumacher (1887, 178) gave the population as '730 Moslems'. In 1882 a school was built in the village by the Ottoman authorities. In 1948 the village was abandoned, today the site is managed by the National Parks Authority (Khalidi 1992, 35–37).

The Village (Plate 368)
The remains of the village include houses, a mosque, several long vaulted rooms, a vaulted canopy, and an enclosure wall.

Plate 368. al-Zīb (No. 163). View of village mosque.

The houses are built with arched doorways and have distinctive projecting staircases leading to the roof. Close to the beach there are long vaulted halls which could be remnants of the Crusader fortress. The mosque is a single-celled building covered with a shallow dome resting on pendentives. Adjacent to the mosque is a another building of similar size which may also have had a religious function. The windows of the building are decorated with carved lintels. At the west end of the village is a large open vaulted canopy over 8m high. The purpose of this vault is unknown, although it may have had a similar function to that at Ṭanṭūra (possibly a place for selling or distribution of fish).

The enclosure wall is approximately 5m high and survives in two short sections. The date of construction is unknown, although the thickness (less than 1m) and the style of the masonry indicate that it is not a Crusader construction. The most likely date is some time during the Ottoman period, possibly the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.

References: Abel 1967, II, 12, 66, 237; Abū Shāma RHC OR, IV, 301, 303, 407, 413; Baedeker 1876, 424; Buckingham 1821, 62–65; Cohen 1989, 122; Mazar in *EAE*, I, 32–35; Avi-Yonah in *EJ*, II, 213–214; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, 164–165; *HG*, 192; Heyd 1956, 214 n.65; Ibn Jubayr ed. Wright, 307; Khalidi 1992, 35–37; Le Strange 1890, 555; Mariti 1769–1776, II. 164, 291; Marmadji 1951, 89; *MPF*, 77 No.11; al-Nābulsī ed. Murad, 293; Palmer 1881, 60; Pringle 1993–, II, 384–385; Pringle 1997, 110 No.237; Schumacher 1887, 178; *SWP*, I, 148, 155, 193 (map III); *TIR*, 115; Wilson 1884, III, 70; Maundrell in Wright 1848, 427; Yāqūt ed. Wustenfeld, II, 964.

164. Zirʿīn

Visited 27.5.94
Location 181.218
32.33N/35.19E

The village of Zirʿīn was located on a small hill overlooking the Jezreel (Hb.) valley (Ar. Marj Banū ʿĀmr) approximately 8km south-south-east of ʿAfūla. Immediately north of the site is Wādī Jalūd.

The site is identified with the Biblical city of Jezreel and since the destruction of the village has become known as Tell Jezreel (Aharoni 1979, 437). Excavations have confirmed that the site was settled from the Bronze Age until 1948 (cf. Ussiskhin and Woodhead 1992 and 1994; Moorhead 1997). During the Roman period the site, referred to as Iezreel, was a large village in the Mega Pedion (Great Plain) east of Megiddo and functioned as a road station (*TIR* 152). The Crusaders established a church (Pringle 1994) and castle at the site, which they referred to as Le Petit Gérin to distinguish it from Jinīn (known as Le Grand Gérin) (Khalidi 1992, 339). In the 1180s the castle was in the possession of the Templars (Pringle 1993–, I, 276–277) although it fell to the forces of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187 C.E. (Abū Shāma RHC OR, IV, 301). The nearby spring of ʿAyn Jālūṭ was the scene of the Mamluk victory over the Mongol army in 1260 C.E. (cf. Lewis in *EI2*, I, 786–787). Ibn Shaddad records that Baybars restored a mosque and tower in the village (ed. Dahan, 352, 17). Also during the Mamluk period Zirʿīn was one of the stops on the postal route between Jinīn and Irbid (Sauvaget 1941, 74–75).

According to the 1596 *daftar* the village (given as Zirʿūn) was located in the *nāḥiya* Jinīn and contained a population of four households (*khāna*). The taxable produce comprised wheat, barley, 'summer crops', 'occasional revenues', and 'goats and bees' (HG, 160). Little is known of the village during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries although it is likely that it came under the rule of the bedouin Ṭurabāy amirs who ruled over most of the area at this time (Cohen in *EI2*, VI, 543). In the latter part of the nineteenth century Zirʿīn was described as a village with 20 or 30 houses built around a tall tower house. During the remaining years of Ottoman rule, and under the British Mandate, the population of the village expanded considerably (239 houses were recorded in 1931. See Khalidi 1992, 339).

The principal remains from the Islamic period are those of a tower house.

Tower house (Plate 369)
Wilson (1884, II, 27 and Pl.) refers to this building as the castle of Zirʿīn and notes that it was used as an inn (manzil) for travellers. The drawing to which this caption refers shows a tall two storey house with arched windows and a small dome. The appearance of the building suggests several stages of construction over a considerable timespan. The extant remains consist of several walls built out of rubble with mud mortar. On one corner of the building are drafted blocks with a chamfered corner, which may be part of the earlier structure.

Plate 369. Zirʿīn (No. 164). Village with medieval vaults (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Husseini visited the site in 1941 before the destruction of the village (in 1948) and made the following remarks which may refer to the tower house:

> S-E. of Church in a lane a part of a wall about 8m. long with two rough courses of masonry... S. within house of Abdul Karim Abdul Hadi in an open yard more building foundations are visible to N. two medieval vaults known as el-Uqud.
>
> The E. ends of the vaults are broken, a square opening is pierced in the roof of each of the vaults that of the eastern vault is blocked by a conical basalt stone. N. of the vaults are remains of a wall running N-S. It is built of fairly large stones some with margins and shallow bosses (PAM 18.8.41).

Pringle (1997, 56 No.116) believes that these vaults may be part of the destroyed Crusader castle although they could equally be of Mamluk origin.

References: Abel 1967, II, 61, 365; Abū Shāma RHC OR, IV, 244, 246, 301; Guérin, *Samarie*, I, 311–323; *HG*, 160; Ibn al-Furāt ed. Lyons and Lyons, I, 53, 64, II, 44, 53; Ibn Shaddad ed. Dahan, 352, 17; Khalidi 1992, 339–340; Meinecke 1992, II, 51; Moorhead 1997; al-Nābulsī 1989, 301; Palmer 1881, 172; PAM 18.8.1941; Pringle 1993–, I, 276–279; Pringle 1997, 56 No.116; Robinson 1841, III, 161–167; Sauvaget 1941, 74–75; *SWP*, II, 88–89, 130–131 (map IX); *TIR*, 152; Ussiskhin and Woodhead 1992; Ussiskhin and Woodhead 1994; Wilson 1884, II, 26–29, 33.

GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS USED IN THE TEXT OF THE GAZETTEER

For more detailed information concerning the architectural and administrative terms listed below, see entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition). Other relevant reference works include: Van Lent and Bearman 1997; and Amin and Ibrahim 1990. Transliteration is given according to the system used in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Where possible, Arabic spelling has been preferred to Turkish.

ablaq	Alternating courses of light and dark stone used for decorative effect.
amīr	Military commander (in English emir).
ashlar	Drafted limestone masonry.
bayt	House or living unit within a larger complex.
bi'r	Well, cistern or reservoir (see also *birka*).
birka(t)	External cistern (see also *bi'r*).
burj	Tower, either fortified or residential.
cushion voussoirs	Voussoirs which are cut to resemble cushions.
cross-vault	Vault springing from four corners of a room or part of a building.
daftar	Administrative register often containing detailed cadastral records of a region.
dār	House or residence. Often implies a house of high status. Roughly equivalent to mansion.
domical-vault	Vault springing directly from the walls of a room. Sometimes has the appearance of a dome.
fiddān	Unit of land equivalent to amount of land that could be ploughed in a day; in the hill country it was smaller than in the coastal plain (734 sq.m. as opposed to something twice that size).
firmān	Edict or document issued by order of the Ottoman sultan.
ḥajj	Annual pilgrimage to Mecca.
ḥammām	Bathhouse.
ḥawḍ	Basin or trough.
iqṭāʿ	Grant usually taking the form of fiscal rights over a piece of land in return for military service.
īwān	Chamber or hall open at one end.
jāmiʿ	Mosque. *Masjid al-jāmiʿ* often used to refer to the chief (Friday) mosque although it can also mean any large mosque (see also *masjid*).
joggled voussoirs	Method of cutting voussoirs so that they interlock.
khān	Building to house travellers and merchants.
khirba(t)	Ruin. Used to denote an abandoned site.
kufic	Angular style of Arabic script.
liwā'	Ottoman term for a province (see also *sanjaq*).
madrasa	Institution for the teaching of Islamic law.
maqām	Small building containing the tomb of a saint (see also *walī* and *mashhad*).
mashhad	Sacred place. Can mean the burial place of a saint.
masjid	Mosque (see also *jāmiʿ*).
maṣṭaba	Built platform in a building.
miḥrāb	Niche or marker indicating the direction of prayer to Mecca (see also *qibla*).
minbar	Raised structure within the mosque from which sermons are preached.
mu'adhdhin	Official who calls the faithful to the mosque (in English, muezzin).
mughara(t)	Cave.
mukhtār	Person designated by the Ottoman authorities as the headman of a quarter or village.
muqarnas	Decorative feature composed of repeated niches within a geometric pattern.
nabī	Saint.
nāḥiya	Ottoman term for a subdistrict.
naskhī	Rounded style of Arabic script.
pendentive	Architectural element of triangular or sphero-conical form used to support a dome (see also squinch).
qā'im maqām	Ottoman title used in the nineteenth century to describe the governor of a district.
qāḍī	Judge.
qalʿa(t)	Castle.

qaṣr	Palace.
qibla	Direction of prayer.
qubba	Dome.
riwāq	Arcade or portico.
sabīl	Fountain to provide free water for public use.
ṣaḥn	Courtyard.
sanjaq	Ottoman term for an administrative province (see also *liwā'*).
sarāy	Palace (in English serai).
shaykh	Elder of a community or tribe.
squinch	Arch used to support a dome. Usually set in the corner of a room providing a transition from square to circle (cf. pendentive).
sūq	Market.
ṭāḥūn	Mill. In this region, usually denotes a mill powered by water.
tel/ tell	Artificial hill created by human occupation over an extended period.
tekiyye	Building housing mystics of a dervish order.
ṭughra	Calligraphic sign comprising the name and title of the Ottoman sultan.
turba	Tomb.
walī	Building containing the tomb of a saint (see also *maqām* and *mashhad*).
wālī	Governor of a subdistrict.
waqf	A pious endowment usually made to benefit a religious institution.
zāwiya	A religious foundation usually containing a *shaykh* and his students.

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Abbreviations

AASOR *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
ADAJ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AJ *Antiquaries Journal*
AO *Archivum Ottomanicum*
ARP Clermont-Ganneau, C. (1896–1899), *Archaeological Researches in Palestine, 1873–1874*, translation J. McFarlane, Palestine Exploration Fund, London
ATQ Antiquities Reports (held in the Palestine Archaeological Museum)
BA *Biblical Archaeologist*
BAIAS *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
BAR *British Archaeological Reports*
BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BGA *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*
BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BBSAJ *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*
BMH *Bulletin Museum Ha'eretz*
BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EAE Stern, E. (ed.), *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4 vols., Israel Exploration Society and Carta, Jerusalem, 1993
EGMI *Eretz. The Geographical Magazine of Israel*
EI1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4 vols. (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1913–1934)
EI2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1959–)
Er. Is. *Eretz Israel*
EJ *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Keter Publishing House Ltd., Jerusalem, 16 vols., 1971–1972)
ESI *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* (English version of *Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot*)
HA *Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot*
HG Hütteroth, W. and Abdulfattah, K. (1977), *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late Sixteenth Century*, Nuremburg
IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
ILN *Israel. Land and Nature*
IPL *Israel. People and Land. Yearbook of the Eretz Israel Museum*
JA *Journal Asiatique*
JEEH *Journal of European Economic History*
JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPM *Jerusalem Post Magazine*
JPOS *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
MHR *Mediterranean Historical Review*
MM *Madrider Mitteilungen*
MPF Ipşirli. M. and al-Tamimi, M. D. (eds.) (1982), *The Muslim Pious Foundations and Real Estates in Palestine. Gazza, Al-Quds al-Sharif, Nablus and Ajlun Districts according to 16th-Century Ottoman Tahrir Registers*, Organisation of Islamic Conference, Istanbul, 1402/1982
OE *Orient Express*
ONS *Oriental Notes and Studies*
OSIA *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*
PAM Palestine Antiquities Museum
PEFA *Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*
PEFQS *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (formerly *PEFQS*)
QDAP *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
RCEA Combé, E. *et al.* (eds.) (1931–), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, Cairo
RHC (Or.) *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols., Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1872–1898 (Facsimile edition, Gregg International Publishers Ltd., Farnborough, 1969)
RRH *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*. Ed. R. Rohricht (1893). Innsbruck
SBF *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*
SHAJ *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*
SWP Conder, C. R. and Kitchener, H. H. (1881–1883), *The Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography and Archaeology*, ed. E. H. Palmer and W. Besant, 3 vols., Palestine Exploration Fund, London
TA *Tel Aviv*
TIR Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni and J. Green (1994) *Tabula Imperium Romani: Iudaea-Paleastina; Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Jerusalem
ZDMG *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenlandische Gesellschaft*
ZDPV *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

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