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**JERUSALEM, CHRISTIANS AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY
SEPULCHRE IN A PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATION
(1700-1703)**

Master Thesis

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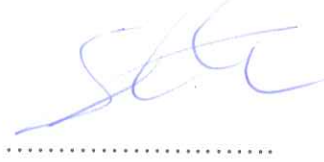
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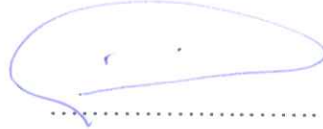
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ABSTRACT

The 18th century Jerusalemite society, and rather precisely the Christian population, is a fundamental historical factor that is worth the scholars' attention. As Ottoman studies focus on certain historical elements more than others, details of the day-to-day practices, social and economic transactions, and the general conditions of the Christian population continue to be unperformed. In addition, the influence of the Christian holy sites remains obscure. A situation that puts the researchers before a tacit feature of the Ottoman social history, that, if examined within the sphere of the archival sources and chronicles, would help to widen our perspective of the transformation process of the Christian communities and their holy sites, all within a period that once was believed to be a period of decline and decay. Hereafter, examining the primary sources, it is significant to survey for detailed information about these communities, then search for the possibility of viewing them in a revisionist consciousness of the early 18th century, while focusing on a critical period that encompassed its first years of the century, prior the eruption of the revolt of the Naqibu Al-ashrāf. And further investigating the potential role of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as a significant religious site that might have attained influence in the social and economic transformation of the Christian communities. Along which, questioning the applicability of the classical paradigms of "autonomy", segregation, and "Millet System" in the case of the 18th century Jerusalem. Proposals and arguments that this study attempts to tackle and dwell on, hoping to serve a new perspective in the social study stance of the socio-economic history of Ottoman Jerusalem.

ÖZET

18. Yüzyıl Kudüs toplumu araştırmacıların dikkatine değer, temel tarihi bir olgudur. Osmanlı çalışmaları belirli başlı hususlara odaklandığından, Hristiyan topluluklarının günlük rutinlerinin, sosyal ve ekonomik hareketlerinin ve genel durumlarının detayları belirsizliğini sürdürmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra Hristiyanların kutsal alanlarının söz konusu hususlar üzerindeki etkisi de belirsizdir. Bu durum ise araştırmacıyı Osmanlı sosyal tarihinin üstü kapalı bir yüzüyle karşı karşıya bırakmaktadır. Bu konunun arşiv kaynakları ve kronikler ekseninde incelenmesi, tümü bir zamanlar gerileme ve çöküş dönemi olduğuna inanılan süreçte gerçekleşmiş olan Hristiyan toplulukların dönüşüm süreçlerine ilişkin bakış açımızı genişletmeye yardımcı olacaktır. Gelecekte, temel kaynakları incelerken bu hususları ortaya koyabilmenin olasılıklarını 18. Yüzyılın başlangıç döneminin revizyonist bilinciyle araştırarak, söz konusu topluluklar hakkında detaylı bilgiler aramamız gerekmektedir. Bu süreçte Nakîbü'l-Eşrâf isyanının yıkıcı etkisinin öncesini ifade eden yüzyılın ilk yıllarını kapsayan kritik sürece odaklanmak gerekmektedir. Tüm bunlar Kudüs merkezli klasik otonomi, ayrımcılık ve millet sistemi paradigmasını, önemli bir kutsal alan olmasının yanı sıra muhtemel bir şekilde Hristiyan topluluklarının sosyal ve ekonomik dönüşümünde etkili olan Kamame (Kıyamah) Kilisesi'nin potansiyel rolü ışığında anlayabilmek için elzemdir. Bu tez de ele alınan ve üzerinde durulan öneri ve tartışmaların, Osmanlı sosyal tarih çalışmalarına yeni bir bakış açısı kazandırması umut edilmektedir.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. DVN	Divan Kalemi Defterleri
AE	Ali Emirî Tasnifleri
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
C. AD	Cevdet Adliyet
C. BH	Cevdet Bahriyet
C. ML	Cevdet Maliye
D. PSk	Pispkoposluk Kalemi Belgeleri
DİA	Diyanet İslam Ansiklopediası
HH. d	Hazine Hâssa Nezâreti Defterleri
İSAM	İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi
KLS.d	Kilise Defterleri
KS	Kadı Sicilleri
MM	Mühimme Defterleri
PLK.p	Plan, Proje ve kronikler

TRANSLITERATION

ا	Ā	ص	Ş	غ	Ğ
ج	Ĝ	ض	Đ	ط	Ṭ
خ	Ḥ	و	Ū	ظ	Z
ح	Ḥ	ي	Ī		
ذ	Ḍ	ع	‘		

INTRODUCTION

In the 16th century, as Jerusalem was annexed to the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Selim I, the administration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was first announced under the custody of the Greek Orthodox. This proclamation was supported by the fermān of Mehmed I, addressing the Christian communities in the previous century.

For long the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, presumably since the early Byzantine period, was an element of determining the superior Christian sect in the city and, more, widening the power of the patriarch. Due to the matter, the administration of the Church was tediously disputed over, which is interpreted as a face of seeking preponderance and economic power, as much as it is the influence of the European conflicts, and the thirty years long religious wars. The Christian sects that gained the custody of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre augmented the attention of the notables, the economic power, and the diplomatic significance to the international realm. This conflict showed signs of a turning point in the 17th century, when the Ottoman capitulations (*imtiyazāt*) turned affluent in assigning the administrator or superior sect in Jerusalem. Such event agitated the conflict between the crowded Christians sects of the districts, the Greek Orthodox, the Franciscan, and later the Armenian. These conflicts would, occasionally, mutate into bloody clashes and life and property losses. Such narration was proven by the Ottoman archival sources of the *Kadı Sicilleri* and *Piskoposluk Kalemi Belgeleri*, and by the travelers and pilgrims accounts, as further this study presents.

Based on the given elaboration, theorizing the subject under study (Christians and the holy sites under the Ottoman rule in the 18th century) must be connected to the variances of the 17th century, and their consequences in the 18th century.

For decades, historians and orientalist have been showing interest in examining the status of the Christian population under the Ottoman rule, and, mostly, they form a historical understanding of the population, separately from the holy sites. Accordingly, studying the Christian population is converged on viewing them as a “minority” that resided under an Islamic rule. Moreover, the historians fixate their efforts to create a cohesive perception of the Christian communities through understanding the Ottoman taxation system, regulations and administrative methods. A matter that led to reflect these aspects on the Christian communities as a separate population dwelling in the Empire with an autonomous or a semi-autonomous status. Consequently, the Christian holy sites are viewed from the same argument of “minority” and “autonomy”, especially when considering the position of “spiritual leaders” (or millet başıları) that was assigned by the Central Porte to manage their communities, which eventually put them under the “Millet System” as the underpinning of the Ottoman method of administrating the non-Muslim re’āyā.

Consequently, a general look at the present state of historiography, concerning the Ottoman society and the Christian *re’āyā* of Jerusalem, soon makes it apparent that the scholarly cost of particularism has been high, similarly as Rif’at Abou-El-Haj highlights in his work, *The Formation of the Modern State*. Ergo, our historical knowledge of the term “Ottoman society”, and its implications, remain immature compared to the efforts made to understand and handle the term “state”. Especially when attempting to consider the Christian population as part of the Ottoman society, remotely from the conceptions of the “Millet System” and “autonomy”. Likewise, the rise of the question of religion, in a way, and feudalism, in another, in understanding the Ottoman state and society, narrates out our perspectives and limits our horizon in viewing the Ottoman society -including its non-Muslim population- and the ordinary men and women, as active historical factors. Furthermore, the context of the social life of the Ottoman society is

fragmented into separate entities, claimed to be autonomous, as a reflection of the religious preview of the state's conceptual methodology of governing and ruling.

In that respect, the Ottoman society is imagined through theories that are inspired by international events, viewing it (the society) as a passive element subject to the changing balance of power. For instance, based on the “decline” approach, Karen Barkey and George Gavrilis in their study, *The Ottoman Millet System: Non-territorial Autonomy and its Contemporary Legacy*, approach the “decentralization” phenomenon, taking over the provincial context, on the basis of understanding the Ottoman 18th century as a period of administrative neglect, which gave the notables the merit of controlling the masses and recruiting military power, and -eventually- the condition escalated distress and caused rebellions. Such a viewpoint is defied by historians such as Dina Rizk Khoury in her work entitled *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540-1834*. She accentuates that the economic stagnation and the financial difficulties prompted due to the awāred system that battered the re'āyā, and the latter were, “passively”, involved in the rebellions ensuing in the 18th century.

Significantly, revisionists rather observe the Ottoman Empire from an aspect of transformation. Perhaps Benjamin Braudel's effort to understand the occurrences and events of the Ottoman status is the first attempt to embolden the revisionist trend, as he highlights the futility of speaking of the “decadences of the Turkish Empire before the first decade of the 19th century”. Moreover, historians such as Rif'at Abou-El-Haj, Mehmed Genç, Jane Hathaway, and others, present a perspective of a “shifting paradigm”. Thus, they offer a new understanding of the Ottoman 18th century, broadly distinct from the “decline paradigm”. They insinuate what can be called “the transformation theory”, which suggests that the Ottoman Empire did not witness a decay but rather the elements of laws, costumes, and traditions...etc., transformed into a new configuration. These elements eventually

continued to endure characteristics from the previous periods. Hence, revisionists highlight the international and local changes as an aftermath of a period of transformation.

Unfortunately, within the sphere of these paradigms, decline versus transformation, and in the case of Jerusalem and its society, the available traditions do not uphold these paradigms on the local social context of the district, as they all fall short of considering the transformation of the area's society and communities. To elaborate our view, the attested study mostly found the major actor that formed the Ottoman conditions, in the eventful 18th century, was the international challenges. Nonetheless, following 1699 and the Treaty of Karlowits the Empire did not face any new international conflicts, the first decade of the 18th century was strictly bound to interior affairs and some diplomatic decisions and changes (or challenges), and the acute wars with Austria and Russia did not erupt until the second decade of the century. However, the constant challenge that the Ottoman Empire faced was the interior quarrel and its concern to maintain instability and control of its provincial areas. In that, the Empire, the administration and the society, including the variant population, experienced interior turmoil and variances that fundamentally participated in inducing the transformation of the local scene, whilst the international scene was a secondary actor.

Considering these perspectives, the study finds that the influences and effects of the 17th century events on the social stance of Jerusalem are discussed but are not sufficiently investigated. Additionally, these events are merely viewed from a classical and centenary periodization, remotely from the social scene, and apart from the fact that each area- of the vast geography of the Ottoman Empire that had distinct experiences. A matter that inclines the necessity of configuring a different understanding of the periodization of each region or area. Therein the first years of the 18th century, for example, were fairly important to the social aspects of

Jerusalem, as drastic events occurred during that time. These events, as found in the aforementioned Ottoman archival materials, included the inauguration of Jaffa, the fortification of Jerusalem and the port, corruption, the inconstancy of the administration. Importantly, the fluctuating administration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in addition to the revolt of Naqibul-Ashrāf. To these we must add the tardiness in the application of the *iltizām* system. These occurrences are thoroughly audited in this study, and considered effective in the transforming of the social, economic and financial status of the Christian population in particular.

The above-mentioned preview leads to the main concern of this study, as it aspires to discuss the social and economic life of the Christian communities, in light of the 18th century conditions. Also, to inspect the connection between their conditions and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In this term, we could not find historical studies that channel its efforts to examine the Christian communities and the Church from the intended view. Further, the available studies are centered on these two historical aspects separately. The rather momentous studies, found relevant to the matter of our concern, are Oded Per's *Christianity Under Islam*, Ahmad Al-Qudah's *Nasara'l-Quds: Dirāsah fī Daw'l-l-Wathā'iqi'l-l- 'Uthmaniyyah*, Arif Al'arif's *Al-Mufasssal fī Tārīkhi'l Quds*, and Kamil J. Al'asil's *Jerusalem in History*. While other traditions infatuate its consolidation on the patriarchal aspect of these communities and holy sites, such as Hasan Çolak's *The Orthodox Church in the Modern Middle East*, and Steven Runciman's *The Great Church in Captivity*. Finally, some historical works approach debatable aspects of segregation, minoritization and autonomization of the Christian population that eventually are applied on cases like the holy sites, such as the studies of Najwa Al-Qattan, Socrates D. Petmezas, and Salâhi R. Sonyel in the edited work by Molly Greene, *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*.

We must highlight then, when attempting to understand the Christian communities and the Church from a social and economic aspects, we reach an impasse examining the secondary sources, which explains the study's shrewd and strong dependency on the primary sources. By the same token, the available traditions, that handle Ottoman Jerusalem, its society and its Christian population, strongly focus on the political and religious position of the district, and the position of the Jerusalemite Christians as a separate body of the district's society. The most consequential works, that are admissible to the matter under investigation, are the works of Peri, Al'Arif and Al-Qudah, who generally view the Christian communities and their conditions under the Ottoman rule. While Peri's work focuses on the religious sites and their administrative status, Al'Arif and Al-Qudah direct their efforts towards understanding the Christian communities from the administrative aspect throughout the Ottoman history in the Arab provinces. Despite the valuable information and examinations of these traditions, they do not offer observations on the Christian population as part of the Jerusalemite society, or their holy sites as an influential factor on the social and economic life of the population.

Nevertheless, *Baytu'l-Maqdis fi kutubi'r-Rahhālah* of Al'asali and the introduction to *Sijillāti Mahkamati'l-Quds Ash-shar'iyyah* of Ibrahim Rabay'ah offer compelling information about the Jerusalemite society based on archival sources and chronicles, that form a strong material to the matter of this study. However, these traditions lack the reflection of the ensuing Ottoman conditions on the local context, and do not establish a connection between the prestige of the holy sites and the social and economic status of the Christian communities. Elseways, the matter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is dwelled on by Runciman, Çolak and others, yet, again from an administrative perspective. While Runciman concentrates on to the connection between the Church and the patriarchate of Istanbul, Çolak views the communities and the Church from the aspect of the local patriarchal power.

Furthermore, studies recording the economic or social life of Ottoman Jerusalem, such as, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, and, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem* by Amnon Cohen, leap from the 17th century to the 19th century, leaving an unequivocal gap in the history of the district, name that the 18th century. The earliest census count of Jerusalem, that Ottoman studies offer, for example, is of the 16th century and the latest is of the 19th 20th centuries, while these studies lack a comprehensive statistic of the census count during the 18th century. Not only numeric perspective, but also information regarding the social life of the Christians of Jerusalem are strongly concentrated on the narration of sentimental travelers that may or may not be exaggerated, such as the narration of the impoverishment of Jerusalem, and that the district was merely resided by the poor and the monks, or by the poor monks in other narrations, as quoted by Gad Gilbar in *Ottoman Palestine, 1800-1914*.

Thus, did the Christian population transform in the early 18th century? What marked the social structure, economic practices and social interactions of the Christian communities in the 18th century Jerusalem? Were their conditions bound to the “Millet System” and were their practices segregated? Did exterior and interior occurrences impact the life of the Christian communities? Did these communities, as part of the Ottoman society, have an active role in the administrative scheme as much as they had a passive role as historical studies presented? What was the administrative condition of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? In light of the consequences of the 17th century, had the Ottoman Empire chosen another communal loyalty, as it did with its provincial rulers? In terms of the transformation that the district witnessed, did it influence the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and did the Church acquire a social and economic influence on the life of the Christian communities?

Certainly, the field of the Ottoman social history requires further studies that broaden the general understanding of the Christian population and their holy sites, from the social and economic aspects. It further required studies that endeavor to provide an insight of the social history of Ottoman Jerusalem, through its population. Such aspect could offer new paradigms which shall not detach the significance of the ordinary people, on one hand, and the religious or holy sites, on the other, as historical factors. Effectively, knowing that studies harping on the Christians of Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from a social perspective, during the designated period, are scarce. Also, the majority of the attested sources, that handle the Christian communities from an economic and administrative aspects, concentrate their arguments on the paradigms of “segregation”, “autonomy” and” Millet System”. Correspondingly, to what extend do these paradigms apply to the Christian population of 18th century Jerusalem? Do these studies view the Christian community as a Jerusalemite population? Are these communities viewed from the aspect of the variances emanated in Jerusalem?

This study tries to answer and discuss these questions through inspecting the anent theories and investigating the Ottoman archival sources. And, then, it tries to present conclusions that shall form a solid ground for further studies and motivate the researchers to give more accentuation to the Ottoman society and ordinary men and women during the early 18th century.

In that order, the study deals with three elements that form its structure and brings it into the development of its arguments, transformation of Jerusalem, Christians as part of the Jerusalemite society, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as a cogent holy site and its possible social position. It also handles a transitional period that covers early years of the 18th century (1700-1703), with a significant connection to the last year of the 17th century. Thus, within its chapters the study offers a comprehensive, and intensive, preview of the 18th century Jerusalem and

focuses on the social, economic and administrative variances, in connection to the 17th century occurrences. The study, further, highlights the impact of these variances on the Christians of Jerusalem, which might have prompted an economic and social influence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Afterward, it examines the social life of the Christians of Jerusalem as an element of the Ottoman society, and it approaches the position and clout of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the daily transactions and the economic and social conditions of the Jerusalemite Christians.

Taking all the arguments and questions under inspections, whilst considering the above-mentioned arguments and highlights, this study examines primary sources in aim to reveal details that could offer an opportunity to widen the historical knowledge of the social and economic life of the Christian of Jerusalem, in a period of transition. Also, it presents a description of the way the Christian population handled their complains and cases in the court, the kind of cases were presented, and the kind of information that could be extracted with respect to the social and economic conditions. Finally, the study puts the Church of the Holy Sepulchre under scrutiny and attempts to surmise its position and role from the social and economic life of the Jerusalemite Christians, whilst considering the “transformation” and “transition” convictions as a methodological approach.

Nonetheless, before answering the proposed arguments, it is necessary to present a preview of Jerusalem in the early 18th century, forming a preview of its administrative, security, economic and social conditions. Such goal is proceeded by a comprehensive theoretical and literature review, that is strongly connoted to the matter of the study. Hence, the study consists of three chapters that approach each aspect as considered fundamental to fulfill the proposed goals.

In further details, the first chapter analyzes the district of Jerusalem in the early 18th century and elaborates its social, economic and administrative conditions, in light of the emergence of the period. The chapter also focuses on the perspective

of transformation, that views the changes and variances away from the decay and decline paradigms, on a hand, and from the decentralization theory, on the other. All in order to provide a portrait of the general structure of the city and its society, while focusing on apprehending the influence of the proposed transformation on the conditions that the Christian communities and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre experienced in the district.

The second chapter, that mainly relies on the archival and primary sources, offers a structural presentation of the social, economic and cultural facets of the Christian population of Jerusalem. It further, provides noteworthy details on the day-to-day economic transactions, social interactions and the conditions of the population under varying regulations and changing policies. It asserts the need to conduct studies of the ordinary people of the Ottoman society parallel to that of the elites and notable. As further, it underlines the eminence of professing them as an active historical actor.

Finally, with connection to the second chapter, the third chapter, which presents a brief history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, discusses its position and influence in the social and economic life of the Christian communities, due to its religious and political significance. In that relation, the chapter presents proofs on its indirect, or direct, affluence, and its position in changing the social interaction of the Christian communities and their economic conditions. The chapter later touches upon the role of these communities in being a coupling drift between the notables, the patriarchs and the Church. It also approaches the influence of the social and administrative merit along with such fastening. Not to forget demonstrating the image of the Church in the primary sources, mainly chronicles, in hoping to reflect any changes of the condition of the Church. The chapter eventually reaches our conclusions and answer the arguments that the study aims to meet.

In conclusion the study presents a new variable study of the Ottoman history in Jerusalem with unprecedented details, compound with revisions of the classical paradigms, that shall provoke the thrust to new studies and researches, and the tendency of seeking to view the Christian population as part of the Jerusalemite society rather than autonomous. It also pays a great attention to the discrepancy of the terms, population and communities, as it uses the first to address the matter of the Christian population -in general- as part of the Jerusalemite society, and the latter when addressing intra-communal matters in reference to the Christian sects.

It is important to highlight that the study relies intensively on the *Kadı* registers, as the fundamental source of the Ottoman social history, and minorly on archival materials such as the *Piskoposluk Kalemi Belgeleri*, *Kilise Defterleri*, *Cevdet Adliye Defterleri*, and *Cevdet Bahriye Defterleri*. Unfortunately, the lack of access to the libraries of the Church and monasteries bedeviled the process to widen the results on the social and economic role of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre amongst the Jerusalemite Christians. Accessing these resources could provide relatively compelling minutiae and allow to form a colorful image of the social life of Christian communities, in the early years of the 18th century. Nonetheless, the information and conclusions of this study hopefully form the cornerstone for any further attempts in scrutinizing the Christian population of Jerusalem and the Church's position and influence.

Other than the scarcity of secondary sources chronicles also serves as an essential source of this study, yet it arises difficulties, due to the oddity of traditions addressing the timespan of this study, that eventually were overcome.

As the study relies on archival sources it occasionally encountered hindrances due to language, handwritings, and unprecedented expressions and cultural concepts. To elaborate our point, the impasse a researcher reaches, when viewing the Ottoman society, can result from the poor quality and status of the archival sources,

such as the Court registers (*Kadı Sicilleri*), that were poorly recorded and reserved. The handwriting, on occasions, tips the chances of extracting a good quantity and quality of information. Furthermore, the language of the documents strongly mixed the Standard Arabic and the Dialect of the region under study, such as mixing the K letter (ك) with Q (ق) in writing the word “bakarah” (which means, trundle, tackle or betimes) instead of “baqarah” for a cow. Such factor forms a challenge that solving it is as useful and fruitful as this study transmitted.

Not only the language, but also the cultural influence was strongly discerned in the court registers. Essentially the dowries for marriage, the various materials of economic transaction, and the architectural aspects, that sometimes do not give clear hints on the economic conditions of mentioned individuals. We made sure to mention these facets and examine within the folds of this study. In addition, chronicles, as well, were curbing, since the accounts of the 18th century are rare. As a result, the study relies on chronicles of the late 17th century and the second decade of the half of the 18th century onwards.

While this study complements the available traditions, and benefits from their approaches, it is presented with the aspiration to be a new beginning to the sphere of the field of social studies of the Christian population of the district, in the early period of the 18th century, earnestly pursuing to provide new findings connected to its field of interest.

CHAPTER 1

THE TRANSFORMATION OF JERUSALEM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CHRISTIAN POPULATION AND THE CHURCH

In order to understand, in depth, the economic and social conditions of the Christian population of Jerusalem, it is necessary to comprehend the series of changes that the districts underwent. It is, also, necessary to focus on the influence of these changes on its Christian population and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Especially that the impact of the events, ensued in the 17th century and its transitional effect on the circumstances of 18th century, is not sufficiently addressed in the available sources.

In recording the history of Jerusalem, under the Ottoman rule, many modern and contemporary historians appeal, as historians of the 20th and 21st centuries consider the history of the district an essential element of the Ottoman period. In addition, pilgrims and travelers' chronicles contain a freight of information that guarantee an image of the physical and social appearance of Jerusalem, which must have transcended its social and economic life.

Connecting the history of Jerusalem to the occurrences of the international Ottoman affairs, perhaps historians such as Al-Bakhit, Al'asali, Al-'Arif, Al-Qudah, and Abu-'Asa approach its history as a significant religious, economic, or administrative center of the Arab provinces. They demonstrate its occurrences and events along the Ottoman centuries through administrative aspects. Other historians such as Charles Issawi's, Abdulkarim Rafeq's and Butros Abu Minna's presented works on the economy and socio-political history of the area, and they are the most remarked amongst the stance of Ottoman studies. Moreover, Western historians, also, grant Jerusalem compelling attention in their researches. Historians, such as Gad Gilbar, Ruth Kark, and Moshe Mo'az, present valuable findings, and approach

the history from a modern perspective, that occasionally relied on contemporary notions. On the other hand, Gordon Krämer, Amy Singer, Rif'at Abou-El-haj, and Bishara Doumani are distinct examples that bring to the scene forgotten elements or reconsidered some others.

In a general preview, the majority of Ottoman studies consider the political and administrative aspects of the history of Jerusalem rather than other elements, such as the social and socio-economic aspects, while focusing on the ayāns and the elites as the protagonists who played a key role in the historical events. Albert Hourani's annals could be the most memorable study that fundamentally scrutinizes the ayāns and their role in the district, in particular, and the region, in general. Moreover, Dror Ze'evi's work on Jerusalem forms a wider image of Hourani's theory, yet, partially from a social conviction. Indeed, the religious significance of Jerusalem as the focal point of many studies. The works of Kollek and Pearlman, and Al'arif, for instance, view the long history of Jerusalem with a fixation on its eminence to Christians.

Before approaching the conditions of Jerusalem and the details of its society, it is significant to highlight Ze'evi's social approach in considering the reliability of viewing the district as a "city". Though he establishes his scholarship on the religious factor his debate -based on the Weberian paradigm- must have been also inspired by the travelers' traditions. Under the title "Faḍā'il Al-Mudun" many Muslim travelers visited cities such- as Jerusalem- seeking their significance and contemplating on their physical beauty and social practices. It appears in these chronicles, later to be attested, that the visited directions were always a place that carried economic, social and religious magnitudes, and compassed characteristics that formed cities. In other words, the preception of the term "city" for Jerusalem existed during earlier historical periods, and its characteristics must have been memorialized. On a further note, Ze'evi's, and other historical studies, solicit the city

of Jerusalem based on its municipal characteristics, economic activities and the figure of its geographic features of urban and rural areas.¹ However, their scholarships are strictly formed around the main town of the district.

Not only travelers' books and historical traditions, but also Ottoman documents approach Jerusalem as a city and an independent sancak (district) during the 18th century. In fermāns addressing the kadı or the wālī, in the early 18th century, Jerusalem is constantly addressed under the title city. Presumably the view is depending on its administrative conditions or significance to the Central Porte.² Nevertheless, focusing on the mentioned historical elements we still need further studies to understand the social history of Jerusalem and the importance of viewing it in the consideration of the district as city, namely in the 18th century period. In that, the approach can grant us a wider perspective that connects the districts geogrpahieis and population with its events and occurences. Perhaps, Amy Singer's study on the Palestinian "peasants" and the rediscovery of Doumani are the unique studies that are interested in the society of the area from a similar perspective. It is important to, further, highlight that the importance of acknowledging Jerusalem as a city comes from the importance of pressing deeper attention to the relations between its hinter and foreland (or rural and urban areas), and the interrelation amongst the element of its society. In addition to paying attention to its economic and administrative conditions.

Advancing from the 17th to the 18th century, Jerusalem showed few signs of power vacuum traces left after the massive administrative changes that occurred in the previous period. Such signs did not ensue in the same levels, nor on the same

¹ Dror Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996)

² Kudūs Mahkemesi Sicilleri (Jerusalem Court Register), no. 199, p. 183, 188, 308, 255. The original copy of these defters was transferred from Jerusalem, by Professor Muhammad Adnan Bakhit to Jordan, to The Center of Documents, Manuscripts, and Studies of Bilad Al-Sahm (Markez Wathā'iq wa Makhtutāt wa Dirasāt Biladu'sh-Shām), Amman: University of Jordan. In this study, the digital copies located ISAM's Library are used.

aspects. Bedouins (hereafter in italic whenever the title is controversial) and villagers attacks,³ administrative fluidity, fluctuating economy, and disagreement between the Christians communities and their spiritual leaders were observed. Such issues would lead, later, to a rebellion and “dramatic events” in 1703, that shall not last long and end in 1705. On the other hand, the district also witnessed few, yet significant, developments that achieved some changes in the arrangements of the administrative order and the social structure.

We must highlight that the administrative system of Jerusalem did not differ as much from the rest of the Ottoman provincial geography. It was a sancak part of a province (or *wilāya*) and ruled by a governor under the power of the *wālī*. The rural side was administrated through sipahis (cavalrymen) and the urban side was administrated through the multezims and mutasellims of the *mukāt’a* and *iltizām* systems, with the affluence of the elites or *ayān*, while revenues were the

³ The word *عرب* and *عربان* are distinctly used to refer to the “Bedouins” in the *Kadı* registers and Ottoman records. It is important to note the connotational meaning of these two terms. Pressing the importance to understand the term *عربان* must address those who do not enjoy honorable tribe lineage and constantly lived on banditry and similar sources, and so, it was used in the Ottoman records. See, KS, Jerusalem, no.201, 292 While, the use of the term *عرب* for non-bandit Bedouins, such as *عرب العيسوية* see, KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 55 and “عرب الهيثم”, KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 287, as the lack of security in some areas resulted from some villagers and *Bedouins* aggression led to the attack of *Rajab Shahbander* and the Court’s translator at Jerusalem. Later it would appear that the attackers were not from the district. The term ‘*Aārabi* (singular of *urbān*) though, as used in the Ottoman documents to refer to the bandits whenever they were *bedouins*, makes the theory presented the activities of banditry are controversial. The term itself represents scattered *Bedouins* who abandoned the desert life and chose to “settle” around cities, creating by that a different lifestyle, which shall invalidate framing the Bedouins in banditry. Especially that the Ottoman documents also included attacks conducted by villagers and *ashqyā’* (أشقياء), (a general term referring to troublemakers). This is also supported by the tradition of Shiekh Al-luqmi when he was visiting the district, returning from Hebron to the town of Jerusalem. As he elaborates that he could not reach certain holy sites due bandits in the early morning (dusk), phrasing his fear and experience into poetry that states the following: “ alas that I cannot reach you as I fear the haling ‘*ārāb*’ (plural of ‘*Arābī* that also means ‘*urbān*): *عذراً للحماء وصول ومن خوف أعراب هناك تصول*. See, Mustafa As’ad Al-luqaimi (1178/1765), *Tahdhību Nawāniḥ-l-’uns bi Rihlati Liwadi’l- Quds*, ed. Riyad A. Murad, (Damascus: Manshurat Al-hay’ah Al-ammah As-sūriyyah Lilkitab, 2012), 156

main function of these systems.⁴ In the early years of the 18th century, Jerusalem was governed by Mehmed Pasha (“until retirement”, he was in a daim-state of position), and there was a mutasallim administrating the district instead of the governor (vice-governor), Mustafa Agha, then Ali Agha, during the designated period.⁵

In connection to the general Ottoman view, the developments and changes in the Empire, chiefly, influenced the situation of Jerusalem, which was reflected on its society. The dethrone of Mustafa II (the turmoil in the palace) and the economic crisis (or transformation) resulted in administrative issues in Jerusalem.⁶ In the second half of the 17th century, the district witnessed the demise of the three governing families, in a “centralization” attempt conducted by the Central Porte, that saw to demolish their network and replace them with rather loyal “non-indigenous” officials. Such incident further generated a power vacuum that reached different districts including Jerusalem (Acre and Nablus as well).⁷

Historians, who adopt the “decline paradigm”, interpret such an event as a result of what some call “the Ottoman decentralized Porte” and its weakening power and control over its peripheries and provincial regions. The theory demonstrates the declining Ottoman control over its remote areas (i. e. the provinces). In a state of demolishing, the Ottoman Empire resorted to the Körpülü’s “restorations” or re-centralization process. On interior strata, considering the narrations of travelers that view the lifeless Jerusalem, historians found that the corruption of the decentralizing

⁴ Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration Around Sixteenth Century Jerusalem*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 4

⁵ Mustafa Efendi would later have a supportive role in the *Naqib Al-Ashraf* revolt, then become the district’s judge until 14 Rabi’ul Awwal 1114. See, Ibrahim, Rabay’ah, Introduction to *Sijillāti Mahkemeti’l-Qudsi’sh-Shra’iyyah (sijil 201)*, intr. Halit Eren, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2016), IV-IX

⁶ Ibid., V

⁷ Ze’evi, “The Rise and Fall of Local Dynasties” in *An Ottoman Century*, (New York: State of New York University Press, 1996), 35-62

powers caused the interior economic crisis which led to a state of chaos, poverty, and banditry.⁸

Furthermore, historical studies reflect other Ottoman conditions on the provincial region. The losses that the Ottoman Empire witnessed after Karlowitz must have been considered a general state of the Ottoman provinces as a whole. Thus, the decentralization argument took over the historical perspective of the provincial regions. Considerably, the theory's essence is focused on the administrative, interior policies, and the assumed loosening connections between the Central Porte and the local powers, that are molded into the "autonomy" theory.⁹

From another perspective, revisionist historians of the social history, of the Middle East, refute the decentralization paradigm. They propose that the Ottoman variances as another source of centralization, and they view "autonomy" or "semi-autonomy" of the local powers as an Ottoman ruling method. Mainly, since the first aspect of the Ottoman ruling (or "tool to control the peripheries") was centralism, and the other one was liberalism ("Leninism"), or what Haim Gerber calls "freedom and autonomy".¹⁰ Moreover, Kamil. J. Al'asali emphasizes that the local governors were assigned by the Ottoman Porte as a further measurement of Ottoman control.¹¹ Surprisingly, the Christian hierarchy or the patriarchal institution does not seem to be considered as part of these local power. Particularly that such institution is not included in the administrative system or the official spheres of the Empire, according the attested studies.

⁸ Douglas A. Howard. *A History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950-57), 53-4

⁹ Metin Harper, "Center and Periphery in the Ottoman Empire: With Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century." *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale De Science Politique* 1, no. 1, (1980), 81

¹⁰ Haim Gerber, *The Social Origins of The Modern Middle East*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1978), 10-11

¹¹ K. J. Al'asali. *Jerusalem in History*, (England: Scorpion Oublishing Ltd, 1989), 216-17

Nonetheless, examining the Ottoman archival sources we notice that the decentralization theory, that strongly relies on the perception of the rising power of local families and the incident of their demise, appear to have a flaw. In that matter, in addition to the Ottoman interest of preserving its control, the governors were incompetent in maintaining security and safety, and controlling the flux of taxes, which, from the requisite perspective of the Ottoman method of ruling, threatened the Empire's most reliable economic source, the revenues. Hence, the decision in replacing the governors must have been greatly connected to the issue of revenues and the safety of its sources.¹² It is worth mentioning that according to Suraiya Faroqhi, and other historians of the Ottoman economy, land and land tenure formed the fundamental economic sources of the Empire. Faroqhi highlight that: "These lands were not only a political unit but, in part due to the pax-Ottomans, formed an area in which inter-regional trade was facilitated by relative security on the caravan routes".¹³

Furthermore, considering the conditions prone to the eve of the 18th century, and in its early years, Jerusalem underwent significant security issues, which had been reflecting on the population in general, Muslims and non-Muslims. However, the security approach shall not, only, be considered as a result of one century of events, as it was a part that formed the social structure and the surrounding of Jerusalem, throughout the Ottoman history, and perhaps in previous periods.

In that order, incidents of banditry were recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries as much as in the 18th century. Al'asali highlights episodes of banditry that occurred in Jerusalem during the second half of the 16th century, when the *Bedouins* "mounted their attack on pilgrims' caravans to the Holy Spring in Hebron

¹² Ibid., 200-13. Al'asali's scholarship relies on the narration of Muhibbi (1111), *Khulāsat Al-Āthar Fi 'Ayāni'l-Qarnii'l-Hādī 'Ashar*, vol. 4, 108, (Jerusalem: Peters, 2012), 488

¹³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, (London: Tauris, 2006), 5

and Nabi Mūsa”.¹⁴ In the 17th century travelers’ traditions, also, narrated similar incidents, despite the exaggeration of description. Henry Maundrell’s cornicle informs us that passes were requested from pilgrims in exchange of protection, “They (“passes”) were at first levied by Christians to yield a recommence to the country, for maintaining the ways in good repair, and scouring them from Arabs, and Robbers.”¹⁵ Moreover, in the late 17th century Abdulghani Al-nabulsi underlines that they were escorted by the *sipahis* when returning from Hebron to the town of Jerusalem.¹⁶ Not only Muslim travelers but also Christian visitors were escorted by sipahis, and soldiers, on their pilgrimage, from Jerusalem to Jordan. As Maundrell elaborates his journey, he underlines that:

The next day being Easter Monday, the Moslem governor of the city, set out, according to customs with several bands of soldiers to convey the pilgrims to Jordan. Without this guard, there is no going thither by reason of multitude and insolence of the Arabs and in their parts.¹⁷

In the early 18th century attacks did not cease, since it was the Ottoman perpetual concern, as observed in the *Kadı* registers. In relation to that, in a fermān issued from Edirne in 1114, the Central Porte ordered the wālī of Jerusalem, Muhammad Pasha, to counter the *Bedouins* (urbān) and troublemakers (ashqiya) in the liwās of Nablus, Gaza and Jerusalem.¹⁸ Another fermān, issued in 1114, was decreed to the wālī to control the liwās that were subject to the hajj route, and to make sure to protect (the caravan) from the *Bedouins* attacks.¹⁹ Previously, the judge's order to investigate a raid by the *Bedouin* at the hajj caravan that was

¹⁴ Al’asli, *Jerusalem*, 208

¹⁵ Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem After A. D. 1697*, (Oxford, 1703), 4

¹⁶ Abdulghani Al-nabulsi (1143/1731), *Al-hadratu’l-Unsiyyah Fi’r-rihlati’l-Maqdiṣiyyah*, ed. Akram Hasan Al- ‘ulbi, 1st edition, (Beirut: Al-masāder, 1990), 254

¹⁷ Muandrell, *A Journey*, 77

¹⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 347

¹⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 246

followed by attacks on the markets of Ramlah, Jerusalem and Gaza.²⁰ Furthermore, on 1113, Shaykh Abdulrahman Al-banna requested to rent the cracked roof of the oil hān (sūq Al-zayt) (located in the waqf of the *Bamirstān*) to prevent the thieves and the manipulators (al-muḥarribūn) from raiding the place.²¹

Eventually, the lack of security was hindered by different methods undertaken by the Central Porte, and the local authorities. As uprisings, revolts and rebellions, along with banditry, were part of the conditions of Jerusalem, under the Ottoman rule, the Porte invented intriguing methods to stop the *Bedouins* and the villagers from banditry activities, such as attacking foreign pilgrims, attempting to rebel and -most importantly- attacking the hajj caravan. While local governors integrated Mamluk mercenaries and forces including Bedouin and villagers, and occasionally abed firearms as precocious or a reaction to strikes or uprising,²² the Central Porte had rather potent solutions. Though these solutions did not prevent banditry nor revolts, they were effective for the period of hajj and Christian pilgrimage. According to Al'asali, the Ottoman Empire was eager to maintain security, as the Central Porte took intensive procedures, it first assigned Bedouins as *sancak beys*, allocated timar holders to Bedouin emīrs and villages' shaykhs, and granted them the task of protecting the caravans. The Central Porte, also, populated Bedouins in the countryside, by establishing settlements exempted from timar and za'āmat and from participating in military campaigns outside the *sanack*, in-order to enable them to defend the pilgrim's caravans to Mecca. Finally, the Porte built fortresses to protect exposed areas, like the one at Suleyman's pool.²³

As stated in different studies, the Ottomans offered the *Bedouins* alms to cease their attacks on the hajj caravans. Such a policy outlived in the first years of

²⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 56

²¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 59

²² Gurdun Krämer, *A History of Palestine: From The Ottoman Conquest to The Foundation of The State of Israel*, trans. Graham Harman & Gurdun Krämer, (Princeton University Press, 2008), 55

²³ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 209

18th century. In Sha'bān 1114, a fermān was sent to the wālī of Sham ordering him to collect the *Bedouin* alms (*surret-Al-urbān*) that guaranteed the safety of hajj caravans, underlining the importance of handing the money to the emīr of hajj (head of the hajj caravans). Other signs of security alarms were the order of kadī Mahmoud Efendi to get rid of (or terminate) all the stray dogs in Jerusalem, as they were harmful to people and holy sites.²⁴ ²⁵ Moreover, a new Ottoman legislation was issued to raise the fine and punishments of crimes, in the early 18th century.²⁶

In addition, assigning Bedouins on the protection of the hajj caravans, or as the head of the Arabs (amīru'l-'Arab) or sancaks beys, and taking *Bedouins* as hostages in the season of hajj, were other Ottoman methods of preserving immunity (though temporary) during hajj time.²⁷ Not only during the hajj season, but also throughout the year, as demonstrated earlier, the Ottoman administration was ardent on preserving the stability of Jerusalem. Such a process that provokes our query whether the Ottoman preparations of the Bedouins, the villagers, and the fortresses, were merely to protect the pilgrim caravans from the *Bedouins* attacks, or were they part of the renovating plan of Jaffa, along with protecting Jerusalem from invaders or “possible exterior attacks”. Surely, Jerusalem and the coastal line of Ottoman Palestine were another frontier for the Ottoman territory, that offered a significant revenue source. Perhaps that the Empire realized the need to create a new geographic weight (i. e the east), after the losses in the Balkan and south of Russia.

²⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 426. We must highlight that Al-Jablay family was assigned to this task. Al-jabaly family occupaies a long record in the 18th century Jerusalem, and a significant role in the economic practices conducted by the Christian population in the district.

²⁵ It is difficult to decide whether the security of Jerusalem was under jeopardy, in the early 18th century or not. Especially that cases or recorded of banditry were a few and other cases regarding taking precautions to counter bandits was mainly to protect that *hajj* route. Curiously when viewing the *Bedouins*' attacks as a cultural feature, that been known to the Ottomans for two centuries now. Nevertheless, crime and disorder should not be an element of regression nor decline prediction, as the nature and culture of an area would inflict upon and influence on the occurrences and lifestyle. Nor should it be a characteristic of a century, as crime existed in all periods of the Ottoman history.

²⁶ Ibraim Rabay'ah, *Tarikhi'l-Quds Fi'l- 'Asri'l-U'thmaniyyi Fi Daw' 'il- Watha'iq: Khilala 1600-1700*, (Amman: Maktabat kul Shay', 2014), 32-4

²⁷ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 208-9

From another aspect, the documents demonstrate accusations of corruption of officials and functionaries. Some officials were -falsely- accused of arbitrary practices and misconduct of their authority. In 1111 the *muderris* (teacher) of Al-Aqsa (Abdulrahman Afifi) was accused of corruption and excessive use of authority, however, the accusation against him were dismissed (“starched in the defter”) after the end of the 1703 revolt. Some documents, on the other hand, present complaints to the *kadı* against the *subaşı* (the head of the police), requesting his dismissal from his position for his corruption and prejudice.²⁸

What is more, along with the Ottoman administrative officials, religious officials (or intermediaries) were dismissed or replaced due to complaints and accusations presented by the synods or by the distressed *re'āya*. The patriarchs of the Armenian and the Greek Orthodox communities, as will be attested in the following chapters, were -on different occasions- dismissed under the accusation of corruption, conspiring, or converting to (or supporting) Catholicism.

Later in mid-1703, the district would witness a revolt that disturbed its stability, and that would be the infamous incident of Naqīb Al-Ashrāf. The incident forms a significant study matter that many historical traditions consider as a sign of a collapsing security, on one hand, and as another symptom of the Ottoman decline, and a consequence of the crumple of the circle of equity, on another.²⁹ The revolt would not last long and would be halted in 1705, as the Central Porte regained its control. We must underline that traits of the revolt are perceived in the late 17th century and are accorded to the economic conditions cast by the Ottoman geopolitical (or territorial) crisis, which, consequently, resulted in the

²⁸ In 18 Muharram 1115, an investigation is launched regarding the complaint of the people of Jerusalem about Abdulrahman Afifi and others so being corrupted and having connection with the governors “فاسدون مفسدون يغمزون أهل القدس عند الحكام”. KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 288

²⁹ Singer, *Palestinian*: 11

implementation of the *awāred* system, that was later excessively exploited by administrative parties.³⁰

It should be noted that in many studies the revolt (of 1703) is addressed from the administrative, diplomatic and the political perspectives, with a focal point of the theories of centralization and decentralization.³¹ However, the revolt had -also- another facet when inscribing the social and interior aspects of Jerusalem. Albeit the population support of the head of the *ashrāf*,³² the revolt's straits altered its economic and social contingencies. Most importantly, the non-Muslim population was affected as much as the Muslim population. Notably that the relations between the rural and urban sides were temporarily stagnated and the markets and the businesses were harmed, as the study demonstrates bellow.

From the social scope, examining the urban population of Jerusalem, we realize that they relied -wearily- on rural-men and Bedouins in their business, trade, manufacturing, and agriculture.³³ The soap manufactories, for instance, relied on Bedouins to provide urban-men with their raw or cure materials.³⁴ Such economic exchange must have been interrupted, by the revolt of the Naqib Al-Ashrāf. Furthermore, the hajj and Christian pilgrimage were temporarily suspended as well. The Christian pilgrims were hesitant to visit the Holy City, and the hajj route was not safe anymore.³⁵ Moreover, the *Kadı* registers stand witness on the influence of the

³⁰ Abdulkader. M. Stieh. "The Ottman Struggles with Nangib Al-Ashraf and Local Replies in Jerusalem 1702-1705", (Master Thesis, Birziet University), 21-39

³¹ See, Rif'at Abou-El-Haj, *the 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of the Ottoman Politics*, (Leiden: Netherlands Historsch-Archaeologisch Instituut re İstanbul, 1984), Karen Barkey, *Empires of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), and Ze'evi, *An Ottomann* 191-2

³² Ahmad Hussien Abdu'l-jubouri, *Al-Quds Fi'l- 'Ahdi'l- 'Uthmai (1640-1799): Dirasah Siyasiyyah, Askariyyah, Idariyyah, Iqtisadiyyah, Ijtima'iyyah, Thaqaifiyyah*, 1st edition, vol. 2, (Jordan: Daralhamed, 2011), 55-66

³³ Ilan Pappé, *The Rise and Fall of A Palestinian Dynasty: The Huysaynis, 1700-1948*, (London: Sadi Books, 2017)

³⁴ Krämer, *A History*, 49-59

³⁵ Rabay'ah, *Sijillāt*, V-VI

revolt and the distress preceeding it. The expanse of cases appears to, slightly, decreased, while the defters, earlier to May 1703, hosted about 300+ paper (varaks) and 600+ record, the number of cases, in this year, slightly declined. This situation did not last long. However, by the end of the revolt, as the Ottoman Empire restored control over the city and managed to reinstall its administrative system, the number of cases increased. On the other hand, the documents also present a growth in interior migration, new families of villagers (“ta’ifetu’l-fallahīn”) arrived in Jerusalem and the number of its community members rose queasily.³⁶

Withal, the revolt, corruption, and the fluctuating security were not the only factors that altered the social and economic conditions of Jerusalem. According to the court registers, the district underwent a climate change that impacted the harvest, the buildings, and trade. Many cases, presented before the kadı in the first year of the 18th century, reveal petitions and permissions of the urban population to restore their damaged buildings after relentless winter (“kathrati’l-Amttār wa’t-thulūj”).³⁷ Some of these buildings were holy sites, as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, some others were monasteries, hāns, houses, fountains, and waqfs. In addition, few agricultural areas appeared further burdened, presumably by the sudden changing weather. Records show that villages were disturbed by shifts weather conditions, and the consequences were chiefly present in taxes payments (*kharāj*, *jizyah* ...etc.), that shall be further discussed in the next chapter.

However, changes and alterations were not continuously negative. Renovations of waqfs, sabīls and building in the district's main town, or the old city (hereafter the town of Jerusalem), during the early 18th century were witnessed, which would indicate a high degree of public activity. Such activities were witnessed amongst Muslims re’āyā as much as non-Muslims.

³⁶ Ibid., VI

³⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 171

Administrative wise, the regional and local shifts molded a new, yet not entirely, Jerusalemite administrative face. And created, to a certain extent, new economic and social trends. Considerably, Ilan Pappé asserts that:

The district underwent a new socio-political competition and interior tensions; Gaza and Jerusalem encountered interchanging governors and the high pitch of competition of Jerusalem's *ayān* sustained or created their network and affluence would rise.³⁸

From another aspect, the disorder, that accompanied the 17th century variances, was not the broad reality of Jerusalem, as we would assume when viewing the Ottoman ambiance. In that, the 17th century's rebellions of the Jelālīs in Anatolia proven to be propitious to the Arab provinces, in general, and Jerusalem, in particular. The so-called Ottoman “decline” (or decay) in reality was an Ottoman transformation that flipped the scales sides, changed the face of economy and politics, and proliferated the social changes, at least in Jerusalem.³⁹ This leads to the perspective rose by the revisionists, who challenge the decline and decentralization theories and uphold the transformation spectrum.⁴⁰

³⁸ Pappé, *The Rise*, 8-12

³⁹ Dinar Rizk Khoury, “The Ottoman Center Versus Provincial Power-holders: an Analysis of the Historiography” in *the Cambridge History*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, vol. 3, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 135-156

⁴⁰ When addressing the administration of the provincial areas, and Jerusalem in particular, historians fondly consider the decentralization procedure undertaken by the Central Porte in an attempt of balancing the power sphere and maintaining its control. This theory erupted due to the decline paradigm that evolved around the results of the 17th century and the power vacuum that emerged in the 18th century. These theories were the most adopted in viewing the political and social history of the region. Nevertheless, transformation and new paradigm of shifting configuration of the Empire and its provincial areas, that we attempt to strongly relate to the social transformation experienced in the 18th century Jerusalemite society and its Christian population. For discussions on the decentralization and the post effect of the Ottoman provincial emergence of local power see, Karen Barkey, “An Eventful Eighteenth Century: Empowering the Political” in *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 197-225, Khoury, “*The Ottoman*”, and Carter Findley, “Political Culture and the Great Households” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 63-80

From a social perspective, historians, auditing the social history of the Empire, especially the provincial areas, focus on the officials- re’āyā (administration- re’āyā) paradigm. Which served

Considering the transformation theory, perhaps the disposition of Jaffa was the significant Ottoman alteration in the district of Jerusalem. The instability of Nablus, confronting the governor of Acre, and the rising monopoly of Jazzar Pasha over the revenues and economic activities of Acre, in the late 17th century,⁴¹ must have been another fundamental reason after which the Ottoman Empire aimed to develop the port of Jaffa. This change, eventually, shortened the hajj and pilgrimage routes, and gave the Central Porte another source of revenue, and provided the population other means of trade and money circulation.

As previously stated, the occurring events in the Empire, unquestionably, grasped the depth of the provincial territories, and for the matter of this study, Jerusalem. As it is to be presented later, economic and political issues cast a shadow over the Jerusalemite administrative and economic compass and gave way to other families and classes to participate in the history of the society and the district. As asserted by Al'asali “these developments had naturally adverse effects on the provinces and also on Jerusalem”.⁴²

Hereafter, occupied with recovering from the downfalls and compensating the economic losses, through excessive taxation, the Ottoman Empire further began to pay attention to the security of Jerusalem, which, perhaps temporary, curtailed the power vacuum that the Ottoman defeats devised. What is more, in fermāns, addressing the wālī of Shām, the kadı of

information about the “day-to-day workings “of the Ottoman administration. See, Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*. Breaking not the stereotype of told and untold histories. Furthermore, institutions were constantly connected whether to administration or religion aspects, mosques, churches, and temples (synagogues) were normally viewed from a religious point of view and questioned by the “autonomy” scholarship, that formed the cornerstone of separated societies.

⁴¹ Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablū, 1700-1900*, (University of California Press, 1995)

⁴² Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 208

Jerusalem, and the *mutasallim* of Jerusalem, Gaza, and Nablus,⁴³ the Ottoman Porte surfaced keen to issue orders of protecting and maintaining the security of the district of Jerusalem, and iterated its orders to meet the needed expenditure to secure the hajj caravans that were passing through the Jaffa-Jerusalem route.⁴⁴

Eventually, during the first three years of Jerusalem's 18th century, the Ottoman Empire manage the complaints of corruption, the loosening or fluidity of the administration, and the economic issue of taxation.

1.1 Society, community, and re'āyā

Apprehending the social history of Jerusalem, within a particular period, such as the 18th century, while focusing on its Christian population and the holy sites, is noticeably a difficult conviction, remarkably, when examining the city from a non-elite (ordinary people) scene. Interactions, relations and day-to-day common practices are the absent spectra and an untold history of the district of Jerusalem, since the acute focal points of the majority of studies are the administration, the elites, and merchants.

Fundamentally, the Ottoman society (of the 17th and 18th centuries) is currently preferred to be approached from the concept of transformation versus decline, that is produced by a “demo-economic change in ideological strife”. As Petmezas writes:

The social transformation of the Ottoman state and society, in the 17th and 18th centuries, is the result of the internal demo-economic change of meaningful

⁴³ We wish to highlight that the sancaks of Gaza and Nablus were on different years allocated to the power or authority of the wālī of Jerusalem. Which helps to estimate the significance the district was gaining in that period. See, KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 140, no. 201, 873

⁴⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201: 299, 347, 372

ideological strife of incessant conflict among social groups and political factions.⁴⁵

In the sphere of social studies, when addressing the Ottoman society, it is adhering to question whether the Ottoman Empire was aware of the concept of “society” and whether historians examined the Ottoman *re'āyā* as a society. No doubt that the Ottoman society was expanding throughout a vast territory. Hence, the social borders were increasingly amorphous, due to the social, economic and political connections. In that relation, reading studies addressing Jerusalem, ere the 19th century, we seldom read the term society delineating one unit. To further explain, using the Ottoman terminology the term “*re'āyā*” (or subjects as mostly translated) is mostly popular among these studies. And further, contemplating on the “*re'āyā*” while considering the aspect of religion, the term “community” is, normally, used to address the non-Muslim population, and at all events as an autonomous and “self-organized” communal society. This means conceptualizing the Ottoman society as segregated and separated segments. We must highlight here that seeking commonality by a modern perspective amongst an ample social structure, that extended within the border of an immense geography, inspired these studies to segment the population and consider them autonomous communities. Petmezas’s study of the Greek Orthodox sets an example of the use of the term community with different connotations, by which he establishes a discrepancy between community (“*koinonia*”) and commune, in line with the lifestyle and social and economic conditions.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the society is projected as rather divided and segregated into segments or categories, sometimes for the purpose of the study and others for theoretical reasons. Najwa Al-Qattan, in her research of the Sectarian Boundaries of

⁴⁵ Socrates D. Petmezas, "Christian Communities in Eighteenth and Early Eighteenth Century Ottoman Greece: Their Fiscal Function" in *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Molly Greene, (Princeton University Press, 2005), 73

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 74

Ottoman Damascus (as an urban center), is one of the historians who views the Ottoman society as segmented based on what she chooses to note as “confessionnal” features, elaborating that:

Many agree that in many Ottoman urban centers a strong sense of religious identification, communal self-organization and sectarian sensitivities and prejudice gave shape to predominantly Christian and Jewish neighborhoods where *dhimmis* lived and where they had in place their religious and communal institutions such as churches and schools.⁴⁷

It presses our attention, when examining the matter of the non-Muslim population, that the term society is considerably used as an umbrella under which resided segregated or separated groups. Consequently, the groups, per se, attained -a sort of- a claimed “autonomy”, and coexisted under the concept of “tolerance” within the frame of security.⁴⁸ Similarly, Aaron argues that “life under the banner of Islam was not truly safe to anyone except among his own kin”.⁴⁹ Hence, such studies interpret the “society” through the adoption of the concept of “autonomy”, by which each community of religion is addressed as a society that existed side-by-side with another of a different religion and different characteristics. In other words, as each community formed social, economic and safety networks, through residing within the same space, it is believed that they were granted the mechanism of self-administrating, a matter that the study further argues in the following chapter.

Although the available studies examine elements, institutes, and forms of living that constituted the society, yet the perception of the Ottoman social life in Jerusalem is in scraps. Such predicament is a result of the methods of the historical

⁴⁷ Najwa Al-Qattan, “Across the Courtyard: Residential Space and Sectarian Boundaries on Ottoman Damascus” in *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Molly Greene, (Princeton University Press, 2005), 14

⁴⁸ Bruce Maters, *Christians and Jews in the Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-16

⁴⁹ Adar Arnon, “The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period” *Middle Eastern Studies*, (vol. 28, no. 1. (1992): 1

examination of the primary sources. As they interpreted the Ottoman documents and terminology as an evidence that the Central Porte addressed the society (or re'āyā) fractionally. The scholarship further had officially (and unofficially) assigned a leader of each social element. Such condition created to the eye of the researcher a mosaic of which each piece is claimed to be segregated in different color, shape, and size.

Nonetheless, we ought not to assume that the understanding of the concept of “society” did not exist in the Ottoman perception. Maybe an attempt to explain this claim through the circle of equity would offer the validity of the proof.⁵⁰ In connection to that, in his *Muqaddimah* (Prolegomena) Ibn Khaldūn assumes that the essence of a state is based on the presence of the people (society), and land.⁵¹ From that aspect, the system in the early modern era, generated the circle of equity to “maintain its persistence through its belief of justice”, that was based on the content of the re'āyā and the stability of control over the lands and revenue. Hence, the society in the 18th century Ottoman Empire was rather a composite redaction of Ibn Khaldun's theory. The Ottoman Empire was aware of the diversity of its re'āyā, perpetuating policies according to their civil and religious characteristics, a form that would attain a perception of the social concept under its different designations of re'āyā, millet...etc.

Furthermore, the diversity of the Ottoman territory reflected the miscellany of its society. And when considering the macro-micro dichotomy, every region, area, and district had its unique cultural and social characteristics, that indeed devised before us the need to study each element, sometimes aside. However, these geographies begot common experiences and features and interrelated traits that must

⁵⁰ For information of the circle of equity see, Linda Darling, *Islamic Empires, The Ottoman Empire and Circle of Justice, Constitutional Politics in the Middle East: With Special Reference to Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan*, ed. Said Amir Arjomand, London: Hart Publishing, 2008: 11-32.

⁵¹ Ibn Khaldun (808\1406), *Al-Muqaddimah*, 4th edition, (Beirut: Dar Ihya'it-Turathi'l-'Arabi, 1960)

not be marginalized, similarly when considering the Christian communities of Jerusalem. In that matter, attempting to study the Ottoman society of Jerusalem, it is alluring (and captivating) how many cultural aspects related to the Jerusalemite re'āyā we are able to learn from the *Kadı* registers. We discover, for instance, day-to-day cultural practices amongst families, sects and the elements of the society, cultural heritage, cultures related to women and others to men, marriages traditions...etc. On another aspect, we retain information related to the physical appearances, such as sartorial features, women and men, clothing, architecture...etc. We further notice, though occasionally and limitedly, how each communal group managed their economic and social practices. We find, for instance, the degree of the public activity shown through leasing, renting, purchasing contracts and renovations permissions. It is noteworthy that few historians undertook such features, under the scope of their studies, as factorial evidences of the transformation of the society

Historical studies of Jerusalem and its society, examined and supported with revises from the primary sources, are rather focused on the Ottoman periods towards the end of the 17th century and the 19th century. After all, approaching the social history of Jerusalem urges us to highlight the nationalism influences that shed light on the district's history from an ideological point of view. Nationalists pursue Jerusalem's history under Ottoman rule using its laments forming a pitied image and predicting changes that mostly occurred under the modern political and social state formation (i.e. nation state). In other words, the mass of the historiography examines the history of Jerusalem projecting it under a nationalist or an orientalist expanse. As they regularly preview the history backward, relying on 19th and 20th centuries' events. Also, they employ modern notions and terms to describe historical conditions and occurrences, and “telescoping time present into time past”.⁵² They, as well,

⁵² Benjamin Braudem, “Foundation Myths of the Millet System” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Function of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (London: Holmes & Meier Publications, 1982), 69

broadly rely on the travelers' narrations as raw information, insufficiently cornered or examined in a scene of comparison. Anyway, the orientalist meander, ousted during the 20th century, considerably participated in forging the history of the Arab provinces in light of Ottoman rule, when scholars lacked, to a certain extent, access to Ottoman archival sources, and when language was a barrier.

Accordingly, when viewing the social map of Jerusalem, many studies include terminologies that are 19th century based. Modern terms, that are valid in the late period of the Ottoman history in Jerusalem, are generally used in addressing earlier periods. The terms, nationalism, ethnicity, segregation, minority...etc., that are applied in apprehending the Jerusalemite history, must be then a result of impressions that the 19th century had transmitted to the theories of the 20th century. Amy Singer's prominent study, for example, that examines the rural life in light of the Ottoman administration, constantly uses the term "peasants" instead of villagers, giving an implication of the theory that approached the Ottoman economic system as feudal.

Possibly, it is more convenient to explain the above-mentioned argument that the historiography of space created a framework for the study of the Muslim cities along the Mediterranean littoral. Such argument is centered on a narrative of irreversible decline from the rational grid plan of classical antiquity to the slow degeneration into irrational diagonals meandering alleys and culs-de-sac of the Muslim present.⁵³

Moreover, studies on Ottoman Jerusalem appear to -vigorously- focus on urban life, and mainly in the town of Jerusalem. knowing that Jerusalem, as an independent *sancak* of the 18th century,⁵⁴ consisted of about twelve *nāhiyah* (sub-

⁵³ André Raymond, "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21, no. 1, (1994), 2-18

⁵⁴ By independent we refer to its changing status, after being affiliated to the the *sancak*(s) of Lajjun, Acre and Gaza interchangeably.

districts), four of which were the Town of Jerusalem, Hebron, Ramlah, and Kufur-‘Arqoub. Some sancaks were occasionally and temporary annexed under the authority of its governor, during this period, namely Nablus and Gaza.⁵⁵ The administrative status of these sancaks would also change later in 1114 during which they were considered *kasaba(s)* within the administrative borders of Jerusalem.⁵⁶ However, the rural life was a less conducted research matter, and our historical knowledge of its social aspect is limited, chiefly that we possess less information of an obscure and variable number of villages, of which most active, and presumably significant, villages were mentioned within the folds of the registers. Of these we mention, Silwān, Al-bīrah, Al-led, Ramlah, Bethlehem, Ain Karem, Kufur ‘Aqab...etc.

Fortified by a seven doored wall, Jerusalem had a unique structure of rural and urban areas. Only at the end of the 17th century, it started to have an official seaport, after the commencement of Jaffa that completely settled and started to officially operate in the early 18th century. Such an even prompted significant shifts in the life of its society, and its Christian population.

Although the urban and rural spaces of Jerusalem experienced different social, administrative and economic experiences, yet they were interrelated and dependent on each other. The prestigious elites of the urban side needed the services of the rural population, and the later found its market in the urban side.⁵⁷

Fundamentally, the fate and mise-en-scene of Jerusalem and its population (Muslim and non-Muslims) is akin to the surrounding sancaks, Gaza and Nablus more precisely, and Acre occasionally. Earlier in the 16th century, for instance,

⁵⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no.199, 198, no. 200, 156. In late 17th century Gaza and Ramlah were affiliated to Jerusalem, later in the early 1111 they were independent district. Yet after Mid 1111 (the first year of the 18th century) they were again affiliated to Jerusalem.

⁵⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no.201, 443

⁵⁷ Ze’evi, *An Ottoman*, 92, 106, 111

Gaza,⁵⁸ and Nablus generously contributed to the building of the walls of Jerusalem.⁵⁹ During the 17th century, the incompatibility of the district's governor to maintain security and influx of taxes brought Jerusalem to be annexed, in different periods, under the ruling of Gaza's governor.⁶⁰ Finally, Gaza and Nablus were also responsible to cooperate with the governor of Jerusalem to maintain security during the hajj route.⁶¹

Later in the 18th century Jerusalem, though for a short period, would emanate to the level of wilāyah (vilayet),⁶² and the administrative ambient seemed to fluctuate (having Nablus and Gaza annexed to the administration of Jerusalem and further titled as affiliated sub-districts (tābi kazāları). Thereafter, such variance would leave an influence on the demographic map, resulting the appearance of prominent families in Jerusalem, who added new money circulation multitudes and economic activities. In other words, whenever Nablus and Gaza were affiliated to Jerusalem, it meant that its social map varied, and the interior immigration was possibly more facilitated. Families such as, Al-jabaly (originally a Gazine family) are strongly present in the records of Jerusalem, as it brought fiscal benefits to the district by being part of the real estate and moneylending activities, many of which, if not most, occurred at the Christian quarter, and with the Christian re'āyā.⁶³ Such

⁵⁸ Gaza latter in the 18th century suffers a drought, hunger and prices inflation that was indicated in a *fermān* and an icmāli document dealing with the aware of the district. KS, Jerusalem, no.199, 198, no. 200, 259-60

⁵⁹ Amnon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 10

⁵⁹ Ibrahim Rabay'ah, *Tarikhi'l-Quds Fi'l- 'Asri'l-Uthmaniyyi Fi Dhou'il- Watha'iq Khilala 1600-1700*, (Nablus: Maktabat kul Shay',1991), 472

⁶⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no.199, 171, 282-83. Also see, K. J. Al'asali, *Watha'iq Maqdisiyyah: Ma'Muqaddimah Hawla'l-masadiri'l-Awaliyyah Litarikhi'l-Quds*, vol. 2, (Amman, Mu'assasat Abdulhamid Shooman, 1985), 252

⁶¹ KS, Jerusalem, no.199, 192, 322-23

⁶² Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 217

⁶³ Within, roughly, 22 cases (in registers, 199, 200, 201 and 202) an impressive record of Al-Jabaly's family and their occupations and cases recorded in the early years of the 18th century. About where they were money lenders, real-staters and local traders. Their *Terikes* also stand an evidence on their wealth or economic conditions.

condition explains the existence of Muslim endowments (hereafter waqf or ewqāf) in the mentioned quarter.

No doubt that having all the available studies of Jerusalem might point out that we attain a comprehensive image and a well-built picture of all aspects and elements of the district. Nonetheless, examining these sources provides us with a binary paradigm of state-society or the one and the other, through which we are equipped with valuable historical narrations and conclusions. However, these results are not enough to form an understanding or a historical knowledge of the Jerusalemite society and the Christian population in a critical period, such as the early 18th century. Mainly that the available information of the social structure, population distribution, and economic power...etc., are confined to the earlier periods of the Ottoman rule (1516-1699).

Not only the historical periods, but also the geographic sphere needs to be revised. To elaborate, each sancak, in the Arab provinces, had a main town that normally under the same name, yet Jerusalem had two main towns, the first was Jerusalem and the second was Hebron. However, we find that many of the Ottoman studies of the district focus on Jerusalem the town. Thus, it is laborious to consider that we currently possess a full perspective of Ottoman Jerusalem as a sancak, rather the current traditions provide a limited preview of its society, and more precisely the Christian population, notably due to the scarcity of studies on the rural areas. Approaching the villages of Jerusalem was a unique attempt by the aforementioned study of Singer. After all, Singer examines the life of villagers and their status under the Ottoman rule, which -indeed- offered a comprehensive image of the economic life of certain villages in the 16th century. As it maybe, the details offer about the main villages of that period ought to encourage the researchers to widen the outlook of Ottoman studies wherein the district and attempt to establish scholarships that

undertake its social history and examine the economic and social life of the non-elites.

1.2 Physical appearance and topographical attire

The matter of the physical and topographical appearance of Jerusalem is strongly connected to the understanding of demographic distribution, cultural synthesis, and social configuration. This study aims to reveal such elements in regard to the Christian population, as we believe that without apprehending the physical structure of Jerusalem it is hard to grasp its social structure, and consequently, the interaction within the society.

Primary records and secondary traditions participate thoroughly in equipping us with the needed information to map the appearance of the district. Such materials were handled by historians interested in the social and religious history of Jerusalem, and the synthesis of the latter within the framework of the Ottoman administration. Nevertheless, the interrelation between the innate characters, as a factor of the social emergence, is slightly, yet not earnestly, addressed. Henceforth, it is decisive to tackle the matter (of the interrelation between the physical emergence and the transformation of the society of Jerusalem), in an attempt to reach a broader understanding of the Christian population of Jerusalem in connection to the public space and the property of the worship places.

The captivating record of Al-luqaimi's travel to Jerusalem, during the first half of the 18th century, provides us with a splendid detailed image of Jerusalem's physical attraction and features. It gives extensive attention to describe the walls and doors of its main town, and its fountains, springs, holy sites...etc. It, also, presents a contemporary review of its ethnical and religious diversity, all with mellifluous facets and a historical observation of each aspect. Not only the physical description

of the urban area, but also of the rural area, on which Al-luqaimi adds an erudition of the area's geographic and agricultural characteristics.⁶⁴

Occasionally, travelers defined their destination from a personal discern, and perhaps influenced by its significance (mostly religious) to them. Al-nabulsi's travelogue, which is focused on meeting religious figures and visiting holy sites, conveys a unique observation of Jerusalem. He describes gardens, hanging gardens (hadā'iq mu'allaqah), and caves of which some had religious importance.⁶⁵ It is noteworthy that some chronicles present a particular vision of Jerusalem as a city that was rooted in their own culturally constructed image and history. Other chronicles include descriptions that rely on "hearsay or cursory",⁶⁶ asserting of fundamental flaws, especially when contrasted to normative Europe.⁶⁷

Located in the heart of the Ottoman Palestine, the sancak of Jerusalem was lined by the Mediterranean from the west and Jordan river from the east, and with Nablus from the north and the Naqab desert from the south. It consisted of numerous major and minor villages and *nāhiyals*. Katip Çelebi estimates Jerusalem villages to be about 1600 villages towards the end of the 17th century.⁶⁸ Though the number might be exaggerated, yet we do not possess a conviction that challenges this narration.

By integrating Jerusalem to the Ottoman Empire, Suleiman the Magnificent (or Kanūni) took on himself re-constructing the protecting walls of Jerusalem,

⁶⁴ Khalid Hamshari, "Lat'iful-Unsi'l-Jalil Fi Taha'if'il-Qidsi wa'l-Khalil", (Master Thesis, Nablus: Al-Najah University, 2000), 154-74

⁶⁵ Al-nabulsi, *Al-Hadratah*, 85, 243-44, 299

⁶⁶ H. Z. Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and the 17th-Centuries*, *The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage, Politics, Society and Economy*, vol. 33, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 5-6

⁶⁷ Laurent D'Arvieux, *Memoires Du Chevalier D'Arvieux*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Labat, (Paris, 1735), 418

⁶⁸ Evliya Çelebi (1095.1684), *Evliya Çelebi Siyahetnamesi*, trans. Zuhuri Danişman, vol. 13 (İstanbul: Zuhuri Danişman Yayınevi, 1970), 145

especially after the rise of raid surges,⁶⁹ or “deliberately upgrading Jerusalem” to become equal in status to towns like Gaza and Safad. He further configured the establishment of the water system, renovating and re-activating dilapidated commercial structures and ramifying its administrative system.⁷⁰

Jerusalem (the town), was protected by the doors system, which upheld a symbolism of cultural and social contribution. Each door led to a significant landmark and led out to an important trade or travel roads. The doors opened by the sunrise and closed by the sunset, no one, unless with an exceptional permission, would be admitted at the end of the day. Visitors who arrived late had to remain outside of Jerusalem or await next to its doors (until dawn).⁷¹ The system did not differ in the 18th century. Al-luqaimi narrated his experience with the door’s system as he and his travel-mates took the permission (“as it was accustomed”) to enter Jerusalem after the sunset.⁷² Furthermore, the fortification of the door of Jaffa (known as *bab-i’l-Khalīl*) also brought additional value to these doors.⁷³

We must highlight that the magnificent walls of Jerusalem hosted seven main doors that each led to the interior of the city from all directions. As stated above, some doors were more validly significant than the others. Presumably that their significance was determined by the quarters, roads, markets or municipal facilities it led to. The most vital and constantly mentioned doors in archival sources were Bab Hatta (where the largest quarter was located and named after it or vis-à-vis), Babi’l-’Amoud, Babi’s-Sahira, Babi-Dimashq (or Jaffa’s), and Babi’l-Khalīl. The architectural characteristics and the paleography set on the top of each door carried a significant historical heritage of each period the district underwent.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Rabay’ah, *Tārīkh*, 1991, 32

⁷⁰ Amnon Cohen, 10

⁷¹ Rabay’ah, *Tārīkh*, 1991, 31-33

⁷² Al-luqaimi, *Tahdhīb*, 102

⁷³ KS. Jerusalem, no. 200: 137

⁷⁴ K. J. Al’asali, *Al-Quds Fi’l-tārīkh*, (Amman: University of Jordan, 1955), 22-23

It should be pointed out that interpreting the walls of Jerusalem was granted a mount importance as much as addressing the history of the district. Perhaps the most peering interpretation is the Islamic characteristic that the walls shed onto the city, which played a role in the aforementioned argument of viewing Jerusalem as an “Islamic City”.⁷⁵ This interpretation -also- calls on admitting the society of Jerusalem as segregated and approaching it only on the basis of religion.⁷⁶ Such view creates an incomplete image the Jerusalemite society in general and the non-Muslim population in particular. Some interpretations favor the Islamic characteristics of the walls, viewing their importance as putting the district back to its greatest due to religious reasons. This condition encouraged protecting the city from the foreign attacks, besides the intention of protecting it from the *Bedouin* raids.⁷⁷

On the other hand, geographic (or strategic), military and economic conditions preceded the Ottoman decision of fortifying the town of Jerusalem. After the Ottoman reconstructive procedures, the district- in general- and the town of Jerusalem- in particular- proved to sustain a relevance to the region and the Empire.⁷⁸ Throughout the Ottoman history, the walls of Jerusalem were considered a reason, albeit not persistent, of security, economic, demographic development. The latter was not, however, connected to the physical emergence of the district by historical studies.

⁷⁵ Ze’evi, “Zooming In” in *An Ottoman Century*, (New York: New York University Press, 1996). The debate of identify Jerusalem as Islamic city is comprehensively reviewed by Oleg Grabar in her article where she demonstrates the details and considerations under which we would whether to approach the district as an Islamic city or a city under a Muslim rule. See, Oleg Grabar, “Islamic Jerusalem or Jerusalem Under Muslim Rule” in *The City in the Islamic Wolrd*, vol. 94, no. 1-2, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond, (Brill: 2008), 317-328

⁷⁶ Petmezas, *Christian Communities*: 74

⁷⁷ K. J. Al’asali, “*Al-Quds Tahta’l-Hukmi’l- ‘Uthmany*” in *Al’amāl Al-Kāmilah li-Kamil Jamil Al’asali*, (Amaman: Wizaratu’thaqafah, 2009), 243

⁷⁸ Amnon Cohen, *The Economic Life of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989), 468

During the early Ottoman rule of Jerusalem, the census was recorded as 14.000 to reach 46.000 in the mid-16th century. However, the figures observed a decline towards the end of the century.⁷⁹ These reluctance and fluctuation were witnessed throughout and towards the end of the 17th century, as well. The rise and decline of the demographic census were normally interrupted by security and economic reasons. The 17th century Christian pilgrims normally described Jerusalem empty and resided by poor monks. This narration contradicted the narration of other Christian pilgrims, who transmitted an optimistic description of the district. Withal such account could not be observed in Muslim travelers' traditions. We speculate that the spiritual and emotional status of travelers and pilgrims played a role in their observations and narrations.

Relying on the *Kadı* registers we observe yet another sign of demographic changes. A document that registers the revenue rate in the early 18th century states that while the total revenue from Jerusalem was 7000 (qirsh) twenty years ago, in 1700 about 6100 and 7000 were collected only from two villages of the district (Albierah and Dier Ibrahim).⁸⁰ This fact should indicate a rise in population count in these villages, especially that taxes were levied per household during the period under examination. Unfortunately, we cannot prove that it was the status of the entire district, and further, providing a full perspective of the census count of the early 18th century Jerusalem requires broad research that we find it can exhaust this study

Hence, the urban life of Jerusalem was characterized by the walls, doors, towers, hammāms, fortresses, fountains, roads and quarters.⁸¹ Jerusalem, then, was known for its quarters system. Based on empirical documents this system started to emerge in the early 18th century. The mentioned spaces took over the attention of

⁷⁹ K. J. Al'asali, *Baytu'l-Maqdis Fi Kutubi'rrihlat Inda'l Arab wa'l Muslimin*, (Amman: Daru'l-Furkan, 1982), 234-44

⁸⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 292

⁸¹ Ibrahim Rabay'ah, *Tarikhī*, 1991, 36

historians, travelers, and pilgrims. Understanding the quarters of Jerusalem was, sometimes, bound to the writer's perspective, and was strongly connected to the argument of the “Islamic city” and the conviction of “Millet System”.

It is important to highlight that the physical divisions of Jerusalem and its quarters were not an Ottoman invention as much as it was a cultural result of a long history of diversity. In other words, such culture, further, appeared in the prior-Ottoman periods. These quarters might occur to be based, solely, on religious miscellany (or heterogeneity), anyhow, they were -also- divided conforming to tribes, families, occupation, landmarks and “social heroes”. For example, the Sharaf quarter was named after Sharaf-Eddīn Mūsa and his family, a rich trading family that resided in the city since the 14th century.⁸² This Jerusalemite (and probably an Arrab provinces wide) culture was inherited, in its strongest peak, since the medieval period of the Seljuks. Therefore, the nomenclature of streets, quarters and blocks could not be a direct impact or imposition by the Central Porte, considering that the Ottoman inherited the re’āyā of these districts fashioned with their culture.⁸³

For more details, each quarter was titled by the word Mahallah (mahalle). Each mahallah confined sub-quarters (*hārā* pl. *harāt*), noting that, defining the division as mahallah or hara in light of the difference between both terms is debatable.⁸⁴ The size of the hāras sparked an argument since the Ottoman documents, ever so often, used both terms interchangeably. Hence, hāra, in the archival sources, could mean mahallah and vis-à-vis. *Hārat Al-sharaf*, for instance, was -

⁸² Al-luqaimi, *Tahdhīb*, 402

⁸³ Arnon, “*The Quarters*”: 1-3

⁸⁴ Some historians such as Ludovico Micara considered *hara* as a livelihood and cultural practice. See, Ludovico Micara “The Ottoman Tripoli: A Mediterranean Medina” *The City in the Islamic World*, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond, vol.94, no. 1-awsr2, (Brill, 2008), 399-400

sporadically- addressed as “Mahallat Al-sharaf” in the registers, presumably after its size or significance.⁸⁵

Furthermore, mahallas that were mostly mentioned in the *Kadı* registers, of the early 18th century, are Mahallat Al-naṣārā, Mahallet Al-rīshah (under which lied an important *hāra*, *Hārat sahyūn*), Mahallat Al-sharaf, Mahallat Bab Al-Amūd (under which lied Harat Al-ifranc (the Franciscans), Mahallat Al-sa’diyyah (under which lied one of the most important *hāra*, *Hārat Al-qattanīn*- (Cotton makers), Mahallat Al-zara’nah (under which lied Mahallat Al-haddadīn), Mahallat Al-Yahoud (under which lied Harat Al-Maslakh), and finally Mahallat Bab-Hatta.⁸⁶ In addition to, Mahallat Al-Mawarna and Mahallat Al-Arman. Hence, under each Mahallah lied different *hāra*(s) (sub-quarters) that were also identified after the same categorizations.⁸⁷ Noting that, the quarters were recorded slightly different, in the registers or the description of chronicles, that confuses the researchers in concern to the accurate divisions of the town. However, it is a result of the constantly changing topographical map and the rise of new circumstances, besides the previously mentioned *hāra*-mahallah characteristic.

Although many studies of Jerusalem narrated its interior physical appearance, perpetuating it administratively decided, which was based on ethno-religious aspects, yet, *Tahrir Defterleri* and *Kadı Sicilleri* provide a distinct perspective. No doubt that Jerusalem consisted of quarters (mahallas) and sub-quarters (*hārās*), named after a religious group, a community of one occupation, a tribe or a famous hero or scholar, nevertheless, these clear lines did not present the real social structure of Jerusalem in the early 18th century.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 81, 200

⁸⁶ Rabay’ah, *Tarikh*, 1991, 37

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 38-39

⁸⁸ Ahmad. H. Al-Qudah, *Nasara’l-Quds: Dirasah fi Daw’l-l-Watha’iqi’l-l- ‘Uthmaniyyah*, (Lebanon: Beirut, 2007), 84-5, 181-2

To elaborate the suggested conviction, it is important to draw an image of how the topography of urban Jerusalem looked inward and outward during 1700-1703. The quarter-based division in the district was only observed in the town of Jerusalem, no studies nor archival sources offer a topographical division, as that of the main town of the district (Jerusalem). Mostly, because the other towns were majorly based on rural life system and were rather divided into villages. The second reason would be that the main and most important religious sites existed in the urban area of Jerusalem, and accordingly many quarters were formed.

After all, the topographic divisions of Jerusalem emerged in the early 18th century. Indeed, it was not a sudden emergence, and rather gradual. The borders of the divisions and topographic structure were not as clear and obvious as they were in prior periods, all due to demographic expansion and variance, and due to the growing economic activities rural wise. Perhaps the most significant information regarding the social and topographical structures of the rural area, we have at hand, is in understanding the nature of Jerusalem, being surrounded by mountains (Nablus in the north, Al-Khalīl, and Al-Naqab in the south), brought society to live and build villages together, regardless the ethnic, religious or social-class differences.⁸⁹ Growing villages would later be divided into quarters, probably for a more indulgent administration or perhaps for a social preference, as it was accustomed already in previous periods in the urban area.⁹⁰

Hence, giving the period under examination, Jerusalem was a rather organized district and its towns had fairly definite topographical features. The gathering of a certain community, that forged each mahallah, *hāra*, or village was defined by nature and desire.

⁸⁹ K. J. Al'asali, *Al-Quds Fi t-tārīkh*, (Amman: Wizartu'th-thaqafah, 2009), 22

⁹⁰ See, Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 80-3

The diverse population in the mahallahs of Jerusalem was a characteristic of the 18th century as well. Documents, recording cases on the eve of the century and the early years of its first decade, show vital real estate activities taken place in the most crowded mahallahs, as all elements of the society were involved in deals of purchases and leasing through the district. That being said, each mahallah was not resided only by its categorizing populations. The Christian quarter, for example, was a composite of Muslims, Jews, and different Christians rites, and the Jewish quarter was resided by Muslims and Jews, by the majority.⁹¹ Moreover, markets, that were sometimes monopolized by a certain tribe, family or rite, did not dispense an exclusion of the formation of blended market members. Ottoman documents designated that the tailing market (sūq al-khayyafīn) was managed by a Muslim majority and headed by a Muslim guild-head (shaykh), notwithstanding, it likewise included Greek Orthodox and Armenian trailers (or *mu'allems*).⁹²

Finally, the topographical image (or map) of the urban Jerusalem was a general culture under which lied a mixed community. An observation that, indeed, influences the fundamental understanding of the historical aspects of Jerusalem and its society. On another aspect, along with the walls as an architectural symbol of Jerusalem, which significantly reflected a cultural and a social influence, and with the quarters division, the district was marked with its fountains (*sabīl(s)*), pools (*birkah(s)*), baths (*hammām(s)*), and houses with open yards (*sāhah samāwiyya*), that were, to a certain extent, surrounded by a mixed population.

Contracts of houses purchase at the *Kadı Court* guide us to notice the culture of directions followed by the Jerusalemites. Locating houses was narrated according to the location of other houses and landmarks, the surroundings were neatly described, and doors appear significant in houses' descriptions. The arches of the

⁹¹ Rabay'ah, *Tārīkh*, 1991, 37

⁹² KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 317

doors, colors, and dimensions were mostly mentioned and considered another tool of direction and location, and were a sign of social and economic prestige, based on the material used and the size of these doors. Moreover, the houses consisted of one or two floors, facilities (*marāfiq*), kitchens and more importantly tanks (*ṣihrīḡ*). Windows were, also, significant in the cultural description of houses. It appears that the early 18th century was marked with a new architectural trend of installing windows. Many records, presented by Jerusalemites re'āyā, reveal requests of permission to install new windows for their houses and premises. A fascinating record of a Christian Jerusalemite mentions the full details and expenses of a house he built. Part of which are the material used, of piles, marbles, chestnut woods, limestone, the number of rooms and facilities, the number of floors, the number of windows (seven windows), the number and style of the yards, and the doors.⁹³

Municipal and religious institutions, and services, formed a major urban characteristic in Jerusalem prior and during the 18th century. Hospitals, madrasas, pools, hāns, coffeehouses, fountains (*sabīls* and *birkas*), paths, markets, shops, and some other religious institutions, such as waqfs (Muslim and non-Muslim or sultanic and official), *zāwiyahs*, monasteries, ribāts...etc.⁹⁴

In relation to that, at the turn of the 18th century, Maundrell presents a description of the countryside and towns. Towns and major villages were marked by their pools and fountains. He keenly, in fascinating details, portrays the water system of Jerusalem and the water channels between Bethlehem and Jerusalem.⁹⁵ After all, the outer and interior physical and topographical appearance, the culture of houses construction and the real estate and municipal services constituted historical factors in forming and transforming the society of Jerusalem and marked its social and economic activities.

⁹³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 53

⁹⁴ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 211

⁹⁵ Maundrell, *A Journey*, 89

1.3 Social structure and the cultural context

The Society of Jerusalem consisted of different rites and ethnicities. The majority of the population was Muslim, whose preponderance was Arab, and a small percentage included immigrants, who chose to move Jerusalem from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, (now-days') Turkey, Bosnia, India, Persian and others. Christians (that were not regarded by the state as one community, on occasions) were the second majority of the district with various (or "denominations"), Latin, Greeks Orthodox, Armenian, Copts, Abyssinians, Serbs, Syriacs (or Suryānīs), Georgians...etc. The majority of Christians were Arab Greek Orthodox. While the Jewish communities formed the least number of the Jerusalemite population, of which the majority constituted immigrants fleeing from Spain, Yahud Al-ifranj.⁹⁶

The changes in Jerusalem's lifestyle within the course of the 17th century conceived its influence during the 18th century, which resulted in a restructuring of the district's social map. Henceforth, families' star rose, and other families faded. The late 17th and early 18th centuries witnessed a rising number of records of Al-jabalys, a Gazine family who perhaps immigrated to Jerusalem or expanded towards it. We do not learn the reason of the immigration of these families, nonetheless, based only on the *Kadı* registers, Gaza suffered a drought in that period,⁹⁷ in addition to the excessive "personal taxations" imposed by the governors on essential goods,⁹⁸ and -presumably- the weakening of its port which resulted from the changes of administrative officials and the rising star of Jaffa port, that overlapped Gaza. These matters must have urged economically vital families to resettle. Moreover, the *Kadı* registers trace plagues taking over the surrounding area of Jerusalem, which -indeed-

⁹⁶ Ibid., 204-6

⁹⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 259

⁹⁸ Salim A. Almubayyed, *Gazah wa Qita'uha: Dirasah Fi Khulou'l-Makan wa Hadaratu's-Sukkān*, (Egypt: Matabi'l-Hay'tu'l-Misriyyah Al 'ammah Lilkitab, 1987), 313

played a role in the fluctuating census in these areas and the district.⁹⁹ Hence, it was the development of Jerusalem and the crisis of Gaza that brought an immigration movement.

When attempting to reasoning why families would choose Jerusalem to immigrate, we recall the instability of Nablus (and other close economic centers), and the prosperity of Jerusalem's market due to Jaffa's activities. The *Kadı* registers present incites that Jerusalem witnessed a rising economic and social activities, in light of surrounding unstable diacritics and the development of Jaffa's port. We do not have studies of a clear timeline of the life of these families. Nor we have details of their activities and lifestyle that they brought along to Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the study of Amnon Cohen, of the guilds of Jerusalem, offers some hints, though not as accurate, about them, yet we learn that they were impeccably engaged in the economic life of the city. For more details, according to the records Al-jablay family, though their wealth and economic activities, which was circulated rigorously amongst the family members, their interaction with the society is quite attractive. The family's position in the economic transactions and money circulation, debts and loans, functioned notably in the economic and social life of the Jerusalemite society, that is mentioned in detail in the second chapter.

The society of Ottoman Jerusalem, in general, was a complex amalgam. Understanding the lifestyle of its population means understanding the social structure, daily life transactions, and street practices. We need to recognize that in order to find a concrete image of the society of the district, we ought to realize that the court cases of the Jerusalemite society also existed in the court of Damascus, Nablus, and Ramlah.¹⁰⁰ This can be justified by two factors, distance, and previous administrative affiliation. Such information suggests that we still have unrelieved

⁹⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 259

¹⁰⁰ Rabay'ah, *Sijillāt*, V

details and facets regarding the district and its population, and its possible extended relations and connections, economic and trade networks...etc. A document demonstrated in Al-Qattan's study, found in the court of Aleppo, gained our attention. This document presents a three-party dispute between Al-Najjar and Al-Zaghloul families, on one hand, and a Jewish man and an Al-Attar, on the other. The disputed parties were from Aleppo and Jerusalem.¹⁰¹ We can also apply such observation from the court of Jerusalem, where cases included non-Jerusalemite individuals from Aleppo, Nablus, Gaza, and Rumeli, especially in cases addressing partnerships and businesses.

Furthermore, understanding the physical appearance and topographical map of Jerusalem indeed underlines the social pattern, and structure, of the district and the directions of its practices. Although, in an initial preview, Jerusalem appears finely divided into quarters, based on religious categorization, we find that, beneath that structure lied a complex social map that probably would challenge the social and political theories addressing the Jerusalemite society.

Regarding the quarters of the urban Jerusalem, within the walls of the town lied four quarters based on the religion of its inhabitants. Considerably, the Christian quarter, the Maronite quarter, the Jewish quarter, and the Franciscan quarter were the focus of the majority of studies on the district. Nonetheless, the classification continues complying with tribes, occupations, and landmarks (as stated above). Notably, these quarters were identified clearly in the Ottoman archival sources, such as the *Kadı* registers that this study is strongly built on. Nevertheless, according to observations of the Ottoman archival sources and travelogues, we could not detect a quarter entitled as "the Muslim quarter".

However, the physical divisions of Jerusalem, which was formed by culture and traditions, was rather complicated than what many studies conveyed. Many

¹⁰¹ Al-Qattan, "*Across The Courtyard*", 17

historians were confused by the clear mahallah-divisions, categorized by the ethnicity or religion of their population. thus, it was believed that Jerusalem was divided into major mahallas and minor mahallas where population lived separately.

In that matter, the major mahallas were the Christian, the Jewish, and Bab Hatta (a quarter that is not religion based). In addition to the minor mahallahs of the Magharibah (Moroccans), and the Mawārnah (Maronites). This distinction is made according to the vitality of the quarter and its size. However, under the neat and organized divisions -presented- lied the complex texture of Jerusalem's society. Within the Jewish Mahallah, for instance, existed two important hāras (sub-quarters), Al-Maslakh and the Rīshah, the latter was a hāra of a mixed religious, ethnical and tribal texture, as far as the registers prove.¹⁰²

Hence, documents and narrations prove that the Jerusalemite social structure was further complex and remotely mixed. Considering the scholarship presented in the available sources; tribe, family, race, occupation, market, and landmark-based quarters, neighborhoods and blocks took place in the topography of Jerusalem, such as the Al-haddaādīn, Al-Qattānīn and Bab-Zayd's quarters. What is worth mentioning here is that these mahallahs were populated by majorly Muslims, or Christians, yet not entirely. The Armenian quarter, for instance, was not resided by Armenians only, and the jewelers' sub-quarter (or block) (located in the same quarter) was not only occupied by Armenian jewelers as well. The population of the quarter was a unique mixture found through the mutual or common occupations, the vital activities of leasing, renting and house purchasing, and the social preference.

Ascribed to financial security and prestige ("a symbol of social status") by historians, such as Suraiya Faroqhi, Abraham Marcus, and Costandi Abdalnour,¹⁰³ the court registers indicate a vital real estate and land purchase movement amongst

¹⁰² KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 188

¹⁰³ Al-Qattan, *"Across The Courtyard"*, 19

the population. These purchases occurred in different quarters by Christians or Muslims (and occasionally Jews). Thus, by the time, no long, quarters denoted merely a physical division lasting from earlier period, rather than social, in the early 18th century. Additionally, records of Sultanic waqfs, that consisted -sometimes- of a village or a group of villages, showed that hassakis such as Ledd, Bethlehem, Ayn-Jala (sometimes pointed to as Beyt-Jala) (that were exempted from all kind taxations or some of them including the *awāred* , a matter that would be amplified in the later chapter), were resided by Muslims and Christians.¹⁰⁴

In prior studies of the 17th century, we learned that Jerusalem's population preferred to reside in the vicinity of their houses of worship and the space of common religious beliefs, as a matter of social security.¹⁰⁵ The Jerusalemite society, and presumably all other population of the Ottoman society, not only preferred to inhabit the places around their worship houses, monasteries, and holy sites, but it also a matter of a social choice to guarantee "security" and cooperation for taxes collection. Nevertheless, this preference was not as appealing in the early years of the following century. Social patterns started to vary on the eve of the 18th century as the real estate market was revived (if not invented), and social security took another turn, and people, regardless of their religions, were renting rooms, houses, shares of houses...etc. Such actions were determined by their financial status rather than religious or social.

Culture stands as another element of the merging social structure of Jerusalem. Based on some food habits, charity, and unprecedented judicial decisions few archival documents presented Jerusalemite cultural habits that accorded some social interaction. On Shawwal 1110 and 1111, at Hebron (Al-Kahlīl) (then a sultanic waqf), a petition presented to the kadı regarding the expenses needed to

¹⁰⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no 199, 196, 198, no.201, 14

¹⁰⁵ Oded Peri, *Christianity Under Islam in Jerusalem*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Halil İnalcik, Leiden: Brill, 2001: 10-12

bake Sumāt (the well-known semit or -perhaps- nowadays Jerusalem's bread) to distribute it on the poor. It is unstated who were categorized as poor and to whom this bread has reached, given the fact that the town was a waqf with an assorted community of Muslims, Christians, and Jews. However, we know that it was annually made in numerous amounts, since it was distributed on residence and visitors to the Harem and Mūsā waqf.¹⁰⁶ This culture was also recorded in chronicles in a keen interest in describing the event.¹⁰⁷

In relation to cultural interaction, in a record, dated to 1111, Sayyid Abdulhalim (indicated as the son of Muhhib-Eddien (the Shaykh of Al-Aqsa in later documents¹⁰⁸) kept the tradition of his father in conferring charity to the Greek Orthodox; three cows and candles (sham') during the Muslim and Christian holidays.¹⁰⁹ Another record protrudes the same tradition by Muhammad bin Muhammad Agha, stating that his family distributed charity of 25 Egyptian paras to the Greek Orthodox, a cow to the Armenians, 86 Egyptian paras to the Franciscan Jews,¹¹⁰ and 3 Egyptian paras to the Arab Jews (Siknāğ), during the Muslim and the non-Muslim holidays.¹¹¹ Indeed these two documents highlight some information of significance. They recount the financial conditions of Christians, Jews, and Muslims, and further give hints of adjacent Muslim and non-Muslim families. The documents also suggest an interior-diplomatic approach by well-known families to gain social alliances.¹¹² Besides, they denote the absence of definite social "segregation".¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 206

¹⁰⁷ Al-nabulsi, *Al-Hadrah*: 252

¹⁰⁸ Hasan A. Al-Huseiny, *Tarajum Ahli'l-Quds*, ed. Salamah S. Al-Nau'ymâg, (Amman, 1985), 331-34

¹⁰⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no199, 87

¹¹⁰ The documents actually states that the gift was given the Jews and Franciscan "اليهود والافرنج" yet, relying on the context and the consistency, we assume that the scribe mistyped the Franciscan Jews "اليهود الافرنج".

¹¹¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 124

¹¹² Pappé, *The Rise and Fall*, 15-16

¹¹³ Al-Qattan, *Across the Courtyard*, 7

On a further note, when attempting to approach the non-elite class, we find that the Jerusalemite society is often studied on a macro-scale, which formulated the methodology of studies on rural and urban areas. In further explanation, relying - majorly- on examining the taxation system, historians offer detailed information on the elements of the Ottoman society structure in Jerusalem. Nonetheless, their scholarships are based on the elites- re'āyā or administrators- re'āyā paradigms, which creates an uncertainty on the information of the micro-scale of the day-to-day life of the non-elite re'āyā. As available studies discuss the Christian population in presenting the Ottoman administrative policies, the role of the community leader (“spiritual leader”), in the frame of the modern terms, such as minority versus majority, and the presence of religions within the social chemistry, they imagine that the society was naturally and physically operated, segregated and divided by the well of the Ottoman Porte.

Certainly, the Ottoman administration was another element of formulating and reformulating the social stance. Its role in forming or transforming its incorporated societies was splendid. However, to what extent could this support the preview that states the Ottoman adaptation of the concept of “divide and conquer” or perhaps “segregation” as an Ottoman method of ruling? Based on our conclusions from the archival sources, the documents of the Jerusalem transmit that the Ottomans ruled the region with the indigenous cultural and social laws of the annexed regions.¹¹⁴ These devious remarks lead to or support many Ottomanist scholarships, predicting the Ottoman methods of controlling and ruling its regions, like Jerusalem, and its population. One of these scholarships is the “Millet System” theory. After all, the “Millet System” theory is supported by acceding the quarter-system and projecting the religiously based divisions of the district. Mainly it focuses on the Jewish and the Christian quarters, which relatively were transformed in the early 18th

¹¹⁴ Jane Hathaway, *The Arab Lands in The Ottoman Era*, (Minneapolis: Center for Early Modern History, 2009), 9-12

century, and as presented above, they were, since the 17th century onward, formulated in a mixed social structure. Indeed, discovering the presence of these quarters prior to the Ottoman period partially refutes the Ottoman creation of a “Millet System”, at least in Jerusalem, chiefly in the early 18th century.

On the other hand, while the urban social structure appears convoluted, the social structure and geographic divisions of the rural areas are not any less complicated. This is revealed in the *Kadı* registers, where villages were more divergent than the quarters of the city, and where the population was more blended than the urban areas. To explain what is suggested here, Waqf Al-Magharibah, which consisted of Ramleh, Ledd, Bethlehem and Ayn-Jala, for instance, was populated by Christians, Jews, and Muslims, in addition to different ethnicities.

Furthermore, within the major villages existed smaller ones, under Ledd, essentially, existed seven minor villages. These villages compassed a social tissue of different religions and ethnicities, demonstrated through the taxation system.¹¹⁵ Again, a chronicle hint of the social distribution in the rural area might be present in Maundrell’s tradition, perhaps similar to that of the town of Jerusalem. In his visit, Maundrell narrates his observations of Bethlehem, where he was heading to the Holy Manger around which “prevailed the Greek and Armenian convents contentious to the Latins”.¹¹⁶

Eventually, there are no comprehensive studies of how many villages were subordinated to Jerusalem nor of their social structure. Providing a full scan based on *Tapu (Tahrir) Defterleri* would deplete this study, yet it would be a great use for our historical knowledge to conduct such a research. Although many studies are handling the history of Ottoman Jerusalem, however, our socio-historical understanding and information are still rough. In that, the complexity of the social structure, lifestyle,

¹¹⁵ Rabay’ah, *Tāikh*, 1991, 20

¹¹⁶ *Maundrell’s Journey*, 89

and social interaction are still awaited to be revealed whether as “onion layers or garlic divisions“.

1.4 Economy and the financial conditions

On a wider scale, the economic condition of Jerusalem and its society is debatable. Clearly, the current understanding of this economy is mostly based on the Ottoman economic conditions, provincial interior quarrel, and excessive taxation incidents. However, we do not have tangible evidences from the archival sources that prove the claim which states that the society was poor and suffering as much as some 17th century travelogues highlight,¹¹⁷ nor we have a clear proof that they were living in welfare. Indeed, excessive taxation (*awāred*) and corruption are recorded in 18th century documents along with the inability of paying taxation in kind, in some (not all) of the rural areas, due to the climate conditions. The burden of taxation, mainly, fell upon the villagers. Besides the tithe (‘*oshr*’) (paid in kind and more than 10%, though the percent differed from one place to another), as the population had to pay a variety of taxes including the *awāred*, while poll-tax (*jizyah*) was paid in cash and collected by state officials or by authorizing the religious hierarchy.¹¹⁸

No doubt that the Ottoman economic conditions transformed Jerusalem’s economy and population, as the Empire shifted its eyes towards the east, in an attempt of compensating its geographical losses, the emphasis on the taxes and revenues collection in the Arab provinces was growing. These revenues were further outlined in the *awāred*, that the Ottoman Empire would, occasionally or for long periods, resort to, in an attempt to balance production -and- consuming, or crisis-and-stability. Naturally, such procedure took place in Jerusalem as well. On Muharram 1111, as the first *awāred* tax of the 18th century was listed, people of Jerusalem were

¹¹⁷ See, D’Arviux, *Memoires*, vol. 2

¹¹⁸ Krämer, *From the Ottomans*, 58

paying about 5 qirsh(s) (equal to 600 Akçe) per household, while they paid about 6500 qirsh(s) as *awāred*.¹¹⁹

The Ottoman concern for revenue embodied in the fluctuating administrative status which was witnessed in Jerusalem. The governor's position was bound to his achievements of tax collection, if he was unable to collect the prospected revenue, he was replaced by another trusted to realize his duty. Such condition was reflected in the archival sources, which normally led to the view of an unstable administrative image that we would fail to understand, when not connected to the economic conditions and revenue collection.

Reflecting on that, in the 17th century, Jerusalem was annexed to the authority of the governor of Gaza.¹²⁰ Nonetheless, in the last decade of the century and within the first decade of the 18th century Gaza, Nablus and Ramlah were constantly annexed to the authority of the governor of Jerusalem, and further, Nablus and Ramlah were, named as its *Kaza* (sub-district). Such condition was- occasionally- the result of the incompetence of the governors. Needless to say, along with the administrative changes, these sancaks were also under the patronage and authority of the kadi of Jerusalem,¹²¹ which could, also, explain the appearance of the cases related to new families. This administrative emergence was beneficial to the society, and certainly influential elite families, who persisted to establish connections with the government on one hand, and the re'āyā, on the other.

Furthermore, the Ottoman customs are fundamental in addressing the social history of the district, and the economic conditions of the society, mainly since the customs system grew further in the early 18th century, when Jaffa port was activated. Customs would later show great influence on the social life of the re'āyā, regardless of their synthesis and mode of categorization.

¹¹⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 140

¹²⁰ Al'asali, *Al-Quds*, 214-15

¹²¹ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 14

In comments on financial conditions, *fermān* was sent to the judge of Jerusalem of the redistribution of an overdue *jizyah*, that was announced unpaid in certain villages, could be interpreted by economic or financial issues.¹²² However, payment tardiness should not, merely, be considered an inability to pay the *jizyah* in light of financial crisis or difficulty. The condition could be related to the corruption of the officials, such as the corruption of the spiritual leader or their representative (*wakīls*). In that, a power vacuum generated due to administrative interchanging, tardiness from the *muḥaṣṣil* himself, or social civil corruption. However, it is important to notice that the *fermāns* do not indicate the reasons for the overdue payment. A similar case was recorded in a *fermān* ordering the judge of Jerusalem to investigate an unpaid *awāred*. Yet, the condition was explained by the corruption of the taxes *muḥaṣṣils* or the district's *mutsarriḥs*, through other documents, in which the population of certain villages or towns raised a complaint against the *mutsarriḥ* of Jerusalem in the early 18th century (Mustafa Agha) for imposing *awāred* on exempted villages, and practicing excessive taxation collection that raised the distress and the objection of the population of these areas.¹²³

Previously, a *fermān* approached a late taxation payment that was due to the late 17th century (1106 hijri) of a total of 8000 *asadī*, when quarrel and administrative changes were controlling the scene.¹²⁴ Of course, the time gap of revenue registration, in addition to death of the taxes payers and immigration would, also, belated tax payments, which sometimes leads to the an overload of tax-paying. Such matters, occasionally, would circumvent the due date, and the population could be overburden by the old amount of tax-paying.¹²⁵ However, reflecting on these three imperial orders, we conclude that unpaid taxation could be interpreted by economic issues, corruption or another face of evading tax payment.

¹²² KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 289

¹²³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 145, 283

¹²⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 162

¹²⁵ Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 20

Furthermore, the weather condition also played a key role in altering the economic conditions of the Jerusalemite society. In the early 18th century, Jerusalem was affected by a wave of climate change or environmental changes, since the rain was not abundant as usual, and some, villages, were affected to the level of the inability of providing the annual revenue expected by the state during summer. Nonetheless, this factor was not a general predicament that affected the entire district. In that, documents indicate an acute crops-traffic of the essential products of the interior trading transaction.¹²⁶

Interestingly, thanks to the Ottoman documents, we learn that urban areas, especially Jerusalem (the town), were interested in the rural production of olives, pomegranate, citrus, figs, and almond. This growing market of the early 18th century was part of the life of the Christian population who participated in it distinctly. All in all, we realize that the economy of Jerusalem relied on rural and urban economies. The rural and urban populations were dependent on each other. While the rural population provided the urban areas with the raw materials and substance, needed for trade and manufacturing, and the urban population provided the rural areas with the needed markets to sell their products.¹²⁷ Such feature witnessed a splendid vitality early in the 18th century. Perhaps soap factories and trade would forge the best example of such a novel. Soap production was a trademark of Jerusalem throughout the Ottoman history, such production, along with the exchange of services, appealed in the *Kadı* registers. Not only exchanging services, but also forming companies and partnerships, which relied on soap business was observed. In relation to such observations, a case between Yusuf walad Farahullah Al-naḥḥās Al-naṣrānī and Murad ibn Al-haj Arslan Agha involved 18000 qirsh(s) company of soap production.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 172

¹²⁷ Ze'evi, *An Ottoman*: 102-3

¹²⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 271-2

We must note that 20th century historical studies emphasize that the urban economy of Jerusalem relied -heavily- on crops. Nevertheless, later studies prove that it also relied on guilds, real estate markets, small manufactories, that would later evolve, local trade and debt circulation (moneylending). There were 60 guilds in Jerusalem, as observed by Cohen,¹²⁹ and 2056 shops were recorded by Katip Çelebi in the last quarter of the 17th century.¹³⁰ Each guild, and craft, had a shaykh that managed it. (the shaykh is quite significant for this study and to be mentioned again in the next chapters)

Moreover, Jerusalemites worked in different, and almost countless, occupations. These occupations varied between foods and drinks, municipal services, leather goods, textile production, and houses and households. Guilders were a community organized by policies, chores, and micro-administrative officials or authorized members, who regulated the purchase of materials, production, taxes, prices, solved disputes and, occasionally, presented complains before the court. It is difficile, to present a comprehensive review of the Jerusalemite guilds in the early 18th century within the spectrum of the study, as the guilds' study encompasses another sphere of social and economic interaction. In other words, the “harbinger of civil society”.¹³¹ In spite that, it is worth highlighting that the social structure that formed the craftsmen stance and guilds was as complex as the society of Jerusalem and its population distribution. Guilds' members and guilds' heads were a mixture of ethnicities and rites. Sometimes, a certain ethnicity, family, or rite supersede a guild in number or its management, like the guild of the *zababalīn* (scavengers) (other terms are *tarrābīn*, *mu'azzilīn*, and *al-murtafaqāt*), which was managed by and associated to Al-jabaly family.¹³²

¹²⁹ Cohen, *The Guilds*, 13

¹³⁰ Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Siyahetnamesi*, 250

¹³¹ Cohen, *The Guilds*, 185

¹³² Ibid., 70

The rural economy, on the other hand, remains obscure to the historians of the Ottoman history. Few have presented comprehensive studies undertaking rural economies and population. As mentioned earlier, Singer's study of the "Palestinian Peasants" under the Ottoman administration, appeals in viewing valuable information on the rural economic production and activity. However, most of our knowledge remains focused on administrative matters. Furthermore, we must underline that, before the 18th century, the villages of Jerusalem were subject to rather three economic and administrative systems; waqfs, timar and ta'āmat. And there were three kinds of taxation in the rural areas; *kharāj*, *qism* (kism), and tithe.¹³³ Though the iltizām system was prone to the very early 18th century, yet it was not completely introduced to the district during the timespan of study. While za'āmat and timar did not cease to exist during the course of 1700-1703.¹³⁴

The rural-urban relation was evident in deals of crops-sale as revealed by archival records. Purchasing the whole harvest or a share of it was a common practice of the 18th century. Relying on the notary service the court represented along with the rising legal awareness of the population resulted in numerous records of purchase cases and companies (*sharakeh*), that were established amongst the urban and rural populations. These cases were monopolized by men, however the registers included records of deals headed by women, as well. The aforementioned companies or partnerships were in the form of manufacturing businesses, mainly of soap, olive oil, sesame oil, wine, and flour, or in the form of trading businesses. Manufacturing and trade companies were dependent on Bedouins, who provided raw materials, guaranteed transportation methods (by providing animals or "beasts"), and maintained the security of trade routes, regional or internal.¹³⁵

¹³³ Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 48-54

¹³⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 130, 136, 142

¹³⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 53

As indicated earlier, at the end of the 17th century and during the early 18th century, Jerusalem witnessed a rising wave of real estate activities, Christians, Muslims, and Jews were involved in these transactions. Considering the economic activities of the Ottoman Empire and its taxation tendency, in addition to its general economic condition, and of Jerusalem, particularly, we assume that the ensuing economic issues polished certain markets and led to the invention of new economic, and social activities that were rare ere the designated period, if ever existed. The *Kadı* registers of 18th century Jerusalem constrains numerous documents that recorded real estate activities taking place in the Christian, Jewish, Bab-Hatta and Al-Qattānīn quarters. The transactions appeared to be rather monopolized by Christians and Muslims, albeit, Jews were rather mentioned in cases of moneylending, and few instances of house sales, purchases and leases.¹³⁶

The currencies used in 18th century Jerusalem, according to the Ottoman documents of the *Kadı* registers, were *qit'ah*, qirsh, *qirsh 'adadī*,¹³⁷ and the Lion qirsh. While taxes, dowries, and purchases were paid in qirsh or qirsh 'adadī,

¹³⁶ We do not possess, yet, the full knowledge how these deals were conducted nor a tangible evidence of the existence of real estate guild or shops in Jerusalem, especially that guilds studies did not offer observation of real estate guilds. Which leads us to -initially- assume these deals were rather conducted in the cultural way and urged the need of notary (i.e. the *Kadı Court*)

¹³⁷ I would like to thank professor Ömerül Faruk Bölükbaşı and professor İsmail Hakkı Kadı for guiding me on how to consider this terminology. And for giving their time to converse with me regarding this matter, helping in my attempt to figuring out this type of currency.

It is uncertain if there was a distinction between the qirsh and the qirsh Adadi. They were used distinctly in different records. In a case date to Jumada Al-thani 1111 an Ilyas owed the orphans of a shaykh Abdullah a total of 81 Adadi qirsh, 8 Maktou' (Egyptian qit'a) and 9 qirsh (qurush) as a payment in exchange for a mortgage. KS, Jerusalem, no.199, 119, 158. Some records indicated the value of *qirsh 'adadī*. A cases date to Jumada al-thani 1111, Ishāq the leader/head/shaykh of the Franco Jewish community owed waqf Sakhi Efendi a total of 20 Asadi qirsh and was paid in payments worth 220 *qirsh 'adadi*, that was 11 qirsh adadi for every Asadi. KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 129. Another document, dated to Early Jumada Awwal 1111, of a debt owed from Ahmad Pasha (the *mutassarif* of Jaffa) of an Al-jabaly, that indicated that 1 Asadi qirsh was exchanged for 1.5 qirsh 'adadī ("قرش أسدي 100 قرش عددي تساوي 150 كل"). KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 190. Nonetheless, Abdu'l-jubouri did not consider the distinction between qirsh and *qirsh 'adadī* as he hilights the latter as a width of 30 Eyprian qita'a (kita) the same value of the Ottoman *kuruş* known as qirsh). Abudu'l-jubouri, *Al-Quds*, 139, dip-note 7. Noting that the exchange rate of the Ottoman Kuruş (or regular silver qirsh) did not change in the early 18th century, it remained to rate 30 Egyptian qit'a (Kita), see, KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 20

only in cases of trade, partnerships, and deals of purchases of large houses were handled using the Lion qirsh. Although the akçe was losing its value to the Ottoman qirsh, towards the end of the 17th century,¹³⁸ it continued to be used in the payment of jizyah and other taxes, in the early 18th century, and, occasionally, what was equivalent to it.¹³⁹ Moreover, silver, gold, and jewels were another tool of economic transaction. In addition to payments in kind such as shares of houses, land or crops. Sometimes the method of payment was determined by surah (money bag), yet the value was not determined.¹⁴⁰

From another perspective, social/economic classes, indeed, existed within the sphere of the Jerusalemite society. Studies normally addressed the society through the regular classification of the Ottomans society, the elite and the non-elite, in other words the *ayāns* and the *re'āyā*, nonetheless, economic wise the rich, middle and lower (or poor) classes existed in Jerusalem. A *fermān* sent to the *kadı* of Jerusalem, addressing the *muḥaṣṣil*, informs us that the Jerusalemite society was classified as rich, middle and poor. This classification was, also, applied to the Christians (and Jews) of Jerusalem, with one extra detail, that the fine lines of determining the household or individual's financial status was in theory, given to the spiritual leaders.¹⁴¹

Terikes (inheritance documents) also leave room to assume that the social or economic classes existed. In *terikes* of deceased women, jewels are an element that supports our assumption. While *terikes* of officials and *waqf nāzirs* (*nāzirs*) wives, included pearls,¹⁴² other of common women that could not be classified as poor

¹³⁸ Sevkət Pamuk, "Prices in the Ottoman Empire, 1469-1914" *International Journal of the Middle East*, vol. 36, no. 3: 451-468, *A monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 158, and "Kuruş" *DİA*, XXVI, (İstanbul: ISAM, 2002): 458-9

¹³⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 299

¹⁴⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 8

¹⁴¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 168

¹⁴² KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 126

included silver.¹⁴³ While some *terikes* records did not include jewelry, stating a possible low or poor financial condition. Interestingly, silver was a common trend, almost all the *terikes* included silver jewels, especially anklets. Nonetheless, gold was rather an investment material than a jewelry material. While payments would be achieved in gold, yet, the term “golden jewels” was not observed.¹⁴⁴ Sometimes gold in certain communities appeared a monopoly of their leaders. In a dispute between the former Armenian patriarch and the new one, the former complained that the new assigned patriarch had entered his room, without his permission, and took all the golden jewels he possessed, part of which a crown inlaid with precious stones.¹⁴⁵

Previously, we knew two paradigms of social classification in Ottoman Jerusalem, the elites (*ayāns* and powerful families) and the re'āyā (ordinary or common people). The other paradigm is the officials/administration and the re'āyā. Whereas, we realize the urge to highlight the term official here as a significantly important for this study (further discussed in the coming chapters). Wealth was concentrated in the hands of the notables, governors, judges, and affluent families. Their *terikes* offer an image of their financial status, and their belongings, that included gold, houses, silver, copper...etc. Contrary, ordinaries had limited belongings.¹⁴⁶ House deals or debt, would present another proof to support our assumption. In the purchase or transaction, the buyer or debtor would use jewels along with currency for the payment.

Though the essence of understanding the society of Jerusalem is based on both religion and elite-re'āyā criterion, however, another perspective appears in the *Kadı* registers. The society was categorized into rich, middle and poor classes by

¹⁴³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 188

¹⁴⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 150

¹⁴⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 274

¹⁴⁶ Ziyad Abdu'l'Aziz Muhammad Al-Madanī, “*Al-Awqaf wa'l-Khadamat Fi'l-Quds Fi'l-Qarni'th-Thamini 'Ashara'l Miliadi*” in *Buhuti'l-Mu'tamari'd-Dawli Hawla'l-Quds Fi'l-'Ahdi'l-'Uthmani* (International Research Conference of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period) (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2012), 129

different imperial orders. This kind of categorizing fermāns is not observed in the last defter of 17th century, which indicates both a rising Ottoman awareness, and the expansion of the social classes in the early 18th century. A matter that was experienced within the Christian communities. The use of the clear and neat terminology of how the state viewed the society of Jerusalem or how the condition of the society got the state to view it, is unique. Previously, fermāns dealt with the *muḥaṣṣil* in collecting taxes and jizyah, but no classification was narrated. Hence, we assume here that the changing and expanding Jerusalemite society formulated a new social and administrative awareness. One of these fermāns goes back to Muharram 1111, which was issued to levy an overdue tax in the following order. Instead of 1 dinar collected from the poor, two dinars were collected from the middle class and 4 dinārs from the rich.¹⁴⁷ Another fermān, addressing an unpaid jizyah (that goes to Shawwal 1110 yet collected in 1111), used the same classification mention above. As each class had a certain amount to pay following its economic condition. The overdue jizyah was distributed (by the spiritual leader as ordered) to be paid by the rich households in the amount of the payment of the middle-class households.¹⁴⁸ However, it is not proved whether the order was excuted or not.

In connection to social classes, consuming culture was persistent, perhaps not as much as production culture that was rather fluctuant. According to Cohen consuming in the culture of the Ottoman Jerusalem's local population was regarded as a single unite of consumers, without any imposed quotas of binding distinctions among the different ethnic and religious groups,¹⁴⁹ or social class. Eventually, the economic life of the Jerusalemite society relied on local trade, crafts, real estate, and debts circulations. silver, gold, and precious stones were intensively used in the

¹⁴⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no.199, 243

¹⁴⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 291

¹⁴⁹ Cohen, *The Guilds*, 60

jewelry guild. Jewelry craft was infamous in Jerusalem. We assume that silver was the most convenient and reachable to the society, and women of Jerusalem seemed to be fascinated by silver anklets (“*hilhāl fidda*”).

The most significant development, that marked the history of Jerusalem, was the construction of the port of Jaffa. Located about thirty miles (approximately 50 kilometers from Jerusalem) the natural port of Jaffa was finally ordered to be constructed and fortified in the last year of the 17th century, and the early years of the 18th century. Then it was assigned as a *muqāta’ah* to Ahmed Pasha.¹⁵⁰ Documents stand witness on the developing procedures that the Ottoman authority aimed to construct the harbor, fortify the area, establish administrative power, and -gradually- impose taxations and customs. Fortifying the port of Jaffa and securing its route took over the attention of the Ottoman Porte, especially that its rising economic importance to the Empire and its benefits to Jerusalem was occasionally threatened by pirates.¹⁵¹

The port held economic, social and religious significance to the society of Jerusalem. Being a transportation preference, and considering the difficult geographic peculiarities of Jerusalem, characterized by mountains in the north. Ottomans and non-Ottoman visitors, traders, merchants and pilgrims, preferred the sea. European pilgrims, who wanted to visit the holy sites of the Jerusalem, preferred to travel by sea as well.¹⁵² Withal, the hajj route started to detour from Acre-Nablus-Aleppo-Damascus to Jaffa-Jerusalem-Damascus.

The inauguration of Jaffa benefited Jerusalem, economic wise. Exports and imports were further reinforced or perhaps revived, and the local trade was regionalized and internationalized, as commercial traffic between Egypt and Jaffa was observed. Jaffa’s exports consisted of spun cotton and alkali ashes, which was

¹⁵⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 208, 305

¹⁵¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 277, 282-3, no. 200, 254, no. 201, 290

¹⁵² Amnon Cohen, *Studies on Ottoman Palestine*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 165

manufactured in Mahallet Al-qattanīn near Bab Hatta, that was regionally exported to Acre and Sidon, and from there to the French merchants of Marseilles. The other exports of Jaffa were soap (manufactured in Jerusalem and Ramlah) and was preferred by the Ottoman Empire regionally, and subject to lower taxation.¹⁵³ Additionally, Ottoman records inform us that the port was accepted for importing coffee for local and regional trade.¹⁵⁴ Such an activity must have revived the economy of the district. This emergence entirely influenced the social and economic life of the Jerusalemite society and brought to its population opportunities that changed the social map and the balance of power.

Hence, the revival and establishment of Jaffa availed Jerusalem's interior economy, and the hajj route was after all passing through Jerusalem,¹⁵⁵ which prompted temporary markets that normally accompanied the pilgrimage caravans, and another possible route of regional trade. Not only the hajj route but also the Christian pilgrimage was then promoted. The shortened route of the pilgrimage journey must have encouraged pilgrims to transport goods and products along.

Service businesses -as well- shared the benefit of the rising economic activities affiliated to hajj and pilgrimage, as much as to tourism. Hāns, coffeehouses, medical facilities, *hammāms*... etc., witnessed a dynamic enterprises, during the season of hajj and the Christian pilgrimage.¹⁵⁶ The controversial coffeehouses, for instance, witnessed influx of visors in Jerusalem during these season. In the late 17th century, Al-Nabulsi highlights his observations of the coffeehouses culture, that was common amongst the Jerusalemite society.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Ibid., 166

¹⁵⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no.199, 287-88, no. 201, 388

¹⁵⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 322-23

¹⁵⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change 1590-1699" in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil İnalcik and Donald Quartaert, vol. 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

¹⁵⁷ Al-nabulsi, *Al-Hadrah*, 241

Furthermore, as a sign of the beginning of the economic emergence, historians, recording the late 1600, are inspired to put Jerusalem in comparison to Aleppo, one of the Ottoman most important economic centers in the East. Later, they pursued inspecting the district from a different angle, by putting it in one place with Constantinople contrary to Aleppo, and mostly influenced by travelogues and merchants' narrations of the district's transformation. Similarly, Watenpaugh highlights that :

Unlike Jerusalem or Constantinople, Aleppo was not a pilgrimage destination for Western visitors, rather, it was a center of trade and transit. Some of the conventions of looking at the city, however, especially the prominence of all things related to Classical Antiquity, continued to be determinant.¹⁵⁸

Thereupon, economic activities, regardless of the conviction that depicted poverty and negligence of Jerusalem in different narrations, were once fluctuating, and another persistent and developing.

As mentioned above, 18th century developments indeed would play a role in the life of the non-Muslims as much as Muslims, for the concern of this study in the life of the Christian population. Not only the population but also the holy sites had a share of these developments. Jerusalemite economy was reflected on the holy sites of the distinct, according them an influential position in the society and conferring the society a role in the destiny of these sites.

All in all, the post-facto changes in the Empire. The interior administrative changes and political occurrences along with the economic conditions that took over the Empire, certainly had influenced the society of the Ottoman Jerusalem, and further created new topographic and demographic maps. A situation that we consider highlighting and understanding it can prove to be essential to this study.

¹⁵⁸ Watenpaugh, *The Image*, 19

Finally, archival and primary sources are still rich with information on the social history of Jerusalem, as they continue offering details on the physical and social appearance, and data on culture, weather, and other historical aspects. Thus, they are significant for the matter of this study, as they provide a set of guidelines, and direct the topic to where it most needed to be examined and tackled.

In conclusion, examining the topographic, social and economic features of Jerusalem and its society is fundamental for the matter of this study. The transformation of the district meant the transformation of its population and development of a potential role of the holy sites. Hence, this chapter introduced tangible and significant details that shall not be dismissed when attempting to understand the occurrences within the borders of the society of the district.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHRISTIAN POPULATION: UNTOLD HISTORY WITHIN THE FOLDS OF THEORIES

Expanding our preview of the influence of the 17th century events in Ottoman Jerusalem, we speculate that the Christian population was affected by the occurrences, which changed the facets of their life. These changes were mostly effective when considering that capitulations, new mercantile advantages, and relations with the West would arise (and fluctuate) later in the early 18th century. After all, the changing face of world economy, and the rise of the industrial sector, promoted the need for merchants with language abilities, in other words, translators. Hence, “the fortunes of Christian merchants and bankers were on the rise in the capital of many provincial centers”.¹⁵⁹ As it might be the rising concern of the Ottoman Empire to regain its strength, this fortune of the Christian population lied under the promotion of another face of seeking loyalties.

What is more, as the 17th century political and diplomatic episodes very much influenced the non-Muslim population of the provincial areas, interiorly and regionally. It also attained a role in the transformation of the Christian population of Jerusalem. The Christian population experienced shifts on the level of the social structure, interaction, status, and economic activities equal to that of the entire society of the district. Moreover, their position, role, and presences as part of the Jerusalemite society, and the international consideration, varied, and on many occasions was diligent.

Reflecting on this, the historiography of the Ottoman history bears myths and facts, that emerged in the reflection of the installments of the 19th century. It is a

¹⁵⁹ Bruce Masters, “*Christians in A Changing World World*” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 173, 278-82

myth refuted, for instance, that the Christian population was controlling the Ottoman foreign trade, claiming that the Turks (or Muslims) did not enjoy, nor master, trade and commerce, as it was merely held by non-Muslims. Respectively, the theory maintains that the latter monopolized the scene and dealt with foreign and regional traders, contrary to the “Turks” (Muslims).¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Suraiya Faroqhi's finding explains the invalidity of this myth and clarifies the reality of trade in the Ottoman provinces in particular. In response to the monopoly of trade by the non-Muslim population, and foreign traders in the provincial areas, Faroqhi provides us with a remarkable scholarship that regards the roads and routes difficulties for provincial traders. While traders were, heretofore, considered peddlers, she points out that they were moving goods in smaller volumes in an attempt of preventing losses to robbery and banditry, in addition to aiming ease the difficulties of transportation.¹⁶¹ Such scholarship negates the possibility of a monopolized trade by one element over the other.

Furthermore, the fact that foreign trade was restricted to the Christian population, for their language abilities, appears rather a fantasy, which is partially correct when applied to the case of Jerusalem. Mainly, when considering the appealing role of the Muslim *terjumāns* in the *Kadı Court*. These translators were, also, people of wealth and trading interests. In the court of Jerusalem, per case, the translators Qasim Beg, Othman Beg, and Rajab Shabander Attujar (a previously court translator) appear in the registers, where they pertained a social and economic important position in the urban and rural areas. In addition to their administrative significance in the court.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Salâhi R. Sonyel, *Minorities and the Distruction of the Ottoman Empire*, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1993), 123-4

¹⁶¹ Faroqhi, “*Crisis*”, 474-530

¹⁶² KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 153

Such variances must have been approached from the perspectives and theories that singled the Christians (or the non-Muslim population) as a segregated and a rather independent or semi-independent entity. Effectively when regarding the conditions of the population under the international scene of treaties and capitulation. Hence, understanding the Christian population is shadowed by theories based on the interpretations of Ottoman administrative terms and titles, and generalizing cases of policies. Perhaps the theories of the “Millet System” and “autonomy” are the most dominant in recording the status of the Christian population in the Ottoman period.

According to Kemal Karpat the “Millet System” was established by Mehmed II, when he first granted Ganadious the berāt that determined his role. He assertst by the narration that the Ottomans invented another vision or conceptual meaning of the term “millet”, which met with their conditions. He further elaborates that “millet” was rather a spiritual or a moral identity that expressed both religion and social classes.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, Karpat does not fully accept the “autonomy” scholarship (or the non-territorial autonomy).¹⁶⁴ He amplifies that it was rather a “cultural autonomy” by which Christians, in general, maintained their religious practices, rights, and cultural interaction, while only in the 18th and 19th centuries the perception of “millet” took another turn “in the modern conception”. Such a turn, according to Karpat, developed to a nation (that implied the later promoted “autonomy”).¹⁶⁵ A similar scholarship to Halil İnalcik’s, who sees that the system only started to exist in the 18th century onwards.¹⁶⁶ It must fall to our attention, however, that İnalcik’s and Karpat’s argument could not be effective in the early 18th century Jerusalem as the study demonstrates later. Especially when following

¹⁶³ Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Ortadoğu’da Milley, Milliyet, Milliyetçilik*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2011), 12, 17, 22-21

¹⁶⁴ See, Karen Barkey and George Gavrilis, “The Ottoman Millet System: Non-Territorial “Autonomy” and its Contemporary Legacy” *Ethnopolitics*, vol. 15(1), (2016), 1, 24-42

¹⁶⁵ Karpat, *Osmanlı’dan*, 14

¹⁶⁶ Halil İnalcik, “The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans”, *Turccia*, 21-23, (1991), 407-436

Paraskevas Konortas's finding that the term and ideology of "millet" did not exist before the 19th century.¹⁶⁷

On the other hand, it is stated that the "Millet System" was not an Ottoman invention since historians argue that it had roots in the early Islamic periods. Contrarily, other historians find it rather a Sassanian method adopted by the Ottomans.¹⁶⁸ Mehmed Aynī accentuates that the term "millet" was a phenomenon of the German's occupation of Rome. He highlights that "millet" was "how people ("kavimler") and races ("unsurlar") labeled each other."¹⁶⁹ However, Carter Findley presents a scholarship that suggests that the "Mille System" existed as a backup system and an intermediate one between the re'āyā and the state.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps Findley's promotion stands similar to Hourani's conviction of the *ayāns*, who were intermediaries between the administration and the people.¹⁷¹ Findley, in a wider perspective, refutes the "autonomy" theory, yet supports the "Millet System" theory. However, was there a consistency in the application of this system? We believe that these paradigms were not applicable on the case of early 18th century Jerusalem.

What is more, as a main element of the "Mille System", Bilal Eryılmaz approaches the role of the patriarch ("millet lideri" or the community leader) from a similar perspective of Findley. His approach states that the spiritual leader, or the

¹⁶⁷ Paraskevas Konortas, "From Ta'ife to Millet: Ottoman terms for the Ottoman greek Community" in *Ottoman Greek in the Age of Nationalism*, ed. Dimitra Gandicas and Charles Issawi, (Princeton, Darwin Press: 1999), 172

¹⁶⁸ İlber Ortaylı addressed the term Millet and the Millet System based on Islamic connotations and historical events. Highlighting that the first spark of the Millet System in the Ottoman historiography was the İnalçık categorization and classic age. See, İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlılar'da Millet Sistemi" *DİA*, XXX, (İstanbul: ISAM, 2000), 66-70

¹⁶⁹ Mehmed Aynī, *Milliyetçilik*, (İstanbul: Marifet Basımevi, 1943), 19

¹⁷⁰ Carter Findley, Turkey, *Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*, (British-Kuwait Friendship Society Prize for Middle Eastern Studies, 2006)

¹⁷¹ See, Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables", in *Albert Hourani*, Philip S. Khoury, Mary C. Wilson (eds.), *The Modern Middle East*, (Berkeley: UC Press, 1993), 83-109. For more information on the subject of the notables and the intermediaries see, Philip S. Khoury, "The Urban Notables Paradigm revisited" *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 55-56, (1990). Villes au Levant, 215-230.

“ruhani reis” as Macit Kenanoğlu highlights, was rather an intermediary through whom the Central Porte ruled the re’āyā.¹⁷² Under the impression of these theories, it must bring about our question if this means that the patriarch was an Ottoman official that the Ottomans assigned or approved his election.

Following such arguments, the “Millet System”, that compasses the “autonomy” theory, is strictly formed over the theory of the patriarch’s authority (social, economic and religious). However, the attested studies, sometimes, appear to contradict archival narrations, as accentuated by the revisionist stance. In the early interpretation of the berāt given to the spiritual leaders, it is assumed, for instance, that the sultan had given the patriarchs a full authority to handle and manage their communities in return of revenue, taxation, and services. Such studies disband the possibility of considering the patriarch as an Ottoman functionary and opionate the re’āyā as segregated within semi-self-governing compass. Moreover, later in the Ottoman historiography, describing the Christian population was shifting between “confessional” “sectarian” and “minority”, in light of what is emphasized as “Ottoman tolerance”. Though these terms represent distinct spheres, still, they are based on the dichotomy that views the Ottoman society as a body that consisted of separate and segregated entities.¹⁷³ While the term “confessional” is -mainly- formulated under the consideration of the “Islamic City” (in the case of Jerusalem),¹⁷⁴ Islamic rule, and the Ottoman terminology and sumptuary laws in general, “minority” and “sectarianism” (or “sectarian communal identities”) were mostly a 19th and 20th centuries procreation.

¹⁷² Bilâl Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Gayrimüslim Teb’anın Yönetimi*, (İstanbul: Resale Yayınevleri, 1990), 38-9

¹⁷³ See, Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

¹⁷⁴ The concept of Islamic city was a matter of debate and invention in the early 20th century. The reflection of the term Islamic City implies that the city did not have the qualification nor the organization to compass a complete civilized structure and community. It was rather a remote city that was left alone without administration nor supervision. See, André Raymond, “İslam Şehir Kavramı” *DİA*. XXXVIII, (İstanbul: ISAM, 2010), 499-451

On that matter, Issa Blumi approaches these terminologies as invalid and their existence as unasserted by available sources. He considers the Ottoman population as “a dynamic of social and economic interaction that was often blind to sectarian categories”. He further elaborates that the term “minority” implicates ethnicity or sectarian communal identity that cannot be applied on the Ottoman (society), or what he ascribes as “the Ottoman doctrinal divines”, of the period. He further reiterates that the term misleads the reader, and misrepresents the subject of the non-Muslim population.¹⁷⁵

Speculating on the “isolation” of the Jewish community,¹⁷⁶ though the scholarship lacks the cultural context, he succeeds in offering a conception which widens the novel that refutes minoritizing the non-Muslim population. On the contrary, Najwa Al-Qattan emphasizes the existence of the “urban segregation within religious lines“, ascribing the importance to reconsidering “segregation” and approaching “predominance”.¹⁷⁷

The theory of “Millet” is also employed in the studies examining the provincial regions and important centers, such as Jerusalem. With the support of the existence of the religion-based Jerusalem quarters. It is a general and a common perception among historians that Christians (like any other community of religion) resided in their “religiously segregated” mahallah, culturally known as Harat Al-Naṣārā. While Ze'evi explains it as a social preference and a matter of relief and protection, Al-Qattan considers it an urban segregation.¹⁷⁸ Nonetheless, this segregation or preference can be partially true in Jerusalem. Especially that the 18th century Jerusalemite urban map emerged due economic and social activities. Similarly, are the rural areas, to elaborate, coming upon the names of the villages

¹⁷⁵ Issa Blumi, “Reviewed Work: Minorities in the Ottoman Empire by Molly Greene” *The Arab Studies Journal*, vol. 13/14, no. 2/1, (2005), 159

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 158-9

¹⁷⁷ Al-Qattan, “*Across the Courtyard*”

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 14

(considering administrative and geographic divisions), we find that the Jerusalemite Christians resided in heterogenous (or a religiously mixed) areas or villages.¹⁷⁹ Ze'evi, also, asserts that Christians did purchase houses from their Muslim neighbors, however, this does not fully elaborate the situation. It is unclear why the Christian re'āyā lived in villages outside the borders of their quarter. We do not know, as well, if this situation existed antecedent the 18th century. In order to answer this, it requires a wider research based to tracking down the essence of this condition and of the heterogeneous mahallahs.¹⁸⁰

Mainly, it is the Ottoman categorizing system in the *Tahrir Defterleri* that first stimulated the “Millet System” claim.¹⁸¹ Relying on Ottoman terminology, such as the terms of “millet” and “tai’fe”, and in light of contemporary chronicles and traditions, historians examine the population from a religious point of view. They are fixated on the “millet leader” and his power, which shadows the re'āyā (or the ordinary people). Additionally, holy sites were commonly treated by the same paradigm that represented the Ottoman society, a binary paradigm of administration-holy sites, which is focused on the position of these holy sites in the arrangements of the administrative or international orbs.

All in all, the assignment, mentioned above, form the main element of the “autonomy” theory, that is adopted by historians of the 20th and early 21st centuries, such as Aryeh Shmuelewitz discussing the Jewish population “autonomy” under the Ottoman rule,¹⁸² and Jacob Ghazarian debating the Armenian “autonomy”, based on

¹⁷⁹ Ze'evi, *An Ottoman*, 17, 23

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 23, 78, 114

¹⁸¹ Fuat Dunder, “Empire of Taxonomy: Ethnic and Religious Identities in the Ottoman Surveys and Censuses” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 51, no. 1, (Routledge, 2015)

¹⁸² Aryeh Shmuelewitz *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responsa*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984)

their economic ability.¹⁸³ Considerably, Molly Greene accentuates that “the conviction of communal autonomy has encouraged the study of the Jewish and Christian communities as self-contained entities”.¹⁸⁴ As yet, Macit Kenanoğlu presents the theory of the “ruhani reis” (the spiritual leader), explaining that the power of the religious leader of the non-Muslim population was the power of a *multazim* (tax farmer).¹⁸⁵ This view leads to the argument of this study that mainly highlights the role of the patriarch as potentially an official of the Ottoman Porte, or at least an intermediary.

From another perspective, conviction of Edouard Engelhardt,¹⁸⁶ that first presented the “autonomy” theory (the other face of “Millet” theory) to the world of the Ottoman studies, have been refuted by the findings of Fuat Köprülü,¹⁸⁷ and Ömer Lütfi Barkan.¹⁸⁸ The findings consider the non-Muslim population unseparated from the Ottoman social and administrative body, since then historians are either supporting the theory or defying it.¹⁸⁹ What is more, historians view the “autonomy” of the non-Muslim population as an Ottoman intentional invention, by which the

¹⁸³ Jacob Guzarian, *The Armenian Kingdom Cilicia During the Crusades: The Integration of Cilician Armenians with the Latins, 1080-1393*, (Routledge, 2000)

¹⁸⁴ Molly Greene, *Minorities of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Molly Greene, (Princeton University Press, 2005), 2

¹⁸⁵ Macit Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi Mit ve Gerçek*, (İstanbul, Klasik Yayınları, 2004), 59-66. Officials had economic and political power. Being a patriarch with geographically expanding economic power (we read in Çolak study), does not so far imply “autonomy”. Ottoman officials (secular or religious), *ayāns*, and rich families also had affluence, economic and political power or affluence (of different levels direct and indirect). Name that, Abu Taqiya in Nelly Hanna’s narration of Making Big Money in the 16th Century. See, Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Ismail Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant*, Syracuse, (N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1998)

¹⁸⁶ Edouard Engelhardt, *La Turquie et Le Tanzimat: Ou Historie de Réformes Dans; l’Empire Ottoman Depuis 1926 Jusqu’à nos Jours*, 1, (Paris: A. Cotillon, 1882)

¹⁸⁷ Mehmed F. Köprülü, *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, State University of New York Press, 1992

¹⁸⁸ Ömer L. Barkan, “Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vol. 100, (1953), 1-26

¹⁸⁹ Macit Kenanoğlu, “Is Millet System a Reality or a Myth? The legal Position of the Non-Muslim Subjects and Their Religious Leader in the Ottoman Empire” *Türk Hukuk Tarihi Araştırmaları*, no. 12, (İstanbul: İstanbul university, 2011), 27-28

Empire offered military exemption and protection in return for taxes and payments, that compromised the ability to select communal leaders or administrators on the Ottoman part, and imposed restrictions on communal behaviors of the non-Muslim population.¹⁹⁰ In discussing the “Ottoman Phenomenon of Conversion”, Tijana Krstić interpreted the “autonomy” scholarship as a privilege given to the non-Muslim population in return of services that might have granted the Ottomans precedents against their enemies (the Venetians and the Habsburgs).¹⁹¹ Does that mean a conditioned “autonomy” controlled by the state? She adds that “autonomy” was a tool granted to Christians to retain their “separate cultures and identities”.¹⁹² All in all, Krstić brings to her argument a modern term, “minority”, applied to a historical period. A conception that could be seen weakening the argument due to the application of modern terms that their perception could not exist in such periods.

Considering such explanation, the theories of the “Millet System” and “autonomy” appealed to the historians in the early 20th century onwards. According to Bruce Master, the intensity of the 17th century and the “decline” of the 18th century created the “Millet”.¹⁹³ However, reflecting on these theories, along with examining the studies of revisionist historians, the Ottoman methods of ruling a multi-religious and diverse society grows as a pressing debate.

In light of these details and tracking the origins of the “Millet System” and “autonomy” theories, it is worthy to underline a term such as “*ta’ife*”. This term, from which the “Millet” understanding sparked (and which is considered a

¹⁹⁰ Fatma Müge Göçek, “The Legal Recourse of Minorities in History: Eighteenth-Century Appeals to Islamic Court of Galata” in *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Molly Green: (Princeton University Press, 2005), 48-9

¹⁹¹ Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversion to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011, 167-88

¹⁹² Fatih Öztürk, “The Ottoman Millet System” in *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 16, (2009), 74

¹⁹³ Masters, *Christians*, 273

synonym of the term “millet” by many studies),¹⁹⁴ is viewed perceiving the Islamic charactersitic of the Ottoman Empire, which directs the historians to the adopt the concept of “ the one the other” dismissing to consider the Christian popualiton as part of the Ottoman social sphere. Such an argument is subtly based on the Ottoman distinction between “Daru’l Harb” and “Darul’salam”, directing the attention to examine the status of the non-Muslim population under the label of distinguished conditions. In that matter, Stanford Shaw argues that the” Millet System” existed in the Ottoman history proven by terms of “ta’ife” and “cemaat”(jamā’ah), and the system did not cease until the 20th century.¹⁹⁵

After all, viewing the Ottoman Empire as Islamic and scrutinizing its cities, such as Jerusalem, under the theory of “Islamic City”, would justify theories that handled the Ottoman society from a religious and a “minority” point of view. Indeed, the Ottoman realization of the existence of religion was natural for such a period. Religion circumscribed the spectrums of the social and political systems. In addition, the administrative decisions of many levels (yet not all) were bound to it, since it was a major generator of the social daily practices. Nonetheless, the adaptation of religion shall not always indicate the adaptation of a segregation system.

Furthermore, the rise of these theories, mentioned above, could be an expected result of viewing the Empire from a perspective concentrated on the fatwa letters, the policies prompted by Ebuss’ūd, and the ceremonial formalities that pigmented the Sultan habits. Bowen and Gibbs suggest the terms “contemptuous tolerance” and “half tolerances”, referring to two distinct periods (the 17th century and post-17th century) in addressing the matter. The shed light on the assimilated

¹⁹⁴ Not only on from a terminological aspect but also in usage, both “millet and “ta’ife” were not used interchangeably in the Ottoman court, especially for the case of Jerusalem. “Ta’ife” was used when addressing a group or members of a certain occupation. KS. Jerusalem. no 201, 156, 280, 313. In addition to dressing the different religious rites. While millet was strictly used in the fermāns; where they mostly addressed the followers of a certain religion (mille-i nasāra). It could be equivalent to terms such as ahālī or sākinler.

¹⁹⁵ Stanford, J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 1991)

emotion of unity between the Muslim and non-Muslim population, namely the Christians, when the power of the janissaries was gradually demised. Emotions that later would be suppressed by the sense of nationalism, as far as it was claimed.¹⁹⁶ The scholarship presented brings about, between its fine line, a perception of the “segregation” theory by the scholars.

Fundamentally, criticizing the cornerstone of the “Millet System”, Kenanoğlu affirms that the terms “*ta’ife*” and “millet” cannot prove the existence of a system that separated or segregated non-Muslims from Muslims, and granted them “autonomy”, asserting that “there are not enough cohesive proofs”. By the same token, there is no copious evidence stating the autonomous status of the population within the Ottoman Empire. Rather, the expansion of the Empire, which meant the expansion of the non-Muslim population and the freedom of religion, must have taken this population to a new position.¹⁹⁷

On a further note, as the Ottoman society is persistently studied from the perspective of a religious identity, Christians, as much as Jews, are constantly considered as a separate body of the society. In more details, the Ottoman society is normally addressed as “Ottoman re’āyā”, a term that is translated as the “Ottoman subjects” (a description based on the archival sources and understood from a rather feudal perspective). The term is normally approached by dismissing the possibility that it would stand for the term “society”. Mainly that few studies utilize the term “Ottoman society”, and mostly referring to the Muslim Ottomans, rather than the Ottomans in general.

Commenting on that, Bruce Masters, for instance, argues that the religious identity (which formed the solid ground of the “Millet System”) would later mold the

¹⁹⁶ H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East: Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century*, vol.1, (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 233

¹⁹⁷ Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı MMillet*, 211-12

basis of the national identity. Based on Steven Runciman's paradigm,¹⁹⁸ he (Masters) claims that the emergence of the (identity) system was brought out by the ambition of the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople "to secure his authority over all Orthodox faithful in the Sultan's realm".¹⁹⁹

In addition, the Ottoman re'āyā are presented as a passive element of a binary scale which is mostly "administration/government" based. As so, the re'āyā and their social institutions and holy sites are not considered as active historical factors that pertained a role or an influence on the changes formulating the Ottoman decision, and further are viewed as subjects that the Sultan owned, dismissing the significance of understanding the re'āyā as a society. Furthermore, the term "society" has had numerous definitions in academic writings, mostly influenced by the context and dominance of culture. Most of the sources used in this study, for instance, identifies the society, in light of the existing Ottoman rule, in an understanding that has also been influenced by previous conceptualizations of the Middle ages and ancient history.

Society, thus, in the studies that examined the Ottoman context, is considered a group of subordinates. Hence, the palpability of cognizing a diverse society, as the Ottoman, is fascinated by religion on one hand, and feudalism on the other, as categorizing metrics up to the late 18th century, and ethnicity in the 19th century onwards. One of the studies, that present the first notion of comprehending the Ottoman society, in general, and the non-Muslim population, in particular, is the study of Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis on the Christians and Jews, where controversial theories of the "Millet" and "tolerance " strongly emerge.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ See, Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, (Cambridge University Press, 1992)

¹⁹⁹ Masters, *Christians*, 274

²⁰⁰ Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System" in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (Hornes & Meier Publisher, 1982), 69-88

To sum up the debate, perhaps the differences between each community of religion, and the distinguish the system that managed the non-Muslim population through the role of the spiritual leaders, brought historians to the conclusion of “autonomy”. However, how far did the conceptions exist in the awareness of the functionaries and muftis? Kenanoğlu finds it unfeasible, since it did not show any sign in the argument of “ahl-i Örf”. Effectively when viewing the berāt as a rather personal or private duty assignment.²⁰¹

Refuting the utilization of the “neat categorization”, which is claimed to be presented in the *Kadı Court*, Al-Qattan also questions the reliability of the division or “sectorization” of the Ottoman community as presented in historiography. She underlines the fact that a wise explanation of the existence of non-Muslims and Muslims in one neighborhood is “predominance”. Though, Al-Qattan does not present documented evidence to her claim, yet, scrutinizing the account of Abdulghani Al-Nabulsi of the late 17th century, we find that a mosque, open to visitors only, was located in the Christian quarter. During his travel for a religious purpose, as a Sufi imam, Al-Nabulsi headed to visit the grave of a late Sufi shaykh who was passed away, during his journey in Jerusalem, and buried in that quarter. Such incident indicates that he was staying in the quarter at a Muslim house or maybe a Christian hān. Al-nabulsi carries on saying that a mosque, later, was erected on the Imam’s grave and was open to the visits of the “murids for dua and barkah”. We do not know when the mosque was established, however we know that the keys of the mosque were in the hands of the Christians, who took in charge to open it and close it.²⁰² The narration attracts our attention to the role of the society, elites and re’āyā , in the changes and variances within the Ottoman sphere. Raising the

²⁰¹ Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet*, 46

²⁰² Abdulghani Al-nabulsi (1143/1731), *Al-Haqīqah wa’l-Majāz fī Rihlati Bilad-sh-Shām wa’l Hijāz*, ed. Ahmad A. Haridī, (Egypt: Alhay’ah’l-Āmmah Lilkitab, 1986), 44

possibility that actions and decisions could be taken, though not with consistency, in accordance to their well.

Withal, the Christian population is, considered from within the vicissitudes of the foreign powers,²⁰³ part of which bedimmed the capitulations by the religious goals of the Western states, dismissing their economic, political and diplomatic significance. Additionally, along with capitulations, and based on the viewpoint of “autonomy”, the population, in the impressive gulf of the historical materials, has been the subject of historians concentrating on the center-periphery relations.²⁰⁴

Orientalists draw their theories of analyzing the Ottoman history from the conflict presented in the crusades or the Muslims-Christian conflict over territorial sovereignty in later centuries. Nonetheless, these theories are incomplete as they address a long period of history which beset proliferated conspicuous transformations, by a mono aspect, that its aptitude would rise and fall from time to time according to the state of interests. In that, cooperation and enmity were controlled by economic gain, and military campaigns were further an extension of the latter. The Ottoman-French relations would be the best to clarify this argument, prior the 18th century, France was granted distinctive capitulations that incorporated politics, diplomacy, and economy, and gave the French party a precedence over its European counterparts, as the “protector of the Catholic community” in Jerusalem. According to that, they (the Franciscans) were given precedence over the other Jerusalemite Christians in the matter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁰⁵ Nonetheless, these privileges were constantly changing on the basis of the political and economic interests of the Ottoman Empire. To elaborate, in the late 17th century,

²⁰³ Al’asali, *Jerusalem*, 209

²⁰⁴ Evgenia Kermeli, “Forgeries and Translations of Ottoman Christians Vakf Documents” *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 31, (İstanbul, 2014): 162

²⁰⁵ Al’asali, *Jerusalem*, 210. Due to this situation the administration was passed to the Greek Orthodox through a *fermān* issued in 1099, that also warned the Franciscans from any defiance. See, BOA, HH, no. 12, 1654/10. For more information on the history of the Capitulations system see, Roberto Mazza, *Jerusalem from the Ottomans to the British*, (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2009) 54-58

and under the reign of Mehmed IV, the capitulations were suspended until 1703.²⁰⁶ Archival materials prove that the administrative status of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for instance, was unstable and changed according to the Ottoman administrative wish, whether it was to a matter of international affairs or for the matter of interior stability.

Finally, the viewpoint that considers religion as the key factor of the Ottoman policies and the Empire's infrastructure is the abode of fundamental theories that prompted in the stratum of investigating the structure of the Ottoman society or the combination of the Ottoman *re'āyā*. Such theories are the aforementioned "Millet System" and "autonomy", that are based on three elements which, presumably, organized the social and economic life of the non-Muslim population. These elements are the Ottoman use of the term "millet" / "ta'ife", the existence of "the spiritual leader" (the patriarch) and the -partially- separate economic and civil regulations.

All in all, based on the significance of religion, which was the dogma of this period of history based on the process of the assignment of the spiritual leaders, and further, relying on the topographical and social map, we cannot affirm that the Ottoman administration proceeded the "Millet System" and gave "autonomy" to the non-Muslim population, during the early 18th century. We also cannot assure the empire's creation of segregated the communities. The policies that dealt with the non-Muslim population and regulated the Ottoman society are not sufficient to prove, or support, this argument. Mainly, viewing these policies is strictly bound to the methodology historians handled inland documents. However, these policies could, ultimately, be considered another Ottoman method of conquest and ruling its society, which was firmly based on the stability of its territories and influx of revenue.

²⁰⁶ BOA, MM. no.1, 4

2.1 In the Ottoman documents and beyond: laws and practices

Taking into account the beforehand presented and discussed theories, within the pleat of the *Kadı* registers and sources located in the Ottoman archive of the *Piskoposluk Kalemi Belgeleri* and *Kilise Defterleri*, this section is to present the findings regarding the Christian population of the Jerusalemite society in the early 18th century.

This study aims to understand the day-to-day practices, lifestyle, economic, and social interaction of the Jerusalemite Christians. In addition to examining the possible social and economic influence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the life of the population. The study, hence, presents compelling results of investigating the *Kadı Sicilleri* and the *Piskoposluk Kalemi Belgeleri* and some *Mütefarrika Everakları* related to the period of 1700-1703.

Since the Jerusalemite demography was ethnically and religiously diverse, perhaps such diversity provoked the segregation theory, prior presented. Christians communities formed the second majority after the Muslim, as different Christian sects resided in Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Franciscans, Maronites, Copts, Syriacs...etc. The Greek Orthodox and the Armenians constituted the largest Christian communities, and the volume of each community played an important role in their social and religious positions, as further disclosed below. After the Greek Orthodox and the Armenian sects, came the Maronite community followed by the Franciscan, then the Syriac. While the Habash and Copts, in addition to other sects, formed the smallest communities of Jerusalem. On a further note, such numerical fact is reflected in the number of cases of each sect in the registers.

As this study relies heavily on the court registers, we must point out that the *Kadı Court*, in the historical belief, is considered as a notary office sought by the non-Muslims to register their contracts of purchase and sale, and to get their local

trade agreements notarized. Evgenia Kermeli,²⁰⁷ Judith Tucker,²⁰⁸ and Fatma Müge Göçek²⁰⁹ accentuate the argument that promotes the *Kadı Court* as a notary office to the non-Muslim population, Similarly, as a court that offered a valuable source to recourse their dispute over property, inheritance, and other social and economic affairs.²¹⁰ The records of Jerusalem prove that the Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and occasionally Syriacs, Habesh and Copts, resorted to the *Kadı Court* in addressing their cases of property, disputes, inheritances, and marriage. The latter two types of cases were rather occasional and mostly related to the Armenian community, as far as the reregisters showed.

No doubt that the different counts of the cases of the Armenian and the Greek Orthodox attracted our attention. Despite that the Greek Orthodox recorded the highest number of the population amongst the Christian communities towards the end of the 17th century,²¹¹ the records of the Armeian sect made a precedence in the court of Jerusalem. In that aspect, the documents offer details explaining this phenomenon. During the first three years of the 18th century, the Armenian community and the patriarchate experienced instability that shifted between conspiracy, corruption, and social distress, as four imperial orders were sent to the kadı of Jerusalem addressing the matter of dismissing and re-assigning the Armenian patriarch, Kalous (or Galous), due to “false reports” of his conversion to Catholicism. Such dismissals and reassignments were conducted once after the

²⁰⁷ Kermeli, *Forgeries*

²⁰⁸ Judith Tucker, *In the House of Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*, (University of California, 2000)

²⁰⁹ Göçek, “*The Legal*”

²¹⁰ “The heterogeneous organization of the court system was also preserved: the nizamiye courts tried civil cases among Ottoman subjects; Şeriat courts tried family cases among Muslims; cemaat courts tried commercial cases among non-Muslim Ottomans, the muhtelit-ticaret courts tried commercial cases among foreigners established in the Empire and Ottoman subjects; konsolosluk (Consulate) courts dealt with cases among Ottomans and the citizens of the countries represented by the consulates.” Kemal H. Karpat, *The transformation of the Ottoman State*, (UK, 1972), 274-75

²¹¹ Peri, *Christianity*, 34-8 and İhsan Satış, “8 Numaralı (Kamame) Kilise Defteri’nin Tanıtımı ve Fihrist” *Uluslararası Sosyal Aratırmalar*, vol. 5, no. 21, (2012): 50-67

request and pressure of the Armenian hierarchy, and later after the complain of the re'āyā of corruption and “exploitation” of authority.²¹² Thereupon, in 1113, the same incident occurred with the patriarch Matanus (or Matanis), who was also accused of converting to Catholicism, nonetheless, upon the request of the of Armenians of Jerusalem, who contended the incident and approached the claims against patriarch as “false and unjust”, he was reassigned through an imperial order.²¹³

This instability of the patriarchate must have generated a lack of trust for the Armenians and an urgency to address their issues to another official institution (i. e the *kadı* court), far from the communal courts. This detail can interpret the greater number of the Armenian court cases compared to the other Christian sects. Another interpretation, offered within the creases of the registers, is that these cases were between the Armenians and Muslims. Moneylending and house renting, or sales, were- majorly- with Muslim lenders and buyers, which needed to be registered at the *Kadı Court*, as accustomed. Furthermore, the condition could be, partially, related to secularism that grew affluent in Europe, staring from the 18th century. In that, the growing role of the Armenians in trade and commerce put them in a direct contact with the European traders, which could have bought an impact on the Armenians lifestyle, and increased their social and economic interaction.

Within the corrugations of four defters, about 300 individual cases deal with the Christian population, and 57 communal cases handle the Christian hierarchy and properties.²¹⁴ As the table indicates below, the majority of the cases, that state the sect of the court attendants, as we pointed out above, were of the

²¹² KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 56, 134

²¹³ BOA, D. PSK, no.2, 36

²¹⁴ I wish to note that number of cases presented in the court of Jerusalem shall not limit our understanding that these cases could be higher if considering other courts such as Ramlah's.

Armenian re'āyā, followed by the Greek Orthodox and then the Maronites. While few cases addressed the other Christians sects. (see, table 1)

Table 1. Records of individual cases of the Christian population of Jerusalem 1700-1703 (a total of 300 cases)

Christian	Christian names	Dhimmi/Ahl-i Zimmet	Armenian	Greek	Maronite	Syriac	Franciscan	Copt	Habesh	Christian Quarter	Endowments
117	19	2	73	18	16	8	4	—	3	41	5

Moreover, about 41 cases took place in the Christian Quarter, and 17 cases dealt with the monasteries, revenues, and restoration wise. Seven cases address the Armenian monastery “Dier Mari Yacoub” (located in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, three cases of the Catholic monastery “Dier Al-‘Amūd”, and another seven cases are related to the monastery of “Dier Abūna Ibrahim”, that was under the Habesh properties, prior the 18th century, and for economic difficulties the Greek Orthodox took it under their hold-of-property, to eventually return to the hold of the Habash, in 1117.²¹⁵ Finally, two cases address the Suryānī monastery “Dier-Al’amūd” and only one case marks the Greek Orthodox monestary “Dier Al-rūm”. (see table 2)²¹⁶

²¹⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 243, no. 201, 339

²¹⁶ See, Abdullah Sa'id Mahdi, “Mukaddimah ‘ani’l dada’ wa’l-‘Alakati’-Ijtima’iyyeh fi’l-Quds Khilala Annisfi’l-Awwal mina’l-Qarni 16: Min Khilal Mahkamati’l-Quds’sh-Sar’iyyah” in *Buhuti’l-Mu’tamari’d-Dawli Hawla’l-Quds Fi’l-‘Ahdi’l-‘Uthmani* (International Research Conference of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period) (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2012), 123-24

Table 2. Records that handled cases related to the Christian Hierarchy and Properties

Sect	Patriarchate Exemption cases	and Monasteries and waqfs	Wakīls and translators	Monks
Armenian	13	6	6	1
Greeks	6	6	6	2
Franciscan	—	3	3	2
Syriacs	1	3	—	—
Maronites	—	—	—	—
Copts	—	—	—	—
Total	20	17	15	5

For more information, the records show that some villages were majorly or densely resided by Christians, such as Al-led (163 households), Bethlehem (286 households), Beyt-jala (239 households), and presumably, Dier Ibrahim and Dier Rubban.²¹⁷ It also indicated that some of the villages or towns were populated by a mixed tissue of religion and ethnicity including Hebron,²¹⁸ the village of Isawiyyah,²¹⁹ and of course, the town of Jerusalem.

Uniquely, as indicated in table 1, a great number of cases (roughly 117) record the term “Al-naṣrānī” or “Al-naṣrāniyah” (phonetically An-naṣrānī or An-naṣrāniyyah) without indicating their sects. Unless the cases are a follow up of a previously stated one, or vis-á-vis, it is hard to presume that the term referred to only one or a certain Christian sect. For example, in the case of the *terike* of Ibrahim

²¹⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 285, no. 201, 14

²¹⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 292

²¹⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 118, 188

walad Shahwān Al-Rūmī, his inheritance was transferred to his wife Maryam ibnet Saleh Al-naṣrānī Al-Suryānī and his minor son. Later the wife's name was stated without mentioning her sect, and only addressed as "Al-naṣrāniyyah".²²⁰

Documents bare the name of the same person and previously determined the religion, origin or sect of the attendant, help to note the possibility of considering these anonymous cases to be either Armenian or Greek Orthodox. Yet, the number of such cases might appear as insufficient to affirm the resolution. The number of documents which show "Al-naṣrānī" or "Al-naṣrāniyyah" could indicate a Greek Orthodox, were higher of the cases that indicated the attendant as an Armenian,²²¹ however, it is not possible to affirm such note based on the number of documents supporting the given highlight.

Furthermore, the registers include Christian names, yet dismiss mentioning their religion or sect. Around 19 cases address non-Muslim individuals but do not purport his/her religion. In such cases we could actuate that the defendant or plaintiff was not a Muslim based on the term "walad" used in the pedigree, besides patterns or repeated names later identify these individuals as Christians. We arrogate that the condition relied on the court attendant and the way they addressed or presented themselves, on one hand, and the turbidity of the day the case was presented. A document of a house purchase between Hanna walad Mūsā and Miṣleh walad Karam Al-naṣrānī, for example, is followed by another document related to the same purchase contract indicating Hanna walad Mūsā as a Christian. While it was not mentioned in the first document.²²² Another document records a dispute between the mutawalli of Hassaki and Saleh and Yacoub walad Attallah, which, at first, does not ascribe the religion of Saleh and Yacoub, but later, it indicates that they were

²²⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 179, 195

²²¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 179, 185, 195

²²² KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 12, 16

Christians.²²³ Likewise, commonality in names between the different sects and rites bedevil the process of an accurate estimation of the number of cases that handle the Christian communities. Consequently, Christians used Arabic names that were common with Muslims and Jews. Names such as Abdulahad, Saleh and Eid were common amongst Suryānīs and Armenians. We must highlight that such phenomenon was not an experience only bound to Jerusalem. In the 14th and 15th centuries registers of Bursa and Izmit recorded the names Şahin (Shahin), Süleyman (Suleiman), and other common Turkish, Arabic and Persian Muslim names were popular in the Greek Orthodox and the Franciscan communities. Interesting enough, some common names that were known for darwishes were also used by the Christian population such as Abdal and Avdal.²²⁴ The condition is explained by Hasan Fehmi as the cultural influence the society exchanged. Cases of common names between Muslims and migrant Christians are recorded in Istanbul, Sivas and Kaysari, as well. Like the name Murat (Murad) and Ramazan (Ramaḍān) are recorded under cases of Muslim and Christian re'āyā.²²⁵

Apparently, the Ottoman documents give attention to religion, origin, and occupation when recording the cases of the Christian re'āyā. A matter that is not as different from the Muslims, since Muslim re'āyā are indicated by titles, tribes, occupations, and origins if not from Jerusalem, while the term “ibn” indicates their religion. Nonetheless, most of the documents, registered in the court of Jerusalem, do not adopt the origin in recording the plaintiff or defendant names, along with religion or sect, as much as the occupation. This condition was different for one case, in which the scribe records the title Al-Maqdisī in terms of origins,²²⁶ while the other

²²³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 83

²²⁴ Iréne Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “Bitinya’da Gayrimüslim Nüfus: 14. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısı-15. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısı” in *Osmanlı Beyliği, 1300-1389*, ed. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1997), 11-12, 18-22

²²⁵ Hasan Fehmi, “Anadolu’da Gregoriyen ve Ortodoks Türkler” *Ülkü*, vol. 4, (Ankara: University of Ankara 1984): 176-8

²²⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 165

cases that mention the origin are when the attendant was not from Jerusalem.²²⁷ Notwithstanding, the *fermāns* would always appropriate the term “Naṣārā Al-Quds” when addressing the Christian population collectively, since they were issued from the Central Porte.²²⁸

For those who were not from the district, their religion and origin are normally recorded in the sequence of religion then origin. In a document reading a conflict over a marriage contract between two Armenians, it states the plaintiff as Orthīn walad Nourdah Al-Armanī Al-Istanbulī (Aurthine the son of Norda the Istanbuline Armenian), while the defendant is merely recorded as the Armenian. The presented case leads to assume that he was a Jerusalemite, and the other lead his occupation as the translator of Jaffa's port.²²⁹

Furthermore, some records indicate that the Armenians, Habash, Syriacs, Franciscans were constantly recorded according to their sects, while cases recording the Greek Orthodox are rare. Moreover, origins, if not indicated, are implied in certain phrases, such as “died in Jerusalem” (Almutawaffā fi’-Quds). The phrase here implies that the deceased was not from Jerusalem yet passed away there. Similarly is reading the record of a *terike* of a Al-ḥajḥasan, a Quran reciter (*muqri*) who passed away in Jerusalem.²³⁰ To support our scholarship, a comparable case of a Jerusalemite passing away in another district or *nahiyah* (sub-district) is the announcement of the death of the *sipahi* Jerusalem Ahmad Al-Haroush in Gaza (Almutawaffā fi Ġazzah), in Sha’bān 1113.²³¹

The aforementioned details meet with the phrase “of Jerusalem’s Christians” (Min Naṣārā Al-Quds), that is used, occasionally, in cases addressing a mass or a collective complaint. To clarify our point, a complaint introduced to the

²²⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 243

²²⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 184, 186

²²⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 391

²³⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 177

²³¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 210, 175

court against the Armenian patriarch (details to be discussed later), dated to Rajab 1111, addresses each of Sam'ān walad Khalīl, Mūsa walad Isa, Ibrahim walad Isa and Saleh walad Ḥannūn using the same term (Naṣārā Al-quds), in their complaint against the Armenian patriarch.²³²

On another note, as previously indicated, there are around 19 individual cases that might be related to the Greek Orthodox, yet along with the above-mentioned categorizing (of religion- origin or origin-religion), we grew suspicious about the accuracy of the number of cases. Especially since, the title Rūmī, that is normally used to refer to the Greek Orthodox re'āyā, is relatively misleading in the Ottoman documents of Jerusalem. A historian can readily assume it refers to a Greek Orthodox, since the Ottoman and Arabic translation of the title “Greek” is Rūmī, nonetheless, observing these documents, we ascertain that the term is - further- equivalent to a Rūmeli rather than a Rūmī Christian.

Several documents addressing the “Rūmeli Surrah” and the distribution of its shares, point it out as “Al-surrah Al-rūmiyyah” (feminine of Al-rūmī).²³³ Moreover, the title is -also- used for Muslim re'āyā that, presumably, were from Rūmeli. Two cases of purchase are recorded in the defters number 199 and 200 referring to Muslim buyers or sellers as Rūmī, as in Fātima ibnet Ḥussien Al-Rūmī,²³⁴ and Muhammad bin Ali Al-Rūmī.²³⁵ Another document records a purchase deal between Ali bin Ali Al-Halabī and Saleh bin Al-haj Muhammad Al-Rūmī.²³⁶ In

²³² KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 209

²³³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 12-13. See, Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives and Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 1-25

²³⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 233

²³⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 253

²³⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 178 In the period of hajj and Christian pilgrimage, visitors would stay and settle in Jerusalem. Despite Christians normally needed permissions to settle in Jerusalem court records provided few cases that dealt with Christians with titles like, İstanbul, Alepine, Damascene...etc. Beside settlement, non-Jerusalemite individuals would be listed the cases of the court of Jerusalem trade, house's purchase or a medication visit.

addition to the record dated to Dhul'-Q'ikda 1113, as a conflict over the *terike* of Hussien Agha bin Ismail Al-Rūmī adduces that the term is used to refer to the origins of the deceased person, since the document uses the expression “almutawaffā fi'l-Quds”.²³⁷

Thus, the description of the Christian buyer in the Ottoman record, that register the purchase of a house at the Christian quarters Al-Rūmiyyah, in addition to the related records to the case, falls into suspicion that urges us to question whether the title indicate that the buyer was a Christian from Rūmeli (possibly or possibly not residing in Jerusalem), or was a Greek Orthodox from Jerusalem.²³⁸ Another similar document appears further in the defter, as Ibrahim walad Hanna Al-Rūmī, bought 5 *qirāts* of a house at the Christian quarter from (?) bin Sharaf bin Karim Al-Din.²³⁹ In the documents, the scribe uses the expression “alḥādir fi'l Majles” (present in the court), noting that the expression is not observed before in other documents dealing with the Christians of Jerusalem. Based on the tendency of non-Jerusalemite Ottoman re'āyā to purchase houses (or properties) in Jerusalem,²⁴⁰ does this mean that the above-mentioned individual appeared in court from another district, such as Rumeli? or was it a scribal style of a new *kātib*? It is worth mentioning that the expression was not, yet, a repetitive style.

Worthwhile noting, stating the religion origin, and occupation of attendants, are, likewise, a cultural method of identification, and -presumably- a way to avoid confusing the cases and their representors. Chiefly that, there are names shared amongst the different Christian sects, such as Sam'aān, Shahwān, Gorgeous and Saleh, and other names were shared between Jews and Armenians such

²³⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201,162

²³⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 2

²³⁹ A carat (or *qirāt*) was an area measurement that was adopted from the ancient system and passed to the Ottoman culture through Egypt. It equals about 1 carat equals about 4*5 cm. See, Cengiz Kallek, “Kırat” *DİA*, XXV, (İstanbul: ISAM, 2000), 437-439. In Jerusalem it was a common measurement of house and lands.

²⁴⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 125

as Shmail and Sham'ūn. This condition must have generated the need to include further defining titles. All in all, relying on the presented notes, the number of the cases of the Greek Orthodox, then, could be estimated less or more than the statistic presented in the given tables.

Indeed, the terminology of the archival documents is sometimes misleading or inconsistent, which would delay important historical understanding of a certain factor, stance or event. It is fundamental to be aware of the grammatical structure, on one hand, and the use of the terminologies and expressions, on the other. Moreover, and most importantly, it is rather crucial to pay attention to the cultural connotations and customs, as cultural change and transformation influenced terms, titles, and customs.

2. 2 Court's language: in light of the theory of segregation

Addressing the Christian population in the historiographic sources pays a great attention on the terms used in court. Historians adopting that "segregation" perspective assume that is -also- a stigma of the Ottoman *Kadı Court*, where titles were used based on the identity of the defendant or plaintiff's religion. This, as well, covers studies that undertook the term "minority" in considering the Christian population. Fatma Göçek finds that the registers are a living evidence on this argument, pressing that "Christians' names were not accompanied with honorary titles are Muslim ones".²⁴¹ Moreover, investigating the Ottoman documents and the "evolution of the Ottoman terminology concerning the dhimmis", with a similar approach of Najwa Al-Qattan on the 18th and 19th century Damascene court, Karen Leal believes that the Ottoman court ascribed a vast importance to what she

²⁴¹ Göçek, "*The Legal*", 86-9

underlines as the “confessional identity”, in regard to “the silent semantic of kimesne versus nām”.²⁴²

In that respect, we must highlight that the Ottoman terms and their translations emerged along the period from the 16th century to the 18th century.²⁴³ Examining the language of the court of Jerusalem, in the early 18th century, we find that the theory of different titles, given to the non-Muslims, does not apply. The scholarship that states that women of Muslim peers were addressed by titles, such as khatūn, sayyedah...etc., while non-Muslim women were addressed by the title “woman”, does not, as well, have a validity in the case of Jerusalem’s registers.

Furthermore, the used studies project that honorary terms, like khātūn or *ḥurmah*, are not used for the Christian re’āyā. Though we are not sure how feasible this suggestion is, we find that titles and honorary terms are rather class-based than religion. In the records of the court of Jerusalem, we observe that the terms khātuūn and *ḥurmah* are used interchangeably to refer to wives and female relatives of the elites (aynās and officials), rather than the ordinary people (re’āyā). In late Rajab 1115, Shaykh Muhammad bin Qasim represented his mother Fatima in the case of a house sale, the scribe first recorded the mother’s name as, merely, Fatima then scratched it to write “his mother Fatima Hātūn daughter of Hoca Awad Qmeih (Qumayh)”.²⁴⁴ Contemplating this case, in addition to other similar cases, it seems that ranks, honorary titles (and perhaps, and keenness to the Porte) do not recognize religion as much as affluence and financial status. Ulemās (as religious figures) and their female keens indeed gained honorary titles in the *Kadı Court*, nonetheless, yet it does not prove that being non-Muslim dismantled the addressed individual from honorary titles.

²⁴² Karen A. Leal, “The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul: Sovereignty and Identity at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century”, (PhD diss, Harvard University, 2003), 199-213

²⁴³ Evgenia Kermeli, *Islami Law: Theory and Practice* ed. R. Glreabe and E. Kermeli, (I.B Tauris, 1997), 166

²⁴⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 202, 5

That being said and connected the honorary terms in the arguments of the theory of segregation, courtesy terms were not then ascribed to the individuals according to their religion, and rather to the social class. The term *khatūn* is observed in cases of the Jerusalem registers on the bases of the officials/elites-ordinary people paradigm. Such terms were only used to address the wives, daughters, and mothers of the officials and elites, especially the latter, while in marriage contracts, ordinary women were addressed by terms like “*imra’ah*” or “*mar’ah*” (woman), which was used to refer to the previously marriage women or an adult woman, especially if it was paired to the term “*alkāmilah*” (mature woman).

Another term is “*Bekr*” (lit. virgin), which was used to refer to women who got married for the first time. In other documents Jerusalemite females are defined as adult or minor by using the term “*alkāmilah*” (mature-complete) for adult, and “*alqāṣir*” for a minor. This was applied to Christian women as well. In one of the few marriage cases dated to Jumada'th-Thani 1112, (?) *walad* Padros Al-Armanī married Ġazalah *ibnet* (?) Al-Armanī, who was defined as “*almar’ah alkāmilah*” (adult/mature woman). More importantly, away from the marriage contracts, women, Muslims or Christians, were addressed as “*al-mad’uwwah*” (the person called) when they -personally- attendant before the court (representing themselves),²⁴⁵ or “*alḥurmah*” (the honored woman) when they were represented by a family member or an acquaintance.²⁴⁶ Sometimes, in reference to someone’s wife, the documents uses the term “*zawjah*” (wife), particularly in cases of inheritance.²⁴⁷

Furthermore, ordinary men, howbeit, were merely addressed by “*al-rajul*” (the man) or “*al-mad’uww*” (the person called). Again, both terms were not limited to a certain religion or sect. In a case of a house purchase, the used terms for one of the sellers is *al-rajul Al-mad’uww* Awad bin Yusuf Ka’kah and the buyer *Al-naṣrānī*

²⁴⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 44, 51

²⁴⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 183

²⁴⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 26

al-mad'uwu Jubrān walad Gerogios Al-Rūmī Al-naḥḥās.²⁴⁸ On the other hand, the title “beg”, does not, always, appear to acquire any religious intonations in Jerusalem. No doubt that it was used for Muslim Ottoman officials, and strictly used to Muslim officials who came from a family known for its long administrative career (father to son). Nevertheless, two cases attributing the term “beg” to a Christian individual are observed in the registers of Jerusalem. The first cases addresses a debt case appertaining to an Armenian monk from Istanbul called Awwad (الراهب عواد “),²⁴⁹ and the second is another imperial order that referred to the newly assigned French counsel:

فرنسا تابعي رهبان طائفسه أموري ومصالحلى كورمك أوزره ونسلوس أولان ... ورفع أولوب يرنده
فرانك بك زادهلنده رافع توقيع أولن خانقان.²⁵⁰

However, Christian officials who worked for the Central Porte were mostly addressed by their job title and sect, such as Khadr Al-naṣrānī Al-Armanī terjumān islket Yafa (Khader the Armenian Christian the translator of Jaffa's harbor). Other officials, of the Christian hierarchy, were rather addressed by their religious titles, or position, as “batrīk” (patriarch), “wakīl” (representativa), “rāhib”/ “ruhbān”, (monk/monks), and “terjumān” or “muterjim” (translator).²⁵¹

Furthermore, in comments to lineage or pedigree, we observe that it was accorded differently. Muslims were connected to their families' lineages by the word “ibn”, and non-Muslims by the term “walad” (anomalies were not detected for women's pedigrees since only the word “ibnet” or “bent” were mutually used).²⁵² However, there are few documents registered Christian cases with the pedigree word “ibn” or “bin”. Four court cases bare such characteristic, two of which are of

²⁴⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 283

²⁴⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 347

²⁵⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 221-23

²⁵¹ See, KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 53

²⁵² Fehmi, “Anadolu'da”, 174-175

Christian re'āyā and the others are of Jewish re'āyā.²⁵³ Similarly, the mentioned above *terike* of Shahwān family's, where the brother of the deceased is registered as E'id bin Shawana Al-naṣrānī. In another case of a dispute over the ownership of a house between two Christians, as one of them is recorded as Suleiman bin Murad Al-naṣrānī.²⁵⁴

These cases could be ascribed to two explanations. The first that it could be simply a scribal mistake, and the second is discovering an evolution of the Jerusalemite culture, and perhaps people did not differentiate between the pedigree of the Muslims from non-Muslims, as much as the Ottoman tradition would. To argue that, despite the Ottoman bureaucracy that stated the word “walad” for the pedigree of a convert, Jerusalem culture did not, however, it kept the description of the father's religion. The case of Abdullah bin Yacoub Al-Aramnī (Abdullah son of Yacoub the Armenian) can support the latter assumption.²⁵⁵ Grammatically, the case of Āminah ibnet Niqoulā Al-naṣrānī (Aminah the daughter of Nichola the Christian), could, further, uphold the assumption of the conversion of the pedigree terms. In that, in the *Kadı* registers whenever the woman was a Christian she would be addressed with the feminine version of the word as in Al-naṣrāniyyah or Al-armaniyyah (feminine of Al-armanī). Nevertheless, in the case of Āminah's conversion the description shifted to the father.²⁵⁶

On another note, in relation to the above discussed scholarships (Millet System and segregation), a term such as “*ta'ife*” shall be stressed for this study. Maybe one of the compelling scholarships about the Ottoman terminology, that challenged the “Millet System”, is Konortas's, which asserts that the essence of the theory of “Millet” was invalid, and it had partially represented the reality of the

²⁵³ *Suelyman bin Yacoub Al-Yahūdī*. See, KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 99 And *Yakout bin yasif Birnā Ta'ifet Al-yahūd Al-ifranj*. See KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 130

²⁵⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 33

²⁵⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 372

²⁵⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 257

Ottoman history. Konortas highlights that the terms “millet” and “*tā’ife*” were used for Muslims and non-Muslims.²⁵⁷ Though Konortas’ theory is criticized by historical studies, yet it applies to the case of Jerusalem.

It is fascinating to observe the use of these terms through the Ottoman documents and registers. Observing such matter accommodates to understand and clarify the reasons for using these terms from an Ottoman administrative and ruling point of view. In the case of Jerusalem these terms are used interchangeably, regardless of the religion, to define a group or a community with a certain common feature; religion, occupation, ethnicity, origins, tribe...etc. The latter, however, was not quite often.²⁵⁸ In the registers of Jerusalem, we detect several documents using the term “*ta’ife*” in the representation of different religious, ethnical, occupational, and social groups, rather than solely religious. A document, dated to Shawwāl 1113, uses the “*ta’ife*” to address Jerusalemites from different occupations and guilds attending the court to witness that they received their payments from Mustafā Agha, the *mutasallim* of Jerusalem. These *tā’ifes* were mainly the guilds of Al-qattānīn (cotton weavers), Al-qirbiyyah (goatskin makers), Al-dabbaghīn (dyers), Al-khabāzīn (bakers), Al-ḥaddādīn (smiths), Al-ṣābīn (water servers), and Al-‘attārīn (spice dealers).²⁵⁹

On another aspect, keenly examining the primary sources, we can, further, realize that the notion of “minority” was not identified in the intellectual of the re’āyā, contemporary historians, and of the state. Evidently, terms as “*aqqaliyyah*” or “*akthariyyah*” (minority and majority) are not observed in documents of the early 18th century. Nevertheless, the idea of grouping and defining people according to common features was the keystone of socializing, recording history and rulings. In addition, many terms of the Ottoman documents were, mostly,

²⁵⁷ Konortas, “*From Ta’ife*”

²⁵⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 409

²⁵⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 156

due to cultural apprehension. Moreover, in relation to the cultural aspect, discerning the influence of the accents of the population and its demeanor in the registers is compelling. Indeed, abstracts would not form tangible evidence in the world of historical writing. Still, such an aspect is strongly present in the court registers. The society of Jerusalem, in general, with its towns and villages, had different accents that chiefly appear in many documents, for example, the pronunciation of the letter “q”, that differs from one place to another, made it quite a journey to figure out the word “baqarah” (cow), when it was scribed as (bakarah or bakar).²⁶⁰

Hence, when dealing with terms and titles, we must keep into our knowledge that they were provided differently, according to the attendant’s or addressee’s position and social status, and according to the his/her geographic and cultural background. The confusion occurring around the position of the notables in the rural and urban life could be justified by such theory. Using the titles of “mashāyekh ennsas” (heads of people) by individuals from Naḥlīn (a village of Jerusalem) versus the title of “akāber alfallahī wa’l *ayān*” (heads of villagers and the *ayān*) by individuals from Gaza, reflects such assumption.²⁶¹

What to understand from our conviction that sometimes terminology is the reflection and influence of the re’āyā themselves. It is not only the Ottoman choice, but also the re’āyā’s role in forming the administrative terminology of the Ottoman court, under the influence of culture, needs and interests.

2.3 Learning about the life of the Jerusalemite Christians

For the bulk of this study, we took upon us to examine the social life of Jerusalem and its Christian population, and the social influence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its significance in their life. To fulfill this goal, we scrutinized

²⁶⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 117

²⁶¹ See, Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 33

the *Kadı* registers of about four defters, and reached constraining information, part of which is provided by historians who indeed worked intensively to solve the puzzles of the Ottoman archival sources, and the other was details extracted from the registers.

When putting these sources and traditions together, they lead us to new perspectives and original views regarding the life of Christian population of Jerusalem. Below we elaborate our findings within sections dealing with properties, economic conditions and occupations, waqfs and donations. In addition to, social practices, that included particular information and minutiae of the conditions and practices of the Christian communities, in the early 18th century.

2. 3. 1 Houses, buildings and properties

During the 70s of the 17th century, significant changes occurred in the Ottoman administration towards the Greek Orthodox of Jerusalem. These changes formulated after the formation of the position of the chief of translators (Baş Dragoman) by the Grand Vezier (Sadrazam Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa's) for his favorite and wit physician, "Panayoti Nikosios".²⁶² Eventually, it resulted to eliminate sumptuary laws, and expedite restrictions on money transfer, the early 18th century.²⁶³ Nevertheless, in the course of the 18th century the Armenian sect rose to gained more attention from the Ottoman Empire. Such facets form a significant factor of the transformation that the study dwells on.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the Ottoman documents compass far-reaching information regarding the houses and buildings and their architectural details. Reflecting on these documents, along with the fetwās of the Ottoman

²⁶² Zeynep Sözen, *Fenerli Beyler 110 Yılın Öyküsü, 1711-1821*, (İstanbul: Aybay Yayınları, 2000), 52-3

²⁶³ Sonyel, *Minorities*, 81

scholars, which imposed restrictions of the freedom of building, rebuilding and renovating houses and facilities of the Christians re'āyā, we realize that the Ottoman documents contain further than these propositions. Especially that, restrictions on building monasteries, hospices, and convents are found limited in the designated period. Our assumption is supported by archival documents that reveal permissions granted to Christian re'āyā, regardless of the sect, on the eve 18th century onwards.

While, the current understanding of these restrictions generated the proposals of “segregation” and “tolerance”.²⁶⁴ Mainly when projecting such policies in the conception of our modern era, yet, considering anterior events and approaching the state of mind of the Ottoman Empire, the restrictions could represent the state's aim to limit the number of churches in terms of maintaining the balance of the conflict within the Christian community. Also, the restrictions reflect the state's tendency to prevent the expansion of the Christian quarter (which indeed proved unsuccessful). In addition to the previously given explanations, such as, the goal to sustain the growth of the Christians population from subdominant to dominant in the census count.²⁶⁵ Anyhow, Jerusalem was the gate towards many Arab provinces, and risking its position and status could have meant risking the stability and control over these regions.

In the course of our field of concern, and the designated timespan, documents from the Kadi Court and narrations from pilgrims and travelers reveal that the Christians of Jerusalem were practicing building and maintaining their properties, with court permission. However, during this period, roughly twenty court permissions were granted to the Christian re'āyā, which varied between walls and monasteries renovations, windows installments, waqf maintenances, and house constructions.

²⁶⁴ See, Marc Baer “Tolerance and Conversion in the Ottoman Empire: A Conversion” in *Comparative society and History*, vol. 51, no. 4, (2009), 927-940

²⁶⁵ Ze'evi, “Zoom In”

In earlier periods, houses of the Christian population were (mostly culturally) limited to their quarters, the Christian quarter, the Armenian quarter and the Syriac sub-quarter. Nevertheless, amidst the growing tendency of house purchase and rent the limits and contour of these quarters were changed forever, and the demographic structure was induced. In that, real estate activities took place, not only at the Christian quarter (located in the vicinity of the Church) but also in the Maronites, Catholic and Jewish quarters, including other active sub-quarters, such as Al-rīshah and Al-sharaf.

Furthermore, generated by Ebuss'ūd's fatwās, the sumptuary laws restricted Christians from building or rebuilding their houses and properties and prevented them from building higher houses than that of the Muslim re'āyā. Nonetheless, based on the court's registers of Jerusalem, establishing these laws did not mean they were keenly abided or followed. In other words, the matter that the laws existed did not limit, nor restrain, the Christians (and the non-Muslims in general) from building higher houses or residing in higher stories than the Muslim re'āya. In a case, dated to Jumada Awwal 1113, a Muslim complained against his Christian neighbor due "rocks falling onto his house".²⁶⁶ It is unclear who resided in the building before the other, and if the plaintiff and the defendant were neighboring in houses or floors, yet, we realize that the Christian defendant lived in a higher space than the plaintiff. This incident indicates that the sumptuary laws were not practiced at its utmost, or the vital real estate activity in Jerusalem led to break these policies.

All in all, this should attract our attention to the role of the ordinary re'āyā in the Ottoman state of law. And we must investigate whether this role it was a direct role, that was projected through petitions and complaints (as will be demonstrated below), or through costumes and traditions ('orf), that the Ottoman Empire attempted to assimilate, to a certain extent, in its periphery or provincial areas.

²⁶⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 58

Moreover, the thick record of the real estate activities, that the court registered, reveal facile details of the houses of Jerusalemite Christian, that varied in prices. It offers information of houses descriptions and locations, on one hand, and explains the reason or type of transactions on the other. Furthermore, prices of houses varied between 150-200 qirsh(es) and *qit'ah*(s) for humble houses, and between 1500 qirsh(es) or 8- 60 asadīs, paid along with precious metals, jewelry, and money bags, for luxurious houses. Other than their location, we could not obtain information or description of smaller houses, while higher prices houses consisted of two floors, open yard (*sāhah samawiyyah*), back and front doors, a small *iwān*,²⁶⁷ and a water tank (*ṣihriḡ*). Interestingly sometimes rooms, only, would be purchased,²⁶⁸ and, occasionally, floors (mostly the second floor). These purchaes floors would not lack the main facilities (*marāfiq*), such as kitchens, bathrooms...etc.

Furthermore, houses were, sometimes, sold in shares, and others sold as a whole. As the description of most of the houses and their structure is not provided, we cannot reach a solid conclusion of the exact size and space of each house, and the number of rooms is rarely mentioned. In addition, in a few cases, when shares were purchased in carats, the total price was normally stated.²⁶⁹

Real estate transactions, then, are sorted into purchase-sale (25 cases), lease-rent (5 cases), and mortgage (3 cases). The reason for selling or buying is not stated, however, some cases are determined under the system of “mortgage”, which was normally due to the inability to paying a debt and returning a yield of a trade or a company. In other words, houses sale was conducted in aim for paying certain debts, other times, the house was registered as sold after holding it in mortgage (*rahn*). In *Rabī’ul Awwal* 1115, Al-haj Ibrahim bin Al-haj Issa mortgaged 13,5 carat of his

²⁶⁷ It was also mentioned as *dīwan* (ديوان), the two different words that served the same purpose, a square room with an open ceiling that serves as a guest room. See, KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 131

²⁶⁸ See footnote 29

²⁶⁹ See, KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 195

house and transferred the ownership of his share of a shop at the Christian quarter to Ibrahim walad Suleiman Al-naṣrānī Al-Rūmī, in exchange of a debt of 130 qirsh(es), which was agreed to be paid back in 33 payments.²⁷⁰

Additionally, house sale and purchase heavily occurred between Muslims and Christians. Yet, several cases record deals between Christians of the same sect,²⁷¹ or of different sects.²⁷² Occasionally houses dealt were achieved between Christians and Jews.²⁷³ In addition to few rental cases that occurred in Islamic waqfs, as Christians would rent houses or floors, and occasionally, lands (for cemeteries) or water tanks.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, some transitions occurred between Christian re'āyā and Ottoman officials. In Muharram 1113, master (almu'allem) Ḥanna walad Sam'ān Al-naṣrānī Al-maqdisī transferred the ownership of his house to Ahmed Beg the *bölükbaşı* (captain) for a debt of 400 qirsh(es), with the condition to benefit from it for 9 years so the debt was paid.²⁷⁵

Besides houses' characteristics, and value, we can excerpt that some houses had strategic locations, such as the house that Maryam the monk bought from the Maronite Sam'ān. The house was located in the Christian quarter, near the house of Al-Jabalys' from the west, and at the street that led to the Christian Mahallah and connected to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁷⁶

What is more, conflicts regarding houses and ownership are recorded. These conflicts -normally- occurred after the death of the house owner. In Safar 1114, Abdulrahman bin Ḥasan, the guardian of the orphans of Ḥabib Al-tawānī (who

²⁷⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 165

²⁷¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 252

²⁷² KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 45

²⁷³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 151

²⁷⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 31

²⁷⁵ This method of debt payment was known as *bay' wafāi* (بيع وفائي) (or bay'ulwafa- بيع الوفا) a method used for interior economic transitions of trade and money lending. See, *Almawsū'atu'l-Fiqhiyyah*, vol. 9, (Kuwait, 1987), 260-263

²⁷⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 45

passed away in Jerusalem) filed a complaint against Abdulmasīḥ walad Salamah Al-naṣrānī regarding a house property at the Christian quarter.²⁷⁷

In addition to houses, Christian property varied between religious institutions and personal. The first included the churches properties of hospices, waqfs, monasteries, lands, and harvest. Since hospices and cemeteries were rented at certain Muslim waqfs, a rented hospice caused altercations between the nāẓir of the waqf and the Armenian Christians, that led the later to complain to the judge, according which the sentence was issued in his interest.²⁷⁸ The second type of property, included partnerships of trade and factories, like oil pressers, mills, lands or shares of lands and shops.

We must assert that the property of land and land acquisition in the Ottoman Empire is a rather complicated matter to encompass within the frame of this study.²⁷⁹ Nevertheless, we feel it is suitable to present introductory details touching upon the matter. Mainly that the 18th century Jerusalemite Christians purchased and sold lands or shares of lands that were similar to house deals, like houses ventures, land deals involved debt payment and mortgage. And restrictions were not recorded.

Hence, ordinary people (rich or not) possessed houses, shares of houses and lands. The population of Jerusalem, ethnic and religious, considered lands, shops, and houses assets to trade with or a payment method. Furthermore, Christians owned, sold and purchases shops or shares of shops. Eid walad (?) Al-naṣrānī, for example, bought from Marzūk walad Saleh Al-naṣrānī, and others, 17 *qirāts* out of 24 *qirāts* of a blacksmith shop.

²⁷⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 239

²⁷⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 247

²⁷⁹ For information on the Ottoman alnd system and reforms see, Kiyotaki, Keiko. "Introduction". In *Introduction*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2019): 1-27

One of the important matters related to property and property holders is the above-mentioned permission cases of building and renovating.²⁸⁰ These permissions were in the second place in the number documents, after real estate deals. Permission requests consisted of constructing or restoring houses, installing doors or windows, and repairing monasteries, waqfs or walls. In the early 18th century, for instance, the Armenian monks requested a permission of renovating the monastery of Dier Mari Yacoub by opening a door leading from outer room to the inner ones, and installing a kitchen.²⁸¹ And, in Sha'bān 1111, master (al-mu'allem) (?) Walad Salem Al-naṣrānī requested permission to build a second floor for his house.²⁸²

Not to dismiss that permissions were not limited to the Christian re'āyā (or the non-Muslim population in general). Muslims, as well, were required to request permissions for building, rebuilding or restoration, especially for the endowments. In reflection of the matter, a document dispensed details of the request of restoration permission by Sun'ullah Efendi Al-khālidi to repair an endowed house, located at the David street (ḥat Dawūd), which collapsed due to antiquity. Such requests (restoration of waqf under the title of ḥulu') are, normally, interpreted as a way to manipulate the law and gaining money.²⁸³

On a further note, despite that monks are mostly approached as poor re'āyā, who relied on donations of virtuous events, yet, through the religious hierarchy, they owned lands and corps, made agricultural partnerships and -occasionally- were exempted from taxations, such as *ḥarāj*, *qism*, *'oshr*...etc. In Rabī'ul Awwal 1112, Sipahi Abdullah Beg ibn Abdullah Beg ibn Yahya Beg filed a complaint against the Greek monks. In the complaint they requested to transfer a *maqtū'* (maktū in

²⁸⁰ Ebuss'ūd's *fetva* played a comprehensive and strong role in shaping the life of Christian communities, especially in the Capital and cities with economic, social or strategic significance. Restriction on building or rebuilding monasteries and churches also extended on building houses and other properties. See, Macit Kenanoğlu, "Zimmi", *DİA*, XLIV, (İstanbul: ISAM, 2005), 439-440

²⁸¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 14

²⁸² KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 55

²⁸³ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*: 129

Ottoman Turkish), that was worth 28 qirsh(es), to a *qisms* (kism) “as the rest of the farm (*mazra’ah*). The monks, then, presented a proof, granted by an official, that stated the property as a *maqtū’*, which guaranteed their rights in the majority of the land.²⁸⁴

From another perspective, illegal property or construction are, further, observed, on which the judge’s decision was, sometimes, stated and others not. We assume that unstated sentences were stated in later defters and records. A *fermān* registered in the court, ordered to investigate the illegal constructions or houses (“*abniyah ġayri shar’iyyah*”) constructed by the Christians of Jerusalem, on the main road and near the walls. The order was given as the people of Jerusalem (*ahālī al-Quds*) filed a complaint to the *dīwān*.²⁸⁵ Likewise, illegal constructions consisted of windows, walls, stairs, doors and unapproved “opening/hole”. In an amusing incident, a complaint was filed as a hole was opened in a wall of the neighboring house by the resident of the adjacent one.²⁸⁶

In general, Christians of Jerusalem owned and exchanged property for money. Leasing and renting experienced a vital movement, especially in the Christian quarter, and the sub-quarters of Al-sharaf and Al-rīshah. The characteristics and values of the properties must have relied on the owners' social class. Replete and restrictions on building and renovating properties were not fully applied, contrary to what we would expect when reading Ottoman policies. Finally, Property ownership partially reflected some economic conditions of the Christian communities and specified some interior conflicts or instability.

²⁸⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 87

²⁸⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 184, 186. Similar case was recorded in 1114 when illegal constructions, that were ordered red to be demolished, done by *Qasim Beg At-terjuman* that extended to his house and linked to the main road though few stairs. That were also objected by the people of Jerusalem. See, KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 392

²⁸⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 253

2. 3. 2

Economic status and occupations

Based on the cited historical studies, the Christians of Jerusalem experienced poverty and economic and life difficulties. These details are also reflected in travelogues and pilgrims' chronicles. The reason of poverty, as mostly explained in these traditions, was the excessive Ottoman taxation system. However, the economic conditions of the Christian population were not only bound to the taxation system, but also to the weather changes in the district, and the conditions of the European states. The latter, regardless of their victory in wars with the Ottoman, suffered interior, religion-based, wars for 30 years, that resulted in the rise of secularism.²⁸⁷ By reviewing the aspects of congregations, donations, and endowments (to be mentioned later in this chapter), this condition, assuredly, generated a sort of economic loss to the Christians of Jerusalem. The economic power of the Greek Orthodox patriarch, that Hasan Çolak addresses,²⁸⁸ and of the Armenian patriarch -as far as the documents reveal- began to retreat, and the Europeans generosity of endowments and donations appeared limited in the early 18th century, however, did not cease. In addition, the economic condition did not show a state of poverty.

A fermān sent to the kadı of Jerusalem, addressing the *muḥaṣṣil*, familiarizes us that the society of Jerusalem was categorized into classes, rich, middle, and poor class. Based on this classification, taxation was decided in silver dirham instead of the golden dinar, and later in akçe, which was still valid in the taxation system of Jerusalem. In theory, and according to

²⁸⁷ Nicholaei Jorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi, 1600-1774*, vol. 4, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005), 103

²⁸⁸ Hasan Çolak, *The Greek Orthodox Church in The Early Modern Middle East: Relations Between the Ottoman Central Administration and the patriarchates of Antioch*, (İstanbul: Turk Tarih kurumu, 2015)

the *Kadı* registers, jizyah was allocated according to the re'āyā's economic situation, and its distribution was left to the spiritual leaders.²⁸⁹

Real estate ventures, further, reflects the economic circumstances of the Christian communities. Purchase and sale deals appeared to be potent in the hands of the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian communities and, partially, the Suyrānīs and the Maronites. This could be justified by two factors, the first is the Greek Orthodox economic power and the Armenian congregations,²⁹⁰ the second is the size of each community.

While real estate activities is seen as a sign of poverty that led to worsening the economic situation, that was reflected in the “segmentation of the houses”, making business (buying and selling), and masking debts, they are also reasons for selling.²⁹¹ Nevertheless, these activities are considered as a symbol of social status. The first scholarship depends on the fact that house businesses occurred in the Christian quarter more than the other quarters. Nonetheless, these transactions, as provided in the registered, were done by Muslims and Christians, whether they were selling or buying. Moreover, considering the period under examination and the complexity of Jerusalem's social structure, that was formed throughout the previous periods, we cannot claim that the assumption of the regressing economic conditions of the Christians was constant or was an 18th century characteristic or shift, as argued by historians supporting the narration of poverty.

It is worth mentioning, that houses should be also seen as assets. Christians used houses as an investment tool, on one hand, and a debt payment method on the other. Thus, selling houses or buying them does not so far affirm the ill economic conditions, since real estate can be viewed as a tool of investment and economic interaction. Above all, renting, leasing, and buying shares of houses must have been

²⁸⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 236, 292, no. 201, 168

²⁹⁰ Kermeli, *Forgeries*, 166-67

²⁹¹ Al-Qattan, “*Across the Courtyard*”, 19, 22

a source of money circulation, chiefly when observing the latter aspect (“shares of property”), regardless that researchers conclude the financial condition of the Christians Jerusalemite as weakened, approaching the observation from the spectrum of the “age of decline”.

Nonetheless, carefully complying the terminology of the *Kadı Court*, such as *hissah* (share), the novel of weak economic conditions becomes more suspicious. In that, Muslims and non-Muslims were exchanging shares of houses for rent or cash, hence again, it was a sort of interior investment that Jerusalemites had found and observed. However, we would not assume it was an innovation, since selling shares of houses has been dwelling in the culture of Ottoman Palestine and Jerusalem, as the latter’s complex social map and emerging topographic image proves. Although Jerusalem was divided into a fine and neat assortment of divisions, which most likely abrupt since the period of Salahuddin (or perhaps earlier), the borders of these divisions - though did not completely melt- did not limit its interior structure to its description. Mainly because Muslims and Christians shared houses, blocks, neighborhoods, and areas that we assume resulted from the real estate activities.

Money lending, still, can provide a rather rich image that is required to perceive the situation of the designated communities. In addition to the real estate market, money lending was also a vital market in Jerusalem. Money exchange activities occurred between the population of different religions, and between officials and elites, on one side, and the re’āyā, on the other. The majority of money borrowing was conducted by the Armenian community (and the Jewish communities as well):

Muslim notables as the Ghudayya also accrued economic power from debts owed to them by Jewish and Christian communities. Al members of the family

lent peony, and the debts increased from one generation to the next, enriching the family's capital.²⁹²

The Armenian community relied on debt circulation more than the other Christian communities. Though it could predict a strong economic activity of the Armenians, and perhaps a legal preference as well. Especially that these contracts were registered for a further guarantee of the lender's rights, however, it further suggests a lack of international and regional congregation, and -perhaps- interior instability. While documents record the money endowments and financial support to the Greek Orthodox and others to the Suryānī Christians, records of support and endowment for the Armenian community were not found in the early 18th century registers. In addition, the registers reflect the financial and administrative corruption of the Armenian patriarch and the monks that the communities suffered from, as far as complaints served, which could be connected to the volume of the Armenian money-borrowing.

In addition, debt records comprised eight cases of unpaid debt, six of which were Armenian debts. Contemplating on that fact, the Armenians were suffering from the accumulation of debt and lack of assets considering the corruption of the patriarch, which led to the dismissal of the latter under the demand of the community. In Muharram 1112, the Armenian patriarch was accused of corruption (“بفتنة وفساد وشقاق إليه مشهور أولندغدا”), and he was requested to be dismissed.²⁹³ The case of the patriarch extended in several fermāns starting from his assignment to the objection of the Jerusalemite Armenian, and ending with his dismissal and the assignment of patriarch Manas.

On another aspect, people of Jerusalem, Muslims, and non-Muslims, relied in their substances on revenues generated by religious motives. As the Muslims of Jerusalem had cash payments from the Rūmi and Egyptian Surrah, and Jews from

²⁹² Pappé, *The Rise and Fall*, 37, 47

²⁹³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 135

the Halukka (a cash payment by European co-religionists), Christians, also, benefited from the constant European interests and gained alms from congregations and States. The Franciscans, for instance, received considerable sums of money from king of Spain during the early years of the century.²⁹⁴

Examining the first three years of the 18th century, the court record roughly 67 debt cases,²⁹⁵ that varied between complaints, payments and loans contracts. The majority of these cases were of the Jewish community (roughly 30 cases), while, the recorded cases of Christian loans and moneylending were approximately 38 cases. These cases included eight cases that involved Armenian debts and loans, three cases involved the Suryānīs', two cases the Greek Orthodox's, two cases the Maronites', one case the Franciscans', and seven cases the Muslims'. On the other hand, 17 cases were recorded to "Christians" without mentioning their sects. The cases number is estimated to be higher, yet the poor quality of some parts of the registers prevented us from the privilege of recording the exact number of incidents.

In the case mentioned above, between Ahmed Beg and Hanna the Christian, the latter's brother (Mūsa) borrowed a total of 400 qirshe(es) adadī from Ahmed Beg. It is possible that Mūsa's inability or tardiness to pay the loan forced Hanna (who represented him) to resort to temporary transferring the ownership of their house the Christian quarter to Ahmad beg. We do not possess a substantial reason for the growing records of moneylending in the registers, since the reasons are seldom stated. We do not know, for instance, why Ḥalīl Al-naṣrānī borrowed 5 qirsh(es) from Yasif Al-naṣrānī,²⁹⁶ or why a group of Armenians

²⁹⁴ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 220

²⁹⁵ We deem the number of these debt and loan cases to be slightly higher. The quality of the documents and registers was poor on many pages. Yet, giving the fixed style of debt recording, that was normally sate into certain days and in an abbreviated way, urge us to assume that these cases exceeded the given number of this study. Some of these pages were blurry, the others for the poor ink used or its antiquity, were unclear and few of them contained indecipherable handwriting.

²⁹⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 119

borrowed money, gold, and silver from another.²⁹⁷ Nevertheless, some of these debts and loans were an debt accumulation, a result of a failing business or an interior economic transition with a postponed payment. Similarly, the case, dated to Sha'bān 1110, of (?) Efendi against Micheal Al-Māronī stated for an unduly accumulating payment of a soap deal.²⁹⁸

The actuality of debt cases, in general, cannot reflect poor financial conditions, since these cases are recorded to notarize loans or debts, and evidences of unpaid debt are rare. Some of these recorded were made by the lender after the money was borrowed, some of them were incidents mentioned as part of a *terike*, which suggests that lending money was verbal and recorded later by the lender's family or the *qāsim* (inheritance distributor), as a procedure of maintaining the inheritances' right. In other words, it was a matter of re-recording the debt as part of inheritance distribution. The previously mentioned Eid walad Shahwān case recorded the *terike* of his brother Ibrahim. Within its details, the Armenian monastery (Dier Mari Yacoub) owed Ibrahim 1500 qirsh(es) asadī that were requested to be recorded by Eid, as the guardian of his brother's children. Both situations, the late recording or the re-recording, reflect a rising legal awareness in 18th century Jerusalem, similar to which Kermeli addresses in her study of the Ottoman ecclesiastical and communal justice in Ottoman Greece.²⁹⁹

When viewing the *terike* records of the Christian population, we, sufficiently, recognize some decisive economic or financial status in each case. Interestingly, to Muslims and non-Muslims, *terikes* were more focused on jewelry

²⁹⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 121

²⁹⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 85

²⁹⁹ Evgenia Kermeli, "The Right to Choice: Ottoman Justice vis-à-vis Ecclesiastical and Communal Justice in the Balkans, Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries * Ecclesiastical and Communal Justice: A myth? "in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead, (Abingdon Routledge, 2011): 165-210

(gold, silver, and pearls), agricultural assets...etc.³⁰⁰ In addition to the basic, and random, belongings, such as fabrics, clothing, food supplies...etc.

Viewing Jerusalem on the basis of hinter and foreland, it appears that the urban Christian population preceded a life (socially and economically) differed from that of the rural Christian population. Although they were all subject to the same spiritual organization, each endured variable experience, that would be justified by both geographic and administrative distinction. Cases approaching the court from the rural areas are constantly focused on harvest trade money exchange and providing urban men the needed services and raw materials, for factories and regional trades. A dispute, that occurred in Jumada Al-awwal 1113, between Atman bin Muqalled from the village of Shamuel (Samuel) (and others) and Khader Al-naṣrānī Al-Aramenī (the translator of Jaffa port), reveals that the latter rented from Khader and his partners 80 camels and 50 donkeys for transporting the goods.³⁰¹

Despite that Kermeli highlights that amongst urban and rural population contracts were rather verbal,³⁰² however in Jerusalem many cases that dealt with Christian communities are also from the rural area, such as the cases from the villages of Bayt Jala, Bethlehem, Ledd, Al-Islamiyah, and of Bani Zayd...etc. After all, approaching the economic role, rural and urban men pertained different occupations, Christians worked as guilders and craftsmen.

Jews and Christians were integrated into the Ottoman economy in Jerusalem. they were giving the right to consult the state court (sharia court) even if they were not obliged to.³⁰³

Though the term “integrated”, as used above, is misleading, since it could state “segregation” and “autonomy”, the economic role of the non-Muslim

³⁰⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 190, no. 200, 53, 179, 219

³⁰¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 53

³⁰² Kermeli, “*Forgeries*”, 167

³⁰³ Cohen, *The Guilds*, 119-125

population of Ottoman Jerusalem is crucial and strongly present in the *Kadı* registers. Guilds and the guilders are undertaken by many historians who are seeking to understand the Ottoman economic system of the Arab provinces, nevertheless, many scholarships do not offer a comprehensive image of the Christian the day-to-day economic disposals and interaction.

After all, in the attested studies, the Armenian community was regarded for its leading role in the jewelry guild, in addition to being vested traders and translators. Still, this information is only a piece of the motely that formed the lifestyle of the Jerusalemites Christian. According to the *Kadı* registers of the 18th century, the Christians communities of Jerusalem had an acute presence in many occupations, such as copper makers (*nahasīn*), carpenters (*najjarīn*), millers (*tahānīn*), dyers (*ṣabāgīn*), smiths (*haddadīn*), contractors (*bannā'īn*), whether they monopolized or shared with others. These occupations, and titles, were accompanied with the individual's religion or sect, like, the cases that dealt with Ḥalaf walad Butros Al-naṣarānī Al-ḥaddād Al-Rūmī,³⁰⁴ or Yūsef walad Farahallah Al-naḥḥās Al-naṣrānī.³⁰⁵ Furthermore, some records comprise information of more consequential guilds of Jerusalem, such as the tailors guild, that was formed by a mixed community. An arz-i hāl, presented to the court by members of the tailors' community (*tā'ifetu'l-khayyatīn*), plead to the judge to keep the work distributed as it was accustomed (*kamā huwa ma'rūf*) between the different rites.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 202, 217

³⁰⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 134

³⁰⁶ According to Amnon Cohen's study Christians were a vital element of the guilds, they owed millers, Tanners (*dabbaghīn*), Shoemakers (*Bawābjiyyah*), cobblers (*sikaḥīyīn*), head and members of the gold and silversmith. In the 18th century we find Christians dominating the scene' anemones the Christins there were Copts, Armenians and Greek Orthodox. Blacksmith (*haddadīn*) (majority), sword and knives makers ('There was a strong presences of Christians'), coppersmiths and tin-platers (*naḥḥāsīn*, *mubayidīn*), cotton merchants (*qattānīn*), (mainly Greek Orthodox, Armenians, and Suryānīs (Assyrians) tinters and bleachers (*qassarīn*), Cloth printers (*basmajiyīn*), cloak weavers (*'abawīyyī*, *bushūṭīyyīn*), tailors (*khayayātīn*), carpenters (*najjārīn*), muleteers(*makkārīyyīn*), barkers (*allalīn*). Amnon Cohen, *The Guild*, 33-35, 86, 93, 105-7, 112-16, 124-27, 136-38, 149, 175, 181

As much as it is interesting to learn the importance of tailing and sartorial occupation in Jerusalem from these records, it is astonishing to learn the laws of this occupation concerning the Christian communities. Fees were apportioned among Muslims, Greeks, and Armenians, who pertained to this occupation. One third of the fees was paid by Muslims and two-thirds were paid by both Greeks and Armenians. It is, also, fascinating to find out information on the officials of this occupation. As accustomed by the Ottoman guild system this occupation had a leader (*shaykh al-ḥayyākah*), and apparently, during the early 18th century, the position was, usually, attained by a Muslim. Nevertheless, the Christian communities had a “declarative” (*mu’arrif*), who was responsible to represent them, solve their problems, and claim justice amongst them, (“يتعاطى معهم ويساوي بينهم في الغرم والمغترم”).³⁰⁷

Christians would also participate in electing the head of a guild, as did the members of the carpeting guild when requesting to dismiss Shaykh Yūsef Al’araj for being ill and assign Ahmad bin Hamma in his position.³⁰⁸ Besides, older guilders attained the title “mu’allem”, which means master. This title could also mean the head of the sect in the different guild. About 12 cases of the Christian re’āyā held this title, such as Al-mu’allem Ġadi walad Saleh Al-Rūmī.³⁰⁹

As approached above, each community had a representative or identifier (*mu’arref*), who worked along with the guild’s Shaykh. His duties comprised representing them and file their petitions in court, resolving their dispute, and supervise their shops. Similarly, the mentioned above Ġadi walad Saleh who was the representative of the Greek Orthodox tailors, whose position, sometimes, was fundamental when Christian re’āyā attended the court in cases of house sale or purchase.³¹⁰

³⁰⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 240

³⁰⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 195

³⁰⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 310

³¹⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 202, 8

Furthermore, scrutinizing the court registers indeed resulted in understanding an important aspect of the social and lifestyle of the Christian population of Jerusalem. Responding to the claim of segregation, inter-communal interaction was not rare, in that, trade, purchase deals, and sharing domestic and economic spaces, were actively present. Moreover, cultural practices, such as “*Musāfarah*” (hosting a traveler for a certain amount of money), reveal the Christians’ use of their domestic spaces. ‘Ābed bin Yacoub, from the village of Ḥusāt, who came to Jerusalem for medication, for instance, was brought before the court for not paying for the services offered by the Christian Georgios and his son Yacoub.³¹¹ Not dismissing the fact that Georgios had the residents of the surrounding houses, Muslims and non-Muslims, witnessing his good service and care of the defendant.

Finally, in their daily money transaction of debt, purchase, and sale Christians circulated gold, silver, and different currencies (qirsh, *qirsh adadī*, qirsh asadī, and Venetian gold). Besides, money exchange services and harvests were the other sources of economic practices that Christians of Jerusalem practiced, which reveals the interior relationship between Christian rural men and urban men (Christians and non-Christians).³¹²

2. 3. 3 Ewqāf and Donations

In the Ottoman, endowment habit waqf implied many types, villages, buildings, lands, harvest and money could constitute a waqf.³¹³ Some waqf villages were exempted from taxes, and others were not, such as the cases of Ramlah (not exempted since 1110), and Al-led (exempted). Mostly, the Ottoman awqāf (plural of

³¹¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 27

³¹² KS, Jerusalem, no.200. 29

³¹³ See, Hacı Mehmet Günay, “Vakıf” *DİA*, XCII, (İstanbul: ISAM, 2012), 475-9

waqf) system stated endowing the village, the production of the village or the land of the village. The facets are significant in understanding the economic and social aspects of the Christian communities.

The perception of waqf was not limited to the Muslim community. The entire population of the Ottoman society used waqfs to support the poor and maintain their holy sites. Fundamentally, waqfs were part of the costumes of the population, before the Ottoman rule. These waqfs, according to Ebuss'ūd's fatwa, should not be dedicated to the Church, nor to clerics or patriarchs.³¹⁴ Despite that, the latter had a role in administrating and supervising these properties. Waqf and donations of the Christian community consume a dollop of the historiographic of the Ottoman history, as properties of monasteries and waqfs gained the attention of the ulemā of the Ottoman Empire, on deciding their legal status, since they could not be a “*waqf ḥairī*” (charitable waqf).³¹⁵ On the other hand, historians of the Ottoman period endeavor to understand the status of these endowments and properties, within the considerations of the Islamic law, speculating on their status, whether they were allowed, regardless the absence of “*kurba-qurba*”, or they were legalized, considering that waqf -merely- meant to be a donation or endowment, that was not prone illegal, according to Hanafi law.³¹⁶

Nonetheless, according to Masters, non-Muslims established “*ḥairī waqfs*” in Jerusalem, although “on a scale far below that of their Muslim neighbors”. These waqfs were administered similarly to those established by the Muslim community, and sometimes even had Muslim executors. Masters emphasizes that, the property of the Christian waqf, contrary to the Muslim waqfs, could be sold for

³¹⁴ See, Evgenia Kermeli, “Ebu’s Su’ud’s Definitions on Church Vakfs: Theory and Practice in Ottoman Law” in *Islamic Law Theory and Practice*, ed. R. Vleave, E. Kermeli, (I. B. Tauris: London, 1997), 141-154

³¹⁵ More information in Günay, “*Vakıf*”

³¹⁶ See, Amy Singer, *Constructing an Ottoman Beneficiaries: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, (State University of New York Press, 2002), 25-26

cash. In other respect, the rules governing the non-Muslim waqfs seemed to have been drawn from the Muslim traditions. Moreover, Christian waqfs were for the most part designated to help the poor of the various Christian communities. Notwithstanding, the Greek Orthodox and Syriacs were the groups most frequently benefited from this institution. Such a result might lead to assuming that the Maronites and Armenians, generally, were more prosperous than the other two communities, and might simply have chosen not to register their charitable foundations with the Muslim courts.³¹⁷

The status of monastic waqf, according to Islamic law, or jurisprudence, might be ambiguous. Yet, when celebrated ulemā, like Molla Kusrev, attempted to clarify the legitimacy of “*ḍimmi wakıfları*”, according to the prescripts of Ottoman law, he recognized the Christian religious endowments as equal to Muslim waqfs. Sometimes Christian waqfs would be confiscated based on two principals determined by the prominent Ebussu’ūd. Confiscations occurred when the state land was made into church waqf, since it was illegal to donate a property that was not a freehold (*mülk*), if the freehold of monasteries, such as buildings, gardens animals...etc., were donated in the name of monasteries, or if the recipient was not specified as far as the Hanafi law explained.³¹⁸ Moreover, a Christian waqf (or a non-Muslim in general) should have been bequest to monasteries, fountains...etc., while, bequeathing it in the name of a church it was considered illegal and then confiscated.³¹⁹

In the registers of Jerusalem, a legal way was formulated to maintain the status of a non-Muslim waqf. Christian endowments were under the title “*waqf ḍarri*”, which meant “family endowment”.³²⁰ This method of legalizing endowments,

³¹⁷ Bruce Masters, *The Origins of the Eastern Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750*, (New York University Press, 1988), 163

³¹⁸ Kermeli, *Forgeries*, 163-5

³¹⁹ Kermeli, “*Ebu’s Su’ud’s Definitions*”, 148

³²⁰ See, Al-Madanī, “*Al-Awqaf*”: 85-91, 93

especially for the bequeaths to churches or the monks, as far as Rabay'ah mentions.³²¹ These waqfs were, mainly, announced for the benefit of the family of the endower, despite that, as the Christian waqfs were put under the supervision of the wakīl, their status remains suspicious whether they agreed with the perception proposed by the Muslim scholars or not. In 1113, Ibrahim walad Ali Al-naṣrānī Al-Suryānī endowed 12 carats of a house, as a familiar waqf, at Mahllat Al-Mashā'.³²²

As mentioned above, Christian endowments could be sold for cash, and they, also, could be endowed for a limited period. For instance, when the endower passed away, the ownership of the property would return to its original status (ḥālihi Al-asli). However, this case was not a default since the status of waqf could be predetermined by the owner's will. This meant it would not be a waqf anymore, and the new owners would be the inheritance of the deceased endower.

In a case, presented against Danous, the translator of the Armenian monks and the representative of the Armenian patriarch Manas, the plaintiff (a Christian family) complained that their grandfather endowed a house for the benefit of the Armenian monks for a limited period that should end by his death, after which the house shall return to their property, a matter that the translator and representative tried to prevent.³²³ Similarly is the complaint of Sam'aān walad Ḥalīl and his family their father's waqf, when the wakīl detained the waqf and delayed changing its status back, which indicates the possibility that the monks and the patriarchate might have benefited from these endowments. To further elaborate, as the waqfs and property of monks and the re'āya were normally under the administration or management of their patriarchs or their wakīls,³²⁴ many documents related to the wakīl viewed his title

³²¹ Rabay'ah, *Sijilāt*, VIII

³²² KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 85

³²³ KS. Jerusalem, no. 199, 209. patriarch Manas was later accused with pilfering by the Armenian hierarchy in 1115, as well. See, Mühimme Defterleri, no. 114, 199, in *Al-Quds in Muhimme*, 68-69

³²⁴ Conceivably the focal point when reading studies handling the Christian community was the power of the patriarch. Yet it seems to me we should also highlight important officials, a protagonist that had

following the representative of the monks and the supervisor of their endowments.
(“وكيل رهبان الأرمن المسؤول عن أوقافهم”).³²⁵

We must underline is that Christians would also pertain to the position of a *nāzir* of a *waqf* (*vakf-i nāzir-i*) or a *mutawalli*. For example, *Ishāq walad Salem Al-Banna Al-naṣrānī* was the *nāzir* of the *waqf Maqām Al-nabī Ḥader* (the tomb of the prophet Ḥader);³²⁶ and *Ibrahim walad (?) Al-najjār* was the *nāzir* of his mother’s *waqf*, *Nudrah ibnet Ishāq*.³²⁷ Moreover, the Christian *re'āyā* managed Muslim *waqfs*, as well, through the social costumes of transferring the *waqf* to their names, in an attempt to protect their possession over these endowments. According to Al’asali, “(..) another way to protect the *waqf* is to transfer it to the hands of a non-Muslims, and even sometimes foreigners. The latter were incidents highlighted by Sheikh Muhammad Al-ḥalīli in his *Waqfiyya*“.³²⁸

It is noteworthy that endowments and donations were -also- devised by non-Jerusalemite Christians to the Christian communities of Jerusalem, either through wills or by the patriarch's journey of donations collection from the Ottoman and non-Ottoman Christians. Different *fermāns* are listed in the *Kadı* registers gave the Armenian or the Greek patriarch, or their *wakīls* the permission to collect donations for their communities and prevented any official intervention (“*man’i aṭa’arrud lahum*”).³²⁹

Such imperial permissions were, sometimes, claimed by officials as “ forced charity” (“*bilquwwah*”), such as in a case of the Armenian patriarch, who pleaded to the *dīwān* regarding illegal activities of an official, which interrupted the transfer of a

a notable role in the Christian population, regardless of the sect. That is the *wakīl* (*vekīl*) and the *terjumān* (*tercümān*).

³²⁵ KS. Jerusalem, no. 199, 197, no. 200, 215

³²⁶ KS. Jerusalem, no.200, 123

³²⁷ KS. Jerusalem, no. 201, 76

³²⁸ Al’asali, *Jerusalem*, 219

³²⁹ KS. Jerusalem, no. 200, 259

money collected from the Armenians of Rumeli and Anatolia.³³⁰ We must note that, occasionally, these charity collections were conducted by fetching an Armenian monk, which was a mutual diction of the patriarch of Istanbul and Jerusalem;³³¹ records that we do not observe in the case of the Greek Orthodox patriarchs. Such activities, sometimes, encourage the corruption of individuals claiming the assignment of the patriarch to collect charity from the Christians of Jerusalem. In 1113, Ibrahim walad Qillah Al-Suryāni stood before the judge for his claims that the Syriac patriarch of Aleppo put him in charge to collect endowments and charity from the Syriacs of Jerusalem.³³²

On the other hand, while donations and endowments were given by the people of Jerusalem, contrary to the fatwas, non-Ottoman or non-Jerusalemite Christians also donated or endowed money and houses to the monks (and the poor) of Jerusalem, the Orthodox Christians, for instance, tended to donate their properties and money to the monasteries and the church. These donations were facilitated by the church and monks, as they sent them to be register and record them.³³³ Other documents reveal a charity directly donated by non-Ottoman Christians, like Mariam bint Gorgeiss Al-rūmiyyah, who purchased and donated a house in the Christian quarter for the benefit of the Greek Orthodox monks, in early 1115.³³⁴ Furthermore, beneficiaries were, also, presented in debt payments and wills. In 1111 a will of an Aleppine (the name was not mentioned) stated to pay all the debt of the Suryānī that was estimated about 100,000 qirsh(s).³³⁵

Additionally, Muslims appeal as donors to Christian communities in Jerusalem, Muslim notables, perhaps interested in widening their affluence, or

³³⁰ BOA, D. PSK, no. 3, 113

³³¹ BOA, D. PSK, no. 5, 55, 67, 88, 103

³³² KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 24

³³³ BOA, D. PSK, no. 2, 17

³³⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 202, 30

³³⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 100, 87

perhaps as a cultural practice, donated money, cows, and candles to Christian re'āya. Muhammad bin Muhammad Agha, previously registered in *Vakıf Defteri*, had the habit of donating to the Greek Orthodox 25 qit'ah and a half; candles, and a cow to the Armenian Christians; and 86 Egyptian qit'ah to the Jewish and Franciscans;³³⁶ while, Sayyid Abdulhalim used to gift the Greek Orthodox, on Muslims and Christian holidays; three cows and candles, a habit that was perceived by his father Sayed Muhib'eddin Efendi ibn Abdul'Samad.³³⁷

Eventually, donations and waqfs were instrumental in the economic conditions of the Christian communities, in general, and the hierarchy, in particular, where “monasteries were important agricultural unites”.³³⁸

2. 3. 4 Marriages, Terikes, and Complaints

Fermāns granted to the patriarchs, assigned or re-affirmed by the Central Porte, normally allocated the duty of managing social matters of the Christian communities, like marriages and inheritance, which normally were affiliated to the communal courts. Such authority did not eliminate having cases in the *Kadı Court* recording similar social activities. The 18th century Jerusalem court witnessed few marriage cases, normally in dispute, and trikes.

Marriages of Christians were rarely observed in the registers. Those that were recorded were related to the Armenians (and, occasionally, the Jewish communities). Interestingly when a marriage was registered the woman (or the bride) would receive a dowry (sadāq). Only 4 cases were provided in that matter, they revolved around dowry or dispute of unmet marriage contract. When Al-hurma Ġazalah ibnet (?) Al-Aramenī, almar'ah alkāmilah, married (?) walad Padros Al-

³³⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 117

³³⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 87

³³⁸ Kermeli, *Forgeries*, 162

Aramanī, she received 15 asadī qirsh(s) as a dowry, in 1112,³³⁹ and, Sab' walad Ibrahim Al-naṣrānī paid Mitri walad Michael, the wakīl of his niece, 48 qirsh(s) marriage' (bisababi zawāj).³⁴⁰ Some cases of dispute were registered when dowries were paid, yet marriages were not fulfilled. Some other cases were an objection to "unaccepted" marriages. Inter-sect marriages were observed, as well, through the *terike* of (the Christians) Ibrahim walad Shahwan Al-Rūmi (the case is mentioned above in 2.1), as the document stated that his inheritance was distributed on his wife Maryam ibnet Saleh Al-naṣrānī Al-Suryānī and his children.³⁴¹

Similar to marriage, cases of inheritance are not as abundant, and are estimated around 10 cases. One of these cases bared the expression "al-mutawaffiyah fi'l-Quds" could indicate that she was not Jerusalemite. *Terike* cases were resolved and distributed based on Islamic law, which follows up what historians accrete as a result of the tension between communities and their leaders, and a matter of seeking more fair shares of the distribution.³⁴² In non-Christian *terikes*, Christian re'āyā were mentioned in relation to debt cases or in property sale and purchase. In that, Christians would participate, occasionally, in the "auction" sat for the sale of the belongings of deceased (perhaps as part of a debt payment or if he did not have heirs). In a document dealing with the inheritance of Al-ḥajḥasan Al-Murqi', for instance, 'Aziz the Christian was in the buyer's list.³⁴³

In affiliation to the *terike*, three records comprised assigning of raiment (*kiswah*) or alimony (*nafaqah*) for the wife and children of a deceased Christian. In Shawwāl 1112, the judge ordered a *kiswah* and a *nafaqah*, bread, meat, oil, soap, clothing, and Hammam fees, and permitted (or ordered) giving a daily expenditure of

³³⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 183

³⁴⁰ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 226

³⁴¹ The indefinite connotation the title Al-Rūmī, discussed in the section of the court's language, could eliminate the accuracy of this information. Nonetheless, we wish to underline that there were five cases addressing the same character that none of eliminated the title Al-Rūmī.

³⁴² Göçek, "The Legal": 61-2

³⁴³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 70

a total of 6 qit'ah for the orphans of Hanna walad Yasif Al-naṣrānī and Mitri walad (?), who were left under the mother's guardianship.³⁴⁴

On the other hand, complaints of the Christian re'āyā varied between personal transactions of debt and purchases-sale, and corruption and complaints against officials and administrative representatives. These practices were not strictly an 18th century characteristic, since the hardship of illegal taxations are also observed in 1110, when the Greek patriarch explained the difficulties that they faced due to the fix taxation system that did not change since the integration of Jerusalem into the Ottoman Empire.³⁴⁵

As previously mentioned in chapter 2, the registers proved that Jerusalem underwent a period of administrative corruption in the early 18th century, that was exposed in excessive ("takālif shāqqah") or illegal taxations ("for personal benefits") on individuals and monks. Besides, exempted villages suffered from illegal *awāred*, or the request of a previously paid taxes. Such complaints generated imperial orders and reminders of the status of the Christian communities in a certain village, town or in general. Several fermāns were issued to dismiss these taxations, and others to exile the official in position. For example, after the complaint of the Greek Orthodox against Mustafa Efendi (the nāzir of the village of Shamuel), for being excessively harsh and unfair, he was exiled to Aleppo.³⁴⁶ Another complaint was filed by the Greek Orthodox patriarch against Mustafa Agha (the mutaṣarrif of Jerusalem) for imposing heavy taxations on the patriarch, the monks and the poor. As a result, Mustafa Agha was exiled to Cyprus.³⁴⁷

All in all, social and social and economic matters of marriages, *terikes* and complaints forged a small volume of the attested registers. Yet they, indeed, offered

³⁴⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 264-5

³⁴⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 86

³⁴⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 286

³⁴⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 293

an image of the level of the legal awareness of the Christian population of Jerusalem, in the early 18th century.

2. 4 Communal and social interaction

Islamic court, as a source of social and economic details, is considered as an escape from the tension between the communities and their spiritual leaders, on one hand, and a rising of legal awareness on the other.³⁴⁸ Communities made their destinies through legal records, as policy and policymaking in the Ottoman Empire would shift, be defined, and redefined according to whom it affected. Accordingly, the reactions of the re'āyā, of the urban and rural areas, were shaped in acquiescence, cooperation, ambivalence or rebellion.³⁴⁹

With all, people from towns and villages, regardless the existence of communal courts, approached Jerusalem's kadı to solve and resolve their cases. The population from Nablus, Gaza, Hebron, Bayt Jibrin, and Ramleh, per example, would present before the judge regarding conflicts, cases of properties, or regional and local endowments, serving their holy sites located in Jerusalem.³⁵⁰ We must assert that choosing to present a case to the cour of Jerusalem relied on physical, communal and legal spaces.³⁵¹

After all, shifts in types and range of court's records by the reason of the "radical change" in the position of the jurisdiction, and in light of the rising affluence of state power and the bureaucrats relations, are precisely considered for observing the court as a socioeconomic source.³⁵² As Ottoman Jerusalem was facing some

³⁴⁸ Kermeli, "Islamic Law"

³⁴⁹ Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 11 and Greene, *Minorities*, 5

³⁵⁰ Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 28

³⁵¹ Al-Qattan, "Acroos the Courtyard", 68

³⁵² Beshara Doumani, "Palestinian Islamic Court Records: A Source for Socioeconomic History" in *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 19(2), (1985), 156

transitional phase, in the last term of the 17th century, it affected the communal interaction of the Christian population. Based on the *Kadı* registers, cases of Christian re'āyā were regular in 1699, yet, in the first year of the 18th century, they increased, as communal interaction of purchase and sale, renting and leasing was not sufficiently recorded and later turned rather abundant since 1701.

To elaborate our viewpoint, debt records were limited in the last year of the 18th century, and only a few cases were reported. The Jewish communities, for instance, had a record of cases higher than that of the Christian communities. Probably that the Christian communities encountered an economic or social pressure culminated after the Ottoman war losses and treaties, which led to the territorial losses and might have led, further, to Christian congregational losses, which that might have directly affected the population's economic practices. Furthermore, the power vacuum, that was generated after the Ottoman retreat from its lands, due to war defeats, had an impact on the population of these areas, and led to chaos and confusion. Such a condition, eventually, brought a lack of attention to the administration and officials in the remote areas, and, again, the decreasing support of congregations to the Christian population. Such influence did not last long as far as we learn from records, since the volume of cases increased, and money circulation was restored. Furthermore, communal and economic interaction was recovered in the following years, starting from 1701 the Christian re'āyā attended the *Kadı Court* far regularly, and the unique social structure of Jerusalemite re-appeared again in the Ottoman records.

It is to be noted that the Christian social structure of Ottoman Jerusalem was based on the religious idol. While Muslim re'āyā resorted to the court to deal with cases of social dispute, robbery, economic transactions...etc., the Christians, most likely, addressed their cases to the patriarchs and the communal courts by default. Such actuality is viewed in connection with the religious affinity and the population

desire of “not crossing the sectarian boundaries”.³⁵³ This argument should also explain the increase of the cases of Christian re'āyā when considering the status of the patriarchate and the hierarchy, on a hand, and stressing the social needs to legal practices.³⁵⁴

Approaching the above highlights alerts us to an important pattern of population distribution as various communities started to dwell in Jerusalem's neighborhood, altering its status of division. Moreover, ahead of the 18th century, more precise in the earlier periods of the Ottoman history in Jerusalem, quarters, neighbors and manholes were already established around worship houses a form created by the preference of the Jerusalemite population, until the pattern changed and the real estate stance developed to what we can call the mixed purchases. Other reasons for such variance must have been the *Kadı Court*. Individuals seeking to resolve their conflicts headed to the court of Jerusalem from distant or near areas and eventually settled in the district.

Furthermore, areas or neighborhoods could also be a result of natural disasters and weakening economies in other villages or towns, that eventually encouraged its population to immigrate. This immigration formed a challenge to the topographical structure and the social map, which also had blurred the phenom of shared spaces and houses. In addition, the decline of certain villages and districts, due to drought, taxations or lack of security, as far as the registers recorded, created the necessity for a wider social and economic interaction. After all, a decline in one village or town did not indicate a decline in the entire geography. For instance, Abu Dies (one of Jerusalem's most populated villages towards the 16th century) experienced a decline in the population according to the Ottoman surveys towards the end of the 17th century. In that relation, the rural population around the village

³⁵³ Al-Qattan, “*Across the Courtyard*”, 15

³⁵⁴ İnalcik, “*The Status*”, 9-11

was growing in its mixed structure that denied the mono topographical divisions and conceived social interactions that were evident as mixed in the court record.³⁵⁵ In this particular case of Abu Dies clearly indicates that its population resorted to the surrounding villages, prompting a scrupulous change in the social structure.

From another perspective, houses purchase, sale or rentals by non-Christians (Muslims or Jews) normally occurred in the Christian quarter more than any other quarter that was resided by the Christian population in the town of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the Armenian quarter witnessed a high level of real estate activity, which created a shift in the demographic and social structure of the district, especially when it began to transpire, not as frequent as the Christian quarter. By the same token, the conditions of Sahyūn and Bab Al-‘amūd quarters explain the presence of complex social gatherings. Interestingly shared and mixed domestic places were not a Jerusalemite phenomenon. Such a social activity occurred in different districts of the Arab provinces, such as Aleppo and Damascus.³⁵⁶ Inter-communal domestic spaces were “a description of the period’s social frame”, Christians and Muslims in the Christian quarters (in different Arab districts) shared house arrangements as co-inventors or by the purchase of properties from one another.³⁵⁷

On the other hand, the communal interaction in the (“the interfaith mingling”) Ottoman society is seen as a prerogative (or perhaps a duty) of the elite, and as matter that was not allowed to those who were “further down” “the social paradigm”. This is indicated to historians of the “segregation theory” as a sign of sectarian based structure of the Ottoman society and the dependency of the re’āyā on

³⁵⁵ Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 64

³⁵⁶ See, Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*, (New York: Columbia University press, 1989)

³⁵⁷ Al-Qattan, “*Across the Courtyard*”, and Blumi, “*Review*”

“the individual agency”.³⁵⁸ However, in the case of Jerusalem, communal and economic transactions and practices were not limited to the elites, since shifts and variances -also- show inter-communal or social interaction and common economic practices within the Jerusalemite society.

Furthermore, the Christian communities witnessed a social tension, yet, they practiced intra-quarters and intra-social economic activities of partnerships, deals, and trade. The further shared businesses, shops, and houses. These interactions particularly occurred when considering cases of inheritance and the large numbers of heirs, which made selling the property and enjoy its money more preferable and convenient than commonly owning the property. Nonetheless, selling them would sometimes occur interfamilial.³⁵⁹

Each sect of the Ottoman Christians had their spiritual leader, community leader, and representors. However, the role of the community or spiritual leader, though controversial, was not overlapping all the social and economic interactions of the Christian population. This condition is evident as *mahallahs* and villages occurred to be of a complex structure of different religions, while each community had its shaykh or representative.³⁶⁰

Eventually, the presence of the ordinary people is significant as much that of the notables and elites. We must press that ordinary people must be considered as a historical factor that participates in drawing the destiny of the Ottoman history. The concept of “the Christian elites”, on the other hand, though is not suggested in recent historical studies, existed in Jerusalem, where relations between the notables and Christians families were established. The urban elites of the Christian communities, despite that they are not represented in the same power sphere as the Muslim elites,

³⁵⁸ Green, *Minorities*, 3-4

³⁵⁹ Al-Qattan, “*Across the COurtyard*”, 27

³⁶⁰ Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 35

they existed in their terms and the way the Christians community would comprehend.³⁶¹ However inter-elites' relations were not dismissed.

Similar to Muslim communities, the management of the social and economic transactions of the Christian communities was bound to social officials or representatives, such as the proclaimer (mu'arrif), whose role was focused on the guilds and guilders. The head of community (shaykh al-naṣrā) is another example of the communal leadership and the stance of the Christian elites.³⁶² His role was tethered to social or economic transactions, that was remote from the guilds, yet was not as definite and lucid as the proclaimer. Finally, the Christian hierarchy represented by the patriarch, the wakīl and the *terjumān* (normally would be the wakīl himself), formed the highest administrative institution that was in constant connection to the Ottoman Porte. Though the role of the patriarch was seldom conceived as an official of the Central Porte, based on historical studies, yet we are keen to consider this viewpoint in our study. Archival indicators urge our attention to highlight the patriarch as an official who undertook management and administration of the Ottoman Christians. Perhaps the record of Kaplan Pasha, requesting Hanna the Patriarch of Acre and its surrounding villages to collect the yield of Hassaki of Shafa Amro and its villages (located in Jerusalem), is in of these archival data we point out.³⁶³

To summarize the presented discussion, determining the frequency of the presence of each Christian community is blurred by the number of cases baring the title “al-naṣrānī”, and others by -solely- mentioning Christian names bare of any title or description. Chiefly that these names were common among different rites and communities. Moreover, in response to the segregation in the court's language, we could not observe such a matter. In Jerusalem, it could be that during this

³⁶¹ Pappé, *The Rise and Fall*, 12

³⁶² See, KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 111

³⁶³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 88

transformational period the court's language experienced a phase of changing and shift as well, or that the conviction was not applicable to the case of 18th century Jerusalem. Despite that, class distinction or social status is obvious through honorary titles and taxes related to imperial orders. Furthermore, quarrel of the Ottoman wars and interior rebellions, the European interior wars, and the corruption of officials, influenced, to a certain extent, the economic situation of the Christian communities.

However, the Jerusalemite Christians participated in the Jerusalemite economy through the real estate and moneylending markets, on one hand, and the guilds and interior trade, on the other. Not to forget that the volume of these economic cases adhered to the size communities and their congregation, which certainly played a role in the administrative role in the case of holy sites. In other words, the contemporary of events, outside and within the borders of the Arab provinces, for sure, had an impact on Jerusalem and its society. Such an impact was both beneficial and damaging to the Christian population. While new sources of debt, real estate clients, and buyers rose in the horizon, congregational and international support kept shifting, leading the Christian community into a phase of permutation. Other than that, the social structure and lifestyle are -earnestly- present in the *Kadı Court*, from which we learned that the real estate market created a new map of the quarters' system. Social or economic interaction was intra-sects and intra-communal. Regardless of the familial economic transactions, Christians-Muslim and Christian-Jewish common transactions are observed.

Besides, due to the existence of communal courts, cases of inheritance and marriages were rare. Hitherto, we could apprehend important aspects from the available cases. Terike cases were rather abundant than marriages, from which we observed significant information related to debt, economic transactions, partnerships and ownership. Unfortunately, communal institutions, such as schools, *hāns*, *hammāms*...etc., are not, generously, mentioned or handled in the court's

records, except for one case that dealt with a rented hospice. In addition to the berāts that determined the patriarchal authority or supervision and management over the Christian communities and their facilities.³⁶⁴

Finally, we must add that the study does not integrate detailed remarks and observations regarding taxation and tax collections, since it is rather fixated on social and economic practices. However, it highlights cases related to the awāred and the corruption that it is found akin to the matter of study.

³⁶⁴ Hospices formed an important component of the conflicts and were a reason for misuse of power, or agreements and treaties. *Nāme-i Hūmayun* recorded treaties, peace agreements through which foreign states negotiated over *ziyaretgāh* and requested the requisitions. see, BOA, A. DVN, NHH, no. 5, 205, 209

CHAPTER 3

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE: A HISTORY UNDER EXAMINATION*

Kumame, kamame, kımame, Kiyamet, Al-kiyāmah, Saint Sepulchre or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the fundamentally significant holy site to the Christians of Jerusalem and the outer Christian world, has gained the attention of many Empires, states, and civilizations that inhabited or ruled the city, in peace and war.³⁶⁶

Mainly, the Ottoman title of the Church, “Kamame” (in Arabic, Al-Kiyāmah),³⁶⁷ might constitute a wider ambit that indicates the entire plan of the Church, while the title “the Holy Sepulchre” aggregates the main building that many of Christian travelers made efforts to sketch or describe. This study focuses on the Church as a whole (the Kamame), yet for the commonality of the name and for the symbolism it holds, we chose to use the title of the Holy Sepulchre. Also, the title

* I would like to thank the Archbishop Attallah Hanna Attallah Hanna for his welcoming conversations and phone calls, and for his encouragement and support of my study, as we reached him to obtain the permission to have access to the Church’s library. We were hoping to provide more detailed information, if granted the possibility to reach in the Church’s and monasteries libraries. Yet for traveling inabilities to Jerusalem, despite our communication with the Archbishop Attallah Hanna. The research could have enjoyed the information that could be obtained from the second important primary source.

³⁶⁶ We wish to highlight that the name “Saint Sepulchre” started to be used in the Ottoman archives during the 19th century onwards.

³⁶⁷ The reason of naming the Church as kumame or Kamame is debatable, while some historical sources finds it a misrepresentation of Kiyamah (resurrection). see, Abdulalim Bin Abdulrahman Khader, *At-tatawuru’l-Umrani Li Madinati’l-Quds: Dirāsah Lijughrafiyeti’l- Makān*, (Jerusalem: ‘ukadh lilnashr, 1981), others narrates that prior the finding of Queen Helena, the location where it was claimed that Jesus was crucified, was used covered with old wood and garbage (*qimamh*). See, Ibn Khaldun (808\1406), *Dīwan’ul-Mubtada’ wa’l Khabar Litārīkhi’l-Arabi wa’l-Babbar wa Man Āsarahum Min Dhawī Ash-sha’ni’-Akbar*, vol. 2, ed. Khalil Shhadah, (Lebanon: Darul’ Fikr Litibā’ah wa’l- Tawzi’, 2000), 252

attracts our attention to the emergence and the expansion of the Christian population in Jerusalem along the history. The rising number of the minor churches and chapels in the circumvent of the Church, indicates an expansion in the social structure, a growing census, and an increasing number of sects residing in the city. Presumably, all, due to migration or settlement, and shifts in regulations.

When Jerusalem was conquered in 1516, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was admitted as the second significant Church of the Ottoman Empire, after the Hagia Sofia. The Status of the Church since then was the pursue of the international attention. Currently, its status is the subject of historical studies that see to affiliate its administrating sect to the power of the patriarch of Istanbul, as demonstrated by Runciman and Çolak, yet in different viewpoints.³⁶⁸

The Church is positioned within the walls of the town of Jerusalem, as it was built in the location of what is portrayed as the Tomb of the Christ (Al-jalalah stone) in 336 by Queen Helena the mother of Emperor Constantin.³⁶⁹ Another narration presents Queen Helena as the discoverer of the Tomb of the Christ and the crucifixion stone. Later her son, Le Grand Constantin, built the known Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁷⁰ From a distcn narration, after emerging to power, Constantine had admitted Christianity as the religion of the Byzantium Empire, and marked his devotion by establishing churches and attending theological debates in Nicaea. Influenced by the debates, that the emperor hosted, Queen Helena devoted her last years to Jerusalem where she founded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

³⁶⁸ See, Bruce masters, "Jerusalem" in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gärbor Agoston and bruce Master, (Infobase Publishing, 2010): 299-300

³⁶⁹ Erdem Demirkol, "II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Kudüs'te Kilise İnşa ve İmran Faaliyetleri", (İstanbul: Marmara University, 2007), 40-1

³⁷⁰ Arif Al-Arif, *Al-Mufasssal Fi Tarikhi'l-Quds*, 2—3, (Amman, University of Jordan, 2005), 741, and Steven Runciman, *The Great Church Under Captivity*, (Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press, 1992), 31

Later Constantin established the first entity of the Saint Sepulchre, starting from the Anastasis, then erecting an assemblage of buildings constructed in a rectangular plane, oriented towards the east west. Three buildings formed the first shape of the Church, the Anastasis (a circular basilica, which contained the Sepulchre at its center, was surrounded by columns and by an immense cupola), the Rock of Calvary to the east, and the Church of Martyrium (“where Jesus was held”). Furthermore, a double row of pillars on each side of the nave were installed, which gave the Basicula four collaterals. Contrary to the usual, the apse was situated to the west to be in the axis of the Sepulchre, presumably facing towards Constantinople, the capital of the Roman Empire, in an intention to refer to the constant connectivity and endless relation between the baptized city and the blessed (or holy) one (i. e. Jerusalem). (see, illustration 1)

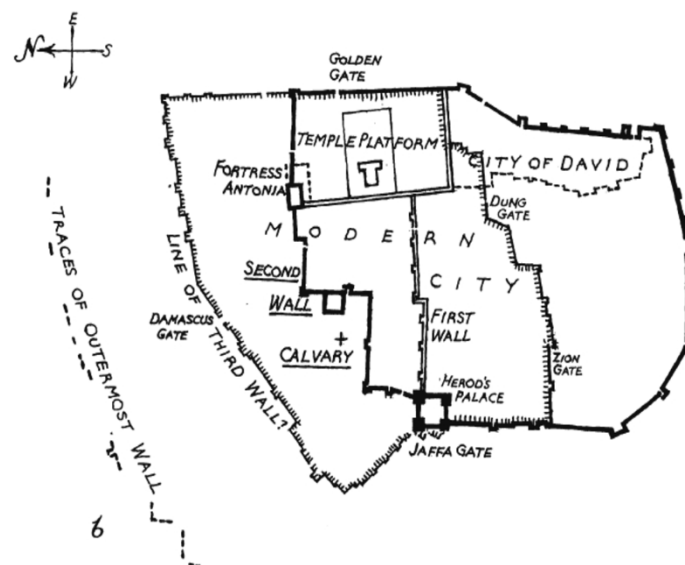


Illustration (1) a sketch of the plan of the Church showing its pre-expansion. The original building as was founded in the 4th century. From, Conant, K. (1956). *The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*. *Speculum*, 31(1), 13

Afterward, the Church would be enclosed in what is called the Edicule (Aedicula), as it had three doors on the top of a few steps. Under the Basilica stood an Old Cistern, which later was made to face the Crypt of the discovery of the Cross, a name still is bearing today, and a discovery attributed to the Queen.³⁷¹ Later, the growing Christian community in Jerusalem, of pilgrims, nuns, and monks, required the construction of monasteries, convents, and hospices. Many of these facilities continued to stand along with history, during the Ottoman period and until nowadays.³⁷²

The Byzantine Empire established the majority of Jerusalem's Christian holy sites and some important fortifying buildings. Along with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, stands out the Eudocia palace, St. Mary, the New Church, and the Church on Mount Zion, at the gate of Jaffa (babi Al-khalīl) lies Herod's towers and the tower of Phasael.³⁷³

The Church elapsed atypical phases that were marked by destruction, rebuilding, and transformation. It was first destroyed by the Persians in 614 and rebuilt a few years later during the period of the Abbasids. In 1010, it was destroyed again by the Fatimid Caliph Al-Hākimi-Bi'amrillah.³⁷⁴ It is held that the Church settled to its current form and buildings after the reforms and constructions initiated by the Crusaders in 1144, when they built the first sanctuary there, which surmounted the current buildings (marbles were added to the Sepulchre and the Rock of Calvary), and the plan instituted few chapels and oratories.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ Théodore Kollek and Moshe Pearlman, *Jerusalem: Ville Sacrée de L'humanité Quarante Siècles D'histoire*, trans. Claire Poole, (Paris: Fayard, 1968), 145-6

³⁷² For further details of the architecture and original facilities of the Church, see, Kenneth J. Conant, "The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem." *Speculum* 31, no. 1, (1956), 1-48

³⁷³ Ibid., 151

³⁷⁴ Demirkol, "*II Abdülhamit*", 39-43

³⁷⁵ Kollek and Pearlman, *Jerusalem*, 148

In the Ottoman period, the Church faced different natural and counterfeit disasters, earthquakes and fires, that damaged its buildings, dome, and walls, and was renovated each time. One of the most calamitous incidents occurred was during the reign of Mahmud II (1808), after a great fire went out affecting the Holy Tomb, the dome, and walls. After all, by an imperial decree and the agreement of the Christian sects, that had acquired the right in the church, it was renovated and a door, with an Ottoman epigraphy and some other Roman epigraphy from the bible, was installed in its northern side.³⁷⁶ Ere this period, more precisely in the last decade of the 17th century, an imperial decree and an inspector were sent to the kadı of Jerusalem for the case of restoring the Church.³⁷⁷

The Church, that now days occupies 7800 square meters, consisted, and still, of a spacious court within which existed several churches, chapels, and monasteries built throughout history. At the beginning of its history onwards, the Christians of Jerusalem lived in the vicinity of the Church, leading to the culturally acknowledge title of the area as the Christian quarter (mahalle-i Nasara or Mahallat Al-naşārā).

Except for the Fatimid period, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was taken under the patronage or protection of the rulers during Islamic histories. The Abbasids, the Mamluks, the Seljuks, and the Ottomans considered the Christian population of Jerusalem as “ahli ḍimmah” (zimmis), and the status of Church, per se, remained preserved.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ Demirkol, “II Abdülhamit”, 39-43. Also, see, “Kibir Kutsal kilisesi” in *Kudüs'te Hristiyan Mezhep ve Milletlerin İdaresi*, (İstanbul: Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, 2019), 54-61

³⁷⁷ BOA, A. DVN, MHM.f, no. 110, 4

³⁷⁸ E. Demirkol, “II Abdülhamid”, 40-41. In the tradition of the Ottoman Empire, for places conquered by war not peace the churches were destroyed or changed into mosques. Yet contemporary studies demonstrate instability of such tradition along the Ottoman history. See, Rossitsa Gradeva, *War and Peace in Rumeli, 15th to Beginning of 19th-Century*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2008). Nonetheless according to other narration this claim was under examination and partially refuted bases on other considerations. See, Süleyman Kırımtayf, *Converted Byzantine Churches in İstanbul: Their*

Assimilating the status of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Christians of Jerusalem, under the Ottoman rule, historians investigate and analyze the primary and archival sources, seeking to present a comprehensive understanding of its conditions. In that matter, the historians rely on the Ottoman Archival materials, monasteries libraries, epigraphies of the Church's building, contemporary chronicles, and travelers accounts (seyahetnāmes), in a process of observation and examination.

Ottoman materials, that contain monumental information of the Church and the Christian population, are allocated amongst different types of *defters*. These insitutions are majorly the *Kadı Sicilleri*, *Ahkam Defterleri*, *Mühimme Defterleri*, *Şikāyet Defterleri*, *Cizye Muh-asabe Kalemi*, *Piskoposluk Kalemi Belgeleri*, *Ecnebiye Kalemi*, and *Ahidnāmes*. In addition to, the registers of the Christian hierarchy in Jerusalem, the Greek archival registers and the monasteries libraries, such as the Armenian and the Franciscan libraries.³⁷⁹ For the matter of this study, *the Kadı Sicilleri* and *Kilise Defterleri* are hihgly considered in the sphere of this chapter.

The traditions inspecting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, yet, are few. The Church did not emerge to receive a wide consolidation from the historians of the 20th and 21st centuries. However, it gained an undeniable attraction by books of Christian pilgrims and Arab travelers under “Fadā’il Al-mudun”. Furthermore, the Christian population of Jerusalem, which is normally and directly connected to the Church, is probed in many diplomatic political studies. Nonetheless, it is not sufficiently advised in social and economic studies.

Transformation into Mosques and Masjids, (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2001), and Rossitsa Gradeva, *Frontiers of Ottoman Space, Frontiers on Ottoman Society*, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2004)

³⁷⁹ Al’asali, *Wathā’iq*

For the matter of this study, to understand the potential economic and social influence or position of the Church, we press the subtlety of examining the patriarchal and the administrative practices, that endured colossal influence on the life of the Christian re'āyā (ordinaries and elites), as much as paying attention to the shifts that Jerusalem underwent, which could have an impact on the position and condition of the Church.

3.1 The trinity: The Church, the patriarch, and the administration

The matter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is directly connected to the right of administrating and managing the Holy Shrine. Other minor churches and shrines are decided to the properties of each community, determined and shifted during the protracted Ottoman history, all due to variances in economy and changes in the affluent powers. Occasionally the Habesh, Copts, and Syriacs were annexed to the Greek Church or the Armenian, which depended on the rise and fall of the position of each sect.

The administration and control over the Church is seen to be bound to enduring interests of the Ottoman Empire to maintain the stability in its territory, aspiring to avoid any interior religious (or social) quarrel, and perhaps to eliminate any possible Christian resentment.³⁸⁰ The concern of the Church's administrative condition is considerably evident in the fermāns of patriarchal assignments, orders, enjoining the kadı of Jerusalem, addressing cases of trespassing or assault, and permissions of building, rebuilding, and renovating.

In the predicament of the Ottoman archives lies 3 registers under the title “*Kamame Kilisesi*” (The Church of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre)). It is part of the thick records of the Ottoman registers, in which the fermāns concerning the patriarchal offices, the administration of the Christian communities, and their holy

³⁸⁰ Peri, *Christianity*, 2-7

sites (namely the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Nativity Church and monasteries), were collected and preserved. A matter that further highlights the Ottoman interest in managing and congregating the conditions of the Christians communities, on one hand, and the holy sites, that were also the concern of international power, on the other.³⁸¹ Occasionally, the Church is mentioned as part of a sultanic waqfs, such as *Sultan Süleyman Han Vakfı*. Mainly, these documents are referring to the taxes and fees collected from the Church, or even the position in charge of such task, which were sometime part of the revenue of the waqf of Sultan Suleiman II, Sultan Ahmed mosque, and Sultana Hurrem Hassaki. In that aspect, apparently the dīwān assigned a kātib (scribe/seretary) to address and monitor these matters. Adding to the fact that the Christian pilgrims benefited from the services offered from such waqfs, especially for the matters of hosting its Christian visitors.³⁸²

In the Ottoman historiography, the Greek Orthodox are presented as favored by the Ottomans, whereas the Franciscans were protected by capitulations granted to France:

The fact that the Ottomans favored openly the Orthodox church, restoring it everywhere they went to its former position of superiority vis-é-vis the Latin church, is a clear indication of the political intent of their attitude.³⁸³

The Armenian position in Jerusalem, however, remain obscure in regard to their precedence and position. Yet, we believe that the fermāns of Mehmed IV, were the first to shed light on the Armenian- Greek Orthodox conflict on the property of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These fermāns -likewise- are the first sign of the

³⁸¹ BOA, A. DVN, KLS.d, no. 8, 9, 10

³⁸² In 1111, a berāt was issued in the assignment of Ahmd instead of Hüseyin in the position of the “Kamame Kātibi” (scribe of the Holy Sepulchre) under the sultanic waqf of Suleiman II. See, AE. SMST II, no. 25, 2412. According to Amy Singer, a kātib of a waqf was normally assigned as a secretary who would record and monitor the personnels of a waqf. What add more is that the revenue of the Christian pilgrams were normally recorded to the *Hassakis*. See, Singer, *Constructing*, 56, 66

³⁸³ İnalcik, “*The Status*”, 402

changing conditions of the Christian communities, that paved the way to the transformations of early the 18th century.³⁸⁴

We have highlighted, previously, the “Millet” and “autonomy” arguments, that attained the engross of historians who undertook the matter of the non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire. Later we approached these arguments in the case of Jerusalem highlighting its weakness when applied on the 18th century Ottoman Jerusalem and suggesting that the power of its patriarch shall not -fundamentally- mean “autonomy”.

Though viewed from an authoritative perspective, the power of the patriarch, which extended beyond Jerusalem’s borders,³⁸⁵ must have been another dimension of the official stances. The position of the patriarch was, constantly, bound to Ottoman decisions and policies. In addition, the improvement of the economic conditions of the Christian communities and the capability to abide by the Ottoman taxation system, concluded economic power that widened the patriarch’s network, and achieved interior relations with the notables and elites. Eventually this granted him further assurance to precedence and keenness to the Porte and international powers.³⁸⁶

From another perspective, although the Greek Orthodox church was favored (or perhaps better described as given prerogatives of keenness to the Porte), the situation did not imply an utter and lasting superiority. During the eventful 17th century, though did not lose their position at the Central Porte, the Greek’s power, precisely over the Holy Sepulchre, was weakened to the Franciscans. Due to the

³⁸⁴ BOA, A. DVN, KLS.d. no. 8, 9-12

³⁸⁵ Çolak, *The Orthodox*, 218-19

³⁸⁶ To create an elite networking and in aim to guarantee flexibility wealthy Christians tended to gift officials and notables. These gifts would emerge later to be mandatory and excessive under different officials accused with corruption, especially in 1703. See, Mühimme Defterleri, no. 114/1, 36-37, 191, (quoted from, *Al-Quds in Muhimme Registers (1700-1719)*, prep. Murat Uluskanm, Yüksel Çilek and Davut Hut, ed. Halit Eren, vol. 3, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2018), 70-76

French-Ottoman relations, the Franciscans gained significant strength that granted them different administrative privileges. However, this dichotomy was disturbed, for a short period, by a *fermān* eliminating the French capitulations and giving the Greek Orthodox superiority over their opponent, the Franciscans. Prior to this incident, the status of Franciscans' administrative rights over Jerusalem's holy shrines, during the reign of Murad IV, were affected by expelling the Jesuits from Istanbul and the instigation of the British *ad hoc* ambassador in 1628. Later, it was further weakened by a *fermān* riving the Orthodox Greek's precedence and allocating their power over the Holy Sepulchre, in 1634.³⁸⁷

It is strictly important to accentuate the new turn of events of the 18th century, as the flirtatious relations did not last long, when discussing the custody of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Though the Greek Orthodox gained their right of administrating the Church, in 1700, the situation emerged in 1702. In Ramadan 1111, a *fermān*, issued from Edirne, carried in its folds the assignment of the new Armenian patriarch Galus. What is fascinating is that the *fermān* stated the patriarch's authority over the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁸⁸

This unique incident is still a mystery, since the assignment of the Church administration is mentioned as part of the assignment of the patriarch. Almost each *fermān* dealing with Galus the patriarch mentioned his custody of the Kamame. As the *fermān* mentions that the Church would continue to be under the Armenian patriarchate, we wonder when this condition started. Oddly that there is not any former *berāt* stating the needed information. Surely it is no haphazard that it concurred with the rising power of the Phanariots in Istanbul, and a potential Ottoman desire of power balance and control maintenance. Later in 1112, the Iفرانج

³⁸⁷ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 210

³⁸⁸ KS, *Jerusalem*, no. 199, 203

(Franciscans) attempted to put a hold on the rights of Church's administration and rites and take this privilege from the Armenians through presenting a generous amount of money. An endeavor, that was halted by the Porte.³⁸⁹

Albeit, the Greek's power (based on aggregations and affiliations) was constantly influential in Jerusalem, before the 18th century, which, occasionally, overplayed the Franciscan and the Armenian powers. The *fermān* that includes the Armenians along with the Greek shall invite our consciousness to the Armenian rising power amongst the Christian *re'āyā* of Jerusalem, and in the hierarchy of rite to the holy sites. The Armenians grew powerful for their trading talent and affluence in the early 18th century, as trade was a key factor within the Jerusalemite-urban and rural-areas, especially after the inauguration of the port of Jaffa.

Reflecting on this constant shift of powers, conflicts were provoked amongst the Christian communities regarding administrative matters, which occasionally are described as “bloody” by travelers and pilgrims, such as Laurent D'Arviuxs and Henry Mandrel. These conflicts would, normally, lead to the intervention of the Central Porte and local administratives, occasionally, due to a French pledge.

It is worth mentioning that the history of the Holy Sepulchre returns to the 4th century, yet, the matter of conflict and status of the Church, most likely, prompted during the Ayyubids period in the 12th century. Such a condition chiefly occurred as Isaac Angelos, the Latin patriarch, gained Saladin's trust, to whom he allied himself,³⁹⁰ due to the peace agreement between Salahuddin and the Latins, on a hand,³⁹¹ and the protection he granted the Orthodox and other Christian sects, such as the Armenians and the Greeks, after a long periodic of Latin suppression, on

³⁸⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 269

³⁹⁰ Abulmahasin Bah'eddin Ibnu Shaddad (632/1234), *En-Nawādiru's-Sultaniyah wa'l-Mahāsinu'l-Yusufiyyah*, (Cairo, Maktabat Al-Hanji, 1994), 393-400

³⁹¹ Rabay'ah, *Tārīkh*, 1991, 194-96

another.³⁹² During this period conflicts and disagreements rose amongst the Latins and the Greeks over the custody and administrative rights of the Church. These clashes provoked Salaheddin's decision to put the keys of the Church at the ward of a Jerusalemite Muslim family called Joudeh. Later during the Ottoman rule, the Nusaybah family was assigned to supervise the Church's well-being along to the Joudahs.³⁹³ In other words:

The conflict amongst the three rites intensified in the early stages of the 17th century after the establishment of the first Greek Orthodox printings house, that was dedicated to print 'anti-Catholic-polemics'.³⁹⁴

For a short period, and due to the berāt of Murad IV given to Panayotis, the aforementioned condition was interrupted and the keys were handed to the Greek Orthodox sect. Reflecting on the mentioned berāt, Hammer states in his book that the keys and lightening of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of Nativity were put to the Greek Orthodox in exchange for an annual amount of 1000 qirsh revenue, given to the mosque of Sultan Ahmed.³⁹⁵ Later the Franciscans attempted to bribe the decision with 10000 qirsh, to segment the privilege given the Greeks.³⁹⁶

Anterior to the campaign of Selim I in the Arab provinces, Jerusalem was within the conquest considerations of Mehmed II. Following the Ottoman methods, Mehmed II addressed the Christians of Jerusalem in a well-written long fermān assuring them the sanity of their position according to the promises of Omar.³⁹⁷ Perhaps Mehmed II's next planned destination was Jerusalem, or it was another

³⁹² *Ibnu Shaddad, Nawādir*

³⁹³ *Almawsu'a'l-Filistiniyyah*, vol. 3, (Hay'at'ul-Mawsu'atu'l-Filistiniyyah, 1984): 521

³⁹⁴ *Masters, Christians*, 277

³⁹⁵ Joseph F. Von Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, trans. Erol Kılıç and Mümin Çevik, vol. 11, (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1992), 290-91

³⁹⁶ The citation was quoted from Zeynep Sözen, *Feneri Beyler*, 53

³⁹⁷ BOA, A. DVN, KLS. d, no. 8, 9

method of conquest by which he wanted to affirm the loyalty of the Istanbuline Christians by promising the Christians of Jerusalem safety and security. Eventually, as emphasized by Masters:

The “centralizations” of the Greek Orthodox Church was claimed to be long-established by Mehemet II. “inspired’ by the Greek appeal of legitimacy, Armenians also claimed precedence over the Greeks in ‘the antiquity myth of their origins.’³⁹⁸

Studies interpreting the fermān’s position from the Ottoman's conquest and its language are scarce. Most of these studies view the fermān as a projection of the U’hda, in the attempt of extending the Islamic tradition, and inspect the possibility of tolerance of an Islamic state to its non-Muslim re’āyā.³⁹⁹ Nonetheless, it also should indicate significance of the city and Mehmet II understadnign of the position of its holy sites to the Chirstians of Constantinople. This argument does not fall far from the concern of Selim I regarding the sposition of the Church and stability of the Christian population.

Referring to the conflicts matter, the Christian quarrel, presumably, reached its peak during the late period of the 17th century, which flipped the sides of the table and changed roles in the early 18th century. In 1674 the Greek-Franciscan conflict developed and led to the death (or murder) of a few Greek monks. Denying the incident, the French representation wrote to the Pope, Queen of Spain and the Princes of France “denouncing the Greek as “usurps. Most likely, in an attempt to influence the Ottoman Porte.⁴⁰⁰ This incident was recorded again, later in the 18th century, after the death of 20 Greek Orthodox in conflict with the Franciscans over arrangements of worships and celebrations.⁴⁰¹ Whenever these conflicts were flared, a sultanic fermān was issued to cease the clashes and disagreement, and solving the

³⁹⁸ Masters, *Christians*, 275-76

³⁹⁹ Braude, *Foundation and Myth*, 1-19

⁴⁰⁰ Sonyel, *Minorities*, 113

⁴⁰¹ BOA, AE. SMST. III, no. 84

matter following the orders of Selim Han and Suleiman Han. These fermāns agreed on returning to the first status by highlighting the Greek Orthodox as the superior sect, and the Christian communities should consult and deal with the Greek Orthodox patriarch in issues related to the Holy Sepulchre:

مرحوم ومغفور له جدم سلطان سليمان خان قدس شريفی فتح و تحرير ايلديكده تصرفلرنده بولنمقلى
روم بطريقى اولنلره مراجعت ايدوب...مرحوم مشار اليه دخى نيه قه لمق اوزره ابقا⁴⁰²

This decision is intriguing to view these conflicts could be sparked by the Franciscans rather than the Greeks. Yet, we do not possess sufficient evidence to support such a claim. However, the decision must have been, essentially, provoked by the attempts of the European arbitration or intervention. Such mediation in the form of condemn could not be any pleasant to the Ottoman Empire.

As stated, the relations between the sects shuffled according to capitulations, economic power, and political affluence. In a later period of the Ottoman history, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre became “a bone of contention” between the Greeks and the Franciscans. The latter enjoyed the diplomatic support of France, Germany, and Italy, and the first of Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁴⁰³ Historians, hitherto, consider this patronage or protection as a penetration of the Ottoman sovereignty,⁴⁰⁴ which means that the unprecedented series of the Ottoman economic and diplomatic permissions urged the assumption of sovereignty and superiority over “a weakening Ottoman status”. However, if considered from an Ottoman point of view, these capitulations were a beneficial tool that guaranteed the balance of communal power. Hence, we ought to review the capitulation, given to the foreign states, such as France and Germany, as of mutual interest.

⁴⁰² BOW, A. DVN, SMHFM. d, no. 110, 1-2

⁴⁰³ Sonyel, *Minority*, 11-112

⁴⁰⁴ Buğa Poyraz, *The history of the Church Diplomacy in Turkey: From the Religious Protectorate to the Direct Diplomatic Relations*, (İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2016)

After all, still not recovered from the defeat before Hungary and Austria, Köprülü saw not to trust the French, who fought against him in the latest Ottoman wars,⁴⁰⁵ especially that France supported the Venetians in their war against the Ottomans in the mid-17th century.⁴⁰⁶ A matter that was followed by the 18th century acute fermān of Mehmed IV stating that the Church was lodging by the dominance and administration of the Orthodox.⁴⁰⁷ These efforts were granted to the wits of Panayotis, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos, and his nephew and successor Krisanthos. The grand dragoman (Panayotis) and the patriarch convinced the Sultan that it was not a wise policy to not remit the custody of the Church to an arson power, and they reached their goal by highlighting the condition as a religious penetration to states, who for long conceived to regain the power over Jerusalem.⁴⁰⁸ Anyway, it was not the first time that the Christian official (or elite) Panayotis showed his affluence, as he -sometimes- would “present himself in the elections of the patriarch”.⁴⁰⁹

All in all, viewed from a political and diplomatic point of view, and represented by its position as a holy site and by the patriarch’s power, the Church is present in the Ottoman historiography as an allusive diplomatic factor. Such a viewpoint sees that the Holy Sepulchre constituted foreign exploitation to reach economic and political gains, or “to penetrate the Ottoman sovereignty”;⁴¹⁰ yet, for more, as a religious institute, that was further a social one as this study projects.

⁴⁰⁵ Jorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 120-25

⁴⁰⁶ Sözen, *Fenerli Beyler*, 50

⁴⁰⁷ BOA, A. DVN, KLS. d, no. 8, 19-23. “Sultan IV. Mehmed’in Kudüs-ı erif’teki Rumlara Hz. Ömer, Yavuz Sultan Selim ve Kanuni Sultan Süleyman’ın tanıdığı imtiyazât-ı kadîmelerinin müeyyidi, Rumların tasarruflarındaki kutsal yerler ve Habesh, Kıpti, Süryani, Gürcü taifelerinin Rum Patriğine tabi olduğu, Ermenilerin buna müdahale etmemesi dair emr-i âlişân.” This was the first fermān where the Armenian and other sects were mentioned by imperial orders. see, Satış, “8 Numaralı”, 311

⁴⁰⁸ Runciman, *The Great Church*, 236

⁴⁰⁹ Sözen, *Fenerli Beyleri*, 52

⁴¹⁰ Oded Peri, “Law and Christian Holy Sites: Jerusalem and Its Vicinity in Early Ottoman Times” in *Islamic Law and Society*, vol. 6, no 1, (Brill, 1999), 97-111

Most importantly, its (the Church's) position within the Christian communities is present in the Ottoman *berāts* and *Kadı* registers. These documents show that the Ottoman Empire ruled and maintained its control over the Christian communities through the Church's and patriarchal offices, while the latter managed the taxation, civil cases and occasionally economic transactions, all within an Ottoman framework. However, how did all these perpetually historical facts impact and transformed the social and economic life of the Christian communities? And, did they attain an influential role in the Ottoman decisions related to the administrative and social facets?

3. 2 The Church and the Christians: role and influence

The Church encompasses under its roof an assortment of holy shrines, that belonged to the different sects.⁴¹¹ The custody of these shrines, churches and chapels, would be, legally or illegally, reallocated. The about shifts, in custody and property, resulted due to collides or due precedence of communities and hierarchies. Moreover, each sect had its property that was supported by *kadı*'s permissions and *fermāns*.

Furthermore, the position of the Church as a holy site, on hand, and a symbolic tool of power, on the other, was the cause and effect of the conflicts, prestige and contributions on the economic and social conditions of the *re'āyā*. Hence, what was the influence of the international and local attention? And how did the Church participate in social and economic events?

⁴¹¹ Peri, *Christianity*, 3-4

3. 2. 1 Contributions to the Social and Economic life

Studies normally address the role and position of the Church from an administrative aspect. They are constantly concerned by the patriarch and the political proportions, focusing on raising the question of “autonomy” and pressing the power of the patriarch amongst the Christian communities. Nonetheless, underlining the role of the Phanariots, in Istanbul, and their extended influence on Wallachia, Moldavia, and Jerusalem, Karpas shed light on the fact that it was the families' and notables' role that would instrumentally incorporate the churches (hierarchies) in any social change (and by default the holy sites). He extends his arguments highlighting the structural changes in the Ottoman society that extended to social, communal, commercial and economic variance, and the use of power by the notables. And in light to the rise of a secular intelligentsia, these two groups (notables and families), according to Karpas, rose first in the non-Muslim population, when secular groups, seeking to achieve economic and political demands, conflicted with their churches.⁴¹²

Evidently, the secular influence, that Karpas highlights, is indisputable in the legal tendency of the Jerusalemite Christian, especially the Armenians. However, this influence does not disband the significance of the Church as a holy site and the interest in it. Hence, if we apply the argument of Karpas of the social change on the case of the Holy Sepulchre and the Jerusalemite Christians, we certainly, could reach a conclusion of a social change that prompted from the legal awareness of the Christians of Jerusalem, on one hand, and the continuing significance of the Church, on the other.

From another perspective, although the 18th century pilgrims' number recorded a decrease, highlighted by the spirit of secularism attaining the consciousness of Europeans during the period, the international interest in the

⁴¹² Soneyl, *Minorites*, 87-8

Church was still increasing, and the influence of the pilgrimage continues in the early 18th century.⁴¹³ Moreover, signs of secularism emanated in Ottoman Jerusalem, in 1701 onward, as a *fermān*, directed to the *kadı* and governor of Jerusalem to facilitated, and not interrupted, the establishment of the French consulate, clarifies that the counsel was to undertake the management of the Catholic *re'āyā* and the holy sites under their dispense.⁴¹⁴ Such contrast was importantly reflected on the life of the Christian communities. Although oriental Christians did not cease on pilgrimage, the fluctuation of European pilgrims must have harmed the economic life of Christian *re'āyā* of Jerusalem.

Indeed, the Church's prestige and position endured an outstanding impact on the life of the Jerusalemite Christians, even during the early stages of secularism. Together, with its religious significance, it attained a social and economic role that shall be fundamentally considered when approaching the transformation of the population. It means that it had an indirect role (if not direct) in the formation and transformation of social the structure and interaction, and economic status of the Christian communities. Such condition was influenced by the administration's right that the Christian communities, for long, conflicted over

What to assert is that the custodian of the Church was upheld by the strength of congregations, communities' number and wealth (affluence). That, who gained it, enjoyed the protégé and prestige of the Central Porte. Such a status meant, occasional, taxes and levies exemption, concise position and relations, and more the support of Muslim notables. After all, aiming to widen their influence and supersede their counterparts, the Western states' interests awaken the administration tendency among the Christian rites.

⁴¹³ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 221

⁴¹⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 221, 223

As mentioned above, the conflict existed prior to the Ottoman rule, which resulted to integrate the Muslim population to the conflict and the coordination between the Nusaybahs and the Joudahs. Perhaps assigning two families to allotted responsibilities was a way to emphasizing that the Muslims did not own the right to the Church, however, it further, reflected, the disperse amongst the Christian rites, when the Church issue was addressed.

Eventually, the conflict over organizing the worship and celebrations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had social and economic instills, as it exposed the Christian communities to financial, social and sometimes religious pressures. Moreover, as they erupted over the custody and administration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, their influence was adduced in the *Kadı* registers. Furthermore, the social and economic interactions between the Jerusalemite Christians were sometimes interrupted and limited, and, on other occasions, depending on the status of stability, were vital and natural. We consider the de-facto inconstancy was associated with this interior agreement or disagreement.

Interestingly, the influence of these conflicts did not show signs of constancy. During the first year of the 18th century, Christians' companies and deals were mostly established with Muslims and sometimes with Jewish re'āyā. However, these transactions merged and increased among the Christians sets to reach about 24 transactions, in 1701 onwards, especially the period of 1701-1703 the period clashes were not recorded.

After all, and further inspecting its positive socioeconomic influence, the position of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was an important factor in reviving Christian markets during the peak of the pilgrimage period. Undoubtedly, hospices were highly active during the such period, when pilgrims' influxes from the Ottoman

provinces and the European states, mainly, since the Christians would rent hospices and lands from Muslim officials, or families, to receive their visitors.⁴¹⁵

Not far from hospices activities, trade, temporary markets and, of course, money circulation must have been in its crest, during the pilgrimage period. A *fermān* adjuring the *kadı* of Jerusalem and its governor ordered to maintain the collection of customs (*gümrük*) over the goods and products (especially coffee), arriving on trading and pilgrimages ships, which began to pour through the newly constructed port of Jaffa.⁴¹⁶ Another *fermān* warned the *mutasallim* from imposing customs on the pilgrims going through to Jerusalem.⁴¹⁷ These imperial orders illustrate that the pilgrims would arrive with their goods and products to sell and exchange them for money, possibly, as a sort of trade or as a way to secure the expenditures of their journey.

Pilgrimage ships, hence, similar to hajj caravans, have also had a role in transporting Jerusalemite production. Considering that the Christian population pertained occupations, such as smith, tailing and farming, it must have an importance to the pilgrims, or presumably the accompanying traders, who would transport products or raw materials in gain of money or deals. A document from *Cevdet Bahriye* shows an illegal customs activity, launched by the governor (*mutaşarrif*) of Dumyāt, imposed on the pilgrimage ship heading to Jerusalem.⁴¹⁸ Another document, of a similar case, in *Cevdet Maliye*, presents complains of Greek visitors to Jerusalem for going through an imposition of illegal customs.⁴¹⁹ Nonetheless, other documents show strict and direct orders to search the luggage of the Christian (and Jewish visitors), and make sure to impose customs only on goods that are not of personal belongings, stating that:

⁴¹⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 247

⁴¹⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 302

⁴¹⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 202, 239

⁴¹⁸ BOA, C BH, 260, 12028

⁴¹⁹ BOA, C. ML, no. 76, 3554, 1-2,

وڪندولره مخصوص لباس ومأكولترندن بشقه يڊلرنده بولونان امتعه وأشيائك بلا تعلق رسم كمركلرى
زوار وتجار ورهبان ومناسير وكيللى تماما تحصيل ايندرلمك.⁴²⁰

The fact that the governor attempted to imposing customs (whether with an order or without) confirms that the pilgrims' ships carried products, most likely sold in Jerusalem, which created a cash circulation, and revived the markets. Likewise, it leads to assume that there were temporary markets handled by Jerusalemite Christians, in the season of traveling and pilgrimage, parallel to the temporary markets of the hajj season. These markets must have taken place in different locations where Christians mostly resided. Relying on the complex social map conviction, and the description of pilgrims and travelers' accounts, we believe that there were markets that took place in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is possible that these markets, also, were another reason that ignited the conflict on the administrative rights of the Church amongst the elites or affluent sects, when considering the concept of managing and controlling them.

Notwithstanding, pilgrims visiting Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre -normally- stayed about six months in the district,⁴²¹ which should have induced and increased the economic activities of the shops, hāns, dinings, and temporary markets. Despite that, shops of souvenirs, gifts and religious symbols (rosaries and crosses), that are normally revised as temporary during the pilgrimage period, they were rather permanent, however, invigorated during pilgrimage time. Mikha'il Makshī, for instance, delivers information on the Church's market (Sūqu Al-qiyamah), stating that it was:

A spacious area where shops, that sold masterpieces, rosaries, religious symbols and candles to the tourists and pilgrims, were found.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ BOA, C. ML, no 436, 17262, 1

⁴²¹ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 221

⁴²² Mikha'il M. Iskender, *Al-Quds Abra't-Tarikh: Dirasah Jughrafiyyah Tarikhiyyah Athariyyah Li-Madinati'l-Quds*, (Cairo: Dier Alnbariyos, 1972), 132

From another perspective, the development of the port of Jaffa created beneficial advantages to the Christian communities. Endowments and charities of pious Christians to the residence of the Holy City, and to the Church, were rather reachable.⁴²³

In conclusion, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had a cachet that kept the tension between the sects of the Christian population of Jerusalem. The Greeks and the Franciscans constantly endured a conflict of maintaining the custody, that would accord wealth and strategic transformations, which that left a mark on the enter-communal social life. Withal, the custody was not stable and shifted between creeds, according to the decisions of the *dīwān* and *fermāns*. On a further note, the Church sustained a role in the economic and social performances of the Christian communities and the Jerusalemite markets. The elicited role in the social and economic transformation, though was interrupted by the aforementioned conflicts, yet it was definite when considering the international and local attention, the possibility of rising regional partnerships, and the influx of donations.

3. 2. 2 Conflicts and attractions: the *re'āyā* between prestige and gain

Centrally the Church was a key-factor in the inter-sects conflicts and the stability. As much as it was an element of the Ottoman management of its Christians *re'āyā*, the Church was a pursue of each sect, which generated disagreements and conflicts. As the administration of the Church, and its holy shrines fluctuated between the Franciscans, the Greek Orthodox, and the Armenians, interior conflicts rose in the 18th century. Whenever a conflict broke out between the Christian communities the *dīwān's* orders were issued to return to the original decision of the ancestors.

⁴²³ Cohen, *Studies*, 165

Considerably, the registers and travelogues document the conflicts between the Franciscans, the Greeks and the Armenians over the administrative rights. Nonetheless, the Greek Orthodox eminently appeared the stronger, regardless of the lack of international support. The Ottoman Empire had a preference when dealing with its Christian re'āyā, as it normally, granted precedence in rites and rights.⁴²⁵ Still, researches and documents affirm that due to Capitulations, given to France during the 17th century, the Franciscans constantly gained the administrative rights. The Greek Orthodox, however, succeeded in securing these rights from time to time, according to the mode of the Ottoman's international relations. During the wars of the 17th century, Murad IV issued three fermāns, after expelling the Jesuits from Istanbul, announcing the preeminence of the Greeks over the Franciscans in the religious ceremonial celebrations at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. A situation that would not last long, after France would succeed in renewing the Capitulations, in the last quarter of the 17th century.⁴²⁶

Later, in the early 18th century, precisely 1702, the berāt issued to Jerusalem's kadı and governor assigning the Armenian patriarch and stating his power over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, changed the balance events.⁴²⁷ It is unclear, yet, if and when the Franciscans, anew, gained these rights, but in the second half of the 18th century, with the rise of the Russian presence, the Greeks gained "shared rights" over the Basilica of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, "regardless of the Western objection".⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ BOA, HH, no. 3, 88

⁴²⁵ Peri, *Christianity*, 92-114

⁴²⁶ Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 244

⁴²⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 99

⁴²⁸ Kollek and Pearlman, *Jerusalem*, 206

Amongst the Christian hierarchies, especially the Greeks and the Armenians, conspiracies took place in the narrations of the travelers' accounts, on one hand, and the Ottoman archival sources, on the other. While the Greeks enjoyed their financial sources of supporting one patriarch and dethroning another, congregations and synods formed the Armenians' and the Franciscans' source of power. So that, conspiracies would involve a death role or the end of the patriarchal service. The Armenians had their share of such conspiracies, especially that the early 18th century was a period of corruption of the Armenia patriarchate. A document of the *Kadı* registers, dated to 1702, discussed an investigation of dismissing the patriarch Manas (replaced by Matanus) under the accusation of converting to Catholicism, the judge, later, found that the patriarch was innocent from such accusation and it was most likely “wishāyah” (false allegations).⁴²⁹ A similar incident would occur, later in Rajab 1115, against patriarch Manas, when six monks complained of his corruption and, again, claimed his conversion and support of the Franciscans.⁴³⁰ Such bulck of instability was prompted by seeking power and precedence, and was flared by the discern regarding the administration of the Church.

In that matter, signs of social discontent against the patriarchs, mainly the Armenian, are detected when reading the *Kadı* registers. The fact that the Armenian cases outnumbered the cases of other Christian sects, as stated in the previous chapter, proves the given novel. Preceding the 18th century, a British traveler noted that carnage would occur instead of fattening the masses. Later in the 18th century Christian population would experience further dissension after the attitude of the European powers.

⁴²⁹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 332

⁴³⁰ BOA, AE. SMST. II, no. 139, 1

Conflicts and corruption, sometimes, included enter-communal members, officials, ulemā, waqf nāzirs...etc., and the Christian communities. By which, during periods of instability, the first party would attempt to trespass Christian re'āyā's rights, by taking rents twice or putting a hand on Christians properties. Such conflicts would not end with clashes, nonetheless, two cases of murder were reported in the court's registers.⁴³¹ Interesting enough, that murders, trespass and abuse filed by the Greeks or the Franciscans, yet not the Armenians.

Occasionally, the rivalry between the Greek Orthodox and the Franciscans, or, later, the Armenians, precipitated by their interest in the Church, would be beneficial to the Muslim officials and notables. Relying on their social prestige and wealth, each sect financially approached officials for cases of building, and the Central Porte for cases of rights (administration and dominance over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre). Soon, towards the second half of the 18th century, the Greek Orthodox would reserve their position under the protection of the Russian tsar.⁴³² This act indeed gained the community more privileges and legal benefits, and stimulated congregations and financial (and diplomatic) support.

Eventually, the administration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre meant an authority over the other Christians, a prestige, and more financial support international states or congregations ("or religious propaganda").⁴³³ The patriarchs were constantly eager to maintain their relationships with *ayāns* and affluent officials, or families, who were aiming to secure their positions. Often, money deeds were involved in the form of bribery, or alms, offered to change or support certain requests and decisions,⁴³⁴ and to gain more stance when attempting to take of the

⁴³¹ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 236

⁴³² Kollek and Pearlman, *Jerusalem*, 206

⁴³³ See, Peri, *Christianity*, 150

⁴³⁴ Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet*, 114-17, and, Al'asali, *Jerusalem*, 210, 221

Church's administration. Interests were mutual, as the Muslim *ayāns* also were interested in maintaining the support of the Christian population.

From an international perspective, the Christian re'āya also suffered from the constant international shifts, that had an influence in allocating power and prestige, a matter that called the attention of the notables to different communities. Especially that, the previously discussed capitulations and the interest of the foreign states, that was sometimes viewed from a religious and pious purposes, would present, however, diplomatic and political gains. This, also, could lie behind the statement of "protecting Christian re'āyās rights".

After all, the social and economic life of the Christians of Jerusalem was constantly affected by the international competition, which -mostly- focused on religious symbols as tools of power. Foreign states, who attained capitulations or attempted to attain them, in order to secure a stronger stand against another counter state, or in order to benefit from the economic privileges they offered, were yet another reason for the continuity of the conflicts amongst Christian rites.

Generally, studies, that are examining the treaties and agreements, show that the capitulations were to protect the Christian re'āyā, and maintain their rights, and others approach them as a penetration of the Ottoman sovereignty. However, from another perspective, viewing them from the re'āyā stance, they were an element of accelerating conflict amongst the Christians sects. Such condition, sometimes, ended in bloodshed, and other times, in economic difficulties and receding relations with the Porte.

Hence, the conflicts over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which lies under political and diplomatic gains and prestige, had a social dimension as well.

Eventually, it is striking to question whether it gave way to the European states to intentionally and directly affect the life of the Christians of Jerusalem.⁴³⁵

As introduced, conflicts were bound to two sects only during different periods, as it fluctuated between the Franciscan-and-Greeks and between the Armenians-and-Greeks. Despite that many of travelers' accounts, such as Henry Maundrell's, record the conflict between the Franciscans-and-the Greeks. On another hand, the Ottoman documents show conflicts occurring between the Armenian- and-Greeks. We must note that the other sects, Copts, Syriacs, and Habash, were rather a passive element of these conflict, due to their communal magnitude and, indefinitely, weak economic conditions. These conditions, for example, led to the purchase of the Habsah monastery (Dier Abuna Ibrahim) by the Greek Orthodox, in the early 18th century.⁴³⁶ The conflict would, further, affect these sects in affiliation, as it depended on which sect was rising to decide the affiliation of the Habesh, as highlighted in the previous chapter. In 1111, the Copts, Syriacs, and Maronites were placed under the power of the Armenian patriarchate.⁴³⁷

Previously, the Syriacs, Copts, and Habesh were under the affiliation of the Greek patriarchate and in 1067 (by an order of Mehmed IV), and in 1107 (by an order of Mustafa II).⁴³⁸ Apparently, this condition was interrupted in a later period of the 18th century, as Masters highlights that in the second half of the 18th century, due the competing creeds, the Copts, Syriacs, and Maronites were placed ,” again”, under the power of the Armenian patriarchate.⁴³⁹ We must highlight that affiliation was also affected by the position of each sect from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and by default from the Porte and the international stance.

⁴³⁵ See, Feyza Betül Köse, “Osmanlı Dönemi Kudüs’ünde İdare ve Sosyal Yapı” *Belgü*, (ErzurumŞ Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2003), 161-199

⁴³⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 225

⁴³⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 336, 339

⁴³⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 295

⁴³⁹ Masters, *Christians*, 274

In conclusion, conflicts, splayed by the quest of power and prestige and assisted by economic goals, assuredly, burdened the Christian communities, who were dragged into clashes. Nevertheless, power and prestige were not steadily harmful, as economic advantages, privileges, and protection, accompanied by social superiority, were also a matter of compensation to the Jerusalemite Christians.

3.3 The role of the re'āyā to the Church and the religious figures

Indeed, the Christians of Jerusalem underwent certain restrictions under the Ottoman regulations, starting with building and rebuilding worship houses, purchasing certain products, that once were prohibited, and residing in houses taller than that of Muslims...etc. For instance, Cohen narrates that Muslims were not allowed to sell sesame-seeds oil to Christians (and Jews), since it was used for “purposes forbidden in Islam” (i.e. lighting candles in worship houses). Though Cohen does not present a valid evidence to his claim, yet in the same study, he presents a fermān forbidding Christians from slaughtering animals or selling their meat at their private premises. This, however, remains regarded as the general regulation of the meat market (maslakh and Al-lahhāmīn quarter), where selling and slaughtering animals was restricted to the licensed places.⁴⁴⁰

It is worth noting that, some of the restrictions were ceased, for the benefit of the Greek Orthodox, during the early limelight of the 18th century, which was the fruit of the efforts of a Christian Ottoman official Panayoti, who held a great passion toward Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This incident, certainly, urges us to revisit the exalted binary paradigms and sort the Church, officials and re'āyā in one criterion, considering that the patriarchs were part of the officials' stance.

⁴⁴⁰ Cohen, *The Guilds*, 21-22, 43

Perhaps the focal point when reading studies, handling the Christian communities, is the power of the patriarch. However, these studies dismissed an important persona, an antagonist of the Christian population, regardless of the sect, that is the “wakil” and the “terjumān” (normally the same person), who could be considered a member of the Christian elites. Both the patriarch and the wakīl could be challenged by distressed Christian re'āyā, especially when their power was not at its utmost. The Christian population was not, consistently, as passive nor submissive as they would be ascertained in many studies in our hands.

The non-elites -as far as they are amply approached- are mostly presented as a passive factorial element of the Ottoman and the interior holistic systems.⁴⁴¹ Nonetheless, records prove them (the Christian population) as active. Additionally, pursuing the discovery of the villagers' conditions of Jerusalem, Singer highlights the power of the “passive” villagers in detaining many of the administrative decisions. The villagers' attitude and reactions were recorded, and the results were demonstrated in registers, such as the *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri*. A 16th century survey-maker Ali bin Muhammad, for instance, encountered a treatment of “scorn and contempt” by the *fallāhīn* (villagers) of Bayt Jala, when they were questioned about the grapevines of their vineyard, failing to get any sufficient answers regarding the matter.⁴⁴² Such behavior should not be dismissed when examining the Christian urban and rural re'āyā of Jerusalem, as we should audit any possible active role. Similar incidents to the villagers of Bay Jala are observed in the registers dealing with assigning or dismissing a patriarch, in a taxation collection and other administrative changes.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ Rif'at Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, 2nd edition, (Syracuse University Press, 2005), 13-16

⁴⁴² Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, 91

⁴⁴³ See, BOA, D. PSK, no. 63, 2

Hitherto, the role of the Christian re'āya in the administrative and jurisprudence decisions is seldom discussed in the historiography of the Ottoman society and the Church. Perhaps the incident, recorded by Sonyel, in 1674 (regarding the murder of Greek monks), piqued our scrutiny to this important concept. On the day of the incident “the entire Greek community. Clergy and laity, men, women, and children, hastened to the kadı clamoring for help”, which urged the kadı to be attentive to the distraught re'āyā and answer their requests.⁴⁴⁴ The Catholic and Armenian communities, also, experienced similar incidents, yet it normally was taken by the fame of notables. Similarly, complaints and requests regarding the corruption of Muslim officials, imposing excessive taxation or assaulted an innocent individual, or the exploitation of a Christian hierarchal, were presented to the kadı.⁴⁴⁵ These complaints succeeded in dismissing an unwanted patriarch,⁴⁴⁶ reassigning another,⁴⁴⁷ or expelling and exiling Muslim administrative.⁴⁴⁸

Furthermore, Muslim and Christian notables established interior networks. Although Bowen and Gibb underline that the rising notables were not as beneficial to the Greek Orthodox,⁴⁴⁹ yet, 18th century Jerusalem witnessed an interest in creating and forming relations amongst Muslims and Greek Orthodox families and elites. The wealthy Christian families needed a trade network, that, sometimes, had an influence over the patriarch and the Church, however, both, the patriarch and the wealthy families would, occasionally, be overridden by the re'āyā.⁴⁵⁰

After all, the re'āyā-elites' relation of the Christians of Jerusalem was rather of mutual interest. Christian occupations, wealth or position led a few of the

⁴⁴⁴ Sonyel, *Minorities*, 113

⁴⁴⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 290

⁴⁴⁶ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 295

⁴⁴⁷ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 293

⁴⁴⁸ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 80, 286

⁴⁴⁹ Brown and Gibb, *Islamic Society*, 181

⁴⁵⁰ Sonyel, *Minorities*, 77-88

Muslim *esyād* to attempt to gain their trust, or support through donations as we witnessed in the case of Muhībeddin.

Fundamentally, Christian communities within the widely spread Ottoman society, through geographically apart, were interconnected within congregations, notables' networks, Central Porte retaliations, and foreign state's involvement. Conceivably, what matters for this study is the congregations and notables' aspects, as highlighted above. Occasionally, the patriarchs of Jerusalem had a role in putting the Christian society, especially the Orthodox, into an international spin, where they would secretly or publicly announce certain loyalty to a foreign state, perhaps "tempted by financial support or an estate of power".⁴⁵¹ In that matter, the *re'āyā* formed a source of financial security approached through charity and donations.

As mentioned, earlier, the donations and endowments of the Christian population were put under the management of the patriarch and his *wakīl*. While, the patriarch, given the authority and permission through *berāts* granted by the Sultan, collected charity from pious Christians, radiated far and near the Ottoman geography.⁴⁵² Certainly, the prestige and position advocated by the holy sites played a role in granting the patriarch the permission to collecting charity, and encourage pious Christians to bestow their donations.

All in all, the role *re'āyā* played, on one side, and the Church, on the other, in the assignment of the patriarch and the attraction and bequeathing donations, certainly played a role in strengthening or weakening the patriarchate, and eventually affected the rights over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In addition, the rising economic significance of the *re'āyā*, mainly the Armenians, participated in affecting the Ottoman decision on allocating the administration of the Church.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 115

⁴⁵² BOA, D. PSK, no. 63, 3. And, BOA, A. DVN, KLS. d, no. 8, 9-15

3.4 Registers, chronicles, and the question of the holy site

Unfortunately, early 18th century chronicles are rare, or not discovered, so far. Hence embarking on Jerusalem and its holy sites, while relying on eye-witness narrations, is strenuous. Hitherto, for the matter of this study chronicles, which observed Jerusalem in the last quarter of the 17th century onwards, are considered.

One of the reliable and powerful historical sources, that grant us the capacity to create a prosperous image of the physical and social aspects and interior characteristics of a district, its society and its holy sites, are travelers (and pilgrims) traditions. Muslim and non-Muslim travelers and pilgrims recorded their worthwhile journeys to Jerusalem, describing details that archival records would -sometimes- dismiss or lack, like the outer and inner physical description of Jerusalem, its conditions, and events are vividly present in many of these accounts.

As much as manuscripts contain personal viewpoints and interpretations, that would be, sometimes, viewed as capricious sources, yet they are significant when attempting to understand certain historical aspects. In that, it is insufficient to study history from the narration of the state(s) only. Likewise, we need the ordinary's and individual's observations. In other words, the humane side of the historical narration. Hence, it befalls to our judgment, knowledge, and veracity of sources to scrutinize and, perhaps, authenticate the information provided by them.

In that matter, the inauthenticity of some information shall not mean its invalidity. And the need to locate it in the right frame shall be taken under pressing attention. When inspecting the narration of a traveler of a Bedouin wedding, for instance, it would appear that it is reflecting the traveler's conception of Bedouin women contingent on their perception of Bedouin men, as if women fell under the ownership of men.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵³ See, Ze'evi, *An Ottoman*, 111

Moreover, we must highlight that historians who examined travelers' traditions do not, normally, approach the cultural and sentimental perceptions that these narrations handle. The historical knowledge of culture and tradition, presented in these chronicles, should be deduced carefully. Per example, in his study, Ze'evi records Eguen  Roger's observations of Arab women: "bold makeup and tattoo on their breasts",⁴⁵⁴ nonetheless, paying a closer look to the information, we realize that the description of these women (given by the traveler) is rather an impression of his first observations seen from a westerner viewpoint. To elaborate the matter, tattoos, indeed, were part of the Bedouin women culture, yet not as far as having them drawn on their breasts, since tattoos on other parts of the body, other than the face, were not a tradition then.⁴⁵⁵ Hence, it is critical to highlight the merit of cultural knowledge and the sentimental reflection of these chroniclers along with the historical understanding, when endeavoring to record a social or socio-economic history of a certain period and region.

Another issue that we face when reading the history of Jerusalem and its holy sites in travelogues, is the lack of traditions that deal with certain periods. This issue explains the historian's reliance on chronicles irrelevant to the span of their studies. Such as, citing Ibn Fa l n's chronicle of the 15th century in studies examining the Ottoman 19th century, or citing the 14th century Muj r-Eddin's travelogue "Al-Unsu'l Jalil", while studying 16th or 17th centuries.⁴⁵⁶

Travelers and pilgrims' accounts evolved over the centuries. Deciding when the famous 'Ar b  literary genre, of "Fa  'il Al-mudun", for instance, was transformed into a religiously purposed art of writing, needs a separate and rather an

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 198

⁴⁵⁵ Omar bin Saleh bin Suleyman Al'Umari, "Muhammedil' Fatih Baynal' Ilmi we'l- 'Ulama " *Meceletu'l Der'iyeh*, 2nd year, 8th edition, 2000: 531-32. Also see, Ali. A. Ghazi, "Al-mar'atul' BAdawiyyah fi Kutubi'r-Rahhalah Al-Gharbiyyeen" *Tabayyun*, issue 7/25, (Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2018), 127-48

⁴⁵⁶ See, Gad G. Gilbar, *Intorduction to Ottoman Palestine, 1800-1914: Studies in Economic and Social History*, (Brill: Leiden, 1990), 1-14

independent study. However, we know that this literature was at first established to approached and record the beauty, qualities, and features of the cities Muslim travelers and historians visited or resided in. The oldest Muslim historical record, that we possess, is a travelogue that goes back to the 4th century of the hijra. This historical and literary genre was best described by Al'asali, as he indicates that:

Maybe the literature of “alfaḍā'il” goes back to the nature of humans of pride and honor of tribes. The cities have replaced the tribe. (...) this genre of literature started to describe the benefits of the cities; its structure, architecture, and topography. And later developed to describe its religious benefits.⁴⁵⁷

In such manner, in later periods of history, and perhaps starting with “Al-Unsu'l-Jalīl” of Al'Ulaymi, Muslim explorers began to focus on many religious aspects and details of the cities they visited, holy sites, shrines, traces of shaykhs, and important religious characters...etc. Although these journeys and travels were focusing on visiting Islamic holy sites, yet the narrations did not neglect the other minutiae. Furthermore, concerning chronicles of Jerusalem, Abdulmu'min's study accentuates that posterior the 14th century most of the Arabic travelogues focused on worship-houses and holy sites.⁴⁵⁸ While Ibrahim Mahmud explains that each travelogue pertained reasons of conduct, providing a timeline of its evolution, and how it was taken under examination, by historians throughout the 20th century.⁴⁵⁹

Maintaining their tradition, with a slight, yet, profound modification on the purpose of traveling, Muslim travelers generously recorded the keenest features of Jerusalem, buildings, topographic details, and holy sites. In addition to many other trivia of human resources, habits, cultures, celebrations...etc. Indeed, some of these accounts include more details about the traveler's personal experiences and goals.

⁴⁵⁷ K. J. Al'asali, *Makhtutatu Baytu'l-Maqdes*, (Amman: Daru'l Furqan, 1981), 12

⁴⁵⁸ Baghdad Abdulmu'min, *Buhuti'l-Mu'tamari'd-Dawli Hawla'l-Quds Fi'l- 'Ahdi'l- 'Uthmani*, (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2012)

⁴⁵⁹ Ibrahim Mahmud, *Fadha'ilu bayti'l-Maqdis Bi makhtūtāt 'Arabiyyah: Dirasa Tahliyyah*. First edition, (Amman: University of Jordan, 1985)

For example, Al-luqaimi's account, which took place in the first half of the 18th century, favors narrating his journey, through Jerusalem and its Muslim holy sites, by including information of the shaykhs he met and his journey of joining the (Sufi order) Al-Khalwatiyya.⁴⁶⁰ Contrary to Al-luqaimi's tradition, Al-Nabulsi's provides more details of Jerusalem and its society, in addition to his hazard.⁴⁶¹

Reflecting on their narrations, in view of the personal purpose and the religious tendency, perhaps the major features that Muslim travelers accounts indicate are the shared holy sites and worship houses amongst the society of Jerusalem. Some of the holy sites are common between Muslims and Jews, others between Christians and Muslims. To highlight the latter, Al-luqaimi records two holy sites important to Muslims and Christians, Mary's Church (Al-jasmaniyyah) and the Church of Nativity (Kanisat Al-Mahd). In addition, he records the tomb/grave of the prophet Samuel (Shamuel) and the prophet Yusha' as holy sites significant to Muslims and Jews.⁴⁶²

Al-Nabulsi's journey, that took place in the last decades of the 17th century, focuses on principal holy sites of the rural and urban areas of Jerusalem. Throughout his journey he observes the culture of attending these locations by Muslims, Christians, and Jews. He embellishes that "they were common between the Ottoman social elements", such as David's tomb, Mount Zion, the cemetery of Mamallā. Furthermore, his record introduces more details, such as the converged on the Church of Agony (or the Church of all nations- "Al-jismaniyyah") and the Church of the Nativity (Al-Mahd). As offeres a dazzling description of the Church of Agony he underlines that "we went down 55 steps long and about 5 "arms" width, of old stones and saw the grave made of arches and above it hanged 10 lights that were put on day and night".

⁴⁶⁰ Al-luqaimi, *Tahdhīb*, 176

⁴⁶¹ Al-Nabulsi, *Al-Hadrah*

⁴⁶² Al-luqaimi, *Tahdhīb*, 223

Not only the description of these sites and their magnitude, Al-Nabulsi also conveys attentive sights of their cultural prestige. Describing his visit to the Church of the Nativity, he recalls information of the community residing in its vicinity as Catholic (Franciscans) who received charity from the French.⁴⁶³

In addition to places of worship, travelogues mention that Muslims and non-Muslims had shared graveyards. These cemeteries were of religious implications that they sometimes compassed the graves of rhapsodic characters to each religion, one of which was the cemetery of Mamallā (Ma'man Allah) (Beyt Maluwa for Jews and Yabila for Christians).⁴⁶⁴

The Ottoman archives are also rich with similar information. The *Kadı Court* records different cases of Christian (and Jewish) cemeteries as part of Muslim waqfs, in towns and villages. According to complaints, presented by Muslims, about the visiting of the non-Muslims to a mosque that contained a shrine commonly holy to Muslims, Christians (and Jews).⁴⁶⁵ Keeping in mind that the villages of Jerusalem had a rather complex social and religious structure than that of the towns, Al-Nabulsi's journey we learn that these villages contained more cemeteries, shrines and even worship houses that were common or shared amongst Christians and Muslims.⁴⁶⁶

As upheld earlier, Jerusalemite society did not only share quarters and villages, but also holy sites within the walls of the town of Jerusalem and outside those walls. Muslims and non-Muslims shared different holy sites and structures of religious importance. The sites were, majorly, located in the urban area of Jerusalem

⁴⁶³ Al-nabulsi, *Al-Hadrah*, 185-6, 195-6, 298

⁴⁶⁴ Al-luqaimi, *Tahdhīb*, 183-4

⁴⁶⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 261

⁴⁶⁶ See, KS, Jerusalem, no. 199, 195, no. 201, 321

and some in the surrounding villages of its towns. While the main holy sites were concentrated in the cities, villages, majorly, contained shrines (and cemeteries).⁴⁶⁷

Adding to these details provided by the Muslim travelers, Christian pilgrims, and knowledge thriving non-Muslim travelers, succeeded in recording notable information of the topographical, geographic and social expressions of Jerusalem. Contrary to Faḍa'ilul'-Mudun, non-Muslim travelers, mostly pilgrims, before the Ottoman era, were focused on visiting holy sites.⁴⁶⁸ This characteristic did not cease during the Ottoman period, yet was not a dominant feature. Many travelers' accounts are fixated on visiting these sites and presenting their contemporary conditions, yet not with the same thrust prior the secular trend that elapsed in the early 18th century.

Unfortunately, we do not find commonality regarding the shared holy sites between Muslim and non-Muslim travelers. Notwithstanding, few narrations regarding climate, nature and administrative aspects are prone to similarity. Nonetheless, the non-Muslim accounts succeeded in depicting the Holy Sepulchre, contrary to the Muslim one, likely, because the Church is not considered a common site between Muslims and Christians. So, how was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre viewed and narrated in travelogues and archival sources? And, what can be observed from these narrations?

3. 4. 1 The Holy Sepulchre as viewed in travelogues and archival

In relation to the personal experience and sentimental view, while Ottoman documents prove that the security of Jerusalem was both threatened and developing. Some travelers were still narrating the bandit issues and the danger generated by the

⁴⁶⁷ Krämer, *A History*, 57

⁴⁶⁸ Sa'īd Al-bishtaei, *Investigating 'Wasfi'l ArāḍiAalmuqaddash Fi Ffilistin Lir-Rehhalah Al'almani Johanna Wurzburg*, (Amman: Dar Al-Shurouq, 1997)

Muslims, while visiting the Jerusalemite sites. Intriguingly, the traveler's knowledge of contemporary conditions and cultural aspects are, frequently, reflected on their narrations. In his journey, that took place in 1699, from Aleppo to Jerusalem, Maundrell describes both the history and nature of the places he passed through, arriving in Acre, heading to Jerusalem, in hope to visit the Holy Sepulchre. He mentions the term "caphar" as a duty paid to the "emir" (mainly meant Emīrul-'Arab) imposed on Christian pilgrims. It could be that Maundrell confused the fees or duties imposed on Christian pilgrims and the fee taken by the ghafar (mercenary soldiers who were sometimes assigned by the state and sometimes were individuals practicing banditry under the claim of being ghafars), especially that, such fee was not strictly imposed on one rite than the other. Maundrell's confusion persists when he mentions the same fee, for the Church's entrance, however, he underlines that it varied depending on the country and the person.⁴⁶⁹

The French merchant and diplomat Laurent D'Arviux's 6 volumes *Memories* published in 1735, yet conducted in (1660-1703), was the contemporary travelogue of the period per study. However, being a merchant, his narration relied on heresies and people told stories. D'Arviux's narration of Jerusalem was less detailed of that of Aleppo for instance, his observations were a lament of the past and a focus on Roman ruins, rather than the structure of the district. Unfortunately, few we can extract of D'Arviux's tradition regarding society, the Christian population, and Holy Sepulchre. Nonetheless, the sketches he provides, to describe the holy sites are splendid, as they show a longing to a historical period, on one side, and a secular view of what was once a center of the religious attention, on the other.⁴⁷⁰

As mentioned above, Muslim traveler's account are not rich with descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Nevertheless, Al-Nabusli

⁴⁶⁹ Maundrell, *A Journey*, 56-7, 61, 66, 110

⁴⁷⁰ D'Arviux, *Mémoires*, vol. 2

highlights his visit to the Church and focuses on describing its stairs. This description might have occurred upon his observations of the conditions in Jerusalem, during that period. Mainly that, the stairs property and the right to clean them and maintain them were one of the conflict elements between the Christian sects, as far as he mentions.

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The Ottoman archival sources, mainly the *Kadı* registers, offer a rather administrative view of the Church. Aside from the conflicts and clashes, presented thoroughly in the previous sections and chapters, the records actually provide us with information of the scrounging and location of the Church, such as, the prison and its minaret,⁴⁷² the near vegetable market,⁴⁷³ and its location on the strategic street of David (Ḥat Dawūd) that leads from the gate of Jaffa to the interior of the Christian quarter.⁴⁷⁴ Documents, additionally, indicate the expansion of the Church's buildings and the renovations that were done. Early in the 18th century, the Armenian monks requested the permission of the *kadı* to expand the monastery of Mari Yacoub by building extra room and a kitchen.⁴⁷⁵

On a further note despite that donations to the Church, monks, and patriarchs were prevented according to the Ottoman policies law, they were performed in the form charity and endowments. As previously mentioned in the second chapter, foreign states and pious Christians were eager to donate money and properties to the Christians of Jerusalem. The aforementioned endowment of the monk Maria bint Gorgeous Al-rūmiyyah and Ibrahim walad Ali Al-Suryānī, who donated houses to the benefit of the monks, are examples on such notarized donations, as they (the donations) were motivated by the religious spirit of the donors and the place of the Church. Moreover, Muslims also presented donations

⁴⁷¹ Al-nabulsi, *Al-hadra*, 199-200

⁴⁷² KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 130

⁴⁷³ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 339

⁴⁷⁴ KS, Jerusalem, no. 200, 163

⁴⁷⁵ KS, Jerusalem, no. 201, 14

that could be viewed in connection to the status of the Church. The donations of Muhammad bin Muhammad Agha and Sayyed Abdulhalim, during the Muslims and Christian holidays, for instance, included candles that were bequeathed to the Church benefit for eliminations.

3. 4. 2 Recording the Church in paintings, sketches and drawings

The importance and significance of the Holy Sepulchre, in addition, to the changes in its architectural characteristics, its buildings and surrounding, appeal in the paintings and sketches of travelers and pilgrims, and archival manuscripts. All these records dwell on portraying the Church, by mainly scripting its sections and facilities, and presenting it integrated into the life and topography of Jerusalem.

As mentioned earlier in this study, Muslim travelers did not pay much assiduity to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, presumably because it is not a common or shared holy site. Non-Muslim travelers and pilgrims and archival sources, on the other hand, gave the Church a splendid absorption, whether in describing the ceremonies and the related occurring celebrations, or in detailing its exterior and interior architecture. They did not fail to include sketches or drawings that reflect their sentiments or views. One of these manuscripts is the plan of the Church found in the Ottoman archive, which carefully indicated the title and position of each section, and it is mostly the main plan considered by many historians addressing the Church in their study. (see, illustration 2) Similar to the Ottoman manuscripts, Maundrell's tradition includes a sketched plan of the Church on the eve of the 18th century, mainly focusing on the Sepulchre, the entries, and surrounding facilities. (see, illustration 3)

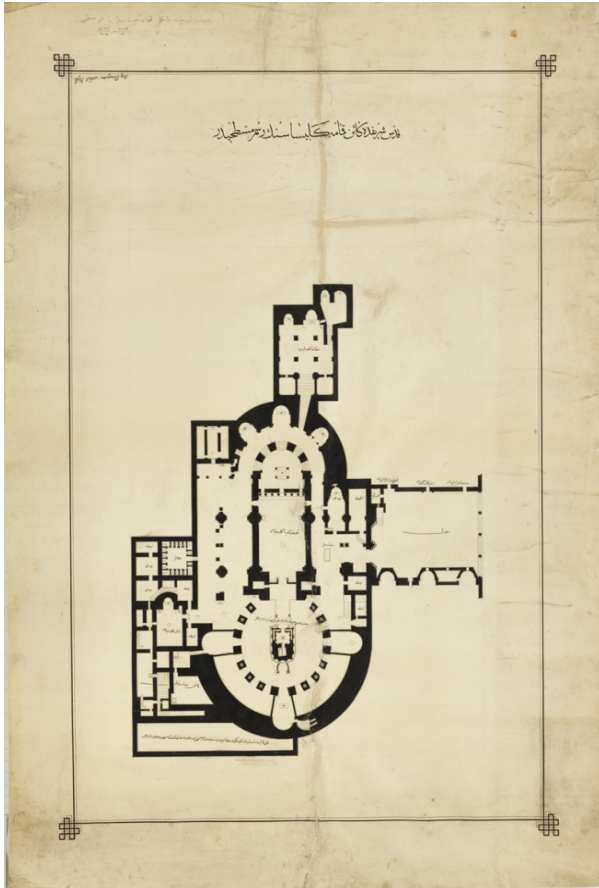


Illustration (2) a scripted plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, presumably from the 19th century. BOA, PLK. P, no. 786, 1

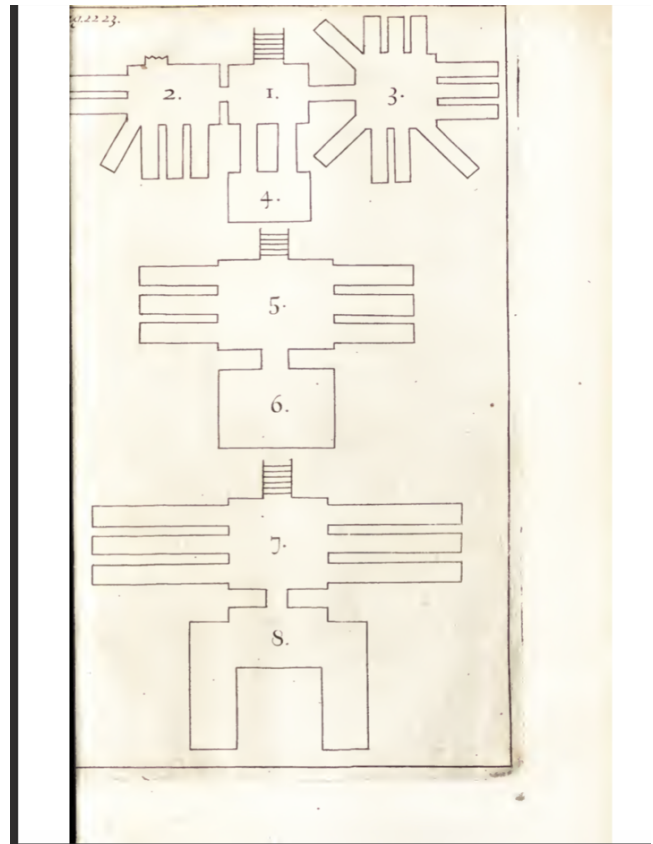


Illustration (3) a late 17th century sketch of the Holy Sepulchre, Henry Maundrell's Journey, 1979, 21

Moreover, it is interesting to contemplate and dwell on the paintings, sketches, and drawings found in travelers and pilgrims' books, that, if well considered, would reflect the way the writer views Jerusalem, on one hand, and its

holy sites on the other. Some of these chronicles draws the Church as part of the panorama of the town Jerusalem, merely indicating its location and topographical position. (see, illustration 4). Others has their focal point of the drawing on “Mount Temple”, for instance, highlighting their religious view of the town. (see, Illustration 5) Such dichotomy would confirm the influence of sentiments and religious memory on the program's or traveler's view, as some travelers lament the past of glorious periods, and some other reflect a modern western viewpoint influenced by the wave of secularism.



Illustration (4) an early 19th century illustration from Jules Verne's essay "Découverte de la terre" ("Discovery the Earth") drawn by Léon Benett or Paul Philippoteaux, or a fac-similé or a map by Dubail & Matthis, The Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, 1864-80

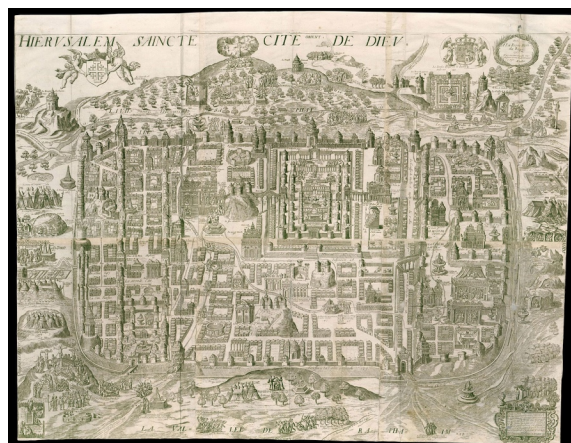


Illustration (5) the Holy Jerusalem, the city of God. Drawn after Adrichem. Paris, 1678, The Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, National Library of Israel

However, fascinating it is, some sketches include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on a larger scale, appearing to the top of all the other surrounding buildings (see, illustration 6). Other paintings or sketches emphasize the architecture of the Church, such as, the dome and stairs, that, principally, underlined the Holy Sepulchre more than the other churches (see, illustration 7). Similarly, a splendid Venetian woodcut magnifies the Church and its front yard, proposing a portrait of what appears to be a moment of prayer. The piece also shows architectural characteristics of the Church as it views it from a closer front look. (see, illustration 8)



Illustration (6) a 15th century view of Jerusalem with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Theodore Kollek and Moshe Pearlman Jerusalem: ville sacrée de l'humanité siècles d'histoire (1968), 202-3

Illustration (7) A view of modern Jerusalem by Duchetti, Rome, ca.1600, The Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, National library of





Illustration (8) a Venetian wood cut of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1670, in Theodore Kollek, Moshe Pearlman, Jerusalem: Ville Sacree de l'humanite Quarante Siecles d'histoire, (1968), 118

What captures our perception, in many sketches or paintings, was the obvious changes in the Jerusalemite scene, when comparing illustrations 5 and 7. This change, indeed, indicates the changes in the social life and the expansion of the villages of the district. This aspect, also, could symbolize the reflection of the drawer's view of the past or the present. It further proffers a hint of the travels' or pilgrims' intention, when considering the religious predilection, or the secular spirit, that started to influence the European visitors, who might be, no more, longing to the past.

Concluding our chapter, wholly earning the attention of the patriarchate, international and internal powers, and the Ottoman concern, the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre formed a fundamental historical factor. Such position influenced the life the Christians of Jerusalem, chiefly the dominant sects, the Greek Orthodox, the Armenians, and the Franciscans, on both scales, adverse and advantageous, as it attained influenced and participated in transforming the social and economic life of these Christian communities.

Furthermore, each rite obtained prestige and power, on different periods, and attenuated its community in quarrel and conflicts. These conditions were ameliorated by imperial orders and berāts. Not only the patriarchs and hierarchy that exposed the Christian communities to clashes, but also the constant international competition was fundemtnal in starining these conflicts.

Finally, congregations, power, and economic affluence indeed overshadowed the other sects, who were humbler in number and affluence, and, notably, since their patriarchal power was allocated in other provinces or geographies.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to establish a cohesive portrait of the social and economic practices of the Christian communities of Ottoman Jerusalem in the early 18th century in light of internal and external occurrences that led to a concerted transformation both within the province as well as the Empire in general. The study also proposed to investigate the influence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the innovations that the Christian communities underwent during the designated period.

The district of Jerusalem, as demonstrated in the first chapter, was an economic and religious center. Though it did not compete with the major economic centers, such as Istanbul, Damascus, and Aleppo, its economic developments inspired travelers, then historians to put it in comparison to these centers. Besides, the religious aspects of Jerusalem were the perpetual motivating characteristic to historians who observed the district and its society from a stringently religious point of view. Therefore, the studies privileged from the religious identification of the communities living within Jerusalem, which, when looked from the administrative perspective within the larger geography of the Ottoman Empire, was bound to be framed as “Islamic city”. Thus, categories of religious segregation or tolerance became prevalent in these studies.

Another delimitation of these traditions was their undiluted focus on the heart of the district of Jerusalem (that is, the city of Jerusalem) and not its peripheries which included a multitude of villages. Accordingly, metonymizing the city for the entire district deprived these peripheral populations of historical recognition.

Furthermore, these studies were reductive in the sense that they did not underscore the administrative predicaments that transpired in Jerusalem in the 17th century, such as safety issues, difficult economic conditions, and power vacuum, such issues contributed to Jerusalem’s whirlwind of complex social and economic transformation in the 18th century – which promoted it to the status of wilāyah.

In light of the above-mentioned details, in concern of our topic, this study showcases that the social structure of Jerusalem experienced a significant shift. The borders of the culturally delimited quarters occurred to disband through a wave of the real estate activities. Additionally, the social interaction between communities, urban and rural areas began to expand via commercial exchanges. Moreover, as the Ottoman Empire turned its eyes towards the East its concerns of developing and protecting these areas caused cumbersome administrative adjustments in Jerusalem. Since the city's infrastructure surged these transformations were beneficial for different forms of commercial transactions and business operations, attracting more and more social engagement. Henceforward, the economy of Jerusalem witnessed new arrangements in the early 18th century. Nonetheless, the short period within which these changes took place did not secure stability in economic conditions, a matter that manifested itself in social distress.

The point to discuss this matter is that the economic conditions and policies of the Ottoman Empire, which showed early symptoms in Jerusalem, urged the society into inventing, reviving or reinforcing guilds and markets that served to create an expanding social and economic interaction. Moreover, the vacillation of the position of elites, varying according to the aforementioned shifts, was impressive, and the structural change was significantly notable. All these were not far from affecting the Christian population as much as the general Jerusalemite society. In general, Jerusalem was a rather complicated district with a complex society, culture, and historical events. Its appearance shifted throughout history, street names were changed according to the events that gave birth to new social heroes, fountains were either closed, renovated or established following the level of public activity, and the social and topographic map evolved. The 18th century Jerusalem, regardless of the infamous quarter system, encompassed assorted topography, that was rather blended urban as well as rural areas.

Keeping in view the complex nature of the province of Jerusalem, its economic, cultural and rural-urban diversities, the second and third chapters of this study thus draw a major focus towards the Christian communities and the influence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in 18th century under the overarching Ottoman Empire. The administrative and economic turbulences that took place during the century caused an increased interaction between communities, including Muslims and Christians. The emergence of new markets, such as real estate and moneylending markets witnessed a cross-community penetration. It was an inclusive phenomenon that eventually coaxed a development of partnerships and companies, connections among urban, semi-urban and rural areas of the district, and thus the development of a complex Jerusalemite society. Therefore, religious-based confinement of the Christian population to specific quarters, as previous studies tend to show, does not stand the scrutiny.

Enduringly, the archival court registers show a variety of guilds, markets, and businesses that the Christian population owned, partnered or monopolized in Jerusalem, and also the type of currency they circulated. The archival data alludes to the degree of social interaction between the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish populations. This study also focuses on the relationship between different Christian sects. The most remarkable finding denotes that the social interaction between Franciscans and the Greek Orthodox was rare, while it was rather vibrant between Armenians and Maronites.

Likewise, the internal and external events, such as the vacillating diplomatic relations between Ottomans and France, the Ottoman's economic disarray, and the rise and fall of regional and local powers, influenced the Christian communities across the region. This situation aggregately played a pivotal role in according a prestigious economic power to one sect over another, within the Christian population of Jerusalem. These changes indeed enhanced the clout of the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre, considering its significance as a worship house, and hence eventually affected the Christian population, one of a significant fact, seemingly underestimated by earlier studies, is how the different Christian sects vied to supersede one another to take control of the administration of the Church, which was ostensibly granted to economically privileged sect.

To elaborate on our viewpoint, getting control of the administration of the Church was a prolonged conflict between different Christians sects, while the Franciscans maintained their dominance through French Capitulations, the Greeks, supported by the early Ottoman Porte, could attain the administration intermittently. Later the Armenians joined the conflict in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The gradual Ottoman attention to the Armenians rose in that period and eventually put the Church of the Holy Sepulchre under the authority of the Armenian patriarch. The Ottoman Porte, which aimed to maintain its control, promoted the Armenian growing function in the administration of the Church. This was also an attempt by the Ottomans to create a balance of powers within its geography, as the Phanariot sect was rising in Istanbul and the French influence was lurking through economic and diplomatic agreements, the Ottoman Empire must have been motivated to distribute the powers and influences amid its social and elitist domains. Eventually, the Armenian rising dynamism was evident in the expansion of its existence in the regional and international trade.

From the commercial point of view, the Church became a basic factor in creating or reviving markets, crafts, trade, and services during the high season of pilgrimage and tourism around the year, considerably after the establishment of Jaffa's harbor. The Church, as a religious symbol in a holy city as Jerusalem, inspired charity, congregations and international support, which was beneficial for the Christian sects, mainly the Franciscans and the Greek Orthodox, as both were politically supported by capitulations or administrative consideration from officials at

the Central Porte. The first three years of the 18th century was noted as a critical period of the history of the district of Jerusalem and its society, as much as the Empire in general. However, the period did not draw proportional attention from scholars to understand the greater picture of the region.

The changes that Jerusalem underwent throughout this period were apparent in the lifestyles and practices of the Christian population. Due to corruption, weakened relations between the community and its spiritual leaders on one hand, and due to keenness to the Porte on the other, the Armenian sect was conspicuous in the highest case number at the court registers. We assume that the other Christian sects, especially the Greek Orthodox, were rather connected to the communal courts, since distressed relations with its patriarchate and hierarchy were not recorded.

Fundamentally, the Christian population was not a rigidly a passive element of the Ottoman Empire, as far as their active role was observed in the stemming events or administrative decisions of the district. Moreover, Ottoman policies and laws (especially the sumptuary laws), that framed the social practices of the Christian population, were not at its firmness as assumed when revising the 17th century circumstances. In addition, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the first significant worship house of the district, and due to diplomatic and political weight, procured a considerable and influential role in the social and economic circumstances of the Christian population, and consequently, it played a key historical role.

In conclusion, the first three years of the 18th century was noted as a critical period of the history of the district and its society, as much as the Empire *en masse*. Despite that, the period was not handled properly in a way that would allow the researcher to form an understanding of the outline of the social history of Jerusalem, that connected the eventful century (17th century) with the 19th century, a period that obtained further attention by historians.

After all, revising the classical paradigms and the available secondary sources, we find that they frame the district of Jerusalem, its society and its Christian population as separated elements, concealed by the political and administrative spheres, interim dismissing the connection between the social and economic transformation of these factors. Further, within the circumvent of the 17th century events, we found that theories such as “Millet” and “segregation” did not apply to the early 18th century Jerusalemite society.

In that term, the changes that Jerusalem underwent were visible in the lifestyle and the practices of the Christian population, whose presence was wavering by the interior events. The Armenian sect was conspicuous in the highest case number at the court registers and the other sects, who presumably resorted to communal courts. Moreover, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, certainly, attained an economic and a social influence that worth our attention.

Finally, overcoming the scarcity of secondary sources by the abundance of the Ottoman archives, we could bring to our conscious untold information that was absent to the historical stance. The primary sources, archival and chronicle, are rich with facts and facets of the Jerusalemite society that shall not be overlooked. We hope that our research and its results would form a revolutionary beginning in the social study of the Ottoman cities and societies.

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