

The Servants of Thālith-i Hāramullah: The Repair Activities of the Ottoman Sultāns in the Hāram of Jerusalem

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Abstract

Jerusalem is the third holy city of Muslims after Mecca and Medina, which are called Haremeyn. For this reason, it is referred to as *salis-i Hāramullah* in many sources. The verses in the Qur'an about the al-Masjid al-Aqsa and the Prophet Muhammad's and other prophets' acquaintance with this city were influential in the recognition of Jerusalem as a holy city. After the city came under Muslim rule for the first time in 638, two magnificent buildings such as the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque were built by the Umayyads in the al-Haram al-Sharif area of the city. Later, especially during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, the city was equipped with Islamic buildings such as masjids, dervish lodges (zawiyahs), madrasahs and fountains. When the Ottoman Empire annexed the city from the Mamluks in 1517, the responsibility for the maintenance and repair of these buildings passed to the Ottoman sultans. Thanks to the reconstruction and renovation works initiated by Sultan Süleyman I for the first time in Jerusalem, many buildings in the city were overhauled. Similar to the repair work in this period, the repairs of 1780, 1812 and 1848 were also comprehensive repairs in which many buildings in Jerusalem's al-Haram al-Sharif were overhauled. It is seen that the Ottoman sultans acted with the understanding of *Hādīmü'l-Hāramayni'ş-Şerīfeyn* in a total of twenty repair works in Jerusalem under Ottoman rule. With this understanding, the Ottoman sultans did not separate Jerusalem from the Haramayn and showed their ownership of the Muslims of Jerusalem by protecting the Islamic buildings in Jerusalem. The most important factor that mobilized the Ottoman sultans in this regard was the Jerusalem scholars. It has been determined that the scholars of Jerusalem wrote petitions from time to time to prevent any delay in the buildings in need of repair in the al-Haram al-Sharif region. In particular, the buildings that could not be repaired by the waqfs to which they were affiliated were repaired thanks to the reminders made by the Jerusalem scholars to the Ottoman sultans. Thus, the Islamic buildings in Jerusalem, one of the three holy places of Muslims, were able to survive for centuries and continue to serve Muslims.

Keywords: Palestine, Ottoman Empire, Jerusalem, al-Haram al-Sharif, waqf, repair

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Salis-i Haremullah'ın Hadimleri: Osmanlı Sultanlarının Kudüs Harem-i Şerifindeki Tamir Faaliyetleri

Özet

Kudüs, Haremeyn olarak isimlendirilen Mekke ve Medine'nin ardından Müslümanların üçüncü kutsal beldesidir. Bu sebeple birçok kaynakta kendisinden sâlis-i Haremullah olarak bahsedilmektedir. Kudüs'ün kutsal belde sayılmasında Kur'an-ı Kerim'de yer alan Mescid-i Aksa'ya dair ayetler ve Hz. Muhammed ile diğer peygamberlerin bu şehirle olan ünsiyetleri etkili olmuştur. Kudüs 638 yılında ilk defa Müslümanların hâkimiyetine geçmesinin ardından şehrin Harem-i Şerif bölgesinde Emeviler tarafından Kubbetü's-sahre ve Aksa Camii gibi iki görkemli yapı inşa edilmiştir. Ardından özellikle Eyyübiler ve Memlükler dönemlerinde Harem-i Şerif ve civarında gerçekleştirilen imar çalışmalarısıyla şehir mescit, zaviye, medrese ve sebil gibi İslami yapılarla donatılmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti'nin 1517 yılında şehri Memlüklerden ilhak etmesiyle bu yapıların bakım ve onarımlarının sorumluluğu Osmanlı sultanlarına geçmiştir. Kudüs'te ilk defa Sultan I. Süleyman tarafından başlatılan imar ve ihya çalışmaları sayesinde şehirdeki birçok yapı elden geçirilmiştir. Bu dönemdeki tamir çalışmasına benzer şekilde 1780, 1812 ve 1848 tamirleri de Kudüs Harem-i Şerif'indeki birçok yapının elden geçirildiği kapsamlı tamirlerdir. Osmanlı yönetimi altındaki Kudüs'te gerçekleşen toplam yirmi tamir çalışmasında Osmanlı sultanlarının Hâdimü'l-Haremeyni's-Şerifeyn anlayışıyla hareket ettikleri görülmektedir. Bu anlayışla Osmanlı Sultanları Kudüs'ü Haremeyn'den ayrı tutmamış ve Kudüs'teki İslami yapıları koruma altına alarak Kudüs Müslümanlarını sahiplendiklerini göstermişlerdir. Bu hususta onları harekete geçiren en önemli unsur ise Kudüs ulemasıdır. Şehrin alimleri Harem-i Şerif bölgesinde tamire ihtiyaç duyulan yapılarda herhangi bir gecikme yaşanmaması için dönem dönem arzuhallemeye kaleme almışlardır. Özellikle bağlı buldukları vakıflar tarafından tamir edilmesi mümkün olmayan hayrat, ilmiye sınıfının Osmanlı sultanlarına yaptıkları hatırlatmalar sayesinde tamir edilmişlerdir. Böylelikle Müslümanların üç kutsal beldesinden biri olan Kudüs'te bulunan İslami yapılar asırlar boyunca ayakta kalabilmiş ve Müslümanlara hizmet etmeye devam edebilmişlerdir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Filistin, Osmanlı Devleti, Kudüs, Harem-i Şerif, vakıf, tamir.

Introduction

After the Muslim rule in Jerusalem, which began with the conquest by Caliph 'Umar in 638, the Umayyads built two magnificent buildings such as the Dome of the Rock and the al-Masjid al-Aqsā, as well as architectural structures such as mosques, arches and domes. The Abbasids, on the other hand, were interested in repairing these architectural structures, which had been damaged by the earthquakes that struck Jerusalem during their time. After the Crusader invasion of 1099, many of these buildings were left in ruins, but were rebuilt in 1187 when Saladin-i Ayyubi recaptured the city from the Crusaders. In addition, the reconstruction of Jerusalem, which began during the Ayyubid period,

reached its peak during the Mamluk period. During this period, Islamic buildings such as mosques, masjids, prayer halls, minarets, madrasahs, zawiyahs, arches, domes, tombs, colonnades and fountains were constructed in and around the Haram in Jerusalem.¹ All the waqf institutions built in Jerusalem up to this time were transferred to the Ottoman state with the annexation of Jerusalem by Sulṭān Selim I in 1517. Therefore, the restoration and renovation works for the continuation of the services provided to Muslims in these charities became the responsibility of the Ottoman state. During the reign of his son Sulṭān Suleiman I, who succeeded to the Ottoman throne after the death of Sulṭān Selim I in 1520, many architectural works in Jerusalem were renovated. The Ottoman sulṭāns who came after Sulṭān Suleiman I continued this understanding and took further steps to protect the waqf institutions in Jerusalem. Thus, thanks to the repairs carried out in Jerusalem during the four centuries of sovereignty, it was possible to preserve the architectural works in this holy place.

The main factor requiring the repair of architectural structures is the destruction of these structures by earthquakes, fires, strong winds, rain and looting.² Particularly in the case of religious buildings such as mosques, masjids and dervish lodges, factors such as religious understanding, adherence to traditions in old buildings and the principle of continuity of service in waqfs played a leading role in the implementation of repair activities. In response to requests from waqf administrators, local administrators and local people, the qādi would decide on the repair of architectural structures and this decision would be sent to the Imperial Council (*Dīwān-ı Humāyūn*) for approval. After the approval, a process called the first estimate (*kashf-i awval*) was carried out. In the report written during this discovery, the parts of the architectural structures in need of repair, the necessary materials and their unit prices, and the estimated cost amount were determined. This process was usually carried out by a discovery committee, including an architect assigned from the Hassa Architects (*Mī mārān-i Hāṣṣa*). The expedition committee, which consisted of the treasurer (*daftardār*), city's leaders (*a'yān*), clerk, architect and various craftsmen, sometimes also included local people (*ahl-i vukūf bī-gharaz muslimīn*) whose opinion was trusted. The costs of the repair process, which was initiated in accordance with the report prepared by the expedition committee, were covered by the revenues of the waqf if the financial power of the waqf to which the building was attached was sufficient, or by the state if it was not. After the repair was completed, second estimate (*kashf-i thānī*) was made to check whether the operations carried out were in accordance with the first discovery report. In this way, the registers (*daftar*) in which the expenses incurred during the repair were recorded were examined, and the parts that were left incomplete or repaired although they were not

¹ For Islamic buildings in Jerusalem, see Eldar Hasanoğlu and Nuh Arslantaş, *Kudüs Vahiyle Kutsanan Şehir*, (İstanbul: Albaraka Yay., 2023), 299-399.

² Muzaffer Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde Anadolu Camilerinde Restorasyon Faaliyetleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi* 7, (1968): 150.

included in the initial discovery were identified, and it was investigated whether there was any negligence or irregularity in these transactions.³

There are many academic studies on the repair of Islamic buildings in Jerusalem, which attracts the attention of art historians, architects and historians thanks to the rich data it offers to researchers. Some of the works written by historians consist of the evaluation of the aforementioned estimate registers. The studies published by examining Sevinç's 1720 and 1742,⁴ Eroğlu Memiş's 1781⁵ and Yavaş's 1848⁶ estimate registers are within this scope. In addition, there are studies that touch on this subject, although they do not directly deal with the repair activities in Jerusalem. One such study by Dolu focuses on the damages caused by the 1759 earthquake in Bilād al-Shām in the cities of Jerusalem, Sidon and Damascus and touches upon the repair activities carried out in Jerusalem after the earthquake.⁷ Similarly, Balcı's study on Sulţān Abd al-Ĥamīd II's reform works in Jerusalem identifying the names and dates of the repaired places from archival documents.⁸ Köse, who analyses the reconstruction and construction activities for the architectural structures in Ottoman Jerusalem as a whole, emphasises the religious value that the Ottoman Empire attributed to Jerusalem in carrying out these activities.⁹ St.

- ³ Emre Madran, "Osmanlı Devletinde 'Eski Eser' ve 'Onarım' Üzerine Gözlemler", *Belleten* 49, 195 (1985): 516-533; Samettin Başol and Mevlüt Çam, "Keşif ve Tamir Belgelerinin Osmanlı İktisat Tarihi Araştırmaları Açısından Önemi (Konya Şer'iye Sicillerinden Örneklerle)", *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)* 27, (Spring 2010): 9-12.
- ⁴ Sevinç, who analyses the 1720 and 1742 restorations carried out in the mosques of al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock, focuses on the repair items, the materials used and the personnel employed by relying on the data provided by the estimate registers. Tahir Sevinç, "Mescidü'l-Aksa ve Kubbetüs-Sahre Camilerinde İmar ve Tamir Faaliyetleri (1720 ve 1742)", *Batman University Journal of Life Sciences* 6, no. 1 (2016): 111-137.
- ⁵ 1781 dated estimate register, Eroğlu Memiş presented the transcription of this register in the appendix and concluded that the reconstruction and renovation activities in Jerusalem reinforced the legitimacy and benevolence of the Ottoman administration. Şerife Eroğlu Memiş, "Osmanlı Kudüs'üne Ait H. 1195/M. 1781 Tarihli Keşif Defteri (Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyon)", *Afyon Kocatepe University Journal of Social Sciences* 21, no. 3 (September 2019): 720-752.
- ⁶ Stating that the subject of his study was the repairs in the 19th century, but he also included the repair in 1754 due to its large scale, Yavaş transcribed and evaluated the estimate registers dated 1754 and 1848 and a few archival documents dated 1898. Doğan Yavaş, "Mescid-i Aksa ve Kubbetü's-Sahre Tamirleri", *İnsanlığın Kırmızı Çizgisi: Kudüs*, ed. Mefail Hızlı et al., (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yay., 2019): 176-200.
- ⁷ Alaattin Dolu, "Bilād-ı Şam'da Deprem: Kudüs, 30 Ekim 1759, Saat 03.45", *Cihannüma Journal of History and Geography Studies* 7, no. 1 (July 2021): 58-60.
- ⁸ Ramazan Balcı, "Sulţān II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Kudüs-i Şerif'te Yapılan İslahat Çalışmaları (1896-1905)", *History Studies, Relationships of the USA and The Great Middle East* (Special Issue 2011): 51-55. In this study, some of the names of the authorities given by Balcı in the table titled "List of Mosques and Masjids Repaired in Jerusalem al-Sharif during the Reform Period" are misspelled. The spellings as Edhece Zawiyah (=Edhemiye Zawiyah), Sheikh Feril Halili (=Sheikh Meri el-Halili), Sahratullahi'l-Mashrika (=Sahretullahü'l-müşerreffe) and Efkatı Zawiyah (=Afgani Zawiyah) give the impression that the documents related to them were not seen, but were written as they were from the summaries in the catalogues of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Directorate of State Archives. Balcı, "Sulţān II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Kudüs-i Şerif'te Yapılan İslahat Çalışmaları (1896-1905)", 53-54.
- ⁹ In Köse's study on Ottoman Jerusalem, she used the two-volume work titled "*Vesika ve Fotoğraflarla Osmanlı Devrinde Jerusalem I-II* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yayınları, 2009)" prepared by İlhan Ovaloğlu, Raşit Gündoğdu and Cevat Ekinci as a primary source instead of direct archival documents. Therefore, although Köse's study includes the relevant works in the literature, it is a chronological reconstruction of the documents selected by these authors on the architectural structures in Jerusalem as primary sources.

Laurent and Riedlmayer, on the other hand, attribute the Ottoman's repair work in Jerusalem to two reasons. The first is the Ottoman State's desire to centralise its administrative control in the region, and the second is the rivalry with religious groups and foreign powers. They make a generalisation based on the three repair activities carried out in the Jerusalem Haram during the reigns of Sulṭān Aḥmad III, Sulṭān Abd al-Ḥamīd II and the British Mandate, and draw attention to the fact that these repairs were carried out just before or just after the repair of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁰ On the other hand, Myres points out that during Ibrāhīm Pasha's rule of Jerusalem between 1831 and 1840, the religious and political activities of European Christians and Jews in the city increased and despite this, repair works continued. However, according to him, neither the practical needs of the architectural structures nor the Ottoman desire to strengthen its central authority over the region was behind these repairs, and the main reason was to counter the increasing rivalry with foreign powers.¹¹ However, it is known that before Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, which were considered holy by Muslims, came under Ottoman rule, the Ottomans provided waqf services for these three cities. When the caliphate passed to the Ottomans in 1517, these waqf services turned into an important legitimisation tool for the state.¹² With the sense of responsibility given by the caliphate, the Ottoman sulṭāns took care of the ancient waqf works in the holy lands. The waqf works, which were repaired as needed, survived for centuries and thus continued to serve Muslims.

The subject of this study is the repairs carried out by the Ottoman sulṭāns in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem. Thus, the study aims to determine the scope and reasons for the repairs carried out in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf during the four centuries of Ottoman rule in Jerusalem. The question of whether the perception of the holy site, the strengthening of the central authority and the competition with foreign powers were the reasons behind the repairs in Jerusalem, or not, is important. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the field by comparing the determinations made on the subject from archival documents used as primary sources with the views in the literature.

1. 16th and 17th Centuries Repairs

In the first half of the 16th century, water shortages were the biggest problem facing the people of Jerusalem. As a result, the dilapidated ancient waterways that brought water to the city needed to be renovated as soon as possible. Water sources of the city were *Ayn-ı*

Feyza Betül Köse, "Osmanlı Dönemi Kudüs'ünde Mimari Çalışmaları", *Journal of Theology Faculty of KSU* 29 (2017): 27-47.

¹⁰ Beatrice St. Laurent and András Riedlmayer, "Restorations of Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock and Their Political Significance, 1537-1928", *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 76

¹¹ David Myres, "An Overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem", *Ottoman Jerusalem The Living City: 1517-1917*, ed. Sylvia Auld, Robert Hillenbrand, (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000): 340.

¹² Abdullah Çakmak, "19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Hac Organizasyonunun Dönüşümü Bağlamında Mevkib-i Hacc-ı Şerif", *Journal of Kocatepe Islamic Sciences* 4, no. 1 (June 2021): 176.

A'tân, *Ayn-ı Farrûc* and *Ayn-ı Şâlih* springs, which were two days away by horse. The work, in which craftsmen brought from Anatolia and Damascus participated, started with the carving of the mountain where these springs were located by stoneworkers. Afterwards, the pipes placed in the ditches were joined together by workers of paste (*loğunculer*). The water supplied by the waterworkers to the funnels first reached Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus Christ. Two pools were built here, one of them for people and the other one for animals. At the end of the excavations towards Jerusalem, the water reached the waqf between al-Masjid al-Aqsâ and the Dome of the Rock in al-Ḥaram al-Sharîf.¹³ Sulṭân Suleiman I built six fountains in the city within six months (between June 1536 and February 1537) so that the water could be used by the public.¹⁴ Another essential construction activity in Jerusalem was the renewal of the city walls, which had been destroyed by the Ayyubid ruler Īṣâ al-Mu'azzam in 1219. As the security of the region remained relatively stable during the Mamluk period, there was no need to rebuild the walls, which were rebuilt by Sulṭân Suleiman I after four years of work (944-948).¹⁵ This information on the repair works carried out for the first time by the Ottoman Empire on the waterways and walls of Jerusalem belongs to Çashmajizâda Ni'mat Allâh Çalabî with the pseudonym Nâ'imî. What makes his work, written in verse, valuable is the fact that he was the scribe of the person appointed by Sulṭân Suleiman I for the repair works in Jerusalem.¹⁶ Nâ'imî expresses Sulṭân Suleiman I's order to renovate the Muslim holy places in Jerusalem by preserving their originals just like the Ka'ba with the following couplets:

Emr kıldı o menba'-ı ihsân
Kuds ola Ka'be gibi âbâdân
Lâzım ise eger esâs-ı cedîd
Eyleyeler binâ idüp tecdîd¹⁷

After reporting that al-Masjid al-Aqsâ and the Dome of the Rock were completely ruined in this period, Nâ'imî describes the rainwater seeping into the mosque from the domes and states that “if a believer entered the mosque at that time, he would be like a fish in water”.¹⁸ Therefore, with the order of Sulṭân Suleiman I, simultaneously with the works on the waterways and city walls, repair works were initiated on the buildings in the al-Ḥaram al-

¹³ Çeşmecizâde Ni'metullah Çelebi Nâ'imî, *Fezâ'il-i Kuds (Kudüs'ün Faziletleri)*, ed. Yasin Coşkun and Menderes Velioğlu, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu 2017): 232-274.

¹⁴ For the inscriptions of the fountains built by Sulṭân Suleiman I in Jerusalem, known as Birketü's-Sulṭân, Babü's-Sitt Meryem, Tarîku'l-Va'd, Babü's-Silsile, Babü'l-Atem, Babü'n-Nâzır, see. Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Syrie du Sud. 1: Jérusalem “Ville”, (Kairo: 1922): 412-427; Myres, “An Overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem”, 328-329.

¹⁵ Nâ'imî, *Fezâ'il-i Kuds*, 288-308.

¹⁶ Nâ'imî, *Fezâ'il-i Kuds*, 19-21.

¹⁷ Nâ'imî, *Fezâ'il-i Kuds*, 276.

¹⁸ Nâ'imî, *Fezâ'il-i Kuds*, 274.

Sharīf.¹⁹ In this context, the stained glass windows in the pulley of the Dome of the Rock were first repaired in 1529. However, the comprehensive repair activity in this period was initiated after the earthquake in 1545 and many buildings in the Ḥaram were overhauled. In particular, the Umayyad-era mosaics on the outside of the Dome of the Rock were replaced with tiles manufactured in Iznīq, thus giving the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf an Ottoman stamp. However, the fact that some materials such as iron, steel, lead, copper, wood and marble, which were purchased by the state and sent to Jerusalem for this repair, were still in the warehouses of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in 1576 shows that there was some delay in the repair. As a matter of fact, during the reign of Sulṭān Murād III in 1579, the lead among the materials in the warehouses was used in the repair of the domes of the Dome of the Rock and al-Masjid al-Aqsā.²⁰ In 1586, Sulṭān Murād III ordered to send craftsmen from Damascus to Jerusalem in order to fill the shortage of craftsmen in Jerusalem in another repair work started in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf.²¹ The repair, which lasted between 29 February 1587 and 27 April 1588, cost 584,000 guruh.²² The last repair of the 16th century in al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf was carried out by Sulṭān Maḥmad III in 1597.²³

In the 17th century, it is seen that small-scale repairs were carried out in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf. In this context, the Dome of the Rock and al-Masjid al-Aqsā were repaired by Sulṭān Aḥmad I in 1603 and Sulṭān Muṣṭafā I in 1617. In 1628, the Fountain of the Sha‘lān (*Fountain of the Bayrām Pasha*) of the Ayyubid period, located northwest of the Dome of the Rock, was repaired and windows were opened on the north and south sides of the fountain.²⁴ At the end of Sulṭān Ibrahim’s reign in 1642, construction materials were sent by sea from Istanbul to the Akka port for the Dome of the Rock, which was in need of repair. In addition, a team of nine non-Muslim carpenters, headed by Kirkor Kalfā, was sent to Jerusalem by Hāṣṣa Mī‘mārbashi.²⁵ In 1670, the condition of the waqf charities in Jerusalem was analysed and it was found that many parts of the Dome of the Rock and Maqām of Prophet Ibrāhīm in Hebron and especially the flooring marbles and tiles, were in need of repair. When Sulṭān Maḥmad IV was informed that the cost of repair would cost an estimated 4000 guruh and that the waqfs could not afford to meet this expense, he issued a line: “I bestowed a sufficient amount of awāyid wealth, repair it, do not waste.”²⁶

¹⁹ Mustafa Öksüz, “Kanūnī Devrinde Kudüs Sancağı: İnşa ve İhya”, in *Suleyman the Lawgiver and His Reign (New Sources, New Approaches)*, (İstanbul: İHÜ Yay., 2020): 155-156.

²⁰ Myres, “An Overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem”, 329.

²¹ A. DVNS. MHM. d. 61: 256.

²² TS. MA. d. 1371: 1a-1b.

²³ Kamil Jamil al-Aseli, “al-Kuds tahte hükmi'l-Osmāniyyīn (1516-1831)”, *al-Kuds fi't-tārīh*, I, ed. Kamil C. al-Aseli, (Amman: Menşuratü Vezareti's-Sekafe 2009): 247.

²⁴ Ibid, 246-247; Emine Kızılaslan, “Kudüs'te Osmanlı Dönemi (1516-1917) Su Yapıları: Çeşme, Sebil, Şadırvan ve Hamam Mimarisi”, (PhD Thesis, Erciyes University Institute of Social Sciences, 2021): 182-189.

²⁵ A. DVNS. MHM. d. 89: 110, 118-119.

²⁶ TS. MA. e. 528/71.

2. 18th Century Repairs

The 18th-century repairs to the waqf charities in al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem were more extensive than the previous century. In this context, a total of five repairs were carried out in 1703, 1720, 1742, 1753-54 and 1781 for the Dome of the Rock and al-Masjid al-Aqsā. Since we were unable to find the estimate register for the repairs carried out in the last year of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II's reign, detailed information on this repair could not be found. Only in the repair inscription dated Ramadan 1114/January 1703 and consisting of 13 lines in nasta'liq calligraphy, it is mentioned that the work was carried out under the supervision of the Qādī of Jerusalem, Vānizāda Sayyid Maḥmūd Efendi.²⁷

Even after the restoration of Jerusalem in 1703, the repair of the religious buildings in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf was the main issue on the agenda of the Jerusalem ulama. In addition to the scholars (*ulamā*) living in Jerusalem, many members of the Ahl al-Bayt, such as sayyids and sharifs, acted together to repair the ancient waqfs and did not neglect to ask for help from the Ottoman State when necessary. In particular, although Jerusalem's qādī and the city's leaders sometimes disagreed in the administration of the city, they were in constant co-operation on the issue of the repair of waqfs. In the early 18th century, it is possible to clearly see this point in the petitions sent to Istanbul by Jerusalem's scholars and city's leaders, including Sheikh Muḥammad al- Khalīlī, who fought hard for the protection of Jerusalem's waqfs. In this petition, which included a common text about the repair of the charities in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, everyone who put their seal on the petition also wrote their opinions on the subject. In 1709, according to two petitions written one week apart, Sheikh Muḥammad al- Khalīlī used the following expressions while asking for help from the Ottoman Sulṭān:

“You are the God of all servants and towns. You have shown Your generosity more in some of the mosques. You have rewarded the deeds done there many times over because of Your virtue and kindness. You have made al-Masjid al-Aqsā one of the most honoured mosques and sanctuaries. We ask all kinds of good for those who repair it, however difficult it may be in word and deed. Muḥammad al- Khalīlī”

“O God! You have no need of prostitutes and mosques, and You are free from them. You have made some of the mosques which You have placed on the earth superior to others, that You may reveal the merits of Your servants who worship You, and test the hearts of those who do not worship You. Whoever builds the mosques with faith and Islam, he builds the hearts of the people secretly and openly, and honours and cares for the mosques. He who does not do this will not be honoured in any way. Muḥammad al- Khalīlī Shāfi'ī”

²⁷ Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Syrie du Sud. 2: Jérusalem “Haram”, (Kairo: 1925): 439-440.

The opinions expressed by Jerusalem's scholars and city's leaders, whose seals are included in the petition, are in parallel with the statements of Sheikh Muḥammad al-Khalīlī, which we have presented as an example. In this respect, it is understood that the scholars and city's leaders of Jerusalem acted together in the struggle for the preservation of the waqf charity and that they were the driving force in the repair of the charity here by emphasising the sanctity of Jerusalem.²⁸

In the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad III in 1720, the construction materials required for the repair of the Jerusalem Ḥaram were procured from different parts of Anatolia and the Black Sea region. These materials were loaded on ships from the ports of Istanbul and Izmir and transported to the port of Jaffa and from there to Jerusalem by carts. The 20,000 gurush repair cost was met from Sidon, Jaffa, Beirut and Tripoli *mukataas*. During the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I, many buildings in Jerusalem were found to be in need of repair in 1742 with a memorandum submitted to the Imperial Council in 1742 by al- Ḥājj Beshīr Agha (*Dār al-Sa'ādah Agha*), the Minister of Awqāf of Ḥaramayn-i Sharifayn during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I. Architect Simon Kalfā, who was assigned to survey al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock, determined the parts of both mosques in need of repair and the cost amounts. Although some materials for construction were sent from the Tarsāna-i Āmira, the cost of repair was determined as 25,767 gurush in the preliminary survey.²⁹ The cost of the repair work carried out on al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock under the supervision of the building supervisor Makkīzāda Maḥmad Bey amounted to 19,079 gurush. However, although not included in the estimate register, parts that were included in the scope of repair were also repaired due to the need. These additional repairs were carried out on the road from Ramla to Bāb al-Asbāt in Jerusalem, the Ḥanābile Madrasah in al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, the warehouses, the bullets and doors of al-Masjid al-Aqsā, the bullets of Mālikiyya Mosque, the ceiling of the Silsila Dome and the marble of the altar, the iron railings of the Dome of the Rock, the castle gate known as Bab al-Khalīl and the bridge. Therefore, with the addition of 1451 gurush, the total cost rose to 20,530 gurush. Thus, the repair was completed at a cost of approximately 5000 gurush less than the expected repair cost in the survey made by Simon Kalfa.³⁰ In the last years of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I's reign, a new repair work was initiated in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf. This time, the architect Ivan Kalfā was assigned to survey the repair, while Makkīzāda al-Ḥājj Ḥusayin was appointed as the building supervisor to oversee the repair. Completed on 9 April 1754, the repairs were once again centred on al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock, while the parts of the Maghāribah Mosque within the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf that were deemed necessary were repaired. The repair cost was 6147 gurush, including the transport costs from Jaffa to Jerusalem. During the work, the lack of lead materials was met from the warehouse of al-

²⁸ Alaattin Dolu and Abdullah Çakmak, *Bir Ālimin Gözünden Kudüs Vakıfları*, (Ankara: Sonçağ, 2022): 121-122.

²⁹ For detailed information on these restorations carried out in Jerusalem in 1720 and 1742, see Sevinç, "Mescidü'l-Aksa ve Kubbetüs-Sahre Camilerinde İmar ve Tamir Faaliyetleri", 116-133.

³⁰ AE. MHD. I. 59/6047.

Ḥaram al-Sharīf, while the remaining timber and other materials were also put in the warehouse.³¹

After the survey made in 1759 during the reign of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā III, the cost of repairing al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock was 20,000 gurush, while the cost of repairing all the buildings included in the survey was 77,100 gurush.³² The reason for this repair was that al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf were among the buildings damaged in Jerusalem during the earthquake that took place in 1759.

The discovery made in 1781 during the reign of Sulṭān Abd al-Ḥamīd I shows that the repairs of this period covered the architectural structures within the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem, as well as many prophet's maqāms in the city, Haseki Sulṭān Imaret, Caliph Umar Mosque and Maqām of Prophet Ibrāhīm in Hebron. The total cost of this repair, which was supervised by Mehmed Hakkı Bey from the Imperial Council as the building supervisor, amounted to 66,841 gurush 14 money.³³ The materials used in the repairs were tried to be supplied from the region in the first place. Accordingly, the Imperial Council, who was informed that there were enough construction materials in the cellars of al-Masjid al-Aqsā for the repairs, ordered that these materials be delivered to the building trustee Mehmed Hakkı Bey and used in the construction.³⁴ However, when these materials in the warehouses were not sufficient, the timber and paint needed for the construction that started in 1780 were purchased and sent from Istanbul to Jaffa pier. From there, the construction materials were transported to Jerusalem by covering the transport costs from Jaffa Customs.³⁵ In addition, when carpenter Andriye, one of Mehmed Hakkı Bey's officers, reported that timber, paint and gold leaf were needed for the second time in this repair, these materials amounting to 2394.5 gurush were requested from Istanbul.³⁶ These materials were sent from Istanbul to Jerusalem by Hassa Architect Mehmed Tahir on 20 September 1780.³⁷ Therefore, it is understood that the estimate register of 1781 is the *keşf-i sani* register written after the repair and that the repair was completed on 7 April 1781.³⁸

³¹ D. BŞM. BNE. d. 15920: 3-7.

³² Dolu, "Bilād-ı Şam'da Deprem", 59.

³³ For the transcription of this 1781 estimate register, see Eroğlu Memiş, "Osmanlı Kudüs'üne Ait H. 1195/M. 1781 Tarihli Keşif Defteri", 731-752.

³⁴ C. EV. 31381. (18 Dhu al-Hijjah 1192)

³⁵ C. NF. 12/556.

³⁶ For these materials worth 2394,5 gurush, which were needed for the second time during the repair, see C. EV. 32106.

³⁷ EV. HMM. d. 6314: 8a; for a copy of this record, see KŞS. d. 262, 90a-93a.

³⁸ Eroğlu Memiş, who characterises this register as the estimate register made before the repair, also emphasises the possibility that the construction materials were supplied from the region based on the absence of transport costs in the register. However, it is understood from the archive documents that the register in question is the *keşf-i sani* register and many construction materials were sent from Istanbul. Eroğlu Memiş, "Osmanlı Kudüs'üne Ait H. 1195/M. 1781 Tarihli Keşif Defteri", 726.

3. 19th Century Repairs

In the 19th century, the first of the large-scale repairs in Jerusalem took place during the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd II. Starting with the 1812 survey, the architectural structures in the Haram were at the centre of this work. Sayyid Salih, one of the architects assigned for this repair, prepared a comprehensive report together with the exploration committee. According to this report, it is understood that extensive repairs such as plastering, coating, painting, bleaching and ornamentation were necessary for the Dome of the Rock and Masḥid-i Aqsa, from the domes, columns, beams and eaves in their interiors to the altar, pulpit, stairs and rooms in their courtyards. In addition to these two buildings, many columns, arches, minarets, water reservoirs and toilets were included in the scope of repairs, as well as Buraq-ı Sharif, the Tomb of Suleiman and Maqām of David, which are located in al-Haram al-Sharīf. The necessary cost of the repairs planned to be made in the al-Haram al-Sharīf and shown in sixty items was calculated as 189,473 gurush. Although the timber to be used in the repair was loaded on ships from Istanbul and sent to the Jaffa pier, the inability to procure this high amount in the first place delayed the repair. When the scholars and city's leaders of Jerusalem had the opportunity to meet with the Sadaret's chamberlain who visited the city in 1816, they informed him about the charities in this holy city. According to this information, the reason for the lack of repair of the charities in al-Masḥid al-Aqsā, which had been in a dilapidated state for many years, was due to the insufficient revenues of the waqfs to which they belonged. Moreover, although the Christians were able to repair their own places of worship without any problems with the new dome built by the Russians in the Holy Sepulchre, the Muslims were incapable of doing so. The request for help from the Jerusalemites, who expressed that this situation was too much for them, was conveyed to Istanbul by the Sadaret's chamberlain. The Sublime Porte assigned the task of supplying the amount needed for the repair work, for which it had already initiated exploratory work, to Suleiman Pasha, the governor of Sidon and Tripoli, to whom the Sanjak of Jerusalem was administratively subordinate. Suleiman Pasha, who had previously been honoured by the Porte for repairing the water pools in Bethlehem, completed the repairs with the funds he raised from the jizya revenues in Jerusalem, Damascus and Haleb. According to Sayyid Imamzade Mehmed Esad Efendi, the Qādi of Jerusalem, this comprehensive repair completed in 1818 was more fortified than the previous ones.³⁹ The inscription dated 1233, which is 3-4 metres above the ground on the wall to the left of the central gate of the Aqsa Mosque, states that the repairs were carried out under the supervision of al-Haj Suleiman Pasha, the Governor of Sidon and Tripoli. In the inscription, Sultān Maḥmūd II is referred to as "*sultānū'l-berreyn ve hākānū'l-bahreyn ve hādīmū'l-Haremeyni'ş-şerīfeyn ve hāza'l-Mescidi'l-Aksā evvelü'l-kibleteyn*".⁴⁰ Thus,

³⁹ Çakmak, 19. Yüzyılın Başlarında Kudüs, 81-82; St. Laurent and Riedlmayer, "Restorations of Jerusalem", 80.

⁴⁰ van Berchem, Jérusalem "Haram", 441-442.

the Ottoman Empire showed that it cared for the Muslims of Jerusalem by undertaking the necessary repair activities during periods when the waqfs in Al-Aqsa were experiencing income irregularities and could not meet their expenses.

After the first repair in the 19th century, a new repair work was started in 1842, this time during the reign of Sulṭān Abd al-Majid. Serasker Pasha stated that the tiles on the exterior surface of the Dome of the Rock in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem were in a dilapidated state and that the destruction of the structure would increase if measures were not taken. As a solution, he offered to send the tiles removed from the Enderun-ı Hümeyun and some pavilions. In this way, it was possible to repair the Dome of the Rock in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem, which was under the protection of the Ottoman Caliphate, more quickly and with less cost.⁴¹ Upon this memorandum of Serasker Pasha, the Ottoman Empire ordered a survey of the architectural structures in Jerusalem. The survey team, which included the governor of Jerusalem, Mehmed Tayyar Pasha, and the Qādi of Jerusalem, consisted of Hacı Muṣṭafā , one of the caliphs of the Engineering Department, Aḥmad Efendi, an engineer in charge of the fortification of the Acre Fortress, Serkis, an instructor in charge of the construction of the Acre Fortress, instructors in charge of building construction in Jerusalem, and some specialists. The report of the survey, in which the architectural structures in need of repair in Jerusalem were examined one by one, was prepared on 13 November 1842. In addition to the al-Masjid al-Aqsā⁴² and the Dome of the Rock in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem, there were the Maqām of Mahd-i Īsā, the Rufā'ī Takka, the Salahiyah Masjid⁴³ , the castle bridge, the castle guard room, the Maqām of Prophet Mūsā and the soldiers' barracks.⁴⁴ The cost of the other buildings other than the Dome of the Rock, the cost of which has not yet been determined, was calculated as 265,212 guruh. During the exploration, it was determined that most of the tiles on the exterior of the Dome of the Rock had fallen to the ground and broken due to heavy rains. In addition to the approximately 3000 tiles in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf warehouse, an estimated 16,000 more tiles were required. In addition, since the tiles with verses inscribed on the exterior of the Dome of the Rock needed to be renewed, it was decided to bring a master from Damascus for this process. It was determined that it was necessary to reconstruct the arches and pillars of the Maqām of Mahd-i Īsā in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which were about to collapse due to the earthquake, to renew the castle wall on both sides and to lay the floor

⁴¹ BOA. A. MKT. 4/39: 1.

⁴² In this estimate, the repair related to the al-Masjid al-Aqsā is about the Mosque of Caliph Umar, which is adjacent to the mosque, and there is an explanation that the mosque was repaired by Mehmed Tayyar Pasha, the Governor of Jerusalem, in accordance with the will sent before. In this repair work, the qibla wall, east wall, arches and pillars of the Mosque of Caliph Umar were renewed; the west wall and the altar were rebuilt; the floor was re-laid with a mixture of clay and lime; bars and copper wire cages were installed on the four windows on the altar side and a wooden door was built. BOA. EV.d. 11883: 3a-3b.

⁴³ It is annotated that a comprehensive repair work is currently being carried out on the Salahiyah Masjid, which was built on the spot where the Maryam was born, and that it is close to completion. BOA. EV. d. 11883: 4b.

⁴⁴ BOA. EV.d. 11883: 8a.

with a mixture of clay and lime. It was also deemed sufficient to rebuild the walls of the Sheikh Ibrahim Efendi Zawiyah of the Rufai sect in the courtyard of the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which were about to collapse, and to renew the plaster of the other walls.⁴⁵ Immediately after this discovery, the repair of the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem started. In order to reduce the cost, miri timbers from Askalan village in Gaza were brought to Jerusalem. Aḥmad Izzat Efendi, who was in charge of the repair work, reported that he spent 40,287 gurush 32 for the materials he purchased and the labourers' wages.⁴⁶

It is understood that the 1842 repairs in Jerusalem during the reign of Sulṭān Abd al-Majīd II were mostly carried out by urgently intervening in the parts of the buildings that were about to collapse. However, although this repair responded to the needs of the Muslims of Jerusalem in the short term, a more comprehensive work was inevitable. For this reason, six years later, a larger exploration report was prepared than the previous one. Architect Sayyid Ismāil Rızā and Engineer Maḥmad Izzat were at the head of the survey committee. In the report prepared in 1848, it was stated that all elements of the building, from the lead in the domes and roofs of al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock to the interior walls and altar, from the eaves on all four sides to the doors and windows, needed to be renewed or repaired according to their needs. In addition to these two buildings in the Ḥaram, the Maḥd-i Īsā, the Maghāribah Mosque located to the west of al-Masjid al-Aqsā, the wall of Burāq al-Sharīf, the latrines, minarets, gates, domes, zawiyahs masjids, prayer halls, arches and roads within the Ḥaram were included in the scope of repair.⁴⁷ The total cost of these planned repairs was 833,751.5 gurush, including transport costs and the wages of masons and labourers. Among the repair items in this survey, in which almost all architectural structures in the Jerusalem Ḥaram were included in the scope of repair, the proposal for the arrangement of roads draws attention compared to the previous survey reports. Accordingly, this arrangement, which corresponds to approximately one third of the total amount of 247,500 gurush, is for the separation of the roads leading from each gate of the Ḥaram to al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock with iron railings. The architect Sayyid Ismāil Rızā and the engineer Maḥmad Izzat expressed their reason for wanting to make such a radical change in the roads of the Ḥaram as follows [Ottoman Turkish]:

“...Mescidü'l-Aksā ve Sahretullāhi'l-mu'azzama Harem-i şerīfi nāssın mürur ü ubūruyla tarīk-i cādde ittihāz kılınmış olunduğundan ma'a-hāzā Harem-i şerīf-i mezkūre mescid-i āli olup herkesin ayakkabılarıyla girmesi ve husūsiyetle tarīk-i cādde ittihāz olunması gayr-i cā'iz olduğundan bu fesādın dahi def' u ref'i husūsuna bakılması fariza-i hāliyeden ve resm-i musattahında sūrhle beyān olunduğu üzere her bir kapıdan Mescid-i Aksā ve Sahretullāh'a girecek ve muktezi olacak yollar demir parmaklıklar ile bi't-tefrīk muhāfaza

⁴⁵ BOA. EV.d. 11883: 2b-4a.

⁴⁶ BOA. EV.d. 11901: 1b-3b.

⁴⁷ For the spaces included in the scope of repair according to the exploration report of 1264/1848, see BOA. EV.d. 13329: 1b-4a.

olunması ve mahäll-i sā'irenin sedd ü bendi lâzimededen olduğundan lede'l-keşf başka bend olarak idhâl-i defter olunmuş..."⁴⁸

After the planned repairs to the Jerusalem Harem were laid out in detail in the survey report dated 1848, the biggest obstacle to the start of the repairs was the procurement of money. Moreover, since the dilapidated state of the water pools in Bethlehem, which met the water needs of Jerusalem, caused the people of the city to suffer a great deal of inconvenience, the total cost of the repair of the waterways reached approximately 1,500,000 guruh. However, since it was not possible to meet this amount, a temporary solution was found by repairing the waterways of one of the intact pools and increasing the number of fountains. Thus, the cost of all repairs to be made in Jerusalem was determined as approximately 900,000 guruh. With the will dated 1 Rabī al-ākhir 1265 (25 February 1849), it was ordered to send a special officer from Istanbul to carry out this repair activity and to provide assistance from the Awqāf Treasury for the expenses when necessary.⁴⁹ With the appointment of Maḥmad As'ād Efendi, one of the Nafia officers, one of the waterways belonging to the pools in Bethlehem was repaired in accordance with the initial plan. On 18 April 1850, the notables of Jerusalem, who welcomed the water coming to the fountain between al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock with great joy and prayers, expressed their gratitude to the Ottoman Sulṭān with a petition they wrote.⁵⁰ The complete repair of the pools, cisterns and waterways meeting the water needs of Jerusalem was completed in 1855. Maḥmad As'ād Efendi, who completed the repairs at a much lower cost than estimated, at approximately 183,000 guruh, was honoured by the state for his efforts.⁵¹

In the first years of the reign of Sulṭān Sulṭān Abd al-Ḥamīd II, it was decided to renew the tiles of the Dome of the Rock. The tiles required for this renovation were manufactured in the plate factory in İncir village. In the report dated 4 November 1880, it was recorded that 205 of the 216 zirā' tiles required for the Surah Yā-sīn were produced in the first stage and sent to Jerusalem. The remaining 11 zirā' of tiles, 10% of which were broken and lost while being transported to Jerusalem, were added to the production plan. It was determined that the missing tiles of Surah Isrā on the surface of the Dome of the Rock were 31 zirā'. With this incomplete part of the Surah Isrā, the white tiles of the part with the inscription of Asmā al-Ḥusnā were completed and only the painting process was left. It was stated in the report that the tiles with some verses and hadiths and the tiles with the Arabic date had not yet been produced.⁵² Upon the order of Sulṭān Abd al-Ḥamīd II dated 25 April 1881, a survey was carried out in the Harem of Jerusalem. Farīd Efendi, one of the engineers of the

⁴⁸ BOA. EV. d. 13329: 4b.

⁴⁹ BOA. İ. MVL. 135/3655: 2.

⁵⁰ BOA. A. MKT. MHM. 21/25: 4.

⁵¹ İ. DH. 20312: 1-4.

⁵² Y. PRK. M. 1/81.

Ministry of Awqāf (*Nezāret-i Awqāf*) sent for this exploration, determined that the repair cost would be 2,200,480 gurush. Although this cost was reduced to 1,658,000 gurush in the tender, the Jerusalem Administrative Council decided that the repairs would not be robust enough to meet the needs since the contractor who submitted the bid would consider his own interests. Therefore, it was suggested that such a major repair activity should not be left to the architects of the region, but a commission consisting of meritorious people should be established.⁵³ Thereupon, based on another order of Sultān Abd al-Ḥamīd II dated 10 November 1881, a commission of six people was formed by the Jerusalem Administrative Council. Under the supervision of this commission, the repair works in the Jerusalem Ḥaram were completed in 1891 after about 10 years.⁵⁴ This repair activity carried out in the Jerusalem Ḥaram included all architectural structures such as domes, sanctuaries (*ribāt*), prayer halls, arches and gates within the Ḥaram, especially al-Masjid al-Aqsā and Dome of the Rock. Although the report prepared before the repair was estimated to cost 1,795,500 gurush, the report prepared after the repair showed that 1,823,968 gurush 35 was spent. The repair commission explained the reason for the difference of 28,468 gurush 35 money between the two reports at the end of the exploration report. Accordingly, some places were excluded from the scope of repair with the decision of the Jerusalem Administrative Council, even though they were included in the report of the first report, and new places that needed to be repaired were added instead. In this context, the place belonging to the mosque in Jerusalem, where the Abū al-Ṣu'ūd family had built a wall and added it to their own house, was returned to its original location, the castle walls were renovated by erecting scaffolding, and the Zawiyya of Sheikh Bakir Efendi was repaired. However, the expenses, which were contrary to the repair commission's first reconnaissance report on these items, were equalized with the cost of the cheaply purchased wreck. Consequently, it is understood that these new items added did not increase the cost of repair, but rather decreased it. The item that caused the total cost to increase was the employment of a clerk during the repair work, although it was not included in the report of the first exploration. It was deemed necessary to employ a clerk for the preparation of expense registers and purchase deeds and for keeping the weekly registers of architects and labourers in this repair, which lasted approximately 10 years. In this context, 65,902 gurush was paid to the clerk during the repair period and this payment was recorded in the *keshf-i thānī* register.⁵⁵

Although seven years had passed since the last repair, it became evident that there were still parts of the Ḥaram of Jerusalem that urgently needed to be repaired. In the meeting of the *Majlis-i Maḥşūş-i Wukalā* on 18 May 1898, it was decided that these repairs would be carried out by entrustment, since the tender would prolong the work. The governor of

⁵³ İ. DH. 67451: 1.

⁵⁴ ŞD. 122/43: 2.

⁵⁵ ŞD. 122/43: 1-3.

Jerusalem was given permission for this repair, which was planned to be completed for approximately 251,000 guruh.⁵⁶ However, when it was realised that some parts of the al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock in need of repair were not included in this survey, it was determined that an additional 113,734 guruh was needed for the repair of these parts.⁵⁷ In the same year, it was decided that some of the tiles on the exterior of the Dome of the Rock, which had fallen to the ground due to heavy rains, should be replaced by the *Shūrā-yi Dawlat*. The cost of the 148 metres of ground that needed to be repaired was determined to be 18,525 guruh.⁵⁸

In 1902, due to the damage caused by heavy rains in Jerusalem to the lead, plaster and tiles of the al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock, the total cost was calculated as 29,330 guruh, of which 22,430 guruh was for lead and 6900 guruh for plastering. Two lead masters were brought from Istanbul to repair the lead and the repair was carried out by a commission chaired by the Awqāf accountant.⁵⁹

Evaluation and Conclusion

During the four centuries of Ottoman rule, it would be appropriate to see the period of the Sultān and the year in which the repairs to the architectural monuments in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem were carried out.

Table I. Repairs of the Ottoman Sultāns in the Ḥaram of Jerusalem

Century	Sultān	Date
16th Century	Suleiman I	1545
	Murād III	1587
	Maḥmad III	1597
17th Century	Aḥmad I	1603
	Muṣṭafā I	1617
	Ibrāhīm	1642
	Maḥmad IV	1670
18th Century	Muṣṭafā II	1703
	Aḥmad III	1720
	Maḥmūd I	1742 and 1754
	Muṣṭafā III	1759
	Abd al-Ḥamīd I	1780
19th Century	Maḥmūd II	1812
	Abd al-Majīd	1842 and 1848
	Abd al-Ḥamīd II	1880, 1881, 1898 and 1902

⁵⁶ İ. EV. 18/61: 1-2.

⁵⁷ ŞD. 146/21.

⁵⁸ İ. EV. 20/23: 1-2; ŞD. 146/55.

⁵⁹ ŞD. 159/51.

As can be seen from the table, twenty repairs were carried out by fifteen different sultāns in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem during the Ottoman period. Of course, it is possible that this number, which was obtained as a result of literature and archive searches, may increase with the discovery of new discovery reports on repairs, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries. Although at first glance, these data on the repairs carried out in Jerusalem indicate that there is no periodic order, in fact, when the scope of the repairs is taken into account, it is understood that there is a certain systematisation. The detailed information we have on the repairs of 1545, 1780, 1812 and 1848 shows that these were comprehensive repairs in which many buildings in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, especially the al-Masjid al-Aqsā and the Dome of the Rock, were overhauled. Naturally, after these repairs, the repairs were suspended for many years as there were no incidents that caused the ruin of the buildings in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf. However, as in 1759 and 1902, the need for repairs in order to eliminate the damage caused by earthquakes or heavy rains caused the period between the two repairs to shorten.

The main motivation that led the Ottoman sultāns to repair the buildings in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem was the sanctity of this city, as clearly expressed in the repair inscriptions and the petitions written by the scholars. The Ottoman sultāns, acting with the understanding of *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*, protected the Islamic buildings in Jerusalem, which they did not separate from the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, and thus showed that they embraced the Muslims of Jerusalem. In addition, the role of the scholars in the consolidation of this understanding, which was an important means of legitimacy for the state, was also effective. When necessary, the scholars self-criticised that they were behind the non-Muslims in Jerusalem in this regard by showing examples of the repairs they made for their own places of worship. However, neither this self-criticism nor the fact that some of the repairs in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf took place at the same time as the repair of the Holy Sepulchre indicates that there was competition with foreigners in this regard. Rather than competition with foreigners, the point that the scholars emphasise is that although the administration of a city like Jerusalem, where holy places belonging to different ethnic elements are located, is in the hands of Muslims, the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf is not owned as it should be. The fact that the majority of the scholars in Jerusalem receive allocations from the waqfs in al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf makes their struggle for the survival of these buildings meaningful for them. Thus, the maintenance and repair costs of the buildings in Jerusalem were met from the state treasury thanks to the aid requested from the Ottoman Sultāns when the revenues of the waqfs to which they were attached were insufficient.

Declarations:

- 1. Ethics approval:** Not applicable.
- 2. Author contribution:** The author declares no one has contributed to the article.

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