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الأوقاف في قضاء يافا خلال المدة
(١٧٩٩هـ/١٢١٤م - ١٢٨٢هـ/١٨٦٤م)

عبير قطناني*

مقدمة

عندما طُلب مني المشاركة في أعمال المؤتمر الدولي السابع لتاريخ بلاد الشام، والذي يُعقد تحت عنوان: "الأوقاف في بلاد الشام منذ الفتح العربي الإسلامي إلى نهاية القرن العشرين"، اخترت موضوعاً جزئياً، عنوانه: "الأوقاف في قضاء يافا منذ نهاية القرن الثامن عشر (١٢١٤هـ/١٧٩٩م) وحتى عام (١٢٨٢هـ/١٨٦٤م). ويعود اختيار هذه التواريخ إلى بداية وجود سجلات في المحكمة الشرعية بيافا، فقبل هذا التاريخ لم أجد أية وثائق لدى مركز الوثائق والمخطوطات بالجامعة الأردنية، وعليه فقد تم تحديد التاريخ على هذا الأساس، وحملت أول حجة في الصفحة الأولى من شريط رقم (٤٣٠) من السجلات تاريخ (١٥/١/١٢١٤هـ) والذي يوافق السبت ١٧/٨/١٧٩٩م، وكانت حالة الوثيقة مهترئة، وفيها بعض الكلمات غير المفهومة؛ ونُكر في بداية السجل أنه قد حدث حريق في المحكمة الشرعية، مما يوضح لنا سبب تلف الكثير من السجلات قبل هذا التاريخ، مع فقدان جزء منها، وهذه الحجة هي:

"دعوى من الحاج محمد السراج على حسن جرجس الطرابلسي، بأنه قد أودع لديه (سيفين بمئتي ذهبية) خلال الحملة الفرنسية على يافا، وبعد الحملة طالب صاحب السيفين بهما، لكن المؤتمن ادعى بأن الفلاحين قد نهبوا السيفين بعد خروج حملة الإفرنج [الفرنسيين]."

ويتبين من الوثيقة انعدام الأمن والطمأنينة في المدينة بعد خروج الحملة من البلاد، وتسجيل بعض عمليات النهب والسلب، التي ترافق -عادة- الحروب، والخراب والدمار الذي تخلفه الحروب عادة. وهي ليست الوثيقة الوحيدة التي وجدت بحالة سيئة، بل إن الكثير من الوثائق كانت بحالة مهترئة، والمعلومات فيها ناقصة، وربما يعود السبب في ذلك

* بالحة، عمان، الأردن.



الأوقاف في بلاد الشام
منذ الفتح العربي الإسلامي إلى نهاية القرن العشرين



المؤتمر الدولي السابع لتاريخ بلاد الشام

١٧-٢١ شعبان ١٤٢٧هـ/١٠-١٤ أيلول ٢٠٠٦م

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Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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Tas. No:	958.9

«فلسطين»

تحرير

محمد عدنان البخيت

منشورات لجنة تاريخ بلاد الشام - الجامعة الأردنية

عمان

٢٠٠٨هـ/٢٠٠٨م

الوقف الإسلامي في يافا: من الدولة العثمانية
إلى الدولة العبرية

محمود يزبك *

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الأوقاف في بلاد الشام
منذ الفتح العربي الإسلامي إلى نهاية القرن العشرين



المقدمة: إدارة الأوقاف الإسلامية من الدولة العثمانية إلى الدولة العبرية

أدت الأوقاف الإسلامية دوراً أساسياً في توفير الخدمات الاجتماعية والدينية في الدولة والمجتمعات الإسلامية حتى نشوء الدولة الحديثة. وحتى ذلك الحين، وفي أحيان عدة، كانت الأوقاف، وخاصة الخيرية منها، رافعة أساسية في تحريك عجلة الاقتصاد وتقديمها في تلك المجتمعات. وفي الوقت الذي لم تكن الدولة فيه عاملاً مخططاً أو مبادراً أو مبرمجاً لتوفير الخدمات الأساسية كالتعليم والصحة أو أماكن العبادة وما شابه، عكست مؤسسة الوقف الإسلامي الإرادة والرغبة المجتمعية المحلية للقيام بهذه المهام⁽¹⁾. وإضافة إلى جانب العقائدي المرتبط بإنشاء الأوقاف، فقد أظهر المجتمع الإسلامي - ومن خلال الانتشار الواسع لمؤسسة الوقف - رغبة أفرادها في التكافل والمسؤولية تجاه مصالح أبنائه جميعاً. صحيح أن السلطان أو الحاكم أو رجال الدولة في نظام الدولة الإسلامية أقاموا العديد من المؤسسات لتوفير الخدمات الاجتماعية والدينية أو أطلقوا مشاريع عمرانية كإنشاء المسود والجسور والطرقات، لكن الغالبية العظمى لهذه المشاريع العامة أنشئت كمشاريع وبقية. ولم تكن المشاريع التي أنشأها المقتدرون من أبناء المجتمع، تقل أهميتها عن تلك. ويهمننا أن نؤكد أن الأوقاف الخيرية قدمت خدماتها لكل أفراد المجتمع. وللتأكيد على دوام هذه الخدمات وعموميتها كان لا بد من إضفاء صفة التأييد على هذه الأوقاف، فلا يمكن

* قسم تاريخ الشرق الأوسط / جامعة حيفا.

١- Adam Abdelhamid Sabra, Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt 1250-1517. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 32,80,85; Mine Ener, Managing Egypt's Poor and the Politics of Benevolence, 1800-1952, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2003, pp. 5-11; Abraham Marcus, The Middle East On the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century, Columbia University Press, New York, 1989, pp. 296-313

المؤتمر الدولي السابع لتاريخ بلاد الشام

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٢٠٠٨هـ / ١٤٢٩م

03 Mart 2019

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN



AL-MANARAH

A REFEREED RESEARCH JOURNAL

Published by
AL al-Bayt University

Volume I, No. 1

Shā'bān 1416 A.H./ January 1996

Address: AL al-Bayt University, Mafraq, Jordan

Aspects of the Social and Economic Structure of Early Nineteenth Century Jaffa¹

Received: 4/4/1995

Accepted: 17/5/1995

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ملخص

لقد شكلت مدينة يافا الفلسطينية في بدايات القرن التاسع عشر محلاً لاستقرار كثير من المسيحيين، وأشخاص جاؤوا من مناطق جغرافية أجنبية، فقد كانت ميناء ساحلياً، ومكان وصول الحجاج المسيحيين. وكان التجار الأوروبيون والعثمانيون يشترون أو يتبادلون السلع بمنتجات بلدانهم الزراعية، بينما كان العديد من الرعايا العثمانيين المسيحيين يقومون على خدمة الحجاج في طريقهم إلى القدس ومنطقة الجليل. كما اجتذبت المدينة عدداً كبيراً من الفلاحين للعمل في النساتين المحيطة بالمدينة. وقد ضمت الغالبية العربية المسلمة أشخاصاً ينتمون إلى مناطق جغرافية مختلفة، مهاجرين من المدن الفلسطينية الوسطى، كالرملة ونابلس والخليل، وقروين من مصر السفلى والساحل اللبناني، ومن شمال أفريقيا واليونان. إن التنوع الاجتماعي لسكان يافا، وتعدد النشاطات الاقتصادية التي كانوا يمارسونها يجعلنا نطرح سؤالاً عن كيفية تعايشهم وعن مدى ترابطهم، خاصة بعد اجتياح المدينة واحتلالها من قبل قوات نابليون في سنة 1799.

من الواضح أن هذه الجماعات قد استطاعت العيش معاً، وعلى الرغم من أن التفاعل الاجتماعي كان محدوداً، إذ حافظت كل جماعة على مناطق سكنها، إلا أن هذه الجماعات انخرطت في فعاليات اقتصادية مشتركة شملت الأسهم في سوق العقارات، والتبادل التجاري. وسترونا هذه الدراسة بمعلومات واقعية وموثقة عن تنوع هذه الجماعات ومدى تكاملها، بالاستناد إلى ثلاث عينات مأخوذة من قيود المحكمة الشرعية في يافا.

Abstract

The Palestinian port town of Jaffa in the early nineteenth century was home to a significant number of Christians and persons of foreign geographic origin. This is due to its functions as a seaport and a point of disembarkation for Christian pilgrims. European and Ottoman traders bought goods or exchanged them for agricultural commodities produced in the hinterland, while many Ottoman Christian subjects served the needs of pilgrims passing on their way to Jerusalem and the Galilee region. The town also attracted substantial numbers of peasants to work the abundant surrounding fruit orchards. Within the Arab Muslim majority, there were persons of different geographic origins: immigrants from the central Palestinian towns of Ramla, Nablus and Hebron, villagers from Lower Egypt and the Lebanese coast, and North Africans and Bosnians. The considerable variety of social groups that were residing in Jaffa and the wide range of economic activities in which they engaged lead us to ask how they lived together and how cohesively they were integrated, especially after the invasion and occupation of the town by Napoleon's forces in 1799.

It is clear that these groups did coexist and engage in economic and limited social interaction from several standpoints: their participation in the real estate market, the economic exchange that took place between social groups, and the contiguity of their residences. Using three samples taken from the registers of the Jaffa religious (Shar'iya) court, this study will provide concrete and documented information about the diversity of those groups and the extent of their integration.

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Yaffa

Yafa (122-124)

شفاء القلوب في مناقب بني أيوب

تأليف

أحمد بن إبراهيم الحنبلي
المتوفى سنة ٨٧٦ هـ

تحقيق

ناظم رشيد

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi	
Kayıt No :	3905
Tasnif No. :	956.3 HANİS

الذكر أن الأرض يرثها عبادي الصالحون»^(٣٣٠)، والحمد لله على إنجاز الوعد ، وعلى نصرته لهذا الدين الحنيف ، من قبل ومن بعد ، وجعل بعد عسر يسرا ، وأحدث بعد أمر أمرا ، وهون الأمر الذي ما كان الإسلام يستطيع عليه صبرا ، وخوطف الدين بقوله : «ولقد منّنا عليك مرة أخرى» ، فالأولى في عصر النبي والصحابة ، والأخرى في هذه الدولة ، التي عُتِقَ فيها من رق الكآبة ، والزمان كهيبته قد استدار ، والحقُ بهجته قد استنار ، والكفر قد ردّ ما عنده من السُّفار .

والخادم يشرح هذا الفتح العظيم ، والنصر الكريم ، ما يشرح صدور المؤمنين ، ويسود وجوه الكافرين ، ويورد من البشري ما أنعم الله به في يوم الخميس الثالث والعشرين من ربيع الآخر (اليوم الخميس منسوخه)^(٣٣١)، وتلك «سبع ليالٍ وثمانية أيام حُسوماً»^(٣٣٢)، عدموا فيها نفوساً وجسوماً ، فأصبحوا وقد^(٣٣٣) هووا في الهاوية ، «كأنهم أعجاز نخل خاوية»^(٣٣٤)، وأصبحت البلاد الى الاسلام ضاحكة ، وكانت بالكفر باكية ، ففي يوم الخميس فتحت طبرية ، ويوم الجمعة والسبت كانت الكسرة التي ما أبقّت منهم باقية ، لا يقوم لهم بعدها قائمة ، «وكذلك أخذ ربك إذا أخذ القرى وهي ظالمة»^(٣٣٥)، وفي يوم الخميس سلخ الشهر ، فتحت عكا بالأمان ، ورُفعت بها أعلامُ الايمان ، وهي

اشترى أسيراً بنعل ، ففوتب السلطان ، فقال : أردتُ هوانهم . وعاد السلطان الى قلعة طبرية ، فتسلمها يوم الأحد خامس عشرين ربيع الآخر . وأمّن صاحبها زوجة القومص ، وكانت هذه الواقعة سبباً لفتح الساحل ، وهلاك دين النصرانية .

ذكر فتح عكا والمجدل ويافا :

سار السلطان بعد فتح طبرية ، فنازل عكا ، يوم الأربعاء سلخ ربيع الآخر ، وليس بها من يحميها ، وكان بها ثلاثون ألفاً ، فطلبوا الأمان على نفوسهم ، وما يقدرون على حمله ، فأمنهم ، ودخلها يوم الجمعة ، عاشر جمادي الأولى ، وكان بها من أسرى المسلمين أربعة آلاف فاستنقذهم ، وجعل الكنيسة جامعاً ، وأعطى الخطابة عبداللطيف بن أبي التجيب السهروردي^(٣٣٦) وأعطى (٣٢) آ) البلد ولده الأفضل ، وغنم أموالاً لا تُحصى ، لأنها كانت مظنة التجارة . وقال : من ركز رحمة على دار فهي له بما فيها . وأعطى الفقيه عيسى ما بحصن الداوية^(٣٣٧) . ولم يحضر العادل هذا الفتح لأنه كان بمصر . فجاء وفتح في طريقه مجدل^(٣٣٨) ويافا ، ثم مضى العادل الى مصر ، ولما^(٣٣٩) عاد العزيز اجتمع بوالده .

وكتب العماد الى بغداد كتاباً^(٣٤٠) أوله : «ولقد كتبنا في الزبور من بعد

(٣٣٠) سورة الأنبياء ، الآية ١٠٥ .
(٣٣١) الزيادة من الروضتين وصحح الأعشى .
(٣٣٢) سورة الحاقة ، الآية ٧ .
(٣٣٣) الأصل : قد
(٣٣٤) سورة الحاقة ، الآية ٧ .
(٣٣٥) سورة هود ، الآية ١٠٢ .

(٣٢٥) عبداللطيف هو ابن الشيخ العلامة أبو التجيب عبدالقاهر بن عبدالله السهروردي المتوفى سنة ٥٦٢ هـ (النجوم الزاهرة ٥ : ٣٨٠) .
(٣٢٦) حصن الداوية : حصن حصين بنواحي الشام بين الرقة ونواحي حلب (معجم البلدان ٢ : ٢٦٤) .
(٣٢٧) مجدل : بلد طيب بالمجاور الى جانبه تل عليه قصر (معجم البلدان ٥ : ٥٦) .
(٣٢٨) الأصل : وما .
(٣٢٩) ورد هذا الكتاب في الروضتين ٢ : ٨٩ ، كثر الدرر ٩٥ ، صحح الأعشى ٦ : ٥١٧ .

مرفأ يافا :

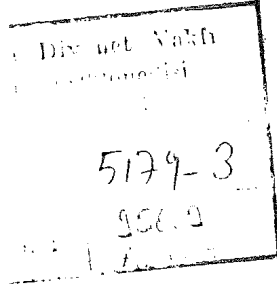
خربت مدينة يافا في الحروب الصليبية فأضحت عبارة عن قرية تتألف من بضعة بيوت . وقد بدأت في التجدد أواخر القرن السابع عشر . وكان المرفأ إذ ذاك غير صالح لإرساء السفن كما هي حالته لهذا العهد . ولذلك كانت ترسي السفن الفرنسية في مرفأي عكا وصيدا . وحصنت يافا في القرن الثامن عشر وأخذت تزداد عمراناً إلى أن جاء نابليون في سنة (١٧٩٩) . وقد ازدادت مكانتها وكثر عدد سكانها لعهدنا ، وذلك لقربها من القدس ومرور الخطوط الحديدية منها ومهاجرة اليهود والألمان إليها ، وكان جماع هذه الأسباب العامل الكبير في تقدم هذه المدينة . ومضت أدوار كانت كلمة الذهاب إلى يافا تدل عند الغربيين على عمل خطر . حتى إن بعض التجار كان يراهن الراحلين إلى الأراضي المقدسة على ثرواتهم بمعنى أن المسافر يقبض ما يعادل ثروته من التاجر الذي راهنه إذا عاد إلى أرضه سالماً . كما أن المسافر يترك ثروته لهذا التاجر إذا لم يعد إليها . وهذا مما يدل على أن الخطر في دخول السفن هذا المرفأ كان قاب قوسين أو أدنى . وكانوا يعتقدون أن احتمال حدوث الخطر أكثر من السلامة . وتحسنت الحال قليلاً منذ ذلك العهد ، ومع هذا لم يزل تفرغ السفن في ساحل يافا من الأمور الصعبة الخطرة .

إن مرفأ يافا صغير وقليل العمق وهو مسدود بخط من الصخور البارزة عن سطح الماء وليس له سوى مدخل صغير بين الشمال والشمال الغربي من المدينة . وقد وقع توسيع هذا المدخل بالنحت ونسف الصخور بالمفرقات وهناك ممر آخر في جهة الشمال في عرض ٢٠٠ متر ليس بصالح للانتفاع لما يطمه من طبقات الرمل . وهذه الصخور الممتدة من الساحل إلى عرض البحر هي بمثابة سد طبيعي تكون في طول ٣٠٠ متر . ويكون من هذا السد ملجأ أمين للسفن الصغيرة الحجم ، ولكن قعر البحر يرتفع يوماً فيوماً لتكوّن جنس من الحجر المركّب من الرمل والأصداف بواسطة نوع من الملاط المترسب من الماء ، فليس ثمت عمق يزيد على الخمسة أمتار إلا بعد ٥٠٠ متر من الساحل بحيث لا تتمكن البواخر الضخمة من الإرساء إلا بعيدة عن

خط يافا

تأليف

محمد كرد علي

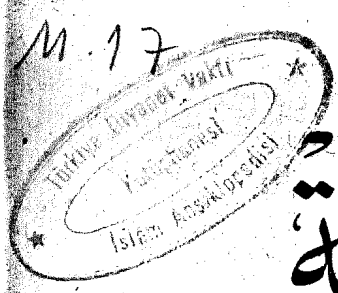


- Yafa

الجزء الخامس

الناسخ

مكتبة النوري
دمشق



تاريخ الحركة القومية

وتطور نظام الحكم

في مصر

بقلم

عبد الرحمن الرفاعي

Y.A.F.A. (37-39)

الجزء الثاني

Di Arsin Taraiide
Hishan

(من إعادة الديوان في عهد نابليون إلى إنتهاء الحملة الفرنسية)
(ومن جلاء الفرنسيين إلى إرتقاء محمد علي أريكة مصر بإرادة الشعب)

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırma Merkezi	
Kayıt No. :	6839-2
Tasnif No. :	962.3218 R.A.F.T.

الطبعة الرابعة



دارالمعارف

المنزلة في قلوب الناس . نقول هذا ، تمهيداً للكلام عما صار له من الشأن العظيم في سير
الحوادث بعد جلاء الفرنسيين كما تراه في الفصل الرابع عشر .
وقد سعى نابليون في إلحاق المصريين الذين أسرهم في يافا بصفوف جيشه ، ولكنه أخفق
في سعيه ورفضوا الالتحاق بالجيش الفرنسي فأمر بإعادتهم إلى مصر .
غتم الفرنسيون في يافا كثيراً من الذخائر والمهمات والأقوات والمدافع . واستخدموا المدافع
في حصار عكا . وبادر نابليون بإرسال نبأ استيلائه على يافا إلى الجنرال (دوجا) ليخبر به
الديوان ويذيعه في البلاد . فوردت هذه الأخبار إلى القاهرة في ١٣ شوال . فانعقد الديوان
وتليت رسالة نابليون وأصدر الديوان منشوراً بذلك إلى الأهالي . ويلاحظ أن نابليون في
رسائله للديوان أشار إلى قتل أربعة آلاف من عسكر الجزائر في المعركة . فهو إذن قد كتم عن
المصريين ما أمر به من قتل أسرى الحامية بعد التسليم . وفي هذا شعور منه بفضاعة إعدامهم بعد
أن أمّتهم على أرواحهم .

وقد كان لاستيلاء الجيش الفرنسي على يافا تأثير معنوي كبير في مصر لأن الناس لم يكونوا
يتوقعون أن يتم للفرنسيين هذا النصر بهذه السرعة . ولكنهم قابلوا الخبر بالسكوت والتسليم .

حصار عكا والارتداد عنها :

استأنف الفرنسيون زحفهم شمالاً واحتلوا (حيفا) دون مقاومة : ثم وصلوا تجاه (عكا)
وهي بلدة محصنة . عزم الجنود العثمانية بقيادة أحمد باشا الجزائر (١٩) على الدفاع عنها بكل ما

(١٩) ترجمة الجبرقي وفيات سنة ١٢١٩ هجرية ، فذكر عن تاريخه ما خلاصته أن أصله من بلاد البوشاق (البوسنة)
وخدم عند علي باشا حاكم والي مصر وحضر معه إلى الديار المصرية سنة ١١٧١ هجرية (١٧٥٧ ميلادية) فتشوقت نفسه إلى
الحج واستأذن محذومه فأذن له في ذلك وأوصى به أمير الحج صالح بك القاسمي ، وأخذه معه وأكرمه رعاية لعل باشا ،
ورجع معه فوجد علي باشا قد انفصل عن ولاية مصر ، فاستمر الجزائر في مصر وترقى بزي المصريين وخدم عبد الله بك تابع
الأمر على بك الكبير وتعلم الفرنسية على طريقة الماليك وحدث أن علي بك أرسل عبد الله بك بتجريدة إلى عرب البحيرة
فتلقوه . فرجع المترجم مع باقي رجاله إلى القاهرة فقلده علي بك كشوفية البحيرة وطلب منه أن يثار لأستاذه ممن قتلوه فذهب
إلهم وخادعهم وجمعهم في مكان واحد وقتلهم وهم نيف وسبعون رجلاً ، ومن ذلك لقب بالجزار ، فالجزار هو إذن من
أنواع علي بك الكبير وكانت نشأته الأولى في مصر ، وذكر الجبرقي أن علي بك طلب منه أن يعاونه على الغدر بصالح بك
القاسمي فلم تطاوعه نفسه وخرج من مصر هارياً ، ثم عاد إلى البحيرة وأقام مع عرب الهنادي وتزوج هناك ، ثم سار إلى بلاد
الشام واشتهر أمره في تلك النواحي وقلد الوزارة وأقام في حصن عكا وعمر أسوارها وقلاعها واستكثر من شراء الماليك ،
واشتهر بالقسوة والظلم ومات سنة ١٢١٩ هجرية (١٨٠٤ ميلادية) .

احتلال يافا :

ثم تابع الفرنسيون زحفهم على سوريا . فاحتلوا (خان يونس) وهي أول بلدة في فلسطين
وساروا منها قاصدين (غزة) واستولوا عليها دون مقاومة تذكر . واستراح الجيش بها عدة أيام
ثم استأنف سيره يوم ٢٨ فبراير فاحتل (الرملة) ثم (اللد) ووصل تجاه يافا يوم ٣ مارس ،
وكان الجيش العثماني بقيادة عبد الله باشا ممتنعاً بها فحاصرها نابليون بجنوده واستولى عليها يوم ٧
مارس بعد معركة شديدة قتل فيها من الجنود العثمانية نحو ٢٠٠٠ قتيل ودخل الفرنسيون المدينة
وأعملوا فيها السيف والنار .

نهب الجنود الفرنسية يافا ، وارتكبوا فيها من الفظائع ما تشعرون منه الأبدان باعتراف
المؤرخين الفرنسيين واستمر النهب والقتل يومين متواليين واضطر الجنرال رويان Robin الذي
عينه نابليون قومنداناً للمدينة أن يقتل بعض الجنود لإعادة النظام . فذهب جهده عبثاً : ولم
ينقطع النهب إلا بعد أن كلّ الجنود من الاعتداء وسفك الدماء ، ويقول بعض المؤرخين إن
الدمار التي سفكت في يافا وأشلاء الجثث التي تركت بها عدة أيام كانت من أسباب انتشار
الوباء بين العسكر ، وهو الوباء الذي كان من العوامل الرئيسية لإخفاق الحملة على سوريا .
ظهرت أعراض هذا الوباء في دمياط بين جنود الفرقة المرافقة بها التي اشتركت في الحملة
على سوريا . ثم أخذت عدواه تنتقل إلى الفرق الأخرى إلى أن تفشى بعد دخول الفرنسيين
يافا . وأحدث فرغاً بين الجنود . وبذل نابليون قصارى جهده لمحاربه . فذهب جهده سدى
وعجز عن مقاومة تلك الآفة الرهيبة التي ألقمت الرعب في جيشه . واضطر ليردّ إلى الجنود
شجاعتهم أن يزور المرضى الذين أصيبوا بالوباء ويخاطبهم ويواسيهم ويعرض نفسه لخطر العدوى
ليشدد عزائمهم ويقنع الجنود بأنه لا خوف عليهم من سريان العدوى إليهم .

لم يكفد ينقطع النهب حتى أعقبته مأساة أخرى أشدّ هولاً وفضاعة ، ذلك أنه بعد انتهاء
المعركة ودخول الفرنسيين المدينة كان بها من الجنود العثمانية نحو ثلاثة آلاف مقاتل آثروا التسليم
وإلقاء السلاح في يد الفرنسيين بشروط اتفقوا عليها مع اثنين من ياوران نابليون وهما بوهارنيه
Beauharnais وكروازيه Croisier ، ومن هذه الشروط أن تضمن لهم أرواحهم بعد
التسليم ، وتعهد الياوران بذلك باسم القائد العام وتلقاهم الفرنسيون كأسرى حرب ، ولكن
نابليون بعد أن فكر طويلاً في أمرهم وتردد في شأنهم أمر بإعدامهم جميعاً رمياً بالرصاص ،

مصطفى مراد الدباغ

May 27-29

بلدنا فلسطين

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı	
İslam İşleri Bakanlığı	
Kayıt No:	6220-1
Tasit No:	856.54
Tasit Tarihi:	DEB.B

الحزب الإسلامي القسم الأول

«سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ لَيْلًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ الْأَقْصَى الَّذِي بَارَكْنَا حَوْلَهُ» .

«قرآن كريم»

بجدة

خامساً
لواء يافا (اللد)

(١) قضاء يافا :

مساحتها ٣٣٥٠٣ كم^٢ . لليهود منها ١٢٩٠٥ كم^٢ . أي بنسبة ٣٨ و ٦٪ من مجموع مساحة القضاء . وقدر عدد سكانه في ١٩٤٥/٤/١ بـ (٣٧٣٠٨٠٠) نسمة يوزعون كما يلي :

مسلمون	: ٩٣٦٠٧٠
مسيحيون	: ١٦٢٣٠٠
آخرون	: ٣٣٠
مجموع السكان العرب	: ١٠٩٦٧٠٠
اليهود	: ٢٦٤٦١٠٠
مجموع سكان القضاء	: ٣٧٣٠٨٠٠ نسمة .

يضم هذا القضاء مدينة يافا و ٢٥ قرية عربية و ٢٢٧٠ بديوا^(١) . ومن المولم أنه يقع اليوم في القسم المنغصب من الوطن الحبيب الغالي . يافا : قدر عدد سكانها في ١٩٤٥/٤/١ بـ (٦٦٦٣١٠) نفوس يوزعون كما يلي :

١ - وعوائل البدو من « الملاحه » و « السواركة » و « الشوابكة - من شرقي الأردن - و « الفرعان » - من جنوبي فلسطين - و « الترابنة » من ترابين بشر السبع . و « الجرامنة » وهم من « طيء » من القحطانية نزلوا هذه الجهات مع عرب أبو كشك .

و « خربة جنابة الفوقا » أو « جنابة الشرقية » . ففي أراضي هاتين الحربتين وقعت معركة « أجنادين » في الثلاثين من تموز عام ٦٣٤ م بين العرب والروم . وكان النصر ، كما هو معلوم ، حليف المسلمين . و « أجنادين » تحريف لتثنية الحربتين المذكورتين : « جنابتين » . وتحتوي الجنابة الغربية اليوم على جدران متهدمة ويقايا معصرة وصهاريج ، كما تحتوي الشرقية على أسس وأكوام حجارة ومفائر وأحواض .

(١٤) القبيبية : بها ١٠٦٠ نسمة . مساحتها ٣٥ دونماً . مساحة أراضيها ، وهي ملك للقرية ، ١٩٩١٢ دونماً . تقع القبيبية على بعد ٦ ١/٢ كم من بيت جبرين .

(١٥) 'كدنا' : بها ٤٥٠ نسمة . أراضيها ملك لأهلها .

(١٦) 'مفلتس' : بها ٥٤٠ نسمة . أراضيها ملك لأهلها .

وقد أنشأ اليهود ، في السنين الأخيرة من أيام الانتداب البغيض ، خمس مستعمرات في بلاد الخليل وهي « كفار عتصيون - Kefar 'Etsyon » الواقعة بالقرب من طريق القدس - الخليل . وكانت تتجمع حولها المستعمرات الثلاث : « رفاديم - Revadim » و « ماساوت يتسحق - Massaot Yts - haq » و « عين تسوريم - Ein Tsurim » وقد أزيلت جميعها . وأما المستعمرة الخامسة فهي « غالون - Gal'on » . تأسست عام ١٩٤٦ غربي بيت جبرين . كان بها في نهاية عام ١٩٥٠ (٢٤٠) يهودياً .

علم من يافا في القرن الثالث عشر الهجري

أحمد صدقي الدجاني

أهدي هذا المقال إلى الأخ الكبير والصديق العزيز الدكتور إسحاق موسى الحسيني شيخ أدباء فلسطين وأساتذتها. وذلك بمناسبة احتفال إخوانه وأصدقائه وتلاميذه ببلوغه الثمانين. وإذا كان قد فاتني أن أشارك به في الكتاب الذي صدر بهذه المناسبة، فلکم يسعدني أن أنشره هنا. ونسأل الله أن يطيل عمر شيخنا ويمده بقوة من عنده ليتابع القيام بدوره في الحفاظ على تراثنا العربي الإسلامي بيت المقدس.

العلم هو «حسين سليم الدجاني» المولود عام 1202 هـ، ومفتي يافا بين عامي 1236 و 1274 هـ على مدى ثمان وثلاثين سنة. والانطلاق في كتابة هذا البحث عنه هو من استشعار لأهمية دراسة «الاعلام» في تاريخنا، بغية توفير فهم أفضل لمختلف جوانب الحياة في مجتمعنا، ورصد ظاهرة «الإبداع» فيه، وتحقيق تواصل الأجيال الجديدة مع تاريخهم. وقد حرص أجدادنا على إيفاء هذا اللون من الدراسة التاريخية حقه، فكانت كتبهم عن الأعلام والتراجم والطبقات والأعيان.

حدوت في اختيار عنوان البحث حذو «شيخنا» اسحاق موسى الحسيني أطال الله عمره الذي كتب بحث «علم من بيت المقدس» عن الحاج محمد بن بدير



40/30

الأكاديمية المغربية للمجلة (C. P. et)

الأكاديمية المغربية

مجلة

أكاديمية المملكة المغربية

العدد 5 - ربيع الثاني 1409 - دجبر 1988

Yafa

JAFFA, site located along the southern edge of modern Tel Aviv–Jaffa, on a promontory jutting into the Mediterranean Sea that forms one of the few ancient harbors along the coast of Israel (32°01' N, 34°45' E; map reference 162 × 127). Jaffa is referred to in Egyptian texts and the Hebrew Bible as Jaffa, and the name is preserved in Arabic as *Yafa el-‘Atiqā* (“ancient Jaffa”).

The Harris papyrus and reliefs on the Karnak temple refer to the conquest of Jaffa by Thutmosis III in the fifteenth century BCE. Jaffa is one of the Egyptian administrative centers through which the Egyptians controlled Syria-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. The Amarna letters and Papyrus Anastasi I, dated to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE, respectively, mention Jaffa as an Egyptian stronghold. [See Amarna Tablets.] Additionally, an Akkadian letter sent from Ugarit and found at Aphek mentions Jaffa as the seat of an Egyptian official. [See Aphek.] In 701 BCE Sennacherib recorded the conquest of Jaffa on the Prism stela. The Hebrew Bible includes Jaffa within the tribal boundary of Dan (*Jos.* 19:46). The site is connected with the shipping of cedars from Lebanon in the construction of the First and Second Temples (*2 Chr.* 2:15; *Ezr.* 3:7). Jonah attempts to flee from God via Jaffa (*Jon.* 1:3).

Jaffa was excavated from 1945 to 1950 by P. L. O. Guy for the Department of Antiquities of Israel. John Bowman and B. S. J. Isserlin excavated in 1952 for the University of Leeds. The most extensive excavation was undertaken by Jacob Kaplan, between 1955 and 1974, for the Museum of Antiquities of Tel Aviv–Jaffa. During six seasons of excavation, Kaplan opened four areas (A, B, C, and Y). Eight archaeological strata have been discerned, from the Middle Bronze Age II through the Roman Period. [See *the biography of Guy.*]

Stratum VII dates to MB IIB/C. In area A, along with mud-brick walls, a small section of a typical MB IIB glacis was found. In area C, the eighth-century glacis may rest on the remains of an MB IIA glacis. In area Y, an infant jar burial and an MB IIB/C tomb were excavated.

The Late Bronze Age is well represented in area A. Architectural remains from stratum VI (LB I) are dated by Bichrome, Gray-Burnished, and Cypriot Base-Ring and Monochrome wares. In area Y, stratum VI is limited to pits dug into loam. Stratum V (LB IIA) is dated to the fourteenth century BCE by pottery found in a silo. Strata IVA and B both date to the Late Bronze IIB (cf. Kaplan, 1993). The earliest LB gate was founded in stratum IVB. This gate system includes mud-brick walls and sandstone doorjamb. Four doorjamb fragments were inscribed with titles of Ramesses II, along with part of his name. Rivka Gonen (1992) has suggested that this gate may be freestanding and purely ceremonial. In stratum IVA a better-preserved gate on the same orientation was uncovered. At this point the city was fortified with a wall system that included a fortified structure

or citadel. Bronze hinges from this stratum IVA gate were found in situ on the bottom left doorjamb. There is evidence of burning and destruction ending both strata IVA and B within the thirteenth century BCE.

Kaplan (1993) suggests that a small (4.4 × 5.8 m) rectangular structure next to the citadel is a temple. This poorly preserved building includes a white plaster floor and two column bases; almost no small finds or pottery, except for a lion’s skull with a half scarab near its teeth, were recovered. The excavator dates this structure to the late thirteenth/early twelfth centuries BCE and compares it to the northern temple at Beth-Shean. Mariusz Burdajewicz (1990) suggests that it is only a small shrine and rejects the comparison to the Beth-Shean temple because of its small size. Initially Amihai Mazar suggested architectural parallels at Tell Qasile and in the Aegean. More recently however, Mazar (1992) has cast doubt on whether this structure is a temple at all.

The scant Iron Age (stratum IIIB) remains from area A include Philistine sherds found in pits and depressions that date the stratum to the eleventh century BCE. A rough stone wall and floor and two cattle burials with stone markers belong to stratum IIIA (eighth century BCE). In area C there is some indication of a glacis. Jaffa is now under the political control of Ashkelon.

Persian period (stratum II) remains include an ashlar wall dating to the fifth century BCE. Stone walls of large structures with mud-brick and stone paving were found throughout area A. In this stratum a construction technique using ashlar piers interspersed with fieldstone fills—a technique associated with the Phoenicians—was revealed. Stern (1992) suggests that Jaffa may mark the southernmost extent of Phoenician culture from the eighth century BCE to the Hellenistic period. Jaffa may have belonged to the Sidonians, as it was recorded in the Eshmunazar Inscription (fifth century BCE?) that the king of Persia presented Eshmunazar of Sidon with Dor and Jaffa. Fragments of Attic ware were found in area Y. [See Phoenicians; Sidon.]

Stratum I dates to the Hellenistic period. An ashlar corner of a fortress was found in stratum IB (third century BCE), along with the remains of an ashlar casemate wall. A possible cult hall with a fieldstone altar was also uncovered in this stratum. A third-century BCE catacomb was found in area C, and in area Y there was evidence of a monumental ashlar building with square rooms that may be part of a Hellenistic agora. The Zenon papyri mention the visit of an Egyptian treasury official during the reign of Ptolemy II, in 259/58 BCE. Under the Hasmoneans (stratum IA) the city was captured from the Seleucids and became a Jewish port. Guy found a hoard of more than eight hundred coins in his excavations dating to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.

The only stratified remains from the Roman period were found in area C (levels VI–I). Fragments of a mosaic date to the sixth–seventh centuries CE (level I). Architectural frag-

29 EYCL 2000

İSRAİL/YAFA'DAKİ OSMANLI MİMARİ ESERLERİ
ÜZERİNE GÖZLEMLER

Doç. Dr. Ahmet Ali BAYHAN*

Özet

Bugün İsrail'in eski ve önemli kentlerinden birisi olarak bilinen ve Tel-Aviv'e bağlı bir yerleşim yeri olan Yafa'da, özellikle XIX. yüzyılda inşa edilmiş Osmanlı eserleri mevcuttur. Bu makalede Yafa'dan Bahr Camii (Camii'l-Bahr, Deniz Camii), Mahmudiye Camii (Yafa Ulu Camii), Cebeliye Camii, Sıksık Camii, Acemi Camii, Hasan Bey Camii, Ebu Nabbut Sebili, Mahmudiye Camii'ne Bitişik Sebil, Süleyman Paşa Sebili, Eski Saray (Eski Hükümet Binası), Yeni Saray (Yeni Hükümet Binası), Saat Kulesi ile Yafa Çarşısı'nın mimari özellikleri ile Osmanlı mimarisindeki yerleri anlatılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yafa, Osmanlı Mimarisi, Neo-Barok, Neo-Klasik, Batılılaşma

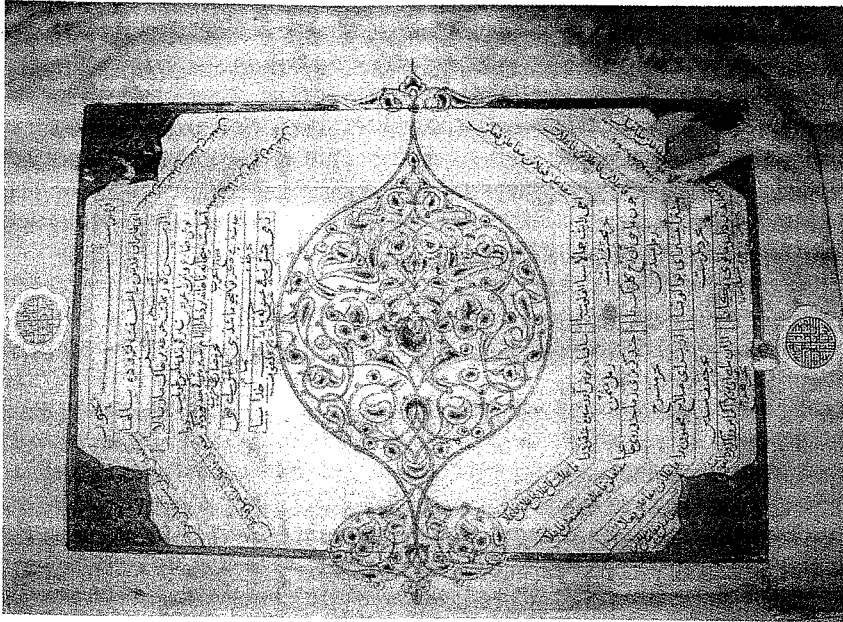
Observations on Otoman Architectural Works in Jafa/Israel

Abstract

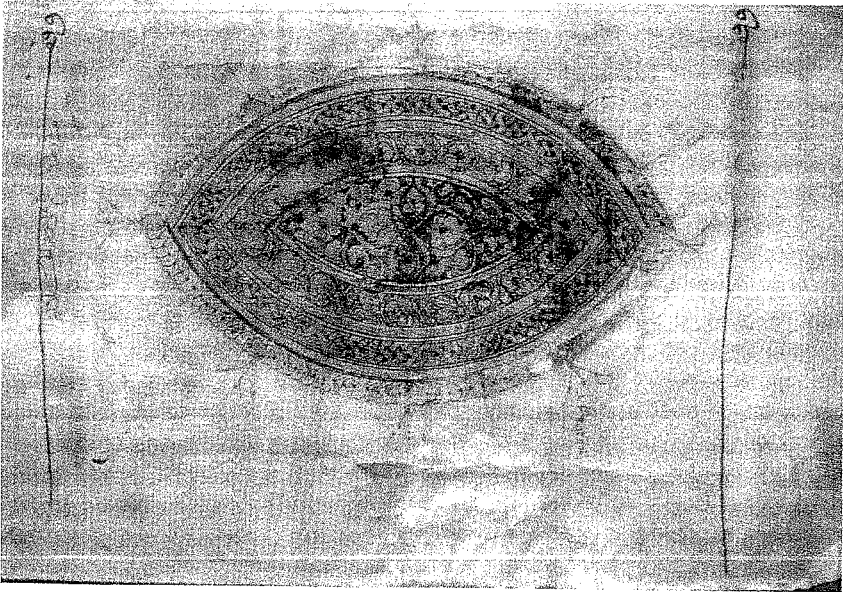
In Jafa, known as one of the important and old cities in Israel and a settlement attached to Tel-Aviv today, are the Ottoman Architectural Works, particularly built in XIX. century. It will be explained the architectural specialties of Sea Mosque (Jami al-Bahr, al Bahr Mosque), al Mahmudiyya Mosque (Jaffa's Great Mosque), Jabaliyya Mosque, Siksik Mosque, al Ajami Mosque (Jami al-Ajami), Hasan Bey Mosque, Sabil of Abu Nabbut, Sabil next to al-Mahmudiyya Mosque, Sabil of Sulayman Pahsa, Jaffa's Old Saray (Old Government Office), Jaffa's New Saray (New Government Office), Jaffa's Clock Tower and Jafa Bazaar and their spaces inside of Ottoman architecture in this article.

Key Words: Jafa, Otoman Architecture, Neo-Baroque, Neo-Classic, Westernization

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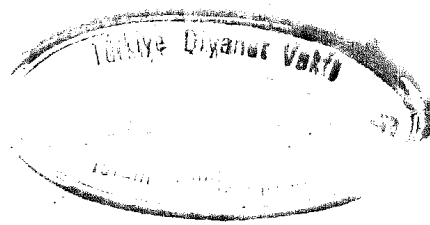


Resim : 8- Konya Mevlana Müzesi Müzelik Eserler Böl., No: 68, 1b.



Resim : 7- Konya Mevlana Müzesi Müzelik Eserler Böl., No:1177, 3a.

DTAK yayıncılık
2. Kuvvetler
11 MAYIS 1992



قصة مدينة

يافا

تأليف

الدكتور عز الدين غربية

سلسلة المدن الفلسطينية (1)

تصدر عن : المنظمة العربية للتربية والثقافة والعلوم
دائرة الاعلام والثقافة بمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية

03 TEMMUZ 1993

DTAK

DIA kopya çekildi.
R. Kurbanov -



مدینتنا

یافا

وتشورة ۱۹۳۶

تالیف

احمد زکی الدجانی

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırma Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
ayıt No. :	19900
tasnif No. :	156.74 355.11

۱۹۸۹

حقوق الطبع محفوظة للمؤلف

[] YAPA

10 3 TEMMUZ 1993

des officiers sur lesquels le Gouvernement peut le plus compter. Il est probable que dès qu'on sera procuré les informations désirées et qu'on se sentira en force, on précédera à des épurations de la troupe et ces épurations sont d'ordinaire sanglantes quoique clandestines dans ce pays.

Enfin la Porte a reçu très à propos la nouvelle de quelques succès contre la rebelle de Scutari et contre les Bosniaques qui lui permettent d'espérer la réduction prochain du premier et la soumission de ces derniers au nouveau gouverneur nommé pour cette province.

Voilà, Monseigneur, tout ce que je puis dire dans ce moment sur la situation intérieure de cette Capitale et de l'Empire dont cette forme le siège du gouvernement. J'ai cru devoir vouer à cet objet un rapport spécial, parcequ'il est à prévoir que des recits exagérés sur l'état des choses dans ce pays seront transmis en Europe et que les revolutionnaires intéressés à la propagation de la révolte et du désordre dans le monde, se rejoindront en apprenant qu'il existe un point de plus ou leur coupables espérances paraissaient assez près de se réaliser. Il importe de notre Cour de savoir que le Divan lui même ne reconnait ou du moins n'avoue point l'existence de ce danger pour lui.

Daignez agréer, Mon Prince, l'hommage de mon profond respect.

OTTENFELS

Necati Lugal ARMAĞANI, Ankara, 1968,
s. 435-446. DN 120493.

19 Ocak 1994

JAFFA IN THE 16th CENTURY, ACCORDING TO THE OTTOMAN TAHRİR REGISTERS

BERNARD LEWIS

(London)

During the Mamluk period the port of Jaffa, despite occasional use by pilgrims and other travellers, was usually in a state of ruin¹. The registers of the *Defter-i Khāqānī*, now housed in the *Başvekâlet Arşivi* in İstanbul, show that after the Ottoman conquest it experienced a brief period of growth and development. Jaffa was in the *nāhiye* of Ramla, in the sanjak of Gaza. There are four detailed (*mufaşşal*) registers for this sanjak in the *Başvekâlet Arşivi*, apparently dating from four successive survey commissions (*tahrîr hey'eti.*) They are:

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From these, it would appear that surveys were conducted at roughly ten year intervals. An additional, undated *mufaşşal* of the sanjak of Gaza is preserved in the *Tapu ve Kadastro Müdürlüğü* in Ankara².

¹ *EI*¹ (= *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition), s.v. Yāfā; *EI*² (second edition), v.s. Filastīn; L. A. Mayer & J. Pinkerfeld, *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel*, Jerusalem 1950, 33-4; S. Tolkowsky, *Gateway of Palestine, a history of Jaffa*, London 1924, 126 ff.

² On these registers, and a number of synoptic registers of *waqf*, *mulk*, etc. see B. Lewis, 'The Ottoman archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands', *JRAS* (1951), 154-5; for a more detailed discussion of the registers on Palestine, and the information they contain, idem, *Notes and documents from the Turkish Archives*, Jerusalem 1952, and 'Studies in the Ottoman Archives - I', *BSOAS* XVI (1954) 469-501. For *qānūnnāmes* of Palestine see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI üncü asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları, i, kanunlar*, İstanbul

by 1978 the government was forced to ask the board to resign, but Palestinians in the Old City were not satisfied since the agreement with the Old Acre Development Company remained in place. The issue continued to aggravate tensions between the Palestinians of the Old City and the Israeli state institutions, and between the two parts of Acre, new and old. Finally, under the more sympathetic policies pursued by Ezer Weizman, who became minister without portfolio but with special responsibility for Arab affairs in the mid-1980s, the agreement was renegotiated. All but fifteen unused properties were returned to the board; for the fifteen, the rents were increased to market levels. A retroactive payment was made for the losses incurred on the other properties.⁵¹

However, criticism of the board remains. The new board appointed to replace the disbanded one is no better than its predecessor. As in Jaffa, the board lacks sufficient funds to maintain cemeteries and to cover its operating costs. It remains dependent upon government favors for extra funds to carry out needed repairs on waqf properties. Furthermore, the issue of the board's accountability to the Muslim community in Acre is yet to be addressed.

What is striking in this case study of Acre is the relatively low level of popular organized resistance to the operations of the Acre board. Above and beyond the extremely adverse public opinion, there were some protests from the Acre branch of the Israeli Communist Party and from a local Palestinian union of university graduates, but there was no sustained alternative leadership for the Muslim community. For most of the period under discussion, the qadi of the Acre-based shari'a court represented the new and co-opted elite. Despite his claims to be pursuing the interests of the Muslim community, he operated within the parameters laid down by his position as a state appointee. Given the relative passivity of the local Muslim community, and state pressures over the questions of land sales and transfers, the boards of trustees and the co-opted leadership had a free and largely unimpeded rein in Acre.

Jaffa

In the case of Jaffa, resistance to the activities of the boards, however disorganized and disunited, resulted in frequent state intervention to ensure that the state changes remained in place. The city of Jaffa is one of the oldest in Palestine and served for centuries as the chief port of the region. In the Middle Ages it was the point of arrival and departure for Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem.⁵² Although Jaffa itself had few monuments of great religious significance, such as burial places of holy men or renowned scholars, it was, nevertheless, a wealthy and important trading center, and many waqfs had been created by prosperous families in and around the city. According to Mandate records, up to 33 percent of the shops in Jaffa were endowed by 1921.⁵³ In addition, the famous mosques at Sayyidna 'Ali and Nabi Rubin, north and south of Jaffa respectively, were supported by wealthy waqfs and became popular sites of annual festivals.

On the eve of the 1948 war, the Palestinian Arab population of Jaffa numbered

approximately 75,000. The Jewish population lived in the newly constructed settlement on its northern fringes, Tel Aviv. The majority of the Palestinian inhabitants were either driven out or fled during the hostilities; by the end of the war, only 3,000 remained. Over the past forty years, however, the number of Palestinians in Jaffa has steadily increased to approximately 15,000, although no accurate figures are available.⁵⁴

After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, almost all of Jaffa (with the exception of some church property) was taken over by the Custodian of Absentee Property and subsequently passed on either to the Israel Development Authority or to the Jewish National Fund. The ensuing development work along the coast has led to the creation of an Israeli Jewish tourist center and an artists colony in the central area of Old Jaffa. The old winding streets and alleys that had offered privacy and seclusion to the Palestinian inhabitants now sport cafeterias, restaurants, bars, nightclubs, galleries, and souvenir shops. The atmosphere is Western and modern rather than Islamic and conservative. The residential areas still occupied by Palestinians consist mainly of dilapidated slums awaiting a clearance and redevelopment program. Due to political problems associated with the relocation of the Palestinian inhabitants, the program has not yet been fully implemented.⁵⁵

Under the Absentee Property Law, most of the waqf property in the area was placed in the hands of the Custodian and leased out to Israeli Jewish entrepreneurs as souvenir shops, restaurants, and cafes.⁵⁶ Some mosques were converted into other uses. Al-Wihda mosque was converted into a synagogue, al-Siksik mosque became a Bulgarian restaurant and nightclub, and al-Nuzha was left abandoned and used for prostitution.⁵⁷ A similar fate befell the cemeteries in the Jaffa area: part of the Abu Nabi cemetery became a park and the site of the Tel Aviv Hilton has already been cited. Similarly, part of the Taso cemetery on the outskirts of Jaffa was also expropriated for an urban expressway.⁵⁸

It was expected that after the establishment of the Jaffa Board of Trustees legislated in the 1965 amendment, such misuse of waqf property would be stopped or curtailed. The Jaffa board was set up in 1966 and its members were appointed by Shmuel Toledano, then the prime minister's Advisor on Arab Affairs. The board was discredited from its very creation. The chairman, Nazmi Jabali, was a known alcoholic who "spends his time in the bars trying to get someone to buy him a drink."⁵⁹ In 1973, he was accused of demanding bribes from a number of Israeli Jewish entrepreneurs in exchange for selling the remainder of the Abu Nabi cemetery.⁶⁰ Another leading board member was a convicted criminal who obtained his release through plea bargaining.⁶¹ Other members also have admitted to accepting bribes for approving the sale of waqf property of which they were trustees. From the outset, then, the potential of the Jaffa Board to act as a representative or mediating institution for Jaffa's Muslim population was seriously compromised.⁶²

The absence of credibility resulting from the appointment of such people to the Jaffa board was compounded by a number of other factors. First, it was unclear how much authority the board held. Second, the extent of the properties released to the board was insignificant. According to a report in the daily Israeli *Ha'aretz*, a list of

موسوعة المدن الفلسطينية

الطبعة الأولى / ١٩٩٠

جميع الحقوق محفوظة للناشر

المنظمة العربية للتربية والثقافة والعلوم
دائرة الثقافة / منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية

التنفيذ، والعمليات الفنية

الأهالي للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع - القسم الفني

التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم

الأهالي للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع - قسم التوزيع

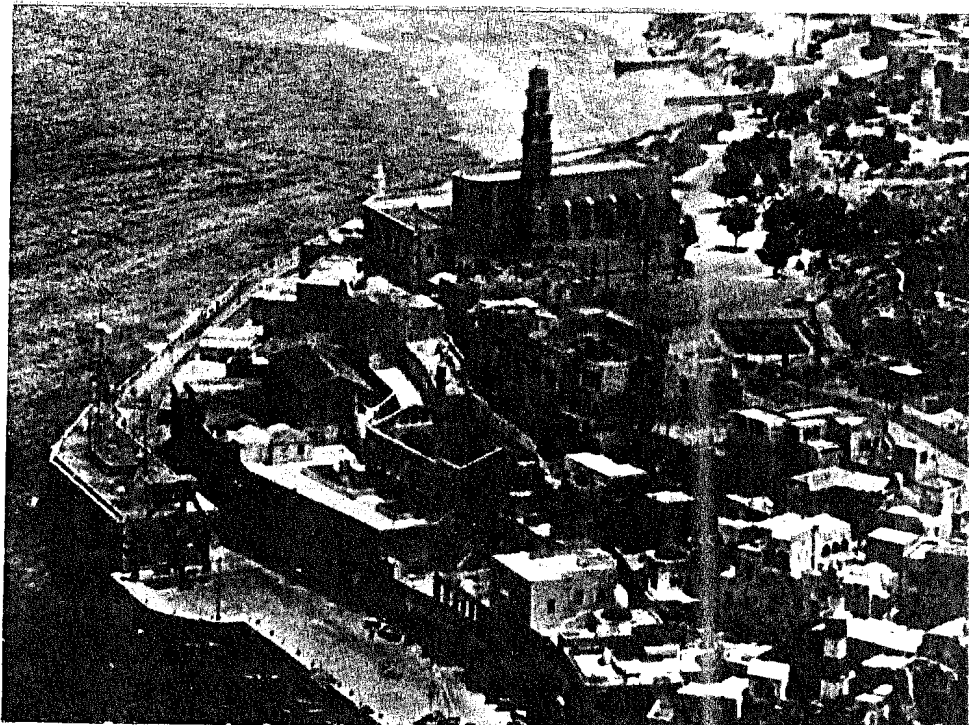
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DN: 56455

د. عز الدين غربية

- Yafa

بيافا



1
ARABIC 2000

JAFFA IN THE 16th CENTURY, ACCORDING
TO THE OTTOMAN TAHRİR REGISTERS

Bernard Lewis
Studies in Classical and Ottoman
Islam (7th - 16th Centuries),
Variorum Reprints - London - 1976, s. 435-446.
[Necatî Lugal Armeğani. Ankara - 1968]

IRICA: 14636

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LEWIS

80792

23 HAZİRAN 1996

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¹ *EI*¹ (= *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition), s.v. Yâfâ; *EI*² (second edition), v.s. Filastîn; L. A. Mayer & J. Pinkerfeld, *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel*, Jerusalem 1950, 33-4; S. Tolkowsky, *Gateway of Palestine, a history of Jaffa*, London 1924, 126 ff.

² On these registers, and a number of synoptic registers of *waqf*, *mulk*, etc. see B. Lewis, 'The Ottoman archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands', *JRAS* (1951), 154-5; for a more detailed discussion of the registers on Palestine, and the information they contain, idem, *Notes and documents from the Turkish Archives*, Jerusalem 1952, and 'Studies in the Ottoman Archives - I', *BSOAS* XVI (1954) 469-501. For *qânunnâmes* of Palestine see Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI ıncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları, i, kanunlar*, İstanbul

urgency of a united front of many groups with irreconcilable interests. But once the Shah was gone, the group that was more organized and enjoyed more popular support won the postrevolutionary power struggle. The struggle to overthrow the Shah and the struggle to build a society are not identical and should not be confused.

But the book's many strengths outweigh its few shortcomings. The book is well researched, well written, and well documented. It is founded on solid theoretical foundations and deals with issues that have not been extensively studied. It avoids making rhetorical and emotional statements, which have become a hallmark of the literature on the Islamic Revolution. Amirahmadi relies heavily on Persian primary sources and on numerous interviews he conducted with the Iranian officials. The book would be an excellent required text for courses on the Islamic Revolution or comparative revolutionary movements.

RUTH KARK, *Jaffa: A City in Evolution, 1799-1917* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, 1990). Pp. 328.

REVIEWED BY BESHARA DOUMANI, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Between Napoleon's invasion and the British occupation, Jaffa was transformed from a bustling but relatively small port town into what the author calls Palestine's "primate" city. The population grew from less than 5,000 to over 50,000 as immigrants flowed in from surrounding villages and regions, as well as from across the seas. The number of fruit trees in its irrigated groves multiplied at an even faster pace, and its fabled orange became the single largest export item from Palestine in the last quarter of the 19th century. Increased commercial traffic combined with the opening of the Suez Canal and the safety and speed of steamships to propel Jaffa into becoming one of the top three ports in the Mediterranean, alongside Beirut and Alexandria. As a commercial hub and the gateway to Jerusalem, Jaffa hosted large numbers of foreign visitors every year and benefited from the earliest infrastructural developments in Palestine, such as carriage roads and railroad tracks. All this and more is detailed by Ruth Kark in this updated and revised version of the 1984 Hebrew edition. Kark mined Israeli archives and travel literature and used contemporary maps and illustrations to answer the questions: how? why? and by whom was this transformation made possible?

The strength of this historical geography of Jaffa lies in the robust and detailed description of growth in the urban, demographic, infrastructural, and economic spheres—discussion of which constitutes the middle four chapters of the book and most of its pages. Kark reconstructs in fascinating detail the tragic story of the failed American colony and its imported wooden houses, as well as the successful story of the German colonists: how they absorbed these same houses into their compound, introduced new machinery and farming methods, and generally helped pave the way for future Jewish colonization. Most importantly, she relates the dramatic story of Tel Aviv, and how its planning contained many of the principles around which the New Yishuv (Jewish community in Palestine) came to be organized.

Far less satisfying is the author's attempts at "why?" and "by whom?" The historical background sketches administrative changes and repeats outmoded generalizations about how Ottoman decline and local corruption were supplanted by European progress and modernity. Likewise, the attempt at synthesis in a brief epilogue leaves the reader with few analytical cues on how to integrate the large body of empirical material.

Kark's overall assessment is summarized in the concluding sentence of the book: "In concert, the Ottoman Empire, Western powers, churches, Jewish institutions, philanthropic

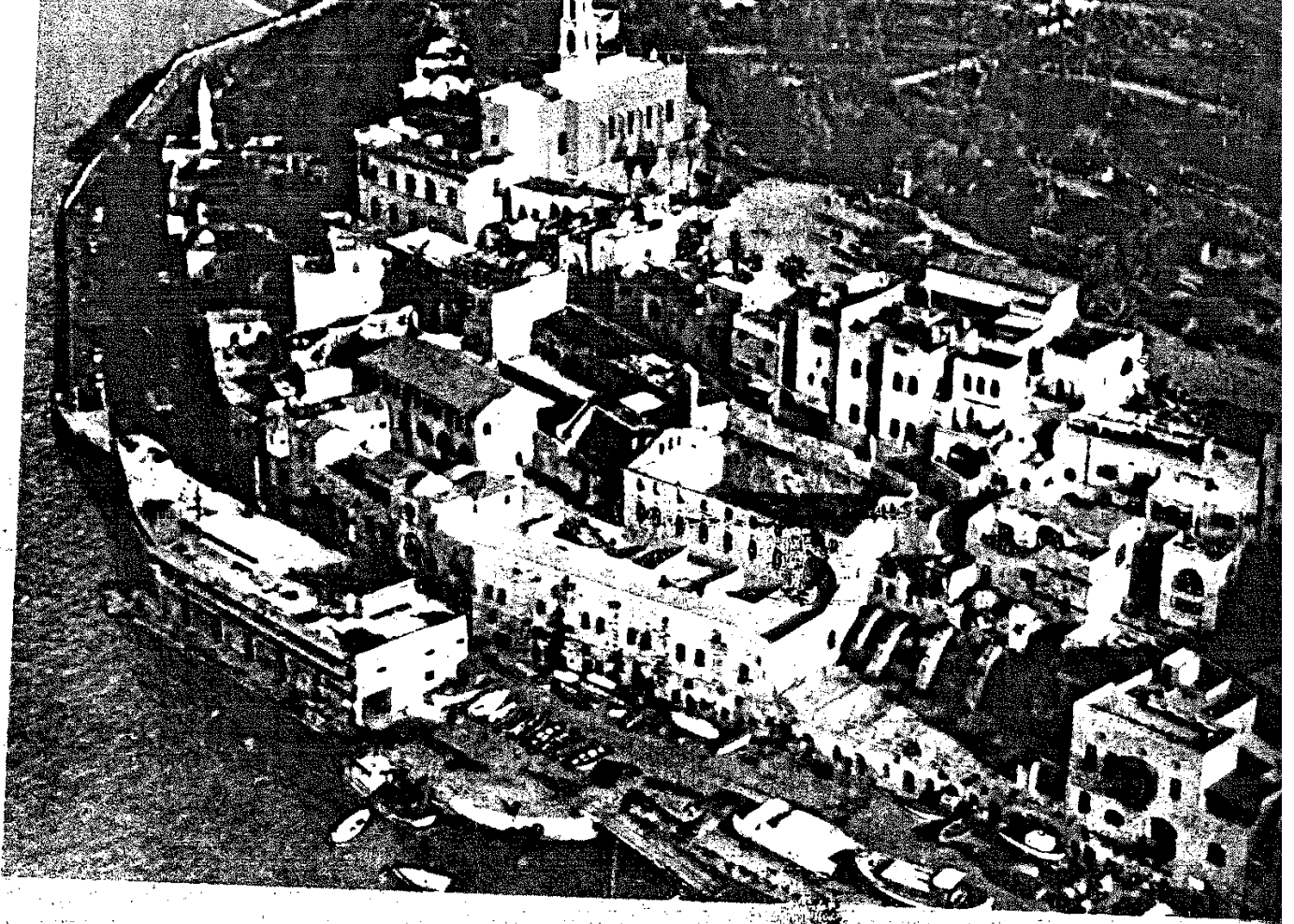
organizations, and new immigrants set Jaffa on the road to population growth and economic prosperity, and transformed it into Palestine's leading city" (p. 302). Conspicuously missing from this assessment is any reference to the role that the "native" inhabitants of Jaffa played in the city's historical evolution even though, by the author's own admission, they constituted the vast majority of the population as well as the backbone of the entrepreneurial, landowning, political, and social elite throughout the entire period under discussion.

The unevenness of coverage is clear in the section entitled "Demographic and Social Features." The Muslim community, which accounted for over two-thirds of the population, received five pages, while the Jewish community, which did not exist in 1800 and only began to grow substantially after the 1880s, received over twenty-three pages. The Christian community, which was the second largest, received over sixteen pages, but much of that dealt with foreign missionary activities and institutions. Kark correctly pointed out the relative paucity of sources on the Arab community in comparison to the voluminous literature generated by the "foreign" communities, but central and local Ottoman archives were not seriously consulted, nor were some published monographs. Kark's focus on foreign communities as the key agents of change, division of the inhabitants along religious or cultural affiliation, ignoring of social and economic categories, and scant attention to the dynamics underlying long-term change are but symptoms of a simplified version of modernization theory analysis that assumes that Ottoman Palestine before European penetration was, in Kark's words, "a forsaken district in a crumbling empire" (p. 15).

Bestowing the titles of "primate" and "leading city" to Jaffa—even though Jerusalem was larger in size and population, and its religious, administrative, and political primacy vis-à-vis other Palestinian cities was undisputed—is indicative of Kark's primary concerns: the effects of European penetration and the history and development of the New Yishuv. Indeed, the key subtext in this book is the story of the birth and growth of one Jaffan suburb, Tel Aviv, which became the organizational heart of the New Yishuv, and until today, Israel's cultural, economic, and to a large extent, administrative capital.

A troubling aspect of Kark's work is the lack of critical distance from the world views of the sources (mostly accounts by European Christian and Jewish immigrants) that inform the book. For example, in describing the Muslim community as traditional and static, Kark at times uses the language of social Darwinism that was popular at the turn of the century. Thus she states that "black-skinned Muslims" had a penchant for flamboyant clothes without citing any sources, then notes that their temperament was "moderate" compared to "local Muslims" who were "aggressive" (p. 161). In contrast, she describes the Jewish community in Jaffa as modern, secular, harmonious, and enterprising. In her assessment of its contribution to the evolution of Jaffa, she uses metaphors such as "changing winds" and "renaissance" (p. 192).

Another example of the lack of critical distance is Kark's discussion of sanitation and health. For evidence, she relies heavily on racially insensitive and politically self-serving observations of some European immigrant informants who, like many of their counterparts in Asia and Africa, often used the discourse of hygiene to set themselves apart from the others. Thus, to support her arguments about unsanitary conditions in old Jaffa, Kark cites an immigrant's letter to his father in which he states: "The inhabitants sully the air with their filth. Beside each house is a heap of human and animal waste with millions of flies on it" (p. 210). Other informants are quoted to the effect that Arab houses are "little better than pig-sties" (p. 55), that the only gate to the walled town is always "crowded with donkeys, camels, and lazy Arabs" (p. 66), and that walking in beautiful Tel Aviv, "a person might forget he was . . . in a desolate land and imagine himself in one of the civilized cities of Europe" (p. 100). Kark herself notes that under Western influence Muslims began, among other things, to launder and press their clothes! (p. 162).



"حيفا"

مدينة الجمال والكفاح

بقلم : الدكتور عز الدين اسماعيل غربية

لم تبق المدن والقرى الفلسطينية التي تم احتلالها منذ سنة ١٩٤٨ على حالها ، بعضها تم نسفه وتدميره ، وبعضها أضرابه الالهال وعدم الاهتمام من قبل سلطة الاحتلال الصهيونية . و « يافا » خصوصا الحي العربي منها أضرابه الالهال ، كما أصاب غيره من ممتلكات وأماكن العرب الفلسطينيين .

لكن كيف كانت « يافا » من قبل ؟ وما هو موقعها ودورها في حركة التاريخ ؟ هذا ، ما يجيب عنه هذا العرض .

Yafa

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2. Secondary sources. Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, *Wa-yas'alūnaka 'an Dhi 'l-Karnayn*, Cairo n.d. [1972], 162-81; al-Shāfi' al-Māhī Ahmad, *Ya'djūdī wa-Ma'djūdī: fimat al-mādi wa 'l-hādīr wa 'l-mustakbal*, Beirut 1416/1996; D.S. Attena, *De Mohammedaansche opvattingen omtrent het tijdstip van den jongsten dag en zijn voortekenen*, Amsterdam 1942; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Quran*, Baroda 1938, 288-9; L. Kaptein, *Eindtijd en Antichrist (ad-Dağğāl) in de Islam. Eschatologie bij Ahmed Bicān (ca. 1466)*, Leiden 1997; von Kremer, *Über die sudarabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866; Lidzbarski, *Zu den arabischen Alexandergeschichten*, in *ZA*, viii (1893), 263-78; O. Löfgren, *Alqama Ibn dī Gazan und seine Dichtung nach der Iklīl-Auswahl in der Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, in *al-Hudhud, Festschrift Maria Höfner*, ed. Roswitha G. Stiegner, Graz 1981, 199-209; J. Lust, *Gog, Magog*, in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, Leiden 1995; U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens*, Frankfurt/Main 1992; G. Mommersteeg, *In de stad van de Marabouts*, Amsterdam 1998; Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, in *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, Abh. V, 38 (1890), 1-56; Kāmil Sa'fān, *al-Sā'a al-khāmisa wa 'l-ishrūn: al-Masīh, al-Dağğāl, Ya'djūdī wa-Ma'djūdī, al-Mahdī al-muntazar*, Cairo 1415/1995; 'Ukāsha 'Abd al-Mannān al-Ṭībī, *Ya'djūdī wa-Ma'djūdī: sifatihum wa-'adaduhum wa-makānuhum wa-kisṣat Dhi 'l-Karnayn ma'ahum*, Cairo 1410/1989-90; A.J. Wensinck, *Ya'djūdī wa-Ma'djūdī* in *EI'*; idem, *Handbook*, s.v. Yādjūdī and Mādjūdī. We wish to thank Kathrin Müller, Munich, for references provided, and Faustina Doufkar-Aerts, Hilversum/Leiden, who generously put at our disposal copies of manuscripts of the *Sīrat Iskandar*, to appear as part of her Ph.D. thesis.

(E. VAN DONZEL and CLAUDIA OTT)

YĀFĀ, YĀFA, conventionally Jaffa, older Joppa, a port on the Palestinian seaboard, in pre-modern times the port of entry for Jerusalem, since 1950 part of the municipality of Tel Aviv-Yafo in the State of Israel (lat. 32° 05' N., long. 34° 46' E.).

Situated on a 30 m/100 feet-high promontory on the otherwise straight coastline of central Palestine, Jaffa is a very ancient town. Thutmōsis III's forces seized the Canaanite town of *Y-pw* in the 15th century B.C. and it became a provincial capital during the Egyptian New Kingdom; since the 1950s, archaeological excavations have revealed the monumental gateway of the Egyptian citadel. It passed to the Philistines, and appears in Phoenician texts as *Y.p.y.* Jaffa was the port of entry for the timber floated down from Tyre by king Ahiram for Solomon to use for the Temple in Jerusalem (II Chron. ii. 16). The Apostle Peter stayed at Jaffa in the house of Simon the Tanner (Acts ix. 42), but in Roman times its value as a port declined in favour of Caesarea. In

Byzantine times, 'Ιόπη or 'Ιόπηη was the seat of a bishopric.

In the year 15/636 'Amr b. al-'Āsī (according to others, Mu'āwiya) took the town (al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 138). The importance of the old port for Jerusalem further increased when the Umayyad Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik founded the new capital of *Djund Filastīn*, al-Ramla [*q.v.*], some 14 miles south-east of Yāfā. Yāfā, with the rest of Filastīn, passed in 264/878 into the hands of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] and remained under the rule of the Ṭūlūnids of Egypt until in 292/905 it passed to the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Muktafi. After Dja'far b. Fallāh had conquered Syria for the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz [*q.v.*] in 359/969, the Ḳarṣaṭians penetrated in 360/971 under Ḥasan al-A'ṣam as far as Yāfā, inside which the troops (11,000 men) sent to Syria by Djawhar b. 'Abd Allāh were blockaded. After the Ḳarṣaṭians had been driven out of Egypt in 362, Yāfā was relieved and the garrison brought back to Egypt. The Turkish *amīr* Atsiz b. Abaḳ took al-Ramla in 463/1071, but Yāfā and 'Asḳalān did not come into his power.

The possession of the town was hotly disputed during the Crusades. The Franks, who made it a vassal duchy of the kingdom of Jerusalem, were able to hold it until the Third Crusade (1099-1187). The Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal sought in vain to take it from them in 1101, 1105, 1113 and 1115. After his murder, the caliph al-Āmir besieged the town in 1122 but was driven back, and again in 1123 as a result of the destruction of his fleet by the Venetians. After the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (583/1187 [see ḤṬṬṬṬN]) most of the coast towns surrendered to Ṣalāh al-Dīn, and Yāfā to his brother al-Malik al-'Ādil. Richard Coeur-de-Lion recaptured it for the Crusaders in 587/1191. Ṣalāh al-Dīn besieged it in 1192 and regained it for the Saracens; he could not, however, take the citadel, and Richard, who hurried to the help of its garrison, drove the Ayyūbid troops out of the town and reformed it. At the truce of al-Ramla, the Christians were confirmed in possession of Yāfā.

By 593/1197, however, al-Malik al-'Ādil had again taken Yāfā, destroying the fortifications and, it is said, killing 20,000 Christians in the fighting. In the following year, Saxon and Brabantine troops temporarily occupied the town, but abandoned it again in 595/1199, whereupon al-'Ādil regained it by a coup-de-main. After the Fourth Crusade (1204), the town was again in the hands of the Franks. The Emperor Frederick II restored the fortifications in 1228, as did Louis IX in 1250 after his release.

In the Mamlūk period, Yāfā belonged to the district of al-Ramla, one of the four districts of the coast, which were part of the *mamlaka* of Dimashḳ; for a time, however (under Ṣalāh al-Dīn's successors), it was under that of Ghazza (al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 230).

The Mamlūk sultan Baybars attacked the town unexpectedly on 20 Djumādā II 666/8 March 1268, and took it and its citadel in one or two days (inscription on the White Mosque at Ramla, ed. van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, 57-64). He destroyed the town with all its houses, walls and the citadel. A certain *amīr* Djāmāl al-Dīn... b. Ishāḳ, according to an inscription preserved in Yāfā, built there in 736/1335 the sanctuary of *Ḳubbat Shaykh Murād* which is still in existence (Clermont-Ganneau, *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1876; idem, *Archaeological researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1894*, ii, London 1896, 154). When the kings of England and France were planning a new crusade in 1336, al-Nāṣir had the harbour of Yāfā

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The destruction of old Jaffa in 1936 and the question of the Arab refugees

Tamir Goren

Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel

From the outset, the Great Arab Revolt in Palestine (titled by the Yishuv (Jewish settlement) the 'riots' of 1936–1939) was characterized by violent events the like of which the land had never previously known, in force or in extent. Its hallmark was sabotage and terrorism against installations of the British government and military forces, and against the Yishuv.¹ The government found itself caught off guard in face of the dimensions of the hostile acts, and was not primed to manage the problem in good time.

The British army maintained an orderly and consolidated plan of warfare against uprisings, which it employed in Palestine from time to time when acts of terror had to be suppressed. These methods were penalties and reprisals imposed on the local population, intended to deter the people from rendering aid to the rioters. The Collective Punishment Order of 1926 allowed the authorities to impose fines, to requisition property, to seal and blow up houses, and more. During the Arab Revolt these means were used increasingly as long as the situation escalated. Among other outcomes these operations wrought significant changes in the Arab population in both physical and demographic terms. For the first time, Arab refugees, both Muslim and Christian, were now evident on a significant scale, forced to leave their homes as a result of the destruction unleashed by the British army.

The emergence of Arab refugees resulted from the violent conflict developing between Arabs and Jews during the Mandate period, evident as early as the 1929 riots.² It was manifest in the mixed cities, where Arabs and Jews intermingled. Compared with Jewish refugees, the scale of Arab refugees was far smaller.³ The Arab refugee issue in the Mandate period has never been researched; nor has the matter of Jewish refugees in that period benefited from academic, all-round and systematic study.⁴ In general, study of Arab and Jewish refugees has to date focused on the event that erupted when the Mandate ended: the War of Independence.⁵

For the first time, in 1936–1939 the number of Arab refugees increased markedly as a result of the clashes between Arabs and Jews. In Jaffa this factor was especially prominent, considering that the city had distinctly nationalist focus. This caused a rise in hostilities, and exacerbated the tension between the two populations. This carried implications for the scale of the refugee issue. Moreover, the internal terror suffered by the Arab population, which peaked in 1938, multiplied the number of Arab refugees.⁶ This relates to Arab citizens who endured the heavy hand of Arab terror, and who had no alternative to abandoning their homes for safe surroundings, as an escape from the unbearable condition they had fallen into and the fear for their lives. In Jaffa the Arab terror struck with force, and caused a massive surge of Arab refugees, which for the first time even reached Tel Aviv, in quest of refuge and a hiding place. Many reports appeared in the Hebrew press about Arab refugees who left Jaffa for Tel Aviv.⁷ The clashes that erupted in August 1947 on the boundary between the two cities, which were thought to augur the start of a new period of riots, created yet another wave of Arab refugees.⁸

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Edit. Daniel Monterescu and Dan Rabinowitz , pp. 215-241,
19.01.2021

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MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

14.06.2022

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Cooperation and conflict in the zone of civil society: Arab-Jewish activism in Jaffa .-- 2006 ISSN: 0894-6019 : Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development, vol. 35 i pp. 105-140, (2006)

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LATE OTTOMAN PALESTINE

The Period of Young Turk Rule

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EDITED BY

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AND
EYAL GINIO

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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CHAPTER 5

JERUSALEM AND JAFFA IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD: THE CONCESSION-HUNTING* STRUGGLE FOR PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS

YASEMIN AVCI**

Introduction

'Continuity' is always a key to understanding revolutions, because change, especially if it is imposed from above, has a contradictory and subtle nature. As continuity and change are closely intertwined in any developmental process, it would be probably wrong to see these two concepts as mutually exclusive. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 is regarded as a crucial turning point in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The immediate aims of the Revolution were the destruction of the authoritarian regime of Abdülhamid II (1876–1909) and the restoration of a constitutional, parliamentary government. For this reason the two periods are usually considered as opposing eras. Evidence suggests that the new regime, however, was in fact a continuation of the long process of reforms that had started with the inauguration of the *Tanzimat* decree of 1839 and continued in the reign of Abdülhamid II.

Generally speaking, in the field of provincial administration the main goal of the *Tanzimat* reforms was to restructure a centralized

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