

Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi: Chief Judge of the Kingdom of Palestine

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Translated from the Arabic by
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Abstract

This abridged version of the Arabic original provides a comprehensive exploration of Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi's life (1863/4–1941). Originating from a prestigious Jerusalem family, the narrative delves into his formative years, education at al-Aqsa, and extensive studies in Istanbul. The study examines his academic pursuits, including training in Hanafi jurisprudence and interactions with influential scholars. It further elucidates his diverse appointments in the Ottoman judiciary, detailing his travels to Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt. The inclusion of figures like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani adds depth to his intellectual journey. The narrative encompasses Shaykh Khalil's challenging period of unemployment, subsequent appointments, and notable roles in the Ottoman judiciary, concluding with his affiliation with the Committee of Union and Progress. Illustrations, including his *ijaza* and certification documents, enrich the historical narrative.

Keywords

Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi; Ottoman Empire; al-Aqsa; Istanbul; Hanafi jurisprudence; Ottoman judiciary; Jamal al-Din al-Afghani; Committee of Union and Progress; Ottoman history.

Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi (1863/4–1941), a leading member of a prominent Jerusalem family, served from 1921 to 1934 as chief judge of Jerusalem's shari'a court.¹ There is no doubt that the momentous events that shaped Palestine during his lifespan, which included both

the Ottoman and Mandate eras, had a profound effect on him. He witnessed the fall of the Ottoman Empire, a regional and world power for some six centuries and important to many in the Islamic world, the collapse of an Islamic caliphate, the rise of Arab nationalism, and the colonization of the Arab world and its partition. He observed at first hand the emergence of an alien Zionist entity in the region and its colonization of Palestine. These global and regional changes became intertwined with Shaykh Khalil's personal and professional trajectory and continue to impact inhabitants of the Middle East into the present.

It is not surprising that Shaykh Khalil became a judge, as the Khalidi family had a long history of serving in the Ottoman judiciary. The shari'a court in Jerusalem was the source of the family's power and influence, not only in and around Jerusalem but at the highest levels of the Ottoman government. The court's qadi, or chief judge, was typically appointed for a year before moving on to some other administrative post in the empire, whereas the deputy, always a local, served for an extended period (often until their death or retirement), at which point the position was taken up by one of his heirs. In this way, the position of deputy judge of the Jerusalem shari'a court was handed down from one member of the Khalidi family to another over several centuries. In addition to wielding influence within the Jerusalem court, the position gave opportunity for a network of important relations with judges who returned to the Ottoman capital after serving in Jerusalem.² Beyond carrying on this tradition, Shaykh Khalil was a calligrapher (and if he had not become a judge, he could have worked as such) and an avid scholar and traveler, visiting centers of knowledge far and wide for both professional and personal reasons.

In 1980, Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi's library, including his collection of private papers, was moved from his home above the Gate of Bani Ghanim (Bab al-Ghawanima) to al-Aqsa Mosque.³ These papers are abundant, but disparate. They encompass various notes and observations on his travels in Spain, Ottoman Europe, the Maghrib, the Levant, and the Hijaz; his correspondence, including letters to and from prominent Arab and Muslim thinkers from Palestine, the Arab World, Europe, and India; his writings and research, including notes for religious lectures and material related to the libraries he visited during his travels, among them the library tickets for books he received from the Khedival Library (later the Egyptian National Library); and matter relating to the business of the Supreme Islamic Council and its membership, pertaining to his work but also, for example, invitations to events such as Ramadan iftars, the meals breaking the fast. The papers are complicated and overlapping, presenting many difficulties for the researcher: they are mostly undated (especially correspondence), and Shaykh Khalil seems to have written a note or a comment on every piece of paper, small or large (even envelopes), that came into his hands, often compiling notes on various topics on a single sheet of paper. Despite these challenges, they are a rich trove of information, which this essay uses to discuss the educational and professional life of Shaykh Khalil, as well as the local and regional contexts in which they unfolded.⁴

An Era of Transformations

Shaykh Khalil was born in either 1863 or 1864 (1280 or 1281 AH) in Jerusalem, the third of four sons of Badr al-Din bin Mustafa bin Khalil bin Muhammad bin Khalil bin San‘Allah al-Khalidi.⁵ He thus lived almost two-thirds of his life under Ottoman rule, at a time when the empire was suffering significant military, economic, and cultural crises. He was also born into the Tanzimat era, when the Ottoman state undertook a series of reforms to centralize and modernize its rule.⁶

As a result of these reforms, education in the Levant region blossomed in the second half of the nineteenth century compared with the previous era. Printing, journalism, and literary societies flourished and wealthy families began to send their sons to study in Beirut, Istanbul, and France.⁷ In 1876, a constitution was declared and a bicameral parliament was established the following year in Istanbul. Yusuf Effendi al-Khalidi was elected as the representative of Jerusalem, defeating ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salam al-Husayni. The new parliament did not last for long, however. The Russo-Turkish War broke out in 1877 and, using the war as a justification, Sultan ‘Abdul Hamid II dissolved parliament at the beginning of 1878.⁸ ‘Abdul Hamid proceeded to rule the empire with an iron fist for the next thirty-three years.



Figure 1. Shaykh Khalil’s birth certificate – one of two, each giving a different year of birth, among his papers.

Revolts in the Balkans and war with Russia exposed the military, economic, and administrative weakness of the Ottoman Empire. The empire was drawing its last breaths, and its people felt the effects, which were particularly severe and painful for non-elites. According to Yusuf Effendi al-Khalidi, some ten thousand Palestinians died in the Russo-Turkish War.⁹ The Berlin Conference of 1878, which brought the war to an end, granted Serbia and Romania independence from Ottoman rule. The wars in the Balkans led to the exodus and exile of thousands to Istanbul, putting enormous pressure on the state. In an effort to preserve what was left of the empire, the sultan suppressed movements advocating nationalism and independence.¹⁰

The woeful situation in the empire also tempted France to occupy Tunisia in 1881 and Britain to occupy Egypt in 1882. Britain was now poised at the frontiers of Palestine. The influence of foreign consuls grew in Palestine, and particularly in Jerusalem.¹¹ The Zionist movement began to seek support for the colonization of Palestine, mobilizing political and financial influence to these ends. Zionist designs on Palestine also became known to at least a limited number of intellectuals, including members of the Khalidi family such as Yusuf Effendi al-Khalidi and his nephew Ruhi al-Khalidi.¹² Still, Ottoman concessions to European powers granted protection to what became known as religious minorities, facilitating Zionist colonization.¹³ The Zionist movement thus found a foothold in Palestine on the basis of the European powers' increasing influence. By the end of the nineteenth century, fifteen Zionist colonies had been established.

At the turn of the century, 'Abdul Hamid sought to expand his appeal among Muslims within and beyond the Ottoman Empire to Muslims. He emphasized asceticism and piety in his private life, revived the idea of an Islamic League, and emphasized the notion that the caliphate was the only way to keep the West at bay. He lent support to Arab colleges and funded repairs to the Holy Mosque in Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Yet these efforts were undermined by growing nationalist movements, including Arab nationalism.¹⁴ In 1908, Sultan 'Abdul Hamid was forced to restore the constitution. Palestine was represented by five candidates in the new parliament.¹⁵

A year later, 'Abdul Hamid tried again to dissolve the parliament. This resulted in the overthrow of his government by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which transferred the privileges of the sultan to the government and the parliament.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Arab reformists established such organizations as the Arab-Ottoman Brotherhood Society, the Qahtani Society, the Arab Forum (al-Muntada al-Arabi) and others.¹⁷ The Turkish chauvinist inclinations of the CUP soon became obvious, prompting protests and the spread of the idea of decentralization, autonomy, and even independence among Arab parties. Such ideas continued to materialize up until the outbreak of World War I. Meanwhile, by the start of the war, forty-three Zionist colonies in Palestine housed some thirteen thousand settlers. The Zionist movement had established workers' parties and military and civilian institutions that later became the foundations of Zionist colonization in the Mandate period.¹⁸

The Ottoman Empire officially entered World War I in October 1914 on the side

of the Central Powers. Meanwhile, the empire’s Arab provinces grew increasingly discontented with the CUP’s Turkification policies and the activities of Jamal Pasha, the Ottoman governor and military commander in the Levant, which included executing and imprisoning scores of Arab nationalists. This was compounded by military conscription, forced labor, deportation, and the costs of war, which the Ottoman state shifted onto the population. Disease and locust infestation were rife during the war years.

Britain exploited these grievances and encouraged the Arab Revolt, led by Sharif Husayn and his sons in June 1916.¹⁹ By the end of 1918, no Ottoman forces remained in Arab lands, having been replaced by Allied forces, while behind the scenes Britain and France engaged in secret negotiations and agreements regarding the post-war fate of Ottoman territories. With the collapse of the Gaza front on 7 December 1917, five days after the Balfour Declaration was announced, the British army marched into Palestine. The British Commander, General Allenby, entered Jerusalem on 11 December 1917, and Palestine entered a new era, more vicious and miserable than the Ottoman period.²⁰

From Jerusalem to Istanbul

Shaykh Khalil was raised within one of the preeminent families in Jerusalem, whose history in the city goes back centuries.²¹ The Khalidi family held significant properties in the Old City and, like other Jerusalem families, expanded their holdings to include properties outside the city walls in the nineteenth century.²² Members of the family held high-ranking positions, particularly in the judiciary, in Palestine, and elsewhere in the Ottoman provinces, and a number rose to prominence through their employment in the Ottoman administration, especially during the Tanzimat era.²³

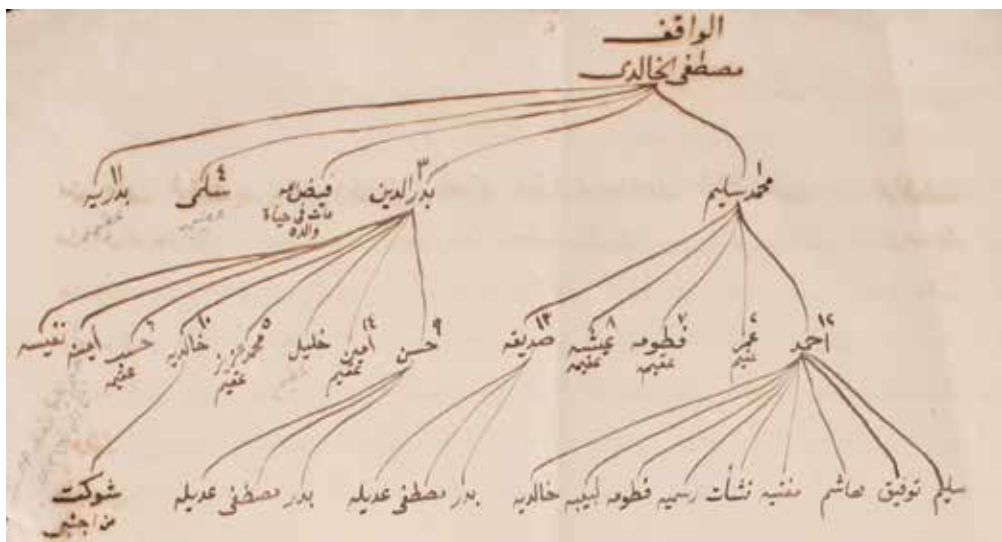


Figure 2. The Khalidi family tree, going back to Shaykh Khalil’s grandfather, Mustafa.

There is little material in Shaykh Khalil’s papers on his early life and education in Jerusalem, but it is likely that he received the standard education of that period through the *kuttab* system. Given his family’s status, it is not surprising that, from the age of fourteen or fifteen, he embarked upon ten years of study at al-Aqsa, the most prominent Islamic institution in the city.²⁴ In a letter to a friend in Fez, Morocco, Shaykh Khalil mentions having received “a lifetime of education” under Muhammad As‘ad al-Imam (d. 1890/1308 AH), the most prominent shaykh at al-Aqsa at the time and mufti of the Shafi’i school of jurisprudence in Jerusalem.²⁵ Though no other scholars are mentioned in Shaykh Khalil’s papers, he presumably received lessons from other shaykhs who taught at al-Aqsa during this time, such as Shaykh ‘Abd al-Latif al-Khazandar al-Ghazzi, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Razzaq Abu al-Sa‘ud, and ‘Ali al-‘Awri.²⁶

Shaykh Khalil left his homeland for Istanbul in 1887 or 1888 (1305–6 AH), and it seems that he lived there for over a year before enrolling in the Mumtaz College of Law, where he was trained in Hanafi jurisprudence (the dominant *madhhab*, or school of Islamic jurisprudence, under the Ottomans). He was one of thirteen students selected to attend that academic year, and he spent at least five years there studying jurisprudence.²⁷ In his second year of studies (1890/1308 AH), he received an *ijaza* (religious license) from the Deputy Grand Shaykh Ahmad ‘Asim Effendi.²⁸ He was supposed to have graduated at the end of 1894, but among his papers there is a certificate showing



Figure 3. The first two pages of Shaykh Khalil’s *ijaza* received from Deputy Grand Shaykh Ahmad ‘Asim Effendi.

that he rose from his third-year to his fourth-year studies in 1893, meaning that he graduated at the end of the following year, in 1895.²⁹ It may be that his course took such a long time to complete because he was not only studying in Istanbul, but going on educational tours of the Ottoman libraries and receiving additional lessons from scholars of the period. While in Istanbul, for example, Shaykh Khalil attended Jamal al-Din al-Afghani's circle, as well as lessons given by Shaykh Muhammad 'Atif al-Rumi al-Islambuli.³⁰

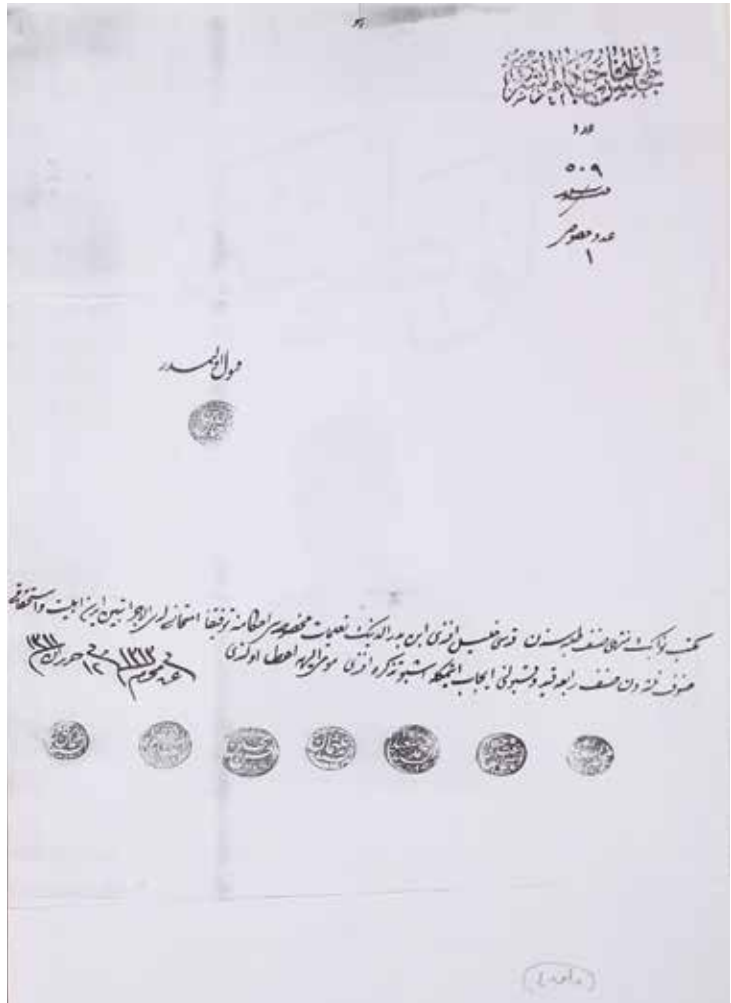


Figure 4. Shaykh Khalil's certification of advancement from his third to his fourth year of legal studies.

It seems that there were no positions open to Shaykh Khalil after he completed law school. He spent about five years without securing a job. During this period, he toured Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt. In Tunisia he met with scholars and visited libraries, in what would become an unwavering habit of his whenever he visited a new place: upon arrival, he would look for the library first, visiting it and studying its collections, writing down what he thought was important. From Tunisia he went to Morocco and then, in August 1896, to Egypt. His papers include the card granting him entrance to the Khedival Library, later the Egyptian National Library, and several book loan cards from this collection.³¹ While in Egypt, which he visited several times, he also attended the lessons of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shirbini (d. 1908/1326 AH).³² In 1901, Shaykh Khalil returned to Istanbul, to receive his first appointment in the Ottoman judiciary, as a deputy judge.

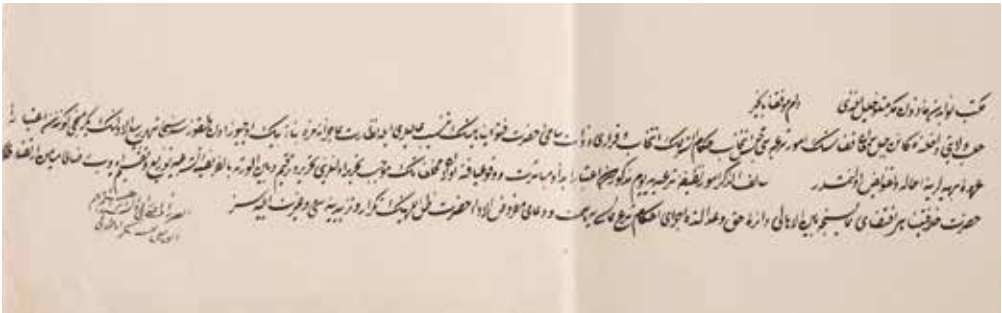


Figure 5. Shaykh Khalil's first judiciary appointment.

Work in the Ottoman Judiciary

On 29 July 1901, Khalil al-Khalidi was appointed deputy judge of the shari‘a court in Jabal Sam‘an in the Aleppo governorate.³³ He was thirty-four years old. There is nothing in his papers discussing his work or personal life during this period, but we can guess that he visited places in and around Aleppo, including its libraries, as was his habit when traveling. Shaykh Khalil continued in this position for two and a half years before he was dismissed.

Upon leaving, Shaykh Khalil set off for Morocco, arriving in Fez in February 1904. About fifty small pieces of paper in his collection reference this trip to Fez. They comprise a collection of letters, as well as descriptions of and notes on books he found interesting in the city’s libraries. One of these letters, addressed to the editor of the weekly Beirut-based newspaper *Thamarat al-Funun*, traces his journey from Aleppo to Fez, listing the cities he passed through and recounting the manuscript collections, libraries, and historical sites, as well as the prominent families and individuals, in each.³⁴ Shaykh Khalil stayed in Fez for four months, during which time he met many of the prominent scholars of Morocco. He studied under Shaykh Ahmad bin al-Khayyat, who gave him an *ijaza* as an authority on everything Shaykh Ahmad had said, heard, and written.³⁵ The top scholar in Morocco, Shaykh Ja‘far al-Kittani, also granted Shaykh Khalil an *ijaza* recognizing him as an authority on his publications.³⁶ Shaykh Khalil made his way back to the Levant via Tunisia (on which he wrote eight pages) and Libya (recording his observations on twelve small sheets of paper, containing information on Libyan scholars, mosques, and tribes). He arrived in Beirut on 26 October 1904 – the whole journey extending about nine months. From Beirut, he took a tour of the Levant and Ottoman Europe, reaching Istanbul on 9 August 1905. In Istanbul, he had eye surgery.

At the end of November 1906, Shaykh Khalil received his second appointment, as deputy judge in Qalqandalen (now Tetovo) in the Ottoman province of Kosovo. He stayed in this job for eight and a half months. For the following year and a half, he remained unemployed, during which time he traveled around Ottoman Europe before returning to Istanbul. His third appointment, also in Ottoman Kosovo, was deputy judge in the district of Metruja (Mitrovica). In October 1909, Shaykh Khalil received his first appointment

as a full judge. He served as qadi of the shari‘a court in Diyarbakir for one year and nine months. He then spent two and a half years away from government employment before being appointed in April 1914 to the Fatwa Department of the Verification (*Tadqiq*) Council in the office of the Grand Shaykh in Istanbul.³⁷ He remained in this job for six-and-a-half years, the longest stretch in his career in the Ottoman state, during which time he was promoted to become a member of the Fatwa Committee.³⁸ Of course, the end of his position coincided with the end of the Ottoman Empire itself.



Figure 6. Shaykh Khalil’s CUP membership.

Returning to Jerusalem

By the end of 1920, Shaykh Khalil had returned to Jerusalem. In the chaotic circumstances following the end of World War I, his decision to return to Jerusalem at this time may well have been influenced by a letter from his nephew urging his swift return to Jerusalem. The letter reads:

You said that you would arrive in Gaza in July, but your delay is exceedingly unwarranted, for the time has come. If I could afford it, I would have sent you a telegram telling you that you must return quickly. I cannot give you more details, but I beg you, my lord and uncle, that when you receive this letter, you will honour us by returning to Jerusalem. This is because our sire, the mufti, wants to resign from his position as [grand] mufti and president of the Shari‘a [Court of] Appeal. Its salary is 6,000 Egyptian piasters. So, there is no room for your delay at all, and this is in your hands, and you have no legitimate excuse. My lord may you live long. My mother wishes you success.³⁹

The letter infers that the Khalidi family hoped, with the impending resignation of Kamil al-Husayni from his role as Grand Mufti – a position invented by the British, who had appointed Husayni in 1918 – that Shaykh Khalil might take over this role.⁴⁰

Upon arriving in Jerusalem and finding that Kamil al-Husayni remained in his position as Grand Mufti, Shaykh Khalil became deputy chief of the Shari‘a Court of Appeal in Jerusalem.⁴¹ He continued in this post for three months before being appointed Chief of the Court on 10 March 1921. In letters sent outside Palestine, he used the title *ra'is al-qada bi-mamlakat Filastin* – Chief Judge of the Kingdom of Palestine.

On 21 May 1921, Kamil al-Husayni died, and Shaykh Khalil put his name forward for the position. However, the British high commissioner for Palestine chose Hajj Muhammad Amin al-Husayni instead.⁴² Shaykh Khalil was clearly dissatisfied with this result, and among his papers is found a letter addressed to the mufti of Beirut, asking for a fatwa on the decision to appoint a man “not older than twenty-seven ... with no qualification in shari‘a studies, who only put a turban on his head three months ago. The general public, which cannot distinguish between an educated and an ignorant man, asked the government to appoint the mufti” The date of the letter (6 Ramadan 1339/14 May 1921) indicates that both the struggle to succeed Kamil al-Husayni, and the British decision to appoint Hajj Amin, preceded the mufti’s death. The affair alienated Shaykh Khalil and the Khalidi family more generally, pushing them into the ranks of the opposition (*mu‘arida*) to the Husayni-led Supreme Muslim Council, as discussed below.

During his time working in Jerusalem, Shaykh Khalil resumed his travels. This was facilitated by his comfortable wealth and small family of just his wife and himself, allowing him time and money to spend on tours.⁴³ There was not a single year in which he did not travel. He was constantly late getting back to his work after his annual leave was over. In 1932, he was fifty-two days late because he visited Andalusia for

three months. Often his trips were less far afield, to various destinations in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. He visited Egypt multiple times per year.

These visits reflected Shaykh Khalil's personal interests, but they also helped to maintain his connections with scholars outside Palestine. He was a member of several societies; having been a member of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Ottoman period, he later joined the Council for Legal Studies in Palestine and the General Islamic Conference for the Caliphate. In May 1926, Shaykh Khalil attended the first conference of the latter in Cairo, which brought together attendees from around the Muslim world. While in Cairo for the conference, Shaykh Khalil received an angry telegram signed by a large group of Syrians objecting to the conference's failure to condemn the French bombardment of Damascus earlier in the month, killing some seven hundred Syrians.⁴⁴

The scholarly and political networks within which Shaykh Khalil was embedded also come into focus through the vast array of intellectuals with whom he maintained correspondence. His papers include exchanges with Palestinian figures like 'Abdallah Mukhlis, As'ad al-Shuqayri, 'Ajjaj Nuwayhid, Kadhim al-Khalidi, Sa'id al-Karmi, and the owner of *al-Zumur* newspaper Khalil al-Majdi;⁴⁵ with Egyptian intellectuals like Ahmad Zaki, Hasan 'Abd al-Wahhab, 'Abd al-Wahhab 'Azzam;⁴⁶ the Syrian Muhammad Kurd 'Ali; and the Iraqi 'Izzat al-A'dhami.⁴⁷ Figures from further afield also wrote – Hamid Wali in Berlin, Hashim al-Nadawi of India, and Abu al-Wafa, a teacher at the Nizamiyya School in Hyderabad, as well as letters from Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco. Often, correspondents asked about where they might be able to locate a particular book, manuscript, or artefact, or inquired about archaeological sites and their history. Other times, writers sent Shaykh Khalil their good wishes on Islamic or national holidays, or invited him to give lectures or write articles. They testify to the geographic reach of his reputation. Closer to home, however, matters were often more contentious.

Shaykh Khalil and the Opposition

During the British Mandate, conflict among Palestinians raged between supporters of the Supreme Muslim Council (known as *al-majlisiyya* or *majlisiyyin*) and its opponents (known as *al-mu'arida* or *mu'aridin*). Though states and actors more powerful than the Palestinians played the greatest role in shaping events there, it is also true that some Palestinian leaders, whether unwittingly or in bad faith, contributed to the crisis that Palestinians faced. Competition among Palestinian elites played no small part, as notable families fought over positions for material gains and status. Many non-elite Palestinians, meanwhile, were caught up in these rivalries, failing to realize their consequences until it was too late. The catastrophe that resulted left Palestinians scattered around the region and the world, divided geographically and politically, rather than united.

Shaykh Khalil was known as a member of the opposition (*al-mu'arida*). It was even said that he was a pillar of the opposition, one of its honorary leaders, though in reality his role was minor. His opposition was of the silent kind, rarely expressed in

public, and his association with the opposition was largely to do with family politics rather than his individual statements or actions. Indeed, throughout the Mandate, there is little evidence that Shaykh Khalil played a political role or took a firm position against the British.⁴⁸ His political quietism may have been because of his job and his reluctance to take any steps that might endanger his position, or perhaps because of his Ottoman education, so to speak.

Still, although his role in the opposition was largely symbolic, rooted in personal and family rivalries rather than principle or politics, Shaykh Khalil's association with the *mu'aridin* led many to direct complaints his way. In the early 1930s, for example, Ayyub Sabri, the Palestinian editor-in-chief of the Egyptian newspaper *al-Wataniyya*, wrote to complain about the consequences of changing the paper's editorial line in favor of the opposition.⁴⁹ Sabri noted that he himself had been pro-*majlisiyya*, and that five hundred partisans of the mufti and the Supreme Muslim Council had subscribed to *al-Wataniyya*. These subscriptions were paid all at once, and Sabri believed that the funds came from the council's control over Islamic endowments (*awqaf*) and donations made for the repair of al-Aqsa Mosque. Since the newspaper switched its alliances to *al-mu'arida*, none of these subscriptions had been paid – despite weekly reminders. Meanwhile, only 320 subscriptions had been taken out by *mu'aridin* – 100 in the name of Fakhri al-Nashashibi, 70 in the name of Ribhi al-Nashashibi, and 150 to names provided by the latter. On top of this, Sabri and his son had been attacked, and *al-Wataniyya* subjected to boycott, by *majlisiyyin*. Sabri noted that other newspapers – such as *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim*, *Mir'at al-Sharq*, *al-Karmil*, and *Filastin* – had been subjected to similar pressures and changed their course to produce coverage more favorable to the *majlisiyya*. He contrasted his own fate with that of *al-Shura* newspaper, a pro-*majlisiyya* newspaper whose owners had accumulated wealth and property. Sabri suggested to Shaykh Khalil that prominent members of his family, such as Mustafa and Samih al-Khalidi, as well as members of the Jarallah, Dajani, and Nashashibi families, should take a more active role in organizing the opposition if they wanted to combat the *majlisiyyin* and, ultimately, emerge victorious over them.

The owner of the 'Akka-based newspaper *al-Zumar*, Khalil Zaqut al-Majdali, also complained about the SMC's boycott of his newspaper.⁵⁰ He wrote to Shaykh Khalil: “Seven letters arrived from Jerusalem from the president of the Islamic Council and his supporters focusing on the boycott and battle against your newspaper *al-Zumar* I draw your eminence's attention to this point because the reach and popularity of newspapers relies on great men, especially when it comes to partisanship....”⁵¹

These letters give further credence to the argument that the conflict between the *majlisiyya* and the *mu'arida* during the British Mandate was rooted in personal interests rather than the interests of the nation. It matters not whether individual actors engaged in this rivalry in good or bad faith, for the result was the same. The major difference, ultimately, was that in contrast to the strength of the *majlisiyyin*, the *mu'aridin* were scattered and disorganized. Indeed, for over a century, we might say that elite families pursuing their own interests have played a disproportionate role in Palestinian politics, often to the detriment of the Palestinian people.

Shaykh Khalil the Public Intellectual

Although Shaykh Khalil had little public political presence, he was frequently invited to give lectures and contribute articles, which he did in various forums. He published eleven articles in *al-Zahra'* magazine.⁵² He was also a contributor to *al-Risala* magazine, publishing a work titled

“A Dangerous Historical Poem: People of Granada Beseech Sultan Bayazid,” as well as two articles, in two parts each, about scholars with good handwriting.⁵³ ‘Abd al-Wahhab ‘Azzam also published a two-part article in *al-Risala* titled “The Salons of Shaykh Khalidi,” which he introduced as follows:

Five years ago in Istanbul, I met an honorable shaykh searching for books and telling stories about them. I found out that he was Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi, chief of the Shari‘a Appeal Court in Jerusalem. I was then honored to meet him in Egypt several times. Whenever he came to Cairo, he would be kind enough to visit me at the university. During one of our meetings, he spoke about books and authors in an expert and detailed manner, so I made sure to see him again to benefit from his knowledge. He displayed endless knowledge and had a meticulous memory.⁵⁴

The article went on to discuss schools in the Levant, Egypt, and Morocco.

The magazine *al-‘Arab* also published an interview with Shaykh Khalil about his travels in Andalusia under the title “Andalusia as You See It Now.”⁵⁵ The magazine presented him to readers as a most distinguished Muslim scholar, an itinerant researcher, and a traveling historian. They published a second article, “Wonderful Scenes in Andalusia,” which summarized a conversation between Shaykh Khalil and the editors of the magazine.⁵⁶ *Al-‘Arab* published a third article, “Andalusia Yesterday and Today,” penned by the shaykh himself about his journey.⁵⁷ It is likely that Shaykh Khalil published articles elsewhere, though I was unable to locate them in his papers or elsewhere.⁵⁸

There is no evidence that he ever produced a book-length manuscript. As ‘Ajjaj Nuwahid wrote, “He did not write a book, but his heart overflowed with knowledge.”⁵⁹ Still, I found in his papers some notes that point to several book projects, if we can call them that. In one letter he wrote: “I propose to you that most of the articles, the majority of which were published in *al-Thamarat*, were struck by the censors based on [their] feeble thinking and illusions. I am determined to publish them in a separate book and when this comes out, I will send you a copy as a gift.”⁶⁰ Elsewhere he planned a book about his travels, which he intended to title *The Benevolent Gift in Western Tourism*. On another piece of paper, I found written: “The Book of the Protected Pearl in the Accounts of Tunisia, Its Scholars, and the Great Mosque of al-Zaytuna – its writer who is desperate for his God’s forgiveness and mercy, Khalil bin Badr.” One chapter was called “A Chapter on the Overview of the Political Situation in....” There is no evidence, however, that these projects ever came to fruition.

Retirement and Legacy

On 30 June 1934, Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi retired, receiving a pension of over 120 Palestine pounds per year, as well as a bonus of over four hundred Palestine pounds.⁶¹ He seems to have spent most of his retirement in Egypt, where he owned a house. His Jerusalem papers shed no light on his activities there; rather, it seems that his library in Egypt contained books and papers covering the period of his retirement, which may allow greater insight to this period if accessible. On 2 October 1941, at the age of seventy-eight, Shaykh Khalidi passed away in Cairo. He was buried at Bab al-Nasr, in front of Ahmad Bek 'Iffat's tomb. On the first anniversary of his death, Muhammad Ghassan wrote a tribute to him in *al-Risala* magazine.⁶²

Although Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi may be little known today, at the time he was a prominent and respected jurist and scholar. His fame may be attributed to three things: belonging to the Khalidi family, one of the most well-known notable families of Jerusalem and Palestine more generally; his cultural interests and travels to various parts of the Arab and Muslim worlds; and the judicial posts that he held, beginning under the Ottoman Empire and culminating in one of the highest judicial positions in the "kingdom" of Palestine, as chief of the Jerusalem Shari'a Court of Appeals.

I have attempted to use Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi's papers to shed some light on his life, which coincided with a period in modern history that had a crucial impact on the fate of the Palestinian people. Drawing on such previously unexamined material allows us to revisit this period, uncovering the personalities who participated in key events of the period, who affected them and who were affected by them. Further, the insights provided by private papers like those of Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi, which are now divided among several locations, affirms the need to preserve what remains of these collections, which contain material essential for understanding our history as Palestinians.

Khader Salamah is a senior researcher and librarian at the Khalidi Library in Jerusalem and former director of Masjid al-Aqsa Museum and Library. His many research publications include Fihris makhtutat Maktabat al-Masjid al-Aqsa (al-Quds, 1987); Fihris makhtutat al-Maktaba al-Budayriya (al-Quds); Idarat al-Awqaf al-'Amma, Maktaba al-Masjid al-Aqsa; and Qaryat Zakariya (2013).

Endnotes

1 The life of Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi has been covered in several sources. Perhaps the most important is what Shaykh Khalil wrote about himself to Ibrahim 'Isa al-Masri. See Ibrahim al-Sayyid 'Isa al-Masri, *Majma' al-athar al-'Arabiyya wa rijal al-nahda al-fikriyya* [An assemblage of Arab works and men of the intellectual renaissance] (Damascus: Matba'at Ibn Zaydun, 1939), vol. 2, 125–31. See also: Ya'qub al-'Awdat,

Min a'lam al-fikr wa al-adab fi Filastin [Some luminaries of thought and literature in Palestine], 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Dar al-Isra, 1992), 153–55; 'Irfan Abu Ahma, *A'lam min ard al-salam* [Luminaries from the land of peace] (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1979), 153–54; Khayr al-Din al-Zirakli, *al-A'lam* [Luminaries] (Beirut: Dal al-'Ilm lil-Milayin, 1980), vol. 5, 316–17; 'Ajjaj Nuwahid, *Rijal Filastin ma bayna bidayat al-qarn*

hatta 'am 1948 [Men of Palestine from the beginning of the century to 1948] (Beirut: Manshurat Filastin al-muhtalla, 1981), 24; Fawzi Yusuf, *Shay' min hayati* [Something of my life] (Jerusalem: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1981), 139; 'Abd al-Hadi Hashim and Anis Sayigh, eds., *al-Mawsu'a al-Filastiniyya* [The Palestinian encyclopedia] (Damascus: Hay'at al-Mawsu'a al-Filastiniyya, 1984), vol. 2, 369–70; Adel Manna', *A'lam Filastin fi awakhir al-'ahd al-'uthmani, 1800–1918* [Luminaries of Palestine in the late Ottoman era, 1800–1918] (Jerusalem: Jam'iyyat al-Dirasat al-'Arabiyya, 1986), 133–34; 'Umar Rida Kahhala, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin* [Dictionary of authors] (Beirut: Maktabat al-Muthanna, n.d.), vol. 4, 139; "Rijal min Filastin: al-Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi ra'is mahkamat al-isti'naf" [Men of Palestine: Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi, chief of the court of appeal], *al-Nahar* 48, 30 January 1987; and Kamil al-'Asali, "al-'Alama Khalil al-Khalidi" [The scholar Khalil al-Khalidi], *Majallat al-Dirasat* 15, no. 7 (1988): 293–326.

- 2 Adel Manna', *Tarikh Filastin fi awakhir al-'ahd al-'uthmani, 1700–1918* [The history of Palestine in the late Ottoman era, 1700–1918] (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1999), 200.
- 3 Bab al-Ghawanima is one of the gates to al-Aqsa Mosque, located in the northwestern corner of al-Haram al-Sharif.
- 4 This essay does not make use of all of Shaykh Khalil's papers. It does not, for example, address his library and its contents or his writings about manuscripts in any significant way, which I hope to do at a later date. Unfortunately, he did not write a diary or a memoir of the events he witnessed.
- 5 Among the shaykh's papers, I found two birth certificates (issued in year 1305 of the Ottoman financial calendar, or 1889 CE): the first gives his birth year as 1280 AH and the second as 1281 AH. Ibrahim al-Masri states that Shaykh Khalil was born in Ramadan 1282 AH (1865 CE). Shaykh Khalil himself noted that he was fifty-eight years old in 1925, which would mean that he was born in 1867, and that he was thirty-four years old when he began working in the Ottoman government. We know that he was appointed in Rabi' al-Awwal 1319 AH, which would put his birth in 1285 AH. Further complicating matters, among his papers is a record of "the

anniversary of the coming of age of Khalil bin Badr al-Khalidi." It goes on: "He reached the age of puberty on Tuesday, a quarter of an hour after sunrise, at the end of Rabi' al-Akhir, on the 29th, and on this day an angel came ... and it is the Hijri year one thousand and two hundred and ninety-eight. He was fifteen or sixteen years old on 18 March, according to the calculation of Rumi, his aforementioned historian."

- 6 Tanzimat is a term given to the reforms inaugurated under Sultan 'Abdul Majid (1839–76). Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) is considered the first to introduce modernizing reforms to the Ottoman Empire, including abolishing the Janissaries and establishing a modern army and modernizing the Ministry of Finance. He was succeeded by 'Abdul Majid, who with the Edict of Gülhane in 1839 was seen as launching the Tanzimat. Although many historians believe that 'Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909) was a hindrance to Ottoman modernization, during his reign scores of schools were opened, health services were improved, and the army was further modernized through the introduction of German experts and missions to study in Germany. For more on these Ottoman reforms and regulations see: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 76–77, 82–83, 178; and Manna', *Tarikh Filastin*, 218–21.
- 7 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Awad, *Buhuth fi tarikh al-'Arab al-hadith, 1514–1914* [Studies in the modern history of the Arabs 1514–1914] (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1983), 84–85.
- 8 Alexander Schölch, *Tahawwulat jidhriyya fi Filastin, 1856–1882* [Palestine in Transformation: 1856–1882], tr. by Kamil al-'Asali (Amman: Dar al-Huda, 1988), 282–84. Despite dissolving parliament, 'Abdul Hamid II pushed forward with reforms and tried (to no avail) to repair the basic foundations of the state by supporting the idea of an Islamic League.
- 9 Schölch, *Tahawwulat jidhriyya*, 287.
- 10 Manna', *Tarikh Filastin*, 211–16.
- 11 See Schölch, *Tahawwulat jidhriyya*, 59–76.
- 12 In 1899, Yusuf Effendi wrote a letter to the French chief rabbi, a friend of Theodor Herzl, requesting that the Zionist movement leave Palestine in peace; Schölch, *Tahawwulat jidhriyya*, 289. Ruhi's manuscript was

- published in 2020: *al-Siyunizm ay mas'alat al-yahudiyya: awwal dirasa 'ilmiyya bi-l-'Arabiyya 'an al-sahiyuniyya* [Zionism or the Jewish question: the first academic study on Zionism in Arabic], ed. Walid Khalidi (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies and Khalidi Library, 2020).
- 13 Alexander Schölch, "al-Quds fi al-qarn al-tasi' 'ashar, 1831–1917" [Jerusalem in the nineteenth century, 1831–1917], tr. by Kamil al-'Asali, in *al-Quds fi al-tarikh* [Jerusalem in history], ed. Kamil al-'Asali (Amman: University of Jordan, 1992), 273–303.
 - 14 'Awad, *Buhuth fi tarikh al-'Arab*, 89.
 - 15 The delegates were: Ruhi al-Khalidi and Sa'id al-Husayni (Jerusalem), Hafiz al-Sa'id (Jaffa), Ahmad al-Khammash (Nablus), and As'ad al-Shuqayri (Acre). A letter from Faydallah al-'Alami to Shaykh Khalil, dated 15 Sha'ban 1326 AH (10 September 1908), described the parliamentary contest in Jerusalem that year: "I have never been more tired my whole life, because some ignorant people decided to take the liberty of inflicting revenge on each other. Then I asked Ruhi Bey al-Khalidi, who will be at the top of the list of nominations for membership of the parliament, about whether he was accepting [the nomination] or not, and I received his acceptance by telegraph. Most likely there will be three people from the Jerusalem district, and there are many applicants. They are of no importance, except for the worthy ones, 'Abd al-Salam Effendi Jarallah, Hafiz Bey al-Sa'id, Sa'id Effendi al-Husayni, and 'Ali Effendi Hallaq." After elections in 1912, Ruhi al-Khalidi and As'ad al-Shuqayri retained their seats and were joined by 'Uthman al-Nashashibi (Jerusalem), Ahmad 'Arif al-Mini (Gaza), and Hafiz Tuqan (Nablus). See Manna', *Tarikh Filastin*, 244, 250; document no. 37, Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi collection.
 - 16 On this period, see: Muhammad Ruhi al-Khalidi, *Asbab al-inqilab al-'Uthmani wa Turkiya al-fata* [Causes of the Ottoman coup and the Young Turks] (Cairo: Matba'at al-Manar, 1908).
 - 17 Manna', *Tarikh Filastin*, 94–95.
 - 18 Manna', *Tarikh Filastin*, 231, 252.
 - 19 On the revolt, see: T. E. Lawrence, *A'mida al-hikma al-sab'a* [The seven pillars of wisdom] (Beirut: Manshurat al-Maktaba al-Ahliyya, 1968); and Amin Sa'id, *al-Thawra al-'Arabiyya al-kubra: tarikh mufasssil jami' lil-qadiya al-'Arabiyya fi rub' qarn* [The Great Arab Revolt: a comprehensive, detailed history of the Arab cause in a quarter-century] (Cairo: Matba'at 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1943).
 - 20 Khayriyya Qasim, *al-Hukuma al-'Arabiyya fi Dimashq bayna 1918–1920* [The Arab government in Damascus between 1918–1920] (Cairo, Dar al-Ma'arif, 1971), 15–22.
 - 21 The Khalidi family traces its lineage back to Khalid bin al-Walid. Chief Judge Shams al-Din Muhammad bin 'Abdallah al-Dayri al-'Absi is believed to be the first member of the family to live in Jerusalem. (It is not known when the family became known as al-Khalidi instead of al-Dayri, after a village near Nablus.) The oldest document I found mentioning the name al-Khalidi al-Dayri (Shaykh Muhammad bin al-Shaykh Musa al-Khalidi al-Dayri) is from 1601. See: Jerusalem Shari'a Court sijill no. 84, 579; Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-jalil fi tarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil* [Great Men in the History of Jerusalem and Hebron] (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1972), vol. 2, 221; Nasir al-Din al-Asad, *Muhammad Ruhi al-Khalidi: ra'id al-baith al-tarikh al-hadith fi Filastin* [Muhammad Ruhi al-Khalidi: pioneer of modern historical research in Palestine (Cairo: Ma'had al-buhuth, 1970), 25–26, 30; Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawi al-Hindi, *al-Fuwa'id al-bahiyya fi tarajim al-Hanafiyya* [The great benefits of the biographies of the Hanafi school] (Cairo: Matba'at Sa'ada, 1906), 78–80; Mus'ab bin 'Abdallah al-Zubayri, *Nasab al-Quraysh* [The Lineage of Quraysh], 2nd ed. (Cairo: Matba'at al-Ma'arif, 1982), 328; Ibn al-Athir, *Tajrid asma' al-sahaba* [Unsheathing the names of the companions] (Hyderabad: Matba'at Da'irat al-Ma'arif al-Nidhamiyya, 1897), 165.
 - 22 During the Mamluk period, an area in the Bab Hutta quarter of Jerusalem was known as the Khawalida area. There is evidence that the Khalidi family – including seventeenth-century judges Rajih al-Dayri and Isma'il al-Dayri – lived in this area. In 1888, a document describes a yard [*hakura*] next to the Christian quarter by New Gate as being in the Khawalida area, meaning that members of the Khalidi family owned property on the western side of the city. From about the eighteenth century, the family seems to have concentrated in an expanse from Chain Gate to 'Aqabat al-Khalidiyya in the Old City. In

- the nineteenth century, like other Jerusalem families, members of the Khalidi family began to buy property outside the walls of Jerusalem. See: Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Haram aš-Šarif in Jerusalem* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1984), 86, 94, 96; Amnon Cohen and Bernard Lewis, *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 40, 82, 84, 92; and Jerusalem Shari‘a Court sijillat no. 83, 464; no. 378, 181; no. 390, 156; no. 402, 341; no. 340, 120; no. 343, 147.
- 23 For example: Yusuf Diya’ al-Khalidi, mayor of Jerusalem and its representative in the Ottoman parliament; Yusuf’s brother Yassin; and Ruhi al-Khalidi, representative of Jerusalem in the parliaments of 1908 and 1912.
- 24 Masri, *Majma’ al-athar*, vol. 2, 126.
- 25 The letter reads: “In this letter, you will find a religious recognition (*ijaza*), with the attributions left out, from my most prominent shaykhs and teachers, such as Muhammad As‘ad al-Imam, from whom I have received a lifetime of education. God willing, when I have completed the judicial term, of which I have seventeen months left, I will send you the detailed attributions.” On Muhammad As‘ad al-Imam, see Manna’, *A‘lam Filastin*, 43.
- 26 See: Manna’, *A‘lam Filastin*, 162; ‘Abd al-Rahman Yaghi, *Hayat al-adab al-Filastini al-hadith* [The life of modern Palestinian literature], 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida, 1981), 121–22; Kamil al-‘Asali, *Ma‘ahid al-‘ilm fi Bayt al-Maqdis* [Educational institutions in Jerusalem] (Amman: al-Jami‘a al-Urduniyya, 1981), 32, 43.
- 27 Masri, *Majma’ al-athar*, 125.
- 28 *Ijaza* is a license to narrate material from the Islamic tradition. This six-page *ijaza*, dated Jumada al-Awwal 1308 AH (January 1890) is highly decorated: the text of each page is surrounded by a gilded border, and it is decorated with gold stippling and gold decorations between the lines of the first, second, and final pages; the header on the first page is a multicolored botanical painting, as is the footer on the last page. The scribe of the *ijaza* was Ahmad Tahir al-Qanawi.
- 29 The certificate from the Council to Elect Shari‘a Judges is dated 1 Muharram 1313 AH (12 June 1311 on the Ottoman financial calendar, and 23 June 1895 CE). This means that he graduated at the end of the following year, in 1315 AH. The certificate also has the seals of his examiners: Muhammad As‘ad, Isma‘il Haqqi, Muhammad Sa‘id, al-Sayyid ‘Uthman, Hasan Tahsin, Ahmad ‘Asim, and ‘Uthman Kamil.
- 30 al-‘Asali, “al-‘Alama Khalil al-Khalidi,” 298.
- 31 Based on these records, it seems that he viewed eighty-seven books from the Khedival Library in 1900: forty-four books on history, twenty-one books on hadith, eleven books on jurisprudence, and eleven books in other fields.
- 32 ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Shirbini was the Grand Shaykh of al-Azhar for two years and wrote several books. ‘Awdat notes that Shaykh Khalil studied in Egypt and that Shaykh al-Shirbini was one of his shaykhs at al-Azhar. However, I did not find anything indicating that Shaykh Khalil studied at al-Azhar. See: Kahhala, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifin*, vol. 3, vol. 5, 168; al-Zirakli, *al-A‘lam*, vol. 3, 334; ‘Awdat, *Min a‘lam al-fikr*, 153.
- 33 The appointment letter, dated 12 Rabi‘ Awwal 1319 (16 June 1317 on the Ottoman financial calendar, or 28 June 1901), reads: “In accordance with the privileges held by Rafat Zada Ibrahim Adham, Anadolu military judge, Khalil Effendi has been appointed a deputy judge in Jabal Samaan in the province of Aleppo. He will impose shari‘a laws in conformity with righteousness and good judgment in various cases.” The Anadolu military judge was, along with the Rumeli military judge, one of two judges under the Shaykh al-Islam, head of the Ottoman judiciary. As indicated by their titles, the scope of their jurisdiction was geographic (the Rumeli judge was responsible for administering the judiciary in the “European” territories of the empire, and the Anadolu judge presiding over the “Asian” territories). Judicial positions were lucrative, and judges would typically take 2 percent of the value of any financial case he handled. On the judiciary in the Ottoman Empire, see for example: Layla al-Sabbagh, *Min a‘lam al-fikr al-‘Arabi fi awakhir al-‘asr al-‘uthmani* [Some luminaries of Arab thought in the late Ottoman era] (Damascus: al-Sharika al-Muttahida li-l-tawzi‘, 1986), 35–58, 89–91.
- 34 *Thamarat al-Funun* was a weekly magazine published in Beirut by ‘Abd al-Qadir al-

- Qabbani (d. 1935) from 1875 to 1908; for seventeen years, it was edited by Ahmad Tabbara (executed by hanging in Aley, Lebanon, in 1916). See al-Zirakli, *al-A'lam*, vol. 1, 113; and vol. 4, 46.
- 35 Ahmed bin Muhammad bin 'Umar, known as Ibn al-Khayyat al-Fasi (d. 1925/1343 AH). See: 'Abd al-Hayy bin 'Abd al-Kabir al-Kattani, *Fihris al-faharis wa al-ithbat wa mu'jam al-ma'ajim wa al-mashyakhah wa al-musalsalat* [Index of indices and evidence, dictionary of dictionaries, shaykhs, and series] (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islamiyya, 1982–86), vol. 1, 288.
- 36 Masri, *Majma' al-athar*, vol. 2, 27. Ja'far bin Idris al-Kattani al-Hasani (d. 1905/1323 AH) authored over a hundred works. See al-Kattani, *Fihris al-faharis*, vol. 2, 219.
- 37 In the nineteenth century, the term "Grand Shaykh" was used to refer to the Shaykh al-Islam.
- 38 This promotion is according to a letter of appointment dated 9 March 1919 (Jamada al-Ula 1337).
- 39 Letter dated 12 March 1920, document no. 6, Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi collection.
- 40 On Kamil al-Husayni, see Manna', *A'lam Filastin*, 124.
- 41 Before 1910, judgments issued by the Jerusalem Court of First Instance were appealed to the Beirut Court of Appeal. As a result of the large number of cases in the Jerusalem District, the Ministry of Justice in the city established a Court of Appeal in late 1910. Its first chief was Ibrahim Haqqi. Its members were 'Awni al-Khalidi, Elias Trad, 'Awni Ishaq, and Antun Shalhub. See Yusuf al-Hakim, *Suriya wa al-'ahd al-'Uthmani* [Syria and the Ottoman Era] (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Kathulikiyya, 1966), 216–17.
- 42 Bayan Nuwayhid al-Hout, *al-Qiyadat wa al-mu'assasat al-siyasiyya fi Filastin, 1917–1948* [Political leaders and institutions in Palestine, 1917–1948], 2nd ed. (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1981), 203–4.
- 43 His elder brother, Hasan, married his cousin Siddiqah bint Muhammad Salim and was the only one of Badr al-Din's sons to have children.
- 44 Document no. 40: telegram no. 3466, 19 May 1926, sent to the Shaykh from the Azbakiya Post Office in Cairo, from the al-'Ataba al-Khadra' office. Given the importance of this document, and the events it covers, I quote it in full. "The Syrians can only declare their deep pain over the conference's unvoiced regret that offered no protest against the tragedy in al-Midan [neighborhood of Damascus]. This tragedy has inflamed the sense of dignity of an honorable American who witnessed the killing of women and the destruction of ... houses, the demolition of mosques, and the burning of troves of manuscripts. He wrote to one of the newspapers declaring his horror at the disaster. Political caution did not restrain him from his duty as a free and honorable human being, while a conference held to take care of the affairs of Muslims was careful with their words of protest to avoid disturbing the oppressors. The tragedy claimed the lives of seven hundred people. There are two thousand houses, shops, and mosques in which the name of God is recited – al-Rifa'i Mosque, al-Daqqaq, Sayyiduna Suhayb, Shaykh Junayd, al-Saha, and al-Qa'a. Eighteen people were killed in al-Saha Mosque while they were standing to perform the dawn prayer, behind the imam, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Qasimi, the grandson of the great shaykh of the Levant, Shaykh al-Midani al-Akbar. The blind shaykh, 'Abduh al-'Attar, the muezzin of the mosque, was killed alongside them. If the conference turns a deaf ear again, let the Islamic world, in all the corners of the earth, bear witness to what happened. We believe that it is not worthy of an Islamic conference, held in one of the major Islamic capitals, to have that be the fate of the capital of the Umayyads, flowing with blood and tears."
- 45 'Abdallah Mukhlis (1878–1947) was a prominent Palestinian intellectual in the fields of history and archaeology. The Supreme Islamic Council appointed him chief accountant for Islamic endowments (*awqaf*) and in the 1930s he became general director of endowments. See: Kamil al-'Asali, *Turath Filastin fi kitabat 'Abdallah Mukhlis* [The heritage of Palestine in the writings of Abdullah Mukhlis] (Amman: Mansurat Dar al-Karmil, 1986). As'ad al-Shuqayri (d. 1940) was a religious scholar from Acre, appointed by Jamal Pasha as mufti of the Ottoman Fourth Army during World War I. He strongly opposed the Arab movement and its adherents during the Ottoman period. After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, he returned to Palestine and became a leader of the opposition to the Supreme Muslim Council and its president, Hajj Amin al-Husayni. In 1932, he established

- the Arab National Party, and remained a believer in the Ottoman Islamic idea until his death. See: Muhammad 'Izzat Darwaza, *Khamsa wa tisa'un 'amman fi al-hayat: mudhakkirat wa tasjilat* [Ninety-five years of life: memoirs and records], ed. 'Ali al-Jarbawi and Hussam al-Shakhshir (Jerusalem: al-Multaqa al-Fikri, 1993).
- 46 Ahmad Zaki (1867–1934) was an Egyptian writer known as “the Shaykh of Arabism.” Hasan 'Abd al-Wahhab (1899–1967) was a scholar of Egyptian antiquities. 'Abd al-Wahab 'Azzam (1894–1951) was a scholar and diplomat, and dean of the Faculty of Arts at Fu'ad I University in Cairo. See: al-Zirakli, *al-A'lam*, vol. 1, 126–27; vol. 2, 198; and vol. 4, 186; Kahhala, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, vol. 13, 403–4.
- 47 'Izzat al-A'dhami (d. 1936) was an Iraqi writer and parliamentarian representing Baghdad. See Kahhala, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 1, 312.
- 48 I could not find any mention of a significant role played by Khalidi in the Palestinian national movement.
- 49 Ayyub Sabri was an intellectual from the Palestinian city of Qalqilya who published several newspapers in Jaffa and Jerusalem. See Hashim al-Saba', *Dhikrayat sahabi mudtahaad* [Memoirs of a persecuted journalist] (Jerusalem: Matba'at Dayr al-Rum al-Urthudhuks, 1951).
- 50 Khalil Zaqut, a Palestinian journalist originally from al-Majdal, established *al-Zumar* newspaper in 'Akka in 1927. It was a weekly newspaper that focused on politics, criticism, and humor. See: Ya'qub Yahusha', *Tarikh al-sihafa al-'Arabiyya al-Filastiniyya* [History of the Palestinian Arab Press] (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1981–83), vol. 2, 440; and Yusuf Khuri, *al-Sihafa al-'Arabiyya fi Filastin, 1948–1967* [The Arab press in Palestine, 1876–1948], 3rd ed. (Baqa al-Gharbiyya: Manshurat Shams, 1993), 48.
- 51 Document no. 38, Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi collection.
- 52 *Al-Zahra'* magazine was a monthly magazine published in Cairo by Muhib al-Din al-Khatib (d. 1969/1389 AH). Shaykh Khalil published articles in vol. 2, no. 3–4, no. 5, no. 8, and no. 10; vol. 3, no. 2–3; no. 5; no. 6; no. 8; and no. 10; and vol. 4, no. 1–2, and no. 5.
- 53 *Al-Risala*, established in Cairo in 1933, was owned by Ahmad Hasan al-Zayyat (d. 1968/1388). See al-Zirakli, *al-A'lam*, vol. 1, 113. The second part of these articles was published in vol. 7, no. 323 (1939). I was unable to locate the first part.
- 54 *Al-Risala* 2, no. 78 (1934): 2129; *al-Risala* 3, no. 84 (1935): 214.
- 55 *Al-'Arab* 39: 9–10. *Al-'Arab* was a weekly illustrated magazine published in Jerusalem. See Yahusha', *Tarikh al-sihafa*, vol. 3, 28.
- 56 *Al-'Arab* 59–60: 15.
- 57 *Al-'Arab* 68: 3–5.
- 58 He mentions, for example, that he published in the newspaper *Thamarat al-Funun*, but I was not able to locate its issues.
- 59 Nuwahid, *Rijal Filastin*, 24. I believe this to be true. Shaykh Khalil's library was moved to al-Aqsa Mosque library a few years ago and it did not contain any books that he himself had written. It seems inconceivable that his library would not contain his publications, or their drafts, even if they had been neglected by other sources.
- 60 *Al-Thamarat* here refers to *Thamarat al-Funun*; see note 35.
- 61 Letter from Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Islamic Council of Palestine, no. 655, 26 Safar 1353 AH (9 June 1934), document no. 39, Shaykh Khalil al-Khalidi collection. See also document no. 40 of the collection, in which the head of the Supreme Islamic Council informed Shaykh Khalil that the General Secretary for Palestine had granted him a pension of 121 Palestinian pounds and 794 mils per year, supplemented by a bonus of 405 pounds and 983 mils.
- 62 *Al-Risala* 10, no. 483 (1942): 950.