

**MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM
AND
ISLAMIC WORSHIP**

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ULRICH HAARMANN

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MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM AND ISLAMIC WORSHIP

Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage

BY

AMIKAM ELAD



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PREFACE

Though this book is without any doubt the outcome of the political-social reality in which I live, it is not a political piece of work. It deals with certain historical aspects of the history of Medieval Muslim Jerusalem, out of scholarly interest, in a purely scholarly manner, namely primarily through critical analysis of the vast Arabic literary sources.

I gained this approach from my teachers at the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I am especially indebted to Professors D. Ayalon, M.J. Kister, and M. Sharon of the Institute for introducing me to the world of Medieval Islamic History.

I want to thank Mrs. Bevie Katz for her technical assistance and for editing the English, and to Mrs. Tamar Soffer and Miss Noah Nachum of the Cartography Laboratory of the Department of Geography at The Hebrew University, for the preparation of the maps. Publication of this book was partially financed by the "Hebrew University Internal Funds."

I owe special gratitude to my wife Einat, without whose constant support the book would not have been completed.

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2. The Itinerary of the Muslim Pilgrim to the Holy Places in Jerusalem according to Ibn al-Murajjā (beginning and mid-11th century).
3. Jerusalem During the Early Muslim Period.

MAP ONE

THE HARAM IN JERUSALEM DURING THE UmayyAD PERIOD

The main problem when preparing a map of the Haram in the Umayyad period is that the majority of the Arabic sources are from later periods and mostly relate to those periods.

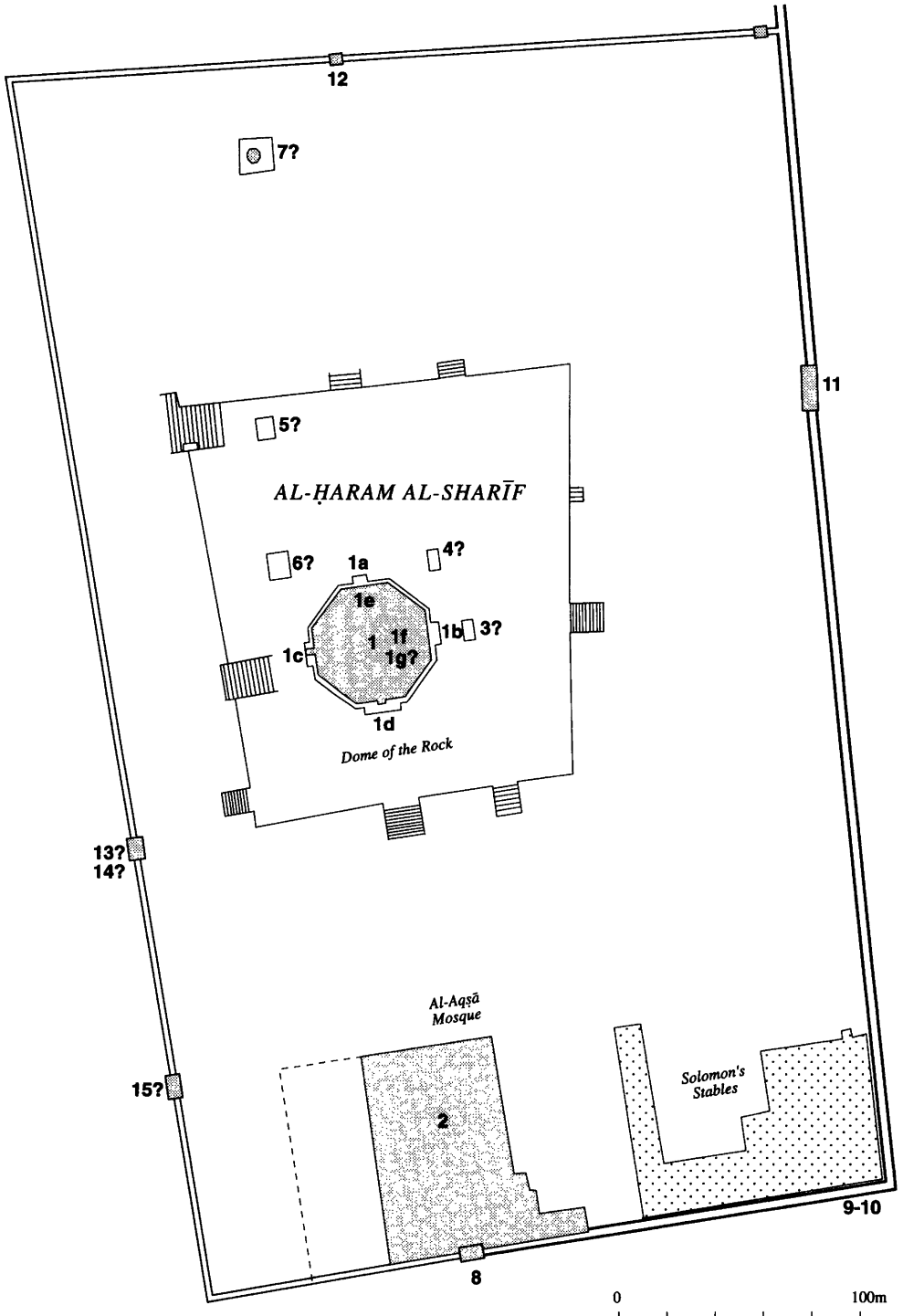
Another significant problem is that the names of constructions and their locations have changed in the course of time. The double danger arises, therefore, of mistakenly attributing anachronistic names and dates to buildings found in the Haram to-day but were built at the latest in the later Middle Ages.

On luckier occasions, an early tradition may have been traced relating some details on one monument or another in Jerusalem, of the Umayyad period, but even then it is usually impossible to determine the exact location.

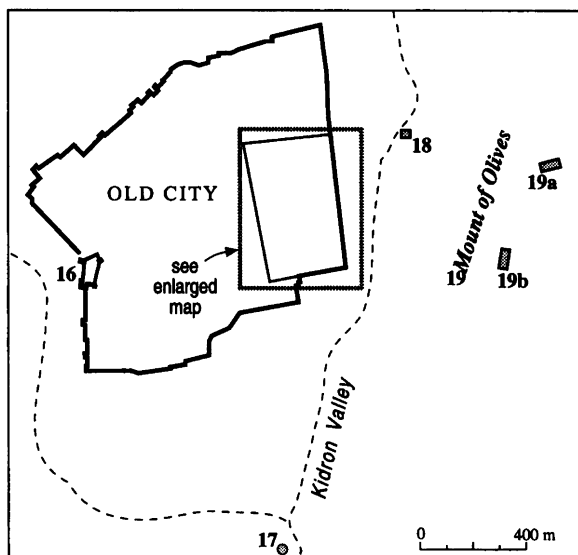
Using the guide lines drawn up here, I was able to assert that the Gate of Repentance (Bāb al-Tawba), during the Umayyad period, was in close proximity to Mihrāb Maryam. However, the location of the latter place in the south-east corner of the Haram can only be attributed (with reservation) to the end of the 9th century and clearly so to the 10th and 11th centuries. Although the eastern Mihrāb Dāwūd is mentioned by the early (7th–8th century) sources, I was unable to locate it.

The same considerations were important in locating the Dome of the Chain (Bāb al-Silsila), the Gate of The Divine Presence (Bāb al-Sakīna), the Dome of Ascension (Qubbat al-Mi'rāj) and other monuments on the Haram from the Umayyad period. I only used the procedure just described when places or monuments were mentioned in a source that I estimated to date back to the Umayyad period.

Not included in this map are monuments mentioned by late sources which allude to their existence during the Umayyad period, such as the mention by al-Muhallabī (mid-10th century) of the Dome of the Scale (Qubbat al-Mizān) and the Dome of the Gathering (Qubbat al-Maḥshar). Still, al-Muhallabī does refer to the Dome of Ascension (Qubbat al-Mi'rāj) and the Dome of the Prophet (Qubbat al-Nabī), which were both mentioned by much earlier sources in their account of the Umayyad period. Al-Muhallabī's description of the latter monuments may, therefore, serve as additional proof to earlier sources, that these indeed existed in the Umayyad period.



MAP 1a

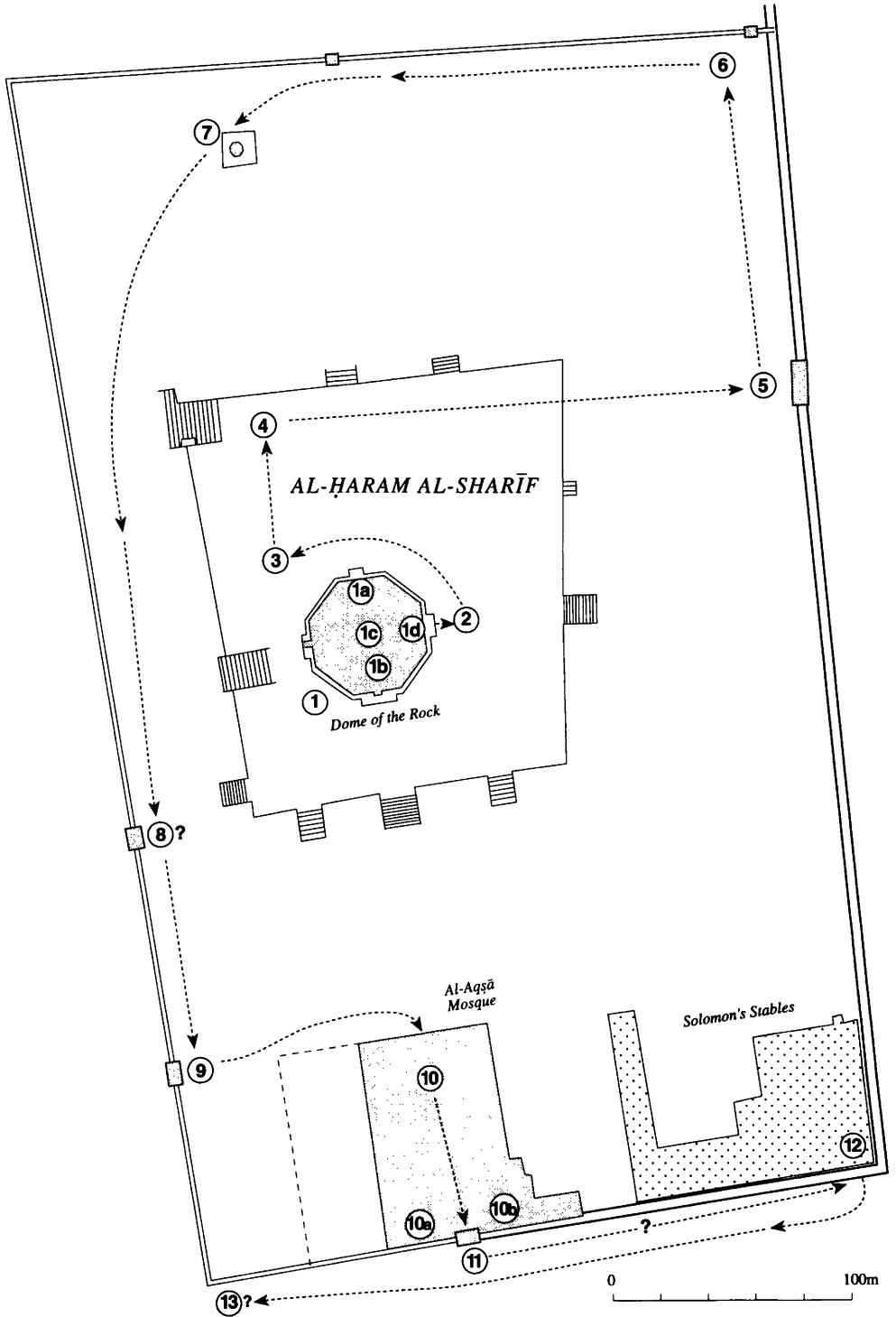


o = Additional places outside the Ḥaram in the Umayyad period

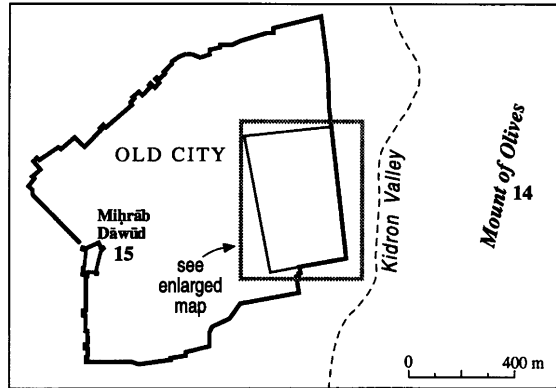
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Qubbat al-Ṣakhra (The Dome of the Rock). | 9. Bab al-Tawba (The Gate of Repentance) |
| 1a. Bāb al-Janna (The Gate of Paradise). | 10. Miḥrāb Maryam (Mary) and Maḥd 'Īsā (the Cradle of Jesus) |
| 1b. Bāb Isrāfīl (The Gate of the Angel Isrāfīl). | 11. Bāb (Abwāb) al-Raḥma (Gate (Gates) of Mercy). |
| 1c. Bāb Jibrīl (The Gate of the Angel Gabriel). | 12. Bāb (Abwāb) al-Asbā; (Gate (Gates) of the Tribes). |
| 1d. Bāb al-Aqṣā (The Gate of al-Aqṣā Mosque) | 13. Bāb al-Sakīna (The Gate of the Divine Presence). |
| 1e. Al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā' (The Black Paving Stone). | 14. Bāb Dāwūd (The Gate of David). |
| 1f. Al-Maghāra (The Cave). | 15. Bāb Ḥiṭṭa (The Gate of Remission). |
| 1g. Miḥrāb Dāwūd al-Sharqī? (The Eastern Miḥrāb Dāwūd)? | o16. Miḥrāb Dāwūd; Bāb Ludd (The Gate of Miḥrāb Dāwūd; the Gate of Lod). |
| 2. Al-Aqṣā Mosque | o17. 'Ayn Silwān (The Spring of Siloam). |
| 3. Qubbat al-Silsila (The Dome of the Chain) | o18. Kanīsat Maryam (Church of St. Mary). |
| 4. Bayt al-Māl (The Treasury) | o19. Ṭūr Zaytā (Mount of Olives). |
| 5. Qubbat al-Nabī (The Dome of the Prophet) | o19a. Kanīsat al-Ṭūr (Church of the Ascension of Jesus). |
| 6. Qubbat al-Mi'rāj (The Dome of the Ascension of the Prophet) | o19b. Al-Sāhira. |
| 7. Kursī Sulaymān (Solomon's "Chair" [Stool]) | |
| 8. Bāb al-Nabī (The Gate of the Prophet) | |

MAP TWO

THE ITINERARY OF THE MUSLIM PILGRIM
TO THE HOLY PLACES OF JERUSALEM
ACCORDING TO IBN AL-MURAJJĀ
(Beginning and Mid-11th century)



MAP 2a



1. Qubbat al-Ṣakhra (The Dome of the Rock).
- 1a. Al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā' (The Black Paving Stone).
- 1b. Al-Maghāra (The Cave).
- 1c. Maqām al-Nabī (The (Holy) Place of the Prophet).
- 1d. Bāb Isrāfīl (The Gate of the Angel Isrāfīl).
2. Qubbat al-Silsila (The Dome of the Chain).
3. Qubbat al-Mi'rāj (The Dome of the Ascension of the Prophet).
4. Qubbat al-Nabī (The Dome of the Prophet).
5. Bāb (Abwāb) al-Raḥma (Gate (Gates) of Mercy).
6. Mihrāb Zakariyyā'.
7. Kursī Sulaymān (Solomon's "Chair" [Stool]).
8. Bāb al-Sakīna (The Gate of the Divine Presence).
9. Bāb Ḥiṭṭa (The Gate of Remission).
10. Al-Masjid al-Aqṣā.
- 10a. Mihrāb 'Umar.
- 10b. Mihrāb Mu'āwiya.
11. Bāb al-Nabī (The Gate of the Prophet)
12. Mihrāb Maryam (Mihrāb of Mary), also known as Maḥd 'Īsā (The Cradle of Jesus).
13. *Al-Mawḍi' alladhī Kharaḡahu Jibrīl 'alayhi al-salām bi-iṣba'ihī wa-shadda fihī al-Burāq* (The place which Gabriel drilled with his finger and tied up al-Burāq).
14. Al-Sāhira which is Ṭūr Zaytā (Mount of Olives).
15. Mihrāb Dāwūd in the City Gate.

MAP THREE

**JERUSALEM DURING THE EARLY MUSLIM PERIOD
(638–1099)**

(Based on Dan Bahat's map "Jerusalem During the Early Muslim Period-Sites Within the Old City", in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Islamic Period (638-1099)*, Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Publications, 1987).

1. Qubbat al-Šakhra (The Dome of the Rock).
- 1a. Al-Balāḡa al-Sawdā' (The Black Paving Stone).
- 1b. Al-Šakhra (The Rock).
- 1c. Qadam al-Nabī (The Footprint of the Prophet: according to al-Muqaddasī (10th Century) and Ibn al-'Arabī (11th century)).
- 1d. Maqām al-Nabī (according to Ibn al-Murajjā and Ibn al-'Arabī in the 11th century).
- 1e. Aṣābī' al-Malā'ika (The Fingerprints of the Angels: according to Ibn al-'Arabī).
- 1f. Bāb al-Janna (The Gate of Paradise: mentioned in the 8th and 15th century).
- 1f.1. Bāb al-Šūr (The Trumpet Gate: according to al-Muqaddasī (10th century)).
- 1g. Bāb Isrāfīl (The Gate of the Angel Isrāfīl: mentioned in the 8th and 10th century).
- 1h. Bāb Jibrīl (the Gate of the Angel Gabriel: mentioned in the 8th century).
- 1h.1. Bāb al-Nisā' (The Gate of the Women: according to al-Muqaddasī (10th century)).
- 1i. Bāb al-Aqṣā (The Gate of al-Aqṣā Mosque: mentioned in the 8th century).
- 1i.1. Bāb al-Qibla (the Gate of the direction of prayer i.e., the southern gate: according to al-Muqaddasī (10th century)).
2. Qubbat al-Silsila (The Dome of the Chain).
3. Al-Maqām al-Shāmi (The Northern Stairway: 11th century).
4. Al-Maqām al-Qiblī (the Southern Stairway: mid-10th century).
41. Al-Maqām al-Qiblī, or Maqām al-Ghūrī, after the Fāṭimid governor of Palestine, Anūshtakīn al-Ghūrī in the beginning and middle of the 11th century.
5. Al-Maqām al-Sharqī (The Eastern Stairway: 11th century).
6. Al-Maqām al-Gharbī (The Western Stairway: 11th century).
7. Qubbat al-Nabī ? (The Dome of the Prophet).
8. Qubbat al-Mi'rāj? (The Dome of the Ascension of the Prophet).
9. Al-Masjid al-Aqṣā (Al-Aqṣā Mosque).
- 9a. Mihrāb Mu'awiya.
- 9b. Mihrāb 'Umar.
10. Kursī Sulaymān (Solomon's "Chair" [Stool]).
11. Mihrāb Maryam (The Mihrāb of Mary: first mentioned in the 9th century).
12. Mahd 'Isā (The Cradle of Jesus).
13. Mihrāb Zakariyyā'? (the Mihrāb of Zechariah: first mentioned in the 9th century).
- 13a. Mihrāb Zakariyyā': mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ibn al-'Arabī in the 11th century).
- 13b. Mihrāb Zakariyyā' (Within al-Aqṣā Mosque: mentioned in the 15th century).
14. Mihrāb Dāwūd (Al-Sharqī)? (The Eastern Mihrāb Dāwūd).
- 14a. Mihrāb Dāwūd (Al-Gharbī) (The Western Mihrāb Dāwūd).
- 14b. Mihrāb Dāwūd (Near Bāb al-Asbāḡ?: mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the 11th century).
- 14c. Mihrāb Dāwūd (In the eastern wall of the Ḥaram: first mentioned in the 15th century).
- 14d. Mihrāb Dāwūd (Within al-Aqṣā Mosque: first mentioned in the 15th century).
15. Qubbat Ya'qūb? (The Dome of Jacob: mentioned by Ibn al-Murajjā in the 11th century, who locates the Dome behind Kursī Sulaymān). [=Mihrāb Ya'qūb?: mentioned by Ibn al-Faḡh in the beginning of the 10th century.]
16. Bāb al-Nabī (the Gate of the Prophet).
17. Abwāb Mihrāb Maryam (the Gates of the Mihrāb of Mary: mentioned by al-Muqaddasī in the 10th century). [=The Triple Gate?]
18. Bāb al-Tawba (The Gate of Repentance: mentioned in the 8th and 9th century).
- 18a. Bāb al-Tawba (From the 11th century on).
19. Bāb (Abwāb) al-Rahma (Gate (Gates) of Mercy).
20. Bāb al-Asbāḡ (The Gates of the Tribes).
21. Bāb Dāwūd (Al-Sharqī)? (The eastern David's Gate).
22. Bāb al-Sakīna? (The Gate of the Divine Presence)?
23. Bāb Ḥijṭa? (The Gate of Remission)?
24. Bāb Mihrāb Dāwūd (The Gate of the Mihrāb of David). [=Bāb Ludd in the 8th century.]
25. Bāb al-Niya' (al-Tih?) (The Gate of Nēa (The New Church of Mary) or (The Gate of the Wanderings of the Children of Israel).
26. Bāb al-Balāḡ (The Gate of the Palace? or the Gate of Pilate?)
27. Bāb Silwān? (The Gate of Siloam?)
28. Bāb Arīḡa ? (The Gate of Jericho: mentioned by al-Muqaddasī in the 10th century).
29. Bāb al-'Amīd (The Gate of the Column; St. Stephen's Gate).
30. Bāb Šahyūn (The Zion Gate).
31. Bāb Jubb Irmiyā? (The Gate of Jeremiah's Pit?)
32. 'Ayn Silwān (The Spring of Siloam).
33. Kanīsat Maryam (The Church of St. Mary).
34. Ṭur Zaytā (The Mount of Olives).
- 34a. The Church of the Ascension of Jesus.
- 34b. (Masjid) Muṣallā 'Umar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb]?
- 34c. The Tomb of Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya?

INTRODUCTION

A. THE NATURE OF THE SOURCES

1. *Arabic Sources*

The nature of the sources at the historian's disposal provides the main difficulty of presenting a detailed and complete history of Jerusalem in the early Islamic period.

The politico-religious status of Jerusalem in the Muslim world was established at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. However, from the middle of the 8th century, and even prior to it, Jerusalem lost its central political, though not its religious, status, and throughout most of the Middle Ages was an outlying city of diminished importance. Thus, little information on Jerusalem is found in the rich Arabic literature in all its variations, particularly respecting the early Muslim period (638–1099).

The information on Jerusalem in this literature is scattered and brief, and great patience is required to gather it. But even after such painstaking work, the results are disappointing because the bits of information cannot be crystallized into a comprehensive (certainly not exhaustive) study on the city. Only towards the end of the 10th century, for the first time, does the native Jerusalem geographer, al-Muqaddasī, give a little economic, social and cultural information about Jerusalem.¹ However, not even from his book, and certainly not from other geographical works of the 9th to the 12th centuries² can an inclusive picture of this or any other

¹ Al-Muqaddasī (see Bibliography); a partial English translation (including Syria and Palestine), *Aḥṣanu-T-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rīfati-l-Aqālīm* . . . translated . . . and edited by G.S.A. Ranking and R.F. Azoo, Calcutta, 1897 (Bibliotheca Indica, A Collection of Oriental Works, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, No. 899). A partial French translation, al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rīfat al-Aqālīm* (La Meilleure Repartition pour la connaissance des provinces). Traduction partielle annotée par André Miquel, Damas, 1963; al-Muqaddasī's description of Syria and Palestine was translated by Le Strange, *Description of Syria Including Palestine by Muqaddasī*, translated . . . and annotated by G. Le Strange, London, 1886; about the author and his work, see B.A. Collins, *Al-Muqaddasī, The Man and His Work*, University of Michigan, Dept. of Geography, Ann Arbor, 1974.

² See the relevant translation of the most important Arab geographers in Le Strange, *Palestine*, and Marmarji.

aspect of the history of the city be crystallized, i.e., certainly not a comprehensive and complete picture of its political, economic, social, cultural and religious aspects.

As opposed to other important cities throughout the Muslim Caliphate, there are no comprehensive historical books on Jerusalem in the early medieval period.³ The first work in which there is actual reference to topographic-historical aspects of the city are from the 14th and 15th centuries, i.e., the later "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem". However, even in this literature the point of departure is not generally an historical one. For that Jerusalem had to wait until the end of the 15th century, and the time of the Jerusalem *qāḍī*, Mujir al-Dīn (d. 1521), who wrote a comprehensive book on the city. In his introduction, Mujir relates to the problem, explaining:

What motivated me to write this [i.e., book] is that the majority of cities in the Islamic world gained the interest of the scholars, who wrote about matters related to their history, helpful things that are instructive of their true events in olden times. Though with respect to Jerusalem, I did not come across any writing of this kind about it, devoted only to it . . . I saw (therefore) that people yearn for something of this type, an example of which I turned to do; for a few [or one] of the scholars wrote something connected to praise [of Jerusalem] only; several of them deal with a description of 'Umar's conquest and the construction of the Umayyads; a few of them note Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's conquest, found it sufficient, and did not mention what occurred after it; and some of them wrote a history in which they discussed some distinguished Jerusalemites, which is not of much use.

And lo, I wish to gather all the notations on the construction, the praise, the conquests and the biographies of the esteemed persons and to mention some of the famous events in order to construct a complete history.⁴

From Mujir al-Dīn's words it can be understood that his work does not enable reconstructing the history of the city for the period predating the Crusades either. For this period Mujir depends mainly on the "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem". For the later Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, and especially for the period of his own lifetime, his sources increase and the information he presents is thus

³ Hasson, "Jerusalem," pp. 283–284.

⁴ Mujir al-Dīn, vol. I (Amman ed.), p. 5 (Bulaq's ed., vol. I, p. 6); mentioned by Goitein, "Jerusalem During the Arabic Period," p. 7.

significant and of greatest importance. It enables one to satisfactorily reconstruct the face of the city (particularly its topographic aspect, but also its social aspect).⁵

The study of Mamūk Jerusalem received an important impetus in recent years due to the discovery in the Islamic Museum of hundreds of documents (most of them from the end of the 14th century), on the Ḥaram al-Sharif.⁶

2. Non-Arabic Sources

Non-Arabic sources (Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Hebrew, etc.) from the early Muslim period are few. Most of them are not comprehensive historical writings and the information they give is much poorer than that provided by the Arabic sources.⁷

“There are effectively, only two ‘histories’ of the period compiled by Byzantines, both of which date from the early ninth century . . .

⁵ The studies of E. Ashtor, “Jerusalem During the Late Muslim Period,” *Jerusalem, Quarterly Devoted to the Study of Jerusalem and Its History*, vol. II(5) (1955), pp. 71–116 (in Hebrew); J. Drory, “Jerusalem in the Mamlūk Period,” *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, Selected Papers*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem, 1979, pp. 148–184 (in Hebrew); and recently M.H. Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, relied extensively on Mujir al-Dīn; less comprehensive are the works of Kāmil Jamil al-‘Asālī, *Min Athāriā fi Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1981; *idem.*, *Bayt al-Maqdis*; ‘Abd al-Jalil, Ḥasan, ‘Abd al-Hudā, *al-Madāris fi Bayt al-Maqdis fi l-‘Uṣūr al-Ayyūbī wa-’l-Mamlūki, Dawruhā fi ’l-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya*, Amman, Maktabat al-Aqṣā, 1981.

⁶ On the Haram documents and their utmost importance to the study of Mamlūk Jerusalem, see Linda S. Northrup and A. Abul-Hajj, “A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the Ḥaram al-Sharif,” *Arabica*, vol. XXV (1978), pp. 282–283; but mainly the studies of Little: Donald P. Little, “The Significance of the Haram Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History,” *Der Islam*, vol. LVII (1980), pp. 189–219; *idem.*, “Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors,” *Arabica*, vol. XXIX (1982), pp. 16–49; *idem.*, “The Haram Documents as Sources for the Arts and Architecture of the Mamlūk Period,” *Muqarnas*, vol. II (1984), pp. 61–72; *idem.*, “The Judicial Documents from al-Ḥaram al-Sharif as Sources for the History of Palestine Under the Mamlūks,” *The Third International Conference on Bilād al-Shām: Palestine (19–24 April, 1980)*, vol. I, *Jerusalem*, University of Jordan-Yarmouk University, 1983, pp. 117–125; *idem.*, “Haram Documents Related to the Jews of the Late Fourteenth-Century,” *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vol. XXX (1985), pp. 227–269. (A revised Hebrew version appears in *Palestine in the Mamlūk Period*, pp. 189–219).

The catalogue of the documents was published by Little in 1984 (see Bibliography). See also Ulrich Haarmann, “The Library of a Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem Scholar,” *The Third International Conference on Bilād al-Shām: Palestine (19–24 April, 1980)*, vol. I, *Jerusalem*, University of Jordan-Yarmouk University, 1983, pp. 105–110; a comprehensive bibliography on Mamlūk Palestine (including Jerusalem) is found in *Palestine in the Mamlūk Period*, pp. 237–246.

⁷ R.S. Humphreys, *Islamic History, A Framework for Inquiry*, (revised edition), I.B. Tauris, London-New York, 1991, p. 69; Haldon, p. XVII; Palmer, p. XXIV (Hoyland’s Introduction); Kaegi, p. 2.

one, the brief history of Nicephorus [d. 829], and the other the Chronography of Theophanes" [d. 818].⁸ Theophanes' writings were highly regarded by the classical Near East scholars, particularly as he was thought to be cut off from the historiographic Muslim tradition of the Near East. They thus considered him to be an independent parallel source. This view was recently criticized by Conrad, who showed that in several cases Theophanes used Arabic sources.⁹ However, research on this specific problem is still in its initial stages. Many other methodological problems (which, of course, also exist in the processing of the Arabic sources, see below) hamper the use and discussion of these sources. A great part of them are still in manuscript form, some have been published, though not translated (from the original). Many of them are in need of modern translation and internal analysis. A large number of them (perhaps the majority) have a definite theological character, a matter which must be taken into consideration in the few cases in which Islam or Islamic history is referred to.¹⁰ The traditions respecting the holiness of places in and around Jerusalem were naturally transferred from the Jewish and Christian traditions to the Islamic tradition. Some of these places gained a holy status in Islam with no relation to or reliance on other heritages.

3. Previous Research On Jerusalem During the Early Muslim Period

The history of Jerusalem and its holy sites in the early Muslim period has received scant attention from scholars studying the history of medieval Islam. Over ninety years have passed since the publication of G. Le Strange's important work,¹¹ much of which was devoted to this topic. In it he published translations of the most important accounts of the history of Jerusalem from the books of Mujir al-Din (d. 1521), Shams al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 1475), Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi (d. 1364)¹² and other writers. Despite the great

⁸ Haldon, p. XVII; cf. Kaegi, p. 3.

⁹ L.I. Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition: Some Indications of Inter-Cultural Transmission," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, vol. XV (1990), pp. 1-44.

¹⁰ See for instance, J. Haldon, "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief," *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, p. 129; A. Cameron, "The Literary Sources for Byzantium and Early Islam: Collaborative Work in Great Britain—Report on Progress", *La Syrie de Byzance a l'Islam VII^e-VIII^e siècles* (Actes du Colloque International Lion-Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, Paris-Institut du Monde Arabe 11-15 Septembre 1990), Damas, 1992, p. 7 ff; see also the discussion below, pp. 8, 31-33.

¹¹ Le Strange, *Palestine* (see Bibliography).

lapse of time since its publication, Le Strange's book still constitutes the basic research work for the study of the historic topography of Jerusalem and of Palestine during the early Muslim period. Since its publication in 1890, only one other book with a similar focus has been published—Father Marmarji's work¹³—but it added very little to Le Strange's study. Le Strange's translations, notes and evaluations are not always exact, but are of considerable importance as the pioneer work in this field. Of specific importance are his translations of al-Muqaddasī,¹⁴ Nāṣir-i Khusraw¹⁵ and many passages from Mujir al-Dīn's work. Any historico-topographical research of Jerusalem in the Muslim period must start with Le Strange's book.

There are very few comprehensive studies of the history of Jerusalem during the early Islamic period.¹⁶ Some scholars have limited themselves to specific topics in the history of Jerusalem, usually its holy aspects.¹⁷

A number of general works were written in the late 19th and early 20th centuries on Palestine in the Muslim period, but none of these placed any specific emphasis on Jerusalem.¹⁸ Vincent and Abel's book discusses Jerusalem in the Muslim period, but their review is short and adds very little to Le Strange's work on this

¹² On these authors and their works, see J. Sadan, "Nabī Mūsā" (2nd part), p. 227 (Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqḍisī); p. 228 (Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī); p. 229 (Mujir al-Dīn). A revised French version of this article is *idem.*, "Le tombeau de Moïse à Jéricho et à Damas: une compétition entre deux lieux saints principalement à l'époque ottomane," *Revue des études islamiques*, vol. XLIX (1981), pp. 59–99; and see also al-'Asalī, *Makḥṭūṭāt*, pp. 70–77 (Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqḍisī); pp. 92–104, (al-Suyūṭī); pp. 105–112 (Mujir al-Dīn); Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, *Faḍā'il*, pp. 332–419 (Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqḍisī); pp. 464–488 (al-Suyūṭī).

¹³ Marmarji (see Bibliography); and see E. Ashtor's review of this book in *Kiriath Sepher*, vol. XXIX (1953–1954), pp. 234–236 (in Hebrew).

¹⁴ See note 1.

¹⁵ Nāṣir-i Khusraw (see Bibliography).

¹⁶ Goitein, "Jerusalem During the Arab Period" (see Bibliography); 'Ārif el-'Ārif, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi-Ta'rikh al-Quds*, al-Quds, 1961; 'Awwād Mājid al-A'zamī, *Ta'rikh Madīnat al-Quds*, Baghdad, 1972; Shafīq Jāsir Aḥmad Maḥmūd, *Ta'rikh al-Quds wa-'l-'Alāqa bayn al-Muslimīn wa-'l-Masīhiyyīn fihā Mundhu al-Fath al-Islāmī ḥattā al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībiyya*, Amman, 1984; the last two books, in spite of their titles, are somewhat limited and not comprehensive. The most comprehensive study is that by Peters, *Jerusalem* (see Bibliography).

¹⁷ For a bibliographical summary of this subject, see Sadan, "Nabī Mūsā" (first part); al-'Asalī, *Makḥṭūṭāt*, *loc.cit.*; *idem.*, *Bayt al-Maqḍis* (see Bibliography); Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, *Faḍā'il*, pp. 27–149; Hasson, "Jerusalem" (see Bibliography); Duri, "al-Quds" (see Bibliography); Zakariyyā' al-Qaḍāt, "Mu'āhadat Fath Bayt al-Maqḍis: al-'Ahda al-'Umariyya", *al-Mu'tamar al-Duwālī al-Rābi' li-Ta'rikh Bilād al-Shām*, vol. II, Amman-Beirut, 1987, pp. 271–283.

¹⁸ The most important books are 1) R. Hartmann, *Palaestina unter den Arabern*, 632–1516, Leipzig, 1915; 2) N.A. Miednikov, *Palestina ot Zavoeyaniya Arabami do Krestovoykh Pokhodov*, Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik, vols. 16–17, 1897; 3)

period.¹⁹ Van Berchem, in his important and monumental work, indeed devotes two large volumes to Jerusalem.²⁰ Although his study concentrates on inscriptions in general, his discussion of a particular inscription frequently leads him to the study of one site or another in Jerusalem. His research excels in that it concentrates on a large number of Arabic sources, some only in manuscript form,²¹ and also in that it refers to non-Arabic sources in other languages. Likewise, his ability to analyse precisely the many sources and to abstract far beyond the limited text of the inscription was keen.

Sufficient use of this work has not been made by scholars who have studied Jerusalem in the Muslim period.

A recent publication in this field is M. Gil's also monumental work, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*. This is the most comprehensive and most important study on the subject to date, and some of its sections are devoted to Jerusalem.²²

B. THE "LITERATURE IN PRAISE OF JERUSALEM" AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HISTORY OF THE CITY DURING THE EARLY MUSLIM PERIOD

The "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" upon which Mujir al-Dīn based most of the first part of his book, which discusses the early period of the city, is mainly from the 12th to 15th centuries.²³ This literature is predated by earlier writings which the later authors copied. Among these are the books by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī

M. Asaf, *History of the Arab Rule in Palestine*, vol. I, Tel Aviv, 1935 (in Hebrew); 4) Ph. K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, N.Y., 1951; 5) F. McGraw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton, 1981; 6) F. Omar, *Ta'rikh Filasṭīn al-Siyāsī fi l-'Usūr al-Islāmiyya*, 17/638-567/1171, Abu Zabi, 1983.

¹⁹ Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, ch. 37, pp. 926–944.

²⁰ Van Berchem (see Bibliography).

²¹ He used, among others, the mss. of al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā and al-Suyūṭī.

²² Gil has published many other research articles on Palestine in this period; a few of his important studies are: 1) "Immigration and Pilgrimage in the Early Arab Period (634–1099)," *Cathedra for the History of Eretz Israel and Its Yishuv*, vol. VIII (1978), pp. 124–133 (in Hebrew); 2) "The Sixty-Years War (969–1029 C.E.)," *Shalem, Studies in the History of the Jews in Eretz Israel*, vol. III (1981), pp. 1–55 (in Hebrew); 3) "The Jewish Quarters of Jerusalem (A.D. 638–1099) According to Cairo Geniza Documents and Other Sources," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. XLI (1982), pp. 261–278 (a shorter version in Hebrew in: *Shalem*, vol. II (1976)); 4) "Dhimmi Donations and Foundations for Jerusalem (638–1099)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. XXVII (1984), pp. 156–174; 5) "Taxation in Palestine During the First Period of Muslim Occupation (634–1099)," *Zion, A Quarterly for Research in Jewish History*, vol. XLV (1980), pp. 268–285.

²³ See pp. 2 and 14.

(beginning of the 11th century), *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*²⁴ and by al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā (middle of the 11th century), *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Shām wa-'l-Khalil*, which is the largest and most important of the In-Praise-of-Jerusalem literature. A number of scholars used Ibn al-Murajjā's manuscript for their research.²⁵

* * * * *

There is an ongoing controversy among researchers regarding the value of the Arabic sources in studying the history of the early Islamic period. At one extreme are the scholars who think that these sources should be strictly regarded as literature, with no actual historic value.²⁶ Against them, at the other extreme, are those who unequivocally accept what is given in these sources and along with it, the historical framework created and developed by the Muslim scholars of the medieval period.

Dealing with the Arabic sources becomes harder the closer one gets to the beginnings of Islam, especially the period of the Prophet, "The Four Guided Caliphs" and the early Umayyads (ca. A.D. 600–700). Criticism of the early Arabic sources is still in its beginning stages. Very little has been written concerning the value of these sources for the reconstruction of the fundamental historical processes of early Islam. Noteworthy in this respect are the studies of A. Noth, especially regarding the historiographical problems of the Islamic conquests, emphasizing the *topos* phenomenon.²⁷

The period under discussion here is a later one, mainly the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods ([640] 660–ca. 900), and also slightly later.

²⁴ See Bibliography.

²⁵ In 1974, I read Ibn al-Murajjā's manuscript and prepared a detailed card index of the manuscript's sections. Dr. O. Livne was kind enough to indicate to me a number of traditions which will appear in his doctoral thesis. Thus, the number appearing after the quotation from Ibn al-Murajjā's manuscript is the number of the tradition as it will appear in the final edition of the text. Livne also directed my attention to some traditions which I had failed to notice when reading the manuscript and lent me the manuscripts of *Muthīr al-Gharām*, *Ithāf al-Akhiṣṣā'*, and the *Tafsīr* or Muqātil b. Sulaymān, which were in his possession. I am extremely grateful to him for all his assistance. On Ibn al-Murajjā and his book see, Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 7 ff.

²⁶ For example, see J. Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978; P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism* (see Bibliography); P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 1987.

²⁷ A. Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung*, Bonn, Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Bonn, 1973; *idem.*, "Der Charakter" (see Bibliography); *idem.*, "Isfahan-

The early Islamic history was formulated by scholars, who, together with their personal backgrounds which influenced their manner of writing and description, also constituted a part of a collective, a society that had definite forms and concepts, that influenced and sometimes even decided the subjects and form of their writings. The early Muslim historical framework laid out by them has not changed to this very day. Some of the Western researchers have even based their works on it. However, today it is clear that a revision is called for in relation to the historical framework of the early Islamic period. The descriptions of the period of the four caliphs who ruled after the death of Muḥammad (*al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn*) as an "ideal Islamic theocracy", the Umayyads that followed as a "secular Arab kingdom" and the 'Abbāsids as an "Islamic Caliphate" are schematic and negate a basic principle by which history is learned and tested, namely, the principle of development and change, i.e., not the fruit of "mutations", one-time changes, that completely alter the existing order.²⁸

Nevertheless, with respect to reconstructing early Islamic history the situation is far from desperate. Despite all the reservations and caution required in dealing with the Arabic sources, they constitute a wealth that few civilizations have produced. The non-Arabic sources, as noted, are scant, short, and often of a strong, clearly tendentious character, no less (and sometimes even more) so than the Muslim sources. However, some of the non-Arabic sources, especially the Syriac ones, are of importance to the study

Nihavand. Eine quellenkritische Studie zur frühislamischen Historiographie" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. CXVII (1968), pp. 274–296; *idem.*, "Zum Verhältnis von kalifaler Zentralgewalt und Provinzen in umayyadischer Zeit: die "Ṣulḥ"- " 'Anwa" Traditionen für Ägypten und den Iraq", *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. XIV (1973), pp. 150–162; regarding the Islamic conquests and the *topos* phenomena, see also the important study of Conrad, "Arwād" (see Bibliography).

²⁸ See the preliminary studies of M.G. Morony, "Bayn al-Fitnatayn: Problems in the Periodization of Early Islamic History," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. XL (1981), pp. 247–251; S.D. Goitein, "A Plea for the Periodization of Islamic History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. LXXXVIII (1968), pp. 224–228; I. Bligh-Abramski, "Evolution Versus Revolution: Umayyad Elements in the 'Abbāsīd Regime, 133/750–320/932," *Der Islam*, vol. LXV (1988), pp. 226–245; A. Elad, "Aspects of the Transition from the Umayyad Caliphate to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate," forthcoming in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*.

of the early history of Islam.²⁹ The Arabic sources are, therefore, the best basis for studying early Islamic history. Information is to be found in the many and different kinds of Arabic literature. Examination of the Arabic sources, comparison between them and analysis of them (from internal and external aspects) can in many instances give as objective a picture as possible of the event—or of any historical process.³⁰ This method is indispensable because without it the possibility of arriving at and exposing the historical core is small.

All the possible Arabic sources must be examined in order to check different versions and changes in the text. Parallel sources must sometimes be quoted even if they do not add or detract from the text, in order to show just where parallel texts are “concealed” or where to look for them. Many studies of early Islamic history do not apply this method; they mainly utilize the literary type termed “historical”, while neglecting other kinds of literature.

This book, as has already been noted, is based to a large extent, though certainly not completely, on the “Literature in Praise of Jerusalem”. The question is to what extent can one rely on this literary type in reconstructing different aspects of the history of Jerusalem. Though other kinds of Arabic literature are not discussed here, the conclusions reached also have implications bearing on their evaluation and consideration as well.

* * * * *

Le Strange was sometimes aware that the traditions in these compositions were copied or cited from earlier compositions. He also

²⁹ The tendentious character of the non-Arabic sources was one of the major arguments in the criticism of P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism* (see Bibliography); see, for example, the review of Morony in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. XLI (1982), pp. 157–159; Hava Lazarus-Yafe, in *Asian and African Studies* (Haifa), vol. XIV (1980), pp. 295–298. Regarding the significance of the non-Arabic sources, especially the Syriac ones, see Crone, *Slaves*, pp. 15–16; and especially Conrad, in his forthcoming book, *The Arabs in Southern Palestine*; *idem.*, “Narrative Elaboration in the Early Arabic *Futūh* Tradition,” a paper read at the “Oxford Conference on *Hadīth*,” Oxford, September, 1988, pp. 1–13; *idem.*, “*Arwād*,” esp. pp. 340–348, 399–401; *idem.*, “Syriac Perspectives on Bilād al-Shām During the ‘Abbāsīd Period,” in: Muḥammad ‘Adnān al-Bakhīt and Robert Schick (eds.), *Bilād al-Shām During the ‘Abbāsīd Period (132 A.H./750 A.D.-451 A.H./1059 A.D.)*, (*Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, 7–11 Sha‘bān 1410 A.H./4–8 March, 1990 (English and French Section), Amman, 1412 A.H./1991 A.D.), pp. 1–44; see now the important studies of Haldon, Reinink and Drijvers in, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East* (see Bibliography); see also, Kaegi, p. 4.

³⁰ This method has been practiced at the Hebrew University for some decades. Prof. A. Noth reached the same conclusions (independently). See Noth, “Charakter,” p. 198; note also the (sober) reservation of Crone, *Slaves*, p. 11, and note 63.

mentioned some from the works in this genre of Ibn al-Murajjā and al-Wāsiṭī from the mid-11th century. Generally, however, he saw these traditions as reflecting the post-Crusade era. He explicitly states this in the introduction to his translation from the work by Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (from the mid-15th century), large parts of which were copied from the book *Muthīr al-Gharām* (mid-14th century). When referring to the copying, Le Strange says:

It is from this work that I have printed the extracts relating to Omar's visit to the Noble Sanctuary . . . also the chapter giving an account of the building of the Dome of the Rock by 'Abd al-Malik . . . *These accounts as they now stand date from 1350, fully six centuries from 'Abd al-Malik's days and over seven hundred years from those of Omar; also I must confess that they seem to me extremely apocryphal. The source from which they are derived is to me quite unknown. Possibly in the Muthir we have another specimen of the romantic history books which Islam produced during the age of the Crusade. . . .* (italics mine).³¹

Grabar, in his important study on the Dome of the Rock, was also perplexed by some of the same questions as Le Strange (despite his different time perspective and greater orientalist's experience). For example, in relation to the evaluation of the Literature of Praise (*Faḍā'il*) and its date, he notes:

If we consider the long tradition of Mount Moriah as a sacred place, what was its significance in the eyes of the Muslims? The *Faḍā'il*, or religious guidebooks for pilgrims of later times, provide us with an answer for the period which followed the Crusades, but it may be questioned whether all the complex traditions reported about the Ḥaram at that time had already been formulated when the area was taken over by the Arabs [i.e., by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, in 1187].³²

The "Literature of Praise" (*Faḍā'il*) is considered a part of the *ḥadīth* literature. This literature is usually regarded as reflecting trends and developments in the early Muslim state in the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries. The classic approach of the important *ḥadīth* scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries was to examine the *ḥadīth* chiefly through the *matn*, i.e., internal and external analysis and examination of the content of the *ḥadīth*. This type of analysis provides historical, religious, social, economic, etc. data incorporated into the *ḥadīth*. Sometimes it is possible to point precisely to trends of a specific *ḥadīth* (though less possible to give an exact

³¹ Le Strange, "Description," p. 251.

³² Grabar, "The Dome of the Rock," p. 33.

date of its creation) by comparing it with known historic processes or events. As noted, with the exception of single instances, just on the basis of the criterion for examining the *matn* alone, it is very difficult to establish an exact chronology or to date the creation of the tradition before the end of the 1st/7th century. During the last twenty years extensive progress has been made in the study of early Muslim historiography, especially in the broad field of *ḥadīth* literature. More and more emphasis is being given to the study of the *isnād*, i.e., to the chain of transmitters. Efforts are being made in these studies to develop a method and establish criteria that will aid in finding data, particularly chronological (though also others) about the *ḥadīth*.³³

* * * * *

The In-Praise-of-Jerusalem literature contains a wide spectrum of traditions. One set of traditions is of particular interest. This set yields very important historico-topographic information such as the long traditions on the building of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque and their histories. These traditions, like the rest of the traditions, appear in early collections of the *Faḍā'il*, constructed according to the regular external frame of the *ḥadīth*, i.e., *isnād* (chain of transmitters) and *matn* (content of the tradition), each, however, with a certain uniqueness (see below). These specific traditions help in constructing the early history of Jerusalem. Parallels to these historic traditions which appear in the "Praise Literature", such as the long chapter on the conquest of Jerusalem and the building of the Ḥaram by the Umayyads and the first 'Abbāsids, are found in relatively earlier compositions. Parallels to the tradition of the conquest can be found in the early history and *Futūḥ*

³³ The essence of the controversy among scholars, regarding the methodological approach towards *ḥadīth* (from Goldziher—Schacht, until the end of the 70's) is recorded by Crone, *Slaves*, pp. 14–15, and note 88, p. 211; more about the nature of the controversy and the developments in the study of *ḥadīth* may be found in the following researches: N.J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh, 1964, esp. pp. 64–70; J.A. Bellamy, "Sources of Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā's *Kitāb Maqāl Amīr al-Mu'mīn 'Alī*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. CIV (1984), pp. 3–19; J. Robson, "The Isnād in Muslim Tradition," *Transactions* (Glasgow University Oriental Society), vol. XV (1955), pp. 15–26; D.S. Powers, "The Will of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās," *Studia Islamica*, vol. LVIII (1983), pp. 33–53; Juynboll, esp. chapters 4 and 5; H. Motzki, "Der Fiqh des az-Zuhri: Die Quellenproblematik," a paper presented at the 5th International Colloquium of: From Jāhiliyya to Islām, 1–6 July 1990 (forthcoming in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*); *idem.*, "The *Muṣannaḥ* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'āni as a Source of Authentic *Aḥādīth* of the First Century A.H.," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. L (1991), pp. 1–21.

books. Yet earlier parallels to the traditions on the building of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque are found in the historical literature. They constitute an important central axis in the discussion on the Dome of the Rock and particularly on the ritual ceremonies in Jerusalem during the Umayyad period (see Chapter 2).

* * * * *

This leads to the central question of the historical value of the "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem". Many researchers considered this kind of literature with great reservation, viewing it rather as a later literary type and historically unreliable. The most important questions are when were these traditions composed and when were they written down. One way (Goldziher's, Schacht's and others) of checking this is by clarifying the historic circumstances and background giving rise to the tradition. Goldziher's answer was that these traditions are a direct product of the political, religious and social circumstances prevailing in the Umayyad period, a period when Syria and Palestine were the focus of the caliphate, when Jerusalem was ascribed a central role. The literature is part of the unending efforts of the Umayyad caliphs and the scholars inspired by them to exalt Jerusalem.³⁴

This method, which Goldziher based his writings on, is acceptable and can be slightly expanded. Already towards the close of the Umayyad rule there are signs indicating that the Umayyads transferred their political centre to northern Syria and Mesopotamia.³⁵ Apparently, at the same time, a process of decline of the southern provinces of al-Shām began, and along with it Jerusalem lost its important politico-administrative status. The decline in Jerusalem's position began several decades earlier, with the establishment of Ramla as the capital of the Palestine district (Jund Filastīn) in the first decade of the 8th century. With the rise of the 'Abbāsids to power (750), the political centre was switched to Iraq and the eastern provinces. From the beginning of their rule, the 'Abbāsids adopted a deliberate policy of discrimination and of distancing themselves from the Syrian provinces. They had little interest in developing or investing in Syria, as is evident from the low number of building projects there. In this connection, the 'Abbāsids had no interest

³⁴ See below, p. 147f.

³⁵ H.A.R. Gibb, "Arab Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1982, p. 60; G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750*, Croom Helm, London and Sydney, 1986, p. 98.

whatsoever in encouraging In-Praise-of-Syria literature in general or In-Praise-of-Jerusalem in particular. The politico-religious, social and economic conditions that were the central factor in the development of the In-Praise-of-Jerusalem literature no longer existed. Most of the great scholars of the *ḥadīth* and the great Muslim historians lived in Iraq, congregated around the court, or in other big centres (mainly) in the east of the empire. They had no interest in composing traditions in praise of Syria.

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It seems that the Muslim scholars in the medieval period were aware of the sources and trends of the "Praise" traditions, and that is the reason why most of them were not included in the canonized *ḥadīth* literature. Some are found in the relatively later *ḥadīth* literature (from the 10th century on) or in the "forged" *ḥadīth* literature (*mawḍū'āt*). That they are found in the latter shows that they were unacceptable to the *ḥadīth* scholars due to their content.³⁶

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Research on Jerusalem in the early Muslim period in general and on the In-Praise-of-Jerusalem literature in particular took a decisive turn following Kister's studies. He further developed the method Goldziher used in studying the *ḥadīth* and clearly showed that a great number of the traditions of the Praise literature are very old and were created in the Umayyad period, or in his own words:

We can say with certainty that they were well known and widely circulated as early as the beginning of the second century after the *hijra*. . . . Jerusalem Praise Literature emerged in the second half of the first century of the *hijra* (the end of the seventh century C.E.) and was put into writing in the first half of the second century of the *hijra* (eight century C.E.).³⁷

Recently, Juynboll has argued, basing his argument on other methods, that this literary type (the *Faḍā'il*) as a whole (not just the "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem") is among the older types of *ḥadīth*, if not the oldest, and was already circulated from the middle to the end of the 1st/7th century.³⁸ Other scholars reached identical conclusions through analysis and treatment of another type of *ḥadīth*

³⁶ Though the system they usually used in criticizing the *ḥadīth* was through the disqualification of the chains of transmitters.

³⁷ Kister, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem," pp. 185–186.

³⁸ Juynboll, pp. 74, 162, 163, esp. note 4.

literature, *al-Fitan wa-'l-Malāḥim* (events and wars of the “End of Days”).³⁹

* * * * *

I rely to a great extent in this book on Jerusalem Praise Literature and in particular on two compositions that Le Strange did not see, namely, that of al-Wāsiṭī and of Ibn al-Murajjā (beginning to the middle of the 11th century). The years these authors lived and when they died date their compositions to pre-Crusader times. The assumption of other scholars that a large part of the In-Praise-of-Jerusalem literature was composed after the Crusader period is mistaken. Analysis of the historic background (the Umayyad period) which was conducive to the creation of the Praise literature and the conclusions of the studies quoted above lead to the conclusion that most of the traditions in the Jerusalem Praise compositions are from the Umayyad period. They can, therefore, be traced back to the end of the 1st/7th century or the beginning to middle of the 2nd/8th century. The collection of the old Praise-of-Jerusalem traditions that appear in the books of al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā served the later authors of the 12th to the 15th centuries; the latter copied what lay before them. If they added anything, they usually noted it; sometimes they deleted material. Comparison of tens of traditions in the books of al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn-al-Murajjā, that were accurately copied by later authors is proof of this. Evidently, the reason for the caution and relative preciseness in copying these traditions was because they were part of the *ḥadīth* literature. This is one of the basic characteristics of the *ḥadīth* literature

³⁹ W. Madelung, “Apocalyptic Prophecies in Hims̄ in the Umayyad Age,” *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vol. XXXI (1986), pp. 141–185; *idem.*, “The Sufyāni,” pp. 5–48; L. Conrad, “Portents of the Hour,” pp. 1–69.

The traditions about the *fitan* and *malāḥim* were collected and studied by scholars who lived during the Umayyad period. In addition to the examples recorded by Conrad and Madelung another piece of evidence can be added, according to which ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (reigned 685–705) was interested in these traditions and their transmitters; see Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, fol. 147b: the scholar is Abū Bahriyya, ‘Abdallāh b. Qays al-Kindī, al-Ḥimṣī, d. 77/696–7 during the reign of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik (on him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. V, pp. 364–365). We know of scholars who lived at the end of the Umayyad regime and the beginning of the ‘Abbāsīd’s, who had collections of *Fitan and Malāḥim* traditions, such as Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh al-Kindī al-Ḥimṣī (b. 102/720–1 or 105/723–4 or 106/724–5; d. 181/182/797–799); on him, see *al-Jarḥ*, vol. III/2, Haydarabad, 1361 H., p. 211; al-Fasawī, vol. II, pp. 423–424; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, vol. VI, pp. 221–228; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. I, pp. 321–326; Madelung, “al-Sufyāni,” p. 17; or al-Walīd b. Muslim (b. 119/737; d. 194 or 195/809–811); on him, see Ibn Sa’d, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. VII, Beirut, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, pp. 470–471; al-Fasawī, vol. II, pp. 420–423.

and also of Muslim history: ancient compositions and traditions can “disappear” for hundreds of years and reappear in later compositions.⁴⁰

The collections of Jerusalem Praise Literature composed in the Umayyad period found their way into the hands of Syrian and Palestinian scholars and also other scholars in Muslim cultural centres outside of Palestine. A small number, as noted above, were integrated in the *ḥadīth* literature which was at the height of its development at the beginning of the ‘Abbāsīd regime. They appeared again (and were not composed!) in later periods, when new politico-religious conditions were created in Syria. The revival of this literature began at the beginning of the 11th century (the reasons for which are not clear),⁴¹ but it mainly flourished during the Crusader period, when Zengi, the sovereign of Mosul and Aleppo, and Nūr al-Dīn after him, wanted to make use of the *Faḍā’il al-Shām* through the ‘ulamā’ for the *jihād* against the Crusaders.⁴² This literature again flourished after the Six-Day War with the conquest of East Jerusalem in 1967 and was studied by both Arab and Israeli scholars. Many analyses (a number of which can be classified as political pamphlets though some are serious scientific writings) contributed to the renewed study of Syria (and especially of Jerusalem) in the early Muslim period. This is not an unknown phenomenon. Subjects of historical studies are usually connected with the politico-cultural experience of the times.

* * * * *

Other arguments can lead to the attribution of an early date to the Praise-of-Jerusalem Traditions:

1. Many traditions with an identical *isnād* exist in early *ḥadīth* collections or early exegesis of the *Qur’ān* as well as in *Faḍā’il* works. (There is a large body of evidence of this type, hence it would be superfluous to discuss it here.)

2. A great number of traditions (sometimes many scores) were transmitted at a certain stage by one transmitter, one *isnād* chain going back from him to the alleged originator of the report. One of these transmitters, al-Walīd b. Ḥammād al-Ramlī, who wrote in the mid-9th century, has been discussed elsewhere.⁴³ The fact that

⁴⁰ Cf. also Juynboll, pp. 135–136; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 2.

⁴¹ Sivan, “*Faḍā’il*,” p. 265; Hasson, “*Jerusalem*,” p. 298.

⁴² Sivan, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁴³ See Elad, “*An Arabic Tradition*,” pp. 34–36; and see also L.I. Conrad, “*Al-Azdi’s History of the Arab Conquests in Bilād al-Shām: Some Historiographical Observations*,” *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, vol. I, ed. by M.A. Bakhit, Amman, 1987, pp. 57–59.

each different transmitter, some living in the 9th–10th centuries, had an accumulation of so many traditions makes it likely that they already possessed a book or big collection of “Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem”.⁴⁴

3. Juynboll argues that during the last two decades of the 1st century of the *hijra* (700–720), interest was awakened in *ḥadīth* literature in the different centres of the Caliphate, and he adds:

I have come to recognize that the vast majority of *isnāds*, as far as their three oldest transmitters are concerned, can be considered as being particular to one centre. At a somewhat later stage, say, during the first few decades of the second century (the 720s–750s A.D.), contacts do seem to have been established between centres and witness the emergence of *isnāds* that can be labelled as being particular to more than one centre.⁴⁵

An analysis of the *isnād* of a great many traditions in Praise-of-Jerusalem shows that at least the first three scholars, beginning from the Successors onwards, lived in Palestine or in the towns of southern Syria. This is particularly evident in the traditions dealing with or providing information on the topography of Jerusalem (and not merely from a geographico-historical point of view). I shall insist and comment on this point many times during my discussion. It has important demographic and cultural implications, and a special study needs to be devoted to this in the future.⁴⁶

4. The place the tradition was transmitted or heard is often given in the *isnād* itself, and sometimes even the date of transmission. There are many such testimonies in the “Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem” in Ibn al-Murajjā’s work. The dates are generally from the 9th century onwards, although some are earlier.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ I was happy to learn that my assumption was proven correct, at least concerning al-Walīd b. Hammād al-Ramlī, see Conrad, *op. cit.*, p. 57, who quotes a tradition from al-Dhahabī’s, *Siyar A’lām al-Nubalā’*, vol. XIV, p. 78. According to this tradition, al-Walīd b. Hammād was the author of a book on the merits (*Faddā’il*) of Jerusalem. This information about al-Walīd being the author of a book on the merits of Jerusalem was first noted by Prof. M. Cook. It is also mentioned by Šādiq Aḥmad Dāwūd Jawdat, *Madīnat al-Ramla Mundhu Nashā’ihā ḥatā ‘Am 492/1099*, Beirut, 1406/1986, p. 312, (quoting *Siyar A’lām al-Nubalā’*). See also Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21, and Hasson, “Jerusalem,” p. 298, who came to the same conclusion about al-Walīd and the early collections of Traditions-in-Praise-of-Jerusalem. See Livne, *loc. cit.*, for many examples of scholars who had in their possession collections or, better, notes of scores of “Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem.”

⁴⁵ Juynboll, p. 39.

⁴⁶ On this topic see also Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 146; Conrad bases himself on this method (as well as on others) in establishing the early dating of the *Fitan* Literature, see Conrad, “Portents of the Hour.”

⁴⁷ An exceptional example is the mention of the date of hearing *ḥadīth* and

5. Many key traditions, often those with the greatest historical value for the history of Jerusalem during the Umayyad period and later, were transmitted by a chain of transmitters from one Jerusalem family. Such a family, the Salāma b. Qayṣar, with all its branches, has been discussed elsewhere.⁴⁸

Another very important family is that of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Thābit of Jerusalem. Eight traditions transmitted by members of this family are found in al-Wāsiṭī’s work.⁴⁹

a) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān lived in the mid-9th century. He transmitted all eight traditions mentioned above to al-Walīd b. Ḥammād al-Ramlī (mid-late 9th century).

b) His father, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, was active in the last quarter of the 8th century, and early 9th century. He was active at least during the reign of Caliph al-Mahdī (reigned 775–785), since he tells⁵⁰ of the church which al-Mahdī ordered al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ (b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās) to renovate and construct. This renovation may have been carried out during al-Madhī’s visit to Jerusalem in the year 163/780.⁵¹ From another source it is learned that Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī was in al-Madhī’s retinue when he came to Jerusalem in the year already mentioned.⁵² Another tradition tells that the Muḥammad b. al-Maṣṣūr in question lived in the period of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767–8) and even heard [*ḥadīth*] and transcribed from him on the Ḥaram.⁵³

c) Maṣṣūr b. Thābit. Nothing more is known about him.

d) Thābit b. Iṣṭānībiyādh, al-Fārisī al Khumsī lived during al-Mahdī’s reign. He reports on al-Mahdī’s visit to Jerusalem in 780 in an important tradition.⁵⁴ In another⁵⁵ he reports from Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa (d. 112/730) on the building of the Dome of the Rock. And in yet another,⁵⁶ he reports on the earthquake which occurred in 130/747.

The members of this family are discussed in detail since the information they provide in their traditions is of the greatest importance

its transmission in 132/750, see, Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 90a.

⁴⁸ Elad, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.

⁴⁹ Al-Wāsiṭī, nos. 119, 122, 135–140.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84, no. 137.

⁵¹ Elad, *op. cit.*, p. 36; al-Ṭabarī, III, p. 500, ll.4–6; al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, vol. II, p. 480.

⁵² Al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 86, no. 140; *Muthīr al-Gharām*, fol. 73b (see also *ibid.*, fol. 73a).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 83–84, no. 137.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81, no. 136.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80, no. 135.

for the history of Jerusalem in the early Islamic period. At least in connection with the "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" which were examined, it is concluded that the family traditions are an extremely important source. This differs from Schacht, who almost totally negates such traditions in the field of legal *hadīth*.⁵⁷

6. The *isnād* in many "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" does not "originate" with the Prophet or with one of the Companions of the Prophet (*Ṣaḥāba*), but with a Successor or the Successor of a Successor, who generally lived in the first or second half of the 8th century. In this respect the words of Schacht should be noted, that "*isnāds* have a tendency to grow backwards," or that:

In the course of polemical discussions . . . traditions from Successors become traditions from Companions and traditions from Companions become traditions from the Prophet. . . . We must as a rule . . . consider the opinions of the Successors as the starting point, and the traditions from the Companions and from the Prophet as secondary development, intended to provide a higher authority for the doctrine in question.⁵⁸

In another place he says:

"Generally speaking, we say that the most perfect and complete *isnāds* are the latest."⁵⁹

Juynboll develops this basic idea of Schacht's as follows:

Where did a specific *hadīth* originate? Probably in the region where the traditionist mentioned at the Successor's level in its *isnād* operated.⁶⁰ When did a specific *hadīth* originate? . . . at the earliest sometime during the life of the Successor of the *isnād* . . .⁶¹ Who may be held responsible for bringing a tradition into circulation? . . . It is again in most cases the Successor who can be held responsible as the earliest likely candidate . . . but the class of so-called Successors of Successors are even more likely candidates.⁶²

It can be said with certainty that traditions concluding with a Successor or Successor of a Successor were widespread during the Umayyad period, at least at the time when the last transmitter lived.

⁵⁷ See Schacht, *Origins*, p. 170; but cf. Robson, p. 23; Abbot, *Studies*, II, pp. 36–39.

⁵⁸ Schacht, *Origins*, p. 156; cf. Juynboll, pp. 3, 115, 207; Cook, *Muslim Dogma*, p. 107.

⁵⁹ Schacht, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁶⁰ Juynboll, p. 71.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

In many traditions of this kind, the earliest personality signing the *isnād* was a scholar living in one of the cities of Palestine or at least a Syrian scholar, with close ties to Palestine and its scholars. The information they transmitted was thus of great importance; it is often unique historical or historico-topographical information. Traditions of this kind were transmitted by *mu'adhdhinūn* of Jerusalem,⁶³ but mainly by religious scholars, some who served in administrative posts during the Umayyad reign. Such men included Khālid b. Ma'dān (d. 103 or 104/721 or 722), who was both a transmitter of traditions and chief of the "police" (*ṣāhib al-shurṭa*) of Caliph Yazid b. Mu'āwiya (reigned 60/680–63/683)⁶⁴; or the famous scholar, Rajā' b. Ḥaywa (d. 112/730), born in Beit Shean in Palestine,⁶⁵ who was in charge of the construction of the Dome of the Rock, and served the Umayyad caliphs from 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 65/685–86/705) to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (reigned 99/717–101/720); or Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Abla (d. 152/769–770 or 153/770), who lived in Ramla, and was in close contact with the Caliphs al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 86/705–96/715), Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 96/715–99/717), 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 99/724–125/743), and Marwān b. Muḥammad (reigned 125/744–132/749). Al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik used to send him from Damascus to Jerusalem to distribute the pensions which the government gave to the Arabs there (*'aṭā'*).⁶⁶

⁶³ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 76, no. 123: Abū Ḥudhayfa, *mu'adhdhin* Bayt al Maqdis (cf. Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 45a [=Livne, no. 149]); al-Wāsiṭī, p. 14, no. 15: Abū 'I-'Awwām, *mu'adhdhin* Bayt al-Maqdis; on the *mu'adhdhinūn* of Jerusalem, see Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–152, 154.

⁶⁴ On Khālid b. Ma'dān, see Donner, "Historiography," pp. 7–9; Madelung, "The Sufyāni," p. 14; see also al-Ṭabari, II, p. 2482; al-Ṭabarāni, *Mu'jam al-Shāmiyyin*, vol. I, pp. 39, 228, 405; vol. II, pp. 64, 131, 166–201, 423; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. V, 1322 H., p. 87: *Ṣāhib al-Shurṭa* of Yazid; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, vol. V, 1354/1935, pp. 210–221 (as a *zāhid*); al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. IV, pp. 536–541; on his being a *rāwī*, *akhbārī*, who related traditions on the Islamic conquests in Syria and on the caliphate of al-Rāshidūn, see al-Ṭabari, Index: Khālid b. Ma'dān; see also Abbot, *Studies*, vol. II, index, s.v., esp. p. 225. Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 32, notes that Khālid b. Ma'dān transmitted thirteen traditions in Praise of Jerusalem and three on the merits of al-Shām; see *ibid.*, p. 39, for additional bibliography on him; the close relations between the early *zuhhād* and the government were noted by Kister ("Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem," p. 71), but especially by Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–35.

⁶⁵ Bosworth, "Rajā'" p. 37; Gil, *Palestine*, p. 121 no. 153 [=vol. I, pp. 100–101]; see also, Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikn* (Amman), vol. VI, pp. 230–240; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. VIII, pp. 312–316; *idem.*, *Tahdhīb*, vol. III, p. 312; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. III, p. 265 (both sources and many others are cited by Gil); see also al-Wāsiṭī, nos. 19, 96, and esp. no. 136; *Ta'rikn Abi Zur'a*, vol. I, pp. 249, 335–337, 370; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. IV, pp. 557–561; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶⁶ Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 1330 H., p. 215; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. IV, p. 323.

In another tradition, Ibrāhīm testifies that al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik used to send gold bands with him to be distributed among the inhabitants of Jerusalem.⁶⁷ In another place his explanation of a verse of the *Qur’ān* is transmitted with an early, very important topographical identification.⁶⁸ Ibrāhīm served as secretary to Hishām and was in charge of *diwān al-khātam* during Marwān b. Muḥammad’s reign.⁶⁹

There are many other such examples.⁷⁰ One further unique ex-

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 89a: *kāna yab’athu ma’i bi-ṣafā’ih al-dhahab fayu-qassimuhā bayna Ahl Bayt al-Maqdis*; in parallel sources we read instead of *ṣafā’ih al-dhahab* (gold bands); *qiṣā’ al-fidda* (big) silver bowls, see al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-Shāmiyyīn*, vol. I, p. 27; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, vol. I, p. 144; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, vol. V, p. 245; instead of *Ahl Bayt al-Maqdis* (the ‘Arab) inhabitants of Jerusalem): *Qurrā’ Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis* (the readers of *Qur’ān* of the Mosque of Jerusalem); *Simt al-Nujūm*, vol. III, p. 175; *Qurrā’ Bayt al-Maqdis*.

⁶⁸ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 48, no. 71; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 84b; also on Ibrāhīm b. Abi ‘Abla, see al-Rāzī, *al-Jarh*, vol. I/1, 1371/1952, p. 105; al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-Shāmiyyīn*, vol. I, pp. 25–72; Ibn Hajar, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 142; al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar fī man Ghabar*, I, al-Kuwayt, 1960, p. 217; *idem.*, *Siyar*, vol. VI, pp. 323–325; Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 124 no. [166] [=vol. I, p. 103]; Livne, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁹ Secretary to Hishām: Muḥammad b. ‘Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb*, Cairo, 1938, p. 137; *Diwān al-Khātam*: al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faraj Ba’da al-Shidda*, vol. I, Beirut, 1978, p. 388.

⁷⁰ For example: 1) ‘Aṭā’ b. Abi Muslim al-Khurāsānī (d. 135/752–753), al-Wāsiṭī, p. 24, no. 30; p. 36, no. 47; he died in Jericho and was buried in Jerusalem: Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 72b–73a; al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, vol. III/1, 1360/1941, pp. 334–335; *Ta’rikh Abi Zur’a*, vol. I, p. 255; al-Fasawī, vol. II, pp. 376–377; Ibn ‘Asākir (Amman), vol. XI, pp. 656–658; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. XVII, pp. 76–80; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. VI, pp. 140–143; *Mizān al-I’tidāl*, vol. II, 1325 H., pp. 198–199; Gil, *loc. cit.*; Sezgin, I, p. 33.

2) ‘Aṭīyya b. Qays (end of the 1/7th century); on him, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 15, no. 17, n. 1; Ibn ‘Asākir (Amman), vol. XI, pp. 684–688; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. XVII, pp. 88–89; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. V, pp. 324–325.

3) Al-Walid b. Muslim, al-Filastīnī (d. 194/809–810); on him, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 49, no. 73; p. 87, no. 141, and esp. *ibid.*, p. 15, no. 16, n. 2; Ibn ‘Asākir (Amman), vol. XVII, pp. 897–908; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. XXVI, pp. 353–357; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. IX, pp. 211–220; Sezgin, vol. I, p. 298; and see the important research of Donner, “Historiography,” pp. 1–27, where he discusses in great detail several important scholars in the Umayyad period, and their relations with the regime. Donner utilized the important work of Abū Zur’a for his study.

4) Sa’id b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (d. 167/783–784); see Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 87a; al-Wāsiṭī, p. 14; see also Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh* (Amman), vol. VII, pp. 298–308; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. IX, pp. 330–333; *idem.*, *Tahdhīb*, vol. VI, 1349 H., pp. 152–153; Donner, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 23–25.

5) Abū Zur’a, Yahyā b. Abi ‘Amrū al-Saybānī, al-Ramlī (d. 148/765); see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 7, no. 6; see also Gil, *Palestine*, vol. I, p. 103, no. 168, with additional sources.

6) Thawr b. Yazid (d. 153/770–771); al-Wāsiṭī, p. 41, no. 56; p. 21, no. 24; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh* (Amman), vol. III, pp. 603–612; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. V, pp. 350–351; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. VI, pp. 344–345; Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 233, no. 389; but esp. Donner, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–18; see additional information concerning the relations between distinguished scholars and the Umayyad regime, *Ta’rikh Abi Zur’a*, vol. I, pp. 351, 432–433, 370; vol. II, pp. 700–701; al-Fasawī, vol.

ample is the last tradition in al-Wāsiṭī's book.⁷¹ The *isnād* concludes with Ḍamara b. Rabī'a al-Ramlī (d. 202/817), the pupil of Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Abla,⁷² from Khālid b. Ḥāzīm, who recounts in the first person that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, the famous scholar (d. 124/742), came to Jerusalem:

and I began to go around with him in these (holy places) so that he could pray there. He said: I said here is [a]shaykh, who recites from the holy books (*inna hāhunā shaykhan yuhaddithu 'ani 'l-kutubi*),⁷³ called 'Uqba b. Abī Zaynab. What do you think of sitting in his company? . . . He said: And we sat by him and he began to transmit traditions in praise of Jerusalem. And since he dwelt at length (on these), al-Zuhri said, oh shaykh, you will never reach the level reached by Allāh. He said: "Glory to (Allāh) who did take his Servant for a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque, whose precincts we did bless."⁷⁴ And he (the shaykh) was angered and said: The resurrection of the dead will not come to pass until the bones of Muḥammad, may Allāh pray for him and save him, are transferred to Jerusalem.

From this tradition one learns of the early *ziyāra* to holy places in Jerusalem during the Umayyad period; of the study of non-Muslim religious literature on the Ḥaram by Muslims; of the identification of Jerusalem with the well known *Qur'ān* verse of the Prophet's *Isrā'*; of the activity of al-Zuhri, the important scholar, and of two early Jerusalem scholars, mentioned by name. This is in fact an historical tradition, with *isnād*, of course. Many traditions of this kind are to be found in the collections of the *Faḍā'il*.

In light of all of the above, and based on my understanding of the traditions of the "Literature of Praise", I attempt to trace the earliest historical and topographical processes in the Muslim period in Jerusalem. This brings us back to the Umayyad period, in which great efforts were made by the rulers to exalt Syria (including

II, p. 396; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhib*, vol. VI, pp. 273–275, 285–286; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 48; Juynboll, pp. 80–81; and especially, Livne, *loc. cit.*

⁷¹ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 102, no. 165; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 282 (quoting al-Wāsiṭī).

⁷² On Ḍamra, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 7, no. 6, note; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh* (Amman), vol. VIII, pp. 480–485; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. XI, p. 159; Dhahabi, *Siyar*, vol. IX, pp. 325–327; Gil, *op. cit.*, pp. 291–292 no. 408 [=vol. I, p. 241].

⁷³ On this expression, meaning the Holy Books of the Jews and Christians, see Kister, "*Haddithū*," p. 224 (=14, where he cites Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya*, vol. II, pp. 298–299); see also Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem," p. 59, al-Wāsiṭī, p. 23 (Introduction).

⁷⁴ *Qur'ān*, XVII (*Bani Isrā'il*), v. 1.

Palestine: al-Shām), and in which Jerusalem received a special status within the framework of these efforts. I will, therefore, begin the account with an historical survey encompassing Umayyad construction works in Jerusalem, with special emphasis on construction at the holy places in the city.

CHAPTER ONE

CONSTRUCTION WORKS ON THE ḤARAM DURING THE UMAYYAD PERIOD

A. INTRODUCTION: THE UMAYYAD CALIPHS AND JERUSALEM

1. *Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (Reigned 40/661–60/680)*

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, founder of the Umayyad Caliphate, served as governor of Syria from the year 640. In 658, at the height of the struggle between him and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib for the caliphate, he made a covenant in Jerusalem with 'Amrū b. al-'Āṣ, the important military commander.¹ A unique tradition tells that this took place at the Gate of Lod,² most probably the western gate of Jerusalem. Two years later, on the death of 'Alī, Mu'āwiya was crowned Caliph in Jerusalem.³

Mu'āwiya is today recognized as the active promoter and supporter of great construction works throughout the Muslim caliphate. There are clear testimonies of this from Mecca, Madīna, Ṭā'if, 'Iraq and Damascus,⁴ but such evidence concerning Jerusalem is almost totally lacking. It does seem that he was the first to demonstrate great interest in the development of Syria and Palestine, and also of Jerusalem. There are traditions, already noted by Hasson, concerning Mu'āwiya's interest in Jerusalem and the importance he attached to it.⁵ The testimony of Arculfus, the Christian pilgrim who visited Palestine right at the end of Mu'āwiya's caliphate, states that quite a large, primitive mosque already stood on the

¹ Creswell, vol. I/1, p. 35; Goitein, "Jerusalem During the Arab Period," p. 11 (quoting, Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. IV/2 and Mujir (Cairo ed.), p. 233); see also Gil, *Palestine*, pp. 75–76, no. 88 [=vol. I, pp. 62–63].

² Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, p. 217; and see the discussion on Bāb Ludd below, pp. 134–136.

³ Wellhausen, pp. 101–102; Asaf, p. 290, n. 8; Goitein, *loc. cit.*; Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 78, no. 92 [=vol. I, pp. 64–65]; Duri, "al-Quds", p. 15; Arce, pp. 181–182.

⁴ Kister, "Mecca," pp. 84–86, 88–90; *idem.*, "al-Ḥarra," pp. 38, 42–44; Hasson, *Mu'āwiya*, pp. 342–351.

⁵ Al-Wāsiṭī, Arabic introd., pp. 19–20; French introd. pp. 18–19; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 172; I agree with Wellhausen, p. 214, who thinks that the tradition of Mu'āwiya wishing to transfer the *minbar* of the Prophet from al-Madīna to Syria testifies to an authentic wish and intention. Even if the tradition, in its various forms, is not authentic and its purpose is to calumniate the Umayyads, it is certainly a reflection of the Umayyad trends and the state of mind prevalent among them.

Ḥaram.⁶ Nonetheless, only one explicit statement has been found in Arabic chronicles testifying to construction in Jerusalem during Mu'āwiya's reign. This tradition, presented by al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisi (mid-10th century), says that Mu'āwiya built al-Masjid al-Aqṣa (al-Aqṣā Mosque).⁷ This statement is corroborated by the apocalyptic Jewish *midrash* which notes that Mu'āwiya built the walls of the Temple Mount.⁸

2. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (Reigned 65/685–86/705)

'Abd al-Malik had very close ties with Palestine. Already during the reign of his father he ruled on his behalf over Jund Filastīn.⁹

He was in Jund Filastīn in the year 65/685, apparently in Jerusalem. A tradition to which no parallels have been found, recorded by Khalifa b. Khayyāt (d. 240/853), states that 'Abd al-Malik was crowned as caliph in Jerusalem. The tradition is transmitted in a succinct, dry manner, and seems reliable.¹⁰

As soon as 'Abd al-Malik became caliph, he planned the construction of the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra) and apparently of the al-Aqṣā Mosque too, as a permanent, glorious building. His first act was to expand the boundaries of the Mosque within the Ḥaram, which, in the year 685, did not include the rock upon which the Dome of the Rock was to be erected. Goldziher mentioned this act in passing, but unfortunately omitted the reference from his book.¹¹ He may have referred to Sa'id b. al-Biṭriq who says: "['Abd al-Malik] added to the area of the Mosque so that the rock was

⁶ Goitein, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 35, nn. 3–4; Tsafrir, p. 46; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb," p. 117; J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 9–10; Rosen-Ayalon, *The Ḥaram*, p. 4.

⁷ Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, vol. IV, p. 87 (mentioned by the editor of al-Wāsiṭi, Introduction, p. 20, and Goitein, *op. cit.*, p. 11).

⁸ "Vayimloch tahtav Mu'āwiya ben Abī Safūn (=Sufyān) vayivneh et homot haBayit vava'rich shanim." This *midrash* is mentioned by Goitein, *loc. cit.*, quoting Batey Midrashot (Wertheimer's ed.), vol. II, Jerusalem, 1894, p. 30; published again by I. Levi, *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. LXVII (1914), pp. 173–182; see also Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca*, p. 93 who also thinks that Mu'āwiya planned and even built the Ḥaram. He even believes that "Mu'āwiya it appears, intended to rule the *Dār al-Islām* from Jerusalem."

⁹ Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb* (Anonym), pp. 164, 1. 15–165, 1. 20; al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 306, ll. 16–20.

¹⁰ Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. I, p. 329; *thumma tuwuffiyā [Marwān b. al-Ḥakam] fi mustahall Ramaḍān, wa'stukhlifa amīr al-mu'minīn 'Abd al-Malik bi-Ḥīyā' fi shahar Ramaḍān* [year 65/April–May 685]; see also Duri, "al-Quds," p. 15, n. 61.

¹¹ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 45, n. 5: "It is possible that 'Abd al-Malik had this in mind when he extended the al-Aqṣā mosque to include the *Ṣakhra* and its territory."

included in this area."¹² This tradition was copied by al-Maqrīzī with a significant modification in the wording: "He included the rock in the Ḥaram," i.e. in the consecrated area of al-Aqṣā,¹³ and by Ibn Khaldūn, who also included the same modification.¹⁴

'Abd al-Malik is principally known for the construction of the Dome of the Rock, but his name is also connected with other construction works in Jerusalem, such as al-Aqṣā Mosque. Two gates were also built in Jerusalem during his reign, one bearing the royal inscription on its lintel, with the name of the caliph, and the other the name of the famous governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Al-Ḥajjāj supervised the building of these two gates.¹⁵

It is difficult to determine with certainty where these gates were built and in which walls, whether in the walls encompassing the Ḥaram or in the city wall. They may have been fixed in the wall of the Ḥaram, since according to the writings of the important mid-10th century geographer, al-Muqaddasī, 'Abd al-Malik apparently repaired and renovated the Ḥaram walls.¹⁶ Some contemporary scholars have attributed the Gate of Mercy (Bāb al-Rahma) and the Gate of the Prophet (Bāb al-Nabī) to the Umayyad period.¹⁷ If this assumption

¹² Sa'id b. al-Biṭriq, *Ta'rikkh*, vol. II, p. 39, l. 19: *fa-zāda fī 'l-masjid ḥattā adkhala al-Ṣakhra dākhl al-masjid*. Cf. Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 92, no. 104 [=vol. I, p. 76].

¹³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. II, p. 49, ll. 22–23: *adkhala al-Ṣakhra fī ḥaram al-Aqṣā*.

¹⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. II, p. 226, ll. 26–27: *wa-adkhala al-Ṣakhra fī 'l-Haram*. Ibn Khaldūn quotes this tradition from al-Makīn b. al-'Amīd (1205–1273), a Christian writer, who wrote a world history in Arabic. M. Plessner, *El'*, says that al-Makīn independently used early sources unknown to his predecessors, such as Sa'id b. al-Biṭriq. It would seem thus that Ibn al-'Amīd drew the information from Sa'id b. al-Biṭriq. Al-Maqrīzī may have taken the information from Ibn al-'Amīd, or directly from Ibn al-Biṭriq. On this, see also Cl. Čahen, "La Chronique des Ayyūbides d'al-Makīn b. al-'Amīd," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, vol. XV (1958), p. 113.

¹⁵ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. XI, p. 226, quoting from Ibn Khallikān: *qāla Ibn Khallikān, wa-hādhā kamā jarā li-'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān hina amara al-Ḥajjāja an yabni bāb bi-Bayt al-Maqdis wa-yaktub 'alayhi ismahu. Fa-banā lahu bāban wa-banā li-nafsihi bāban ākhar*.

Translation: "Ibn Khallikān said, this incident [which has been related previously] is similar to that which occurred to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān when he commanded al-Ḥajjāj to build a gate in Jerusalem and to engrave his name upon it. And he [al-Ḥajjāj] built a gate for 'Abd al-Malik and built another gate for himself." Goitein, *op. cit.*, p. 13, mentions the traditions; *ibid.*, he mentions a poem by al-Farazdaq in which al-Ḥajjāj's journey from Jerusalem to 'Iraq is mentioned (al-Ṭabari, II, p. 1139, ll. 8–11.)

¹⁶ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 168; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 98; al-Muqaddasī used the expression "al-Masjid al-Aqṣā." By this he means the whole Ḥaram area, see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–97.

¹⁷ Tsafir, pp. 21–22, 28; Tsafir says (n. 48) that this view was expressed already

is correct, it raises the obvious question as to whether these two are the same gates mentioned above. In addition to these major construction works, 'Abd al-Malik also repaired the roads to Jerusalem.¹⁸

3. *Al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (Reigned 86/705–96/715)*

The Aphrodito Papyri, which contain the official correspondence between Qurra b. Sharik, Governor of Egypt (80/709–96/714) and Basilius, the official in charge of the Area of Aphrodite in Upper Egypt, clearly prove that during al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik's reign there was widespread construction on the Ḥaram and outside its walls.¹⁹

Two papyri refer to the workers and craftsmen working in the Mosque of Jerusalem and in the Palace of the Caliph.²⁰ In another papyrus, mention is made in one place of a worker employed in the Mosque of Jerusalem for six months,²¹ and in another place, of three others who worked in the Mosque of Jerusalem for a year.²² A fourth papyrus tells of sending one worker for 12 months to the new building of *Amir al-Mu'minin*.²³ These papyri thus testify to three different structures built in Jerusalem at the time of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik. The first is the Caliph's Palace, the second, an undefined building, called the new building of the Caliph, and the third structure mentioned is the Mosque of Jerusalem, referring to al-Aqṣā Mosque. It is possible that some of the six Umayyad buildings discovered during the excavations south and west of the Ḥaram are those referred to in the Aphrodito Papyri.

in 1935 by C. Watzinger (*Denkmäler Palestinas*, II, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 144–145). He also quotes M. Ben Dov, who holds the same view, *Eretz Israel*, XI, (1973), p. 79; see also Ben Dov, *Excavations*, pp. 282–286; and especially, Rosen-Ayalon, *The Ḥaram*, ch. 6.

¹⁸ Van Berchem, vol. I (*Jérusalem-ville*), pp. 17–21; Sharon, "Arabic Inscription," pp. 367–372; Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 109, no. 120 [=vol. I, p. 90].

¹⁹ Bell published an English translation of the Papyri in *Der Islam*, vols. II–IV; see also Creswell, I/2, p. 373; but especially, Abbot, *The Kurrah Papyri*, Introduction; on Qurra b. Sharik, see Abbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–69; al-Zirikli, *A'lām*, vol. VI, pp. 36–37; Stern, "Al-Masjid al-Aqṣā," p. 31.

²⁰ Bell, "The Aphrodito Papyri," *Der Islam*, vol. II, p. 383, no. 1403; *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 137, no. 1414; quoted by Creswell, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Bell, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 93, no. 1435; quoted by Creswell, *loc. cit.*; Stern, *loc. cit.*

²² Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 370, no. 1443.

4. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (Reigned 96/715–99/717)

Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik also served as Governor of Jund Filastīn during the reigns of his father and brother, al-Walīd.²⁴

According to one tradition, we learn that when Sulaymān was appointed Caliph he wished to establish his place of residence in Jerusalem and to live there. It was indeed to Jerusalem that delegations of the tribes and honourables arrived to swear loyalty to the caliph.²⁵ This is an early tradition and its transmitters can be traced back as far as the early 9th century.²⁶ But in light of what we know of Sulaymān's attitude towards Jerusalem (see below) and especially of the establishment of Ramla, it seems more likely to accept another tradition (from al-Wāqidi) from which it may be understood that Sulaymān resided in Jerusalem just for the purpose of sending troops to conquer Constantinople.²⁷

Jerusalem was at this time the central and most important city in the Palestine district. It seems, however, that Sulaymān did not display the same adoration for Jerusalem as did the Umayyad caliphs who preceded him. A very interesting tradition (its *isnād* ends with al-Zuhri) in Abū Dāwūd's *al-Nāsikh wa-'l-Mansūkh*, quoted by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, elucidates this trend.²⁸ One of the prominent acts

²⁴ Khalifa, *Ta'rikh*, vol. I, pp. 394, 417; al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, p. 143; Eisener, p. 18 concludes wrongly (according to Kahlifa, *loc. cit.*) that Sulaymān served under his father as the *qādi* of Filastīn.

²⁵ See Gil, *Palestine*, p. 104, no. 115 [=vol. I, p. 86]; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥattāb,'" p. 117.

²⁶ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 82a: *thumma annahu hamma bi-'l-iqāma bi-Bayt al-Maqdis wa-'ittikhādhihā manzilan wa-jama'a al-nās wa-'l-amwāl fihā*; the *isnād* is as follows: . . . al-Walīd [b. Ḥammād al-Ramlī] > some of the old and important transmitters of the District of Palestine, who lived and witnessed the events of the period ("*ghayr wāhid min mashyakhāt al-jund mimman adraka dhālika*"); Sivan, "Faḍā'il," p. 270, quotes this tradition, but doubts its authenticity; this tradition was copied by Mujir, vol. I, pp. 249, l. 21–250, l. 2 [Amman ed. vol. I, pp. 281–282] (mentioned by Gil, *loc. cit.*); Muḥammad b. Shākīr al-Kutubī, *Wafāt al-Wafayāt*, Bulaq, 1299 H., vol. I, p. 177.

²⁷ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. IX, pp. 174, l. 26–175, l. 8; *wa qāla al-Wāqidi lammā waliyā Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik arāda al-iqāma bi Bayt al-Maqdis thumma yursilu al-'asākīr ilā l-Qusṭanīniyya*.

²⁸ Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-Athar fī Funūn al-Maghāzī wa-'l-Shama'il wa-'l-Siyar*, vol. I, Cairo, 1356, p. 237: *wa-ruwinā min ṭariq Abī Dāwūd fī kitāb al-Nāsikh wa-'l-Mansūkh lahu qāla: haddathanā Aḥmad b. Sāliḥ haddathanā 'Anbasa 'an Yūnus 'an Ibn Shihāb qāla: kāna Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik lā yu'azzimu liyā' kamā yu'azzimuhā Ahl al-Bayt; qāla fa-sirtu ma'ahu wa-huwa waliyy 'ahd qāla wa-ma'ahu Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya; qāla Sulaymān wa-huwa jālis fihā wa-Allāhi inna fī hādhihi 'l-qibla 'llatī ṣallā ilayhā al-Muslimūn wa-'l-Naṣarā la-'ajaban. Qāla Khālid b. Yazīd ammā wa-Allāhi inni la-aqra'u 'l-Kitāb alla-dhī anzalahu Allāh 'alā Muḥammad (Ṣ) wa-aqra'u al-Tawrāt fa-lam tajidhā al-Yahūd fī 'l-kitāb alldhī anzalahu Allāh 'alayhim wa-lakinna tabūt*

signalling this change of attitude towards Jerusalem is the commencement of the construction of Ramla.²⁹ And indeed, the crowning glory of his construction works in Palestine is the planning and establishment of the new city of al-Ramla.

An early tradition (no later than the mid-8th century) mentions Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik's bathhouse in Jerusalem, where the Dome of the Rock's attendants used to purify themselves.³⁰

* * * * *

The magnificent buildings constructed in Jerusalem at the initiative of the Umayyad caliphs and with their support were only a part of the overall effort to make the city a political and religious centre. Another part was the encouragement and circulation of "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" (*fadā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*).³¹ An important place in these traditions is accorded to the traditions dealing with the Prophet's night journey from Mecca (*al-isrā'*) and his ascension to heaven (*al-mi'rāj*).

The combined tradition of the *isrā'* and *al-mi'rāj* was developed during the Umayyad period, and it attempts to give Islamic legitimacy to the position of the city and its sanctity. It thus constitutes

al-sakīna kāna 'alā 'l-Ṣakhra fa-lammā ghaḍība Allāh 'alā Banī Isrā'ila rafa'ahu fa-kānat ṣalātuḥum ilā 'l-Ṣakhra 'alā mushāwara.

Translation: "It was transmitted to us through Abū Dāwūd in his book *al-Nāsikh wa-'l-Mansūkh*: Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ transmitted to us from 'Anbasa from Yūnus from Ibn Shihāb (al-Zuhri) who said: Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik did not honour and esteem Jerusalem as the members of the Umayyad family had honoured and esteemed it; he said: And I went with him, when he was [still] heir to the throne. And Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya with him [=Sulaymān]. Sulaymān said, while sitting there [=in Jerusalem], as Allāh lives, this *qibla* to which Muslims and Christians prayed, awakens wonder and astonishment. Khālid b. Yazīd said, as for me, as Allāh lives, I read the (holy) book which Allāh brought down to Muḥammad and the *Torah*, [and I thus know] that the Jews did not find it [the commandment to pray in the direction of Jerusalem] in the book of God brought down to them, but the Ark of the Divine Presence was on the Rock and when God became angry with the Children of Israel, he lifted it up [and took it from there], and therefore they prayed to the Rock [only] after consultation between them [between the Jewish scholars]."

This extremely important tradition is also quoted by al-Suyūṭī, *Iṭḥāf*, vol. I, pp. 190–191, with a major difference: *Kāna Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik yu'azzimu līyā'*, instead of *lā yu'azzimu*. It seems, however, that this is a printing error, since in the mss. of the *Iṭḥāf*, which I checked (BL. Or. 13317(1), fol. 39a; Add. 2326, fol. 42b, ll. 16–17; Add. 7327, fol. 37b, l. 9; and Add. 23,339, fol. 44b, ll. 7–8), the *lā* appears.

²⁹ On Ramla during the early Muslim Period, see Sharon, "Passover" (see Bibliography).

³⁰ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 82, no. 136; Elad, "An Arabic Tradition," p. 39.

³¹ Al-Wāsiṭī (Introduction); Elad, "The Coastal Cities," p. 151; Gil, *Palestine*, pp. 96–100, nos. 109–112 [= vol. I, pp. 79–83].

additional confirmation, slightly later than the mainly Jewish traditions and *midrashim* (as well as Christian traditions) which passed into Islam, of the sanctity of Jerusalem and, in particular, of the Haram area.³²

B. THE MAJOR CONSTRUCTION WORKS ON THE ḤARAM DURING THE Umayyad Period

The Ḥaram and vicinity served as the religious and political centre at the time of 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid (65/685–96/715). A complete, comprehensive description of the Ḥaram in the early Muslim period cannot yet be given: there is much still unknown about the stages of its erection and development, and the stages of the construction of the many buildings in that area. At this stage of research, only partial conclusions can be reached.

The two most important and impressive constructions on the Ḥaram were certainly the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra) and al-Aqṣā Mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqṣā). While the builder of the Dome of the Rock and the date of its construction are known, the history of al-Aqṣā Mosque, at least of the early stages of construction, is less clear.

1. Al-Aqṣā Mosque

a. The Period of the "Four Guided Caliphs" and the Umayyads

It may be assumed that the Muslims erected a mosque immediately after their conquest of Jerusalem. Where exactly was this mosque, and who was responsible for its construction? If Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (reigned 634–644) conquered Jerusalem, it would seem that he was also responsible for the erection of the mosque. It has already been noted that the Umayyads made every effort possible to invent and promote traditions in praise and glorification of Jerusalem. A great many of these traditions tell in detail of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's most praiseworthy role in everything connected to

³² On *al-isrā'* and *al-mi'rāj*, see EI^I, "Isrā'" (B. Schreike), s.v.; EI^I, "Mi'rāj": (J. Horowitz), s.v.; and especially the exhaustive bibliography in Gil's *Palestine*, pp. 96–98, no. 109 [=vol. I, p. 81]; H. Busse, "Jerusalem in the Story of Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascension," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. XIV (1991), pp. 1–40; on the Islamization of the Jewish traditions and *midrashim* see Hirschberg, "Sources," pp. 320–324; Polak, "Even Shtiyya," pp. 165–167, 172–173; Grabar, "The Dome of the Rock," pp. 38–39; Goitein, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," pp. 144–146; Hamilton (quoted by Kessler, "'Abd al-Malik", p. 11, n. 20); Busse, "Jerusalem," pp. 455–460; Kister, "*Haddithū*," p. 237.

the siege and conquest of Jerusalem, obtaining the peace treaty for the city and his different activities there. It was Busse who first insisted on the significance of these traditions, describing “‘Umar’s construction works in Jerusalem”. In a number of research works he analysed several motifs in the “‘Umar Traditions” on the conquest, his activities on the Ḥaram, etc.³³ One of these traditions, in one of its many different forms, describes ‘Umar’s entry to the Ḥaram, with Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, the Jewish convert, and ‘Umar’s refusal to accept Ka‘b’s suggestion that the *qibla*, i.e., the direction of prayer, should be fixed from behind the Holy Rock, thus combining the two *qiblas*, Mecca and Jerusalem. ‘Umar locates the *qibla* or, according to other traditions, the foundations of the mosque, in front of the rock (i.e., to the south of it). Scholars who have studied Jerusalem of this period considered this tradition and its different components to be true, and did not view it as one of the traditions testifying to the struggle over the sanctity of Jerusalem and its significance in Islam.³⁴ It was Goitein, with his perspicacity, who upon analysing this tradition claimed that “this story apparently originated in a slightly later period (than the conquest of Jerusalem–A.E.), at the time of construction of the first temporary mosque on the site.”³⁵ Indeed, according to al-Wāsiṭī’s tradition, the time of circulation of this tradition can be determined as the first half of the eighth century, namely, during the reign of the Umayyad caliphs, ‘Abd al-Malik, al-Walid, Sulaymān and ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Aziz, Yazid and Hishām, sons of ‘Abd al-Malik (who reigned from 65/685–125/744), since the tradition is transmitted

³³ See especially “The Sanctity of Jerusalem”; *idem*, “‘Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb,” (see Bibliography); Elad, “An Arabic Tradition,” pp. 31–32; but cf. Gil, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53, no. 66–67 [=vol. I, pp. 43–44]; see also Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca*, pp. 89–90.

³⁴ This tradition can be found in many sources with many variations and additions, e.g., al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 45–46, no. 63, where the *isnād* is as follows: ‘Umar b. al-Faḍl . . . al-Walid [b. Muslim] > Kulthūm b. Ziyād > Sulaymān b. Ḥabib; *ibid.*, p. 46, no. 3 (many parallel sources from the mss. of Ibn al-Murajjā, the author of *Ithāf al-Akhiṣṣā*, al-Kanjī, the author of *Muthir al-Gharām* and al-Fazārī); and see also Goitein, “Jerusalem During the Arabic Period,” p. 9; *idem.*, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” p. 140 (quoting Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tahdhib*, vol. I, p. 176; al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, vol. II [Wüstenfeld ed.], p. 600 [Cairo ed. vol. III, 1368/1949, p. 828; from Abū ‘Ubayd, al-Qāsim b. Salām (d. 838)] and Mujir, vol. I, p. 227); see also Sa‘id b. al-Bitriq, *Ta’rikh*, vol. II, p. 18, ll. 15–16; al-Mutahhar b. Ṭāhir, vol. IV, p. 87, l. 12; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya*, vol. VII, p. 55, l. 22; al-Maqrīzī, *Khitāt*, vol. II, p. 492, l. 19; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. III, Cairo, 1962, p. 324; cf. *idem.*, *Ta’rikh al-Islām*, vol. III, Cairo, 1368 H., p. 100; and see the exhaustive bibliography in Gil, *Palestine*, pp. 65–69, nos. 81–82 [=vol. I, pp. 54–57]; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 284–285.

³⁵ Goitein, *loc. cit.*

by Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb (the last transmitter), who served as *qāḍī* of Damascus during the time of the above-mentioned caliphs.³⁶

The subject of the *qibla* and determination of its direction is extremely complex and cannot be discussed in detail here.³⁷ Notable, however, is the interesting parallel, already dealt with by Gil, describing the determination of the *qibla* by the Prophet in Mecca, before the *hijra* to al-Madīna. One current of traditions unites Mecca and Jerusalem; another determines that the Prophet only prayed towards Mecca.³⁸ This is the same disagreement reflected in the tradition concerning fixing the *qibla* in Jerusalem, noted above.

Creswell, who deals extensively with the question of the construction of the early al-Aqṣā Mosque, mentions a number of other traditions from late Muslim sources relating the building of the Mosque to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; but he considers these accounts to be legendary.³⁹ He notes that there is no early source mentioning his construction, apart from Euty chius (Sa'īd b. al-Bīṭrīq), but this report he also sees as biased and legendary. Creswell then goes on to cite⁴⁰ a series of Christian writers: Theophanes (751–818), Elias of Nisibis (d. 1046), and Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), who specifically note the construction of a building on the Ḥaram in 643, and Michael, the Syrian (1166–1199), who notes that the mosque was built in 640. These stories are accompanied by religiously-motivated Christian legends, such as the story of how the construction erected by 'Umar on the Dome of the Rock collapsed (!) until, on the advice of the Jews, the Cross was removed from the summit of the Mount of Olives. Despite his reservations about the accounts of the Christian chronicles, Creswell concludes:

Now although these accounts must be regarded as unsatisfactory, and in spite of the silence of the best Muḥammadan authors, it is quite possible that some primitive structure was erected at the time of 'Umar in homage to the *Qur'ānic* text . . . for Arculf, who visited Jerusalem c. A.D. 670, says . . . "the Saracens now frequent a quad-

³⁶ On Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb, see al-Wāsiṭī, *loc. cit.*; *Ta'rikh Abi Zur'a*, vol. II, pp. 700–701; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, vol. IV, p. 247; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhib*, vol. VI, 1349 H., pp. 246–247: *qāḍī* for 30 years; Ibn Ḥajar, *loc. cit.*: for 40 years. As indicated above, I established the period in which this *ḥadīth* was circulated to be the first quarter of the 8th century, due to the mention of Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb. A parallel tradition in Ibn al-Murajja, fol. 48a, ends with: al-Walid b. Muslim (d. 194) > Kulthūm b. Ziyād [Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb is omitted!]. Kulthūm b. Ziyād was the secretary of Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 45, no. 63, n. 1.

³⁷ Prof. M.J. Kister is writing an article on this subject.

³⁸ Gil, *loc. cit.*, and see Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

³⁹ Creswell, vol. I/1, pp. 32–33, quoting al-Bakrī (d. 1091), Ibn Ḥubaysh (d. 1188), *Muthīr al-Gharām*, copied by al-Suyūṭī and Mujir al-Dīn.

⁴⁰ Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

angular house of prayer" . . . There is consequently no reason for doubting that 'Umar did erect a primitive mosque with a timber roof in the Temple Area. . . .⁴¹

Creswell's argument has one glaring defect. Arculf visited Palestine between 679 and 682. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb died in 644. It is absolutely impossible to prove that it was actually 'Umar who was responsible for the construction of the primitive mosque described by Arculf. It is also difficult to understand how Creswell, who considered the relevant Muslim sources to be legends and the Christian sources to be dubious, could so positively affirm that 'Umar thus built al-Aqṣā Mosque on the Ḥaram.

On the basis of his study and analysis of Byzantine Christian testimonies, Schwabe claims that 'Umar did build a place of prayer on the Ḥaram. He mainly refers to the testimony of Theophanes and of the Armenian Sebeos (mid-seventh century),⁴² yet in the same study, he claims that "it may perhaps be considered that there is a certain tendency [in Theophanes' account-A.E.] to blame the Jews for the damage caused to the Christians by the Arabs, and that the Jews, who were 'Umar's advisors in this matter, are merely the fruit of Theophanes' or his source's invention." Although Schwabe immediately thereafter rejects this contention, his arguments are not sufficiently convincing.⁴³ In fact, the traditions of both Sebeos, the Armenian, and of Theophanes contain polemics and accusations against the Jews.⁴⁴ Schwabe summarizes Theophanes' traditions thus:

Yet the Christian historian adapted the matter according to his reasons, and of the hidden historical core only a vestige of information remains, which is difficult to discover today, even after removal of the tendentious description concealing it.⁴⁵

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

⁴² *Schwabe*, p. 102–104.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 102; apart from the polemical note against the Jews and distortion of facts, Theophanes dates his story at 6135 since the Creation of the world, corresponding to the year 22/23 of the *hijra*, namely, 643–634. According to the Muslim chroniclers, 'Umar was neither in Syria nor in Jerusalem in that year. He left Syria in 638 at the latest, and died at the end of 23, namely, November 644, in al-Madīna. Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 33, who also notes this discrepancy, nonetheless accepts the solution of Caetani, who suggests that the date of 'Umar's construction work in Jerusalem be moved forward to the year 20/21, namely, 641. In my opinion, this is a contrived solution which does not withstand rigorous examination of the sources.

⁴⁴ Sebeos relates that the Jews who came with 'Umar built a Prayer House in the Holy of Holies. The zealot Arabs drove them away, and called the place a place of prayer. See Schwabe, p. 103.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Apart from Creswell's notes on these Christian sources and Schwabe's research, no other studies have been undertaken either to elaborate these Christian sources by in-depth fundamental analysis, or, more importantly, to compare them with the many parallel Arabic sources.⁴⁶ The picture that can be pieced together of the Arab conquest of Jerusalem remains vague; a comprehensive research on the conquest of the city, based on both Arabic and Christian sources, is still called for.

a1. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān

Notwithstanding the lack of information and the inability to consolidate any definite information on the site and construction of the al-Aqṣā Mosque after the conquest of Jerusalem, the research may be advanced somewhat by looking past 'Umar and his alleged construction works in Jerusalem. 'Umar appointed Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān to be the governor of Syria and Palestine. Mu'āwiya started to rule over this area from 640, and from that time on he began consolidating his politico-military framework within Syria, the framework which twenty years later was to become the Umayyad Caliphate, with the crowning of the caliph in Jerusalem.

As noted above there are a number of testimonies on the existence of a mosque (al-Aqṣā?) on the Ḥaram during the reign of Mu'āwiya. The first, and clearest, is the testimony of Arculf, who visited Palestine between 679 and 682, and told of a primitive rectangular structure built of beams and clay on the Ḥaram, "into which, so it is said, 3,000 people can enter."⁴⁷ An apocalyptic *midrash* also testifies to the construction of the walls of the Ḥaram during the time of Mu'āwiya.⁴⁸

Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir explicitly testifies that Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān built al-Masjid al-Aqṣā,⁴⁹ but is unclear in his wording as to when Mu'āwiya built the mosque. In another tradition, which can be dated to the first quarter of the 8th century (no later than 103/721), it is related: "Mu'āwiya stood on the *minbar* of the (Mosque of) Jerusalem saying: Everything between the two walls of this mosque is loved by Allāh, may He be exalted, more than any (of the other places) on earth."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ However, note the somewhat exceptional study by Conrad, see below p. 4, note 9.

⁴⁷ See n. 6.

⁴⁸ See n. 8.

⁴⁹ See n. 7.

⁵⁰ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 55a with an *isnād* ending with Khālid b. Ma'dān (d. 103/721, on him, see below p. 19); Abū 'l-Faraj < Sulaymān < al-Walid b.

An interesting tradition is transmitted by Mujir al-Din concerning Sham'un b. Zayd, Abū Rayḥāna. It seems that Abū Rayḥāna, a convert to Islam, was originally a Jew from al-Naḍir tribe. He lived in Jerusalem in the mid-7th century, and was a *qaṣṣ*, a preacher who related stories about the prophets, and admonished and preached words of wisdom.⁵¹ Mujir says that he preached in al-Aqṣā Mosque.⁵² If the reference is to the actual mosque, this would be evidence of its existence in the mid-7th century or thereabouts. The reference may, however, be to the whole area or the Ḥaram, which is also sometimes referred to as al-Masjid al-Aqṣā.

Another interesting tradition concerning Abu Rayḥāna is transmitted by al-Haytham b. Shufay (or Shufiy), al-Ru'aynī al-Ḥajrī, al-Miṣrī (active during the late 7th–early 8th century)⁵³—who went with his friend, Abū 'Āmir (from the al-Ma'āfir tribe),⁵⁴ apparently

Muḥammad and Ḥaḥṣ b. 'Umar < Thawr [b. Yazid, d. 153/770] < Khālid b. Ma'dān: *Qama Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān 'alā Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis wa-huwa yaqūlu: mā bayna ḥa'itay hādihā 'l-Masjid ahabbu ilā Allāh ta'ālā min sā'ir al-ard*. This tradition is quoted by the editor of al-Wāsiṭī (Introduction, p. 20) from Ibn 'Asākir's *Risāla fī Fadā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, fol. 10a.

⁵¹ On the *qaṣṣ*, pl. *quṣṣās*, see the introduction to Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣās wa-l-Mudhakkirīn*, A Critical Annotated, Translated Text with Introduction by M.L. Swartz, Beyrouth, 1969; see also Hasson, *Mu'āwiya*, pp. 245–255, and bibliography, p. 285, n. 124; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 146–147.

⁵² Mujir, vol. I, p. 235: *wa-kāna ya'izu fī 'l-Masjid al-Aqṣā*; on Sham'un b. Zayd, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 65, no. 103; *ibid.*, n. 2: the editor quotes, among many other sources, *Muthir al-Gharām* (printed ed.), p. 27, a slightly different version: *wa kāna yaquṣṣu fī 'l-Masjid al-Aqṣā*; and see also 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa-'l-Raqā'iq*, 1385/1966, pp. 304–308, esp. p. 305, no. 877; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. VI, 1349 H., p. 340; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, vol. II, 1351/1933, pp. 28–29; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. III, Cairo, 1286 H., p. 4; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* vol. III, Cairo, 1325/1907, pp. 202–213; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. IV, 1325 H. pp. 365–366; Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Ḥammād al-Dūlābi, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa-'l-Asmā'*, vol. I, Haydarabad, 1322 H., p. 30; Mujir, *loc. cit.*, remarks that he was the father of Rayḥāna, the Jewish wife of the Prophet; Ibn Ḥajar, *loc. cit.*: Sham'un b. Zayd b. Khanāfa; Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*, Sham'un b. Yazid b. Khunāfa, Abū Rayḥāna; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. VIII, p. 92, remarks that Rayḥāna is the daughter of Zayd b. 'Amrū b. Khunāfa b. Sam'un b. Zayd. Zayd, her father, belonged to al-Naḍir tribe. She married a man from Banū Qurayza, who was killed with his tribe by the Prophet. But see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, vol. VIII, Cairo, 1325/1907, pp. 87–88, the two possibilities: 1) Rayḥāna b. Sham'un b. Zayd; 2) Rayḥāna b. Zayd b. 'Amrū b. Khunāfa [b. Sham'un b. Zayd].

⁵³ On him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. XI, 1327 H., p. 98; al-Rāzi, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. IV/2, 1373/1953, pp. 79–80; Ḥajr b. Ru'ayn is related to Ḥimyar, see al-Sam'ānī, vol. IV, 1384/1964, pp. 72–74; Caskel, *Jamhara*, vol. II, p. 237; vol. I, pp. 274, 276.

⁵⁴ A southern tribe, some of its sub-tribes and families settled in Egypt. See, Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, pp. 418–419, 485; *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. IV, Beirut, 1375/1955, p. 590 (*'a.f.r., s.v.*): Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. IV (Leipzig, 1869), pp. 570–

from Egypt, in order to pray in Jerusalem. He relates that they went up to Jerusalem so as to hear *qiṣaṣ* (religious stories, chastisements, and words of wisdom) from Abū Rayḥāna, the storyteller of Jerusalem, *li-nuṣallī bi-Īliyā' wa-kāna qaṣṣuhum rajulan mina-'l-azdī yuqālu lahu Abū Rayḥāna*. Abū Rayḥāna sat in the mosque, where he used to tell stories and preach. Al-Haytham's friend related the content of Abū Rayḥāna's sermon to his friend.⁵⁵

This is an early tradition which can be dated back to the beginning of the 8th century and seems to be authentic. It is interesting that the transmitters of this tradition are Egyptians. Three of the last transmitters belong to the same southern tribe (Ḥimyar), two of them clearly to the same sub-tribe (Ru'ayn), and the third may also belong to this sub-tribe.⁵⁶

From what little information there is concerning the existence of al-Aqṣā Mosque during the reign of Mu'āwiya it can only be assumed, as Goitein does, that the mosque was constructed at the beginning of the Umayyad period.⁵⁷

a2. 'Abd al-Malik

In the year 65/685 'Abd al-Malik was crowned Caliph. As soon as he came to power, he began planning the great construction works

571; Caskel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, tabl. 176; vol. II, p. 379; Abū 'Āmir, mentioned above, is probably 'Abdallāh b. Jābir al-Ḥajrī al-Azdī al-Ma'āfirī; on him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. XII, 1372 H., p. 145.

⁵⁵ Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, vol. VIII, Cairo, 1348/1930, pp. 143–144 [= *Muthir al-Gharām* (printed ed.), pp. 27–28, quoting al-Nasā'ī]; Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. IV, p. 134 [= *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn min Musnad al-Imām Ahmad b. Ḥanbal*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Jamāz, vol. I, Qaṭar, Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1990, p. 336]; Al-Fasawī, vol. II, p. 516.

⁵⁶ The *isnād* in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* is as follows: 'Abdallāh (b. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal) <his father (d. 855) <Yaḥyā b. Ghaylān [d. 220/835 or 213/828–829, on him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. XI, pp. 263–264; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, vol. XIV, 1349/1931, pp. 158–159] <al-Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍāla al-Ru'aynī [= Ḥimyar] [al-Qitbānī, al-Miṣrī (107/725–181/797–798), on him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, vol. X, 1327 H., pp. 273–274; *Mizān al-'itidāl*, vol. III, Cairo, 1325 H., p. 195; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. IV/1, 1372/1953, p. 315] <'Ayyāsh b. 'Abbās, al-Ḥimyarī < al-Qitbānī, al-Miṣrī [d. 133/750–751, on him, see al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, vol. III/2, 1361/1942, p. 6; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, 1326 H., pp. 197–198] <al-Haytham b. Shufay. The lower (earlier) part of Nasā'ī's *isnād* is identical: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. ('Abd) al-Ḥakam [the famous Egyptian scholar, the author of the book on the conquests of Egypt (182/798–799–251/871), on him, see *Ef'*, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (4) (F. Rosenthal), s.v.] <his father and Abū 'l-Aswad, al-Naḍr b. 'Abd al-Jabbār [145/762–763 d. Dec. 834, an Egyptian scholar of *ḥadīth*, *mawla* of the southern sub-tribe Murād (Madhḥij); on the tribe, see Caskel, *Jamhara*, vol. II, p. 432; vol. I, tabs. 258, 271; on Abū 'l-Aswad, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. X, 1327 H., pp. 440–441] <al-Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍāla <'Ayyāsh b. 'Abbās <al-Haytham b. Shufay.

⁵⁷ Goitein, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

on the Ḥaram, which included, in addition to repairs to the Ḥaram wall, al-Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. It has generally been assumed that it was 'Abd al-Malik's son, al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, who erected al-Aqṣā Mosque. Creswell, who supports this opinion, relies on a number of late sources, but especially on the early Aphrodito Papyri (see above p. 26). He concludes:

"Thus there can no longer be any doubt that it was al-Walid and not 'Abd al-Malik who built the second Aqṣā Mosque"⁵⁸ [i.e., after the first primitive building-A.E.]

There is reason, however, to doubt this conclusion. There is a detailed tradition reported by Mujir, ignored till now by researchers on Jerusalem during the early Muslim period (with the exception of Livne), which describes 'Abd al-Malik's simultaneous construction of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque.⁵⁹ This tradition⁶⁰ also appears in other later works, from which Mujir al-Dīn copied. These include al-Suyūṭī's late 15th century *Ithāf al-Akhiṣṣā'* and the mid-14th century book *Muthīr al-Gharām*. While these sources are admittedly late, this tradition also appears in the works of al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā, who both lived in the early to mid-11th century.

The importance of the tradition appearing in these books is highlighted by its *isnād*.⁶¹ The tradition is transmitted through al-Walid b. Ḥammād al-Ramli (who lived in the mid-9th century).⁶² It was relayed by a series of transmitters, all of whom belonged to one Jerusalem family whose ancestor, Thābit, was one of *al-Akhmās* who served on the Ḥaram in the mid-8th century.⁶³ Thābit transmits the tradition from those charged by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik with the construction of the Ḥaram: Rajā' b. Ḥaywa al-Kindī, the famous theologian who served the Umayyad caliphs (d. 112/730–731),⁶⁴ and Yazid b. Salām ('Abd al-Malik's *mawlā*).⁶⁵ This tradition, that 'Abd al-Malik built both the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque

⁵⁸ Creswell, vol. I/2, p. 374; Duri, "al-Quds," p. 18 (quoting Creswell); and see also Lazarus-Yafeh, "Jerusalem," pp. 221–222; Stern, "al-Masjid al-Aqṣā," p. 31; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca*, p. 93.

⁵⁹ However, it should be noted that Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb," pp. 97, 117, while giving no references, states quite naturally that 'Abd al-Malik built both the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque.

⁶⁰ Mujir, vol. I, p. 241.

⁶¹ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 83, no. 136 and the bibliography by the editor (including Ibn al-Murajjā).

⁶² On him, see Elad, "An Arabic Tradition," pp. 34–36.

⁶³ See below, p. 52.

⁶⁴ See below, p. 19.

⁶⁵ Goitein, *op. cit.*, p. 13, believes that he was a Christian convert to Islam.

was known to late Muslim historians, who cited it in their writings.⁶⁶

a3. Al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik

The Aphrodito Papyri provide extremely important information concerning the construction works in Jerusalem during al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik's reign. They explicitly state, as described above, that workers were sent—for periods of six months to a year—for the purpose of working on the construction of the Mosque in Jerusalem. In addition to the Aphrodito Papyri, there are two other relatively early sources which mention al-Walid's construction of the Mosque. One is Sa'id b. al-Biṭriq (d. 941), whose description of how al-Walid erected the Dome of the Rock contains obvious errors and inaccuracies.⁶⁷ The other early source is al-Muhallabī (d. 990), whose tradition is remarkably similar to Ibn al-Biṭriq's, containing the same errors and inaccuracies. Clearly, if he did not copy directly from Ibn al-Biṭriq, they must at least have had an identical source.⁶⁸

Creswell, discussing this issue, also refers to later historians, particularly Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), Ibn al-'Ibrī (d. 1286), and Ibn al-Tiṭṭaqā (wrote ca. 1301), all of whom transmit that al-Walid erected the mosques of Dasmascus and of al-Madīna, as well as al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem.⁶⁹ Creswell did not notice, however, that Ibn al-Athīr's tradition was copied word for word from al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), who transmitted the tradition from 'Umar b. Shabba (d. 264/877). Ibn al-Athīr's tradition, however, differs from that of al-Ṭabarī's in a most important detail: 'Umar b. Shabba mentions only two mosques, the Damascus Mosque and al-Madīna Mosque. Ibn al-Athīr *added* al-Masjid al-Aqṣā to the tradition which discussed al-Walid's construction works. This fact is particularly interesting since it echoes the accounts of the early Muslim historians concerning the construction works of al-Walid. The early and most reliable historical sources do not mention al-Walid's role in the construction of al-Masjid al-

⁶⁶ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. VIII, p. 280, quoting from *Mir'āt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (1186–1257), "in this year (66–686) 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān began building the Dome of the Rock of Jerusalem and the Friday Mosque of al-Aqṣā" (... *binā' al-qubba 'alā Ṣakhrat Bayt al-Maqdis wa-'imārat al-Jāmi' al-Aqṣā* . . .); *Nujūm*, vol. I, p. 183, ll. 9–11.

⁶⁷ Sa'id b. al-Biṭriq, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 41, l. 21, mentioned by Creswell, vol. I/2, p. 373.

⁶⁸ Al-Muhallabī, p. 54, quoted by Abū 'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Ta'rikh al-Bashar*, vol. II, Cairo, 1286 H., p. 41, l. 21.

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (Tornberg ed.), vol. V, p. 5; Ibn al-'Ibrī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, Beirut, 1958, p. 113; Ibn al-Tiṭṭaqā, p. 173.

Aqṣā in Jerusalem. When they mention the construction works carried out on his orders they mention *only two*: the Mosque of the Prophet in al-Madīna, and the Great Friday Mosque in Damascus.⁷⁰

For example, in one early tradition (the second quarter of the 8th century) the description is as follows:

Ḍamra said: I heard Ibrāhīm b. Abī ‘Abla say: God have mercy on al-Walid (b. ‘Abd al-Malik). Where can another such as he be found? He conquered India, al-Sind, Spain and besides that he built the Mosque of the Prophet (ﷺ), and built the Mosque of Damascus, and used to give me silver bowls to be distributed among the readers of the *Qur’ān* in Jerusalem (*qurrā’ Bayt al-Maqdis*).⁷¹

Ibrāhīm b. Abī ‘Abla, was a resident of Ramla who lived in the early to mid-8th century.⁷² The first transmitter is Ḍamra b. Rabi‘a from Ramla, who transmitted *ḥadīth* from Ibrāhīm b. Abī ‘Abla. He died in 202/817–818.⁷³

In the above tradition a scholar from Ramla, who actually lived the time of al-Walid and who was even active in his service, describes the construction works of the Caliph. He makes no mention, however, of the building of al-Aqṣā Mosque. Jerusalem is indeed mentioned following reference to the construction of the mosques of al-Madina and Damascus, but only in order to describe how al-Walid distributed money among the readers of the *Qur’ān* in Jerusalem.

There is thus apparently a contradiction between the sources. The Aphrodito Papyri explicitly affirm construction in Jerusalem during al-Walid’s reign, including construction of the Mosque. Later sources mention the construction of three mosques (including the Mosque of Jerusalem) in al-Walid’s time, but mention of al-Walid’s role in the construction of al-Aqṣā is glaringly absent in early historical sources. While it would be tempting to reject the authenticity of the later sources, this is unacceptable, as it is common in Muslim historiography for early and reliable traditions to reappear

⁷⁰ See, for example, Khalifa, *Ta’rikh*, vol. I, p. 397 (the author died in A.D. 854); in the year 87 [706], al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik built the Mosque of Damascus, and in the same year, al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik ordered ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz [his governor of al-Madina] to build the Mosque of the Messenger of God . . .; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, fol. 652 b. ll. 4–10; and ‘Umar [b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz] built the Mosque [in al-Madina] and al-Walid built the Mosque of Damascus; al-Ya‘qūbi, *Ta’rikh*, vol. II (Beirut ed.), p. 284; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*², Beirut, 1970, p. 157; al-Ṭabarī, II, p. 1271; al-Mas‘ūdi, *Murūj*, vol. III (Cairo, 1964), pp. 166–167.

⁷¹ *Simt al-Nujūm*, vol. III, p. 175; see also the parallel sources, below p. 20.

⁷² On him, see above pp. 19–20

⁷³ On Ḍamra, see above p. 21.

in later sources. Also, this would not account for the extremely reliable reports in the Aphrodito Papyri.

It would thus seem appropriate to accept Goitein's conclusion that the main structure of al-Aqṣā Mosque was erected at the beginning of the Umayyad period and that the finishing touches made during al-Walid's reign were considered at the time to be merely renovations.⁷⁴ This conclusion is strengthened when considering that the Arabic word *banā* ("to build", i.e., to build al-Aqṣā Mosque) used in the late sources quoted above (Abū 'l-Fidā', Ibn al-Tiḡṡāqā, and Ibn al-'Ibrī) does not necessarily mean to build something new, since all these sources use the same verb when they describe the building of the mosques of Damascus and of al-Madīna. These mosques already existed at the time of al-Walid's reign; he simply had them renovated and repaired.

It is, nonetheless, evident that al-Walid was indeed responsible for at least part of the construction work of al-Aqṣā.⁷⁵ Thus the report of al-Qalqashandī saying that al-Walid covered the walls of the mosques of Damascus, Mecca, al-Madīna and Jerusalem with mosaics is understandable.⁷⁶ This also lends credence to Mujīr's report of a tradition informing that during al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik's reign "the eastern part of the Mosque was destroyed and there was no money in the treasury [for repairs] so he [al-Walid] ordered the minting [of *dinārs*] from the gold [which covered the domes?] to be spent on repair of the parts of the mosque that have been destroyed."⁷⁷ Al-Walid's renovation of the Mosque, along with the various construction works on it, may well have occurred in the aftermath of a series of serious earthquakes in 94/713–714, and perhaps the destruction described by Mujīr was caused by these earthquakes.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Goitein, *loc. cit.*; see also Livne, *op. cit.*, who came to the conclusion that 'Abd al-Malik built both al-Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

⁷⁵ This is also the opinion of R. Bell, "The Aphrodito Papyri," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XXVIII, p. 116, quoted by Creswell, vol. I/2, p. 374, n. 1.

⁷⁶ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. XIV, p. 368, ll. 13–15, quoted by Creswell, *loc. cit.*, copying Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī (d. 1348), *al-Ta'rīf [= al-Ta'rīf bi'l-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf]*, Cairo, 1312 H., p. 185].

⁷⁷ Mujīr, vol. I, p. 242; it may well be that in this tradition the word 'mosque' refers to all of the Ḥaram, all the part included in the area of the mosque. This tradition also closely resembles, both in language and in content, the tradition relating the repairs effected by the 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Manṣūr (reigned 754–775), on the east and west of the Mosque, by melting the strips of silver and gold over the doors of the Mosque (al-Aqṣā Mosque? or all of the Ḥaram?). See this tradition and its parallels in al-Wāsiṡī, p. 84, no. 137.

⁷⁸ Al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II (Beirut ed.), p. 291.

b. Al-Aqṣā Mosque from the End of the Umayyad Period to the Crusades

In the year 130/747–748 there was an earthquake which apparently destroyed the eastern and western walls of al-Aqṣā Mosque.⁷⁹ The latter years of Umayyad rule, during the reign of Marwān b. Muḥammad (reigned 127/744–132/750), were stormy, filled with rebellions and internal strife in the caliphate. Within three years the Umayyad armies would be defeated by the ‘Abbāsīd armies. The first ‘Abbāsīd caliph, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ (reigned 132/750–136/754), was unable to repair the mosque, as he was preoccupied in the years of his short reign with the suppression of rebellions throughout the kingdom and with the organization of his caliphate. During the reign of the second ‘Abbāsīd caliph, Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr (reigned 136/754–158/775), restoration work and building took place on the Ḥaram. He ordered that the gold and silver plates covering the doors of the mosque be removed, that they be melted down and turned into *dinārs and dirhams*, and that this money be used for the restoration of the mosque.⁸⁰ This building activity apparently took place in the beginning of the year 141/758, the time of al-Manṣūr’s visit to Jerusalem, after his pilgrimage to Mecca towards the end of 140. He stayed in Jerusalem for a full month.⁸¹ Le Strange is of the opinion that the construction took place during al-Manṣūr’s visit to Jerusalem in the year 154/770–771,⁸² but the date 141/758, which is recounted by many historians,⁸³ seems more likely.

⁷⁹ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 83–84, no. 137; see also *ibid.*, pp. 79–81, nos. 133–135; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’riḫ*, (Beirut, *hawādith wa-wafayāt 120–140*), pp. 29–30; [Cairo ed., 1367 H., vol. V, p. 39] for an interesting description of the earthquake which hit Jerusalem and destroyed the house of Shaddād b. Aws, the Companion of the Prophet; on this, see also Gil, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90, no. 102 [= vol. I, p. 74]; al-Suyūṭī, *Kashf al-Ṣalṣala*, fol. 422a; *Nujūm*, vol. I, p. 311, ll. 12–14; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 92.

⁸⁰ See note 77 in this chapter.

⁸¹ Al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, Cairo, 1960, p. 383, l. 20: *wa-maḍā nahw al-Shām qāṣīdan li-Bayt al-Maqdis hattā wafāhā fa-aqāma bihā Shahrān*. Translation: And he turned towards Syria, with his goal being to reach Jerusalem, until he arrived there and stayed there a month.

⁸² Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 193, note.

⁸³ See, for example, al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 192; al-Ṭabari, III, p. 129; al-Mus‘ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. VI, p. 212; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. VIII, p. 281, l. 8, who adds the important detail that when he came to Jerusalem, al-Manṣūr ordered the rebuilding of the mosque which was in ruins; *ibid.*, vol. X, p. 75, l. 15; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. I/1, p. 15, l. 16; *Nujūm*, vol. I, p. 336, ll. 13–18; *ibid.*, p. 340, l. 4; Creswell, vol. I/2, p. 374, without having before him the texts of al-Dīnawarī and Ibn Kathīr, claims that it was possible to advance the date of al-Manṣūr’s construction from 154/770–771 according to Le Strange’s esti-

Shortly thereafter another earthquake occurred which destroyed the building whose construction al-Manṣūr had ordered. When al-Mahdī, al-Manṣūr's son, came to power (reigned 158/775–169/785), al-Aqṣā Mosque was in ruins. Al-Mahdī ordered that the mosque be rebuilt, subtracting from its length and adding to its width.⁸⁴ It could be that he ordered this construction work during his visit to Jerusalem in 163/780.⁸⁵ Al-Muqaddasī describes a great earthquake which occurred during the reign of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, destroying most of al-Aqṣā Mosque, with the exception of the portion built around the *mihrāb*. When the caliph was informed of this he ordered each one of the governors of the provinces and his other commanders to build a colonnade within the mosque,

and they built the mosque so that it would be stronger and more stable than it was before. The older portion remains as an attractive spot in the middle of the new building. The old part extends till the border of the marble columns. And as for the plastered works of art, they are new.⁸⁶

Al-Muqaddasī does not mention the name of the caliph. It is clear that it was not al-Manṣūr, for he restored the ruins of the mosque after the earthquake which had already taken place during the reign of the Umayyads. The conclusion reached by Le Strange and Creswell that it was al-Mahdī⁸⁷ seems likely. In the sources checked there is no additional mention of 'Abbāsīd activity related to al-Aqṣā Mosque, with the exception of the period of the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198/813–218/833). In 1047 Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes a large and beautiful bronze portal in al-Aqṣā Mosque upon which the name of Caliph al-Ma'mūn is inscribed in silver. According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the gate was sent by al-Ma'mūn from Baghdad.⁸⁸

mate to 141/758, and this due to the information from al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, vol. VI, p. 212) about the Caliph's visit to Jerusalem during that year.

⁸⁴ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 84, and the parallels therein; al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 212: Al-Mahdī began building al-Ḥaram Mosque [in Mecca] and the Mosque of the Prophet . . . and he built Bayt al-Maqdis [should that be: Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis?] which had been destroyed previously by an earthquake; see also Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, p. 59.

⁸⁵ On this, see al-Ṭabarī, III, p. 500, ll. 4–6; al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 480; al-Fasawī, vol. I, p. 150; al-Dhahabī, *loc. cit.*; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 98, and Creswell, *loc. cit.*, rely on the tradition of the author of *Muthir al-Gharām*, which appears, of course, already in the books of al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā, and in other sources referred to here.

⁸⁶ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 168; English translation: Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99; and see also Stern, "al-Aqṣā Mosque," pp. 30–31; *ibid.*, p. 31, he quotes al-Muqaddasī.

⁸⁷ Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Creswell, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁸ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 25 (Arabic), p. 38 (English).

The measurements of the mosque built by al-Mahdī are not known (according to some sources, he made it smaller). The excavations to the south and the west of the Ḥaram uncovered a number of buildings from the Umayyad period, among them a large two-storey building. From the second floor of this building there was direct passage to the Ḥaram, apparently to al-Aqṣā Mosque, whose original building extended westward far beyond the borders of the present-day mosque. Rosen-Ayalon proposed that this two-storey building (palace) served as *Dār al-Imāra*, the governor's house. She based her proposal on the fact that it was connected to the mosque, since in the early period it was customary to establish a direct passage from *Dār al-Imāra* to the Friday mosque in the city.⁸⁹

Al-Muqaddasī, who describes the mosque as he saw it in the middle of the 10th century, says that it had 26 gates. Opposite the *mihṛāb* (the prayer niche facing Mecca) was a large gate, gilded with bronze, called the bronze gate. This gate was already mentioned in a tradition, which can be placed in the first half of the 8th century, which states that this gate was from the property of the king of Persia.⁹⁰ There were seven gates to the left and seven to the right of this gate. On the eastern side of the mosque there were eleven gates. Opposite the fifteen northern gates there was an aisle of marble pillars, built on the order of 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, Caliph al-Ma'mūn's governor of Syria and Egypt.⁹¹

In the year 424/1033 there was another powerful earthquake which destroyed many buildings in various cities in Syria and Palestine,

⁸⁹ Rosen-Ayalon, "The Art of Building", p. 294; on *Dār al-Imāra*, adjacent to the great mosque, see Creswell, vol. I/1, pp. 48–55: Kūfa; and see testimony to this also in Mosul, *Ta'riḫ al-Mawṣil*, Cairo, 1967, p. 145: *fa nazala Qaṣr al-Imāra al-mulāṣiq li 'l-Masjid al-Jāmi'*; translation: and he sat down [Yahyā b. Muḥammad, the brother of the Caliph Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, at the time he was appointed governor of Mosul] in the government palace adjacent to the great mosque; on the Umayyad buildings uncovered in the Ḥaram excavations, see Mazar, "Archeological Excavation," p. 37; Ben Dov, "The Buildings," pp. 35–40, esp. p. 37; *idem.*, *The Temple Mount*, pp. 274–321.

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 23a: *Inna Bāb al-Nuḥās alladhī fī 'l-Masjid, Bāb al-Jamal al-Awsaṭ huwa min matā' Kisrā*; the tradition is handed down by the Salāma b. Qayṣar family (on them, see Introduction p. 17): Abū 'l-Faraj > Aḥmad b. Muḥammad > al-Walīd b. Ḥammād > 'Alī b. Salāma [b. Muḥammad] b. 'Abd al-Salām > Salāma b. Muḥammad > Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām; Mujir, vol. II, p. 381, and al-Suyūṭī (*JRAS*, vol. XIX, p. 267) quote this tradition without its *isnād*, and both of them are quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 186; *ibid.*, Le Strange reads: *Bāb al-Ḥamal al-Awsaṭ* and translates: The middle ram gate, but he is mistaken. Compare al-Muqaddasī, p. 169, l. 4, who describes al-Aqṣā Mosque thus: *wa-'alā wasaṭ al-Mughattā Jamal 'azīm*; translation: and on the middle of the covered building of the mosque is a great gable roof. . . .

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168–169.

including Jerusalem and the Ḥaram.⁹² These were the years of the reign of the Fāṭimid Sulṭān, al-Zāhir (reigned 412/1021–427/1036), who precisely during 1034 was busy building the walls of Jerusalem. Hamilton thought that this earthquake “destroyed each one of the fifteen aisles which extended north of the dome.” Only the three central doors were preserved. Al-Zāhir, who, according to Hamilton, built al-Aqṣā anew, even built the four arcades of the hall and the central aisles, which serve as the foundation of the present-day mosque.⁹³ Creswell also thinks that a fairly large portion of today’s al-Aqṣā is the fruit of work done during the period of al-Zāhir.⁹⁴ According to Creswell, the mosque of al-Zāhir consisted of a series of seven aisles formed by arcades running perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, of which all except two on either side of the centre consisted of eleven arches. The central aisle was nearly double the width of the rest . . . it had a clerestory, and was covered by a great gable roof, beyond which rose a great wooden dome.

As part of the repair and restoration work carried out between 1938 and 1942 (under the supervision and direction of Hamilton), the two sets of arcades in the eastern wing of the hall were removed and replaced. In the course of this work signs were uncovered of an older set of arches in the northern wall: when the new set was knocked down it was evident that the pillars were not at all supported by the northern wall. Early remnants of arcades were discovered on the southern side as well. This proves, according to

⁹² Sa’id b. al-Biṭriq, *Ta’riḫ*, vol. II, p. 184, states that part of al-Aqṣā Mosque was destroyed; al-Suyūṭī, who quotes Ibn al-Jawzī, tells of this earthquake in the year 425 of the *hijra*, in which a third of Ramla was destroyed and its great mosque was split and its residents evacuated for a period of eight days. He also tells that the wall of Jerusalem (*ḥā’iṭ Bayt al-Maqdis*, perhaps this refers to the wall of the Ḥaram?) fell as well as part of Mihrāb Dāwūd (that is, the western city citadel) and the mosque in Hebron. A minaret of (the mosque of) Ashqelon fell, and the edge of the minaret of (the mosque of) Gaza, and half the buildings of Nābulus. See al-Suyūṭī, *Kaṣḥ al-Ṣalṣala*, fol. 423b, and see Gil, *op. cit.*, pp. 399–400, no. 595 [= vol. I, pp. 329–330], with an extensive and extremely comprehensive bibliography concerning the 1033 earthquake from Islamic sources as well as the Geniza document (the letter from Shlomo ben Zemaḥ to Ephraim ben Shemiah?), see the text, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 209.

⁹³ Hamilton, *loc. cit.*; for inscriptions testifying to the building of al-Zāhir in al-Aqṣā Mosque and on the Ḥaram in the years 425 and 426 see: 1) Van Berchem, vol. II, no. 275, the renewal inscription of the dome seen by al-Harawī in the year 1173; see also al-Harawī, pp. 25–26; *Répertoire*, vol. VII, no. 2409; 2) Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, no. 301; *Répertoire*, *op. cit.*, no. 2410; testifying to repairs in the south-east of the Ḥaram is the inscription on two stones, published by Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, no. 147; *Répertoire*, *op. cit.*, no. 2404; and see also Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 38 ff.

⁹⁴ In this, Hamilton and Creswell disagree with Le Strange, who thought that al-Aqṣā of our day was from the Ayyūbid and Crusader periods.

Creswell, that the dome-bearing arches predate those of al-Zāhir, and they must belong to the building of al-Mahdī. Creswell thought that al-Zāhir honoured al-Mahdī's building plan, with two exceptions: he built two new arches for the central aisle, and he reduced the width of the mosque by 72 centimetres.⁹⁵

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who travelled in Palestine in the year 1047, described al-Zāhir's mosque in great detail. According to him there were "280 [!] marble columns, supporting arches that are fashioned of stone, and both the shafts and the capitals are riveted with lead, so that nothing can be more firm. . . . The mosque is everywhere flagged with coloured marble and the joints are riveted in lead. The Maqṣūra [a building closed for prayer within the mosque] is facing the centre of the south wall [of the mosque], and is of such size as to contain sixteen columns. Above rises a mighty dome, that is ornamented with enamelwork. . . . In this place there is spread Maghribī matting, and there are lamps and lanterns, each suspended by its separate chain. The great Mihrāb is adorned with enamel work. . . . The roof of the Mosque is constructed of wood, beautifully sculptured. . . . Among these gates [of the mosque] there is one of brass most finely wrought and beautiful so that one would say it was of gold, set in with fired silver and chased. The name of the Khalif al-Ma'mūn is upon it, and they relate that al-Ma'mūn sent it from Baghdad."⁹⁶

Construction work also took place in al-Aqṣā Mosque during the reign of al-Zāhir's son, al-Mustanṣir (reigned 427/1036–487/1094).⁹⁷

2. *The Dome of the Rock (Qubbat Al-Ṣakhra)*

The Muslim sources differ as to the beginning of construction of the Dome of the Rock. Some report that the construction began in 66/685–686,⁹⁸ while others attribute it to the year 69/688.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁵ Creswell, I/2, pp. 377–378.

⁹⁶ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 25 (Arabic); Le Strange's translation is followed here, see Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 106–107; but see Creswell, *op. cit.*, pp. 375–377, who doubts the reliability of this description by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, particularly concerning the measurements of the mosque which he reports. The number of columns about which Nāṣir-i Khusraw reports (280) is in his opinion absurd. This number would require at least 25 aisles and needs a width of 170 metres.

⁹⁷ An inscription from 1605 on the front of the Mosque testifies to this, see Van Berchem, vol. II, no. 148; and see also Mazar, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁹⁸ Ibn Kathīr, *loc. cit.* (from Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī); Mujir, vol. I, p. 240, l. 24 [Amman, ed., vol. I, p. 272], most probably also from Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, see Elad, "The Dome of the Rock," p. 48.

⁹⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, fols. 40a–40b [= vol. I, p. 241] (copies *Muthir of Gharām*:

dedication inscription of the building bears the date 72/691–692; however, whether the construction of the Dome of the Rock was completed in that year is not known. Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī reports that the construction of the Dome of the Rock was finished in 73/692–693.¹⁰⁰ The most detailed description of the building of the Dome of the Rock by ‘Abd al-Malik is reported by al-Wāsiṭī¹⁰¹ through the *isnād* of the family of ‘Abd al-Rahmān of Jerusalem,¹⁰² from those charged with the construction, Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa, the famous theologian, and Yazīd b. Salām, a *mawlā* of ‘Abd al-Malik.¹⁰³ This tradition is cited by other writers, such as Ibn al-Murajjā (early to mid-11th century), the author of *Muthīr al-Gharām* (mid-14th century), al-Suyūṭī (mid-15th century), Mujīr al-Dīn (late 15th century) and others.¹⁰⁴

There is no information on the history of the Dome of the Rock from the time of Abd al-Malik’s caliphate (d. 705) until the period of Caliph al-Ma’mūn (reigned 813–833). During al-Ma’mūn’s caliphate, the name of the constructor of the Dome of the Rock (‘Abd al-Malik), written in the internal inscription encircling the building, was changed to al-Ma’mūn.¹⁰⁵ On the two large bronze

from *Mir’āt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī); see Le Strange, “Description,” p. 288 (Arabic text), p. 300 (English translation). See also Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 144. Note, however, Ibn Ḥabīb’s report (p. 132), that ‘Abd al-Malik built the Mosque of Jerusalem in the year 70. *Qāla: wa-banā ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān raḥimahu ‘llāh Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis fī sab’in min al-hijra*. Note the use of the word *banā* (built) in this text against the use of the word *ibtada’a* (began), in the sources quoted above.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Kathīr, *loc. cit.* (quoting Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī). The prevailing view among the scholars is that the building of the Dome of the Rock was completed in 72/691–92; for example, see Creswell, vol. I, p. 72; Rosen-Ayalon, “The Art of Building,” pp. 288–289; *idem.*, “Art and Architecture in Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period,” in J. Prawer (ed.), *The History of Jerusalem. The Early Islamic Period (638–1099)*, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem, 1987, p. 316; Hawting, *The Umayyad Caliphate*, p. 59; but cf. G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680–692)*, Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 227–230, where he argues that ‘Abd al-Malik *began* building the Dome of the Rock only after 691, and esp. S. Blair, “What is the Date of the Dome of the Rock?,” *Bayt al-Maqdis: ‘Abd al-Malik’s Jerusalem*, Part One, ed. by J. Raby and J. Johns (*Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, vol. IX), Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 59–87, where she argues that, “we should read the date of 72/692 in the Dome of the Rock’s foundation inscription as a *terminus a quo*.” Note, however, that the early source of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (al-Wāqidī? Ibn al-Kalbī?) specifically says that the building of the Dome of the Rock was finished in 72 H., see ch. 2, p. 53.

¹⁰¹ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 81–85, nos. 136–137.

¹⁰² On them, see below, pp. 17–18.

¹⁰³ On them, see below, pp. 19, 36.

¹⁰⁴ These sources and others are mentioned by I. Hasson, the editor of al-Wāsiṭī, p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ Creswell, vol. I/1, pp. 69–70. I don’t know how to interpret the report of

tablets crowning northern and eastern entrances of the Dome of the Rock—which were originally installed in ‘Abd al-Malik’s time, and on which inscriptions from the *Qur’ān* were engraved—two lines were added in al-Ma’mūn’s time, bearing his name and the date of inscription: Rabī’ II 216/May–June 831.¹⁰⁶

C. OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS ON THE ḤARAM IN THE Umayyad PERIOD

Very little is known of other buildings on the Ḥaram during the Umayyad period. There are descriptions of the Ḥaram from later sources, principally from the 10th century onwards, but there is no knowing if these descriptions are valid for the Umayyad period as well. The names and locations of places on the Ḥaram were changed during different periods. At this stage of research it is impossible to give a consistent, ongoing portrayal of construction of the Ḥaram.

The early descriptions of Al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā are instructive of the many efforts invested by ‘Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walid to glorify the Ḥaram and its close environs with splendid buildings. Already noted are the large, important structures of the Dome of the Rock, al-Aqṣā Mosque, the large palace and other structures uncovered in excavations at the southern wall. That the Dome of the Rock and its gates, and perhaps also the gates of al-Aqṣā Mosque, were plated with thin layers of gold and silver is known.¹⁰⁷ Also mentioned are two gates that were built on the orders of ‘Abd al-Malik, apparently on the Ḥaram.¹⁰⁸ These may well have been the Gate of Mercy (Bāb (Abwāb) al-Rahma) and the Gate of the Prophet (Bāb al-Nabī). These are discussed in greater detail below.

The traditions collected by al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā describe the glory and splendor of the Ḥaram in the early period. One such tradition describes the thousands of lamps lighting up the Ḥaram

Mujir al-Din, *Ta’rikh*, fol. 69b, ll. 3–4, that during the reign of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik (105/724–125/744), his brother, Sa’id, built the Dome of Jerusalem (*wa-fī ayyāmihi banā akhūhu Sa’id Qubbat Bayt al-Maqdis*).

¹⁰⁶ Van Berchem, vol. II, nos. 216, 217; *Répertoire*, vol. I, nos. 10, 11; Creswell, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–82; Mukhlis, pp. 111–114; Grabar, “Dome of the Rock,” pp. 52, 54.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 83, no. 137, and the parallel sources; from the tradition it is not unequivocally clear which doors were plated with gold and silver tablets. In this very early tradition transmitted by the family of ‘Abd al-Rahmān, the Jerusalemite (see p. 17), it is said that “these doors were plated with silver and gold and that all the doors were (plated with) silver and gold during the Caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.” On the gilding of the Dome of the Rock, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 82.

¹⁰⁸ See below p. 25.

and the magnificent buildings there,¹⁰⁹ concluding: “and there were there [that is, in the area of the mosque, namely the Ḥaram] fifteen [buildings with] domes apart from the Dome of the Rock . . . [the domes of] the Mosque were covered with 7000 lead plates . . . all this was done during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.”¹¹⁰ The tradition is early and certainly contains some authentic testimony. The number of lamps, lead plates, and even domes is very impressive, but perhaps exaggerated.

1. *The Treasury (Bayt al-Māl)*

The treasury was built to the east of the Rock, on the Ḥaram. The transmitter of the early tradition who mentions it notes that “it [the Treasury] is over to the edge of the Rock” (*fawq ḥarf al-Ṣakhra*).¹¹¹ This treasury was filled with money that apparently served to finance the construction of the Dome of the Rock. While the treasury may have been built for the sole purpose of storing the money needed for the extensive construction works on the Ḥaram, its presence there may also have been an indication of ‘Abd al-Malik’s intention of making Jerusalem the central city in the Palestine district (Jund Filastīn). This is particularly likely in light of the fact that the Umayyads used to build the *Bayt al-Māl* in the capitals of the different districts of Syria and Egypt in the courtyard of the Friday Mosque.¹¹²

2. *The Dome of the Chain (Qubbat al-Silsila)*

Other buildings were constructed on the Ḥaram in an attempt to further add to its sanctity. These were often legitimized on the basis of Jewish traditions and *midrashim*, or Muslim traditions which were sometimes created after and in light of the Jewish traditions. Sometimes the Muslim traditions were totally unrelated to the Jewish tradition.

The Dome of the Chain, which was constructed during ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign,¹¹³ is an early example of a building sanctified on the basis of such a combination of Jewish and Muslim traditions.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 24a [= Livne, no. 47].

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*; and see also, *Iqd.*, vol. VI, p. 264, a parallel tradition.

¹¹¹ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 81, no. 136.

¹¹² Creswell, vol. I/1, pp. 201–202 (basing himself on Ibn Ḥawqal, *BGA* II, pp. 338, l. 22–339, l. 1; and al-Muqaddasi, p. 182, l. 7; see also Yāqūt, *Mu’jam*, vol. IV (Beirut ed.), p. 265: al-Fuṣṭāt).

¹¹³ On the dating of the Dome of the Chain to ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign, see Rosen-Ayalon, “An Early Source,” pp. 184–185.

An early tradition, which dates back to the Umayyad period, describes the site on which the Dome stood as a site where King David used to judge the Children of Israel. The tradition goes on to describe a special chain of light there, through which it was possible to distinguish which among the Children of Israel was speaking the truth and which was lying. Interestingly, the very same tradition referring to this Jewish source for the sanctity of the site of the Dome of the Chain, also refers to the Islamic source for its sanctity: namely, the place where the Prophet, when brought to Jerusalem on the night of the *isrā'*, met the black-eyed maidens of Paradise (*hūr al-'ayn*).¹¹⁴

3. *The Dome of the Prophet and the Dome of the Ascension (Qubbat al-Nabī, Qubbat al-Mi'rāj)*

Other domes may well have been built on the Ḥaram during the Umayyad period, such as the Dome of (the) Ascension (of the Prophet) (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāj*),¹¹⁵ and/or the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat al-Nabī*), which commemorated the Prophet's prayer before the angels and the messengers. Reliable information from the early to mid-9th century related the existence of the Dome of the Prophet.¹¹⁶ In this tradition the Dome of the Prophet is mentioned immediately following a description of the Prophet's ascension to heaven (*al-mi'rāj*), thus giving the impression that there may be a link between the Dome of the Prophet and the *mi'rāj*.

¹¹⁴ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 74–75, no. 119, and the parallel sources therein; cf. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. IV, p. 138; here, al-Wāsiṭī combined two traditions, transmitted by the family of 'Abd al-Rahmān. The first tradition (al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 73–74, l. 3) is identical to the tradition in Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 44b–45a [= Livne, no. 148]; the second (al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 74, l. 3–75, l. 3), is identical to Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 45b [= Livne, no. 151]; see also the discussion of Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 295–296, where he suggests that it is possible that the Dome of the Chain served as the Dome of the Treasure. Nāṣir-i Khusraw saw in Jerusalem (in 1047) the Tree of the Girls of Paradise, see *Safar Nāme*, p. 52 (English trans.), p. 32 (Arabic trans.).

¹¹⁵ See Grabar, "The Dome of the Rock," pp. 62–63, based on al-Muhallabī, p. 54, who mentions several Domes on the Ḥaram during al-Walid's reign (705–715): *Qubbat al-Mi'rāj*, *Qubbat al-Mizān* (the Dome of the Scales), *Qubbat al-Silsila*, *Qubbat al-Maḥshar* (Dome of Gathering). In the same breath, however, he also mentions the Dome of the Rock (built by al-Walid!), so this information should be treated with reservation.

¹¹⁶ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 73, no. 119, *the isnād of the family of 'Abd al-Rahmān, the Jerusalemite*; in this tradition 'Abd al-Rahmān himself describes the Dome of the Prophet to the right of the Rock, the Dome in which the Prophet prayed. This Dome has special attributes by virtue of which prayers and requests of the people are answered.

While it is beyond the scope of this work to discuss the many complexities associated with the Prophet's ascension to heaven, one of the issues related to this episode should be noted: namely, from where, exactly, in Jerusalem, did the Prophet ascend to heaven? Early traditions in Al-Wāsiṭī's book stress Allāh's ascension from the Rock to heaven.¹¹⁷ The existence of Qubbat al-Mi'rāj (the Dome of the Ascension) in proximity to the Rock, would indicate, however, that the Prophet did not ascend to heaven from the Rock itself. But there are other traditions—also early—which stressed that the Prophet did ascend to heaven from the Rock.¹¹⁸ The tradition of the Prophet's ascent to heaven from the place on which the Dome of the Ascension was erected, away from the Rock, may be earlier than that claiming that he ascended to heaven from the Rock. Ibn al-Murajjā, discussing a long tradition on *al-mi'rāj* says: "No one disagrees that the Prophet (ﷺ) was borne up to heaven from the Dome known as Qubbat al-Mi'rāj since Allāh intended himself to be borne up to heaven from the Rock, and the Prophet (ﷺ) was borne up to heaven from the Dome."¹¹⁹ This definitive claim on the part of al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā that there is no disagreement with regard to the place of the Prophet's ascension to heaven is in itself evidence of a controversy over this issue, and reveals his awareness of a tradition that established the Prophet's ascension to heaven from the Rock.¹²⁰

The sources are thus equivocal as to the exact site of the *mi'rāj*, and likewise to the exact site of Qubbat al-Mi'rāj. During the period of 'Abd al-Malik or his son al-Walid, Qubbat al-Mi'rāj may just have been an alternative name for Qubbat al-Nabī, which was built to the right of the Dome of the Rock. It may be, however, the Dome described in the early tradition of al-Wāsiṭī, which notes the existence of the Dome on the Ḥaram, north of the *Ṣakhra*, perhaps already since the time of 'Abd al-Malik.¹²¹ Thus, for example, while 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 853) does not mention the Dome of the Prophet, he does mention the Dome of the Ascension (Qubbat

¹¹⁷ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 70–74, nos. 114–120, esp. nos. 114–117 and the parallel sources of the editor therein; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 189–190.

¹¹⁸ Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ*, vol. II, p. 311.

¹¹⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 44a: *wa-lam yakhtalif ithnān annahu (ﷺ) 'urrija bihi min 'inda 'l-qubba 'llatī yuqālu lahā Qubbat al-Mi'rāj, li-anna mina 'l-Ṣakhra 'istawā Allāh ta'ālā ilā 'l-samā' wa-min 'ind hādhihi 'l-qubba 'urrija bi-'l-Nabī (ﷺ) ilā 'l-samā'.*

¹²⁰ There is an echo of this tradition in the 12th century from the Muslim traveller al-Harawī, who describes the Rock on the Ḥaram from which the Prophet ascended to heaven and which bears the imprint of his foot. See al-Harawī, p. 24.

¹²¹ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 75, no. 119.

al-Mi'rāj) among the Domes on the Ḥaram.¹²² In another tradition, recorded by al-Wāsiṭī, the Prophet's prayer on the Ḥaram and his ascension to heaven are mentioned in the same breath, and in this context only one Dome is identified on the Ḥaram. This tradition, which can be dated back at least to the beginning of the 9th century, is transmitted by Abū Ḥudhayfa, the *Mu'adhdhin* of Jerusalem (lived at the beginning of the 9th century) from his grandmother who said that Ka'b guided Ṣafīyya, the wife of the Prophet, in and around the Ḥaram, saying to her "Pray here, for the Prophet (Ṣ) prayed before the prophets when he was borne up to heaven, he prayed before them here . . . and Abū Ḥudhayfa indicated with his hand the farthest Dome behind the Rock."¹²³

4. The Gates

Finally, mention should be made of a number of early gates already existing in the Umayyad period. These were apparently erected by the first Umayyad caliphs, though there is no explicit information to this effect in the sources (apart from two gates erected on the orders of 'Abd al-Malik, the names or locations of which are not known). Early traditions, however, which can certainly be dated to the Umayyad period, mention Bāb al-Raḥma, Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, Mihrāb Maryam, Bāb al-Tawba, Bāb al-Asbāṭ, Mihrāb Dāwūd, and Bāb al-Nabī. These places are discussed in a later chapter.

¹²² Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 138, ll. 3–4.

¹²³ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 76, no. 123: al-Walid b. Hammād [mid-ninth century] < Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf [a scholar who lived in Jerusalem in the late 8th–early 9th century, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 22, no. 25, n. 1; also see al-Rāzī, *al-Jarh*, vol. I/1, 1371/1952, p. 128; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. I, p. 161] < Zuhayr [b. 'Abbād, d. 236/850; see Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. V, p. 392; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 344–345] < Abū Ḥudhayfa, the *mu'adhdhin* of Jerusalem [he may be Mūsā b. Mas'ūd, Abū Ḥudhayfa al-Baṣrī, a scholar of *ḥadīth*, d. 220 or 221/835–836; see Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, vol. X, pp. 370–371; it is not said here that he lived in Jerusalem but *ibid.*, p. 370: he was a *mu'adhdhin*; see also al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, vol. IV/1, 1372/1953, p. 164, but *ibid.*, n. 1, the editor draws attention to another version, instead of *mu'adhdhin*: *mu'addib*; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. X, pp. 137–139] < the grandmother of Abū Ḥudhayfa; and see al-Wāsiṭī, *op. cit.*, parallel sources; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 45a [= Livne, no. 149], omitted "behind the Rock"; al-Durr al-Manthūr, vol. IV, p. 157: instead of "the farthest qubba [dome]" "the farthest qibla"; on this, see Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 293.

CHAPTER TWO

WORSHIP AND PILGRIMAGE IN JERUSALEM

A. MUSLIM WORSHIP IN THE HOLY PLACES OF JERUSALEM

1. *Worship on the Ḥaram During the Umayyad Period*

Ritual ceremonies in Jerusalem in the Umayyad Period (and in later periods, too) were mainly concentrated on the Ḥaram. There are a number of early testimonies of these services, and they certainly confirm the trend developed and encouraged by the first Umayyad caliphs. Many of these rituals were performed in and around the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra).

During the time of 'Abd al-Malik, the Dome of the Rock was opened to the public solely on Mondays and Thursdays (!); on the other days only the attendants entered. These attendants cleansed and purified themselves, changed their clothing, burnt incense and anointed the Rock with all kinds of perfumes. Prayers were held after incense was burnt.

Ten gatekeepers were responsible for each gate.¹ During 'Abd al-Malik's reign, the Dome was coated with gold, and the Rock was surrounded by an ebony balustrade, behind which—between the pillars—hung curtains woven with gold. Jews and Christians were employed in different services on the Ḥaram: they cleaned the dirt on the Ḥaram, made glass for the lamps and for goblets, and prepared wicks for the lamps. They were exempted from the poll tax and passed on these tasks as inheritance.² Apparently, the gatekeepers mentioned above do not refer to these same Jews or Christians.

Another early tradition says that there were 40 guards, and that one of these guards belonged to the *Anṣār*.³ Also serving on the Ḥaram were *al-Akhmās*, slaves of the caliph who belonged to the

¹ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 81–83, no. 136, the tradition of the Jerusalem family of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Rajā' and Yazīd; Mondays and Thursdays were the days the Jews read the *Torah*; see also Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 327, n. 154 about Mondays and Thursdays, the days the Dome of the Rock was opened to the public; cf. the interesting tradition in Ibn Lahī'a, p. 288, ll. 298–301.

² Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 43–44, no. 60, and the parallel sources; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 24b (both sources and others are mentioned by Gil, *Palestine*, p. 72, no. 86; [= vol. I, p. 60]; see also Mujīr, vol. I (Amman ed.), p. 281; *Sefer Hayyishūv*, vol. II, p. 9, n. 29; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

³ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 79, no. 134.

State Treasury as the fifth part (*khums*) of the booty, or who were acquired by the Treasury on account of this *khums*.⁴

A chain hung from the middle of the Dome of the Rock. An interesting tradition relates that at the time of 'Abd al-Malik a precious stone was suspended from this chain together with two horns of the ram sacrificed by Abraham, and the crown of *Kisrā*, king of Persia.⁵ Also, according to another tradition, prior to the siege of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in 683–684 in Mecca, the two horns of the ram sacrificed by Abraham in redemption of his son were hung in the Ka'ba.⁶ Also according to one version of the latter tradition, they were placed on the fence of the Ka'ba at the time it was built and renovated by Ibn al-Zubayr, and were shattered there.⁷ Less than ten years later horns of the ram are allegedly found at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

Evidently, already in the Umayyad period there were a number of places venerated within the Dome of the Rock where the Muslims performed ritual ceremonies. Two of these, the Black Paving Stone (*al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā'*) and the Gate of Isrāfil, are discussed in the next chapter.

During the season of the *hajj*, the same ritual ceremonies were held on the Ḥaram as in Mecca. One interesting tradition, parts of which are unparalleled in the known sources, describes at great length the ritual ceremonies customary on the Ḥaram during the time of 'Abd al-Malik. The text is found in the book of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (1186–1256), *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, which is still mainly in manuscript form. The two manuscripts consulted, one in the British Library⁸ and the other in the Bodleian Library,⁹ are virtually identical, but

⁴ See Gil, "Jerusalem," pp. 24–25, n. 26; *idem.*, "The Jewish Quarters," p. 266, n. 25; *idem.*, *Palestine*, p. 72, no. 86 [= vol. I, p. 60]; see also Ibn al-Faqih, p. 100: 140 servants in the Ḥaram; *Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 246: 230 slaves (*mamālik*); al-Wāsiṭī notes two persons who were part of the *khums*: 1) Thābit b. Istānibādh, al-Fārisī, al-Khumsī, who lived in the mid-8th century. On him, see al-Wāsiṭī, Index, esp. p. 73, no. 119; 2) Khulayd al-Khumsī, lived towards the end of the 8th century, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 86, no. 139. The father of al-Walid b. Muslim (al-Walid d. 194/809–810), belonged to the *akhmās*; al-Wāsiṭī, p. 15, n. 1; see also al-Fasawī, vol. II, p. 421, where his father is described as belonging to *raqiq al-imāra*, i.e., "the slaves of the regime." The first two persons belonged to the *khums* in Jerusalem; the father of al-Walid b. Muslim lived in Damascus.

⁵ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 75–76, no. 122 and the parallels, p. 76, n. 1; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 296; see also Khalil b. Shāhin, *Zubda*, p. 20; Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, *Fadā'il*, pp. 60–61, treats this tradition as a legend of a folklore nature.

⁶ Grabar, "The Dome of the Rock," p. 50; Rubin, "The Ka'ba," p. 118.

⁷ Grabar, *op. cit.* (quoting al-Azraqī), p. 156.

⁸ B.M. Add, 23,277, fols. 2b–3a.

⁹ Bodleian Library, ms. Marsh, 289 fols. 153b–155b.

for minor and unimportant variations, with one major and significant exception: only in the Bodleian manuscript does the author cite his sources, namely: Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi (d. 207/823), Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), and his father, Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib (d. 146/763). In view of the importance of this tradition it is reproduced here almost in its entirety.¹⁰

TRANSLATION OF SIBṬ B. AL-JAWZĪ'S *MIR'ĀT AL-ZAMĀN*:

[fol. 153b, ll. 4–5] The year 72 of the *hijra*. In this year the construction of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā [Friday] Mosque was finished. We have already mentioned that 'Abd al-Malik began to build it¹¹ in the year 69. Said al-Wāqidi: the reason for the construction was that ['Abdallāh] b. al-Zubayr had already taken control of Mecca and during the seasons of the *hajj* he used to mention the vices of the Marwānid family and summon (the people) to pay homage to him (as caliph). He was eloquent so the people inclined towards him. 'Abd al-Malik, therefore, prevented the people from performing the *hajj*. Said Hishām: Ibn al-Zubayr used to deliver a sermon on the days of Minā and 'Arafa and when the people were at Mecca. He detested 'Abd al-Malik and mentioned the vices of the Umayyads, saying: The Messenger of God cursed al-Ḥakam [i.e., Marwān's father] and his descendants. He was driven out by the Messenger of God and cursed by him. And most of the Arabs of Syria [*Ahl-al-Shām*] inclined towards him [Ibn-al-Zubayr], and became his intimate and familiar associates. This became known to 'Abd al-Malik and he therefore prevented the people from the *hajj*. The people remained in this situation for a while (and then) they became agitated and raised a clamour. He therefore built for them the Dome over the Rock and the [Friday] Mosque of al-Aqṣā in order to divert their attention from the *hajj*. They used to stand by the Rock and circumambulate it as they used to circumambulate the Ka'ba, and slaughter beasts on the day of the feast [i.e., '*Id al-Aḍḥā*].

The mention of some selected parts of this (affair). Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib has mentioned from his father, and al-Wāqidi and others besides him also have mentioned some choice parts of this. Their traditions became confused together; they said: When 'Abd al-Malik decided to build the Dome of the Rock he wrote to the Arabs of the main cities [or the countries? *Ahl al-Amsār*] in Syria,

¹⁰ The Arabic text and a complete translation is given in Elad, "The Dome of the Rock."

¹¹ It, i.e., the Dome?; or them, i.e., both the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque?

Egypt, Armenia and al-Jazīra that were under his rule: "Now [i.e., after the preliminary words], [fol.154a] the Commander of the Faithful has decided to build a dome over the Rock of Jerusalem so that it will provide the Muslims with a shade and a shelter and to his children and whoever succeeded him, power and glory. But, verily, he disliked beginning this project before he had consulted those among his subjects who are of sound opinion, nobility and excellence; for God, may He be exalted, has said 'and consult them in the affair'.¹² They should write to him their opinion regarding what he has decided." So they wrote to him: "the Commander of the Faithful will accomplish the building of Jerusalem and the adornment of al-Aqṣā Mosque [= the Ḥaram?]¹²—may God provide continual good by His hands and establish a deed of honour and nobility for him, his predecessors, who have passed away and for the son who will succeed him, indeed it will be successful, if God, may He be exalted, wills it." It was said that, verily, he consulted them out of fear of Ibn al-Zubayr's vilifications of him. For this reason he wanted to cut off this continuous increase of his (propaganda) [or: the substance of his propaganda?]. But in spite of this he [i.e., 'Abd al-Malik] did not become safe from him, for he [Ibn al-Zubayr] used to besmirch him by saying: in his construction works he resembled (the buildings of) the palace of the King of Persia and (the construction of the palace of) al-Khadrā' as Mu'āwiya did, and he transferred the *ṭawāf* from the House of God to the *qibla* of the Children of Israel," and (other accusations) in the same manner.

They said: 'Abd al-Malik went from Damascus, with him were the money and the skilled workmen. He charged Raja' b. Ḥaywa and Yazīd b. Salām, his *mawlā*, with the work; and he gathered the craftsmen and the architects from all the regions telling them to prepare [draw?] a model of the Dome before its construction. So they made [drew?] a model in the courtyard of the Mosque and it roused his admiration and pleased him. He built a house for the Treasury, to the east of the Dome [of the Rock] and filled it with money. He ordered Rajā' and Yazīd to spend the money lavishly. The building [of the Ḥaram] was completed. Its form is the same as it is today, except for the fact that towards the *qibla* [i.e., the south end; of the al-Aqṣā Mosque?] seven praying niches (*maḥārib*) were built on which were seven domes. The dome that remained until today, above the *mihrāb*, is that which was in the middle of the *maḥārib*. When the construction of the Dome [of the Rock] was finished, two coverings

¹² *Qur'ān*, III (Āl 'Imrān), v. 159.

were prepared for it, one of them of red felt for the winter and the other from skins for summer. They encompassed the *Ṣakhra* with a balustrade made of the Indian plantain-tree¹³ in which jades were inlaid. [fol. 154b] Behind the balustrade there were curtains made of variegated and decorated silk, hanging down among the pillars. Every Monday and Thursday the gatekeepers (*al-sadana*) used to melt musk (*misk*),¹⁴ ambergris (*'anbar*),¹⁵ rose water (*mā'ward*) and saffron (*za'farān*) and prepare from it [a kind of perfume called] *ghāliya*,¹⁶ with rose-water made of the (red) roses of Jūr.¹⁷ This mixture was left during the night (so it will become good). Each morning of the above-mentioned days [i.e., Monday and Thursday], the attendants [*al-khadam*] enter the bathhouse and wash and purify themselves. Then they enter the storeroom (*makhzan*) in which there is the [kind of perfume called] *khalūq*,¹⁸ they take off their clothes and put on a garment made of *washy*,¹⁹ and tightly fasten the girdle (*minṭaqa*) embellished with gold around their waists, and they rub the *Ṣakhra* over with the perfume (*khalūq*). Then the incense is put in censers of gold and silver, inside which there is an Indian odoriferous wood (*al-'ūd al-Qamārī*)²⁰ which is rubbed over with musk. As to the (meaning of the word) *Qamārī*, it is a place in India from which a special wood is exported; the gatekeepers lower the curtains so that the incense encircles the *Ṣakhra* entirely and the odour [of the incense] clings to it. Then the curtains were raised so that this odour went out until it fills the entire city. Then [a public?] herald called: "Now surely [Qubbat] al-*Ṣakhra* has been opened. Whoever wants to perform a visit (*ziyāra*) let him come." So the people came in haste to the Dome of the Rock (*al-Ṣakhra*), prayed [there] and went out. On whomever the odour of the incense was found it was said this person was today in the *Ṣakhra*.²¹ The gates of the Dome of the Rock (*al-Ṣakhra*) are the same as today. And at each gate there are ten gatekeepers. The northern gate is called the Gate of Paradise, the eastern gate is the Gate of [the angel] Isrāfil, the western, Gate of [the angel] Jibril, and the southern, al-Aqṣā Gate.

¹³ *Al-Sāj*: The Teak Tree? Cf. Lane, *s.v.*, *sāj*; Kindī, p. 321.

¹⁴ On the *misk*, see Kindī, pp. 271–274; al-Nuwayrī, vol. XIII, pp. 1–15; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. II, pp. 113–116.

¹⁵ On the *'anbar*, see Kindī, pp. 168–172; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. II, pp. 116–1119.

¹⁶ On the *ghāliya*, see Kindī, pp. 200–202; al-Nuwayrī, vol. XII, pp. 52–60.

¹⁷ *Mā' al-ward al-Jūrī*; after Jūr, in Fāris, see Kindī, pp. 268–269; al-Nuwayrī, vol. XII, pp. 126–128; *mā' al-ward*; p. 123; *mā' al-ward al-Jūrī*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁸ On this perfume, see Kindī, pp. 224–225.

¹⁹ I.e., silk brocade adorned with figures.

²⁰ On this tree, see Kindī, p. 361; al-Nuwayrī, vol. XII, pp. 23–38, esp. 35–36; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. II, pp. 119–123, esp. 121.

²¹ Following at this point is the addition of Ibn Kathīr (see below, p. 57).

They used to light the Dome of the Rock with the oil of ben.²² On the days that visits are not allowed, nobody enters it, except the attendants (*al-khadam*). The Ḥaram had twenty gates. In it there were a thousand marble pillars; and in the roofs [ceilings?] there were sixty thousand pieces of carved teak wood,²³ it had five thousand lamps and four hundred chains [for the lamps?]. Each chain weighs one thousand Syrian *ratls*; their total length is forty thousand cubits. Each night, one hundred candles are lit in the Ṣakhra, the same number is lit in al-Aqṣā [Mosque], but it is said that their number is one thousand. [fol.155a]. Each night a quantity of one *qinṭār* of oil of ben (*duhn al-bān*) and pure olive oil²⁴ is lit in the lamps. There were fifty domes and seventy thousand pieces of plates, made of lead in the Ḥaram. There were three hundred attendants (*khādīm*) in the Ḥaram who were bought from the Treasury on account of the *khums*.²⁵ Everytime one of them died, his son and offspring fulfilled his charges; this was imposed on them for as long as they brought forth offspring. Each month they received their allowances from the Treasury. There were one hundred cisterns in the Ḥaram. The plates of the upper parts of the Dome were made of gold instead of lead; the ceiling of al-Aqṣā [Mosque] and the gates of the Dome [of the Rock] were also plated with gold.

Al-Wāqidi said: The reason for this is that when the construction was finished, an excess of three hundred thousand *dīnārs* was left, but it was said that six hundred thousand were left. Rajā' b. Ḥaywa and Yazīd b. Salām, therefore, wrote [to 'Abd al-Malik] informing him about the excess amount, and he wrote to them: "I have given it to you as a compensation for your great efforts." And they wrote to him: "We merely undertook the building of this house for the sake of God, may He be exalted, and sought to make Him content and wanted to please Him. We shall not receive for this the compensation of this world, indeed, we would like to add to this sum from the jewels of our women." So he wrote to them: "Melt [the remaining coins] and pour (the metal) on the Dome [of the Rock] and the gates." So they did. Nobody could contemplate at the Dome because of the gold that was on it. . . .

* * * * *

²² *Duhn al-bān*, made from the seeds of the ben tree, a species of moringa, see Kindī, pp. 181–184; al-Nuwayrī, vol. XII, pp. 78–92.

²³ *Al-sāj al-manqūsh*; the Indian plantain tree.

²⁴ *Al-zayt al-maghṣūl*; probably refers to the use of hot water in the process of the manufacturing of the olive oil, cf. Kindī, p. 140.

²⁵ The fifth part of the spoils to which the caliph was entitled; see also below, pp. 51–52.

Ibn Kathīr (1300–1373) copied parts from the account of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī. His text is more or less parallel except for an important addition, describing the signs and pictures concerning the Last Days drawn on the Ḥaram during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik.

And there was no more beautiful or more splendid building on earth at that time than the Dome of the Rock of Jerusalem so that the attention of the people was diverted by it from the Ka’ba and the *hajj*, so that they did not go at the time of the *hajj* or at any other time, but to Jerusalem. And following this the people were led astray and became greatly bewitched and came to it from every place and already made there many deceitful signs and marks appertaining to the Last Days. Thus (namely, as a result of this) they painted there the picture of *al-Širāt*, the Gate of Paradise and the footprint of the Messenger of God (ﷺ) and the Valley of Gehenna. And [they also painted] on its gates and in the (holy) places there. The people have been led astray by this even until our time.²⁶

Analysis of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī’s Description:

Generally, the text can be divided into two parts. The first part deals with the circumstances and reasons which led ‘Abd al-Malik to build the Dome of the Rock and to divert the *hajj* from Mecca to Jerusalem: mainly the struggle between ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. The second part (much longer than the first) deals mostly with the actual building of the Dome of the Rock, its

²⁶ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. VIII, pp. 280–281; for a detailed analysis of the text see Elād, “The Dome of the Rock.”

In translating these sentences I benefited from the advice of Prof. A. Arazi, Dr. I. Hasson and Prof. M.J. Kister, to whom I am deeply grateful. It goes without saying that the translation and exegesis are my sole responsibility. Goitein, in *EI*², “al-Ḳuds,” s.v., mentions only one specific paragraph. He translates it as follows: “They (the people of Jerusalem) have depicted there the spectacles of the *Širāt* . . . of the gate of Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophet and the Valley of Gehenna.” Goitein’s translation of *šawwarū* as “depicted” is ambiguous. Actually, according to the context it is possible to think that Goitein understood this expression as referring to an act of imaginary drawing. On the meaning of the verb *šawarra*, see Lane’s *Lexicon*, s.w.r. s.v.; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.w.r., s.v.; on the words *šawwara*, *tašwir*, as expressing/meaning painting, drawing, designing (a statue, picture, etc.), see, for example, Bukhārī, *Šahih*, vol. IV, Cairo, 1378 H., pp. 138–139 (several examples); al-Jahshiyārī, Abū ‘Abdallāh, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdūs, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā’ wa-’l-Kuttāb*, Cairo, 1357/1938, p. 123; see also the description of *al-Mā’ida* on the Mount of Olives as quoted by Ḥusayn Mu’nis, *Ta’rikh al-Jughrāfiyya wa-’Jughrāfiyyin fi ’l-Andalus*, Madrid, 1386/1967, p. 409 (quoting *Nafh al-Tib*, vol. II, pp. 242–243); and see also Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, p. 82, no. 525.

special attendants, the rituals held within, some physical characteristics of the Ḥaram, and in this connection, the description of the building and renovations on the Ḥaram during the reign of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, al-Manṣūr (reigned 754–775) and al-Mahdī (reigned 775–786), following the earthquakes which destroyed parts of the Ḥaram. At the end of this part a tradition from Ka'b al-Aḥbār is reported in which the Dome of the Rock is described as the Temple (*al-Haykal*), built by the servant of God, 'Abd al-Malik. This division of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī's text is artificial, and was made only to present its contents; the transmitters of the text reported it as a single entity.

To many passages from the second part there are almost identical parallels in the "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" (*Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*). As to the first part dealing with the motives for the building of the Dome of the Rock, the parallel parts in this genre are almost non-existent.

The First Part

Al-Wāqidi, Hishām b. Muḥammad and his father related that the religio-political situation, i.e., the struggle with 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr drove 'Abd al-Malik to prevent *Ahl-al-Shām* from going to Mecca to perform the *ḥajj*, and to build the Dome of the Rock as a replacement for the Ka'ba. At the same time, religious ceremonies and rituals, identical to those held at Mecca during the *ḥajj*, were also performed within the Dome of the Rock and outside it. In connection with this, Ibn Kathīr adds a most interesting piece of information about signs and pictures relating to the End of Days which were drawn inside the Ḥaram, such as the *Ṣirāṭ*, the footprint of the Prophet, and the Gate of Paradise. This information is not found in the two manuscripts of *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, examined by this author. It is reported, however, in an abridged form by Mujīr al-Dīn (d. 1521) in his *Ta'riḫ* (still in manuscript form).²⁷

This description reported by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī is much longer and detailed than the well-known tradition of al-Ya'qūbī (d. 897), which was one of the main sources for scholars debating the reasons and circumstances of the erection of the Dome of the Rock.²⁸

²⁷ Mujīr, *Ta'riḫ*, fol. 65a, ll. 14–21.

²⁸ Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ*, vol. II, p. 311.

The Second Part

The descriptions of al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn al-Murajjā and their later copyists of the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the rituals held therein are almost identical to each other.²⁹ Al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā report the tradition through the Jerusalem family, whose ancestor was one of the special servants (*al-akhmās*) of the Dome of the Rock. The tradition was transmitted to al-Walīd b. Ḥammād al-Ramlī, who lived towards the middle-end of the 3rd/9th century. One hundred and sixteen of 165 traditions in al-Wāsiṭī's book were transmitted by him. Eight extremely important traditions for the history of Jerusalem in the early Islamic period were transmitted through this family.³⁰

Notably, while many identical parallels are found in Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī's book and the *Faḍā'il* books, the sources of *Mir'āt al-Zamān* are al-Wāqidī, Hishām and his father, Muḥammad, whereas the sources for this tradition in the *Faḍā'il* books are the Jerusalem family.

The account of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī has bearing upon some historical as well as historiographical problems. It has significant implication for the importance of Jerusalem during the Umayyad period. The significance of the Dome of the Rock and the reasons for its erection are also part of these vast problems (see Chapter Four).

Goitein rejected al-Ya'qūbī's account because of his pro-'Alid tendencies, and several other scholars have emphasized his Shī'ī persuasion.³¹ However, al-Ya'qūbī is not the only early source for the Dome of the Rock to whom scholars have attributed Shī'ī view and bias.

Several scholars have discerned Shī'ī views in the writing of al-Wāqidī.³² Indeed, Petersen asserts that, while in the service of al-Ma'mūn, he adopted the Mu'tazilite dogma, since the Mu'tazila represented the views of the moderate Shī'a.³³ But this claim of Petersen and others, that al-Ma'mūn chose the Mu'tazila doctrine as a compromise between the Sunnis and the Shī'is, is no longer valid.³⁴ Horowitz was already rather reserved about the alleged Shī'ī

²⁹ Cf. *Muthīr al-Gharām*, fols. 40a–43a; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, vol. I, pp. 241–246; Mujīr, vol. I (Amman), pp. 272–273.

³⁰ See, Introduction, pp. 16–17.

³¹ Rosenthal, pp. 63, 134; Duri, "The 'Iraq School," p. 53.

³² Dūri, *Baḥth*, p. 39.

³³ Petersen, pp. 88–89.

³⁴ W. Madelung, "Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology," in *Le Shī'ism Imamite; Colloque de Strasbourg (6–9 mai 1968)*, Centre d'Études Supérieures Spécialisées d'Histoire des Religions de Strasbourg, Paris 1970, pp. 13–30 (discussed by Crone, *Slaves*, p. 258, n. 608).

affiliation of al-Wāqidi.³⁵ Some of his arguments are similar to those of Jones, who firmly rejects the allegation, and argues that al-Wāqidi was not himself Shī'ī, but merely transmitted traditions of a Shī'ī nature.³⁶ Other scholars, however, have pointed to his close connections with the 'Abbāsids.³⁷

Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib and his son Hishām seem to have had clear Shī'ī sympathies. As is well known, their family was anti-Umayyad. Muḥammad's grandfather and father took the part of 'Alī in both *Waq'at al-Jamal* and *Waq'at Šifīn*. Al-Sā'ib was killed alongside the rebel Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, the brother of 'Abdallāh.³⁸ Muḥammad³⁹ and Hishām⁴⁰ are both known for the Shī'ī tendencies in their writing.

The question that arises is on the extent to which the Shī'ī bias of these early *akhbāriyyūn* and historians effects their credibility and the reliability of the traditions which they report. The study of early Islamic historiography is still only in its infancy. At this stage of research our knowledge is still incomplete. Detailed studies of specific cases, accompanied by as wide a comparison as possible of the parallel traditions, are still quite rare. Yet only through this method is it possible to arrive at a balanced evaluation of this or the other early historian. Researchers of Islamic historiography have tended to hold a very high opinion of early Muslim historians. Their works are not sectarian and do not express a one-sided, biased position. Duri accounts for their moderation and balance by stressing the importance that they "attached to the tradition (*riwāya*) versus opinion and to the discipline imposed by scholarly judgment."⁴¹ The history that they wrote was based upon the transmission of facts, and thus they could not ignore opposing traditions.⁴² Moreover, this factual information "was in no way offensive to the later orthodox historians, who did not mind copying it."⁴³ Thus,

³⁵ Horowitz, pp. 124–125.

³⁶ Al-Wāqidi, vol. I, pp. 16–18 (Jones' introduction).

³⁷ Petersen, pp. 83–84; Horowitz, pp. 125–126; al-Wāqidi, vol. I, pp. 6–9.

³⁸ Cf. for instance, Ibn Khallikān, Ahmad b. Muḥammad, *Wafāyāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968–1972, vol. IV, pp. 309–311; Caskel, *Jamhara*, vol. I, p. 72; W. Atallah, "al-Kalbī", *El²*, s.v.

³⁹ Duri, *Baḥth*, p. 41 (Conrad's translation, p. 51); Caskel, *Jamhara*, vol. I, p. 72.

⁴⁰ Caskel, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Kister and Plessner, pp. 65–67; Duri, "The 'Iraq School," p. 52; see also al-Kulaynī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, *al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfi*, Teheran, 1377–81/1957–61, vol. I, pp. 349–351.

⁴¹ Duri, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 50; Rosenthal, pp. 63–64; Kister and Plessner, pp. 67–68.

⁴³ Rosenthal, p. 71.

the fact that an early historian was accused of sectarian bias did not necessarily discredit his sources or his work as a whole. The Shi'ī tendencies of Hishām b. Huḡammad al-Kalbī did not prevent him from cooperating with the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī (reigned 775–785). Hishām received for his services some very valuable gifts.⁴⁴ Moreover, he is most probably responsible for the spreading (or even inventing) of a pro-'Abbāsīd tradition.⁴⁵

The tradition which tells of 'Abd al-Malik's wish to divert the *hajj* from Mecca to Jerusalem was copied by later "Sunni" authors.⁴⁶ In later periods the tradition lost its relevance, and the negative connotations of this dispute have long since been forgotten.

The account dealt with in this chapter seems to be an early one, which was preserved by later authors. It is possible that many of the early "Sunni" historians preferred not to include it in their history books.

However, many important early books and treatises have been lost. Some important historical works are still in manuscript form. It would not at all be surprising if this tradition is found in other works quoted from different transmitters.⁴⁷

2. *Worship on the Ḥaram After the Umayyad Period: the Wuqūf*

Additional testimonies on the performance of the *wuqūf* ceremonies in Jerusalem on the Ḥaram come from later periods. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in the year 1047, describes the performance of *al-ta'rif* opposite the Rock on the Ḥaram, the offering of the 'Īd al-Aḡhā sacrifice on the Ḥaram by those Muslims who were unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴⁸ Al-Ṭurtūshī, who was in Jerusalem during the last decade of the 11th century,⁴⁹ notes that on the day of 'Arafāt, in the mosque of Jerusalem, the people from Jerusalem and the neighboring villages stood in prayer, with

⁴⁴ Al-Ṭabari, III, pp. 528–529 (mentioned by Atallah, *El*², "Ibn al-Kalbī", s.v.).

⁴⁵ Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, vol. III, ed. A. A. Duri, Wiesbaden-Beirut, 1978, p. 48; the name of Hishām b. Muḡammad in the *isnād* of this tradition was left out; this is clear from comparison with dozens of traditions (in al-Balādhuri's *Ansāb*, and *futūḡ*), in which one finds the complete *isnād*: 'Abbās b. Hishām < his father < (Muḡammad b. al-Sā'ib) < Abū Ṣāliḡ (= Dhakwān b. 'Abdallāh al-Sammān? d. 101/719–720).

⁴⁶ See Elad, "The Dome of the Rock," pp. 44–45.

⁴⁷ See further, the full discussion in Elad, "The Dome of the Rock," pp. 40–52.

⁴⁸ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 19–20 (Arabic); Goitein, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine," p. 137; Nāṣir-i Khusraw claims that in certain years more than 20,000 people came to these ceremonies. Goitein, "Jerusalem in the Arab Period," p. 21, thinks that this is a standard number Nāṣir-i Khusraw uses in his descriptions.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-'Arabi, *Riḡla*, p. 80.

their faces turned to Mecca, raising their voices in *du‘ā* (prayers of request, invocations) as though they were standing before Mount ‘Arafāt in Mecca.⁵⁰ In the year 1189, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn travelled from Safad to Jerusalem for the explicit purpose of celebrating the holiday of the sacrifice there.⁵¹ Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1329) also tells of the existence of the *wuqūf* custom in Jerusalem.⁵² Towards the middle of the 14th century ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, Abū al-Ḥasan composed a poem (*qaṣīda*), whose verses blatantly condemn a number of the rituals which were held in Jerusalem, and which were related to the Holy Rock and other places on the Ḥaram.⁵³

Muslims from Jerusalem and adjacent areas, and pilgrims from all over the Muslim world, most certainly took part in the rituals held on the Ḥaram in the course of their visit to the holy places in the city.

B. THE VISIT AND PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM AND ITS HOLY SITES

1. *The Umayyad and Early ‘Abbāsīd Periods*

From the beginning of the Umayyad period, Muslim visitors and pilgrims came to Jerusalem to pray in its holy places. There are a few very early testimonies of this which have been collected and are cited here. However, even partial conclusions as to the dimensions of the phenomenon cannot be drawn from them. Nor are specific pilgrim itineraries or a complete list of the holy sites that pilgrims visited and prayed at given. What is known is that the places visited were concentrated mainly on the Ḥaram, and the itinerary also included the Place of Prayer of David (Miḥrāb Dāwūd), the Spring

⁵⁰ Kister, “The Three Mosques,” p. 195, n. 110; Kister “Concessions and Conduct,” p. 105.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. XII (Tornberg ed.), p. 14. His journey took place in Dhū ‘l-Ḥijja 584/January–February 1189.

⁵² Kister, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ Mujīr, “A Sequel,” pp. 9–10; Kister, “The Three Mosques,” p. 194 (mentions this source). ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, Abū ‘l-Ḥasan, ‘Alī b. Ayyūb b. Maṣṣūr al-Maqḍisī al-Shāfi‘ī was born in 666/1267–1268, died Ramaḍān 748/December 1347. He was a man of the *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* [Muslim jurisprudence]. Despite the fact that he was a Shāfi‘ī, he tended to follow the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya, and that explains this *qaṣīda*. On him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al Kāmina*, vol. II, 1349 H., pp. 30–31; *idem.*, *Lisān al-Mizān*, vol. IV, 1330 H., p. 207; he taught first in the *madāris* of Syria, but moved to the Madrasa al-Ṣalāhiyya in Jerusalem, where he taught in 1326 (see Mujīr, vol. II [Amman ed.], p. 106); see also Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, pp. 287–288, who mentions (based on Ibn al-Ḥājj al-‘Abdarī, *al-Madkhal*, vol. III, p. 265), the *ṭawāf* around the *Ṣakhra* in Jerusalem as part of a general analysis of the veneration of Holy Places in Islam.

of Silwān, the Valley of Gehenna (mainly the Church of Mary) and the Mount of Olives.

Many traditions were circulated in the Umayyad period in an attempt to encourage pilgrimage to Jerusalem and prayer there. These constitute a part of the "Traditions in Praise of Syria" (*Faḍā'il al-Shām*).⁵⁴ In addition, special traditions were circulated at the beginning of the Umayyad period, as part of the *Faḍā'il* literature, in praise of places in Jerusalem itself, and this certainly encouraged pilgrimages and visits there. Thus, there is a quite an early tradition, circulated not later than the first quarter of the 8th century, that "he who comes to Jerusalem and prays to the right of the Rock [on the Ḥaram] and to its north, and prays in the (holy) place (*al-mawḍi'*) of the Chain, and gives a little or much charity, his prayers will be answered, and God will remove his sorrows and he will be freed of his sins as on the day his mother gave birth to him."⁵⁵

Tradition has it that the Prophet "prayed" to the right of the Rock on the night of the *isrā'*, and there the Qubbat al-Nabī was built at a later period.⁵⁶ It should also be remembered that the one who prays to the north of the Rock unites the two *qiblas*.⁵⁷ As for the place of the Chain, this may mean Qubbat al-Silsila (or perhaps the chain that hung down from the center of the Dome of the Rock).⁵⁸

Another early tradition (the *isnād* concludes with Khālid b. Ma'dān, d. 103 or 104/721–22) encourages visits to the holy places in Jerusalem: "Whosoever comes to Jerusalem must come to the eastern Mihrāb Dāwūd and pray there, and bathe in the spring, the Spring of Silwān, for it is one of the springs of Paradise, and he is not allowed to enter the Churches and buy anything from there."⁵⁹

The pilgrims came to Jerusalem from nearby localities, from Syria,⁶⁰ and from more distant regions. Some came in fulfillment of personal

⁵⁴ See, for example, Goitein, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," pp. 28–30; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 278–279.

⁵⁵ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 23, no. 29; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

⁵⁶ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 73–74, no. 119.

⁵⁷ See below, pp. 30–31.

⁵⁸ See below, p. 52.

⁵⁹ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 13, no. 13; p. 44, no. 61, and the comprehensive bibliography of the editor therein; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁶⁰ For example, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Zakariyyā' al-Khuzā'i, a well-known scholar from Damascus (d. 117/735–736), who, whenever he came to Jerusalem used to ascend the Mount of Olives; see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, vol. XX, (biographies of 'Ubāda b. Awfā-'Abdallāh b. Thawb), Damascus, Dār al-Fikr, 1402/1982, p. 413 (his biography, *ibid.*, pp. 403–415); for more on him, see *Hilya*, vol. V, pp. 149–153; al-Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh (ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 101–120)*, Beirut, 1990, pp. 396–397; *idem.*, *Siyar*, vol. V, p. 286.

vows.⁶¹ Anyone who could not make the pilgrimage and pray in Jerusalem could send olive oil instead to illuminate the Mosque of Jerusalem.⁶² Goitein thinks that Jews and Christians also donated oil for illumination of the Mosque of Jerusalem.⁶³

Some pilgrims came to Jerusalem before the season of the *hajj* in order to sanctify themselves and prepare themselves for the *hajj* or the *'umra*. This sanctification ceremony was called *ihrām* or *ihlāl* (meaning that the person sanctifying himself, the *muhrim*, announced out loud his intention and readiness to enter into a state of *ihrām*).

Early traditions, which can be dated back to at least the first quarter of the 2nd/8th century, extol the sanctification of the *hajj* or the *'umra*, from Jerusalem.⁶⁴ There is information on a number of important Muslim scholars who went up to Jerusalem to perform the *ihrām* there before the *hajj*, namely: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar (d. 73 or 74/692–694),⁶⁵ 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās (d. 68/678),⁶⁶ Maḥmūd b. al-Rabi', Abū Nu'aym (d. 99/717),⁶⁷ and a little later, Waki' b. al-

⁶¹ See, for example, al-Wāsiṭī, p. 30, no. 42 (the end of the Umayyad period), and the editor's note therein; Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 280–281.

⁶² Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 24–25, no. 32, and the exhaustive bibliography therein; see also, *Muthīr al-Gharām*, fol. 68a, traditions on this subject, quoting *Sunan* Abī Dāwūd and *Shi'ab al-Imān* of al-Bayhaqī; see also Goitein, "Jerusalem During the Arab Period," p. 13; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

⁶³ Goitein, *loc. cit.*; Goitein quotes the Muslim jurist, al-Khaṣṣaf (d. 874/875 A.D., *Ahkām al-Awqāf*, Cairo, 1904–5, p. 341), who permits Christians and Jews to send oil to illuminate the Mosque in Jerusalem. Goitein comments: "And it is possible that the words of the *Ahima'az Scroll* hint at this custom: 'Rabbi Shmuel . . . donated . . . and oil to the Temple at the Western Wall and to the altar within.'" And see also *idem.*, "Caliph 'Umar," p. 41 (Supplement) (this is contrary to *Dinur in Zion*, vol. III, p. 62).

⁶⁴ See Hirschberg, "Sources," pp. 315–316; Kister, "The Three Mosques," p. 192; Duri, "al-Quds," p. 21; Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 279; al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 58–59, nos. 91–92, esp. 92; see also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, vol. II, Cairo, 1354/1935, pp. 143–144; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, vol. II, Cairo, 1373/1953 (*Kitāb al-Manāsik*, no. 49), p. 999; *Muthīr al-Gharām* fols. 45b–46a: some of the traditions are parallel to those of al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā, but the author adds an important discussion; Ibn al-Firkāh, pp. 61–62 (quoting Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir); checking the *isnād* of this *hadīth* in a few books of *hadīth* (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. VI, p. 299 (quoted by Hirschberg, *loc. cit.*), Abū Dāwūd, *loc. cit.*, Ibn Māja, *loc. cit.*, al-Wāsiṭī, *loc. cit.*) point to Yahyā b. Abī Sufyān, who wrote during the first quarter of the 8th century, as the common link in the *isnād* of this tradition; it can thus be said that the tradition was circulated during the first or second decade of the 8th century. On Yahyā b. Abī Sufyān, see al-Rāzī, *al-Jarh*, vol. IV/2, 1373/1953, p. 155; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. XI, 1327 H., p. 244; on the term *ahalla*, *ihlāl*, see *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. XI, Beirut, 1375/1956, p. 701; see also *EF*, "Ihrām" (A.J. Wensinck [J. Jomier], s.v.)

⁶⁵ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 24, no. 30; pp. 58–59, no. 91 and the parallel sources therein; see also *Muthīr al-Gharām* (printed ed.), pp. 12–13; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 157, comprehensive bibliography.

⁶⁶ *Muthīr al-Gharām*, *loc. cit.*; Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 164.

⁶⁷ *Muthīr al-Gharām*, p. 34; on him, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. III, pp. 519–520.

Jarrāh (d. 197/812), who performed an *ihrām* in Jerusalem.⁶⁸ All these were famous people; some of them did not live either in Syria or in Palestine. Obviously scholars and other residents of Palestine were also present on the Ḥaram during the *ihrām* ceremony before the *hajj*, and it may be assumed that they constituted the majority of those sanctifying themselves. It is related, for example, that Ṣāliḥ b. Yūsuf, Abū Shu‘ayb, a resident of Palestine who died in Ramla in 282/895, performed the *hajj* seventy times, and each time he would perform the *ihrām* from the Rock of Jerusalem [or the Ḥaram: *min Ṣakhrat Bayt al-Maqdis*].⁶⁹

Another tradition combined the pilgrimage to Mecca and the visit to al-Madīna with Jerusalem, praising and recommending prayer in the three mosques of these cities during the same year.⁷⁰ Perhaps in this light one can understand the words of al-Muqaddasī (the second half of the 10th century), who, describing the Berbers in North Africa, says that there are very few of them who do not visit Jerusalem (*wa-aqalla man lā yazūru Bayt al-Maqdis minhum*).⁷¹

A rare testimony combining the pilgrimage to Mecca with the *ziyāra* to Jerusalem is found in the poem of al-Mu‘allā b. Ṭarīf, the *mawlā* of Caliph al-Mahdī (reigned 775–786).

Kāmil Muraffal:

*Yā ṣāḥi innī qad ḥajaj * tu wa-zurtu Bayta ’l-Maqdisi*

*Wa-dakhaltu Luddan ‘āmidan * fī-’īdi Māryā Jirjisi*

*Fa-ra’aytu fīhi niswatan * mithla ’z-ḏibā’i ’l-kunnasi.*⁷²

⁶⁸ *Muthīr al-Gharām*, p. 53 (quoting the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd); Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 158; on Wakī’ b. al-Jarrāh, see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh* (Amman), vol. XVII, pp. 783–809; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. XXVI, pp. 292–302; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. IX, pp. 140–168; Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 96–97.

⁶⁹ *Muthīr al-Gharām*, p. 56.

⁷⁰ Kister, “The Three Mosques,” p. 192; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 279; against this background it may be possible to understand the visit of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph, al-Manṣūr, to Jerusalem after the *hajj* of 140/758. See al-Ṭabarī, III, p. 129.

⁷¹ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 243. In the preceding sentence, al-Muqaddasī mentions the pilgrimage customs of the Berbers. It may have been this that prompted S.D. Goitein to explain the sentence on their visit to Jerusalem as if the Berbers use to go up to Jerusalem to perform the *ihrām* from the Rock before their journey to Mecca for the *hajj*. However, the text is not so unequivocal, and could be understood otherwise – as if the Berbers came to Jerusalem after the pilgrimage, or perhaps even without any connection with Mecca and the *hajj*. Thus the sentence just generally affirms the visit of the Berbers from North Africa to Jerusalem in the 10th century.

⁷² Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, BGA, vol. VI, 1889, p. 79: two first lines only; the third line according to *Aghānī*, vol. VI, (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 1935), p. 236; and Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. IV (Wüstenfeld ed.), p. 354; both sources in line 3:

Translation:

Oh, my friend:
 I have already performed the pilgrimage * and visited Jerusalem
 And I entered [the city of] Lod intending to visit * the St. Georgius
 Festival
 And I saw there women * who looked like gazelles gathering to
 their shelter.⁷³

Al-Mu'allā b. Ṭarīf visited Lod for the St. Georgius Festival, one of the Christian festivals recognized by the Muslims in Palestine, by which they calculated the seasons of the year. The festival of Lod (*'Īd Ludd*) is the festival of the sowing season.⁷⁴ Exactly when al-Mu'allā visited Jerusalem and Lod is not known. It may have been at the time of al-Mahdī's visit to Jerusalem in 163/780.⁷⁵

Jerusalem also constituted a unique center for the early ascetics and Muslim mystics, the *zuhhād*, who developed and circulated the "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem". Some resided in the city, and others made pilgrimages to it from all corners of the Muslim world. They often combined their visit to Jerusalem with visits to other border towns (*ribāṭāt*) in Palestine and other parts of the Muslim world.⁷⁶ The testimonies of visits to Jerusalem and its holy places

wa-ataytu instead of *wa-dakhaltu*; Yāqūt and Aghānī, *loc. cit.*: *Sirjis* instead of *Jirjis*.

⁷³ Cf. *Qur'ān*, LXXXI, v. 16; the visit to Mecca is the *hajj* or pilgrimage, whilst to Jerusalem it is simply a visit, *ziyāra*. In the second century, the primacy of Mecca is unchallenged.

⁷⁴ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 183; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 21.

⁷⁵ See below, p. 41.

⁷⁶ The first scholar to stress the importance of Jerusalem for the Muslim mystics was Goitein, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," pp. 27–30, but he dealt mainly with their role during a relatively late period, from the 9th century onwards; M.J. Kister was the first to draw attention to the important role of the *zuhhād* in the development and spreading of the "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem," see Kister, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem." See also O. Livne, "The Ribāṭ Towns" (see Bibliography); and especially, Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 27ff; see also Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā (208/823–281/894), *Kitāb al-Awliyā' in Majmū'at al-Rasā'il*, Maṭba'at Jam'iyyat al-Nashr wa-'l-Ta'lif al-Azhariyya, Cairo, 1354/1935, p. 133, no. 138, a tradition (that can be dated at least to the late 8th – early 9th century) about a Muslim scholar who left al-Baṣra in order to settle in Ashqelon ('Asqalān) as a *Murābiṭ* (i.e. one who is stationed in a border city, facing the enemy), and on his way he also visited Jerusalem; see also the tradition on Aḥmad b. Kathīr [the late 9th–early 10th century; on him, see Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. I, 1329 H., p. 440; he was the teacher of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Adhru'i, who died in 334/945–946 or 344/955–956, on whom, see Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 1330 H., pp. 427–428] who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, participated in a holy war, made a visit (*ziyāra*) to Jerusalem, Ashqelon, and Acre ('Akka), and stayed in all the coastal border cities facing the enemy (as a *murābiṭ*); see, Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Madīnat Dimashq*, vol. II/1 (ed. Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid), Damascus, 1373/1953, p. 107: *fa-sa'altu Allāh tabāraka wa-ta'ālā al-hajja fa-*

are very early, but what the pilgrims' itinerary was is not known nor is there a full list of the holy sites which they visited or where they prayed.

Of the well-known scholar al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774),⁷⁷ it was said that he prayed on the Ḥaram with his back to the Rock, saying: "Thus did 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz" (reigned 717–720). The transmitter of the tradition continues: "And al-Awzā'ī did not come to any of the holy places which are generally visited."⁷⁸ It was also said of the scholar Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 812) "that he did not visit a single one of the holy places [which it was customary to visit]."⁷⁹ The latter two traditions are evidence of the controversy between the scholars in the 2nd century of the *hijra* (8th century of the Christian era) regarding the holiness of Jerusalem and the holy places there, especially of the Rock.⁸⁰

A tradition which emphasizes the controversy between the Muslim scholars on this question and at the same time gives evidence of the itinerary of the Muslim pilgrim at the end of the 8th century was reported by Ja'far b. Musāfir (d. Muḥarram 254/Jan. 868),⁸¹ who states:

I saw Mu'ammal b. Ismā'il (d. 206/821–822)⁸² in Jerusalem give [a small] amount of money to people (*a'ta qawman shay'an*) and they went round with him to those [holy] places (*fī tilka 'l-mawādi'*). His son said to him: Oh my father, Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ has already entered [Jerusalem?] and he did not make a course [of the holy places]. [Mu'ammal] said: 'Each person does as he pleases.'⁸³

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Though specific places were not mentioned in the sources, from the evidence assembled of visits to the holy places in Jerusalem from

ḥajaṭu fasa'altuhu 'l-jihāda, fa-jāhadtu fa-sa'ltuhu 'l-ziyāra wa-'l-ṣalāt fī Bayt al-Maqdis wa-'Asqalān wa-'Akka wa-'l-ribāt fī-jamī' 'l-sawāḥil fa-ruziqtu dhālika. See also *Muthīr al-Gharām* (printed ed.), pp. 44–45, on *zuhūd* in Jerusalem.

⁷⁷ On him, see Sezgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 516–517; *Et*, "al-Awzā'ī" (J. Schacht), *s.v.*
⁷⁸ *Muthīr al-Gharām* (printed ed.), p. 52, (*wa-lam ya'ti shay'an min al-mazārāt*); Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 300–301.

⁷⁹ *Muthīr al-Gharām*, p. 53; on him, see note 68.

⁸⁰ Kister, "The Three Mosques," p. 193, dealt with this controversy.

⁸¹ On him, see al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. I/1, p. 491; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. II, 1325 H., pp. 106–107.

⁸² On him, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 76, no. 124, n. 1; al-Dhahābī, *Siyar*, vol. X, pp. 110–112.

⁸³ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 76, no. 124, and the parallel sources therein [= Livne, no. 363]; see also Ibn al-Firkāḥ, p. 73, a parallel tradition with a slight textual change; *Muthīr al-Gharām*, fols. 110b–111a; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 301.

the Umayyad period to the early 'Abbāsīd period, approximately to the year 800, it can safely be assumed that, first and foremost, they included sites on the Ḥaram, e.g., the Dome of the Rock, the Aqṣā Mosque, the Dome of the Prophet, the Dome of Ascension, and the Dome of the Chain. A number of gates on the Ḥaram were surely included: the gates of Mercy, Ḥiṭṭa, the Divine Presence (Sakīna), the Tribes (al-Asbāt), and the Prophet. And, finally, there were additional places outside the Ḥaram, such as Miḥrāb Dāwūd, the Spring of Silwān and the Mount of Olives.⁸⁴

As already learned from the description of Ibn Kathīr, who outlines the existing situation in the Umayyad period, visitors to Jerusalem saw pictures of *al-Ṣirāt*, Paradise and other scenes connected with the Last Days on the Ḥaram. Ninth and 10th century geographers, Ibn al-Faqīh, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, al-Muqaddasī and also the Muslim traveller, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, describe or mention numerous structures on the Ḥaram, many of them no doubt erected in the Umayyad period. It is difficult to determine exactly where they were, since their names and locations changed through the years.⁸⁵

It was only in the beginning of the 11th century that a complete account of the pilgrim's itinerary of the holy places in Jerusalem was given by Ibn al-Murajjā.

2. *The First Guide for the Muslim Pilgrim from the Beginning of the 11th Century*

It has been clearly shown that from the earlier periods (7th–9th centuries) there is much evidence of pilgrimage and visits to the holy places in Jerusalem, especially on the Ḥaram. The "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" supplies much information concerning religious and learned men who dwelt in Jerusalem, or came to visit its holy sites. But at this stage of research it is very difficult to evaluate the nature and especially the extent of these pilgrimages in the

⁸⁴ It was related about 'Abdallāh b. Abī Zakariyyā' (on him, see note 60), that whenever he came to Jerusalem he used to ascend the Mount of Olives (Abū Zur'a < Abū Mushir < Ibrāhīm b. Abī Shaybān < *qāla li Ziyād b. Abī 'l-Aswad: kāna ṣāhibukum, ya'ni Ibn Abī Zakariyyā', idhā qadima hāhunā ya'ni, Bayt al-Maqdis, ṣa'ida hādhā 'l-Jabal, ya'ni Ṭūr Zaytā*).

⁸⁵ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101; al-Muhallabī, p. 54; *Iqd, op. cit.*, pp. 263–265; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 27, 31, 48–49, 52 (English), 21–23, 30, 32 (Arabic); al-Muqaddasī, pp. 169–170; *ibid.*, p. 170: he mentions the *mihrābs* of Maryam (Mary), Zechariah and Jacob, and al-Khiḍr and the *maqāms* of the Prophet and Gabriel, and the places of the ants, the fire, the Ka'ba and *Ṣirāt*, "all of these are scattered on the Ḥaram." See the translation of these geographers (except for al-Muhallabī): Le Strange, *Palestine*, Index: Jerusalem.

early Muslim period. The fact has already been stressed that a complete description of the pilgrim's stops from this period is lacking and we know of no guide book for the Muslim traveller from this early period.

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A complete and detailed itinerary of visits to the Muslim holy places in Jerusalem is recorded by Ibn al-Murajjā (beginning of the 11th century). It is the first known of its kind.⁸⁶ Its influence is well attested to in the late compilations of the "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem". Some of these late authors copy the itinerary almost verbatim, while others give only parts of it.⁸⁷ A few scholars mentioned this guide and briefly stressed its importance. A separate discussion was dedicated to it by Livne.⁸⁸

* * * * *

Ibn al-Murajjā describes more than twenty places in Jerusalem which are recommended sites. In some of them the Muslim must pray and in other places he need only perform the invocation, or combine prayers with invocations. Livne, who studied these prayers, came to the conclusion that the majority of these prayers have no direct link to the specific places in which they are recited. Usually, they are prayers and invocations found already in the early compilations of *ḥadīth*, and also in the early *adab* literature, some of the prayers "give the impression that they paraphrase some verses from the Bible, especially from Psalms." The prayers which have a special link to places in Jerusalem are those said in Miḥrāb Dāwūd (*sūrat ṣād*), and in Miḥrāb Maryam (*sūrat Maryam*). Summarizing this topic, Livne concludes that the prayers were probably collected and put together artificially by Ibn al-Murajjā himself.⁸⁹

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⁸⁶ Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 25b–31b.

⁸⁷ A full itinerary: Ibn al-Firkāḥ (d. 1329), pp. 64–68, who copies most of the description of Ibn al-Murajjā (this was already noted by Busse, "Jerusalem," p. 466); and also Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir (d. 1203) (quoted by Hasson, "Jerusalem," p. 301); a partial itinerary: al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf; Laṭā'if al-'Uns*, fol. 14a ff. (all are mentioned by Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 302).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; see also Šivan, p. 271, who stressed the importance of the description of the itinerary by Ibn al-Murajjā; he also mentions (*ibid.*, n. 35) the short parallel from Ibn al-Firkāḥ; Hasson, *loc. cit.*, mentions the itinerary of Ibn al-Murajjā and also quotes the itinerary according to Bahā' al-Dīn.

⁸⁹ Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 302–303.

Dating the Guide of Ibn al-Murajjā:

Unlike most of the traditions in Ibn al-Murajjā's book, which can be dated to a much earlier period with the help of the *isnād*, the traditions in the "Muslim Guide" (except the prayers) are not preceded by any *isnād*. Therefore, it appears that Ibn al-Murajjā composed the Guide himself during the first half of the 11th century. It is highly probable, however, that this itinerary, or a similar one, was known to visitors to the holy places in Jerusalem already at the beginning or middle of the 10th century. This can be deduced from an interesting tradition, recorded by Ibn al-Murajjā with an *isnād* which concluded with Abū Muḥammad, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Khūlī [?], relating that on the 10th of Muḥarram in the year 335 [= 12th of August 946] he had a dream in which he paid a visit to the holy places on the Ḥaram in Jerusalem. In this dream he visited:

1. The Dome of the Rock. Within the Dome:
2. The Black Paving-Stone (al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā'). Then to:
3. The Dome of the Ascension (of the Prophet) to Heaven (Qubbat al-Mi'rāj)
4. The Dome of the Prophet (Qubbat al-Nabī)
5. The Gate (Bāb) of Ḥiṭṭa
6. The Cradle of Jesus (Maḥd 'Īsā) and Miḥrāb Maryam
7. Miḥrāb Zakariyyā'
8. The Gate of Mercy (Bāb al-Raḥma)
9. Al-Masjid al-Aqṣā⁹⁰

All these sites (and several others) are mentioned (though not in this order) by Ibn al-Murajjā. This tradition likely testifies to the existence of an itinerary to the holy places on the Ḥaram. Its purpose is most probably to reinforce and praise their sanctity.⁹¹

* * * * *

Stops in the visitors' itinerary to the holy places in Jerusalem, according to Ibn al-Murajjā:

1. The Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra). Within the Dome of the Rock the Muslim should pray in the following holy places:

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 95b–96a [= Livne, no. 407]; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 302; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, fol. 10a [= vol. I, pp. 110–111]: a corrupt tradition. The name of the dreamer: Abū 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarizī. The entire part dealing with the holy places visited is left out.

⁹¹ Livne, *loc. cit.*, also reached this conclusion.

- 1a. The Black Paving-Stone (al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā')
- 1b. The Cave under the Rock
- 1c. Maqām al-Nabī. Then the Muslim must turn towards the east, stand and pray at the eastern gate of the Dome of the Rock, which is:
- 1d. The Gate of [the Angel] Isrāfil (Bāb Isrāfil)
Then he goes out of the Dome towards:
2. The Dome of the Chain (Qubbat al-Silsila). Then to:
3. The Dome of Ascension [of the Prophet] to Heaven (Qubbat al-Mi'rāj). Then to:
4. The Dome of the Prophet (Qubbat al-Nabī). Then to:
5. The Gate of Mercy (Bāb al-Raḥma). Then to:
6. Miḥrāb Zecharia (Zakariyyā'). Then to:
7. Solomon's "Chair" (Kursī Sulaymān), which is located on a rock at the back [= the southwest] of the mosque [i.e., the Ḥaram]. Then he goes on towards:
8. The Gate of the Shechina (Bāb al-Sakīna). Then to:
9. The Gate of Ḥiṭṭa. Then to:
10. Al-Masjid al-Aqṣā. Within the Mosque the Muslim should pray in:
 - 10a. Miḥrāb 'Umar
 - 10b. Miḥrāb Mu'āwiya
 - 10c. All the *miḥrābs* within the Mosque. Then he ought to descend to:
11. The Gate of the Prophet (Bāb al-Nabī). Then he continues towards:
12. Miḥrāb Maryam, also known as the Cradle of Jesus (Maḥd 'Īsā). From there he goes down to:
13. The place which the Angel Gabriel drilled with his finger and tied up al-Burāq. From this place the Muslim can ascend to:
14. Al-Sāhira, which is the Mount of Olives (Ṭūr Sinā [= Ṭūr Zaytā],⁹² or enter:
15. Miḥrāb Dāwūd, which is [located] at the western gate of the city.

* * * * *

Most of these places will be discussed at length, mainly in Chapter Three. Briefly referred to below are places which are not discussed there.

⁹² Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 31a: *Ṭūr Sinā*; Ibn al-Firkāh, p. 68, copies Ibn al-Murajjā: *Ṭūr Zaytā*.

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1b. The Cave Under the Rock:

This cave is described by the Arab geographers and by Muslim travellers from the 10th century onwards.⁹³ Al-Harawī (1173) says that the cave is called the Cave of the Spirits, and that according to a tradition, Zecharia is buried there.⁹⁴

1c. Maqām al-Nabī:

Al-Muqaddasī (mid-10th century) only mentions the place without giving its specific location.⁹⁵ Maqām al-Nabī probably marked the Prophet's stay beside the Rock, and his ascent to heaven. Later [?] the Footprint of the Prophet (Qadam al-Nabī) is noted as being located within the Dome of the Rock, at the end of the Rock. About sixty years after Ibn al-Murajjā composed his book, during the 90's of the 11th century, Ibn al-'Arabī writes that in the higher part of the Rock, to the south, there is the Footprint of the Prophet, which he made while riding al-Burāq. On the other side of the Rock (continues Ibn al-'Arabī), there are the Fingerprints of the Angels (Aṣābī' al-Malā'ika), the angels that held the Rock. Al-Ḥalabī (quoting Ibn al-'Arabī) adds that Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) was asked whether there is any basis in the *Hadīth* literature for the tradition about the Footprint of the Prophet. His answer was negative.⁹⁶ It is noteworthy that the tradition about the ascension of the Prophet from the Rock is relatively early: it is mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī (d. 897).⁹⁷

⁹³ See Le Strange, *Palestine*, translating the Arab geographers; *ibid.*, p. 120 (Ibn al-Faqīh); p. 123 (al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal); p. 131 (al-Idrisī); p. 132 (al-Harawī); see also al-Muhallabī, p. 50; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, vol. I, pp. 134, 135: described with a door. In the centre of the cave a small shelf, connected to the stairs at its eastern side and its other upper side, is supported by the edge of the Rock; see also Mujir, vol. II, p. 371 (copies al-Suyūṭī); al-'Abdarī, *Rihla*, p. 230 (Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Rihla*, vol. I, Paris, 1893, p. 123: copies al-'Abdarī; on this, see A. Elad, "The Description of the Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta in Palestine: Is it Original?," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1987, pp. 256–272); Creswell, vol. I/1, p. 100, deals with the flat *mīhrāb* in the cave. He assumes that this is the earliest *mīhrāb* known. In a public lecture, Prof. H. Baer expressed her reservation concerning this hypothesis. In her opinion it belongs to the Ikhshīdīd period (the second half of the 10th century); see also Gil, "The Jewish Quarters," p. 272.

⁹⁴ Al-Harawī, p. 25.

⁹⁵ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 170.

⁹⁶ Al-Ḥalabī, *Sira*, vol. I, pp. 404–405, quoting Ibn al-'Arabī's commentary to *al-Muwaṭṭa'*; this quotation of Ibn al-'Arabī is also in al-Suyūṭī's *Ithāf*, vol. I, p. 139 (quoting the author of *Muthir al-Gharām* who quotes Ibn al-'Arabī) and also in al-Nābulṣī's *Rihla*, pp. 21–22; and see now Drory, *Ibn al-'Arabī*, p. 101, quoting Ibn al-'Arabī's *Tafsīr* to al-Tirmidhī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. IV, Cairo, 1351 H., p. 108.

⁹⁷ Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 311.

Al-Harawī mentions the Footprint of the Prophet (Qadam al-Nabī) on the Rock,⁹⁸ but later writers, from the beginning of the 14th century, describe a (small) stone, supported by pillars, separated from the Rock, on which the Footprint of the Prophet is found.⁹⁹

2. The Dome of the Chain (Qubbat al-Silsila).

The Dome in the earlier periods was discussed in Chapter One. It has been mentioned by Muslim geographers and travellers from the 10th century onwards.¹⁰⁰

3. The Dome of the Ascension (of the Prophet) to Heaven (Qubbat al-Mi'rāj).

It is quite difficult to ascertain when the Dome, whose aim was to commemorate the ascension of the Prophet to heaven, was built. Al-Muhallabī (mid-10th century) records a problematic tradition, wherein Caliph al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 705–715)¹⁰¹ built the Dome. The first mention of this Dome was made by a Muslim writer ca. 800 A.D.¹⁰² It is later mentioned by the 10th century geographers and travellers from the 11th and 12th centuries.¹⁰³ The architectural structure of the dome of the ascension (of the Prophet) of today is similar to that of the Church of the Ascension (of Jesus) on the Mount of Olives, a Crusader monument, which most likely can be dated to between 1102 and 1106/7.¹⁰⁴ But the inscription above the entrance to the Dome relates that Qubbat al-

⁹⁸ Al-Harawī, p. 24 (Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 132).

⁹⁹ *Masālik al-Abšār*, p. 142 (Eng. trans. Mayer, "An Arab Description," p. 46) describes it (the 40's of the 14th century) at the western end of the Rock, facing north; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, p. 134, describes it as a structure on pillars at the south-western corner(!) (Mujir, *loc. cit.* [quotes al-Suyūṭī]; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 136); al-Nābulṣī, *op. cit.*, p. 35, quoting Mujir, explains that, in fact, Qadam al-Nabī is not separated entirely from the Rock; see also *al-Mustaqṣā* (mid-16th century), fol. 70b, who actually copies al-Suyūṭī, but adds that the building stands on six small pillars.

¹⁰⁰ Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–153, quoting the different Muslim geographers. See also al-Muhallabī, p. 54, in a tradition that the Dome was built by al-Walid [!?!]; Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 18; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 170, 173, identifies this dome with the early Dome of the Prophet (mentioned by Ibn al-Murajjā). In al-Suyūṭī's days it no longer existed.

¹⁰¹ See ch. 1, p. 37.

¹⁰² Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 138, 11. 3–4.

¹⁰³ Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–155; for additional references to this Dome, see Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 95b [= Livne, no. 407]: the year 946; *ibid.*, fol. 64b [= Livne, no. 249]: the year 952.

¹⁰⁴ B. Kühnel, "The Date of the Crusader Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives," in *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages: Selected Papers*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem, 1979, p. 337; *idem.*, *Crusader Sculpture in Jerusalem*, Ph.D. thesis, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1979, pp. 86–87: parallelism between Qubbat al-Mi'rāj and the Church of Ascension on Mount Olives.

Mi'rāj was built on the site after the previous Dome was completely ruined (literally, was wiped out and never again seen on the face of the earth). It was rebuilt in 1201 by the governor of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵ Mujir al-Dīn claims that an ancient building with a dome once stood on this location, that it was demolished and rebuilt by the governor on the above-mentioned date.¹⁰⁶ Rosen-Ayalon, discussing the Dome and inscription, writes that "in this building one finds a great number of Crusader architectural elements, and it is not at all clear whether these parts were already in existence during the pre-Ayyūbid period, that is, the Crusader's period, and what was actually built during the Ayyūbid period." She also recalls that the inscription above the gate of this Dome states clearly that "this is the Dome of the Prophet."¹⁰⁷ Since it seems that this inscription is *in situ*, the builder of the Dome must have considered it as the Dome of the Prophet and not the Dome of the Ascension.¹⁰⁸ In the middle of the 15th century, only the Dome of the Ascension was located on the Ḥaram.¹⁰⁹ It may be assumed that this dome is what is currently referred to as the Dome of the Ascension (Qubbat al-Mi'rāj). Could it be that already at the end of the 12th century, there was only one Dome (Qubbat al-Mi'rāj) on the Ḥaram? Yāqūt (d. 1226), describing the Ḥaram in his own days, records that he saw Qubbat al-Mi'rāj on the wall (surrounding) the elevated ground and also the Dome of the Prophet David.¹¹⁰

4. The Dome of the Prophet (Qubbat al-Nabi)

The earlier history of this Dome was discussed in Chapter One. It is mentioned by the Muslim geographers from the end of the 9th century onwards. It is impossible, from their descriptions, to give the exact location of the Dome. Ibn al-Faḡīh mentions it among the other domes on the Ḥaram, saying: "And in the north(?) the Dome of the Prophet (ﷺ) and the Maqām [of the angel] Gabriel, peace be upon him."¹¹¹ Al-Muqaddasī describes the Dome of the Prophet as a beautiful structure, whose dome is elevated on marble

¹⁰⁵ Van Berchem, *Haram*, no. 152; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem," p. 67.

¹⁰⁶ Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 20.

¹⁰⁷ Rosen-Ayalon, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, in this connection Rosen-Ayalon adds: "One must remember the confusion and inaccuracy in the identification of the building, which once is called The Dome of Ascension and once The Dome of the Prophet."

¹⁰⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁰ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* (Wüstenfeld ed.), vol. IV, pp. 593–594 (quoted by Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*).

¹¹¹ Ibn al-Faḡīh, p. 101; in the north; *wa-fi 'l-Shāmi*. It is possible that *al-*

pillars and covered with lead, but he does not give its exact location.¹¹² Ibn al-Murajjā (beginning of the 11th century) adds a number of topographical markers. In one place he recommends “to go towards the Dome of the Prophet (peace be upon him), which is located behind Qubbat al-Mi‘rāj.”¹¹³ In another place he describes a rock under the western staircase, near the Dome of the Prophet. He also adds that this is the [holy] place of al-Khiḍr.¹¹⁴ Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes the Ḥaram at the very same time that Ibn al-Murajjā wrote. He describes two western staircases leading towards the elevated ground of the Ḥaram.¹¹⁵ It may be assumed that one staircase was exactly in front of the western gate of the Dome of the Rock (as in present days). Already in the 10th century al-Muqaddasī reports this explicitly.¹¹⁶ It is possible that the second western staircase mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw is identical to the present-day one, where the Dome of al-Khiḍr is located (although Ibn al-Murajjā, in the 11th century, speaks about the place (*mawḍi‘*) of al-Khiḍr [not the Dome] under the western staircase).

* * * * *

Towards the mid-end of the 15th century (maybe even earlier), the existence of the Dome of the Prophet is no longer noted on the Ḥaram. In its place a beautiful *miḥrāb*, dedicated to the Prophet, was erected. Al-Suyūṭī quotes Ibn al-Murajjā’s tradition that the Dome of the Prophet is behind Qubbat al-Mi‘rāj, but remarks that in his own days

on the Ḥaram, there are only two domes behind Qubbat al-Mi‘rāj. The first, at the end of the elevated ground of the Ḥaram, towards the west, to the right of the northern staircase . . . no one in Jerusalem has stated that this is the Dome of the Prophet . . . and the other dome . . . adjacent to Bāb al-Duwayḍāriyya [= Bāb al-Malik Fayṣal, at the northern wall of the Ḥaram], is called the Dome of Solomon” (Qubbat Sulaymān).

Maqām al-Shāmī is meant by this. The northern staircase leading to the elevated platform of the Ḥaram was called by this name. This is how Nāṣir-i Khusraw calls it in 1047 (see *idem.*, pp. 51–52 (English), p. 32 (Arabic)).

¹¹² Al-Muqaddasī, p. 169; it is also mentioned by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (beginning of the 10th century), *Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 265; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 48–49 (English), p. 30 (Arabic), also without a specific indication as to the location of the site.

¹¹³ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 29b.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 53a [= Livne, no. 182].

¹¹⁵ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 51 (English), p. 32 (Arabic).

¹¹⁶ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 170.

Al-Suyūṭī goes on to say that it is possible that Ibn al-Murajjā and those who copied him [i.e., Ibn al-Firkāh, and Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir] mean by this description [of the Dome of the Prophet] the Dome of the Chain. Finally, al-Suyūṭī describes the Mihrāb on the Ḥaram dedicated to the Prophet. In the past, he says, a building with a dome was on that site, but when the Ḥaram was paved, the building with the dome was replaced by the Mihrāb, which is encircled by red marble.¹¹⁷ Mujir al-Dīn calls this Mihrāb, Maqām al-Nabī.¹¹⁸ It is possible that the paving of the Ḥaram mentioned by al-Suyūṭī is that which was carried out during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn's reign in 726/1325.¹¹⁹ Al-Nābulṣī (in the 60's of the 17th century) also describes how he turned from Qubbat al-Mi'rāj towards the Mihrāb of the Prophet, which is encircled by a small marble railing about the length of a span (*shibr*).¹²⁰

* * * * *

10a–10b. Mihrāb 'Umar/Mihrāb Mu'āwiya

Mihrāb 'Umar and Mihrāb Mu'āwiya are noted together by Ibn al-Murajjā, inside the al-Aqṣā Mosque. It may be assumed that they were erected in the early period to commemorate the “activities” of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on the Ḥaram and especially “his prayer” at the place where al-Masjid al-Aqṣā was later built. It may also be assumed that when the Mosque was erected (most probably already during the reign of Mu'āwiya), the Mihrāb was named after 'Umar.

There is no information concerning the other *mihrābs* mentioned within al-Aqṣā in the early periods. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047), describing the al-Aqṣā Mosque, says that to the right of the Great Mihrāb one finds Mihrāb Mu'āwiya and to its left, Mihrāb 'Umar.¹²¹ Al-Harawī (1173) mentions a Mihrāb 'Umar that was not damaged by the Franks. He may have been referring to the main *mihrāb* of the mosque.¹²² Al-Suyūṭī (end of the 15th century) says that there

¹¹⁷ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, fol. 25a–25b [= vol. I, pp. 173–174]; Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 20 (copies al-Suyūṭī); Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 156 (translates the two mentioned sources); Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, no. 193: the inscription of the renovation of the *mihrāb* from 945/1538.

¹¹⁸ Mujir, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁹ This paving is known from the inscription on the arch rising above the north-eastern staircase on the Ḥaram. See Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–121, no. 174; on the renovation of the arches, see Drory, p. 157 [= Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, nos. 173–174].

¹²⁰ Al-Nābulṣī, *Rihla*, p. 60.

¹²¹ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 37 (English), p. 35 (Arabic); Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹²² Al-Harawī, p. 25; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

is a difference of opinion concerning the location of Miḥrāb ‘Umar. According to one opinion, it is the Great Miḥrāb adjacent to the *minbar*, opposite the big [main northern] gate. According to another it is the Miḥrāb in the eastern portico, which is connected to the wall of the mosque, a place called in his own days Jāmi‘ ‘Umar. The predominant opinion, says al-Suyūṭī, is that it is the Miḥrāb adjacent to the *minbar*.¹²³ Al-Suyūṭī adds that as for his own days, Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya is within the *maqṣūra* of the orators.¹²⁴

¹²³ Al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, fol. 27a [= vol. I, p. 196]; see also Mujir, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112.

¹²⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*, [= vol. I, p. 197]: *Maqṣūrat al-Khitāba*. *Maqṣūra* is an enclosed chamber, a box or compartment for the ruler, built near the *miḥrāb*. See J. Pedersen, “Masḍjid,” *El'*, p. 336.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HOLY PLACES IN JERUSALEM DURING THE EARLY MUSLIM PERIOD

A. THE ḤARAM: THE DOME OF THE ROCK

1. The Black Paving-Stone (al-Balāṭa al-Sawdāʾ)

Jerusalem plays a central role in the Muslim traditions dealing with the Last Days: these are very early traditions (beginning of the 8th century and even earlier). Central amongst them is that Paradise will be transferred to Jerusalem and that the Gate of Paradise will be opened over Jerusalem.¹ Early traditions of this kind, in praise of the Rock on the Ḥaram, relate that when Allāh went up from the Rock to heaven, He said to the Rock: “This is the place of my abode and the place of my throne on the day of resurrection of the dead, and the gathering of my servants, and this is the place of my Paradise to the right [of the Rock].”² And, in another tradition, when He is on the Rock, Allāh says: “This is my Paradise to the west and this is my fire to the east.”³

Found within the Dome of the Rock was a black paving-stone (al-Balāṭa al-Sawdāʾ), also sometimes called the Black Marble Paving-Stone (al-Rukhāma al-Sawdāʾ).⁴ This stone is linked to these traditions of the Last Days, some of which are quoted here. Though the stone’s existence is not noted in traditions dealing with the construction of the Dome of the Rock, other traditions, transmitted by al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā, relate that this Paving-Stone existed at least in the year 130/748 towards the end of the Umayyad rule. One such tradition (with an *isnād* of the family of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, the Jerusalemite) relates that Abū ‘Uthmān al-Anṣārī⁵ used to spend the nights of Ramaḍān in prayer on the Black Paving-Stone. This

¹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 92b, from Muqātil b. Sulaymān[!]; see also Hirschberg, “Sources,” p. 325, and Livne, “The Ribāṭ Towns,” p. 7, both quoting Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 94 (also from Muqātil b. Sulaymān).

² Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 70–71; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 39a [= Livne, no. 115].

³ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 70 no. 114; Hirschberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 330–334, and esp. pp. 342–348, where he discusses the Muslim traditions of the Last Days and their Jewish parallels.

⁴ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 90, no. 146; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 61a [= Livne no. 146].

⁵ He may be ‘Amrū b. Sālim (or Salm, Ṣalim, or Sa’d), al-Madani; on him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. XII, 1327 H., pp. 162–163.

tradition, in which legendary elements, miracles, etc. are interwoven, also describes the earthquake of 130/748 and its effect on the Dome of the Rock.⁶

Another tradition is transmitted from Bajila, who was closely associated with the (Dome of the) Rock in Jerusalem (*wa-kānat mulāzimat al-Ṣakhra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*). She relates how a man from South Arabia who once entered the Dome of the Rock told her that he had met Wahb b. al-Munabbih (35/655–656–110/729 or 114/732),⁷ who asked him:

In which direction are you going? I answered: "To Jerusalem." He [Wahb] said [to him]: "When you enter, go into [the Dome of] the Rock from the northern gate. Then go forward towards the *qibla* [i.e., the south] and on your right there is a pillar and a column ('*amūd wa-'uṣṭuwāna*) and to your left a pillar and a column. And see between the pillars and columns a black marble paving-stone. This paving-stone is over one of the gates of Paradise. Pray on it to Allāh, may He be exalted and glorified, for the request made there is granted."⁸

This tradition (even if parts of it seem doubtful and should not be taken literally) can be dated back at least to the end of the 8th century. It is worth noting that the Black Paving-Stone, according to this tradition, is over one of the gates of Paradise.

Next to the Black Paving-Stone there was a wide stone-bench. In about 780, Caliph al-Mahdī ordered its extension.⁹ Ibn al-Faqīh (903), in his description of the Ḥaram, mentions a Black Paving-Stone, to the right of the Mihrāb, upon which the figure(?; *khilqa*) of the Prophet was carved. This description is transmitted in the context of the general description of the Ḥaram, and what the author meant by "to the right of the Mihrāb"¹⁰ is not clear.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (early 10th century) describes this Paving-Stone as follows: "When you enter the (Dome of the) Rock, pray at its pillars, and pray at al-Balāṭa, the sublime characteristics of which compete with those of the Rock, since it is over one of the gates of Paradise."¹¹

⁶ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 80, no. 135, and the parallel sources therein.

⁷ On him, see Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 305–307; *El'*, Wahb b. Munabbih (J. Horvitz) s.v.; Duri, *Baḥth*, pp. 103–114.

⁸ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 89–90, no. 146, and the parallel sources therein.

⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 41b [= Livne, no. 137]; Elad, "An Arabic Tradition," p. 36.

¹⁰ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 100: *wa-'alā yamin 'l-mihrāb balāṭa sawdā' maktūb fihā Khilqat Muḥammad (Ṣ)*.

¹¹ *'Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 265.

At the beginning of the 14th century Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umari referred to the Black Paving-Stone thus: “As to the northern gate of the Dome of the Rock, it is called the Gate of Paradise . . . between two pillars, set before the gate within [the area encompassed by] the gilded wood balustrade there is a beautiful *mihrab*, pointing to [the site of] the Black Marble Paving-Stone, to which people pray. This marble plate disappeared sometime ago and a green plate was laid in its place. And there people pray and make requests to Allāh.”¹²

The Black Paving-Stone is also mentioned by the author of *Muthir al-Gharām* (mid-14th century),¹³ and by Mujir al-Dīn, who copies him.¹⁴ ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī, who visited Jerusalem in 1689, described it as green and thought that it was termed “black” since the term *sawād*, *aswad* at times refers to a shade of green as well.¹⁵

The constructors of the Dome of the Rock were presumably aware of the parallel sought between al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā’ and al-Ḥajar al-Aswad, the Black Stone in the Ka‘ba. The installation of the Black Paving-Stone in the Dome of the Rock reinforces and adds a further stratum to the theory put forward by Goldziher, Wellhausen and others (discussed at length in Chapter Four), and attests to a tendency to compete with the Ka‘ba and the holy centre in Mecca. Before drawing any binding conclusions, however, a thorough study of the parallels between the Black Ḥajar and the Black Balāṭa must be made within the context of a more comprehensive, comparative study of the traditions on the sanctity of the Ka‘ba and those on the sanctity of the Dome of the Rock. A superficial examination of the many traditions in praise of the Black Stone in the Ka‘ba brings to light a tradition (not at all surprisingly), that states that it came down from Paradise, or that it belongs to Paradise—exactly like the traditions of the Black Paving-Stone in the Dome of the Rock.¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that it is a well-known and accepted phenomenon that several places in the Muslim world are attributed to Paradise (or to Gehinnom). Thus, the Spring of Silwān (‘Ayn

¹² *Masālik al-Absār*, vol. I, Cairo, 1342/1942, p. 144; English translation, Mayer, “An Arabic Description,” pp. 47–48.

¹³ *Muthir al-Gharām*, fol. 71b, l. 6.

¹⁴ Mujir, vol. I, p. 209, l. 16; Muthir and Mujir are quoted by I. Hasson, the editor of *al-Wāsiṭi*, p. 90, no. 146, n. 1.

¹⁵ Al-Nābulṣī, *Rihla*, p. 55.

¹⁶ See, for example, Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, vol. I, pp. 307, 329; vol. II, p. 313; vol. III, p. 277; al-Nasā’i, *Sunan*, vol. IV, Cairo, 1350/1939, (*al-ḥajj*), no. 49; all these references are found in Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 220; see also Abū ‘l-Fidā’ al-Tadmuri, *Muthir*, p. 156: the Black Stone descended from Paradise.

Silwān) is one of the springs of Paradise¹⁷ or, according to another tradition, Zamzam and ‘Ayn Silwān are the springs of Paradise.¹⁸ Similarly, the Rock on the Ḥaram is one of the rocks of Paradise,¹⁹ and Jerusalem itself is one of the cities of Paradise.²⁰ Five cities belong to Paradise: Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Jerusalem, Beit Guvrin (Bayt Jibril) and Zafār (in Yemen); and five cities belong to Hell: Antioch, ‘Amūriyya, Constantinople, Tadmor and Ṣan‘ā’.²¹ ‘Abadān and Qazwīn are two open gates in the skies.²²

2. The Gate of (the Angel) Isrāfil (Bāb Isrāfil)

Another holy place within the Dome of the Rock was the gate of the angel Isrāfil. Ibn al-Murajjā, who describes (early 11th century) the itinerary of the holy places (principally on the Ḥaram) for the Muslim pilgrim, says that the pilgrim must pray at the Isrāfil Gate “which was the place to which, if one of the Children of Israel sinned, he would turn and pray there to God.”²³

According to Muslim tradition, Isrāfil is the angel who will blow the ram’s horn (trumpet? -*ṣūr*) from upon the Rock within the building of the Dome of the Rock on the day of the Resurrection of the Dead.²⁴ This tradition was created to explain the *Qur’ānic* verse: “And listen for the Day when the Caller will call out from a place nearby.”²⁵ The early exegetes (Qatāda, Ibn ‘Abbās) agree that “a place nearby” is the Rock on the Ḥaram and that “The Caller” is an angel.²⁶ Other traditions explain that “The Caller” is the angel Isrāfil.²⁷ There are, however, exegetes who consider that the “Caller” is, in fact, the angel Gabriel.²⁸

These are clear examples of how the Muslim exegetes linked the *Qur’ānic* verse to Jerusalem and incorporated it in the framework of

¹⁷ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 13, no. 13; *ibid.*, p. 44, no. 61 and the many parallels therein.

¹⁸ Khalil b. Shāhin, *Zubda*, p. 22 (from Khālid b. Ma’dān!).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Hirschberg, “Sources,” p. 329.

²⁰ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 59b.

²¹ *Ibid.*, with different versions.

²² Al-Shawkānī, *Mawḍū‘āt*, p. 435.

²³ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 28a [= Livne, no. 62].

²⁴ See *Et*, “Isrāfil” (A.J. Wensinck), *s.v.*; Hirschberg, “Sources,” p. 344 quoting other sources: *Kitāb Ahwāl al-Qiyāma* (Wolf’s ed.) and *Kitāb al-Zuhd* (Leszynsky’s ed.); Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 220.

²⁵ *Qur’ān*, L (*Qāf*), v. 41.

²⁶ Al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vol. XXVI, 1373/1954, p. 184; *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. VI, Cairo, 1314 H., pp. 110–111; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, p. 250; al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 87–88, no. 142, and the parallels of the editor therein.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89, no. 145, and the exhaustive parallels therein; see also Khalil b. Shāhin, *Zubda*, p. 17: Isrāfil calls from under the Rock.

²⁸ See, for example, al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, vol. VII, p. 6197.

beliefs and the traditions connected with the happenings of the Last Days in Jerusalem. These traditions are early and were circulated not later than the beginning of the 2nd/8th century.

The Bāb Isrāfil in these traditions is apparently the eastern gate of the Dome of the Rock. This is also apparent from the order in which al-Muqaddasī (mid-10th century) describes the gates of the Dome of the Rock.²⁹

B. ADDITIONAL PLACES ON THE ḤARAM

1. Solomon's "Chair" [Stool] (*Kursī Sulaymān*)

When Ibn al-Murajjā describes the pilgrim's itinerary on the Ḥaram, he says: "... afterwards he [the Muslim visitor] will continue to Mihrāb Zakariyyā' ... and then he will turn to the rocks which (are found) in the rear [= northern] section of the Mosque [al-Ḥaram], and he will pray in the (holy) place [*al-mawḍi'*], which is called Solomon's Chair" [*Kursī Sulaymān*].³⁰ When using the term, "Solomon's Chair", Ibn al-Murajjā is apparently referring to one of the rocks found in the northwest section of the Ḥaram; these rocks have been considered holy in Muslim tradition ever since the Umayyad period. Identifying the precise location of Solomon's Chair constitutes a complicated puzzle; an attempt will be made to put together the pieces of this puzzle in the following sections.

In a tradition with an *isnād* comprised mostly of transmitters from Ramla and Tiberias [among them even Abū 'Ubaydallāh, Mu'āwiya b. 'Ubaydallāh, a well-known *wazīr* of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mahdī (reigned 775–785)], ending with Rajā' b. Ḥaywa (d. 112/730), al-Wāsiṭī tells of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, the Jewish convert, who upon arriving in Jerusalem bribed a Jewish sage to show him the rock upon which "Solomon, the son of David, stood when he concluded building the Mosque, and it [= the rock, thus explains the transmitter of the tradition] was near the area of the Gate of the Tribes [*wa-huwa mim mā yalī nāḥiyat Bāb al-Asbāt*]." And the tradition continues in the name of Ka'b:

Solomon b. David stood on this stone; he then turned to all the holy area (*thumma istaqbala ilā al-Quds kullihī* [whether this refers to the Temple or the Rock and also the direction of prayer to Mecca, is not clear]) and in his prayer to God, may He be praised and glo-

²⁹ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 169 (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 123); Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

³⁰ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 30a [= Livne, no. 67].

rified, he made three requests. God answered two of them quickly and showed them to him. And I would request [thus says the transmitter] that he respond to the third as well. And Solomon said: "O my Lord forgive me and grant me a kingdom which [it may be] suits not another after me for Thou art the All-giver."³¹ And the Lord, may He be glorified and praised, granted him this. And he said: "God, grant me a kingdom and wisdom which suits your wisdom." And the Lord, may He be glorified and praised, did this. And afterwards he said: "God, no man will come to pray in this Mosque unless You removed his sin from him [and You left him] as on the day in which his mother gave birth to him."³²

This tradition is cited in the same form and with the same *isnād* by Ibn al-Murajjā, who prefaces it with the heading, "A chapter concerning the qualities of the Chair of Solomon, peace be unto him, which is found before Qubbat Ya'qūb and from which invocations and requests are answered [by God]" (*Bāb faḍl Kursī Sulaymān 'alayhi al-salām, alladhī bayna yaday Qubbat ya'qūb wa-anna al-du'a fīhi mustajāb*).³³ The fact that Ibn al-Murajjā introduced the above tradition with this heading shows that he identified (in the beginning of the 11th century) Kursī Sulaymān with the rock upon which Solomon stood and prayed, and which is found near the Gate of the Tribes. In locating Solomon's "Chair" [Stool] before Qubbat Ya'qūb, Ibn al-Murajjā unintentionally supplies important additional topographical information aiding in the later search for the precise location of Solomon's "Chair".

The tradition itself, which can be dated to the end of the 1st/7th or beginning of the 2nd/8th century, does not explicitly identify the rock upon which Solomon stood with a specific rock. It does, though, identify the rock upon which Solomon stood and prayed as being adjacent to the Gate of the Tribes (Bāb al-Asbāt).

³¹ *Qur'ān*, XXXVIII (*Ṣād*), v. 35.

³² Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 17, no. 19; *ibid.*, n. 4, for additional parallel sources. The *isnād*: 'Umar > al-Walid [b. Ḥammād al-Ramlī] > 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubayd [Allāh?] b. 'Imrān, al-Ṭabarānī [= from Tiberias] > Maṣṣūr b. Abī Muzāḥim [that is, Maṣṣūr b. Bashīr, Abū Naṣr al-Turkī, *mawlā* Azd, *al-Kātib* (= the secretary), d. 235/849 at the age of eighty! On him, see al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. IV, p. 170; al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī, vol. XIII, pp. 81–83; *ibid.*, p. 196, it is said that he heard *ḥadīth* from] > Mu'āwiya b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Ash'arī [d. 169–170/785–786, who was the *wazīr* of the Caliph al-Mahdī. I emphasize here that both of them were secretaries. It is possible that they worked together in the government offices. Mu'āwiya was of Tiberian origin. It was said of his father that he was the chief of "police" (*ṣāhib al-ma'ūna*) of the governor of Tiberias. On him and on this title, see Elad, "Haifa in the Arab Period," p. 195] > 'Āṣim b. Rajā' b. Ḥaywa [on him, see al-Wāsiṭī, *loc. cit.*] > his father, Rajā' b. Ḥaywa [on him, see below p. 19].

³³ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 47a [= Livne, no. 158], mentioned by the editor of al-Wāsiṭī, *loc. cit.*

A different tradition transmitted by al-Suyūṭī, who lived in the 15th century, again relates that Solomon's "Chair" is located next to the Gate of the Tribes. Al-Suyūṭī cuts off the *isnād* and leaves only the last transmitter Abū 'l-'Awwām, who was the *mu'adhdhin* of Jerusalem and lived at the end of the 1st/7th century and the beginning of the 2nd/8th century.³⁴ According to this tradition, when Solomon completed the construction of the Temple,

he sacrificed three thousand cattle and seven thousand sheep. Then he said: 'God, a sinner who comes to it, forgive him' . . . Afterwards he came to the place, which is located behind the mosque, adjacent to the Gate of the Tribes, and that is the place called Solomon's Chair, and he said: 'God, whoever should come to it and has sinned, forgive his sin' . . .³⁵

Van Berchem³⁶ justifiably questions whether this tradition brought by Al-Suyūṭī is in fact, a copy of a tradition found in Ibn al-Murajjā's book. This tradition is indeed found in Ibn al-Murajjā's book, but not in its entirety. The part most important and relevant here, the topographical identification of Kursī Sulaymān as adjacent to the Gate of the Tribes, does not appear in this early tradition.³⁷

Whether this topographical fragment is an addition made by the 15th century al-Suyūṭī, or he had before him a different manuscript is not known. The author of *Muthīr al-Gharām* (approx. 1351) who preceded al-Suyūṭī, also transmitted this tradition from Abū 'l-'Awwām—without the topographical fragment.³⁸ Mujīr al-Dīn, on the other hand, who lived at the same time as al-Suyūṭī, records this tradition with the topographical fragment, and goes on to explain that Kursī Sulaymān, which is mentioned in the tradition, was then located inside the dome known as Solomon's Dome (Qubbat Sulaymān) next to Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya [= Bāb al-'Atm, Bāb Fayṣal, in what is today the northern wall of the Ḥaram].³⁹

Again, it should be stressed that the early tradition was definite

³⁴ On him, see Introduction, n. 63.

³⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, fol. 13a; this tradition was already translated by Le Strange in, "The Description of the Ḥaram," p. 258, and in *Palestine*, p. 169; without mention of Abū 'l-'Awwām. His translation, however, is faulty. This has been discussed by Van Berchem (who also quotes the tradition from al-Suyūṭī), I, *Ḥaram*, no. 209, pp. 206, 209.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 206, n. 3.

³⁷ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 34b: Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Iṣbahānī > 'Umar, al-Faḍl b. Muḥājir > his father > al-Walid b. Ḥammād al-Ramlī > Aḥmad b. Muḥammad > Mu'ādh b. Hishām > his father > Qatāda > Jalīs [?] al-Ḍaba'i > Abū 'l-'Awwām.

³⁸ *Muthīr al-Gharām*, fol. 28b.

³⁹ Mujīr, vol. I (Amman ed.), p. 123. Regarding Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya during the Mamlūk period, see Little, *Catalogue* (Index).

in its identification of the rock upon which Solomon stood as being adjacent to the Gate of the Tribes.⁴⁰

1.1 *The Gate of the Tribes (Bāb al-Asbāt)*

The Gate of the Tribes, mentioned in the above early traditions, is not identical to the Gate of the Tribes of today, which is located in the north-eastern corner of the wall of the Ḥaram. Wilson and Le Strange thought correctly that the Gate of the Tribes of the early Arabic (pre-Crusader) period was further west than what is known today as the Gate of the Tribes. They claimed that it was located where Bāb Ḥiṭṭa is today, which in their opinion was in the northern wall of the Ḥaram since the Crusader period.⁴¹ Van Berchem opposes this view. He thinks that Bāb al-Asbāt has been in its present location in the north-eastern corner of the Ḥaram wall at least since the 3rd/9th century. His position is unacceptable on several counts:

1. Van Berchem cites all the instances in which Ibn al-Murajjā mentions that Bāb al-Asbāt is located adjacent to Kursī Sulaymān. Yet he is of the opinion that Kursī Sulaymān is located: next to the eastern wall of the Ḥaram, a little north of the Gate of Mercy, and, accordingly, the Gate of the Tribes must also be in the north-east section of the wall.⁴² But there are no sources justifying the determination of the location of Kursī Sulaymān in the eastern section of the Ḥaram during this early period. He has not a single source to back this claim. Thus the identification of Bāb al-Asbāt in the north-east section of the Ḥaram is unfounded.

2. Van Berchem claims that, according to al-Kindī, the mausoleum of the Ikhshīdīd *amīrs* in the 6th decade of the 10th century was in close proximity to Bāb al-Asbāt (“dans le voisinage immédiat du Bāb al-Asbāt”). Van Berchem thinks that this refers to the cemetery of Bāb al-Raḥma. But in the Arabic text it says that Abū ʿl-Ḥasan, ‘Alī b. al-Ikhshīd . . . died on the 19th of the month al-Muḥarram [3]55 [25 January, 966] “and was carried in a coffin to Jerusalem and he was buried with his brother and his father in

⁴⁰ Al-Wāsiṭī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Murajjā, *loc. cit.*; *ibid.*, fol. 30a [= Livne, no. 67]; and see also al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, fol. 27b: “And among the places [which should be visited] are the rocks behind the Mosque, adjacent to the Gate of the Tribes, and there is the place called Solomon’s Chair.” It seems that al-Suyūṭī here copied the tradition or perhaps only the heading of Ibn al-Murajjā. By his time the place was already called the Dome of Sulaymān (Qubbat Sulaymān) (see below).

⁴¹ Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 185; *idem.*, PPTS, vol. IV, Appendix, Wilson’s notes; see also Praver, “The Jewish Quarter,” p. 140, n. 25. Regarding Bāb al-Asbāt during the Mamlūk period, see Little, *Catalogue* (Index).

⁴² Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 202, n. 2.

Bāb al-Asbāt” (*wa-ḥumila fī tābūt illā ’l-Bayt al-Muqaddas wa-dufna ma’a akhihi wa-wālidihī bi-Bāb al-Asbāt*). From this text it is evident that the Ikshīdids were buried within the gate itself, not in its proximity or in the cemetery adjacent to the gate, or any other gate. Hence this tradition does not testify to the location of the gate in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram either.⁴³

3. Van Berchem refers to the description by al-Muqaddasī, in which he mentions the gates of the wall of the Ḥaram, as well as to the description of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, from which he concludes that the Gate of the Tribes should be located in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram. But again, this conclusion does not follow from the actual texts of al-Muqaddasī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw.⁴⁴

4. Van Berchem⁴⁵ cites testimonies from the Crusader period (the 12th century) according to which the gate of the Tribes is in the north-eastern corner. But he himself notes that these testimonies do not prove its existence in this place before the Crusader period.

* * * * *

The Gate of the Tribes in the pre-Crusader period should be located a little to the west of the present-day Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, at the gate called in the late Middle Ages, Bāb Sharaf al-Anbiyā’, and later Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya, and at present Bāb al-’Atm, or Bāb al-Malik Fayṣal,⁴⁶ and this for the following reasons:

1. The first gate which Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes in the northern wall of the Ḥaram is the Gate of the Tribes. His description is sequential, and begins from the west and proceeds eastward.

2. It has already been shown that the early traditions locate Kursī Sulaymān in the vicinity of the Gate of the Tribes. Ibn al-Murajjā locates Kursī Sulaymān in front of Qubbat Ya’qūb.⁴⁷

Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes Qubbat Ya’qūb as a building with high pillars, and he locates it between the Gate of the Tribes and an additional gate which comes after it in the eastern direction, and is

⁴³ See Van Berchem’s discussion, *ibid.* (according to al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, p. 296). Al-’Asalī (*Bayt al-Maqdis*, pp. 25–26) is also of the opinion that Van Berchem misinterpreted al-Kindī’s text; *ibid.*, note 6, wherein al-’Asalī also rejects the opinion of Maḥmūd al-’Ābidi, who thought that the Ikshīdids were buried in the south-west area of the Ḥaram.

⁴⁴ Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–203. From al-Muqaddasī’s description it seems that the Gate of the Tribes is not really in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram. Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s description on the subject is even more definitive.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴⁶ See on the Gate, Ganneau, *PEF, SQ*, 1874, p. 261; *idem.*, *Researches*, p. 167; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 186; Drori, map, no. 79.

⁴⁷ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 47a [= Livne no. 158].

called Bāb al-Abwāb.⁴⁸ Where was Qubbat Ya'qūb located during the early Islamic period? Clearly if its location could be established it would help to locate Kursi Sulaymān and even Bāb al-Asbāt, which are adjacent to one another.

1.2. *The Dome of Jacob (Qubbat Ya'qūb)*

Muslim geographers, writing in the beginning of the middle of the 10th century, only mention Mihrāb Ya'qūb. It is possible to learn about its general location, however, only from Ibn al-Faqīh, who places it somewhere along the northern wall of the Ḥaram.⁴⁹

Ibn al-Murajjā (early 11th century) mentions a building with a dome (*qubba*), Qubbat Ya'qūb, located in front of Kursi Sulaymān. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047) describes an inscription he saw on a stone slab, above one of the arches of the northern wall of the Ḥaram, in the vicinity of Qubbat Ya'qūb, giving the measurements of the Ḥaram as: 704 cubits long, and 455 cubits wide.⁵⁰ Al-Harawī (1173) also saw an inscription [the same one?] in the northern wall of the Ḥaram. According to the inscription he read, the measurements were: 700 cubits long, 455 cubits wide.⁵¹

An inscription giving the measurements of the Mosque [= al-Ḥaram] seen by the author of *Muthīr al-Gharām* (in the second half of the 14th century),⁵² was described in the following manner:

Long ago I saw on the northern wall above the gate adjacent to (al-Madrasa) al-Duwaydāriyya inside the wall (*ra'ytu qadīman bi-'l-ḥā'iṭ al-Shimāli, fawq al-Bāb alladhī yalī al-Duwaydāriyya min dākhil al-sūr*) a stone plaque upon which was inscribed that the length of the Mosque was 784 cubits and its width 455 cubits.⁵³

⁴⁸ It is possible that this gate should be identified with the place where Bāb Ḥiṭṭa is found today. Le Strange, *PPTS*, vol. IV, Appendix, however, adopts the opinion of Wilson that Bāb al-Abwāb is identical to today's Gate of the Tribes, in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram wall. Van Berchem's opinion, which I do not accept, is that the Gate of the Tribes has always, or at least since the 9th century, been located in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram. See Van Berchem, *Haram*, no. 209, p. 208; Ibn al-'Arabī mentions Bāb al-Asbāt (in different works), without giving a specific location, see Drory, *Ibn al-'Arabī*, pp. 95, 103, 112.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101; see also *'Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 265; and al-Muqaddasī, p. 170, both of whom mention the Mihrāb.

⁵⁰ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 21 (Arabic); p. 27 (English); p. 27 (Persian, Teheran ed., 1325 H.); Ganneau, *Researches*, p. 170; Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁵¹ Al-Harawī, p. 26, (French trans., p. 65), and the comment of the translator, who mentions Van Berchem's important study (Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 91) which will be discussed below.

⁵² On him, see Le Strange, "The Description of the Ḥaram," p. 250; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. II, p. 162. He was born in 1314, and was a teacher in al-Madrasa al-Tankiziyya in Jerusalem. He wrote his book in 1351.

⁵³ Le Strange, *op. cit.*, Arabic text, p. 305; Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*

This latter inscription was first published by Clermont Ganneau in 1874.⁵⁴ Van Berchem determined with certainty that from a paleographic point of view, this inscription dates from the beginning of the 13th century (1213). Both Ganneau and Van Berchem comment on the gap in years between the reports of Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 1047, al-Harawī in 1173, and the inscription from the year 1213. It thus seems certain that at least the inscription seen by Nāṣir-i Khusraw is not the inscription dated by Van Berchem at 1213, which was seen by the author of *Muthīr al-Gharām* in approximately 1340.

After an extensive and thorough study, Van Berchem, following Clermont Ganneau, reaches the conclusion that originally, at least from the 9th century, fixed in the northern wall of the Ḥaram, adjacent to Bāb al-‘Atm, was an inscription bearing the measurements of the Ḥaram. One of Van Berchem’s claims (and he was preceded in this by Ganneau, *Researches*, vol. I, p. 171) was that already at the beginning of the 10th century (but his description is certainly earlier) Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi mentions that the dimensions of the Ḥaram are: 784 cubits long and 455 cubits wide. In Van Berchem’s opinion, the fact that the numbers reported by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi are identical to those reported by other later Muslim writers from various periods is of great significance. It is true that Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi does not describe the dimensions as given in an inscription, continues Van Berchem, but the information concerning the dimensions of the Ḥaram must have been either directly or indirectly from this inscription.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ See its first publication in *PEFQ*, 1874, p. 261; and in greater detail in *Researches*, vol. I, pp. 167–174. In 1881 Schefer, the French translator of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, published the inscription, which he claimed followed the reading of the French Consul at the time in Jerusalem. But on this matter, see the pained comment of Ganneau, *op.cit.*, p. 168; see also Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 270, n. 1; Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, no. 163, pp. 84–89, an extremely comprehensive study of the inscription. *Ibid.*, p. 87, he dated the inscription to approximately the year 610/1213. The inscription is found on the second column east of the entrance to the Bāb al-‘Atm (Bāb al-Malik Fayṣal), at a height of about four meters from the ground. It can be seen clearly to this day.

⁵⁵ Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*, in his extensive discussion naturally deals with the discrepancy between the measurements of the length of the Mosque handed down by the Muslim authors: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi: 784; Nāṣir-i Khusraw: 704; al-Harawī: 700; the author of *Muthīr*: 785. All of them report a width of 455 cubits. Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 84, thinks that this is evidence of mistakes made by copyists in copying the length measurements. He also notes that there were other authors who wrote of dimensions completely different from the 455 x 784 measurement, and that this may be due, among other things, to the different types of

Van Berchem goes on to claim that this early stone, which at least in the 9th century bore the dimensions of the Ḥaram, was adjacent to the inscription from the 13th century, which was recorded by the author of *Muthīr al-Gharām* in the 14th century and which was discovered by Clermont Ganneau in 1874. The inscription from before the 13th century, hypothesized by Ganneau and Van Berchem, was destroyed or damaged in the year 610/1213 during the reconstruction of the northern portico of the Ḥaram wall by the Ayyūbid ruler al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, and a new inscription, an exact copy of the previous one, was set in the same place or near it.⁵⁶

* * * * *

Nāsir-i Khusraw describes the inscription telling of the dimensions of the Mosque as being adjacent to Qubbat Ya‘qūb. Accepting the assumption made by Ganneau and Van Berchem concerning the continuity of the location of the inscription adjacent to Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya (al-‘Atm), it is herein proposed that Qubbat Ya‘qūb is located near Bāb al-‘Atm or Bāb al-Malik Fayṣal of today. Thence it can further be concluded that Solomon’s “Chair”, located, according to Ibn al-Murajjā, behind Qubbat Ya‘qūb, is adjacent to this gate. This provides additional proof that this gate was the Gate of the Tribes in the pre-Crusader period, since it is explicitly stated in the early traditions previously quoted that Kursī Sulaymān was located adjacent to Bāb al-Asbāt.

3) An additional tradition, brought by al-Suyūṭī of the 15th century, locates the Gate of the Tribes in the north-west area of the Ḥaram: “And concerning Bāb al-Asbāt, it is behind the Mosque, in the vicinity of the rocks that are there. And the Mihrāb called Mihrāb Dāwūd, Peace be unto him, mentioned earlier with contradicting identifications regarding its location [is also located there].”⁵⁷

measurements in use. The complexity of the matter is demonstrated, for example, by the report found in Ibn al-Murajjā (fol. 25a, and quoted by Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 85), who tells of measurements of 465 x 755. His tradition seems, at first glance, to be quite early. It describes the period of ‘Abd al-Malik. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīhi (early 10th century) reports the measurements of the Ḥaram as 455 x 784, as part of his description of Jerusalem. Parts of the description of Jerusalem in his book are of very early origin. Parts are identical to traditions appearing in Ibn al-Murajjā and al-Wāsiṭī, and other parts are apparently from a different source. This matter requires further study.

⁵⁶ See Ganneau, *Researches*, vol. I, pp. 167–174, esp. p. 173; Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–97, no. 163; on the building of al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā in the north of the Ḥaram and the inscription describing this building and its dating, see Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, no. 162; Ganneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–172; on the construction works of al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, see Sharon, “al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā”.

⁵⁷ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, vol. I, p. 198: *wa-Bāb al-Asbāt wa-huwa fī mu‘akkhar*

This tradition is interesting in that it does not reflect the reality during the time of al-Suyūṭī, the end of the 15th century, for by then Bāb al-Asbāṭ was clearly identified at the north-eastern edge of the Ḥaram, and Miḥrāb Dāwūd was identified either with the city citadel or was located in the south-east corner of the Ḥaram. It seems that the tradition reflects a much earlier, pre-Crusader state, for then, in 1047, Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes Miḥrāb Dāwūd in the northern Ḥaram, next to Kursī Sulaymān.⁵⁸ Al-Suyūṭī locates Miḥrāb Dāwūd in the vicinity of the Gate of the Tribes.

1.3. *The Dome of Solomon (Qubbat Sulaymān)*

It is herein suggested that the Gate of the Tribes (Bāb al-Asbāṭ) of the early Arabic period be identified with Bāb al-Malik Fayṣal of today, next to which Kursī Sulaymān is also found. For a more exact determination of the location of Kursī Sulaymān, an attempt must be made to locate a building called Qubbat Sulaymān, and to determine the relationship between it and Kursī Sulaymān.

As far as is known, Qubbat Sulaymān is only mentioned in chronicles written after the Crusades. Al-Suyūṭī (approx. 1470) notes that there is a building with a dome in the northern Ḥaram in the vicinity of Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya [= Bāb al-‘Atm, Bāb al-Malik Fayṣal] which is called [in his day] Qubbat Sulaymān. And he goes on to say: “And it is not Sulaymān the prophet, and perhaps it is Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik” [reigned 715–717].⁵⁹ Mujir al-Dīn (1496) also says in his description of the works of Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik in Jerusalem, that at the time that he ascended to the throne of the caliphate he sat in a building with a dome (*qubba*) in the court of the Mosque of Jerusalem. It is possible, continues Mujir, that this is the dome known [in his day] as Qubbat Sulaymān, which is adjacent to Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya.⁶⁰

This text was already reported by al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā (early 11th century) with an *isnād* which goes further back.⁶¹ But there is no attempt in this tradition to locate the dome in which Sulaymān sat. Its identification is an addition introduced by Mujir. In fact, from Ibn al-Murajjā’s early tradition what may be understood is just that Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik sat in a building with a dome

al-jāmi’ mim mā yalī al-Ṣukhūr allatī hunāka, wa-’l-Miḥrāb alladhī yuqālu lahu Miḥrāb Dāwūd ‘alayhi al-salām, al-mutaqaddim dhikruhu ‘alā ikhīlāf fihi.

⁵⁸ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 32 (Arabic), p. 52 (English).

⁵⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, fol. 25a [= I, p. 173]; Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 206, n. 3 who quotes al-Suyūṭī and the translations of Le Strange and Reynolds.

⁶⁰ Mujir, vol. I, p. 249, quoted by Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁶¹ See ch. 1, n. 26.

which was next to the Dome of the Rock. What is referred to is thus apparently the elevated area upon which the Dome of the Rock stands.

In another place Mujir describes the dome and its environs in the following words:

And behind the Mosque in the northern direction, in a place near the western side, many rocks, which are said to be from the time of David, peace be unto him, are out in the open. And this is clear since they are set in the ground and no change [visible to the eye] took place in them. And in this direction [= north-west] in the vicinity of Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya, there is a building with a dome [*qubba*] built well and strongly and inside is a solid rock [on the ground]. This dome is known by the name of Qubbat Sulaymān. And about the rock set inside it, it is said that upon it Solomon, peace be unto him, stood after completing the construction of the Temple, and he prayed to the Lord . . . and the building above this rock is from the Umayyad period.⁶²

Van Berchem devoted special research to the identification of Qubbat Sulaymān mentioned by al-Suyūṭī and Mujir al-Dīn, who locate it in the vicinity of Bāb al-‘Atm. From a topographical point of view, Van Berchem says that it is possible to identify it with Īwān (Qubbat) Sulaymān Pāshā, which was built in 1817/1818, opposite Bāb al-‘Atm, as 19th century scholars of the Holy Land thought.⁶³ But from an analysis of different elements related to the building, particularly the dedication inscription of the building, he concludes that the 15th century authors were not referring to this building, but rather probably to the one with the dome which is located slightly south-west of Bāb al-‘Atm. Towards the end of the 19th century the building was called al-Ṣakhra al-Ṣaghira [= the Little Rock] or Shaqafat al-Ṣakhra [= the Piece of Rock],⁶⁴ which on the map of De Vogüé and Le Strange is called Kursī ‘Īsā.⁶⁵ This identification

⁶² Mujir, vol. II, p. 374 (Amman ed., vol. II, p. 21), quoted by Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 208, following Ganneau, *Researches*, vol. I, p. 170, n. 5; C. Schick, *PEFQS*, 1898, p. 84; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 169; on the dedication inscription of the Īwān [= roofed hall], see Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 204; on the man who constructed the building, the *wazīr* Sulayman Pāshā, the governor of Sidon and Tripoli in the period of the reign of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd the Second, see *ibid.*, pp. 210–211.

⁶⁴ Schick, *PEFQS*, 1898, pp. 103–104, quoted by Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 2. Van Berchem notes that Schick (*op. cit.*, p. 84) thought that it was possible to identify this building with Qubbat Sulaymān, which is described by Mujir al-Dīn as being next to Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya [= al-‘Atm].

⁶⁵ Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*, according to the map of De Vogüé and Le Strange

is apparently correct. An additional source, namely, the detailed description of the Ḥaram of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umārī from 1355, which Van Berchem missed, reinforces this identification. The author described in great detail and precision what he saw with his own eyes in Jerusalem. The details of Qubbat Sulaymān as he described it are still on the whole in keeping with the details of the building as it stands today, slightly south-west of Bāb al-‘Atm.⁶⁶ ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī, who travelled in Jerusalem in the 17th century, notes that the name of the building in his time was al-Ṣakhra al-Munqaṭī‘a [= the Split Rock] and he describes it in the following way: “We went to the place of the rock split from the noble rock [that is, the Dome of the Rock].”⁶⁷

* * * * *

The obvious question here is whether it is possible to identify Kursī Sulaymān, mentioned by the Muslim authors before the Crusader period, with the Qubbat Sulaymān building of the 15th century. Van Berchem, as already noted, was opposed to this identification and saw Kursī Sulaymān as the building which always stood next to the eastern wall of the Ḥaram, slightly north of the Gate of Mercy.⁶⁸

The first Muslim writer to mention Kursī Sulaymān in the eastern Ḥaram is the 17th century Muslim traveller ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī,⁶⁹ who describes Kursī Sulaymān as a building located in the eastern Ḥaram wall, next to the Gate of Mercy, in which there was a natural rock adjacent to the wall. Although he explicitly described the building on the eastern side of the Ḥaram, in his description

in *Palestine*, p. 172, he notes, correctly, that the name ‘Īsā was not mentioned by the Muslim authors. He puts forth an interesting hypothesis that perhaps this name was derived from that of al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, the Ayyūbid ruler, who repaired the portico in the northern wall of the Ḥaram. From an architectural point of view, Van Berchem claims, this structure is similar to Qubbat al-Mi‘rāj (see Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, no. 152) and to the Dome of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives (*ibid.*, p. 49), two Crusader buildings or buildings with Crusader elements and foundations from the end of the 12th century (see ch. 2, n. 104).

⁶⁶ *Masālik al-Absār*, pp. 165–166.

⁶⁷ Al-Nābulṣī, *Rihla*, p. 81; the dimension of the rock which Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umārī saw was 2 1/4 cubits high; al-Nābulṣī, *loc. cit.*: about 2 cubits high and 1 cubit wide; Schick, who saw the rock in 1897 through one of the broken windows of Qubbat Sulaymān, estimated its height at 2 1/2 feet. Concerning the measurement of the *dhirā‘* (cubit), and its different values in the Middle Ages, see *EP*, “Dhirā‘” (W. Hinz) s.v.; and also the detailed discussion in Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, no. 163.

⁶⁸ Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 208, n. 5; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 285.

⁶⁹ Al-Nābulṣī, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

he copied entire fragments (without so much as mentioning it) from the description given by the 15th century Mujir al-Din of Qubbat Sulaymān in the north-west Ḥaram. Nonetheless, there are also original sentences in his description, and the entire description requires closer study.

Schick identified the early Kursi Sulaymān with Qubbat Sulaymān, which was described by Mujir al-Din as being adjacent to Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya.⁷⁰ The proposal herein to identify the early Gate of the Tribes with Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya (al-‘Atm-Fayṣal), in whose vicinity Kursi Sulaymān was located in the pre-Crusader period, supports Schick’s proposed identification.

2. *Miḥrāb of Mary (Maryam) and the Cradle of Jesus* (*Mahd ‘Īsā*)

Qur’ān, III (*Āl ‘Imrān*), vv. 35–38, tells how Mary (Maryam) [the mother of Jesus] was watched over in her *miḥrāb* by Zechariah [the father of John the Baptist], and how each time he came to her he found food which had been given to her by God. After she became pregnant with Jesus she left for a distant place; when she was about to give birth she stopped at the trunk of a palm tree.⁷¹ One of the first miracles performed by Jesus, while he was still a baby, was speaking from the cradle, as a sign to the Children of Israel and the family of Maryam.⁷²

There is a central tendency among early commentators and transmitters to describe these events as having happened to Maryam in Jerusalem. The miracle of the food is described in great detail, how the angels brought her the fruit of the winter in the summer and the fruit of the summer in the winter,⁷³ and how God sprouted the date palm tree for her in Jerusalem.⁷⁴ And, similarly, it was in Jerusalem that Jesus spoke to the people from the cradle. He was also born in Jerusalem.⁷⁵ In light of these traditions, it is little wonder

⁷⁰ Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*; Schick, *PEFQ*, 1898, p. 84, which is based on the descriptions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Mujir al-Din as they were translated by Le Strange, *Palestine*.

⁷¹ *Qur’ān*, IX (*Maryam*), vv. 22–23.

⁷² *Ibid.*, vv. 29–30; compare also *Qur’ān*, III, vv. 45–46, 110; and see also Arce, pp. 178–180 on Maryam in the *Qur’ān* and in Islam.

⁷³ See, for example, Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 49a–50a; the tradition is faithfully repeated in all of the books of the *Tafsīr*, the “Stories of the Prophets,” and the like.

⁷⁴ Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 210a, but compare Yāqūt, *Mu’jam*, vol. I, pp. 409–410 (under the entry: Ahnās): the palm-tree trunk mentioned in the *Qur’ān* is in Ahnās, in Egypt, and there is indeed a tradition that Jesus was born there.

⁷⁵ Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fols. 210a–210b.

that Miḥrāb Maryam was built adjacent to Maḥd 'Īsā (the Cradle of Jesus).

A number of traditions testify to the existence of the Miḥrāb in a relatively early period; through them its precise location may possibly be identified.

In the tradition recorded by al-Wāsiṭī it is written:

In the period of the Children of Israel, if one of them sinned, it [the sin] was written on his forehead and his doorpost: Behold so and so sinned on such and such a night. And it was customary to exile him and send him away and he would come to the Gate of Repentance (Bāb al-Tawba), the gate found next to Miḥrāb Maryam, through which the food came to her, and would cry there and plead, and stay [there] for a while. And if the Lord forgave him He would erase what was written on his head and then all the Children of Israel would know. And if he was not forgiven, he would be exiled and sent away.⁷⁶

The tradition is recorded by al-Wāsiṭī without an *isnād*, and is actually composed of a number of traditions. The complete tradition with its *isnād* appears in the book of Ibn al-Murajjā,⁷⁷ and it ends with Abū 'l-Mughīra > Abū Bakr [b. Abī Maryam?]⁷⁸ > 'Aṭīyya b. Qays [who lived and was active at the end of the 1st/7th century, and beginning of the 2nd/8th century. He died in 738/739].⁷⁹

According to this tradition, from the end of the 7th, to the beginning of the 8th century, Bāb al-Tawba and Miḥrāb Maryam are next to one another. Since Miḥrāb Maryam was located in the south-east corner of the Ḥaram, accordingly Bāb al-Tawba (the Gate of Repentance) would be located in this early period in the southern wall of the Ḥaram. Support for this is found in the list of gates of the Ḥaram noted by Ibn al-Faqīh, at the end of the 9th century. Ibn al-Faqīh lists the gates in the following order: Bāb Dāwūd, Bāb Ḥiṭṭa [both in the west], Bāb al-Nabī [two gates of Ḥulda in the south], the Gate of Repentance (Bāb al-Tawba) and inside it [is found] Miḥrāb Maryam (*Bāb al-Tawba wa-fīhi Miḥrāb Maryam*). Then Bāb al-Wādī is mentioned [a south-east or eastern gate leading apparently to the Qidron Valley], and then the Gate of Mercy in the east.⁸⁰ It is interesting that al-Muqaddasī, who apparently described Jerusalem as he saw it in the middle of the 10th century,

⁷⁶ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 85, no. 137, 11. 15–19.

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 49b–50a [= Livne, no. 168].

⁷⁸ A scholar from Palestine, on him, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 93, no. 154; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. VII, pp. 64–65.

⁷⁹ On him, see Introduction, n. 70.

⁸⁰ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101.

does not mention Bāb al-Tawba as one of the gates of the Ḥaram. He does mention, however, following the Double Gate of the Prophet, The Gates of Mihrāb Maryam (Abwāb Mihrāb Maryam).⁸¹

At the end of the 15th century Mujir al-Dīn describes the south-east corner of the Ḥaram, which was known in his day as “the Market of Knowledge” (Sūq al-Ma‘rifa):

And I do not know [continues Mujir] the reason that it is called by this name, and it seems to be an invention of the servants [of the place? of the Mosque?] in order to entice the pilgrims who come to them. And one of the historians wrote that Bāb al-Tawba was in this place, and that the Children of Israel. . . .

Here Mujir continues with the tradition quoted above—recorded also by al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murajjā—about Bāb al-Tawba, adjacent to Mihrāb Maryam, to which the sinners of Israel would go to repent.⁸²

* * * * *

The first to identify explicitly Bāb al-Tawba in the eastern wall of the Ḥaram adjacent to the Gate of Mercy is Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 1047.⁸³ Later authors also mention Bāb al-Tawba adjacent to and united with the Gate of Mercy.⁸⁴ Scholars who studied Jerusalem and Palestine during the early Islamic period identified Bāb al-Tawba in the eastern wall of the Ḥaram throughout all the periods.⁸⁵

2.1. Mahd ‘Īsā (*The Cradle of Jesus*)

No known mention is made of Mahd ‘Īsā in any source prior to the 10th century. It should be noted, though, that Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767–8) mentioned explicitly, (apparently in reference to verses in the *Qurʾān*, III, v. 46; XIX, v. 29), that Jesus spoke from the cradle in Jerusalem.⁸⁶ It is thus quite possible that already in the

⁸¹ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 170.

⁸² Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), pp. 14–15; *ibid.*, he adds that this place [that is, Sūq al-Ma‘rifa] was established at an early period as a place of prayer for members of the Hanbali School. It was set aside for them by al-Sultān al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, ruler of Damascus, who permitted them to pray in it; cf. also al-Nābulṣī, *Rihla*, p. 73: which copies Mujir al-Dīn; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 54a [= Livne no. 183] records an early tradition, describing the Ḥaram during the period of the Children of Israel, that “it had inside it next to the great Mihrāb (al-Mihrāb al-Akbar) and the candle of Paradise (! *Qindil al-Janna*) the Gate of Repentance, which is opposite the Gate of Judah b. Jacob. When the Children of Israel repented and were purified they used to stand at the Gate of Repentance.”

⁸³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 23 (Arabic), p. 32 (English).

⁸⁴ Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 27; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithaf*, fol. 28a.

⁸⁵ Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 184, following Wilson; Gil, “Jerusalem,” p. 26.

⁸⁶ Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 210a; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 336, n. 286.

Umayyad period the place containing the cradle of Jesus was built next to Miḥrāb Maryam.

In the beginning of the 11th century Ibn al-Murajjā writes that Miḥrāb Maryam was known as Maḥd ‘Īsā.⁸⁷ Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047) describes an underground mosque, on marble columns, whose measurements are 15 x 20 cubits, in the south-east corner of the Ḥaram. The mosque was known, says Nāṣir-i Khusraw, as Maḥd ‘Īsā. The cradle itself is found in the southern corner, and serves instead of the Miḥrāb. Within this underground mosque, to its east, Miḥrāb Maryam is found and next to it, Miḥrāb Zakariyyā’.⁸⁸ Al-Suyūṭī and Mujīr al-Dīn also note that Miḥrāb Maryam was known in their day as Maḥd ‘Īsā.⁸⁹

In the Crusader period Maḥd ‘Īsā served the Templars as a stable for their horses. This space, and others under the Ḥaram, were called Solomon’s Stables in Crusader chronicles (since they identified the al-Aqṣā Mosque as the Temple of Solomon). Al-Harawī also calls it by this name in 1173⁹⁰ and this is how it is known to this very day.

This open space under the Ḥaram was originally created by Herod. Ben-Dov argues that

when the Umayyad rulers built al-Aqṣā Mosque and when they repaired the ruins of the Ḥaram, before this, it was necessary for them to restore the southern wall of the Ḥaram. They did this in the manner of Herod and they created the huge space, which in its present form is an early Islamic creation.⁹¹

With respect to the topographical location of Miḥrāb Maryam and Maḥd ‘Īsā, their linkage from an Islamic and Christian point of view is clear. Busse claims that it is possible that the establishment of Miḥrāb Maryam and the Cradle of Jesus in the south-east corner of the Ḥaram is tied to early Christian tradition, for there the early Christian tradition searched for the tower in which Jesus was tempted by the Devil, and in its foundations they searched for the “rock despised by the builders”. In the Crusader period they showed the house of Shimeon, in which Maryam was a frequent guest there.⁹²

Thus, mention of Miḥrāb Maryam is already made in early Muslim traditions at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century. In

⁸⁷ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 30b [= Livne, no. 67]; Livne, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁸ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 23–24 (Arabic), 33–34 (English).

⁸⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, fol. 27a [= vol. I, p. 196]; Mujīr, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 15; compare also al-Nābulṣī, *Riḥla*, p. 74.

⁹⁰ Al-Harawī, p. 27; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁹¹ Ben Dov, *The Temple Mount*, p. 346.

⁹² Busse, “Biblical Cult,” pp. 122–123.

some of these early traditions the Mihrāb is described as found inside or adjacent to the Gate of Repentance (Bāb al-Tawba). A more detailed study of the Cradle of Jesus and “Solomon’s Stables” might enable one to determine more precisely the relationship between the Single Gate, the Triple Gate, Mihrāb Maryam and Mahd ‘Īsā.

3. *Bāb al-Nabī (The Prophet’s Gate)*

The Prophet’s Gate has been identified by scholars as what is now known as the Double Gate, or, alternatively, the western Gates of Ḥulda—on the southern wall of the Ḥaram, below the Mosque of al-Aqṣā.⁹³ According to a number of scholars, these gates were renovated in the early Arabic period, apparently in the Umayyad era.⁹⁴ Ben-Dov is of the opinion that,

the Muslims used the gate structure which remained [from the Herodian period] almost intact . . . at the side of the gateposts, pillars bearing capitals were erected in the Islamic period in order to improve the decoration of the gate. Later, but still in the early pre-Crusader Islamic period, they added to the double-gate lintel two ornamental arches with illustrations from the world of plants, similar to those on the Gate of Mercy. Also similar to the latter, i.e. done in the same Muslim technique and form, they constructed above the lintel a tooth-like ornament, with plant engravings done in the same Muslim technique and form seen also at the Gate of Mercy.⁹⁵

This gate is mentioned by the 10th century Muslim geographers.⁹⁶ The description given by Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047) of the gate and the passage leading underneath the Mosque of al-Aqṣā is such that, as Wilson argues, it can only be identified with the Double Gate, namely, the western Gate of Ḥulda.⁹⁷

According to Muslim tradition, it was through this gate that the Prophet entered the Ḥaram on his night journey (*al-isrāʾ*) to Jerusalem. Traditions dealing with the night journey mention the entry to Jerusalem as far back as the middle of the 2nd/8th century⁹⁸ and even earlier.⁹⁹ A few traditions even mention the gate specifically

⁹³ Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 180 (following Wilson); Gil, “Jerusalem,” pp. 26–29; *idem.*, “The Jewish Quarters,” pp. 268–269.

⁹⁴ Among them, Y. Tzafrir, M. Rosen-Ayalon and M. Ben-Dov.

⁹⁵ Ben-Dov, *op. cit.*, pp. 286–287.

⁹⁶ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101; *Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 264; al-Muqaddasī, p. 170, mentions the two gates of the Prophet! (*bābay al-Nabiyy*).

⁹⁷ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 41–42 (English trans.), p. 26 (Arabic trans.); Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 178–179 (quoting Wilson, in *PPTS*, vol. IV).

⁹⁸ Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 210a; *El*¹, “Isrāʾ” (B. Schricke), s.v.

⁹⁹ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 102, no. 165.

as the gate through which the Prophet entered Jerusalem. Details of this gate were transmitted by Palestinian scholars, residents of Ramla, Jerusalem and other cities, who circulated and transmitted the Traditions-in-Praise, in which historical and topographical details not transmitted by other transmitters are often found.

Thus, a tradition transmitted by Palestinian *ḥadīth* scholars, which can be followed with certainty at least as far back as the year 750 relates that on his night journey the Prophet “halted al-Burāq [his wondrous steed] at the point at which the prophets used to stand in days gone by. The Prophet then went in by the Prophet’s Gate, with the Angel Gabriel in front of him illuminating him with a light as strong as the sun’s.”¹⁰⁰ While the tradition does not specify the gate’s location on the southern wall below the Mosque of al-Aqṣā (as stated by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 1047), it can be assumed that the location of this gate had not changed since the Umayyad period. This is confirmed by the traditions which follow that describe the Prophet’s Gate in the early period.

In a tradition in Diyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdisi’s book (transmitted to him through Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī [d. 971] in an *isnād* concluding with Jubayr b. Nufayr from Shaddād b. Aws), which describes the *isrā’* of the Prophet, it is said that the Prophet and the Angel Gabriel enter Jerusalem from its southern gate. Gabriel brings the Prophet to the southern side of the Mosque; the Prophet ties his riding animal and enters the Mosque from a gate in which there is a picture (in the form of a relief?) of the sun.¹⁰¹ The *isnād* of the tradition concludes, as noted above, with Shaddād b. Aws, who lived and whose descendants lived in Jerusalem.¹⁰² It shows an intimate knowledge of the Gate of the Prophet, its location and internal structure. A slightly more developed formulation of this tradition is found in two additional traditions, both also from Shaddād b. Aws. The first tradition states:

¹⁰⁰ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 73, no. 119; immediately following this tradition, al-Wāsiṭī continues (without additional *isnād*) with another tradition about Qubbat al-Silsila. These traditions appear separately, and unlinked, in Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 44b–45a [= Livne, no. 148] and the next one, dealing with Qubbat al-Silsila, *ibid.*, fol. 45b [= Livne no. 151] with the same *isnād* (as the first tradition), ‘Umar < his father < al-Walīd b. Ḥammād (al-Ramlī) < ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Thābit [= the famous family from Jerusalem] < his father [= Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr] < Abū ‘l-Ṭāhir, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad < Ka’b; (one or two chains of transmitters are missing).

¹⁰¹ Diyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdisi, p. 84: *thumma inṭalaqa bi ḥattā dakhalnā al-madīna min bābihā al-yamān [= al-yamānī] fa-ātā bi qiblat al-masjid fa-rabaṭa dābatahu wa-dakhala al-masjida min bāb fihī tamīlu [= timthāl] al-shams.*

¹⁰² On him, see Gil, *Palestine*, vol. 1, pp. 101–102, no. 158.

Afterwards he, namely, Gabriel, came with me until we entered, that is, the city of Jerusalem [or: the city of the Holy Temple], from its southern gate and reached the *qibla* of the Mosque. Possibly, this is the southern gate which has sun and moon decorations on it.¹⁰³

The second tradition states:

And (the Prophet) went into the Mosque from a gate, within which there is a representation of the sun and moon, this being but an image of them, inside. And Almighty God is the All-Knowing.¹⁰⁴

These traditions, as noted above, show an intimate knowledge of the Prophet's Gate, its location and internal structure. They especially emphasize the unusual internal structure of the Double Gate. The images of the sun and moon certainly correspond to the decorations on the internal ceiling of the Double Gate.

The Jerusalem Guide from the *Geniza* from the 11th century, published by Braslavi, describes the Ḥulda Gates as follows: "The Gates of Ḥulda—called by the Arabs the Gates of the Prophet—with a stone within, known as *al-shamsha*."¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere in his article, Braslavi mentions the "little sun" (*al-shamsa*) which, according to him, is not referred to in any other Arabic source.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that the early Muslim traditions quoted above refer indirectly to the "little sun" described in the "Jerusalem Guide", although the expression "*shamsa*" is insufficiently clear.¹⁰⁷

4. The Place Where Gabriel Tied al-Burāq

Residents of Jerusalem in the 11th century and even during earlier centuries clearly identified the place in Jerusalem where the Prophet's

¹⁰³ Al-Ḥalabī, *Sira*, vol. I, p. 404: *wa-fi riwāya 'an Shaddād b. Aws annahu qāla: thumma intalaqa bi, ay Jibril ḥattā dakhalnā ya'ni Madīnat Bayt al-Maqdis min bābihā al-yamānī, fa-ātā qiblat al-Masjid, wa-la'alla hādihā 'l-bāb huwa 'l-bāb al-yamānī 'lladhī fihi šurat al-Shams wa-'l-Qamar*; cf. Ibn al-Firkāh, p. 58, a parallel tradition quoting al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (from Shaddād).

¹⁰⁴ Al-Ḥalabī, *loc. cit.*: *wa-fi riwāya, wa-dakhalā min bāb fihi timthāl al-Shams wa-'l-Qamar ay, mithāluhum fihi, wa-'llāh a'lam*. (The text is often garbled: instead of *timthāl*: *tamīl(u)*). See for instance, *Muthīr al-Gharām*, fol. 76a.)

¹⁰⁵ Braslavi, p. 69 (trans.), p. 80 (text): *Sha'arei Ḥulda wa-'l-'Arab yusammūnahā Abwāb al-Na[biyy] wa-fi dākhi[lihi] ḥajar yusammūnahū al-shamsa*. For more on this Geniza text, see Gil, *Palestine*, vol. II, pp. 3–7.

¹⁰⁶ Braslavi, p. 77.

¹⁰⁷ "Little sun" in Arabic in its diminutive form is *shumaysa*. The word *shamsa* means jewellery, a round ornament; a little sun-shaped ball; an ornamental necklace; a parasol. In the early period, a type of comb used by Arab women was called *shamsa*. A number of caliphs sent *shamsa* [= precious gift (?) ornament with a screen design?] to the Ka'ba. For the meaning of the word, see, Dozy, *Supplément*, vol. I, *sh.m.s.*, s.v.; al-Ṭabari, *Glossarium*, *sh.m.s.*, s.v.; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Glossarium* (BGA vol. V), *sh.m.s.*, s.v.; Gil, *op. cit.*, p. 4, translates: "The Stone of the Sun."

winged animal (al-Burāq) was tied.¹⁰⁸ They most probably relied upon one layer of traditions belonging to the complex tradition of The Night Journey of the Prophet (*al-Isrāʾ*), in its many varied and conflicting versions. And, indeed, the traditions are divided with reference to the place of the fastening, the drilling, and the identity of the fastener. One set of traditions states that the Prophet himself, on the night of the *Isrāʾ*, upon arriving in Jerusalem, tied al-Burāq to a ring, to which the prophets were accustomed to tying their animals.¹⁰⁹ Or, according to a different version of the tradition: "He tied al-Burāq to the ring of the prophets, which was found at the gate, that is, the gate of the Mosque,"¹¹⁰ or in the *qibla* (southern side, the direction of prayer to Mecca) of the Mosque.¹¹¹

According to another layer of tradition, it was Gabriel who, when he and the Prophet arrived in Jerusalem, drilled the stone (*al-Ḥajar*) next to the gate (*ʿinda al-Bāb*) and tied al-Burāq to it.¹¹² Another version of this tradition actually specifies that he tied al-Burāq to the gate of the Mosque itself.¹¹³ A third tradition mentions that Gabriel drilled the stone (*al-Ḥajar*), but does not locate this stone—neither in a gate nor in the Mosque.¹¹⁴ This tradition, recorded by al-Tirmidhī, is also quoted by al-Suhaylī with a change: instead of the stone (*al-Ḥajar*), the rock (*al-Ṣakhra*).¹¹⁵ Al-Ḥalabī also quoted this tradition, and decided that the rock (*al-Ṣakhra*) is intended.¹¹⁶ And, indeed, other traditions state explicitly that Gabriel bore a hole in the *Ṣakhra* with his hand and tied al-Burāq to it.¹¹⁷

This overview of the tradition reveals at least three primary contradictions between the different classes of traditions: a) al-Burāq was tied to the ring of the prophets in Jerusalem or to the gate of the Mosque; b) al-Burāq was tied through a hole, drilled by Gabriel in stone, in the gate of the Mosque; c) the place in which the hole was drilled and al-Burāq was tied was *al-Ṣakhra*, inside the Ḥaram.

Al-Ḥalabī tries to settle some of the contradictions by saying that the hole that Gabriel drilled is the ring at the gate, and that the *Ṣakhra* described in a number of traditions does not refer to

¹⁰⁸ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 30b; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 293.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 88b; al-Ḥalabī, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 402; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Fadāʾil*, p. 119.

¹¹⁰ Al-Ḥalabī, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

¹¹¹ Ibn al-Firkāh, p. 58, quoting *Kitāb Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* of al-Bayhaqī.

¹¹² Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 31a.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 88b.

¹¹⁴ Al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. XI, Cairo, 1934/1353, p. 292 (*Abwāb al-Tafsīr*).

¹¹⁵ *Al-Rawd al-Unuf*, vol. III, Cairo, 1969/1389, pp. 430–431.

¹¹⁶ Al-Ḥalabī, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* (and additional parallel traditions).

the well-known rock inside the Ḥaram, but rather to a stone (*ḥajar*, *ḥajara*) mentioned in the tradition at the gate of the Mosque. Al-Ḥalabī even quotes a tradition which compromises between the two contradicting trends, which say:

And some of the transmitters settled (the contradictions between the traditions) [by saying that] the Prophet (ﷺ) fastened him [al-Burāq] to a ring, outside the gates of the Mosque, which is the place of the prophets, peace and prayer be unto them, in a respectful and polite manner, and Gabriel took him and Gabriel fastened him, and he fastened him in the corner of the Mosque to a stone which is the rock which he drilled with his finger, and placed it inside the gate of the Mosque.¹¹⁸

* * * * *

Whatever the conflicts and contradictions between versions of the traditions, it seems that Jerusalemites clearly identified the place in which al-Burāq was tied as being outside the Gate of the Prophet, in the southern wall of the Ḥaram. The Muslim geographers also identify the place in this corner. Ibn al-Faḥih locates the place at which al-Burāq was fastened in the corner of the southern minaret (*al-manāra*) of the wall of the Ḥaram.¹¹⁹ This matches the description made by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, in the beginning of the 10th century, of the place below the corner of al-Aqṣā Mosque.¹²⁰

It is of interest here to quote the description made by al-Nābulṣī (1689) of the place where al-Burāq was fastened:

Afterwards we went to Jāmi‘ al-Maghāriba (The Mosque of the Maghribīs), which is located outside al-Aqṣā Mosque, inside the Ḥaram . . . towards the west . . . then, after we left it, we turned to visit the place of al-Burāq (*ziyārat maḥallat al-Burāq*). This is the place located to the right of the person leaving the gate of the Mosque, next to the Mosque of the Maghribīs; one descends to it down a long and narrow stairway. At the bottom of the steps, on the right side of the person descending them, there is a small window (*tāqa*) in the wall. It is said that Moses, prayer and peace be unto him, threw there the tablets [!]. Then we turned to go to the left, to the place about which it was said that there al-Burāq was tied on the night journey of the Prophet. This place is a house in which (people) live. And we called to us the servant [of the place] and he opened the door for us and we entered and saw a dark place, and a small mosque . . .

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Ibn al-Faḥih, p. 101; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 162; on the minarets on the Ḥaram, see Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 24b [= Livne, no. 47]: a tradition about the four minarets on the Ḥaram, three on the west side and one on the north. They are similarly described by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 264; Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), pp. 26–27.

¹²⁰ *Iqd*, loc. cit. (*taḥta rukn al-Masjid*); Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

And we found there a large ring in the wall, it is said that it is the ring that the prophets, prayer be unto them, used to fasten al-Burāq with, and with which the Prophet, may Allāh's prayer be with him and bless him with peace, tied [al-Burāq] on the night of his night journey.¹²¹

The Mosque of the Maghribis is at present part of the Islamic Museum adjacent to the south-west wall of the Ḥaram. Its entrance was right at the entrance of the Maghribī Gate.¹²² Towards the end of the 17th century, the place at which al-Burāq was fastened was still identified as that under the Maghribī Gate, towards the west—that is, right on the outside south-west corner of the wall of the Ḥaram, just as it was described by Ibn al-Faḡih and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in the 10th century.

5. The Gate(s) of Mercy (*Bāb [Abwāb] al-Rahma*)

In *Qur'ān*, LVII (*al-Ḥadīd*), v. 13, it is said that between the believers and the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*) “a wall shall be set betwixt them wherein shall be a gate, within which shall be mercy, and without it, all alongside, the torment (of hell).”

When describing the Gate of Mercy in Jerusalem, later Muslim writers link this gate to the verse quoted above.¹²³ The link between the “Gate of Mercy” and this verse was also noted by some scholars, among others, Le Strange,¹²⁴ upon whom Vincent and Abel relied.¹²⁵ Gil mentioned the connection between the Gate of Mercy and the verse from the *Qur'ān* quoted above, and also conjectured that the name “Gate of Mercy” might have been taken from another gate so named, located at the western end of the Mosque of the Prophet in al-Madīna. Gil points out that the name “Gate of Mercy” is exclusively Muslim.¹²⁶ Finally, a number of scholars expressed the view that the Gate of Mercy was built during the Umayyad period, and not at the end of the Byzantine period, as thought by others.¹²⁷

¹²¹ Al-Nābulṣī, *Rihla*, pp. 85–86.

¹²² Drory, p. 172; *ibid.*, map no. 193.

¹²³ *Iqd*, *loc. cit.*; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf* (*JRAS*, XIX), p. 265; Mujir, vol. II, p. 380; the last two sources are quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 184; the words *rahma* as meaning Paradise and *'Adhāb* as hell, are very common in the *ḥadīth* literature, see for example, Wensink, *Concordance, r.h.m., s.v.*

¹²⁴ Le Strange, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁵ Vincent-Abel, vol. II, pp. 840–841.

¹²⁶ Gil, “Jerusalem,” p. 25, n. 27; esp. *idem.*, “The Jewish Quarters,” p. 267, n.

26.

¹²⁷ Tsafirir, pp. 21–22, 28; p. 48 note, in which Tsafirir remarks that already in

Early commentators on the *Qur'ān* are divided in opinion as to the location and character of the wall mentioned in the *Qur'ān*, i.e., mercy within it and punishment of Hell outside it. One body of traditions identifies the wall (*sūr*) as being a partition between the sons of Paradise and the sons of Hell, or as a wall separating Paradise from Hell—the same partition that is mentioned in *Qur'ān*, VII, (*al-A'rāf*), v. 46: “Between them [the blessed and the damned] shall be a barrier, and on the heights [of this barrier, or on its upper parts] will be men who would know everyone by his marks.”

Another set of traditions, also very early, identifies the wall mentioned in the *Qur'ān* as the eastern wall of the Ḥaram. Other traditions, belonging to the same school, identify the gate mentioned in the *Qur'ān* as the Gate of Mercy in Jerusalem, or state specifically that the gate of which God said “a wall shall be betwixt them” is the gate in Jerusalem. They identify the Ḥaram area as the interior of the wall, while the valley between the Ḥaram and the Mount of Olives, which is located outside the wall, is viewed as the torment of Hell.¹²⁸ These traditions—which identify the wall mentioned in the *Qur'ān* with Jerusalem's eastern wall, the gate with the Gate of Mercy, the interior of the Ḥaram with *rahma* (i.e., Paradise) and the part outside with Hell—belong to those early traditions

1935 C. Watzinger expressed this view; see C. Watzinger, *Denkmaler Palestinas*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 144–145; Tsafrir also quotes M. Ben-Dov's view on this subject in *Eretz Israel*, vol. XI (1973), p. 79; see also Ben-Dov, *Excavations*, pp. 282–286; but especially Rosen-Ayalon, *al-Ḥaram*, pp. 33–45; cf. Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca*, pp. 86–87, and C. Mango, “The Temple Mount, AD 614–638,” *Bayt al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, Part One, ed. by J. Raby and J. Johns (*Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, vol. IX), Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 1–16. Peters and Mango do not exclude the possibility that the gate was built towards the end of Byzantine rule.

¹²⁸ See the commentaries on *Qur'ān*, LVII, v. 13 (including the two bodies of traditions: a) the “wall” mentioned is the wall between Paradise and Hell; b) the wall is the eastern wall of Jerusalem; the gate mentioned is the Gate of Mercy in Jerusalem; al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vol. XXVII, Bulaq, 1328 H., pp. 129–130; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, vol. VII, p. 6416; *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. VI, Cairo, 1314 H., p. 174 (quoted by Gil, *loc. cit.*); al-Nābulsi, *Rihla*, pp. 77–78; al-Wāsiṭi, pp. 15–16, no. 17, a tradition which identifies the wall mentioned in the *Qur'ān* with the eastern wall of the Ḥaram (with many parallel sources); the *isnād* in this tradition is important: 'Umar < al-Walīd b. Ḥammād [al-Ramli, mid-9th century] < Aḥmad b. Zayd al-Ḥarrār [from Ramla! On him, see al-Rāzi, *al-Jarh*, vol. I/1, 1371/1952, p. 51] < Rawwād [b. al-Jarrāh, from Ashqelon! mid-8th century; on him, see al-Wāsiṭi, p. 4, no. 2; Ibn 'Asākir (Amman), vol. VI, pp. 283–284; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. VIII, p. 334; *idem.*, *Tahdhīb*, vol. V, 1322 H., p. 331; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. III, 1335 H., pp. 288–290] < Ṣadaqa b. Yazīd [al-Khurāsāni, lived in Ramla and Jerusalem! at the beginning to mid-8th century; on him, see Ibn 'Asākir (Amman), vol. VIII, pp. 283–285; *idem.*, *Tahdhīb*, vol. VI, 1349 H., pp. 413–414; *Mizān al-'itidāl*, vol. I, Cairo,

regarding the Latter Days which seek to establish Jerusalem as the place to which all mankind will be gathered for the Last Judgment. Additional early traditions, reported by al-Wāsiṭī, seek to identify the valley east of the wall of the Ḥaram as Hell (Wādi Jahannam).¹²⁹

Thus there are two trends evident in the traditions. The first identifies the wall separating paradise from Hell or as a barrier between the blessed and the hypocrites, without any reference to Jerusalem. The second locates the wall and the gate in Jerusalem. This might indicate an early conflict amongst Muslim scholars of the 1st and 2nd centuries of the *hijra* regarding the status of Jerusalem. In fact, the transmitters of the tradition which was quoted by al-Wāsiṭī, and which identifies the wall (mentioned in the *Qurʾān*) as being in Jerusalem, were all from Syria and Palestine.

In his commentary on *Qurʾān*, LVII, v. 13, Ibn Kathīr sums up the dispute between the early commentators on the *Qurʾān* from the 8th century, and the later ones as well¹³⁰:

As to His words, may He be exalted: “And a wall shall be set betwixt them, wherein shall be a gate, within shall be mercy and without it all alongside, the torment (of hell),” al-Ḥasan [b. Abī ʿl-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (21/642–110/729)]¹³¹ and Qatāda [b. Diʿāma b. Qatāda (60/679–118/736)]¹³² said: “It is a wall (*ḥāʾiṭ*) between Paradise and Hell”;

1325 H., p. 466] < Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*Muḥṭi* of Damascus, 90/708–709—159/775–776 or 168/784–785; on him, see Introduction, p. 20 note 70] < ʿAṭiyya b. Qays [d. 121/738–739; on him, see Introduction, p. 20 note 70; a transmitter of *ḥadīth* from Damascus or Ḥims; [here one chain in the *isnād* was left out, most probably Abū ʿl-ʿAwwām, the *muʿadhdhin* of Jerusalem.] < ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmrū b. l-ʿAṣ [7/616–65/684; on him, see al-Wāsiṭī, no. 17, n. 2; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. III, pp. 79–94; Sezgin, vol. I, p. 84].

¹²⁹ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 14–16, nos. 14–16.

¹³⁰ Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, Cairo, n.d., p. 309; cf. *idem.*, *al-Nihāya*, vol. II, p. 110.

¹³¹ On him, see Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 591–594; *Et*², “Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,” (H. Ritter),

s.v.
¹³² On him, see Sezgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32; *Et*², “Qatāda b. Diʿāma” (Ch. Pellat), s.v.

and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. Aslam [d. 182/798]¹³³ said: "The wall mentioned in the *Qur'ān* is identical with the barrier in the verse "between them shall be a barrier",¹³⁴ Thus it was transmitted [in explanation of this verse] from Mujāhid b. Jabr [21/642–104/722],¹³⁵ the mercy of God be upon him and others besides him. This is the true interpretation (*al-ṣaḥīḥ*) of the words. And as to the words: "within shall be mercy", the reference is to Paradise; [and as to the words] "and without it all alongside the torment (of Hell)," the reference here is to Hell (*al-nār*). This was the interpretation given by Qatāda, Ibn Zayd and others. [But] Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabarī] said: "And it was said that this wall [mentioned in the *Qur'ān*] is the wall of Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maqdis) which is very close to the Valley of Jahannam"; afterwards, he [al-Ṭabarī] said: "It was related to us by Ibn al-Barqī, from 'Amrū b. Abi Salāma, from Sa'id [= Sa'd] b. 'Aṭiyya b. Qays,¹³⁶ from Abū 'l-'Awwām the *mu'adhdhin* of Jerusalem,¹³⁷ who said: "I heard 'Abdallāh b. 'Amrū b. al-'Āṣ [d. 65/685 or 77/696–697] saying: "The wall that was mentioned by God in the *Qur'ān* "a wall shall be set between them" is the eastern wall of Jerusalem. Within the wall is the Mosque and outside the Valley of Jahannam."¹³⁸ He also reported a similar commentary from 'Ubāda b. al-Šāmit [d. 34/654–55 or 54/673–74]¹³⁹ and Ka'b al-Aḥbār [d. 34 or 35/654–656]¹⁴⁰ and 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn [b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib], Zayn al-'Ābidīn [38/658–99/717].¹⁴¹

This [says Ibn Kathīr] is what they transmit because they want to popularize the obvious (visible) meaning and to give a concrete illustration. [However], the specific wall [mentioned by them], the Mosque itself and the valley known as the valley of Jahannam behind the wall were not the places to which the *Qur'ān* refers, be-

¹³³ Sezgin, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹³⁴ *Wa-baynahumā ḥijāb, Qur'ān*, VII, (*al-A'rāf*) v. 46: the screen between the people of Paradise and the hypocrites.

¹³⁵ On him, see Sezgin, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹³⁶ On his father, 'Aṭiyya b. Qays, see note 128; his son Sa'd learned *hadīth* from him; on him, see al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. II/1, 1372/1952, p. 91; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

¹³⁷ On him, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 14, no. 15 and bibliography therein; Abū 'l-'Awwām lived in approximately the mid-7th century; according to *Ta'jil al-Manfa'a*, p. 509 (quoted by Hasson, the editor of al-Wāsiṭī, *loc. cit.*), al-Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, vol. IX, 1380 H., pp. 60–61; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. IV/2, 1373/1953, pp. 415–416, he is called *sādin Bayt al-Maqdis*, i.e., "the keeper," the man in charge of (the Ḥaram?); see also Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, vol. I (al-Munajjid's edition), p. 482, two historical traditions reported in Jerusalem by Abū 'l-'Awwām from 'Abdallāh b. 'Amrū b. al-'Āṣ about the Battle of Ajnādayan!

¹³⁸ Cf. al-Wāsiṭī, nos. 15, 17.

¹³⁹ *Ṣaḥābī, qaḍī* (Jund) Filastīn. On him, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 14, no. 14; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, vol. XX, Damascus 1402/1982 (ed. Shukri Fayṣal), pp. 5–38; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 5–11; Gil, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99, no. 141.

¹⁴⁰ On him, see *EP*², "Ka'b al-Aḥbār" (M. Schmitz), *s.v.*

¹⁴¹ On him, see Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 526–528; Ibn Kathīr: 'Alī b. Ḥusayn and [this "and" is a printing error] Zayn al-'Ābidīn.

cause Paradise is in the highest heavens and Hell in the deepest places below.

As for the statement by Ka'b al-Aḥbār that the gate mentioned in the *Qur'ān* is Bāb al-Raḥma, which is one of the gates of the Mosque, this is part of his Jewish traditions and his false and vain sayings (*min isrā'īliyāthi wa-turrahāthi*). The reference is indeed to the wall which will be erected at the time of the resurrection of the dead, so as to separate the believers from the hypocrites.

* * * * *

Right from the beginning of the Umayyad period, many traditions were connected with the Gate of Mercy in an attempt to ascribe to it special Islamic sanctity. As previously noted, one trend in the early *ḥadīth* sought to attach important Islamic status to the Gate of Mercy on the basis of the verse in the *Qur'ān* ("and a wall shall be set . . ."). Parallel to this, there was an attempt to base the status of the Gate of Mercy on traditions with Jewish nuances and connections. An early tradition of this kind, dating at least to the first quarter of the 8th century, was reported by al-Wāsiṭī in two parts, found at the opposite ends of his book.¹⁴² Ibn al-Murajjā quotes the tradition continuously and in full.¹⁴³ The *isnād* of this tradition concludes with al-Walīd b. Muḥammād, who said:

I heard 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī¹⁴⁴ saying: "When Solomon, the son of David, peace be on them both, completed the building of the Temple (Bayt al-Maqdis), God, may He be extolled and exalted, caused two trees to grow close to the Gate of Mercy. One of them brought forth leaves of gold and the other, leaves of silver. Every day it was his custom to pluck from each tree 200 *raṭl* of gold and silver and the Mosque [= the entire Haram area] was inlaid with gold and silver. When Nebuchadnezzar came, he destroyed the Mosque and took away from it eight wagon-loads of gold and silver and placed them in al-Rūmiyya [= Rūmiyyat al-Madā'in in Iraq].

¹⁴² Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 36–37, no. 47 (the first part); p. 85, no. 137, ll. 1–14 (the second part).

¹⁴³ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 9b.

¹⁴⁴ He is 'Aṭā' b. Abi Muslim, al-Khurāsānī, a scholar of *ḥadīth*, who lived in Palestine (d. 135/752–753 in Jericho and was brought for burial to Jerusalem); on him, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 24, no. 30; Sezgin, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Gil, *Palestine*, p. 124, no. 79 [= vol. I, p. 103, no. 165, and the exhaustive bibliography therein]; and see also al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. III/1, 1360/1941, pp. 334–335; Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 72b–73a and *Mizān al-I'tidāl*, vol. II, 1325 H., pp. 198–199.

Here the tradition as reported by al-Wāsiṭī (no. 47) ends. Tradition no. 137 p. 85, line 1, at the end of the book runs as follows:

... and the sons of Aaron, may God pray for him, used to come to the Rock, and call it the Temple in Hebrew (*al-Haykal bi'l-'Ibrāniyya*) and a fountain of olive oil would descend unto them and the [oil would] circle and fill the lamps without [human] contact. And fire would come down from heaven on to the Rock and would encircle in the form of a wild beast (*sabu'*) the Mount of Olives. Then it spread until it entered via the Gate of Mercy, and then turned towards the Rock. And the sons of Aaron would recite *Bārūkh ātā Adūnayh*¹⁴⁵ which means: 'May the [All] Merciful (*al-Rahmān*) be blessed, there is no other God but him. . . .

The tradition goes on to describe the deaths of the sons of Aaron in the holy fire which descended from heaven, since they had used earthly fire for the altar and had neglected their duties, not being present when the heavenly fire came down to light the altar.

The two trees (of gold and silver) in the first part of the tradition are described as being in close proximity to or actually at the Gate of Mercy. This invites comparison with the description of the Muslim Paradise in which there are trees of gold and silver. (The most accepted description states that there are two gardens of silver and two of gold in Paradise.¹⁴⁶)

The second part of this tradition also appears in the book of Mujir al-Dīn (end of the 15th century).¹⁴⁷ Hirschberg (quoting Mujir only),¹⁴⁸ asserts that this is a strange amalgamation of the Biblical story (*Leviticus*, Chap. X, vv. 1–3) about the sons of Aaron, Nadav and Avihu, who gave sacrifices before God ("... unholy fire before the Lord, such as he had not commanded them. And fire came forth

¹⁴⁵ In Hebrew: *Barūkh āta Adonay* (Blessed be my Lord).

¹⁴⁶ Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 182 (Paradise); *idem.*, *Concordance, f.d.d., s.v.*; and see also, *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-Qiyāma*, p. 109; Jalāl al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-Budūr al-Sāfira fī Umūr al-Ākhira*¹, Beirut, Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1411/1991, p. 516, no. 1852: all the trunks of the trees in Heaven are made of pearls and gold; *ibid.*, no. 1851: the stems of the branches of the palm-trees (*karānif*) are made of gold, and their trunks are made of green emerald (*zumurrud*); *ibid.*, p. 517, no. 1858: the ground of Heaven is made of silver, its soil of *misk*, and the roots (or trunks: *uṣūl*) of its trees are of gold and silver (*dhahab wa-waraq*), and their branches are of pearls and topaz (*al-lu'lu' wa-'l-zabarjad*).

¹⁴⁷ Mujir, vol. I, p. 113.

¹⁴⁸ Hirschberg, "Sources," pp. 349–350.

from the presence of the Lord and devoured them and they died before the Lord”), and the Jewish legend about the burning coal which fell from heaven in the days of Solomon on to the altar, and which remained there until Menasseh removed it. It had the appearance of a lion or a dog in a crouching position.¹⁴⁹ Al-Muhallabī echoes the Jewish legend: when recounting the ten miracles in the Temple during the time of King Solomon, he notes that one of them was the fire that took the form of a lion crouching on the altar.¹⁵⁰ How this Jewish Temple (*Haykal Bayt al-Maqdis*) appears in other traditions as a Muslim Temple built by the nation of Muḥammad, or as a Temple built by ‘Abd al-Malik, is discussed below.¹⁵¹

The Gate of Mercy is also mentioned in other traditions connected with the Latter Days. An interesting tradition is recorded by Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād’s *Kitāb al-Fitan*, to the effect that “al-Mahdī and al-Sufyānī with (Banū) Kalb would fight in Jerusalem when . . . [the text here is unclear—A.E.] the oath of loyalty. He said: Al-Sufayānī would be brought in as a prisoner . . . and would be killed near the Gate of Mercy. After that, their spoils would be sold on the stairs of Damascus.”¹⁵² This tradition is one of the many which deal with the turbulence and the wars that will take place in the Latter Days between al-Sufyānī, joined by Banū Kalb, and al-Mahdī (the Muslim Messiah). These traditions express hatred for the Umayyads and their representatives in the traditions—al-Sufyānī and Banū Kalb—the principle supporters of the first Umayyads.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Hirschberg, *op. cit.*, p. 349; G. Vajda, “Le description du Temple de Jérusalem d’après le *K. al-masālik wa l-mamālik* d’al-Muhallabī, ses éléments Biblique et rabbaniques,” *Journal Asiatique*, CCXLVII (1959), pp. 196–198.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Muhallabī, p. 53; Vajda, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵¹ See ch. 4, pp. 161–163.

¹⁵² Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, fol. 96a; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 80b: *Inna al-Mahdī wa-l-Sufyānī wa-Kalb, yaqtatilūna fī Bayt al-Maqdis hīna yastaqīluhu (?) ’l-bay’a. Fa-yu’tā bi-’l-Sufyānī asīran, fa-yu’maru bihi fa-yudhbahu ’alā Bāb al-Rahma. Thumma tubā’u nisā’uhum wa-ghanā’imuhum ’alā daraj Dimashq.* This tradition is also recorded by al-Suyūṭī, *al-’Arf al-Wardī*, (Cairo, 1352 H.), p. 231 (Beirut ed., 1982, p. 72); *Bāb al-Rahma* appears clearly only in the ms. of Ibn al-Murajjā. In Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād’s text: *Bāb al-Raja*; al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*, *Bāb al-Rahba*; less important variants: al-Suyūṭī: *amīr* (instead of *asīr*); *yastaqbilu* (instead of *yastaqīlu*); see also al-Sulamī, p. 84, a part of the last sentence of this tradition; see also Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 242; cf. Hirschberg, *loc. cit.* (quoting *Beth-Hamidrash*, III, 72–73): “Revelations of Rabbi Simon Bar-Yohai say that Armilus will join battle with Messiah Ephraim at the Eastern Gate”; Hirschberg, *op. cit.*, p. 345: “The Book of Zerubabel states ‘Armilus will kill Messiah ben Joseph, alias Nehemiah ben Hushiel . . . and Hefsiyah, the mother of Menahem, will stand at the Eastern Gate, so that the Evil One may not enter it.’”

¹⁵³ See M.J. Kister, “Mecca and the Tribes of Arabia,” in: *Studies in Islamic*

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In all the traditions mentioned here thus far, the Gate of Mercy appears as only one gate. This is how it is described by Ibn al-Faqīh and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi.¹⁵⁴ Sixty years later, al-Muqaddasī mentions two Gates of Mercy,¹⁵⁵ and after him Nāṣir-i Khusraw states that this gate has two entrances, one known as Bāb al-Rahma and the other as Bāb al-Tawba.¹⁵⁶ Later authors in the 15th century also mention these two gates.¹⁵⁷ In the early Muslim period Bāb al-Tawba was located in another place on the Ḥaram.

6. The Gate of the Divine Presence (*Bāb al-Sakīna*)

Bāb al-Sakīna was first mentioned in the 10th century by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi.¹⁵⁸ Ibn al-Faqīh, a slightly earlier writer, also mentions the “place of the Divine Presence” (*Mawḍi‘ al-Sakīna*) among the holy places in Jerusalem.¹⁵⁹ Al-Muqaddasī mentions Bāb al-Sakīna among the holy places which made Syria (including Palestine: al-Shām) famous. The reference might be to the same gate, but this is not clear, as he does not include it in his list of Ḥaram gates.¹⁶⁰ The gate itself was included by Ibn al-Murajjā in his description of a route followed by visitors to the holy places on the Ḥaram at the beginning of the 11th century. He did not, however, specify the location of the gate.¹⁶¹

In his description of Bāb al-Sakīna, Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047), reports that in the entrance corridor (*dihliz*) of this gate, there is a mosque with many *mihrābs*. The door of entry to this gate is blocked up. It has been said, continues Nāṣir, “that the Ark of the Divine Presence (*Tābūt al-Sakīna*) mentioned by God in the *Qur’ān*, was

History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon, edited by M. Sharon, Jerusalem-Leiden, 1986, pp. 56–57; Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–242; *ibid.*, pp. 235–239 for an exhaustive discussion on the *Mahdī* and the *Sufyānī*; Madelung, “al-Sufyānī” (see Bibliography); *idem.*, “Mahdī”, *ET*, s.v.

¹⁵⁴ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101; *Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 264; Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 183–184.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 170; Braslavi, p. 79.

¹⁵⁶ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 32 (English tr.), p. 23 (Arabic); Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

¹⁵⁷ Le Strange, *loc. cit.* (the description of Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Mujir al-Dīn).

¹⁵⁸ *Iqd*, *loc. cit.*; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 95: *wa-bihā mawḍi‘ al-Ṣirāt wa-Wādī Jahannam wa-l-Sakīna*: “and in (Jerusalem) is found the place of the Ṣirāt, the Valley of Jahannam and al-Sakīna.” According to the text, it is difficult to establish beyond any doubt that the word *mawḍi‘* is linked to al-Sakīna.

¹⁶⁰ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 151; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–175.

¹⁶¹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 30a [= Livne, no. 67].

there but had to be taken away by the angels.”¹⁶² The verse which Nāṣir is apparently referring to is the following:

And (further) their Prophet said to them: Verily the sign of His kingdom shall be that the Ark of the Covenant shall come unto you. Therein shall be *Sakīna* from your Lord and the relics which have been left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron. . . .¹⁶³

Early commentaries and traditions dealing with this verse make no direct mention of Jerusalem or the Ḥaram.¹⁶⁴ It could be that this was so self-evident to some of the commentators that they saw no need to emphasize this point.

The above verse describes the return of the Ark of the Covenant (*al-Tābūt*) bearing the Divine Presence (*Sakīna*) to the Children of Israel, a sign which would confirm the reign of King Saul. Thus the Ark of the Covenant and the *Sakīna* seem intimately related. The word *Sakīna*, however, is mentioned five more times in the *Qurʾān* without reference to the Ark of the Covenant. In each of these references it mentions the *Sakīna* (Divine Presence) bestowed by God upon the Prophet and/or the believers.¹⁶⁵

Early commentators on the *Qurʾān* noticed the difference in the meaning of *al-Sakīna* mentioned in connection with the Ark of the Covenant brought to the Children of Israel (in the verse quoted above), and the other five references in which this word appears. They seem to have had difficulty interpreting the word. Scholars who have discussed the meaning of the name have also noted the special significance of this verse, and of the various interpretations given to the word in this verse by linguists and Muslim commentators on the *Qurʾān*.¹⁶⁶ An analysis of the significance and meaning of the word will not be made here. However, one interesting interpretation, already noted by Goldziher,¹⁶⁷ should be mentioned, namely, that the Divine Presence in this verse is represented as a cat or cat's head, with (or without) wings, which used to shriek from within the Ark of the Covenant, thus frightening the enemies of the Children of Israel and causing them to flee.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 42–43 (English), p. 27 (Arabic); p. 87 (French).

¹⁶³ *Qurʾān*, II, v. 248.

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, I, p. 550: the Ark of the Covenant reaches Saul's place; *idem.*, *Tafsīr*, vol. II, p. 610; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. I, p. 301; al-Thaʿlabī, *Qīṣaṣ*, p. 177; al-Kisāʾī, *Qīṣaṣ*, p. 252: the angels carry the Ark of the Covenant to the Land of the Children of Israel.

¹⁶⁵ *Qurʾān*, IX, vv. 26, 40; XLVIII, vv. 4, 18, 26.

¹⁶⁶ Note here Goldziher, “Sakīna” (see Bibliography); De Sacy, *JA*, 1829, pp. 177–179; Jeffery, p. 174.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9 (quoting al-Qaṣṭallānī, and *Lisān al-ʿArab*).

¹⁶⁸ See Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fols. 40b–41a; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ*, I, pp. 549–553; *idem.*,

Ibn al-Murajjā recites a tradition (already cited by Van Bercham¹⁶⁹) (. . . ‘Abd al-Razzāq < ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma‘qal < Wahb b. al-Munabbih), which states that the two cows which brought back the Ark of the Covenant to the Children of Israel were escorted by four angels, until they reached *al-Quds* (*ḥattā idhā balaghatā al-Quds*), where David [not Saul!] received the Ark and danced before it. If this text is not faulty, it seems that the reference here of the word *al-Quds* is to the Holy of Holies, i.e., the Temple, for Jerusalem was called *Bayt al-Maqdis* in early traditions. As was his custom, Ibn al-Murajjā prefaced this tradition with a title, which reads as follows: “The chapter of the story of the Ark of the Presence of God, may He be exalted, brought back to Jerusalem.”¹⁷⁰

An interesting tradition transmitted in the name of ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās, tells that: “The Ark and the rod of Moses are in Lake Tiberias and they will emerge before the resurrection of the dead.”¹⁷¹ While the Divine Presence is not specifically mentioned in this tradition, there is mention of the Ark of the Covenant—this time not in Jerusalem, but in Lake Tiberias in Palestine. Yet another tradition links the Ark of the Covenant with both Tiberias and Jerusalem. It is transmitted by Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād (d. 228/845)¹⁷² as follows:

Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd, al-Qaṭṭān al-Baṣrī < Sulaymān b. ‘Īsā, who said: “It became known to me that through al-Mahdī the Ark of the Presence

Tafsīr, vol. II, pp. 606–615; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. I, pp. 301–302; al-Kisā’ī, *Qīṣaṣ*, pp. 250–252; al-Tha‘labī, *Qīṣaṣ*, pp. 174–177; *Nihāyat al-Arab*, vol. XIV, 1943, pp. 38–43.

In the above-quoted sources, there is material from early *isrā’iliyāt* traditions which interpret this verse and the episode of the wanderings of the Ark of the Covenant and its return to the Children of Israel. In part, they are parallel to the Jewish traditions and legends. Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, vol. IV, pp. 91–93. According to the Islamic traditions, the Divine Presence is described as: 1. a fast wind with the face of a man; 2. a strong wind with two heads; 3. a head such as the head of a two-winged cat, or with two wings and a tail; 4. the head of a dead cat; 5. a tray of gold from Paradise, where they used it to bathe the hearts of the Prophets; 6. a golden tray given by God to Moses, on which the Tablets of the Covenant were placed; 7. the spirit of God speaking; 8. mercy; 9. glory and majestic appearance; 10. signs which are recognized and one who is trustworthy. According to these traditions, Moses’ rod, his shoes, and fragments of the Tablets were inside the Ark of the Covenant, as well as the *‘imāma* of Moses (according to others, the *‘imāma* of Aaron), a quantity of *mann* (according to Muqātil, *loc.cit.*, on a golden tray).

¹⁶⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 61a; mentioned by Van Berchem, vol. I, p. 109, n. 1.

¹⁷⁰ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 60b: *Bāb dhikr mā radda ‘llāh ta‘ālā min tābūt al-Sakīna ilā Bayt al-Maqdis*.

¹⁷¹ This tradition is quoted by Kister, “Haddithū,” p. 236, n. 169; see also al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. II, p. 609; al-Tha‘labī, *loc. cit.*; *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. I, p. 314.

¹⁷² On him, see Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 104–105.

will be discovered in the waters of Tiberias and then carried and placed before him in Jerusalem, and when the Jews will look upon it, they will almost all be converted to Islam. Then al-Mahdī will die."¹⁷³

This tradition belongs to the *Fitān* traditions relating to the wars and disturbances of the Latter Days. Yahyā b. Sa'īd, al-Qaṭṭān, was a famous scholar of *ḥadīth*.¹⁷⁴ Although there is no further information on the last transmitter referred to—Sulaymān b. 'Īsā—it may be assumed that he lived in the second half of the 8th century. Jerusalem has an important role in Islam in the context of wars of the Latter Days. The subject, however, merits thorough research, and is beyond the scope of this book.

Tiberias is mentioned in both traditions in relation to the Ark of the Covenant. It should be noted that, according to Muslim tradition, a number of additional events occurred at Lake Tiberias. Ka'b al-Aḥbār ordered that the Book of Daniel be thrown into the lake. He described it as the Law which was revealed to Moses by God, without any alterations or adulterations. He was afraid that men might rely on what was written therein.¹⁷⁵ Muslim traditions give an important place to Lake Tiberias in the Latter Days.¹⁷⁶ Yāqūt (d. 1229) relates that the inhabitants of the Tiberias area claim that Solomon's grave is at Lake Tiberias.¹⁷⁷

The Ark of the Covenant is noted in the following passage found in the concentrated collection of Traditions-in-Praise-of-Jerusalem in the *Tafsīr* of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767–8): "And the Ark of the Presence was lifted from Jerusalem" (*wa-ruḥi'a tābūt al-Sakīna min Bayt al-Maqdis*).¹⁷⁸ It is difficult to know Muqātil's meaning in this sentence. In his exegesis of *Qur'ān*, II, v. 249,¹⁷⁹ which

¹⁷³ Nu'aym b. Hammād, fols. 99a, last line–99b: *qāla: balaghani annahu 'alā yaday al-Mahdī Yuzharu tābūt al-Sakīna min Buḥayrat Ṭabarriyya ḥattā yuḥmalu fa-yuḍa'u bayna yadayhi fī Bayt al-Maqdis, fa-idhā nazarat ilayhi 'l-Yahūd aslamat illā qalīlan minhum; thumma yamūtu 'l-Mahdī*; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 80b; *ibid.*: Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (?the word *al-Qaṭṭān* is not clear); this tradition is quoted by al-Sulamī p. 147; al-Suyūṭī, *al'Arf al-Wardī*, p. 244; Mujir, vol. I (Amman ed.), p. 268, only notes the last transmitter, Sulaymān b. 'Īsā; see also Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, quoting this tradition from Ibn al-Murajjā, and the exhaustive bibliography therein, n. 212, p. 264.

¹⁷⁴ On him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. XI, pp. 216–220.

¹⁷⁵ Kister, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

¹⁷⁶ See, for instance, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. IV, no. 52 (*fitān*), *ḥadīth*, no. 110; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. I, p. 515; Sulamī, pp. 84, 98, 117.

¹⁷⁷ Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 67; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 509, instead of Solomon's tomb: David's tomb.

¹⁷⁸ Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 210b; quoted by Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101, and Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 92b, both copying Muqātil's tradition.

¹⁷⁹ Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 40b.

relates the bringing of *tābūt al-Sakīna* as a sign and wonder to the Children of Israel so that they would believe in the reign of Saul, there is no mention of Jerusalem or the Ark of the Covenant being lifted from Jerusalem.

From yet another early tradition, dating back to the beginning to mid-2nd/8th century, it is evident that in this period the tradition already circulated that the Ark of the Covenant had rested on the Rock, and that when God became angry with the Children of Israel, He took it from there.¹⁸⁰

* * * * *

There is some difficulty in ascertaining the exact location of the Gate of *Sakīna*. As already noted, Ibn al-Faḡīh (end of the 9th century) mentions the [Place] of the *Sakīna* in Jerusalem. At the beginning of the 10th century, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi refers to the Gate of *Sakīna*. If his description of the gates of the Ḥaram is sequential, then accordingly this gate was located on the western wall of the Ḥaram. Though al-Muqaddasī mentions the Gate of the Presence in the mid-10th century, he gives no clue as to its location. As far back as 1047 Nāṣir-i Khusraw described the Gate of the Presence, but independently from his description of the other gates on the Ḥaram. Thus it is difficult to locate it according to his description. Ibn al-Murajjā (beginning of the 11th century) also mentions this gate, but without giving its topographic location. In another place, he mentions the return of the Ark of the Divine Presence to Jerusalem.¹⁸¹

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Van Berchem relies on the descriptions of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ibn al-Murajjā, but does not locate the gate in the pre-Crusader Muslim period. Several scholars held the view that the Gate of the Presence during the early Muslim period should be located in the western wall of the Ḥaram.¹⁸² They relied on the identification given by al-Suyūṭī and Mujīr al-Dīn towards the end of the 15th century, placing this gate in close proximity to the Gate of the Chain on the western wall of the Ḥaram.¹⁸³ The last piece of evidence before

¹⁸⁰ Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *‘Uyūn al-Athar*, vol. I, Cairo, 1356 H., p. 237, from al-Zuhri (d. 124/742); and thus the tradition is connected with the existence of the Ark of the Covenant in Lake Tiberias, whither it was taken and from whence it will be brought out by al-Mahdi.

¹⁸¹ See below, n. 173.

¹⁸² Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 188, following Wilson in *PPTS*, vol. IV, pp. 67–71; see also Gil, “Jerusalem,” who locates this gate at the western wall of the Ḥaram.

¹⁸³ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, fol. 29b [*JRAS*, vol. XIX, p. 268]; Mujīr, vol. I (Amman

the Crusader conquest was that of Ibn al-‘Arabī, who resided in Jerusalem in the mid-nineties of the 11th century.¹⁸⁴ He mentions a place known as *al-Sakīna* on the Ḥaram, but does not say exactly where it was located. Thus, there is little evidence to substantiate the view that the gate was located in the western wall of the Ḥaram during the early Muslim period. The identification presented by al-Suyūṭī and Mujīr at the end of the 15th century (namely, that this gate was close to the Gate of the Chain) leaves a gap of several hundred years. It is quite possible that Ibn al-Murajjā’s description of the Muslims’ pilgrim itinerary on the Ḥaram can be seen as evidence that at least in his time the Gate of the Presence was identified with a gate in the western wall of the Ḥaram.¹⁸⁵

7. The Gate of Remission (*Bāb Ḥiṭṭa*)

This gate was already built in the Ḥaram wall in a very early period—possibly in connection to what is said in the *Qur’ān* to the Children of Israel: “Enter ye the gate with prostrations, and say Ḥiṭṭa [Remission] and We will pardon you your sins, and give an increase to the doers of good.”¹⁸⁶

The commentators of the *Qur’ān* and the early transmitters from the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries interpreted this verse as referring to Jerusalem, and that the gate mentioned here is one of the gates of Jerusalem.¹⁸⁷ A few commentators were of the opinion that the gate referred to in the verse of the *Qur’ān* was in Jericho.¹⁸⁸ Ibn al-Murajjā transmits a relevant tradition whose *isnād* is composed of Jerusalem transmitters, all from one family, that of ‘Ali b. Salāma

ed.), p. 383; vol. II, p. 31; both al-Suyūṭī and Mujīr are quoted by Le Strange, *loc. cit.*; regarding the Gate of the Chain (Bāb al-Silsila) during the Mamlūk period, see Little, *Catalogue* (Index).

¹⁸⁴ Ibn al-‘Arabī set out on his journey in April 1092, and stayed in Jerusalem for three years (approx. 1093–1096). On him, see the introduction by the editor to Ibn al-‘Arabī’s, *al-‘Awāṣim min al-Qawāṣim fi-Taḥqīq Mawāqif al-Ṣaḥāba ba‘da Wafāt al-Nabī*, Cairo, 1375 H., pp. 10–31; see also Ihsān ‘Abbās, “al-Jānib al-Siyāsiyy min Riḥlat ibn al-‘Arabī ilā ‘l-Mashriq”, *al-Abḥāth*, vol. XVI (1963), pp. 217–236; these references were given to me by Dr. J. Frankel, whom I sincerely thank; see also *El²*, “Ibn al-‘Arabī” (J. Robson), s.v.; but especially, Drory, *Ibn al-‘Arabī*, pp. 11–91; on the place called al-Sakīna on the Ḥaram, see Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Riḥla*, p. 80; Drory, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 137, n. 13.

¹⁸⁵ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 30a [= Livne, no. 67].

¹⁸⁶ *Qur’ān*, II, v. 58.

¹⁸⁷ See the extensive bibliography collected by Gil on this topic, “Jerusalem,” pp. 26–29; *idem.*, “The Quarters,” p. 268; see also Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fols. 11b–12a; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 51a [= Livne, nos. 171, 172]; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 297–298.

¹⁸⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. I, Cairo, 1954, p. 299, according to Ibn Zayd; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. I, p. 98.

from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām, who lived at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. There it is said that "the gate known as Bāb Ḥiṭṭa is that gate which was in Jericho when it was destroyed, and the gate was transferred to the Mosque [in Jerusalem]."¹⁸⁹ This part of the tradition is also summarized by Gil.¹⁹⁰ In this tradition there are other important and interesting historical and topographical details transmitted which are not relevant here. Despite some textual problems, it testifies to the existence of the gate in the Ḥaram wall in the beginning of the 8th century.

Commentators on the *Qur'ān* had difficulty understanding the word *ḥiṭṭa*. They usually interpreted it as supplication for atonement, which the Children of Israel pleaded for a sin that they committed. They often described how the Children of Israel were ordered to enter this gate crawling and stooping as they asked for pardon and forgiveness. Gil is of the opinion that the Gate of the Priest (Sha'ar ha-Kohen) is identical or close to the Muslim Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, and that it was located in the Arabic period in the southern part of the western Ḥaram Wall.¹⁹¹ He also tries to connect the Ḥulda Gates with Bāb Ḥiṭṭa,¹⁹² and concludes that, "In light of the above, it seems that the nucleus of the tradition in the *Qur'ān* and the *ḥadīth* concerning *ḥiṭṭa* is indeed Judaic and was concerned with the Ḥulda Gates, but nothing of all this has been preserved in the sources."¹⁹³

Rivlin thinks that the verses of the *Qur'ān* dealing with the entry of the Children of Israel in the gate, bent over and seeking pardon, are tied to the ritual of the Children of Israel in the Temple in Jerusalem. The picture, as presented here,

is related to the *Yom Kippur* ritual, 'Āshūrā' and its order of worship, as Muḥammad knew them from the prayers of the Jews on *Yom Kippur*, prayers in which the Temple ceremonies are described in detail, as a remembrance of the Temple, as it is stated in the *Yoma* tractate in the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* and various liturgical poems.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 23b; Mujir, vol. II, p. 381 (without the *isnād*); Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 186, quotes it according to al-Suyūṭī (*JRAS*, vol. XIX, p. 267), and Mujir, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹⁰ Gil, "The Quarters," p. 270, n. 37; *idem.*, *Palestine*, pp. 645–646, no. 843 [= vol. I, p. 527]; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

¹⁹¹ Gil, "Jerusalem," p. 29; *idem.*, "The Quarters," p. 268.

¹⁹² Gil, "Jerusalem," p. 28, n. 35; *idem.*, "The Quarters," pp. 268–269, n. 34: for two reasons: 1) etymological similarity: *h.l.d.* in Syriac means to crawl, slither; 2) phonetic similarity between *Ḥulda* and *Ḥiṭṭa* and a Greek expression which means, "Please forgive, please have mercy"; see further his detailed discussion in, *Palestine*, pp. 643–647, nos. 842–844 [= vol. I, pp. 524–528].

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Rivlin, "Qibla and 'Āshūrā'," pp. 38–39.

Rivlin feels that these verses (in the *Qurʾān*) refer to the pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem.¹⁹⁵ The act of coming to the city and eating there is borrowed from the pilgrimage and also from what Muḥammad knew from Mecca.¹⁹⁶ Rivlin also understands the word *ḥiṭṭat* in the context of *Yom Kippur*.¹⁹⁷

Mujir al-Dīn notes that in his day (end of the 15th century) Bāb Ḥiṭṭa was located in the northern wall of the Ḥaram,¹⁹⁸ apparently in the same place as today. But from descriptions of geographers from the 10th century it may be inferred that in the pre-Crusader period this gate was in the southern part of the western wall of the Ḥaram.¹⁹⁹

These descriptions, and particularly that of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, constituted the primary evidence leading Wilson and Le Strange to identify this gate as Barclay's Gate, located below the Gate of the Maghribis of today.²⁰⁰ Van Berchem accepted the claims of Wilson and Le Strange that the current Bāb Ḥiṭṭa received its name after the Crusader conquest, but he casts doubt upon their theory that in the pre-Crusader period that gate was in the western wall of the Ḥaram, and was the Gate named after Barclay. He does not locate this gate unequivocally, but tends to believe it was in the northern wall of the Ḥaram.²⁰¹ Gil accepts the assumption that this gate was in the southern part of the western wall of the Ḥaram.²⁰²

Ibn al-ʿArabī's testimonies lead, however, to the conclusion that Bāb Ḥiṭṭa can be located in a different place. At one point he states: "I prayed the evening prayer on one of the nights in Jerusalem between Bāb al-Akhḍar [the Green Gate!?] and Bāb Ḥiṭṭa and with us was our Shaykh."²⁰³ Bāb al-Akhḍar is not mentioned in any of

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46: "It seems that here Muḥammad uses the Hebrew word *ḥaṭāt*. . . . This word is repeated often in the reading of the *Torah* in the *Yom Kippur* morning service."

¹⁹⁸ Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), pp. 29–30. Regarding Bāb Ḥiṭṭa during the Mamlūk period, see Little, *Catalogue* (Index).

¹⁹⁹ Ibn al-Faqih, p. 101, *Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 264; al-Muqaddasi, p. 170; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 179–181. In the texts one can distinguish a continuous and orderly description of the gates of the Ḥaram. It seems that this is how Wilson and Le Strange understood it. Also from the description given by Ibn al-Murajjā one can understand that Bāb Ḥiṭṭa is at the edge of the western wall, from which the pilgrim turns to al-Aqṣā Mosque itself (see Chap. Two, p. 71.)

²⁰⁰ Wilson, *PPTS*, vol. IV, pp. 67–71, Appendix; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

²⁰¹ Van Berchem (*Ḥaram*), p. 104, n. 3; *ibid.*, pp. 199–203.

²⁰² Gil, "Jerusalem," p. 29, n. 37; *idem.*, "The Quarters," p. 270.

²⁰³ Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, vol. III, Cairo, 1377/1958, p. 1297 (Beirut ed., 1972, p. 1309), quoted by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *al-Abḥāth*, vol. XXI (1968), p. 66, and Drory, *Ibn al-ʿArabī*, p. 104, no. XVIII.

the other Muslim sources. It might be a mistaken transmission of Bāb al-Khiḍr. Bāb al-Khiḍr is mentioned only once by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in describing the gates of the Ḥaram. From an analysis of the order of the gates he lists it appears to be a western gate. It is located before Bāb al-Sakīna, which is also located on the western wall herein.²⁰⁴ It should be noted, however, that the name al-Khiḍr is connected with a number of places in different areas. Thus we hear of his dwelling place (Maskan al-Khiḍr), his place of prayer (Muṣallā al-Khiḍr), Mihrāb al-Khiḍr, and his place (Mawḍi' al-Khiḍr).²⁰⁵ This testimony may reinforce the accepted location of the gate at the southern corner of the western wall of the Ḥaram. However, from another testimony by Ibn al-'Arabī it is unequivocally understood that Bāb Ḥiṭṭa was positioned at the southern wall of the Ḥaram: "[Bāb Ḥiṭṭa is] the eighth [!] gate of the Mosque [i.e. the Ḥaram]. It is located on the southern side, very well known and remembered. I entered the gate in the year [4]86 [= 1093], prostrated myself and became humble and submissive." (*Huwa bāb al-Masjid al-thāmin wa-huwa min jihat al-qibla, ma'lūm madhkūr. Dakhaltuhu sanat sitt wa-thamānīn wa-sajadtu wa-khaḍa'tu*).²⁰⁶

8. Mihrāb Zechariah (Zakariyyā')

Zakariyyā', the father of John the Baptist (Yaḥyā), is mentioned in four *sūras* in the *Qur'ān*.²⁰⁷ Twice he is mentioned in the context of *mihrāb* (*Qur'ān*, III, vv. 37–39):

37) "To the care of Zakariyyā' was she assigned, every time that he had entered (her) chamber (*mihrāb*) to see her, he found her supplied with sustenance . . . 38) There (*hunālīka*) did Zakariyya'

²⁰⁴ *Iqd*, vol. VI, p. 265; Drory, *op. cit.*, p. 147, n. 93.

²⁰⁵ *Maskan al-Khiḍr*: al-Wāsiṭi, p. 91, no. 48, and the parallels of the editor therein; see also Khalīl b. Shāhin, *Zubda*, p. 23; between Bāb al-Raḥma and Bāb al-Asbāt!; *Muṣallā al-Khiḍr*: Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101; *Iqd*, *loc. cit.*; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Ibn al-Faqīh relates that it is in the centre of the Ḥaram, before the Dome of the Chain; *Mihrāb al-Khiḍr*: al-Muqaddasī, p. 170; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 165; on the Ḥaram, location not specified; *Mawḍi' al-Khiḍr*: Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 53a [= Livne, no. 182] notes that Mawḍi' al-Khiḍr is under the western set of stairs of the Ḥaram (al-Maqām al-Gharbi). The translation herein of al-Maqām al-Gharbi as the western set of stairs is based upon the description of Nāṣir-i Khusraw of the glorious set of stairs which led to the surface upon which the Dome of the Rock was located. He uses the expressions "Maqām Shāmi" and "Maqām Sharqī" (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 32 [Arabic], p. 51 [English]; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 159; see also Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 64b [= Livne no. 249]: the southern set of stairs is called "al-Maqām al-Qibli" as early as 952.

²⁰⁶ Ibn al-'Arabī, *'Arīdat al-Aḥwadī Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*, vol. XI, Cairo, 1353/1934, p. 78 (quoted by Drory, *Ibn al-'Arabī*, p. 107, no. XXIV); cf. his conclusions regarding the location of the gate, *ibid.*, p. 147, n. 93.

²⁰⁷ *Qur'ān*, III (*Āl-'Imrān*), vv. 37–38; VI (*al-An'ām*), v. 85; XIX (*Maryam*), vv. 2–12; XXI (*al-Anbiyā'*), v. 89.

pray to his Lord, saying: O my Lord, grant unto me from Thee a progeny that is pure, for Thou Art He that heareth prayer. 39) While he was standing in prayer in the chamber (*miḥrāb*), the angels called unto Him: God doth give thee glad tidings of Yaḥyā witnessing the truth of a Word from God.

The *miḥrāb* mentioned in verses 37–38 is the Miḥrāb of Maryam, the place where she stayed, and it also seems from verse 38 [in my interpretation of the word *hunālika*, as: there] that Zakariyyā' prayed to his God there, and the angels called him. Muqātil b. Sulaymān, the early commentator of the *Qur'ān* (d. 150/767–8), distinguishes between the Miḥrāb of Maryam (verses 37–38) which he describes as a room, a closed cell in the centre of which was a door, that was impossible to reach without a ladder,²⁰⁸ and the *Miḥrāb* in which Zakariyyā' prayed (verse 39), which he identifies not as the Miḥrāb of Maryam, but rather as a place in the mosque (that is, the Ḥaram), in which sacrifices were offered.²⁰⁹ Ṭabarī interprets the *miḥrāb* to mean the forward and most important and valued area in any place in which people gather and any place of prayer. Here, Ṭabarī sees the *miḥrāb* (both that of Maryam and of Zakariyyā') as the anterior part of the mosque (*muqaddam al-Masjid*).²¹⁰ Ibn Kathīr,²¹¹ and al-Suyūṭī²¹² make no comments about the Miḥrāb of Maryam. With regard to the Miḥrāb of Zakariyyā' (*Qur'ān*, III, v. 39), al-Suyūṭī says: It is a place of prayer (*al-muṣallā*), and Ibn Kathīr comments: "He [that is, Zakariyyā'] prays in the *miḥrāb* of his worship [of God] and the place of his solitude and the place of his intimate conversations *munājāt*), his invocations to God and his prayers."

Neither of these commentators identify the Miḥrāb of Maryam (verses 37–38) with the *miḥrāb* in which Zakariyyā' prayed, for they interpret the word *hunālika*, which is translated as 'there', that is, a description of a place (meaning that Zakariyyā' prayed to his Master from there, from the *miḥrāb*), as a description of *time*—that is, while he was witnessing the miracle taking place.²¹³

²⁰⁸ Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 52b (*Qur'ān*, III, vv. 36–37); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (Beirut ed.), vol. I, p. 299.

²⁰⁹ Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 53a: *fa-bayna huwa yuṣallī fī 'l-miḥrāb ḥaythu yudhbahu 'l-qurbān*; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 50b; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*: *fa-baynamā huwa yuṣallī fī 'l-madhbah alladhī lahum* ("And at the time that he was praying at their altar").

²¹⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. III, pp. 246–250; but cf. *ibid.*, where he interprets the Miḥrāb in which Maryam was placed as Zakariyyā's house or an ordinary house (p. 245).

²¹¹ Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. I, pp. 360–361.

²¹² *Al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. III, p. 19.

²¹³ Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 247–248; Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

The authors of the "Stories of the Prophets" (*Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*), some of which are quite early and can often be seen as a popular commentary on the *Qur'ān*, also distinguish in their traditions between the Mihrāb of Maryam, described by Al-Tha'labī (d. 1033) as an upper room (*ghurfa*),²¹⁴—or, as a (closed) building with a door by Abū 'l-Rifā'a (d. 902,²¹⁵—and the place where Zakariyyā' prayed, which they described as a place of prayer in a mosque.²¹⁶ In *Qur'ān*, XIX (Maryam), v. 11, the Mihrāb of Zakariyyā' is also mentioned, this time independently, with no connection to the Mihrāb of Maryam. And, indeed, Muqātil interprets "there" to mean that the *mihrāb* from which Zakariyyā' came out to his people to announce the birth of his son was the mosque,²¹⁷ while Ṭabarī describes it as: the place of his prayer.²¹⁸

Both the Mihrāb of Maryam and that of Zakariyyā' were, according to Islamic tradition, on the Ḥaram²¹⁹; the Mihrāb of Maryam was interpreted as a room, an upper cell; and the Mihrāb of Zakariyyā' was interpreted as a place of prayer in (the forward portion of) the mosque, or beside the altar. These two interpretations represent only a few of the different ones existing for the word *mihrāb*.²²⁰

²¹⁴ Al-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, p. 244.

²¹⁵ Abū Rifā'a, *Bad' al-Khalq*, p. 304; the same interpretation as in al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, vol. III, p. 191, who reports that Zakariyyā' built Maryam a chamber for prayer and seclusion in the mosque, to which he moved her . . . ; see also Mujir, vol. I, p. 160: the *mihrāb* is interpreted as a *ghurfa*—that is, a closed (upper) room.

²¹⁶ Al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, p. 245: '*inda-al-madhbah*, near the altar. This combination of *mihrāb* and altar is also found, parallel to these *Qur'ān* verses, in Luke I, 11; "And there appeared to him an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense"; previously noted is Muqātil's interpretation (note 208) in which he makes a connection between the *mihrāb* and the altar, and this fits in with the standard view about the Christian source of the *mihrāb*, the alcove, the "apsis" of the church behind the altar. On this see *El'*, "Masjdīd" (J. Pedersen), s.v. Concerning the disagreement among scholars in the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries, see Kister, "Concessions and Conduct," p. 107 and the comprehensive bibliography therein, nn. 160–162.

²¹⁷ Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 231a: *fa-kharaja ilā qawmihi min al-Mihrāb, ya'nī al-Masjid*.

²¹⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI, 1373/1954, p. 53 (*Qur'ān*, XIX, v. 11).

²¹⁹ *Al-Durr al-Manthūr*, loc. cit. But see *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 259: Zakariyyā' was one of the prophets who used to write *al-wahy* in the Temple (*fi Bayt al-Maqdis*); an identical tradition, Abū Rifā'a, *op. cit.*, p. 299. *Wahy* is the term for a revelation of verses of the *Qur'ān* to the Prophet. It could be that this word should be understood in accordance with the description of al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, vol. III, p. 116: "Zakariyyā' was the head, who would offer the sacrifice and write the *Tōrah*: (*wa-kāna Zakariyyā' al-Ra's alladhī yuqarrīb al-qurbān wa-yaktub al-Tawrāt*). Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 52b (*Qur'ān*, III, vv. 36–37); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (Beirut ed.), vol. I, p. 299.

²²⁰ Among the interpretations: 1) the upper portion of a tent, house or room; the upper portion of a house, to which one ascends on steps; 2) an (upper) room

9. *Zakariyyā' in Islam*

Zechariah the prophet is mentioned twice in the Bible as Zechariah, the son of Berechija, the son of 'Ido,²²¹ and three times as Zechariah, the son of 'Ido.²²² The Zechariah known in Islam is Zakariyyā', the father of John the Baptist. His name, however, indicates that the transmitters of the Islamic traditions confused him with Zechariah the prophet. Two main versions of his name are found: Zakariyyā' b. Brakhyā,²²³ and Zakariyyā' b. Adā [= 'Ido?], with some variations.²²⁴

The early Islamic historians and transmitters relate that he was a carpenter.²²⁵ Early commentators, however, are in agreement that Zakariyyā' was a High Priest, or one of the priests who served in the Temple (al-Masjid).²²⁶ He married Ishbā' [Elisheva'], the sister

called a *ghurfa*; a private seclusion cell; a private room, to which one ascends on stairs; a king's closet, or private chamber, into which he retires alone; 3) the most honoured seat; a place in which kings and nobility sit; 4) a place of gathering; 5) a prayer alcove; and alcove in which statues of Holy Christian figures are placed; 6) a Mosque or a place of worship of God; a place of gathering for worship of God; 7) the highest part of a mosque; 8) the *qibla* (direction of prayer in the mosque towards Mecca). See the following interpretations: Lane's *Arabic English Lexicon*, vol. I/2, *h.r.b.*, *s.v.*; on the historical and architectural development of *mihṛāb* see *El'* "Mihṛāb" (E. Diez), *s.v.*; *El'*, "Masjdīd" (J. Pedersen), *s.v.*; Kister, *loc. cit.*; E. Whelam, "The Origins of the *Mihṛāb Mujawwaf*, a Reinterpretation," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, XVIII (1986), pp. 205–223.

²²¹ *Zechariah*, ch. I, v. 1, 7.

²²² *Ezra*, ch. V, v. 1; VI, v. 14; *Nehemiah*, XII, v. 16.

²²³ Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 711; al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 68: Zakariyyā' b. Brakhyā b. Shawā b. [] ḥrā'il b. Sahlūn b. Arsū b. Shawil b. [] b. Mūsā b. 'Imrān; see also Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, vol. I (Beirut, 1385/1965), p. 298.

²²⁴ Al-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, p. 720: according to Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767): Zakariyyā' b. Adā b. Muslim b. Šdūq b. Naḥshān b. Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Muslim b. Šadiqa b. Brakhyā b. Shfātiya b. Fākhūr b. Shalūm b. Yhfāshāt b. Asa b. Abiya b. Rḥab'am b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd; as noted, there are a number of variations of this name: Adā [= 'Ido]: 1) Āzin: al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, vol. III, p. 116; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (Beirut ed.), p. 24; 2) Adq: Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. I, p. 69 [= I, 120]; 3) Rāz: Abū Rifā'a, *op. cit.*, p. 299; 4) al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, p. 243: Zakariyyā' b. Yuḥannā b. Adn b. Muslim b. Šdūq b. Yaḥsān b. Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Muslim b. Šdqiyā b. Nākhūr b. Slūm b. Shfasāt b. Abiyā b. Ḥi'm b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd.

²²⁵ Ibn Qutayba, *loc. cit.*; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *loc. cit.*; Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ*, p. 295; Mujir, vol. I (Amman ed.), p. 158; Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 70 (Pellat, the editor of *Murūj al-Dhahab*, assumed that there was a mistake in the text and that surely Joseph the carpenter was intended, but he was mistaken. Both Joseph and Zechariah were carpenters according to the Islamic tradition).

²²⁶ Muqātil, *op. cit.*, fol. 50b (*al-Hibr al-Kabir*); Abū Rifā'a, *op. cit.*, p. 303 (*Ra's al-Aḥbār*); *idem.*, p. 299; al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, p. 244; al-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 243: one of the *Aḥbār* or *al-'Ubbād* who served in the Mosque.

of Maryam [the mother of Jesus],²²⁷ or, according to others, Maryam's aunt from her mother's side.²²⁸

The *Book of Kings* II, XXIV, v. 23, relates that Zechariah ben Yehoyada, the priest, was killed by order of Yoash, the king of Judea, in the court of the Temple. In *Matthew*, XXIII, v. 35, it is written: "In order that all innocent blood poured upon the Earth shall come upon you, from the blood of Abel the righteous, with blood of Zechariah ben Brachiah whom you murdered between the Temple and the altar." Here Zechariah ben Yehoyada the priest was switched with Zechariah ben Brachiah the prophet, who was killed, according to what is said in the *New Testament*, "between the Temple and the altar."²²⁹ This confusion between Zechariah the priest and Zechariah the prophet can also be found in early Jewish *Midrashim*,²³⁰ and among early Christian writers.²³¹ Detailed version of Zechariah's death can be found in both the Jerusalem and Babylonian *Talmuds*, and in very early *Midrashim*, which predated the Jerusalem *Talmud*. But for the most part these sources describe the murder of Zechariah ben Yehoyada, the priest, on the order of Yoash, king of Judea, in the priestly section of the Temple courtyard.²³² The *Talmud* is in agreement with the *New Testament*, also declaring that Zechariah was murdered with the help of the priests who were in the Temple.²³³

Early Christians, writing within the first few hundred years after the onset of Christianity, replaced Zechariah ben Brachiah (mentioned

²²⁷ Al-Mas'ūdi, *loc. cit.*; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *loc. cit.*

²²⁸ Al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, I, pp. 711–713; Mujir, vol. I, p. 158; Ibn al-Athir, *loc. cit.*; the name of his wife: Ishā' and the two family relations are presented together.

²²⁹ In *Luke*, XI, v. 51 there is again mention of the murder of Zechariah who was killed between the Temple and the altar, but his father's name is not mentioned.

²³⁰ Blank, "The Death of Zechariah," p. 331.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

²³² Ginzberg, *Legends*, vol. IV, pp. 258–259, esp. n. 15; *ibid.*, p. 304, esp. n. 30; and see also *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. XVI, "Zechariah," s.v.; Blank, *op. cit.*, p. 340; *Babylonian Talmud*, *Gittin*, 67b: a long tradition about Zechariah's death and the slaughter of Nevuzaradan is handed down by R. Hiyya Bar-Avin (third century), the *tanna*, from R. Joshua Ben Korha: "An old man from the people of Jerusalem told me"; R. Joshua lived approximately between 130 and 160 A.D., Blank, *op. cit.*, therefore assumes that the tradition was widespread in the second century; this reference is also mentioned by Ginzberg, *loc. cit.* (on R. Joshua Ben Korha see also Becher, *Legends of the Tanaim*, vol. II, part 2, Tel Aviv, 1928, p. 31); also in the *Yerushalmi*, *Ta'anit*, 69a, says Blank, there is a tradition testifying that an *amora*, R. Yohanan, who lived in the 3rd century, heard this legend and handed it down without referring to its sources; concerning the Jewish *midrashim* and their early sources, see the analysis of Blank, *op. cit.*, p. 340, n. 25.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 345; *ibid.*, p. 337, n. 16: early Christian sources.

in *Matthew*, XXIII, v. 35), as the person murdered on the Haram²³⁴ by Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist. The latter identification does not exist in Jewish sources, but is present in a manner in the Islamic traditions. As already emphasized above, the Zechariah known in the Islamic tradition is Zakariyyā', the father of John—but he is called Zakariyyā' b. Brakhyā [= Brachiah] or 'Idā [= 'Ido]. Many scholars have noted the great similarity between the description of Zakariyyā', father of John the Baptist, in the *Qur'ān*, and what is told of him in the Christian traditions, particularly in *Luke*, I, vv. 1–25.²³⁵ Even though the Islamic traditions identify Zechariah ben Brachiah the prophet with Zechariah, the father of John, they still adopt large parts of Jewish traditions from the *Midrash* and *Talmud* concerning the death of Zechariah ben Yehoyada the priest, and the punishment campaign of Nevuzradan, Nebuchadnezzar's general. But in adopting these Jewish traditions, the Islamic traditions underwent a significant change. The tradition concerning the death of Zechariah in Islam ended up as a one describing the death of Yaḥyā, who is John the Baptist. God's punishment of the Children of Israel was caused by the murder of John the Baptist, not his father, Zechariah!

Thus, for instance, Ṭabarī relates a number of traditions from early historians and commentators of the *Qur'ān*, such as Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 652), Ibn al-'Abbās (d. 686), al-Suddī, (d. 745) and Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 823), about how Yaḥyā (John and Baptist) was murdered, and how drops of his blood were boiled and were not absorbed into the Earth until Nebuchadnezzar's arrival in Jerusalem. When the people of Jerusalem try in vain to lead Nebuchadnezzar astray; hiding from him the truth about this blood, Nebuchadnezzar kills 70,000 people.²³⁶ The Islamic writers were faced with a problem, for John the

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 334, n. 13; Prawer, "The Jewish Quarter," p. 144; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 178.

²³⁵ *El*¹, "Zakariyyā'" (B. Heller), *s.v.*; *El*¹, "Maryam" (A.J. Wensinck), *s.v.*; Wensinck, *loc. cit.*, translates the *mihrāb* of Maryam as a "chamber" and refers to its Christian parallel, the early apocryphal work *Protoevangelium Jacobi*, VI, *Syr text*, p. 5 ff.; he also comments that the miracle of the food, experienced by Maryam, and which is described in the *Qur'ān* (see above p. 93), is taken from the Christian source quoted above, p. 7; and see also *El*², "'Isā" (G.C. Antawi); pp. 81–82; *ibid.*, p. 86 a comprehensive bibliography on that part of Christian theology which deals with the question of Jesus and how he is reflected in the *Qur'ān* (*Qur'ān* Christology); see also D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmans dans le Coran et dans les vies des Prophètes*, Paris, 1933, pp. 135–138; Ch. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, N.Y., 1933, p. 58; D. Mason, *Le Coran et la révélation judéo chrétienne, études comparées*, vols. I–II, Paris, 1958, pp. 316–318 (about Zechariah), p. 319 ff. (about Maryam).

²³⁶ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, pp. 711–718.

Baptist lived in the period of the Second Temple and not in that of the First Temple, the time of the siege of Nebuchadnezzar. And indeed Ṭabarī comments that, "it is a mistake on the part of those in the fields of the various Islamic sciences, who attribute the murder of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' to the period of Nebuchadnezzar, for everyone agrees that Nebuchadnezzar attacked the Children of Israel at the time that they killed their prophet Sha'yā in the period of Irmīyā b. Ḥilqiyā. And between the period of Irmīyā and the destruction caused by Nebuchadnezzar, until the birth of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā', is 461 years."²³⁷ A different tradition comes from Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767), according to which Khurdūs, one of the kings of Babylon, arrives in the vicinity of Jerusalem with one of his generals by the name of Nebuzaradhān, besieges it "and stood in the valley,²³⁸ where [the Children of Israel] used to offer their sacrifices, and he found there boiling blood." When the Children of Israel refuse to tell whose blood it is, he kills many thousands until they tell him it is the blood of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā'.²³⁹ The Islamic traditions do not specify the place in which Yaḥyā was murdered. They usually explain that Yaḥyā was murdered by order of king Khurdūs (or Khurdūsh), because he wanted to marry his wife's daughter (or his sister's daughter), and Yaḥyā, following the teachings preached by Jesus, forbade him to do so.²⁴⁰

Thus we see that while the early Christian tradition and the Jewish legends expand upon and describe the death of Zechariah and the punishment dealt the Children of Israel because of him, in Islam this tradition is transferred to Yaḥyā, John the Baptist.

The death of Zechariah (Zakariyyā') described in the Islamic traditions is of particular interest. According to one tradition, handed down by al-Tha'labī (from Ka'b), after the death of his son Yaḥyā, Zakariyyā' fled and hid in a garden near Jerusalem (*bustān 'inda Bayt al-Maqdis*), in which there were trees, and he hid inside one

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 718–719.

²³⁸ Compare *Babylonian Talmud, Gittin*, 57b: "Rabbi Hiyya Bar Avin said that Rabbi Joshua Ben Korha said: An old man from the people of Jerusalem told me: in this valley Nebuzaradan performed a mass slaughter, two hundred and eleven myriad people. . . ."

²³⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, I, pp. 719–723.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–303; Mujir, vol. I (Amman ed.), p. 159; Hurdus; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. I, p. 70 [= I, p. 121] tells three versions concerning the king and the general, who slaughtered the Children of Israel. Usually the sources tell that Nebuzaradan or Herod killed 70,000 of the Children of Israel: (al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*; al-Mas'ūdī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, p. 303); *Bavli, loc. cit.*: ninety-four myriad; *Yerushalmi Ta'anit* 69a: eighty thousand young priests were killed for the blood of Zechariah; compare also Ginzberg, *loc. cit.*

of the trees, with only the edges of his garments sticking out from the tree. Iblis [= the Devil] took hold of the edges of his garments, ripped them off and showed them to the king and revealed Zakariyyā's hiding-place. The tree was sawn down and Zakariyyā was killed. The bearer of the tradition then goes on to say that because of this act the Jews place strings on the edges of their upper garments—they themselves not knowing the real meaning of this commandment.²⁴¹ This tradition—concerning the death of Zakariyyā when he hid inside the tree, either because of his fear of the messengers of the king after his son died, or following the accusation against him that he was the father of the son of Maryam [the mother of Jesus]—is mentioned in many works.²⁴² Ṭabari records a tradition from the early commentators of the *Qur'ān* which relates that Zakariyyā's enemy, he who informed upon him, was the Devil himself, who disguised himself in the image of a shepherd and persuaded him to hide in the tree in such a way that the fringes of his coat stuck out a little—leading to his discovery and death. And the tradition adds “and you will not find a Jew without these fringes on his upper garment.”²⁴³

This Islamic tradition about the death of Zakariyyā, the father of John, is very similar to the Jewish legend about the cruel death of the Prophet Isaiah at the hands of Menashe, according to which Isaiah fled from the king's guards, was swallowed up by a cedar (or carob tree), and was sawn together with the tree.²⁴⁴ The legend (in the *Babylonian Talmud*) concerning Isaiah's death tells that they sawed the tree into boards, but they could not overcome him [Isaiah]; but when they reached his mouth, they injured him, since he said at the beginning of his prophecy: “And in the midst of a people of impure lips I sit.”²⁴⁵ But Ginzberg emphasizes that in three Palestinian sources there is no mention of what is said in the legend from the *Babylonian Talmud*, namely, that when they arrived at his mouth his soul departed, for he had stated: “In the midst of a people of impure lips I sit” (*Isaiah* VI, v. 5). According to the

²⁴¹ Al-Tha'labi, *Qiṣaṣ*, p. 249.

²⁴² See for example, Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 24; al-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, pp. 734–735; al-Mas'ūdi, *loc. cit.*; Mujir, *loc. cit.*

²⁴³ Al-Ṭabari, *loc. cit.* There are four different chains of transmission of this tradition: 1) al-suddi < Abū Mālik; 2) Abū Ṣāliḥ < Ibn 'Abbās; 3) Murra al-Hamadāni < Ibn Mas'ūd; 4) Companions of the Prophet.

²⁴⁴ I am very grateful to Menachem Kister for directing my attention to the Jewish legends concerning the death of Isaiah. For Jewish sources in the *Aggadah* and the *Talmud*, see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 278–279, esp. n. 103 (vol. VI), pp. 374–375.

²⁴⁵ Ginzberg, *loc. cit.*

Jerusalem Talmud, Isaiah's hiding-place was discovered by his pursuers because the fringes of his *talith* were not swallowed up with him, and they stuck out from the tree.²⁴⁶

It is perhaps important to note the fact that it is precisely the early Islamic tradition which particularly parallels the Palestinian tradition in the *Jerusalem Talmud*.

* * * * *

The death of Isaiah is already mentioned in the first part of the apocryphal book "*Isaiah's Ascent*", which tells the legendary story of the murder of the Prophet Isaiah at the hands of Menashe. Most scholars are of the opinion that the source of this part is early Jewish, primarily because the story is widespread in early Jewish sources, in the *Aggadah* and the *Talmud*.²⁴⁷

According to the tradition in the book, the Samaritan, the false prophet and Isaiah's opponent, revealed to Menashe where Isaiah and the rest of the prophets (Micha, Yoel and Habakuk) were hiding. This Samaritan was called Baal Chira or Baal Chura,²⁴⁸ and is the parallel to Iblis the Devil in the Islamic tradition, who informed on Zakariyyā' and revealed his hiding-place.

The question to be asked is: If the death of Zakariyyā' in the Islamic tradition parallels the death of Isaiah in the Jewish tradition, how is the death of Isaiah the Prophet described in the Islamic tradition?

The Islamic tradition, handed down by the commentators of the *Qur'ān* and early historians from the 2nd/8th century, describes Isaiah's death as it is described in the Palestinian *Aggadah*, according to which Isaiah hid inside a tree and the Devil showed the fringes of his garment to his pursuers, who sawed the tree and cut down Isaiah along with it.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ According to D. Flusser, the first part was composed by a Jew, who still lived in the days of the Temple. See his article in the *Hebrew Encyclopaedia* under "Isaiah—Ascension of"; and in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. IX ("Isaiah—Ascension of"); and his article "The Apocryphal Book of Ascensio Isaiae and the Dead Sea Sect," *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. III (1953), pp. 30–47.

²⁴⁸ Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, n. 103; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, "Isaiah, Martyrdom," (M.E. Stone), *s.v.*

²⁴⁹ See Hirschberg, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. IX, p. 67 quoting al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, I, pp. 644–645; al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Abū Rifā'a, *Bad' al-Khalq*, p. 249; the *isnād* in al-Ṭabarī, p. 644; Ibn Ḥumayd [= Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Ḥayyān, al-Rāzi, d. 248/868. On him, see Sezgin, vol. I, p. 242] > Salāma [b. al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī, d. 191/806, Sezgin, *loc. cit.*] > Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d. 150/767); al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 645; the tradition about Isaiah and his people

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As already mentioned, the early Christian tradition identifies Zechariah ben Brachian (mentioned in *Matthew* XXIII, vv. 34–35; and Luke I, v. 13), who was killed in the Temple, as Zechariah, the father of John.²⁵⁰ The Christian tradition claims that he was murdered in the south-east corner of the Ḥaram. Here Praver says that the Muslims even located Miḥrāb Zechariah “and since the place is tied to Zechariah it is also not surprising that they moved Jesus’s cradle here.”²⁵¹ Parenthetically, it must be remembered that in the Islamic tradition, the blood that was spilled was that of Yaḥyā, John the Baptist, and not that of his father Zakariyyā’. Islamic geographers could have been expected to locate Miḥrāb Zakariyyā’ in the southern section of the Ḥaram, but that is not the case. The Islamic geographers of the 10th century mention Miḥrāb Zakariyyā’ on the Ḥaram, but generally without noting the exact location.²⁵² Ibn al-Faqīh, the earliest of them, who wrote his book in 903 and whose traditions are certainly from the end of the 9th century (if not earlier), does mention it in his description of the gates of the Ḥaram: “And in it [the Ḥaram] were the following gates . . . and Bāb al-Wādī, Bāb al-Raḥma, Miḥrāb Zakariyyā’ and Abwāb al-Asbāt, and Maghārat Ibrāhīm [the Cave of Abraham].”²⁵³ Miḥrāb Zechariah is mentioned here between the Gate of Mercy (Bāb al-Raḥma) and the Gate of the Tribes (Bāb al-Asbāt). As an introductory methodological comment, it seems plausible that in his description Ibn al-Faqīh notes the gates of the Ḥaram in the order of their geographical location. Between the gates he mentions buildings and holy places. Thus in his description, Miḥrāb Maryam, Maghārat Ibrāhīm and Miḥrāb Ya’qūb are noted between the gates. Gil also apparently accepts this assumption and using it as a basis, organized a comparative table of the names of the gates of the Ḥaram in the early Islamic period.²⁵⁴ Accordingly, Ibn al-Faqīh locates Miḥrāb Zakariyyā’ in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram.²⁵⁵ Also, on the basis of the

and his death at their hands was also handed down by a chain of transmitters ending with Wabb b. al-Munabbih [d. 110/728, see on him Sezgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 305–307]; the tradition of Abū Rifā’a is transmitted from Sa’id b. Abi ‘Arūba [70/689–156/773, Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 91–92] > Qatāda [60/679–118/736, Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 31–32] > Ka’b al-Aḥbār (d. 62/681–682).

²⁵⁰ See below, pp. 121–122.

²⁵¹ Praver, “The Jewish Quarter,” p. 144.

²⁵² See for example, *Iqd.*, vol. VI, pp. 264–265; al-Muqaddasī, p. 170.

²⁵³ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101.

²⁵⁴ Gil, “Jerusalem,” pp. 26–27.

²⁵⁵ Van Berchem, vol. I, p. 447, mentions Ibn al-Faqīh, but thinks that it is impossible to learn from his words the exact place of Miḥrāb Zakariyyā’, though he tends to think that Ibn al-Faqīh meant to locate it in the south-east of the Ḥaram.

description presented by Ibn al-Murajjā (around the year 1000) of the circuit made by Muslim pilgrims on the Ḥaram, it may be understood that Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' is in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram.²⁵⁶

At about the same time (1047), Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes the northern Miḥrāb Zakariyyā': "And in the northern corner of the Ḥaram is a beautiful collonade with a big dome and an inscription saying, 'This is Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' the Prophet, peace be unto him.'" Le Strange is of the opinion that this *miḥrāb*, which Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions is located in the north-west [and not north-east] corner of the Ḥaram, and that it is identical to that which is described by Ibn al-Faqīh and Ibn al-Murajjā, which clearly seems to describe the *miḥrāb* in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram.²⁵⁷ Nāṣir-i Khusraw's description of the Temple gates is consistent. He begins at the Gate of the Chain (Bāb al-Silsila) in the western wall, moves to the northern wall, and when he completes his description of the northern wall, before turning east to describe the Gate of Mercy he mentions Miḥrāb Zakariyyā', which should therefore be found in the north-east corner of the Ḥaram.

Nonetheless, Nāṣir-i Khusraw also describes clearly that located in the south-east corner of the Ḥaram is the underground mosque called Masjid Mahd 'Īsā (i.e., the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus), to the east of which were Miḥrāb Maryam and the Miḥrāb of Zakariyyā' and on the *miḥrābs* were verses of prayer that "descended" in connection with them.²⁵⁸ (Miḥrāb Maryam and the Cradle of Jesus

²⁵⁶ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 30a [= Livne, No. 67]: "Afterwards [after Bāb al-Rahma] he will turn to Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' and he will pray in it . . . because it is in the wall of the mosque [= Ḥaram] also. After this he will turn to the rocks in the back part of the mosque next to Bāb al-Asbāt, and he will pray in the (holy) place called Solomon's Chair (Kursī Sulaymān)." Here, Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' is mentioned between the Gate of Mercy and Solomon's Chair, which is near the Gate of the Tribes. At first glance, it seems possible to claim that the pilgrim visits in the Gate of Mercy and then turns south towards Miḥrāb Zakariyyā', in the south-east corner of the Ḥaram. But this course makes no sense, since after Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' he must turn back and cross the entire Ḥaram, to its northern edge. The route which I described: Gate of Mercy > Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' > Chair of Solomon, in the north of the Ḥaram seems more logical. Afterwards, the pilgrim continues to Bāb al-Sakina, apparently found in the western wall of the Ḥaram.

²⁵⁷ Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 170, 177; *idem.*, *PPTS*, vol. IV, p. 32 translates "in the north-west angle of the Ḥaram area." The Persian text of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (Siyāqī's ed.) Teheran, 1335 H., p. 28 "In the northern corner of the Ḥaram" and thus likewise the translations to Arabic and the translation to French of Schefer, *op. cit.*, p. 75; see also Gil, "The Jewish Quarter," pp. 275–276, who is of Le Strange's opinion.

²⁵⁸ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 23–24 (Arabic); 33–34 (English); 78 (French); Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*

are discussed in detail below.) It seems that the tradition handed down by Ibn al-Murajjā around the middle of the 11th century also tells of the south-east Miḥrāb Zakariyyā'. In this tradition *mawlid* 'Īsā [the place of birth! of Jesus], [Miḥrāb] Maryam and Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' are described altogether in the description of the visitor's course on the Ḥaram.²⁵⁹

Van Berchem comments on the existence of Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' adjacent to the Cradle of Jesus and Miḥrāb Maryam. In addition to basing himself on Nāṣir-i Khusraw's testimony about this, Van Berchem believes that the Islamic geographers' mention (without location) of Miḥrāb Maryam and Zakariyyā' together, is also testimony to topographical proximity. Even though Van Berchem's wording here is not always precise, his claim seems to be correct.²⁶⁰

Ibn al-'Arabī describes (in the mid-90's of the 11th century) how he stayed in Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' on the Ḥaram during the month of Ramaḍān, and prayed special prayers (*tarāwīḥ*) together with the Imām (of Jerusalem?). One cannot learn from his description, however, where on the Ḥaram the Miḥrāb was.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 96a, Abū Muḥammad, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Hūlī? (or al-Khūzī, according to al-Suyūṭī, *Iḥaf*, fol. 10a) tells of a dream which he had in the year 355/966, in which he made a circuit on the Ḥaram: "Afterwards I asked [says the teller in his dream] about (the place) in which Jesus, peace be unto him, was born and I was told that whoever prays there will enter Paradise, and whoever enters there it is as though he had looked upon Jesus and Maryam. And the same applies to Miḥrāb Zakariyyā', peace be unto him. Afterwards I asked about the Gate of Mercy. . . ." That Jesus, Maryam and Zakariyyā' are mentioned here is apparently not a coincidence for, as known from the description of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047), in the south-east corner, in the mosque of the Cradle of Jesus, Miḥrāb Maryam and Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' are also found. I understand the expression *wakadhālika miḥrāb Zakariyyā'* (the same [applies to] Miḥrāb Zechariah), as relating to the verb *naẓara ilā* (looked at), although, according to the Arabic, it is possible to relate to Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' separately, with no connection to Jesus and Maryam; note the expression *mawlid 'Īsā* (place of birth of Jesus); there are early traditions according to which Jesus was born in Jerusalem. See, for example, Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 92b, quoting Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767–768).

²⁶⁰ Van Berchem, *loc. cit.*; *ibid.*, quoting Ibn al-Faqīh, al-Muqaddasī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, Qazwīnī, (*Āthār al-Bilād*, II, Gottingen, 1848, p. 108). From among all of these sources, only al-Muqaddasī and Qazwīnī mention the two *miḥrābs* one after the other. They certainly do not determine their explicit location. Moreover, it has been suggested that Ibn al-Faqīh in fact described a north-east Miḥrāb Zakariyyā'. In this context it is important to point out that Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, n. 5, mentions the two sections which Ibn al-Murajjā devotes to Miḥrāb Maryam and Miḥrāb Zakariyyā'. Their position together is, in his opinion, additional testimony to their topographical proximity.

²⁶¹ Ibn al-'Arabī, *Tafsīr*, vol. III, Cairo, 1387/1968, p. 1126: *wa-qaḍ shāhadtu al-Imām bi-Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' min al-Bayt al-Muqaddas, ṭahharahu llāh, yasjudu fī hādihā 'l-mawḍi' 'inda qirā'atihī fī tarāwīḥ Ramaḍān wasajadtū ma'ahu fihā*

In the 15th century Mihrāb Zakariyyā' is located in another place on the Ḥaram, inside al-Aqṣā Mosque, in the portico close to the eastern wall of the mosque, opposite the eastern gate. Al-Suyūṭī (approximately 1470) testifies to this, saying: "As for Mihrāb Zakariyyā', peace be unto him, most people think that it is inside the mosque, in the portico near the eastern gate."²⁶²

Van Berchem describes two inscriptions in al-Aqṣā Mosque, within its south-east corner. One is a (floral) *Kūfī* inscription, which he dates to the end of the Fāṭimid period or to the period of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (end of the 12th century). In the inscription, found on the outside lintels of the eastern gate of the al-Aqṣā Mosque, are parts of two verses from the *Qur'ān*, VI, vv. 85–86) which mention a number of prophets. But Zechariah, who is referred to at the beginning of verse 85, is not noted in this inscription. The second inscription is found along the length of a *mihrāb* in the centre of the eastern portico inside al-Aqṣā Mosque, opposite the eastern gate. The inscription comprises two separate parts: one, a heading, announcing that: "This is Mihrāb Zakariyyā'"; and the other, written in *Naskhī* (Mamlūk) style has verses from the *Qur'ān*, XIX (Maryam), vv. 1–5. Van Berchem thinks that the inscription is from the 15th century, and that the literary proofs are al-Suyūṭī's and Mujir al-Dīn's, testimonies of the existence of Mihrāb Zakariyyā' inside al-Aqṣā Mosque, which testify to the transfer of the tradition concerning Mihrāb Zakariyyā' to this place in the 15th century.²⁶³

As for the first inscription, as noted, Van Berchem supposes that it is most reasonable to date it to the period of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, that is, to the end of the 12th century.²⁶⁴

Since the name of Zakariyyā', which appears first in the order of the prophets in the two above-mentioned verses from the *Qur'ān*, does not appear in the first inscription [erased? faded? ever existed?], Van Berchem advances the hypothesis that those writing the inscription intended to give particular mention to Zechariah the Prophet by setting apart a specific place inside the al-Aqṣā Mosque as Mihrāb Zakariyyā'. If this hypothesis is correct, continues Van

wa-lam yarahū jamāhīr al-'ulamā'. Prof. M.J. Kister directed my attention to this reference, and I am deeply grateful to him for this; in a different work Ibn al-'Arabī relates how he looked for his teacher, who used to stay in a place called al-Ghuwayr, on the Ḥaram, which was located between the Gate of the Tribes (Bāb al-Asbāt) and Mihrāb Zakariyyā', see Drory, *op. cit.*, p. 95; see also *ibid.*, p. 104; and the exhaustive discussion, *ibid.*, p. 137.

²⁶² Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, vol. I, pp. 195–196 (translated by Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 111); Mujir, vol. II, p. 367.

²⁶³ Van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

²⁶⁴ See his historical, epigraphical and architectural explanations, *loc. cit.*

Berchem, it is possible that the tradition on the location of Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' was already transferred in the 12th century from the south-east corner, where it was located beside the Cradle of Jesus, to al-Aqṣā Mosque, perhaps by the Crusaders themselves.²⁶⁵ But Van Berchem himself admits that this conjecture is shaky, barely supported by the facts, and that the verse with the names of the prophets, which perhaps [!] also included Zakariyyā', does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that he was emphasized and singled out. Hence, all that is left are both the inscription and two testimonies—that of al-Suyūṭī and of Mujīr al-Dīn—concerning the location of Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' inside the portico, which leaned on the eastern wall of al-Aqṣā Mosque, opposite the main eastern gate.

* * * * *

Miḥrāb Zakariyyā' should not be confused with Zakariyyā''s grave. Following his visit to Palestine (1173) al-Harawī writes that “below the Dome of the Rock is the Cave of the Souls . . . and it is said that the grave of Zakariyyā', peace be unto him, is in this cave. And God is He who knows best.”²⁶⁶ But Zechariah's grave is commonly identified in the Valley of Qidron (at the foot of the Mount of Olives), at least in the Christian and Jewish traditions.²⁶⁷

Mujīr al-Dīn (end of the 15th century) quotes a manuscript of “one of the men of religion” who tells that “Yaḥyā and Zakariyyā', peace be unto them, are buried in Jerusalem, on the edge of the Mount of Olives, in the graves of the Prophets . . . and it is said [says Mujīr] that the graves of Yaḥyā and Zakariyyā' are in the village of Sabastīya, belonging to the Shechem district (*min arḍ Nābulus*) and it is said [that they are buried] in the big mosque of Damascus. And God is He who knows best.”²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 448; Prawer, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

²⁶⁶ Al-Harawī, p. 25 (English trans., Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 132); Busse, “Biblical Cult,” p. 138.

²⁶⁷ On the grave of Zechariah in the Jewish tradition, see M. Ish-Shalom, *Holy Tombs, A Study of Traditions Concerning Jewish Holy Tombs in Palestine*, Jerusalem, 1948, pp. 63–65 (in Hebrew). On Jewish and Christian sources, see Prawer, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–145; Gil, “Jerusalem,” p. 33; *idem.*, “The Jewish Quarters,” pp. 275–276; *idem.*, *Palestine*, pp. 439, note 8 [= vol. I, p. 362 and note 668, p. 363].

²⁶⁸ Mujīr, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 62.

C. HOLY PLACES OUTSIDE THE ḤARAM

1. *Miḥrāb of David (Dāwūd)*

Early in the 11th century Ibn al-Murajjā recommended to the Muslim pilgrim that he pray at Miḥrāb Dāwūd, which was situated at the city gate (*Miḥrāb Dāwūd 'alā bāb al-Balad*).²⁶⁹ Miḥrāb Dāwūd was identified as being located in Jerusalem in light of the *Qur'ān*, III, vv. 21–22):

Has the story of the two adversaries reached thee when they ascended over the wall into the upper chamber (*miḥrāb*), when they went in unto David and he was afraid of them. . . .

Various commentators on the *Qur'ān* note that these verses refer to the episode of David and Bathsheba. When David was in his Miḥrāb (the reference here being to a room high up) he saw a very beautiful dove (or bird) flying around the room. When he tried to catch it, it escaped through the Miḥrāb opening, through which he saw Bathsheba bathing.²⁷⁰ It seems likely that the episode described by the commentators took place in Jerusalem, but they do not bother to specify this. What interested them was the incident between David and Bathsheba, to which they devoted considerable attention in their discussions. This was the attitude, for example, of the early *Qur'ān* commentator, Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767–8), whose traditions can be ascribed to the beginning of the 8th century.²⁷¹ In his interpretation of these verses,²⁷² he describes how David saw Bathsheba from the Miḥrāb, but he does not state where the Miḥrāb was located. It was clear to him that the event took place in Jerusalem and that the Miḥrāb was in Jerusalem, as evident from his comment: “The angels climbed up to David, peace be upon him, in Jerusalem” (*wa-tasawwarat al-Malā'ika 'alā Dāwūd 'alayhi al-salām bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*).²⁷³

In the mid-11th century Ibn al-Murajjā described Miḥrāb Dāwūd at the city gate, referring to David's western gate and the city Citadel, where 10th century Muslim geographers placed the Miḥrāb.²⁷⁴ Later

²⁶⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 32a.

²⁷⁰ Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, p. 31; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, vol. VII, pp. 5610–5613; *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. V, pp. 300–302; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. I, pp. 157–158. See also al-Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ*, pp. 261–263; Abū Rifā'a, *Bad' al-Khalq*, pp. 104–105.

²⁷¹ Kister, “Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem,” p. 185.

²⁷² Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 110a.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*; see also Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 95; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 92a; both copy Muqātil's traditions.

²⁷⁴ Ibn al-Murajjā, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 101; al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 57; Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 171; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 128; Ibn al-'Arabi (the end of the 11th century),

Muslim geographers and travellers describe Miḥrāb Dāwūd at the top of Jerusalem's western fortress.²⁷⁵

The location of Miḥrāb Dāwūd in Jerusalem, however, goes back much further than the 10th century. First of all, it should be pointed out that ancient Christian tradition refers to David's Tower, in which David is said to have written the Book of Psalms and which was visited by Christian pilgrims in the Byzantine period.²⁷⁶ The commentary of Muqātil (at the beginning of the 8th century) already quoted locates the Miḥrāb in Jerusalem. The Miḥrāb is also mentioned in early Traditions of Praise disseminated at the end of the 1st/7th century and the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. Traditions of this type seek to glorify the Miḥrāb by bringing Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to pray at Miḥrāb Dāwūd. These traditions are among the ones which were circulated in the Umayyad period in efforts to raise the status of the city.

According to one such tradition, 'Umar came to Miḥrāb Dāwūd and prayed there, reciting *sūra Ṣād* which mentions Miḥrāb Dāwūd.²⁷⁷ In an addition to this tradition, it is also stated that when 'Umar reached the place during his recital of these verses where prostration was customary, he prostrated himself. In this way, by quoting the example of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as legal sanction for this custom of prostration, this tradition also supplies an answer to the theological debate in Islam as to whether prostration is permitted during the reading of the verses of the *sūra*.²⁷⁸

These early traditions do not explicitly locate Miḥrāb Dāwūd. The

Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, vol. IV, Beirut, 1972, p. 1598 (quoted by Ihsān 'Abbās, *Riḥlat Ibn al-'Arabī*, p. 66, and Drory, *Ibn al-'Arabī*, pp. 105–106); see also *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, *op. cit.*, p. 1631, in his commentary on *sūra Ṣād*, verse 22: a description of the Citadel from personal knowledge (quoted by Drory, *op. cit.*, p. 106); cf. al-Qurṭubī, vol. VII, p. 5614, quoting Ibn al-'Arabī; and see Ibn al-'Arabī, *Riḥla*, p. 81; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb," pp. 78–80 for Christian traditions connected with David's Tower.

²⁷⁵ Al-Idrisi, vol. IV, p. 358; al-Harawī, p. 27.

²⁷⁶ Busse, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–80.

²⁷⁷ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 66, no. 104 and the parallel sources therein.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48, no. 72; this tradition mentions that 'Umar entered the Miḥrāb, prayed in it, read *sūra Ṣād* and prostrated (*sajada*) himself in the right places; the Miḥrāb is mentioned (=Miḥrāb Dāwūd, see the editor's parallels therein); and see also Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 87a (a tradition with an *isnād*, ending with Sa'id b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 167/783–784) about Caliph 'Umar, who went to Jerusalem at the time of the conquest, prayed at Miḥrāb Dāwūd and prostrated himself during the recital of *sūra Ṣād*; see *al-Durr al-Mathūr*, vol. V, p. 305 for a discussion on whether prostration is permitted during the reading of this *sūra*; see also the discussion in Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, pp. 31–32; for another example of 'Umar's practice in the solution of legal problems, see Elad, "An Arabic Tradition," pp. 31–32; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, vol. I, p. 298.

question still remains as to how far back Miḥrāb Dāwūd was identified with the western citadel of Jerusalem. In fact, other early traditions do not identify Miḥrāb Dāwūd with the western Citadel of the city.

One of the traditions which sought to encourage Muslim pilgrims to pray at the Holy Places in Jerusalem actually stated that, "he who comes to Jerusalem should go to the eastern (*al-sharqiyy*) Miḥrāb Dāwūd to pray there and then bathe in the Spring of Silwān ('Ayn Silwān), which is one (of the springs) of the Garden of Eden."²⁷⁹

Parallel sources to this tradition have different versions of the word *al-sharqiyy* (the eastern), such as *al-musharraf* (the noble); *wa-'l-mashriq* (and the east); or *wa-'l-sharq* (and the east). However, the version *al-sharqiyy* (eastern), preferred by the editor of al-Wāsiṭī, after consideration and comparison of the texts in the other parallel sources, was followed here.

If this version is accepted then this tradition—which can be ascribed at least to the beginning of the 2nd/8th century—leads to the conclusion that one Miḥrāb Dāwūd existed on the eastern side (of the city) and another elsewhere. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand the emphasis on the phrase "the east". Is this unknown Miḥrāb hinted at in this tradition in fact the western Miḥrāb referred to in the geographers' traditions noted above from the 10th century onwards? This indeed would appear to be the case. A tradition recorded by al-Wāsiṭī in his book states that during his night journey the Messenger of Allāh (ﷺ) saw "to the right of the mosque and to its left two flashing lights and he said: O Gabriel, what are those two lights? He said: As for the one on your right, that is the Miḥrāb of your brother David. And as for the one on your left, that is on the grave of your sister Maryam."²⁸⁰

In another tradition quoted by Ibn al-Murajjā—which can be dated at least back to the middle of the 8th century—the western Miḥrāb Dāwūd is specifically mentioned. This tradition is the one handed down through the Jerusalem family of Salāma b. Qayṣar, from the head of the family Salāma, who said:

I heard my father say that Lod Gate, about which the Prophet "peace be upon him" said that here Jesus, the son of Mary, would kill al-Dajjāl [the Antichrist], is not the church gate near Ramla, but the

²⁷⁹ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 13, no. 13; p. 44, no. 61.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49, no. 73, and the parallel sources, n. 1; the transmitters are of Palestinian origin. The *isnād* ends with al-Walīd b. Muslim (d. 194/809–810) from one of his *Shaykhs*!

western gate of David, close ('*inda*) to Mihrāb Dāwūd "peace be upon him" and known as the Lod Gate (Bāb Ludd).²⁸¹

* * * * *

The early Muslim tradition describes how al-Dajjāl will install, for forty days or years before Judgement Day, a regime of tyranny and licentiousness in the world, which will be followed by a worldwide conversion to Islam.²⁸²

Many traditions describe the death of al-Dajjāl at the hands of Jesus at the gate of Lod (Ludd),²⁸³ near Lod²⁸⁴ or near the eastern gate of Lod,²⁸⁵ as well as other places in Palestine.²⁸⁶ It should be noted that in the afore-mentioned Jerusalem tradition, Bāb Ludd is also referred to as the gate of the church close to Ramla. Does the transmitter mean the Church of St. George in Lod? This is apparently

²⁸¹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 79a–79b; Mujir, vol. II (Beirut ed.), p. 56: quoting Ibn al-Murajjā but without the *isnād*, he mentions only the last transmitter; Gil, *Palestine*, p. 64, no. 80 [=vol. I, pp. 53–54], quoting this tradition from Ibn al-Murajjā; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 234.

²⁸² On the "Dajjāl," see EF², "Dajjāl" (A. Abel) s.v.; and see especially the exhaustive bibliography in Gil's *Palestine*, no. 80, note; Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–235.

²⁸³ Ibn Hanbal, vol. III, p. 430 (four traditions, identical *matn*, different *isnād*); *ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 75; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. IV, pp. 2253–54, no. 110 (*Kitāb al-Fitan*); Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, vol. II, p. 1357, no. 36/33 (*Fitan*); Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, fols. 157b, 161b; al-Ḥumaydi, *Musnad*, vol. II, p. 365; Sulamī, p. 260; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Nihāya*, vol. I, p. 175; al-Buṣrawī, *Tuḥfat al-Anām*, fol. 104b; al-Barazanji, *al-Ishā'a*, pp. 135–137.

²⁸⁴ Ibn Hanbal, vol. IV, p. 430; cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 390; al-Ṭabarī, I, p. 2403, ll. 6–20, two Jews describe to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in Syria the slaying of al-Dajjāl at a distance of more than ten cubits from Lod Gate; cf. Gil, *loc. cit.*

²⁸⁵ Ibn Hanbal, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Nu'aym b. Ḥammad, fol. 157b; Sulamī, p. 270; Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, p. 128; *ibid.*: *Bāb al-Dār al-Sharqī*, correct to: *Bāb Ludd al-Sharqī*; al-Buṣrawī, *Tuḥfat al-Anām*, fol. 107b; Tuwayjiri, p. 213; and see also Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

²⁸⁶ According to other traditions, al-Dajjāl will be killed in: 1) 'Aqabat al-Fiq in the Golan, see Ibn Hanbal, vol. IV, pp. 5, 221; Abū Dāwūd, *Musnad*, Haydarabad, 1321 H., p. 151. Al-Barazanji, *al-Ishā'a*, p. 137. In these traditions, Jesus is not mentioned as the slayer of al-Dajjāl; on 'Aqabat al-Fiq, see Sharon, "An Arabic Inscription" (see Bibliography). 2) According to another tradition, al-Dajjāl will be killed in the vicinity of al-Ḥarra, east of al-Madīna, see Gil, *loc. cit.*, quoting Samhūdī, from Ibn Zabāla. 3) Al-Dajjāl will be killed in Nahr Abī Fuṭrus (Antipatris), Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, fol. 168a. This river is mentioned as an important place in the traditions describing the wars and catastrophe at the end of days, see *ibid.*, fols. 152a, 158b. 4) According to Ibn Kathīr, *loc. cit.*, al-Dajjāl will be killed in the City of Palestine at Lod Gate (*bi Madīnat Filasṭīn Bāb Ludd*). Is the meaning of "The City of Fīlaṣṭīn," the city of Ramla, the capital of the District of Palestine? And see *ibid.*, p. 182: al-Dajjāl will be killed in one of the towns of Palestine, called Bāb Ludd (*madīna min madā'in Filasṭīn yuqālu lahā Bāb Ludd*); and *ibid.*, p. 174: in the City of Bāb Ludd (*Madīnat Bāb Ludd*). I do not understand the expression "Madīnat Bāb Ludd," or "Madīnat Filasṭīn Bāb Ludd." Perhaps the text is garbled here?

the case, though one cannot help but wonder why he does not mention the church specifically or even Lod as the site of the church.²⁸⁷

The traditions about the slaying of al-Dajjāl at Bāb Ludd make no mention of a church, but only of Lod Gate, or a gate close to Lod, or the eastern Lod Gate. It is evident from the Jerusalem tradition that early in the mid-8th century, the place where al-Dajjāl would be killed was connected—at least in the consciousness of native Muslims—with the church close to Ramla, apparently the Church of St. George. This church was erected in the 4th century A.D. and dedicated to the memory of St. George, who, according to tradition, was killed in the year 303 A.D.

There is a Christian legend dating to the 6th century that St. George saved the life of a king's daughter by slaying a dragon which threatened her.²⁸⁸ It is possible that the Muslim tradition which places the killing of al-Dajjāl at Lod or at the gate of St. George's Church is drawn from this Christian tradition.

St. George's Church is described in the mid-10th century by al-Muqaddasī as a splendid church, at the gate of which Jesus was to kill al-Dajjāl.²⁸⁹ It was revered by the Muslims of Palestine, who as early as the 80's of the 8th century used to come to Lod to celebrate its festival.²⁹⁰ This festival, known as 'īd Ludd, is referred to by al-Muqaddasī as one of the Christian festivals celebrated by the Muslims, according to which they counted the seasons of the year. Thus, the Lod Festival was celebrated in the sowing season.²⁹¹ This festival was apparently observed throughout the centuries right up to modern times. In the days of the British Mandate, it was the custom to broadcast the religious ceremony and chants during this festival, since St. George was England's patron saint.²⁹²

The set of traditions which state that al-Dajjāl will be killed in Bāb Ludd is quite early and can be attributed to the early 8th century.²⁹³ In this period there are two types of traditions identifying Bāb Ludd: the first locates it in Lod or in the church near Ramla

²⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that 'Alī al-Manshalīlī (d. end of the 18th century) in his *Risāla fī Ashrāṭ al-Sā'a wa-Ahwāl al-Qiyāma*, BM. Or. 12.948, fol. 69b also reports that: "Jesus will get (al-Dajjāl) in Lod Gate, near al-Ramla": *fa-yulḥiquhu 'Isā 'inda Bāb Ludd qarīban min al-Ramla*.

²⁸⁸ See *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, "Georgius" (D. Flusser), s.v.; and especially Gil, *loc. cit.*

²⁸⁹ Al-Muqaddasī, p. 176, quoted by Buhl in *Et*¹, "Ludd," s.v.; Gil, *loc. cit.*

²⁹⁰ See ch. 2, p. 66.

²⁹¹ Al-Muqaddasī, p.183; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 21.

²⁹² See Z. Vilnai, *Encyclopaedia Ariel*, "Lod," s.v.

²⁹³ A study of the *isnād* of five traditions concerning the death of al-Dajjāl by Jesus at Lod's Gate reveals that the common link is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124/742).

(St. George?), and the second locates it in Jerusalem. And, indeed, additional traditions verify the words of the Jerusalem tradition, that in Jerusalem there was a gate called Lod's Gate (Bāb Ludd).²⁹⁴ Bāb Ludd was most probably the western gate of Jerusalem heading towards Lod. Lod was a major city in Palestine until Ramla was built in the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. As noted by an early Jerusalem scholar, it was also called the western Bāb Dāwūd. This name was given to it because of its proximity to Mihrāb Dāwūd (i.e., the David's Tower of today). It seems that the latter name replaced the name of Lod's Gate. When this occurred is difficult to ascertain. Most probably following the development of Ramla as the capital of the district, and the contemporaneous decline of Lod. It is noteworthy that in 658 the Gate of Lod (Bāb Ludd) is mentioned in an early source as the place where Mu'āwiya's followers swore allegiance to him.²⁹⁵ The source does not locate the gate in Jerusalem, but since it is known that the oath of allegiance was given in Jerusalem, it is quite reasonable to connect the two pieces of information.

Jenkinson holds the opinion that the tradition describing the death of al-Dajjāl in Lod, in the Church of St. George, is derived from the Christian tradition about St. George's slaying the dragon, and is therefore the earliest. He asserts that the Muslim tradition was later transferred to Jerusalem, also in line with the Christian tradition that the Antichrist would be killed by Jesus in Jerusalem.²⁹⁶ Jenkinson, however, did not support this assumption with any reference. He had not seen the Jerusalem tradition which stated that al-Dajjāl would be killed in Bāb Ludd in Jerusalem. But since the Christian traditions concerning the killing of the Antichrist by Jesus in Jerusalem are also very early,²⁹⁷ it does not seem possible to determine so unequivocally which is the earlier tradition.²⁹⁸

In addition to the early traditions which locate Mihrāb Dāwūd in

²⁹⁴ See al-Samarqandī, *Bustān al-ʿArifīn (bi hāmish Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn)*, Cairo, 1347 H., p. 100: Al-Dajjāl will be killed by Jesus in Lod's Gate in Jerusalem" (the tradition is quoted by Gil, *Palestine*, pp. 64–65, no. 80, note [=vol. I, p. 54]; see also al-Qastallānī, *Irshād al-Sārī li-Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. II, Bulaq, 1304 H., p. 436.

²⁹⁵ See Naṣr b. Muzāhim, *Waqʿat Šifīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Qumm, 1403 H. p. 217; see also Rabbat's mention of this source in *Muqarnas*, vol. IV (1989), pp. 19–20, note 36.

²⁹⁶ Jenkinson, "The Antichrist," pp. 50–55.

²⁹⁷ See Limor, *The Mount of Olives*, p. 136 for traditions relating to the Antichrist in Christianity, and to the struggle between him and Jesus. "In the most prevalent forms of this legend, the final and deciding scene of his struggle takes place on the Mount of Olives."

²⁹⁸ Livne, (*op. cit.*, p. 234), is also unable to determine which tradition is earlier—that which locates Bāb Ludd in Jerusalem, or that which locates it in Lod.

the city citadel (David's Tower)—to the west— and other traditions which relate to another Miḥrāb Dāwūd, to the east and on the Ḥaram, Busse asserts that the Rock on the Ḥaram is Miḥrāb Dāwūd. In his opinion, the Muslims moved the original Miḥrāb Dāwūd to the west of the city from the Ḥaram out of a desire to detach themselves from the Christian tradition.²⁹⁹

In the mid-11th century yet a fourth Miḥrāb Dāwūd to the north of the Ḥaram is encountered. This Miḥrāb is described by Nāṣir-i Khusraw as a structure resembling a small mosque, with walls elevated to more than a man's height. He locates it in the northern part of the Ḥaram, beyond the elevated area on which the Dome of the Rock stands and in proximity to Kursī Sulaymān (Solomon's "Chair").³⁰⁰ Solomons' "Chair" was located earlier opposite Bāb al-Asbāt, which in the early Muslim period was considered located at Bāb-al-'Atm or the present-day Bāb al-Malik Fayṣal.³⁰¹ Thus it follows that Miḥrāb Dāwūd, as described by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, was also located close to this gate.

There is an interesting tradition transmitted by Shams al-Din al-Suyūṭī (mid-15th century) which appears to be a copy of an early text confirming Nāṣir-i Khusraw's description and location of Miḥrāb Dāwūd close to Bāb al-Asbāt, on the north side of the Ḥaram.³⁰² Following are the different versions mentioned by al-Suyūṭī elsewhere regarding the location of Miḥrāb Dāwūd in his time, i.e., the 70's of the 15th century.

1. The Great Miḥrāb in the wall, adjacent to the *minbar* inside al-Aqṣā Mosque;
2. The Great Miḥrāb in the southern wall of the Ḥaram;
3. In the citadel (al-Qal'a) of Jerusalem.³⁰³

Mujir al-Dīn, a contemporary of al-Suyūṭī, describes these three places, two on the Ḥaram and one in the Citadel of Jerusalem.³⁰⁴ Elsewhere, Mujir states that the Miḥrāb in the southern wall of the Ḥaram, near the "Cradle of Jesus", is widely accepted as Miḥrāb Dāwūd.³⁰⁵

²⁹⁹ Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb," pp. 79, 99; *ibid.*, p. 80ff, gives an additional source relating to David in Christian tradition, namely, the Church of Mary on Mount Zion, which is known as David's burial place.

³⁰⁰ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, p. 52 (English); 32 (Arabic); Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³⁰¹ See below, pp. 85–90.

³⁰² Al-Suyūṭī, *Iḥaf*, fol. 28a; (printed ed. vol. I, p. 198).

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, fols. 26b–27a (printed ed., vol. I, p. 195); Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

³⁰⁴ Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), pp. 11–12.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

This is also the impression gained from al-Nābulṣī's description (17th century).³⁰⁶

2 *The Church of Mary (Kanīsat Maryam)*

It was not unusual in the early period, and later on as well, for Muslims to visit and even pray in Christian churches in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Muslim world. During the period of the Conquests (in the 30's and 40's of the 7th century), it was Arab practice to requisition a quarter or a half of a church area in settled districts, and to use the requisitioned area as a mosque.³⁰⁷ Somewhat later, during the Umayyad period, one frequently read of joint Muslim-Christian gatherings and dialogues held in churches.³⁰⁸

One of the churches which attracted the considerable attention of the Muslim pilgrims was the Church of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The Church of Mary was one of the Christian holy places and is mentioned as an early site visited by Christian pilgrims in the Byzantine period.³⁰⁹ As far back as 661, an early Syrian chronicle states that Mu'āwiya visited this church.³¹⁰ According to another tradition (the *isnād* concludes with Sa'id b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, d. 167/783–784), 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb "prayed two *rak'as* at a church in Wādī Jahannam and said after that: 'We have been instructed to bow down for two *rak'as* by one of the gates of Jahannam."³¹¹ Another tradition by the same transmitter states: "When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb conquered Jerusalem, he passed by the Church of Mary, peace be upon her, in the valley, prayed and performed two *rak'as* there, and then felt remorse because of the words of the Prophet (ﷺ): 'This is one of the valleys of Jahannam."³¹²

³⁰⁶ Al-Nābulṣī, *Riḥla*, p. 72.

³⁰⁷ Tritton, *The Caliphs*, pp. 39–40: evidence from Arabic sources.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45; Fattal, p. 181; see also Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, vol. II, p. 757: Mu'āwiya and 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit meet in a church or a convent, and 'Ubāda relates a *ḥadīth* to those present.

³⁰⁹ See Busse, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79.

³¹⁰ See Palmer, *West Syrian Chronicles*, p. 31 (the Maronite Chronicle).

³¹¹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 84b; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 219, and see also *ibid.*, p. 299.

³¹² Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 90a (the two traditions); Gil, *Palestine*, p. 136, no. 228, note 142 [=vol. I, p. 113]; and see also Mujīr, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 62. It is highly probable that this church is referred to in the tradition recorded in the *Fitan* literature according to which *al-Ṣakhri* (= *al-Sufyāni*) will be killed on a rock in a church in the valley of the Mount of Olives (*Wādī Tūr Zaytā*), see Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, fol. 7b; Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 81a; Jalāl al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥawī li-'l-Fatāwī*, vol. II, Cairo, 1352, p. 234; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, Abū 'I-'Abbās, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *al-Qawl al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'Alamāt al-Mahdī al-Muntaṣar*, Cairo, 1986, pp. 72–73; cf. Madelung, "al-Sufyāni," p. 25, note 70.

These traditions are evidence of the debate and doubts among Muslims in the mid-8th century regarding entry into and prayer at the Church of Mary. There was no outright prohibition, but there were clearly reservations about this practice. It seems that on the whole, the Muslims did not heed these reservations, and continued to enter and pray at the Church of Mary.

Arce³¹³ describes Muslim ritual at Mary's grave from the 14th century onwards. With regard to the earlier period, he states that it must be assumed that the Muslims practiced a ritual at Mary's grave well before the Crusades. However, written evidence of such rituals exists only from the 14th century.³¹⁴ The proof assembled here confirms Arce's suppositions.

The debate about the Church of Mary was part of a more general debate concerning Muslim use of churches as places of prayer. The early tradition reported by al-Wāsiṭī (in the first decade of the 8th century), which recommended prayer at Miḥrāb Dāwūd, also forbade Muslims to enter churches or to buy items on sale there.³¹⁵ Those who absolutely objected to entering and praying in churches relied on the text of another tradition, which was mostly transmitted by Palestinian residents, the last of them being Thawr b. Yazīd (d. 153/770).³¹⁶ This tradition reports the words of Ka'b al-Aḥbār to his nephew and another person with him:

Do not come to the Church of Mary or approach the two pillars, for they are idols. Whoever goes to them, his prayers will be as naught . . . until he returns (to his previous place). Cursed be the Christians for

³¹³ Arce, pp. 182–185.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

³¹⁵ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 13, no. 13; p. 44, no. 61, and the parallel sources. The Arabic text: *wa-lā-yashtar fihā bay'an*. This tradition bears evidence that in this early period people used to buy and sell in the churches. It is noteworthy that this phenomenon also occurred in the mosques. It seems that the majority of the Jurists were against this, but some approved of it. This dispute is reflected in the *ḥadīth* literature (see Wensinck, *Concordance, b.y.*, s.v.; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. II, Karachi, 1986, pp. 79–80). A tradition illustrating the problem is reported by Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. VI, p. 287, how in the year 113/732, when the *ḥajj* caravan headed by Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik reached Minā, the famous scholar, al-Zuhri, ordered taken out of the mosque all the items on sale there (*fa-lammā waṣalū Minā amara al-Zuhri bi-ikhrāj kull bay' fi 'l-Masjid, fa-lam yatrūk shay'an yubā' fihī*); see also Ibn al-'Arabi's commentary (on the version of al-Tirmidhi's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. VI, Cairo, 1931, p. 61), mentioning the disagreement regarding this topic among the *ḥadīth* scholars, and also the words of al-Ghazālī (end of the 11th century) denoting the difficulty in the implementation of this law in daily, real life, *al-Ghazālī Invocations and Supplications, Kitāb al-Adhkār wa-'l-Da'awāt, Book IX of the Revival of the Religious Sciences, Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. Translated with an introduction and notes by K. Nakamura, Cambridge, 1990, p. 82.

³¹⁶ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 21, no. 24; Gil, *loc. cit.* See on Thawr b. Yazīd, *ibid.*, n. 1.

not seeing the things to come. They could not find a place in which to build a church except the Valley of Jahannam.

A similar tradition, with an interesting and important variation, adds:

Do not come to the Church of Mary which is named so after al-Jismāniyya Church, nor go into the two pillars in the church of the Mount of Olives (Kanīsat al-Ṭūr), for they are both idols and whoever enters there in a spirit of devotion, his act shall be annulled.³¹⁷

In his description of the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, St. Vilibald (approx. 724–730) echoes the above description:

There, inside the same church, there are two pillars facing the north and south walls. They stand there in memory of the two men who said: ‘Men of Galilee, why do you stand and lift your eyes to heaven’ (Acts, I, verse 2). The man who can pass there between the pillars and the wall is freed of his sins.³¹⁸

Thus it appears that in Muslim tradition, the Church of al-Ṭūr is the Church of the Ascension. St. Vilibald’s statement explains the text of the Islamic tradition which seeks to prevent Muslims from visiting the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives and praying between the two pillars there.

A well-known *ḥadīth* from ‘Umar relates that “we, in fact, do not enter their churches (i.e., of the Christians) because of the statues of which they have pictures” (*innā lā nadkhulu kanā’isahum min ajl al-tamāthīl ’llatī fihā al-ṣuwar*); but refrains from an absolute prohibition: “Ibn ‘Abbās used to pray in a monastery (or church *bī’a*), apart from a church with statues.”³¹⁹

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350) discussed this problem and quoted the different views of scholars regarding prayer in churches and monasteries. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal expresses three different opinions concerning this subject: one completely forbids prayers, the second permits it, and the third makes a distinction between prayer in a church which contains painted figures and where prayer is forbidden, and a church without paintings, where prayer is not forbidden. Those who forbid prayer in churches argue that they are foci for heresy

³¹⁷ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 94b; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, fol. 31b (published ed. vol. I, p. 213 ff.); Mujīr, *loc. cit.*: *la ta’tū Kanīsat Maryam ’llatī tunsabu ilā Kanīsat al-Jismāniyya wa-lā ’l-’amūdayn ’llatī fī-Kanīsat al-Ṭūr fa-innahumā tawārit waman atāhum muta’ammidan ḥubīṭa ‘amaluhu*; Mujīr and al-Suyūṭī, *ibid.*, instead of *tunsabu ilā al-Jismāniyya: ayy Kanīsat al-Jismāniyya*.

³¹⁸ I am grateful to Dr. Ora Limor, who drew my attention to this text and also translated it for me. See the English translation: *PPTS*, vol. III, pp. 22, 47 (with errors); see this pilgrim’s description of the Church of the Ascension and the two pillars (Limor, *Mount of Olives*, p. 88).

³¹⁹ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh*, vol. I (Leiden, 1862, *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*), no. 54 ff.

and idolatry, places which arouse curses and anger and house the enemies of God. Those who permit prayer argue that companions of the Prophet (*al-Ṣaḥāba*) prayed in churches, which were Muslim property. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya asserts that there are two reasons for permitting prayers in churches: a) *al-Ṣaḥāba* prayed in churches; b) the churches and the monasteries, according to the covenant of 'Umar ('*ahd 'Umar*)³²⁰ are Muslim property, having become so following the conquest (in contrast to private Christian homes). Accordingly, churches do not come in the category of prayer in a place which arouses anger (where prayer is forbidden), for on being requisitioned by Muslims from the Christians, they became Muslim property and there was thus no need to seek Christian permission to enter and pray there.³²¹ Here Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya rejects the view of Muslim jurists who permit Muslims to enter churches only with Christian permission and consent.³²²

3. *Al-Sāhira and the Mount of Olives (Ṭūr Zaytā)*

3.1 *Al-Sāhira*

The Mount of Olives (Ṭūr Zaytā) enjoys an important status in Muslim tradition. Its special significance lies in the role assigned to it in the Latter Days, when all mankind will be assembled there and the bridge will be thrown across from the mountain to the Ḥaram.³²³

Al-Sāhira, the place on the Mount of Olives at which mankind will

³²⁰ The complex of rights and duties of *Ahl al-Dhimma* in Islam, allegedly given according to Muslim tradition by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb at the time of the conquest of Syria.

³²¹ *Aḥkām Ahl-al-Dhimma*, vol. II, pp. 212–213.

³²² See al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, fol. 32a (printed ed. vol. I, p. 214 ff.), quoting the opinion of the Shāfi'ite *Faqīh* from Syria, 'Izz-al-Dīn, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Salām (577/1181–660/1262) in his book *al-Qawā'id* [= *al-Qawā'id al-Kubrā*]; on the latter, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, S, vol. I, pp. 766–767]; see also Zarkashī, p. 384; al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*, quotes also the opinion of Shihāb al-Dīn, Aḥmad b. al-'Imād al-Aqfashī (750/1349–808/1405) in his book: *Tashīl al-Maqāsīd li-Zuwwār al-Masājīd*; he was a Shāfi'ite scholar from Egypt [on him, see Ḥājjī Khalifa, vol. I, p. 407; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 110]. Inter alia, he asserts that there are churches which are not to be entered without authorized Christian permission, since they are in the same category as the houses which Muslims are forbidden to enter. Al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*, quotes from essays by other Shāfi'ite scholars, such as al-Rifā'i [Abū 'l-Qāsim, 'Abd-al-Karīm b. Muḥammad, d. 623/1226; on him, see the exhaustive bibliography of the editor of al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*]; or *al-Dhakhā'ir* [which is possibly the composition of Abū 'l-Ma'ālī, Mujallī b. Jāmi' al-Makhzūmī d. 550/1155–56 (see on him Gil, *Palestine*, p. 425, no. 632 [=vol. I, p. 350]), *al-Dhakhā'ir fī-'Ulūm al-Shāfi'iyya*]; al-Suyūṭī also mentions the book of Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *al-Ash'ār bi-Ikhtilāf al-'Ulamā'* [he is the *qādi*, Abū Naṣr, 'Abd al-Sayyid b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāgh, al-Shāfi'i, d. 477/1084; on him, see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 671]; the complete title of his book is *al-Ash'ār bi-Ma'rifat Ikhtilāf 'Ulamā' al-Amṣār*.

³²³ Hirschberg, "Sources," pp. 342–344, and his references therein; and see

be assembled in the Latter Days, is mentioned in the *Qurʾān*, LXXIX, (*al-Nāziʿāt*), v. 14):

13. “verily it will be but one sounding of the trumpet

14. and behold they shall appear (alive) on al-Sāhira (*wa-idhā hum bi-ʿl-Sāhira*).”

These verses describe the gathering in the Latter Days in the place known as al-Sāhira. Commentators on the *Qurʾān* offer two main interpretations of this verse. The first, from a linguistic point of view, states that al-Sāhira means a barren area or a white plateau. The second approach attempts to locate al-Sāhira in geographical terms as:

- i. the area between Jabal Ḥassān and Jabal Aṛiḥā;
- ii. a region in Syria (al-Shām);
- iii. the land of Jerusalem;
- iv. the mountain of Jerusalem;
- v. the mountain near Jerusalem;
- vi. Hell (Jahannam).³²⁴

According to an early tradition, Ṣafīyya, the Prophet’s wife (d. 35 or 51/655 or 671–672), came to Jerusalem, went up to Ṭūr Zaytā and prayed there, then stood on the edge of the mountain and said: “Here all men will be divided on the Day of Resurrection to Heaven and to the fire (of Hell).”³²⁵

A tradition transmitted by al-Wāsiṭī has an *isnād* which ends with

Abū ʿl-Fidāʾ al-Tadmūrī, *Muthīr*, p. 156. The Mount of Olives is one of five holy mountains, from which Abraham took stones to build the Kaʿba. This tradition is quoted by Busse, “Biblical Cult,” p. 121; see also *al-Mustaḡṣā*, fols. 86a–87a: traditions on the Mount of Olives; see also Sadan, “New Sources,” p. 190, quoting another ms. by the author of *al-Mustaḡṣā* (?). See Sadan’s discussion on the identity of the author of the ms., *ibid.*, p. 188; and see further the detailed chapter of Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 216–276.

³²⁴ Al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. XXX, pp. 35–38; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, p. 467; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, vol. VII, pp. 6989–6991. They all reflect these two trends, the general linguistic approach and the attempt to supply geographical and topographical identification; but see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 277a, for only a linguistic discussion!; see al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 87–88, no. 143 [=Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 84a–84b]: the unbelievers assemble in the Latter Days in the place known as al-Sāhira, near Jerusalem; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Iṭḥāf*, fol. 34b [=vol. I, p. 222], from Ibn ʿImrān: “The Land of Assembly is called al-Sāhira” (*Arḍ al-maḥshar tusammā al-Sāhira*); see also al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, vol. III, p. 898; Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

³²⁵ *Muthīr al-Gharām* (printed ed.), p. 35; Mujīr, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 61; Ibn al-Firkāh, pp. 5–6 (quoted by Busse in “Biblical Cult,” p. 122); the *isnād* in *Muthīr* and Ibn al-Firkāh ends with Khulayd b. Daʿlaj (d. 166/782–783) who lived in Jerusalem; on him, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 47, no. 67; al-Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ*, vol. III, p. 199; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. I/2, p. 383; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾriḫ*, (Amman), vol. V, pp. 674–677; *idem.*, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. VIII, p. 84; *idem.*, *Tahdhīb*, vol. V, p. 171; Livne, *loc. cit.*

Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān < Rudayḥ b. ‘Aṭīyya and Hānī’ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān < Ibrāhīm b. Abī ‘Abla (d. 152/769–770), who explains the verse: “*wa-idhā hum bi-’l-Sāhira*.” He said: “This is the wide, wooded expanse (*al-baqī’*) located in the proximity of al-Ṭūr, Ṭūr Zaytā.”³²⁶

This *ḥadīth* locates al-Sāhira on the Mount of Olives. It appears in the collection of “Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem”. Its transmitters, at least the earlier ones, were inhabitants of Palestine, who lived in Jerusalem and Ramla. One of them, Rudayḥ b. ‘Aṭīyya was an important Jerusalem scholar in the first half of the 8th century and was the *mu’adhdhin* of Jerusalem in the year 132/750.³²⁷ Another, Ibrāhīm b. Abī ‘Abla, the scholar from Ramla, has already been discussed.³²⁸

Ibn al-Murajjā records the above-mentioned tradition with an identical *isnād* but with a very interesting addition: “He said: [it is = al-Sāhira] the wide expanse of land wooded with trees (*al-baqī’*), below the monastery (?), where the road [goes up] to Jerusalem.”³²⁹

Al-Suyūṭī cites this tradition with a different interesting variation, saying: “The wide expanse of land with trees (*al-baqī’*), situated close to Ṭūr Zaytā, near the place of prayer (*muṣallā*) of ‘Umar, known as al-Sāhira.”³³⁰

Palestinian scholars naturally and definitely place al-Sāhira on the Mount of Olives. Ibn al-Firkāḥ adds a quotation from Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm (unidentified), relating to this *ḥadīth*: “There is a well-known *ḥadīth* in Jerusalem that al-Sāhira is situated on Jabal Ṭūr Zaytā. This is a graveyard, close to the place of prayer (*muṣallā*) of ‘Umar, known as al-Sāhira.”³³¹

In the mid-10th century, al-Muqaddasī describes the Mount of Olives of his time as follows:

“And the Mount of Olives (Jabal Zaytā) stands high above the Mosque, to the east of this valley [Qidron Valley described earlier by him]. At the top stands a mosque of ‘Umar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] who sojourned here during the days when the city capitulated. There is

³²⁶ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 48, no. 71; Ibn al-Firkāḥ, p. 72 (quoting the same tradition); on the meaning of *al-baqī’* see Lane, *Lexicon*, b.q.‘, s.v.

³²⁷ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 90a; for more on Rudayḥ, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. III, pp. 271–272; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. IX, pp. 175–176.

³²⁸ See Introduction, p. 19.

³²⁹ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 84b; text: *al-baqī’ ’lladhī tahta al-dayr* (in the text: *dayn*, sic!) *alladhī fihī ’l-ṭariq ilā Bayt al-Maqdis*.

³³⁰ Al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, fols. 34a–34b; quoted by Mujir, vol. II, p. 412 (= Aman ed., vol. II, p. 62).

³³¹ Ibn al-Firkāḥ, p. 72.

also a church built on the spot from which Jesus, may peace be upon him, ascended, and a place called al-Sāhira. A *ḥadīth* from Ibn ‘Abbas was handed down, which said that al-Sāhira was the land of resurrection, a white area on which no blood has been spilled.³³²

Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047) also describes al-Sāhira as a great plateau on the edge of a large cemetery, where many saintly men are buried. He adds that many make the pilgrimage so as to be buried there close to the place of the resurrection of the dead.³³³

3.2. *The Mount of Olives*

The Mount of Olives was sanctified in Muslim tradition for a number of reasons, prominent among which were the influences of Jewish and Christian traditions of the Latter Days, which concentrated on Jerusalem. Within this whole complex of traditions, a special and important role was ascribed to the Mount of Olives. The Muslims also emphasized Jesus’ activity on the Mount of Olives and his ascension to heaven at the spot where the Church of the Ascension was later erected.³³⁴

It is not surprising that this mountain was also identified with the well-known verse in the *Qur’ān*, XCV (*al-Tīn*), v. 1) where God took an oath by the figs and olives. Notable here, too, are two main trends in interpreting this verse. The first relates to the figs and olives as simply fruit, whereas the second identifies them with specific, topographical places. Thus the olives (*al-zaytūn*) are iden-

³³² Al-Muqaddasī, pp. 171–172; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–219; Limor, *Mount of Olives*, p. 148 (quoting Le Strange); the accepted meaning of al-Sāhira is clean, white, untrampled area of land, see below, n. 324; see also Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. IV, Cairo, 1375/1955, p. 2150, no. 50/28.

³³³ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 24–25 (English); p. 20 (Arabic); Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–220; Limor, *op. cit.*; Ibn al-‘Arabī locates al-Sāhira above Wādī Jahannam (Qidron Valley), see Drory, *Ibn al-‘Arabī*, p. 104 (quoting *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, vol. III, Cairo, 1968, p. 1376); Mujir al-Dīn, vol. II, p. 412 (Amman ed., vol. II, pp. 62–63) reports at the end of the 15th century that the place called in his day al-Sāhira stretches outside the city opposite the northern wall, where there was a large cemetery on a high mountain. Accordingly, it was approximately opposite the Cave of Zedekiah as we know it today, and which Mujir called, “The Cave of Flax” (Maghārat al-Kattān).

³³⁴ For the Jewish traditions regarding the Latter Days and the Mount of Olives which penetrated and were adopted by Islam, see Hirschberg, “Sources,” pp. 342–350; see also Limor, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–144, 146 (the Latter Days in Jewish tradition, and the role of the Mount of Olives in this context). Regarding the importance of the Mount of Olives for the Jews in the early Muslim period, see Gil, *Palestine*, pp. 626–630, nos. 831–833 [=vol. I, pp. 512–515]; see also Braslavi, pp. 74–75, 78–79; see also *idem.*, “Mount of Olives” (see Bibliography); for the Christian traditions about the Latter Days and the role of the Mount of Olives in this context, see Limor, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–142.

tified with:

- i. the Mosque of Jerusalem;
- ii. the Aqṣā Mosque;
- iii. the mountain on which Jerusalem is situated;
- iv. Jerusalem;
- v. the mountains of al-Shām;
- vi. a mountain in al-Shām that is called Ṭūr Zaytā; or
- vii. the Land of Palestine.³³⁵

The obvious identification with the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem is, of course, emphasized in the “Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem”: “And [as to] the olives [the meaning is] Ṭūr Zaytā [in Jerusalem].”³³⁶

The special status of the Mount of Olives attracted pilgrims and visitors as early as the Umayyad period to ascend the mountain and pray there. Thus Ziyād b. Abī Sawda (second half of the 7th century) said that every time he came to Jerusalem, he would go up to the Mount of Olives.³³⁷ As noted before, a well-known tradition describes how the Prophet’s wife Ṣāfiyya visited Jerusalem and went up to the Mount of Olives.³³⁸ The writer of *Muthīr al-Gharām* (mid-14th century) reported that at the top of the Mount of Olives was the tomb of Rābi’a al-‘Adawīyya, the famous mystic (d. 135/752 or 165/781–782), that was visited by many pilgrims in his days.³³⁹

One of the holy places on the Mount of Olives to which Mus-

³³⁵ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. XXX, pp. 238–240; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. IV, p. 526; al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, vol. VIII, pp. 7200–7201; *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. VI, pp. 365–367, adding: the Land of Palestine; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, fol. 243b, gives only one interpretation and refers to figs, as fruits, and to olives from which oil is pressed.

³³⁶ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 47–48, no. 69, and the editor’s parallel sources therein; see also Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 83b–84a; al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, fol. 34a (printed ed., vol. I, p. 221); Khalīl b. Shāhin, *Zubda*, p. 18.

³³⁷ *Muthīr al-Gharām* (printed ed.), p. 49; on Ziyād b. Abī Sawda, see al-Wāsiṭī, p. 14, no. 14.

³³⁸ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 84b: from Sa’id b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 167/783–784); *Muthīr al-Gharām*, p. 35; Ibn al-Firkāh, p. 55; al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*; see also al-Wāsiṭī, p. 76, no. 123, from Abū Ḥudhayfa, the *mu’adhdhin* of Jerusalem, from his grandmother, describing Ṣāfiyya’s visit to Jerusalem.

³³⁹ *Muthīr al-Gharām*, p. 49; see also al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, fol. 34b (printed ed., vol. I, p. 222): the grave of Rābi’a, among other places (*mazārāt*) on the Mount of Olives; see also Ibn Khallikān, vol. II (Iḥsān ‘Abbās’ ed.), p. 287 (quoting Ibn al-Jawzī’s *Shudhūr al-‘Uqūd*): “and her grave is visited outside Jerusalem, to the east on top of a mountain called al-Ṭūr,” but cf. M. Smith, *Rābi’a the Mystic and Her Fellow Saints in Islam*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 45–46, who says that she died in al-Baṣra!; see also Mukhlīṣ, pp. 197–200, a discussion on Rābi’a’s grave.

lms made a pilgrimage was the spot from which Jesus ascended to heaven. The sanctification of this place was emphasized in early Muslim tradition, which describes Jesus' ascension to heaven from the Mount of Olives.³⁴⁰ Among the holy places to be visited, al-Suyūṭī lists "the place of Jesus' ascension, peace be upon him, to heaven."³⁴¹ The Church of the Ascension (of Jesus) was apparently a focus of Muslim pilgrimage and visits as far back as the 1st/7th century.³⁴²

³⁴⁰ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 48, no. 70 and the many parallels therein.

³⁴¹ Al-Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf*, vol. I, p. 223.

³⁴² See the discussion below, pp. 139–140.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL STATUS OF JERUSALEM DURING THE UMAYYAD PERIOD

The status of Syria (including Palestine: al-Shām) in the Umayyad period has been briefly discussed by a number of important late 19th and 20th century scholars. They adopted the basic idea that the Umayyads made this region the political and administrative centre of the caliphate, and that they were interested in exalting its political and religious status.

In 1871, Palmer discussed the political events in 'Abd al-Malik's times which directed the interest of the people towards Syria and Palestine, and specifically to Jerusalem. He noted that 'Abd al-Malik was eager to prevent the pilgrims from being religiously and politically influenced by 'Abdallāh Ibn al-Zubayr, who had dominion over extensive parts of the caliphate. He thus conceived a plan to divert the people from the *hajj* to Mecca, encouraging them to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem instead.¹ Similarly, in 1887, Ganneau insisted that, as a result of Ibn al-Zubayr's control of Mecca and al-Madīna, 'Abd al-Malik had a political interest in developing the roads from Damascus to Jerusalem, and in transferring the pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem. This was also the reason for his construction of the Dome of the Rock, which the Muslims circumambulated as at the Ka'ba. In order to quiet opposition to this deed, he circulated the *ḥadīth* of the Three Mosques, transmitted to him by al-Zuhri.² This was also the opinion of Miednikov, who wrote his comprehensive book on Palestine at the end of the 19th century.³

Wellhausen (1902) claimed that the Umayyads tried to reinforce the political supremacy of Syria, and that an attempt was made to

¹ Palmer, pp. 85–86; partially quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 115; Palmer, who was Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, does not give references in his book. However, it seems that he read Arabic literature and was an authority on it. See, for instance, *ibid.*, pp. 80–86, a translation of the description of the building of the Dome of the Rock, as reported by Mujir al-Dīn and other Muslim authors.

² Ganneau, "Notes," pp. 482–483 (referring to al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, vol. II, p. 311, and Mujir, vol. I, p. 241); see also Frankel, p. 213; this is the fundamental *ḥadīth*, legitimizing the sanctity of Jerusalem to Islam. See the discussion on p. 153f.

³ Miednikov (see Introduction, note 18).

transfer the centre of worship there. These efforts were reinforced because of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr's continued occupation of Mecca (for almost ten years), which made it almost impossible for the Syrians to perform the *hajj*. In Wellhausen's opinion, 'Abd al-Malik used this as a pretext to ban the *hajj* to Mecca and to insist on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The building of the Dome of the Rock certainly testifies to 'Abd al-Malik's attempts to increase Jerusalem's majesty as a place of Muslim worship. But for Wellhausen, the need to replace Mecca by Jerusalem—if this was indeed the intention—ended when 'Abd al-Malik gained unlimited control in Syria.

However, he attempted to increase the attraction of Syria as a place of worship instead of al-Madīna. Wellhausen brings as proof the tradition (Ṭabarī, II, pp. 92–93) that 'Abd al-Malik, as Mu'āwiya before him and al-Walid after him, attempted to transfer the *minbar* of the Prophet from al-Madīna to Syria. He concluded this matter by noting that, "The Umayyads did not have to relate to al-Madīna in the way they related to Mecca. . . ."⁴

It was the thorough study of Goldziher (1889–1890) which consolidated and developed the opinions and evaluations presented by scholars of his day. He showed "how the Umayyads made it their business to put into circulation *hadīths* which seemed to them desirable."⁵ In his discussion of Syria and Palestine he said that the Syrians never tired of creating *hadīths* explaining the advantage and merit of visits to the holy places of Syria and Palestine and their equal status to the holy places in the Hijāz.

When speaking of Jerusalem in this respect, he notes: "A large number of *hadīths* have the purpose of demonstrating the special dignity of the Jerusalem sanctuary, which was brought to the fore during the Umayyad period."⁶ Goldziher's main thesis is that the incentive for the sanctity of Syria and Palestine generally and of Jerusalem in particular must be sought in the Umayyad political field, namely, in the many efforts of the Umayyads to increase the political importance of Syria and of Palestine. To back up his claim Goldziher cites the *hadīth* of "The Three Mosques", that he claims was invented for 'Abd al-Malik by al-Zuhri (d. 124/742) as part of

⁴ Wellhausen, pp. 214–215; with regard to the *minbar* of the Prophet and Mu'āwiya's desire to bring it to Jerusalem, see also *Hagarism*, p. 32; the authors quote G.R. Hawting's article: "The Umayyads and the Hijāz" (*Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar for Arabian Studies*, held at the Oriental Institute, Oxford, 22nd and 23rd September, 1971, p. 42).

⁵ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 46.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

this caliph's efforts to divert the *hajj* from Mecca to Jerusalem, thus counteracting the efforts of the rival caliph in Mecca, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, to coerce the Syrian pilgrims to take his side.⁷

Goldziher's basic thesis was rejected by Goitein, who said: "The original incentive for the appreciation of the sanctity of Palestine in early Islam should be sought not in the field of politics but in the field of religion alone."⁸ Hirschberg also argued that "the importance of Jerusalem for Islam is only from a religious viewpoint and even here it is subject to controversy and decline."⁹ He comments that:

Considering the multitude of these testimonies [meaning the writings in praise of Jerusalem] it is quite astounding that Jerusalem played such a small part in the political framework of Islam. No important political events in the history of Islam happened there. As far as we know, the only important event which happened in Jerusalem was the declaring of Mu'āwiya as Caliph. . . . Jerusalem never served as the capital of any of the Arab countries. Further, it was never a national center or an important district. . . . The famous constructors of the Umayyad dynasty, who erected splendid palaces in different places in Palestine, did not construct one single secular building in Jerusalem.¹⁰

Concluding his discussion of the traditions on the sanctity of Jerusalem, Hirschberg reached the same conclusion as Goitein,¹¹ that "the traditions concerning Jerusalem do not originate in Umayyad politics."¹²

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Thus it can be seen that scholars had sharply conflicting viewpoints as to the relative importance of political and religious motivations in determining the sanctity and status of Jerusalem. It should be noted, however, at the outset of this discussion, that religion and politics are inseparable in early Islam. Every political activity in Islam had to have a religious basis. Some of the "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" existed in Jewish or Christian form, but their use and circulation with Islamic embellishments began during the Umayyad rule in Syria and Palestine. The traditions were created

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

⁸ Goitein, "The Sanctity of Palestine," p. 121 [= *Hayishuv* . . . , p. 26]; *idem.*, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," pp. 140, 148.

⁹ Hirschberg, "Jerusalem," p. 60.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58; this article was written long before the discovery of Umayyad buildings in the excavation at the Western Wall.

¹¹ Goitein, *loc. cit.*

¹² Hirschberg, "Sources," p. 317.

and developed by scholars of this period, under the inspiration and direction of the Umayyads—to whom the scholars, some of which frequented the courts of these rulers, actively responded.¹³

These traditions reflect the Umayyad desire to exalt the political and religious importance of Syria and Palestine, the new centre of the caliphate—principally in opposition to the Ḥijāz, the old political and religious centre. With this in mind, a number of the traditions recorded by Goitein in order to prove his thesis that the roots of the sanctity of Palestine (and Jerusalem) are to be found in religious motives alone may be examined. Goitein cites a number of traditions in which the Holy Land (*al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasa*) is mentioned, testifying, in his opinion, to the religious status of Palestine:

1. “A Jewish religious scholar predicted to the Caliph ‘Omar that ‘the governor of the Holy Land’, that is to say Mu‘āwiya, would at one point take his place as ruler of Islam.”¹⁴

In the author’s view, this is absolutely a pro-Umayyad *ḥadīth*, which attempts to validate the Caliphate of Mu‘āwiya b. Abi Sufyān and the Umayyad reign in general, through ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and through a Jew, an embodiment of the Jewish heritage.

2. A tradition in the name of Ibn Ḥawāla: “The Messenger of God put his hand on my head and said: when the [caliphate] will fix its place in the Holy Land, earthquakes and other tribulations will occur and the Hour [of the Last Judgement] will be nearer than my hand is now to your head.”¹⁵

It seems that this *ḥadīth* was created in the context of one of the struggles between the Umayyads and their opponents, and was introduced in the *Fitan* literature, that deals with the Last Days and their turmoils.

3. “Ibn Ḥawāla, being reluctant to take up residence in al-Shām, the Prophet allegedly conveyed to him the following pronouncement of God: ‘It is the choicest of all my countries, therefore I place there the best of my servants.’”¹⁶

Goitein sees this as an expression of pure Islamic significance, conveying the message that emigration to Jerusalem is something positive, reminiscent of the *hijra*. Palestine is the land to which Abraham emigrated.

¹³ See Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.; Kister, “Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem,” p. 186; al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 19–23, introduction by the editor.

¹⁴ Goitein, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” p. 143 (quoting al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, I, pp. 3251–3252).

¹⁵ Goitein, *loc. cit.*, (quoting Abū- Dāwūd’s *Sunan*).

¹⁶ Goitein, *loc. cit.*, p. 144 (quoting Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. I, p. 33); Goitein compares this tradition with the *midrash* (*Bamidbar Rabba*, ch. 23).

4. And in a similar *ḥadīth*, it is reported from ‘Aṭā’: “The Hour of the Last Judgement shall not come until Allāh brings the best of His servants to Jerusalem and the Holy Land.”¹⁷ In discussing this last *ḥadīth*, Goitein says:

Naturally, political tendencies may also be found here. During the entire Umayyad Period, Syria and Palestine were attacked by the Byzantine fleet. Thus the precept of settling the Land of al-Shām was related to the holy war . . . , but it would be a reverse chronology to see in the military situation the source of those *ḥadīths*.¹⁸

There is no doubt that the expression used to describe Palestine—“The Holy Land”—has religious origins. Certainly the source of many of these traditions can be found in the Jewish and Christian traditions concerning the sanctity of Palestine and Jerusalem. But the last two *ḥadīths* cited by Goitein are examples of those circulated by the Umayyads in order to promote the settlement of Syria and Palestine. This explains why, in the same collections of “Traditions in Praise of Syria and Palestine,” traditions in praise of the coastal cities of Palestine are found. These traditions encouraged settlement there, which was apparently seen as an answer to the difficult security, financial and demographic problems of the region.¹⁹

5. “Abū ‘l-Daradā’ (d. 652), one of the Companions of the Prophet, invited Salmān al Fārisī to come to the Holy Land, and he replied that it is not the Land which sanctifies its inhabitants, but the righteous one who sanctifies the place in which he lives.”

Goitein claims that this is a general religious question, while Goldziher tends here, too, to see Umayyad propaganda in favour of Syria.²⁰ It would appear that Goldziher is correct in that the tradition expresses the struggle of hegemony between Syria and the Hijāz. This becomes clear when looking at a similar important tradition reported by al-Balādhuri from al-Madā’īnī (d. 840?)²¹ from ‘Awāna b. al-Ḥakam (d. 147/764 or 158/775)²² relating that:

¹⁷ *Idem.*, “The Sanctity of Palestine,” pp. 26–27 (quoting al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, vol. I, p. 333).

¹⁸ Goitein, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ See Elād, “The Coastal Cities,” pp. 162–163; Livne, the “Ribāṭ Towns,” pp. 1–9.

²⁰ Goitein, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” pp. 27–28 (quoting Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 46); Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 53.

²¹ On al-Madā’īnī, see Duri, *Baḥḥt*, pp. 38–39, 270–271 (but esp. the comprehensive bibliography in Conrad’s translation of this book, p. 48); Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 314–315.

²² ‘Awāna b. al-Ḥakam is considered one of the important sources for the Umayyad

Şa'şa'a b. Şūhān came to Mu'āwiya [b. Abī Sufyān]. Mu'āwiya said to him: You have come to the best place, you have come to the place of the gathering of the dead on the Day of Judgement. Şa'şa'a said [to him]: The best place will be for him who will appear on the Day of Judgement before Allāh as a believer. As to the Day of Judgement, it will not help the sinner if he is near to it. And it will not harm the believer if he is far from it.²³

The answer placed in the mouth of Salmān al-Fārisī to Abū 'l-Dardā' is identical to Şa'şa'a's response to Mu'āwiya. In the second tradition, reported by al-Balādhurī from al-Madā'ini, 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam recounts that Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Umayyad Dynasty, notes the sanctity of Syria and Palestine. It is difficult to know whether Mu'āwiya himself really said what is related in his name. However, the tradition itself is most probably from the Umayyad period, and is representative of the struggle for the sanctity of Palestine. It may have already been circulated at the time of the early Umayyads, and 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam may have believed that the tradition was apt to have been transmitted from Mu'āwiya. It certainly was in keeping with his thinking and the ideas he wished to circulate.²⁴

Goitein cites al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī and Ibn Kathīr,²⁵ who both opposed the traditions which situate the Day of Judgement and the Last Days in Jerusalem, in order to show that these are purely local traditions with a foreign origin, having no early Muslim (religious) basis. However, the words of these two Muslim authors contain even further proof of the political motives behind the creation and circulation of the *ḥadīths* on the sanctity of Palestine. While it is true, as Goitein claims, that most of the traditions were of a foreign nuance, they were already introduced and consolidated in Islam—despite the opposition of some of the religious

period. He was an important source for early historians (*Akhbāriyyūn*), such as Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 819) and al-Madā'ini. On him, see *EI*², "'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam" (Şālih el-'Alī), *s.v.*; Sezgin, vol. I, pp. 307–308.

²³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vol. IV/A, p. 25, l. 2; quoted by the editor of al-Wāsiṭi, p. 20 (Arabic introduction); Duri, "al-Quds," p. 15; cf. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, *Faḍā'il*, pp. 53–54.

²⁴ Dr. Livne drew my attention to a tradition along lines parallel to the tradition in question (Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 115, from al-Madā'ini), according to which Şa'şa'a came to Mu'āwiya at the head of a delegation from Iraq, after which the dispute on the sanctity of Palestine developed. See Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 54, quoting this tradition. To my mind, this indeed increases the possibility that this is a stereotype literary description, naturally fitting the way of thinking of the early Umayyads.

²⁵ Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, vol. II, pp. 230–231; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. VIII, p. 280, l. 24; both sources are quoted by Goitein, "The Historical Background," p. 107; *idem.*, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," pp. 140–141.

scholars—by the end of the 1st/7th century. In other words, by the time the early Muslim foundation was created, they were already an integral part of that foundation.

It seems that even Goitein himself was somewhat aware that not only religious motives were involved, since in another place he maintained that:

Another factor too, most probably contributed to this broadening of the term "The Holy Land" . . . the prolonged contest with Byzantium. While the very idea of a sacred soil, expressed already in the Koran, was originally and essentially religious, it is only natural that it was used to attract volunteers for the perpetual war against the unbelievers on the Syrian front.²⁶

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M.J. Kister's studies opened up new angles for scholars researching the status of Jerusalem in the 1st/7th–2nd/8th centuries.

In his article on the "tradition of the Three Mosques", Kister concludes that towards the end of the 1st/7th century, beginning of the 2nd/8th century, there was general agreement in the Muslim community as to the sanctity of Jerusalem. An important *ḥadīth* which bears out this trend is the *ḥadīth* permitting the pilgrimage to the three mosques of Mecca, al-Madina and Jerusalem.²⁷

As noted before, Goldziher claimed that the "*ḥadīth* of the Three Mosques" was invented for the Umayyads by the famous scholar, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (50–51/670–671—124/742)—whom he claimed to be a tool of the ruler, though not personally guided by selfish motives.²⁸ He served the Umayyad caliphs from 'Abd al-Malik to Hishām (reigned 724–744), and was *qāḍī* in the reign of Yazīd II (reigned 720–724).²⁹ The only source which Goldziher referred to was the tradition recorded by the important historian, al-Ya'qūbī (d. 897), that al-Zuhri brought the *ḥadīth* on the Three Mosques to 'Abd al-Malik. Al-Ya'qūbī links the "*ḥadīth* of the Three Mosques" to the building of the Dome of the Rock. According to him, the *ḥadīth* transmitted by al-Zuhri was already known at the time of the building of the Dome. Thus, 'Abd al-Malik was in need of this *ḥadīth* not later than the year 72/691–92, the date of the completion of the building.³⁰

²⁶ Goitein, "The Sanctity of Palestine," p. 146.

²⁷ Kister, "The Three Mosques," pp. 173–178, 193; see also Duri, "al-Quds," p. 8 (relying extensively on Kister's article).

²⁸ Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47–49; Lecker, pp. 2–26.

³⁰ See ch. 1, n. 100.

This claim (adopted by Goldziher) is strongly refuted by several scholars. One of their main arguments is that al-Zuhri was too young and too unknown at that time to appear before the caliph, and that he only settled in Syria in 80–81/699–701.³¹ These scholars must have accepted the later date of birth of al-Zuhri, (56/675–6 or 58/677–78), as genuine rather than the earlier (50/670–71 or 51); according to the later date, he was about 14 and too young to appear before the Caliph.

But it seems that the earlier date, (50), leading to the inevitable conclusion that al-Zuhri was able to spread the “tradition of The Three Mosques” already in 70/689–90, is to be preferred. This is so for the following reasons:

1) Al-Zuhri came to Syria from al-Madina (most probably before settling in Syria) several times.³² This information may be linked to another piece of evidence, related by al-Zuhri himself, that as a young boy before attaining puberty (*muhtalim*), he was one of the delegates to the Umayyad caliph Marwan b. al-Hakam (reigned 684–685).³³

2) The most prevalent traditions relate that al-Zuhri was born between 50 and 51.³⁴ The prevailing age concerning al-Zuhri’s age at death is 72.³⁵ Since the accepted view is that al-Zuhri died in 124/742, at the age of 72, he would have been born between 49

³¹ J. Horowitz, “The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors,” (II), *Islamic Culture*, vol. II (1928), pp. 33–36; Duri, “al-Zuhri,” p. 11; *idem.*, *Baith*, pp. 78–102, esp. p. 99; Grabar, “The Dome of the Rock,” p. 36; Azmi, pp. 288, 290.

³² Ibn ‘Asakir, *Ta’rikh* (Amman), vol. XV, p. 976.

³³ Al-Fasawi, vol. III, p. 432 (‘Anbasa [b. Khalid b. Yazid, al-Ayli] < Yunus b. Yazid [al-Aly] < al-Zuhri). In answer to the question of Ya’qub b. Sufyan [al-Fasawi], Ibn Bukayr disqualifies the authenticity of the tradition since ‘Anbasa was an Umayyad official; see also Ibn ‘Asakir, *op. cit.*, p. 982; Azmi, p. 288, according to a shorter parallel source (al-Dhahabi, *Ta’rikh*, vol. V, Cairo, 1367 H., p. 147 [= al-Tadmuri ed. (*hawadith wa-wafayāt* 121–140), Beirut, 1408/1988, p. 242], sheds doubts on the authenticity of the tradition. His arguments are not convincing, however.

³⁴ Although there are some traditions which give the date as 56 or 58; Ibn Sa’d (*al-Qism al-Mutamim*), p. 185; Ibn ‘Asakir, *op. cit.*, pp. 928, 985 [= *Mukhtasar*, vol. XXIII, p. 231]; al-Safadi, *al-Wafi*, vol. V, p. 25; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, vol. IX, p. 450.

³⁵ Safadi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; from al-Waqidi; Ibn Hajar, *loc. cit.*: from al-Zubayr b. Bakkār; Ibn ‘Asakir, *Ta’rikh*, (Amman), vol. XV, p. 982 [= *Mukhtasar*, *op. cit.*, p. 243]; from al-Waqidi; note versions that he died at the age of 74 (al-Safadi, *loc. cit.*), and 75 [Ibn Sa’d, [*al-Qism al-Mutamim*], p. 185; Ibn ‘Asakir, *Ta’rikh* (Amman), vol. XV, p. 984); and one piece of evidence from al-Waqidi in his *History Book (wa-qāla al-Waqidi fi ‘l-Ta’rikh)*, relating that he died at the age of 90! But this text is most probably garbled, read: *sab’in* (70) instead of *tis’in* (90).

and 52. Accordingly, in the year 70/689–90 he was about 20 years of age. It is more plausible that the age of his death would be remembered more than the date of his birth.

The following evidence may strengthen the claim that al-Zuhri came to 'Abd al-Malik in Damascus already at the end of the 80's of the seventh century.

3) A tradition is related by al-Zuhri ('Anbasa < Yūnus < al-Zuhri), that he came to Damascus at the time when 'Abd al-Malik was preoccupied with the rebellion of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr.³⁶ Abū Zur'a concludes from this tradition³⁷ that al-Zuhri came to Damascus before 'Abd al-Malik's campaign against Muṣ'ab [in the year 72/691].³⁸ This tradition is corroborated by another unique tradition also related by al-Zuhri (Nāfi' < Shu'ayb b. Abī Ḥamza < al-Zuhri), that he heard 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in Jerusalem, delivering a sermon. . . . This was [adds al-Zuhri], before the occurrence of the plague, which is why he left the city to go to al-Muwaqqar (*sami'tu 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān bi-Īliyā' qabla an yaqa'a al-waja' alladhī kharaja minhu ilā 'l-Muwaqqar, khāṭiban yaqūlu . . .*).³⁹ It is highly possible that the plague mentioned in this tradition is the second

³⁶ *Ta'rikh Abi Zur'a*, vol. I, p. 583; Lecker, p. 29 ff.

³⁷ *Ta'rikh Abi Zur'a*, p. 584; Lecker, p. 29.

³⁸ Muṣ'ab died on 15 Jumādā I, 72/October the 14th, 691; on the rebellion and its suppression by 'Abd al-Malik, see *El'*, "Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr" (H. Lammens), s.v.; Ameer 'Abd Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate 65–86/684–705 (A Political Study)*, Lusan and Company, London, 1971, pp. 131–132.

³⁹ *Ta'rikh Abi Zur'a*, vol. I, p. 409; Lecker, p. 34. On the word *waja'*, as meaning plague, see M.W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1972, pp. 315–316 (Appendix II). The accepted view is that al-Muwaqqar was an Umayyad palace in al-Balqā', where Caliph Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 720–724) used to dwell, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. V (Beirut ed.), p. 226 (entry al-Muwaqqar). It stands to reason that like many other Umayyad palaces/fortresses in al-Shām it was part of an agricultural complex, related to the economic and social organization of the pre-Islamic world. See O. Grabar, "Umayyad 'Palace' and the 'Abbāsīd 'Revolution'," *Studia Islamica*, vol. XVIII (1963), pp. 5–18; *idem.*, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1973, pp. 139–187 (ch. 6, "Islamic Secular Art: Palace and City"); *idem.*, "Early Islamic Settlements in Bādiyat al-Shām," *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Bilād al-Shām*, 20–25 April, 1974, Amman, 1984, pp. 67–74; R. Ettinghausen and O. Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 650–1250*, Penguin Books, 1987, pp. 45–71.

For a comprehensive bibliography on al-Muwaqqar, see K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. I, part II, pp. 493–497; but especially, Fawāz Aḥmad Ṭuqān, "al-Ḥā'ir fi 'l-'Imāra al-Umawiyya al-Islāmiyya," *Ta'rikh Bilād al-Shām min al-Qarn al-Sādis ilā 'l-Qarn al-Sābi'* "Ashar (al-Mu'tamar al-Duwali li-Ta'rikh Bilād al-Shām), al-Jāmi'a al-Urduniyya, al-Dār al-Mutahhida li-'l-Nashr, 1974, pp. 119–120.

L.A. Mayer argued ("Note on the Inscription from al-Muwaqqar," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. XII (1946), pp. 73–74),

wave of the big plague that spread from Iraq to Egypt during the 80's and 90's of the 7th century. The first wave continued from 684–689 while the second started in Baṣra in 689 and reached Egypt in 690.⁴⁰

There is evidence of a plague in Syria and Egypt between 79/698 and 80/699⁴¹ but it seems more plausible that the first plague mentioned (between 689 and 690) is referred to by al-Zuhri, mainly because it fits in with the tradition (mentioned above), according to which al-Zuhri reached 'Abd al-Malik in Damascus, while the latter was preoccupied with the rebellion of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, that is, between 68 and 70/687–90. It is no coincidence that 'Abd al-Malik was in Jerusalem precisely at that time, during the building activities on the Ḥaram. And, indeed, a tradition from those in charge of the building of the Dome of the Rock, related by members of a Jerusalem family, tells of the coming of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik to Jerusalem at the initial stages of the building, i.e. between 66/685–86 and 69/688–89.⁴²

Kister showed that the *ḥadīth* of the Three Mosques is reported in the names of a number of different *ḥadīth* transmitters, and that al-Zuhri is one of them. The earliest date that can be established for the existence of the *ḥadīth* is around the late 7th—early 8th century.⁴³ It seems, therefore, that it was indeed possible for al-Zuhri,

that although connecting al-Muwaqqar to Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik is accepted, no source (except Yāqūt) mentions Yazid as the builder of the site nor that it was his preferred place of residence. This comment was ignored by other scholars (except for Creswell); for example, see G.R.D. King, "The Umayyad Qusur and Related Settlements in Jordan," *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām During the Umayyad Period*, Amman, 1989, pp. 76–77; Gazi Bisheh, "Qasr Mshash and Qasr 'Ayn al-Sil: Two Umayyad Sites in Jordan," *The Fourth International Conference on Bilād al-Shām . . .*, pp. 87–88; the quoted tradition bears evidence that the Umayyads resided in al-Muwaqqar already during 'Abd al-Malik's reign!

⁴⁰ G. Rotter, "Natural Catastrophies and Their Impact on Political and Economic Life During the Second *Fitna*," *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut, The American University of Beirut, 1984, pp. 229–234, esp. p. 230; M. Dols, "Plague in Early Islamic History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. XCIV (1974), p. 379: the plague spread from Baṣra via Syria to Egypt between 68–70/688–690; but cf. Lecker, p. 36.

⁴¹ Dols, *loc. cit.*

⁴² Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 81, no. 136; the beginning of the building of the Dome of the Rock is dated to 66 or 69, see ch. 1, notes 98–99.

⁴³ Kister, *op. cit.*, p. 173, n. 1; the earliest transmitters are Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770) and Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767); Kister asserted in another place that "the traditions recorded by Ma'mar b. Rāshid in his *Jāmi'* can be estimated as going back to original sources of the end of the first century," see Kister, "*Haddithū*," p. 237, and especially the important study of H. Motzki, "The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'āni as a Source of Authentic *Aḥādīth* of the First Century A.H.," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. L (1991), pp. 1–21.

who was active in Syria in the period in which this *ḥadīth* was crystallized, to have circulated it. Al-Zuhri was only one of the scholars who served the Umayyad caliphs,⁴⁴ among the others were several famous scholars who served as instructors for the children of the caliphs.⁴⁵

Kister shows how this *ḥadīth* underwent modifications and was even the subject of bitter conflict prior to its final crystallization. He also proved the existence of an early layer of traditions of a legalistic nature, from the early to mid-8th century, which combated the tendency to grant Jerusalem a status equal to that of Mecca and al-Madīna. These traditions clearly reflect the viewpoint of those who attempted to suppress the ever-increasing trend of adoration with regard to the sanctity of Jerusalem. Kister nonetheless demonstrates that in the first decade of the 8th century [namely, during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 685–705) and of his son al-Walīd (reigned 705–715)] there is evidence that Mecca and Jerusalem were indeed placed on the same level of importance.⁴⁶

The early rivalry between Jerusalem and Mecca—and their equation—is revealed in the early traditions. It is said that when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb entered Jerusalem, he said: *Labbayka allāhumma, Labbayka*, which means: "Oh, God, I am offering you my devoted service."⁴⁷ This is a well-known formula pronounced on the *ḥajj* at the early stage of the *iḥrām*, and is continually said during the *ḥajj*.⁴⁸

* * * * *

This tendency to equate Mecca and Jerusalem, which Kister discussed, is evident in the early traditions that report 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's refusal to pray from behind the Rock, in accordance with the proposal of the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Aḥbār, an act which

⁴⁴ Goldziher, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ Among these: 'Atā' b. Abī Rabāh (d. 115/733–734), see Kister, "The Three Mosques," p. 179, n. 24; Rajā' b. Ḥaywa, Khālid b. Ma'dān (see below p. 19), and see also Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53.

⁴⁶ Kister, "The Three Mosques," p. 182.

⁴⁷ Al-Fasawī, vol. I, p. 365: from: . . . Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d. 150/767) < Muḥammad b. Shihāb < Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād < 'Abbād [b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr]; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 2408 l. 11: when 'Umar entered through the gate of the Mosque [= the Ḥaram area] he said: *Labbayka Allāhumma, labbayka bi-mā huwa aḥabbu ilayka*: quoted by Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb," p. 83: "Nachdem das Tor geöffnet worden war, sprach er die *talbiya*, den Gruss der Pilger bei der Ankunft in Mekka, der hier aber in einer speziellen Form erscheint . . ."; it is significant to note that the *isnād* of the tradition ends with Rajā' b. Ḥaywa (d. 112/730)!

⁴⁸ See *El*¹, "Talbiya" (A.J. Wensinck), *s.v.*; Kister, "Labbayka," pp. 46–47, 52.

would have combined the *qibla* of Jerusalem and Mecca.⁴⁹ These traditions clearly show the early tendency to accord equal status and importance to the Rock and to the Ka'ba, namely, to Jerusalem and to Mecca. The efforts of the Muslim scholars in the Umayyad period to abolish this custom were only partly successful. Ibn al-Hājj al-'Abdarī testifies that in the 14th century there were still people who prayed from behind the Rock in order to unite the *qiblatayn* in their prayers.⁵⁰

* * * * *

WHY DID 'ABD AL-MALIK BUILD THE DOME OF THE ROCK?

One of the important contentions in the discussion on the status of Syria and Palestine in general, and of Jerusalem in particular in the Umayyad period, relates to the reasons for the building of the Dome of the Rock. The 19th and early 20th century scholars noted above, and mainly Goldziher, see in 'Abd al-Malik's building of the Dome of the Rock a clear manifestation of the Umayyad desire to transfer the political and religious centre to Jerusalem. Characteristically, it was Goitein who, in a series of articles, sought to refute this thesis.

After a number of arguments Goitein concludes:

There is no foundation to the surmise that the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem was erected in order to divert the Muslim pilgrimage from the holy sites of Islam to those of Judaism and Christianity. . . . The erection of the Dome of the Rock was prompted by the cultural needs of the second generation of the Muslims. It was intended—as proven by its inscriptions—as a means of rivalry with the Christians and as an appeal to them to join the new religion, which, so to say, incorporated their own.⁵¹

Very few scholars remained faithful to Goldziher's theory.⁵² Most

⁴⁹ See ch. 1, pp. 30–31; see also Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb," pp. 84, 88.

⁵⁰ Kister, *op. cit.*, p. 194, n. 106, quoting Ibn al-Hājj al-'Abdarī, *al-Madkhal*, vol. IV, Cairo 1929, p. 243 [Beirut ed., 1972, vol. IV, p. 257].

⁵¹ Goitein, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," p. 147; cf. *idem.*, "The Historical Background", pp. 104–108; *idem.*, "Al-Kuds," *EF* s.v.

⁵² Among them: W. Caskel, *Der Felsendom und die Wallahrt nach Jerusalem*, Köln, 1963, pp. 24–28; Polak, "Even Shtiyya," p. 172, and Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 66f, who supports Goldziher's thesis and as proof brings six more historians, two Christian and four Muslim, who support and corroborate al-Ya'qūbī's tradition. To this Goitein replies that this is the way of Arab historiography, which is based on copying. Goitein claims that the tradition was copied by one author from another. Creswell seeks to strengthen his arguments by claiming that in 68/687–688, the year in which, according to Goitein, the Syrian delegation went up to the *ḥajj*, the Dome of the Rock was not yet completed.

contemporary scholars support Goitein's thesis and develop different elements of it. They do not consider that the Dome of the Rock was intended to compete with the Ka'ba and certainly not to replace it.⁵³

The controversy between Goitein and Goldziher is general and extensive, and concerns the reasons and background for the increased status of Syria and Palestine—and Jerusalem as an important part in this region—in the Umayyad period. One aspect of this dispute relates to the background and motives for the development of the sanctity of Palestine and Jerusalem in the early Muslim period. Goitein and Hirschberg stressed mainly the religious side, whereas Goldziher, and with him a number of orientalists, stressed the political motives. Thus, the discussion on the Dome of the Rock is only one sub-topic in the context of this wider discussion, which is itself subordinate to the overall polemics concerning the status and sanctity of Jerusalem in the Umayyad period.

One of Goitein's main arguments in refuting Goldziher's thesis was that the latter relied almost exclusively on the biased single tradition of the pro-Shi'ite historian al-Ya'qūbī. Elsewhere it is shown that this tradition is not the only one. It was transmitted by some very early historians, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, his father, and al-Wāqidi, through Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (see below, pp. 52–61). This tradition seems to have had the greatest influence upon later Muslim historians such as Ibn Kathir, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Mujir al-Dīn and al-Diyār Bakrī. All these historians agree that the struggle between 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubayr was the only explanation for the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the attempt to divert the *hajj* from Mecca to Jerusalem. None offers an alternative explanation. Indeed, this is the explanation which best fits the historical framework.

THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

The effort made by the Umayyads to exalt and to glorify the religious and political status of Jerusalem was enormous. The evidence for this is to be found in the scope of the Umayyad building programme in Jerusalem, in the sanctification of the Ḥaram, and in

⁵³ Among the scholars: Grabar, "The Dome of the Rock," pp. 36, 45; Kessler, "'Abd al-Malik," p. 11; Hirschberg, "Sources," pp. 319–320; Busse, "Jerusalem," p. 454; *idem.*, "Biblical Cult," p. 124; Gil, *Palestine* p. 93, no. 105 [= vol. I, p. 77]; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 288–290; Rosen-Ayalon, *The Haram*, p. 14; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca*, pp. 94–95 totally rejects Goldziher's thesis.

the rituals instituted there. The building programme included not just Qubbat al-Ṣakhra and al-Masjid al-Aqṣā, but also: the smaller domed buildings on the Ḥaram (Qubbat al-Silsila, Qubbat al-Nabī, Qubbat al-Mi'rāj); the Ḥaram wall with its holy gates, which have combined Jewish and Islamic resonances (Bāb al-Nabī, Bāb al-Sakīna); the six large structures, outside the Ḥaram, including the large two-storeyed palace, from the second floor of which a bridge led apparently to the al-Aqṣā; and, finally, the roads to and from Jerusalem built and repaired by 'Abd al-Malik.

This intense building activity must be seen in the context of the sanctification of the Ḥaram and the rituals performed there. Particularly notable are the placing within the Dome of the Rock the Black Paving-Stone, and the horns of the ram sacrificed by Abraham (which, according to one tradition, were removed from the Ka'ba); the rites of worship practiced within the Dome, and their special attendants; the purification of the Rock, and the rituals surrounding it; and the opening of the Dome to the public only on Mondays and Thursdays (the same days on which the Jews read from the *Torah*). Although there is no explicit written testimony that the Umayyads considered Jerusalem to be their capital, their extraordinary investment of human and material resources in the city leaves no doubt that this was so. Certainly, at the local level, it would seem that the city was for some time the political and administrative centre of the district (*jund*) of Filasṭīn. The abundance of "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem", including the exegeses of passages of the *Qur'ān* which are devoted to the city, and the "historical" traditions concerning the conquest of the city and the peace treaty granted it, all belong to this concerted effort on the part of the first Umayyads to give exceptional status to Jerusalem.

It therefore seems evident that the Umayyads intended to develop Jerusalem into both a political and religious centre which, if not intended to surpass Mecca, would at least be its equal. This effort began with Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (661–680) and ended during the reign of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (715–717), when he started to build Ramla. Sulaymān, apparently, did not share the adoration of Jerusalem which his father and brother had demonstrated before him.

What was the nature and source of their adoration? It has been argued above that there is good reason to discount the objections of Goitein and adhere to the earlier contention of Goldziher that it was the struggle with Ibn al-Zubayr which caused 'Abd al-Malik to build the Dome of the Rock and to attempt to divert the *hajj* from Mecca to Jerusalem. This in no way conflicts with what appears

to have been two other important considerations in 'Abd al-Malik's development of the Ḥaram: the association of the spot with the Last Days and with the Temple of Solomon.

The Jewish background to the construction of the Dome of the Rock and to the elevation of early Muslim Jerusalem has been commonly accepted by scholars.

A number of scholars saw the construction of the Dome of the Rock as a sign of a Muslim desire to rebuild the Temple. Hamilton proposed that for 'Abd al-Malik the Rock served as a symbol of Solomon's Temple or of the Mihrāb Dāwūd.⁵⁴ Busse felt that in Islamic tradition the Dome of the Rock was and is considered the successor of Solomon's Temple. The cult of the Holy Rock is anchored in Jewish traditions, which were changed to suit Islamic aims as well as the elevated, honoured status that the Umayyads wished to give to Jerusalem. Like Grabar, Busse claims that this is the primary legitimization for the sanctity of the Rock and that *al-mi'rāj* traditions were transferred to the Rock only later.⁵⁵ In Busse's opinion, the structure of the Dome of the Rock was not intended to rival the Ka'ba, but nevertheless should be recognized as one of the Umayyad attempts to increase the religious value of Syria as opposed to the Ḥijāz.⁵⁶

Crone and Cook believe that originally the Muslims truly intended to rebuild the Jewish Temple. They attempt to prove this thesis by referring to the two Jewish apocalypses.⁵⁷ This Jewish link was temporary and short, however, and the separation from

⁵⁴ See Kessler, "'Abd al-Malik," p. 11, nn. 19–20, in which she quotes part of Hamilton's lecture delivered in Cairo in 1966; Hawting, *The Umayyad Caliphate*, p. 60; G.J. Reinink, "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History in Response to the Rise of Islam," *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, pp. 182–183.

⁵⁵ Busse, "Jerusalem," pp. 454–460; Grabar, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 42 (followed by Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca*, p. 95). However, Grabar, p. 46, considers that: "It is only through the person of Abraham that the ancient symbolism of the Rock could have been adapted to the new faith, since no strictly Muslim symbol seems to have been connected with it at so early a date. In itself, this hypothesis cannot be more than a suggestion. There is no clear-cut indication for Abraham's association with the Rock of Jerusalem at the time of 'Abd al-Malik"; and see Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 197, who notes the marginal role which Abraham plays in "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem," in contrast to the role played by David and particularly Solomon; see also Hirschberg, "Sources," pp. 316–337; Polak, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁶ Busse, *op. cit.*, p. 454; *idem.*, "Biblical Cult," p. 124; Grabar, p. 45.

⁵⁷ *Hagarism*, p. 10; they base themselves on "The Secrets of R. Simon Ben Yoḥay" (published by B. Lewis, *BSOAS*, vol. XIII (1950), pp. 308–339, esp. 325, 327): "The second king who restores the breaches of the Temple"; and the Apocalypse published by I. Levi, *REJ*, vol. LXVII (1914), pp. 178–182, esp. p. 178 ('Abd al-Malik as the builder of the Temple); see also Livne, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

Judaism was swift.⁵⁸ Livne argues that the cosmologico-eschatological factor was the principle motivation behind the construction of the Dome of the Rock. In his view, in spite of the extensive evidence of Jewish traditions which parallel the traditions on the Dome of the Rock, there is no solid evidence that 'Abd al-Malik wished to renew the Jewish Temple.⁵⁹

Although the reference to the Jewish apocalypses is problematic,⁶⁰ it is significant that it was decided to rebuild the Muslim Temple in the place where the Jewish Temple had stood. Many traditions, circulated in the second half of the 7th century or in the early 8th century, deal with the building of the Temple by Solomon and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar.⁶¹ A few are even more specific, linking the building of the Muslim Dome of the Rock with Solomon's Temple. One of these is that: "The nation of Muḥammad shall build the Temple of Jerusalem" (*Haykal bayt al-Maqdis*).⁶²

The Jewish connection is evident in the early traditions on the rituals held at the Ṣakhra, which were most probably an echo of Jewish ceremonies held at the Temple.⁶³

A rare tradition highly significant to this discussion is that which corroborates the primary stage (according to the authors of *Hagarism*), the primary link of the Dome of the Rock to Judaism, before the disassociation:

From Ka'b al-Aḥbār, it is written in one of the holy books: *Ayrūsālāim*, which means Jerusalem, and the Rock which is called the Temple. I shall send to you my servant 'Abd al-Malik, who will build you and adorn you. I shall surely restore to Bayt al-Maqdis its first kingdom,

⁵⁸ *Hagarism*, pp. 10, 19.

⁵⁹ Livne, *op. cit.*, pp. 288–291.

⁶⁰ In the Secrets (Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–325; Even Shmuels' ed., *Midrashei Geula*², Tel Aviv–Jerusalem 1954, p. 401), the text presents difficult problems: The second king ('Umar?!) restores the breaches of the Temple Mount but he also builds a mosque (*hishtahavaya*) there, on the Temple Rock. Here there are already echoes of the Umayyad Muslim tradition about the "construction works" of 'Umar in Jerusalem; see also Gil, *Palestine*, I, p. 75, no. 103, who also shows the difficulty in this text, and that apparently the name of 'Abd al-Malik was replaced by that of 'Umar; while the second text, The Ten Kings (*'Atidot Simon ben Yohay*), (Lewis, *loc. cit.*; Even Shmuel, p. 404), can perhaps, in fact, imply the works of Mu'awiya on the Temple Mount, and the war described may be the war with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

⁶¹ Kister, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem," p. 186; Ibn al-Murajjā, fols. 3b–15a.

⁶² Polak, "Even Shtiyā," p. 176; Kister, *loc. cit.*; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 181.

⁶³ Al-Wāṣṭī, no. 136.

and I shall crown it with gold and silver and gems. And I shall surely send to you my creatures. And I shall surely invest my throne of glory upon the Rock, since I am the sovereign God, and David is the King of the Children of Israel.⁶⁴

The other consideration that seems to have prompted 'Abd al-Malik in the sanctification of Jerusalem in general and of the Ḥaram and *Ṣakhra* in particular is the association of the spot with the events of the Last Days. The names of the gates of the Dome of the Rock—Bāb Isrāfīl and Bāb al-Janna—refer directly to the Last Days. And, recently, Myriam Rosen-Ayalon has advanced a convincing new interpretation of the ornamental and architectural elements of the Dome of the Rock as pictures, ideas and symbols, relating to the Last Days.⁶⁵

Rosen-Ayalon's interpretation of the architecture and decoration of the Dome of the Rock is in perfect accord with the tradition of Ibn Kathīr, which tells of the pictures and signs relating to the Last Days on the Ḥaram, which were executed during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik (see above, p. 57). It indicates that although the immediate cause of the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the attempt to divert the *ḥajj* from Mecca to Jerusalem may have been his struggle with Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Malik was also concerned with emphasizing the central place of Jerusalem, of the Ḥaram, and of the *Ṣakhra* within the religious landscape of early Islam. There is no contradiction in arguing that he built the Dome of the Rock on the site of the Temple of Solomon as a symbol of the Last Days and also as a rival to Mecca, which was then in the hands of his political opponent Ibn al-Zubayr.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Murajjā, fol. 25b: *maktūb fī ba'd al-Kutub, Ayrūsālāim, wa-hiyā Bayt al-Maqdis, wa-'l-Ṣakhra yuqālu lahā 'l-haykal, ab'athu ilayki 'abdī 'Abd al-Malik yabnīki wa-yuzakhrifuki, wa-laaruddanna ilā Bayt al-Maqdis mulkahā al-awwal, wa-laukallilannahā bi-'l-dhahab wa-'l-fiḍḍa wa-'l-mirjān wa-laab'athananna ilayki khalqī wa-laaṣna'anna 'alā 'l-Ṣakhra 'arshī wa-anā 'llāh al-Rabb wa-Dāwūd mailk Banī Isrā'īl*. See also al-Wāsiṭī, p. 86, no. 138, a partial parallel to this tradition. Livne, *loc. cit.*, quotes the tradition and translates it; see al-Wāsiṭī, editor's note, quoting the whole tradition from Ibn al-Murajjā; al-Wāsiṭī, *loc. cit.*: *maktūb fī 'l-tawrāt* instead of *ba'd al-kutub*; the word *Ayrūsālāim* in al-Wāsiṭī is not clear.

⁶⁵ Rosen-Ayalon, *The Ḥaram*, esp. ch. 7.

APPENDIX

A MID-16TH CENTURY GUIDE FOR THE MUSLIM PILGRIM TO JERUSALEM

This Guide was written by Nāṣir al-Dīn, Muḥammad b. Khidr al-Rūmī (mid-16th century), and is included in his book *al-Mustaḡṣā fi Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, which is still in manuscript form. The last two chapters of this book (the eighth and the ninth) are devoted to the description of an accurate and detailed circuit of the visits to the holy sites of the Muslims on and off the Ḥaram. A partial summary of this book, including the Guide for Muslim Pilgrims, was written for the first time by E. Ashtor, and has subsequently been mentioned by a few scholars.¹ As far as I know, this is the first book explicitly described by its author as a guide for the Muslim visitor in Jerusalem.² The other parts of the book serve only as an introduction, preparing the reader for the chapters dealing with the detailed route of the visitor in Jerusalem and its surroundings. Although the historical period and descriptions of this writer are beyond the frame of this book, it is presented here as a valuable supplement to the Guide of Ibn al-Murajjā.

* * * * *

In his description of the places to be visited, the author accompanies each stop with the appropriate prayers and invocations. Unlike Ibn al-Murajjā, he omits the *isnād* before the prayer, a custom common among later medieval writers of *Faḍā'il al-Quds* literature, from the 13th century onward.³ A superficial examination reveals that the writer copied from earlier compilations of "the Literature in Praise of Jerusalem", including Ibn al-Murajjā or his copiers. Some of the versions of the prayers were most probably taken from the book of Ibn al-Murajjā, for example, the prayers said at the Black Paving-Stone and at the Gate of Mercy. But in many other cases the author brings different versions of prayers, sometimes even longer.

This 16th century *Guide* reflects its own period, but also an earlier period, the end of the Mamlūk sultanate. It reflects the changes which took place on the Ḥaram between the 11th and 16th century. Indeed, many places on and off the Ḥaram which are not mentioned by Ibn al-Murajjā are found in this *Guide*. Some are not even mentioned by the later authors from the 14th–15th centuries that copied extensively from Ibn al-Murajjā's

¹ Ashtor, "An Arab Book," pp. 209–214; Sivan, p. 271; Sadan, "Nabī Mūsā" (part two), pp. 231–232; Livne, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 302.

² *Al-Mustaḡṣā*, fols. 2a–2b; Livne, *op. cit.*, n. 330; after the visit to Jerusalem the author devotes a chapter to the visit to the holy places in Hebron with a detailed itinerary of stops. Afterwards he describes the visit to the grave of Lūt (Nabī Yaqīn) and to Moses' Grave (Nabī Mūsā), near Jericho.

³ Hasson, "The Literature in Praise of Jerusalem," p. 8.

book. These writers commented a number of times about changes that occurred with respect to the Holy Places in their own days. Sometimes they added new places in their descriptions. A close examination of the *Guide* from the 16th century will show that in a few instances the author copied from al-Suyūṭī's book *Ithāf al-Akhiṣṣā'* (although it is possible that he copied from those who preceded al-Suyūṭī, especially from the author of *Muthir al-Gharām*, or maybe from those who copied from al-Suyūṭī himself, like Mujīr al-Dīn). Yet some genuine historical material is found in this book.

As for the subject of discussion, the circuit of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, in comparison with the preceding compositions from the Mamlūk period, many additions are found. The *Guide*'s author adds new places which were not heard of before. It is not possible at this stage of knowledge to assert whether these places "appeared" or were added after the Ottoman conquest, or were perhaps already in existence in the Mamlūk period. This is a basic and important point in the study of this *Guide* (and other guides of this kind). Until the problem of the authenticity (and source) of the author of *al-Mustaḡṣā* is solved, any discussion of this book will not be complete and exhaustive, and the results will be only partial. The study of this book requires first and foremost a thorough in-depth analysis of the later compositions on the "Merits of Jerusalem", in order to attest to the relation between them and this book. This kind of comparative study is essential for the study of the Holy Places in Jerusalem during the Mamlūk period and the beginning of the Ottoman rule, a topic that is beyond the scope of this book.

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*The Description of the Circuit of the Muslim Pilgrim in Jerusalem,
According to the Guide from the 16th Century.*

In describing the course for the Muslim pilgrim within the Ḥaram and outside it, emphasis is put on those places that were not mentioned by earlier writers. Where copying from other sources was detected, this is noted. The relevant prayers and invocations, which were given for every holy site, have been omitted. The philologico-etymological explanations or citations from the *ḥadīth* literature, added by the author, are also omitted here.

* * * * *

The Muslim enters the Ḥaram through:

1. Bāb Ḥiṭṭa (fol. 66a). This is the first station on the Ḥaram. From there he continues to:

1a. The Īwān (the roofed hall), located to the right side of the entrance to this gate. The Īwān is considered part of this gate (fols. 67b-68a). Then he continues towards:

2. Qubbat Sulaymān (The Dome of Solomon), called "The 'Chair' of Solomon" (Kursī Sulaymān). There, after the prayers and the reading of *al-Fātiḥa*, the Muslim must put his hand on the rock that is within the building with the dome. (fol. 68a). [It is evident that the Dome of Solomon is still called the "Chair" of Solomon in the 16th century. It seems to corroborate my assumption that the "Chair of Solomon" mentioned by earlier traditions is identified with the later "Dome of Solomon" (see the discussion on pp. 82-93).]

From the Dome of Solomon the Muslim now turns towards the elevated ground of the Ḥaram, ascends through the western staircase [i.e. the north-west staircase, from which one can descend to the Gate of the Inspector (Bāb al-Nāzīr)] towards the place called:

3. Maghārat al-Arwāḥ (The Cave of the Spirits), which is located at a distance of 10 cubits or more (about 5 to 6 m.) from the edge of the staircase. From there he continues to:

4. Qubbat al-Mi'rāj (The Dome of the Ascension of the Prophet) which is [explains the author] Qubbat al-Nabī (The Dome of the Prophet). Then the Muslim turns to:

5. Al-Mihrāb al-Aḥmar (The Red Mihrāb), which is located west of the Dome of the Rock (fols. 68b–69a). [Al-Suyūṭī mentions this Mihrāb (in 1470), but does not include it among the holy places that are visited.⁴ From the 16th century author, Nāṣir al-Dīn, it is also clear that in his days the Dome of the Ascension is identical to the Dome of the Prophet. Al-Suyūṭī did not unite the two. One may recall that above the entrance gate of the Dome of the Ascension there is a dedication inscription, dated 1201, which identifies the Dome as the Dome of the Prophet. This might be the reason why Nāṣir al-Dīn connects and combines the two domes.] Afterwards the Muslim enters:

6. Qubbat al-Ṣakhra (The Dome of the Rock), through The Gate of Paradise (Bāb al-Janna) (fol. 69b) [i.e. the northern gate. This was the name of the gate during 'Abd al-Malik's reign; this is explicitly told by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (quoting very early sources).⁵

It is also possible to deduce it from a very early tradition in al-Wāsiṭī's book.⁶ It is also told by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari in the mid-14th century.⁷] Inside the Dome of the Rock the Muslim must visit the following places:

6a. Al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā' (The Black Paving-Stone) (fols. 69b–70a). [Here the author copies part of the text of al-Suyūṭī. From his description it is clear that this Paving-Stone is located immediately past the northern entrance to the Dome of the Rock. This location fits in with other earlier descriptions of the Black Paving-Stone (see our discussion on pp. 78–81)]. When he has passed the Black Paving-stone, the Muslim goes on and enters through an iron-grilled gate (*al-bāb al-shubbāk al-ḥadīd*), between the inner circle of the columns, a gate which is parallel to the northern gate of the Dome of the Rock, and comes to the Rock (al-Ṣakhra). On the Rock, the author mentions two holy places:

6b. Aṣābī' al-Malā'ika ([The place of] The Fingers of the Angels) and:

6c. Qadam al-Nabī (The Foot[print] of the Prophet) (fols. 70a–71a). [Ibn al-Murajjā mentions only Maqām al-Nabī, most probably within the Dome of the Rock. It is noteworthy that they are mentioned by Ibn al-'Arabī during the 90's of the 11th century. (He is quoted by the author of *Muthīr al-Gharām* [mid-14th century] and by al-Suyūṭī (1470) who

⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, vol I, p. 173.

⁵ See ch. 2, p. 55.

⁶ Al-Wāsiṭī, pp. 89–90, no. 146.

⁷ *Masālik al-Abṣār*, p. 144.

copied him.)⁸ But al-Suyūṭī does not include these places among the sites of the circuit of the holy places, nor does he mention any prayers connected with them. The author of the *Guide* from the 16th century mentions them as part of the itinerary of the Muslim pilgrim. Nevertheless, he copies, word for word, a big part of the text of al-Suyūṭī (i.e. from *Muthīr al-Gharām*), saying that the [Holy] Place of The Fingers of the Angels is in the western part of the Rock. It is separate, but close to the noble Footprint, and parallel to the western gate of the Dome of the Rock. As for the Footprint of the Prophet (in his own days), says Nāṣir al-Dīn, it is on a stone separate from the Rock, parallel to it, at the south-west corner, standing on six small pillars.⁹ Then the Muslim goes down to the Noble Cave (al-Maghāra al-Sharīfa), to which one descends by 15 stairs. Halfway down the staircase there is a small stone bench, on which the Muslim stands in order to visit:

6d. Lisān al-Ṣakhra (“The Tongue of the Rock”) (fols. 71b–72b). There one finds a beautiful marble pillar whose lower edge rests on the edge of the stone bench (mentioned above), and whose upper edge supports the edge of the Rock—as if it prevents it from falling towards the south. One must caress the “Tongue” with the hand, not kiss it, for kissing it is a disgraceful innovation (*bid’a*). Then the Muslim descends to the cave in which there are the following Holy Places:

6e. Maqām Sulaymān (the Holy Place of Solomon).

6f. Shās al-Nabī [the word *shās* is illegible].

6g. Maqām of Isaiah? [Text: *Sha’ba*], very close to the wall, and it is not polite to stand on it. Then the Muslim prays in:

6h. Maqām [of the Angel] Jibrīl (Gabriel), where the Angel sat on the night of the *isrā’* (fol. 72b). Then the Muslim continues and prays in:

6i. Maqām of Dāwūd (David). Then he turns and prays in:

6j. The Hole in the centre of the Cave. There one finds a big candle, lit day and night (fols. 72b–73a). [All these sites, eight in number are located inside the cave. They are not mentioned by Ibn al-Murajjā.] After he has finished praying in all the sites in the Cave, the Muslim ascends from the Cave and continues, within the Dome of the Rock, towards:

6k. Qadam al-Sayyid Idrīs (The Footprint of the Lord Idrīs) (fol. 73b). Here the Muslim is about to leave the Dome of the Rock. [The author described (12)! Holy Places within the Dome of the Rock. Ibn al-Murajjā described only (4)!] His exit is through the eastern gate. While leaving the Dome, to his right side there is a Holy Place called:

7. Maqām ‘Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib] where the Muslim should pray (fols. 73b–74a). [One may recall that the author does not specify the name of the gate and that one should pray there. We remember that Ibn al-Murajjā names this gate as the gate of the (Angel) Isrāfīl, and attributes to it great importance. On the other hand, it is evident that here is a new Holy Place, in memory of Caliph ‘Alī b. Abi Ṭālib. It is possible that his

⁸ Al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135; see also the discussion, ch. 2, pp. 72–73 (Maqām al-Nabī).

⁹ *Al-Mustaṣṣā*, fol. 70b; a parallel tradition: al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*, copies *Muthīr al-Gharām*; al-Suyūṭī does not mention the number of the pillars.

Maqām was inside the gate, although this is not unequivocally understood from the text.] From there the Muslim continues to:

8. Qubbat al-Silsila (The Dome of the Chain), built on marble columns (fols. 74a–74b). Here the Muslim turns towards:

9. Al-Mizān (The Scales), which is parallel to and south of the Rock, adjacent ('*inda*) to the Marble Minbar. The Muslim should pray in the *mihrab* (of the Minbar?) (fol. 75a). [The Scales are not mentioned by Ibn al-Murajjā. This site is connected to the traditions of the End of Days. These early traditions (most certainly from the Umayyad period) describe the Mawāzin (the Scales), on which, at the End of Days, people will be weighed in order to determine their destiny.¹⁰ Since the resurrection of the dead was to take place in Jerusalem, the Scales were also identified in Jerusalem already during 'Abd al-Malik's reign (685–705).¹¹ According to the *Guide*'s author, it is clear that by the scales he means the southern arch opposite the central northern gate of the al-Aqṣā Mosque, and opposite the southern gate of the Dome of the Rock. Most of the arches above the staircases that lead to the Dome of the Rock were rebuilt and renovated during the Mamlūk period.¹² The inscription on the above-mentioned arch is late and testifies to its renovation during the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II (in 1893). But it is noteworthy that on the north-western arch, opposite the staircase that leads towards Bāb al-Nāzir (= Bāb al-Ḥabs), there is an inscription from the time of Sulaymān the Magnificent (early to mid-16th century),¹³ referring to the arch as the blessed scales (al-Mizān al-Mubāarak). The Marble Minbar mentioned by the author is undoubtedly the splendid minbar found nowadays to the right (west) of the above-mentioned arch, called Minbar Burhān al-Din. Mujir al-Din relates that it was erected by the well-known *qādī*, Burhān al-Din, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. b. Sa'd b. Jamā'a (d. Sha'bān 790/Aug–Sept. 1388). Before this *minbar* was built there was a different

¹⁰ Wensinck, *Concordance*, w.z.n. (p. 203).

¹¹ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 23, no. 28; another early tradition: *ibid.*, p. 92, no. 151, and the editor's parallel sources; and see also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. IV (Wüstenfeld ed.), p. 593, from Abū Mālik al-Quraṣī (a Jewish convert to Islam from the tribe of Qurayza), quoting from the [holy] book of the Jews that was not changed (i.e. forged) (*fī kitāb al-Yahūd alladhī lam yughayyar*): the location of al-Mizān, Heaven, Hell, and the gathering of the creatures on Judgement Day is in Jerusalem; a parallel, slightly different tradition, Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 97; see also Ibn al-Firkāh, p. 77 from Muqātil (d. 150/767–8): the Scales (al-Mawāzin) will be posted in Jerusalem on Judgement Day.

¹² They are already mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, pp. 31–32 (Arabic); the two southern archs were built by the governor of Syria, Anūstakīn al-Ghūrī (reigned 1028–1041) during the reign of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Zāhir (ruled 1021–1036). The arch under discussion was called Maqām al-Ghūrī.

¹³ The inscription from 1893: see 'Ārif el-'Ārif, *Ta'rikh Qubbat al-Ṣakhra al-Musharrafa wa-'l-Masjid al-Aqṣā al-Mubāarak* . . . al-Quds, 1955, p. 144; the southern arch: Van Berchem, *Haram*, no. 198; the north-western arch: 'Ārif el-'Ārif, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

minbar made of wood on wheels, in that same place. On this *minbar*, says Mujir, prayers and invocations are held on the holidays and during public prayers for rain.¹⁴ From this place the Muslim descends and enters:

10. Al-Aqṣā Mosque. Inside the mosque he visits the following sites:

10a. Al-‘Amūd (The Pillar), on which the Prophet is said to have prayed several times (fol. 75b). From there, the Muslim continues to:

10b. Mihrāb Mu‘āwiya, within the roofed construction (al-Maqṣūra) made of iron located to the right of the *minbar* [of the al-Aqṣā Mosque]. Here the author adds that it is strictly forbidden to pass between the two pillars, as people used to do, hoping by this to receive forgiveness for their sins. The author condemns this habit, calls it *bid‘a shanī‘a* (a loathed religious innovation), and describes how the citizens of Jerusalem drag the Muslim pilgrim between the columns, push him, and make him go through the pillars by pressing and pushing. It happens quite often that women get mixed among the men. (fol. 76b) [Notable here is the parallel between the two columns in the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives and the custom of the Christians (and the Muslims) to pass between them. See the discussion on p. 140.] From there, the Muslim turns to:

10c. Al-Mihrāb al-Kabīr (The Great Mihrāb), that was erected by order of Ṣalāh al-Dīn (fol. 77a).¹⁵

10d. Mihrāb ‘Umar (fol. 77b).

10e. Mihrāb Zakariyyā’ (fol. 78a). [First mentioned inside the al-Aqṣā Mosque in the 15th century, see the discussion on pp. 129–130]

The visit within al-Aqṣā Mosque ends here. The Muslim leaves the mosque through the eastern gate and ascends towards:

11. Mihrāb Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā’. Then to:

12. Jubb Sulaymān (Solomon’s Well), also called The Well of the Leaf (Bi’r al-Waraqā). [Solomon’s Well and the Well of the Leaf (or Leaves) are described as identical in an earlier period (14th century).¹⁶ Whether they were identified as one site in a period prior to the 14th century is not clear. The tradition about Bi’r al-Waraqā (the well through which Sharik b. Khubāsha descended, during the reign of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (634–644), and went to heaven from where he took a few leaves) is very early.¹⁷] From there, the Muslim continues to:

13. Mihrāb Dāwūd (fol. 78b). [Most probably in the eastern wall of the Ḥaram. The author does not explicitly states that the Mihrāb is on the Ḥaram, but in the late Middle Ages it was mainly located in the eastern wall of the Ḥaram. See the discussions, on pp. 137–138.] From there, the Muslim continues, descending towards:

¹⁴ Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), pp. 19, 108; see also Van Berchem’s discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–215.

¹⁵ Rosen-Ayalon, “Ayyūbid Jerusalem,” p. 66.

¹⁶ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, vol. I, p. 199, quoting *Muthir al-Gharām*.

¹⁷ Al-Wāsiṭī, p. 91, no. 148; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*, copies this tradition but adds a sentence, in which he identifies Sulaymān’s Well with Bi’r al-Waraqā. See on Bi’r al-Waraqā, al-Wāsiṭī, p. 93, no. 154, and the editor’s many parallels; see also al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–209; Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, pp. 94–97, several traditions: in one of them his name is Mukhshin b. Mukhāshin.

14. Haykal (Ma'bad) Maryam (The Temple of Mary). This is the place known as the Cradle of Jesus (Maḥd 'Īsā) (fols. 78b–79a). There he ascends to:

14a. Al-Ṣuffa (a long, roofed portico), that is near the Cradle. He must not go down to the Cradle since this is considered impolite. Then the Muslim continues towards a nearby site, Maqām Maryam, ascends four steps inside the roofed hall (Īwān) and then continues to the adjacent site:

14b. Maqām al-Ḥawāriyyūn (Place of the Apostles?).¹⁸ Here ends the visit in Ma'bad Maryam. From there, the Muslim ascends and exits from the underground hall, turning towards:

15. The (Place of) al-Ṣirāṭ, located near the (eastern) wall, overlooking Wādī Jahannam. [The traditions about the *Ṣirāṭ*, the bridge that in the Last Days will be stretched over the Qidron Valley (which is identified as Gei Ben Hinnom—Wādī Jahannam in the Muslim traditions) are very early. It was noted in Chapter Two that *al-Ṣirāṭ* was drawn on the Ḥaram during 'Abd al-Malik's reign.¹⁹] From there, the Muslim turns towards:

16. Miḥrāb al-Khidr [a holy prophet who is very often identified with Elias], that is near the wall, towards the western side, on a small platform (fol. 79a). [On the several places on the Ḥaram where the location of al-Khidr was identified, see Chapter Three, p. 117.] Then the Muslim continues to:

17. Bāb al-Tawba and Bāb al-Raḥma (The Gate of Repentance and The Gate of Mercy) (fol. 80a). From there the Muslim visitor leaves the Ḥaram to go to the holy sites surrounding it. The author devotes Chapter Nine in his book to these sites.

* * * * *

The Muslim pilgrim leaves the Ḥaram through the Gate of the Tribes (Bāb al-Asbāt), arriving at:

18. The Tomb of Mary (fols. 83b–84a). He enters through the gate and descends the stairs within the church towards the tomb, which is in a small room. Then he goes out of the room and turns towards:

18a. Maqām 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, which is the Miḥrāb located to the south of the burial place (*turba*), and near it. [It seems that this Miḥrāb was erected for the commemoration of the "Prayers" of this Caliph in the Tomb of Mary; see the discussion on pp. 138–141.] From there, the Muslim ascends towards:

19. The Mount of Olives and the holy sites on it, which people used to visit (fols. 84b–86a):

19a. The Tomb of Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya. Her tomb, says the author, is located at the summit of the Mount of Olives. It is frequently visited. [See the discussion on the tomb of Rābi'a, on p. 145] The visitor enters

¹⁸ It seems that the reference is to the Apostles of Jesus. It is possible that the 12 *Nuqabā'* of the Prophet in the second 'Aqaba are meant, but this second suggestion is much less plausible. The Christian connections of the Ma'bad Maryam complex are clear and more obvious.

¹⁹ See, ch. 2, p. 57; see also Muqātil, *Tafsir*, fol. 210b: The place (*mawdi'*) of the *Ṣirāṭ* is in Jerusalem; Ibn al-Faqih, p. 95: copies Muqātil; al-Muqaddasi, p. 170: Mawḍi' al-Ṣirāṭ.

the burial place through the gate, goes down and turns towards the grave from the south. At this place, at the top edge of the grave (*ra's al-qabr*), is the Footprint. It may be possible, says the author, and only God knows best, that this is the Footprint of one of the Prophets. After he has finished his prayers in this place, the Muslim goes on and ascends the stairs towards:

19b. The small roofed portico where the *mihṛāb* is located (fol. 85a). From the Tomb of Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya the Muslim goes up towards:

19c. Mas'ad 'Īsā b. Maryam ([the Building with the Dome commemorating the] Ascension of Jesus son of Mary) (fols. 85a–85b). The Muslim prays inside the *mihṛāb*, then turns to:

19c.1. Al-Qadam [The Footprint of Jesus]. From there, the Muslim turns to:

19d. The Eastern Mosque, known as the Carob (Kharrūba) (fols. 86a–86b). Inside is a tomb, and the Muslim prays to its spirit. It is said that it is Salmān al-Fārisī [a close friend and advisor of the Prophet], but the author rejects this opinion and claims that it is the grave of one of the famous holy men. [Mujir al-Dīn (end of the 15th century) also mentions this mosque and the Carob tree nearby, called the Carob of the Ten (Kharrūb al-'Ashara). He does not know the reason for this name.²⁰] From this mosque the Muslim descends to:

20. 'Ayn (The Spring of) Silwān (fol. 87a) and then he continues towards:

21. The burial-place (*turba*) of the Shaykh, Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Thawrī, which is, according to the author, on the mountain, near Mount Zion (fols. 88a–88b). He also quotes a *ḥadīth* from the book of "al-Imām al-Awḥad", called *Kitāb al-Wasīf*. According to this book, Mount Abū Thawr, its *wādī* and its waters are from heaven and he who comes to the grave of its holy man (*al-Walī*), called Abū Thawr, will be granted plentiful bounty.²¹ When entering the place, the visitor must pray at the gate of the building of the grave. Then he has to come closer to the grave. There he finds the *Qur'ān (muṣḥaf)* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, which he should kiss, stand beside and pray . . . [Mujir al-Dīn has some information concerning Abū Thawr and his grave. His full name is Shihāb al-Dīn, Abū 'l-'Abbās, Aḥmad b. Jamāl al-Dīn, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, the Jerusalemite, known also as Abū Thawr. (That is, the owner of the Ox). He attended the conquest of Jerusalem (by the Ayyūbids, most probably in 1187) and as one of the warriors (against the Franks?). He fought while riding his Ox. Al-Malik al-'Aziz, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave him as endowment (*waqf*) on the 25th of Rajab 594 (= 2nd June 1198), the village near the Gate of Hebron (Bāb al-Khalīl) in Jerusalem. This village, says Mujir, is called: The Monastery (Dayr)

²⁰ Mujir, vol. II (Amman ed.), p. 61; *Laṭā'if al-Uns*, fol. 21b, copies Mujir: *Kharrūbat al-Ghāra* (instead of *al-'Ashara*); see also, Mujir, vol. II (Bulaq ed.), p. 611: *Kharrūbat al-'Ashara*.

²¹ I was unable to identify al-Imām al-Awḥad and his book *Kitāb al-Wasīf*. It may possibly refer to one of the many commentaries to al-Ghazālī's, *al-Wasīf fī-'l-Furū'* (see Ḥājji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. II, Istanbul, 1943, pp. 2008–2009).

of Abū Thawr. This is a small village, adds Mujir. In it there is a monastery (Dayr), built during the Byzantine (al-Rūm) period, known in the early period as Dayr Mārquṣ. (In another place it is mentioned by Mujir as Dayr Mārqiyyūs) and later it became known as Dayr Abū Thawr, after the name of the *Shaykh*, known as Abū Thawr. Mujir goes on to say that this *Shaykh* was buried in the village and the (people) come to visit his grave. Some of his descendants (still) live in this village.]²² Then the visitor continues towards:

22. The Tomb of David on Mount Zion. There he prays inside, at the *mihrab* (fol. 89a). [It is obvious that the two last places mentioned could not be part of the *Guide* of Ibn al-Murajjā. Exactly when Muslims started visiting and venerating the burial place of Abū Thawr is not known, certainly not before the end of the 12th century. As for David's Tomb on Mount Zion, it was finally taken from the Franciscans and given to the Muslims only in 1452.²³]

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This Appendix is not complete without referring briefly to a very important topic, i.e., the possible influence of the Guides for the Christian pilgrim to the Holy Land on the Muslim Guides discussed in this book, for this kind of literature was very developed in the Christian world. One of the first guides already known at the beginning of the 4th century is the *Onomastikon* of Eusebius, the *Guide to the Land of the Bible*. At the

²² Mujir, *op. cit.*, p. 410 [Amman ed., p. 60]: about the village Abū Thawr (the name of the monastery: *Dayr Marquṣ*); *ibid.*, pp. 487–488 [Amman ed., pp. 144–145]: biography of Abū Thawr (the name of the monastery: *Dayr Mārqiyyūs*); Ashtor, "An Arab Book," p. 213 (according to Mujir); *Laṭā'if al-Uns*, fols. 27b–28a: copies Mujir. In the Amman edition of Mujir (vol. II, p. 60), there is an error, the word *fath* was omitted, which changes the meaning of the sentence. Sauvair, the translator of Mujir, read in the ms. he used, instead of *Dayr Mārquṣ* (Mujir, II, p. 410): *Dayr Mār Qubūs*. The second place in Mujir where this place is called *Dayr Mārqiyyūs* (*ibid.*, p. 488), was missing from the Sauvair ms., so he translated it from the printed (Bulaq) edition, but changed *Mār Qiyūs* to: *Mār Qubūs*; see H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron*. . . Paris, 1876, pp. 192, 290, note a. Vincent and Abel quote Sauvaire and go further to claim that this church was dedicated to the Martyr Procopius and the name *Mār Qubūs* is a distortion of the Greek name of Procopius, *Borqibos* and that the original *B* was changed in the Arabic text to *M*; see Vincent et Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, vol. II, Paris, 1926, pp. 866–868; Dalman also agrees with this interpretation, see G. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände, Gütersloh*, 1930, p. 147, but it seems rather far-fetched and almost a coercion of the text; and see also, T. Canaan, "Muhammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine," *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vol. VII (1927), p. 54; about the archeological excavations and the Byzantine church on Jabal Abū Thawr, see A. Ovadia, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land*, Bonn, 1970, pp. 30–81, and the bibliography therein.

²³ See E. Ashtor, "Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages," *Yerushalayim, Review for Eretz-Israel Research* (published by Rabbi Kook Foundation, Jerusalem), vol. V (1955), pp. 111–114 (in Hebrew); J. Praver, "The Franciscans on Mount Zion and the Jews of Jerusalem in the 15th century," *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, vol. XIV (1948), pp. 15–24 (in Hebrew).

beginning of the 6th century, there are short, complete guides written for the Christian pilgrim. They were written for the pilgrim to carry during his visit to the Holy Places, and were distributed to him already in his place of origin, in the west.²⁴ Ashtor believed that the Christian Guides for the pilgrims influenced the Muslim compilations of this kind. He was only familiar with *al-Mustaḡṣā* from the 16th century and did not know of Ibn al-Murajjā's book, from the 11th century.²⁵ Although it is possible that there was a Christian influence in this context (which still has to be proven), it has been shown in this work that the praises of the Holy Places of Muslims in Jerusalem and its close surrounding are very early. Even if some of these Holy Places have Christian links, in most cases they are venerated and visited by Muslims because of their connection to Islam. Sometimes the Christian link is renounced and a new, Islamic link is made. This is the case of Mihrāb Maryam [Jesus' mother], which is venerated because Maryam is the mother of the Prophet Jesus, mentioned in the *Qur'ān*. There the Muslim recites *sūrat* Maryam! The Tomb of Maryam was also sanctified by 'Umar's "prayers" at this site. This topic is undoubtedly worthy of an in-depth comparative study.

²⁴ J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, Ariel Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 1, 4–5 ff.; on the Christian pilgrimage to Palestine, see also J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin du Jérusalem*, vol. I, Paris, 1969, pp. 27–134; A. Grabois, "The Christian Pilgrimage in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages and Its Consciousness Projection," in *The Mediterranean: Its Place in the History and Culture of the Jews and Other Nations*. . . . The Historical Society of Israel, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 68–85, esp. pp. 69–70; the first *Guide* for the Jewish pilgrim is most probably from the 11th century, published by Braslavi (see Bibliography); mention should also be made here of the Geniza document from the 11th or 12th century, dealing with the special prayers of the Jewish pilgrims at the gates of Jerusalem (*ṣalawāt al-abwāb fi 'l-Quds*). The document was first published by J. Mann, *Texts and Studies* . . . vol. II, Cincinnati, 1931, p. 458; and was re-published by Lea Naomi Gold: "A Version of a Prayer at the Gates of Jerusalem," *Ha-Aretz* (Literary Supplement) from the 18/5/72; the *Guides* for Jewish Pilgrims to Eretz Israel are from later periods.

²⁵ E. Ashtor, "Muslim and Christian Literature in Praise of Jerusalem," *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, vol. I (1981), pp. 187–189.

ABBREVIATIONS/BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbot, The Qurrah Papyri.
Abbot, N. The Qurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute. Chicago, 1938.
- Abbot, *Studies*.
Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. Vol. II, *Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition*. Chicago, 1967. Vol. III, Chicago, 1972.
- 'Abdarī, *Rihla*.
Abū 'Abdallāh, Muḥammad al-'Abdarī. *Al-Rihla al-Maghribiyya*. Ed. Muḥammad al-Fāsī, Rabat, 1968.
- Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*.
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