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Where Heaven and Earth Meet:
Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade

635/638–1099: The Mosque of Jerusalem (*Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis*)

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From the seventh to the eleventh centuries, the area of the Haram is mainly associated with the former Temple of Jerusalem.[1] This results in an impressive bulk of information from visitors coming from all over the Islamic and Christian worlds, mostly Muslims, but also Jews and Christians. The surviving descriptions are mostly in Arabic but also in Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Persian. Jerusalem is indeed better known than any other city of that time.

These visitors perceive the Haram mostly through three conceptions. For them this is the *Former and Future Temple*. This is also a Friday mosque, i.e., the one *Mosque of Jerusalem* where on Friday the Muslims gather for congregational prayer. And this is, thirdly, a *place of spiritual power*. These conceptions are realised in four ways, by *names and traditions* of salvation history, by *architecture and furniture*, by *ritual and custom*, and by *visions and dreams*.

Obviously each of these four realisations has its own rules. Architecture, for example, allows individuals to express their personal conceptions, but requires considerable funds for building and maintenance. Ritual and custom are much slower to change and much more difficult to hinder. Dreams and visions provide legitimacy where no other legitimacy can be found.

The three conceptions and the four realisations change with time. Our best strategy is to define four periods. *After their conquest of Jerusalem*, the Muslims, a religiously inspired loose confederation of Arab clans and tribes round the two cities of Mecca and Medina in Western Arabia, build a modest mosque amidst the ruins of the former Temple (635/638–85). In the *Umayyad period* (685–750) the caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walid start to build a real Muslim state with Syria-Palestine as its heart. As part of this, they construct the imperial architectural complex we still know today. Up to the civil war between the Abbasid caliphs al-Amin and al-Maʾmun (809–13) the area is considered to be both the Temple rebuilt and the Mosque of Jerusalem. For the *ʿAbbasids* (813–969) in

60 Carved wooden panel of the eighth century found originally on the ceiling of the Aqsa Mosque, now in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem

Iraq, who have their power base in remote Central Asia, the conception of the Temple falls into oblivion and the Haram is reduced to what it officially still is today, i.e., the Mosque of Jerusalem. Things change with the *Fatimids* (969–1099), this North African-Egyptian dynasty with their undisputed control of the West African gold trade and very strong Shiʿite missionary concerns. Mainly after the earthquakes of the 1030s, they transform the Haram into a Fatimid imperial mosque. The period ends with the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem and the death and exodus of Muslims and Jews.

Each of these four periods has its own profile in the sources. For the Byzantine period, we mostly rely on the *reports of Christian pilgrims* from Western Europe.[2] Their authors lead the reader through a spiritual landscape full of allusions to the Bible and to Christian tradition. The physical experience of these places is meant to deepen their spiritual meaning; travelling is primarily a spiritual experience.

For the Umayyad period, the most important source are the *remains of buildings*, i.e., the general layout of the Haram, its wall, and the Dome of the Rock.[3] Their architectural language is still Late Antique, but the topics they deal with are already Islamic—they speak Late Antique, but think Islamic. *Inscriptions* provide a bridge from architecture to written sources,[4] especially the long inscription of ʿAbd al-Malik inside the Dome of the Rock and the two inscriptions which used to be above two of its gates, but now are kept in the Islamic Museum. The vast literature related to *Muslim tradition* many times locates allusions to the Qurʾan and Muslim tradition, explains peculiar features and customs, attributes them to the Islamic conquerors, etc.[5] Their brevity, however, pushes individual spirituality far into the background and stresses instead the aspects of teaching and explaining.

For the ʿAbbasid period, our main sources are the *Muslim geographer*s with their interest in physical shape and customs.[6] Both the geographers and the first *Jewish pilgrim guides* like to enumerate traditions in a tour-like order.[7]

For the Fatimid period, the Persian *travel report of Nasir-i Khusraw* is especially informative. A series of remarks in one of the collections of Muslim traditions has been found to be the *first Muslim pilgrim* guide to Jerusalem,[8] i.e., a survey of the places which really matter to a Muslim pilgrim, all the rituals performed at them, and the legitimizations given for these rituals. For this period the written sources are rich and quite reliable, but the *remains of the buildings* still have a significance similar to what they had for the Umayyad period: what have been preserved are mainly the layout and the decoration of the Aqsa Mosque and a number of gates in the Haram wall, even if the language and use of this architecture are still not fully understood. *Inscriptions*, primarily the monumental inscriptions inside the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, are at least as important as the Umayyad inscriptions. Finally, there are more than one hundred and twenty *Judeo-Arabic letters* with individual and collective prayers.[9]

Tracing the history of the Haram remains a didactic challenge. How is one to describe a complex change which, apart from the two great rebuildings mentioned, consists mostly

of tiny shifts? Our survey starts with the Byzantine ruins and the first modest mosque. Then, we deal with the conception of the Temple through all three periods left, then turn back to discuss the conception of the imperial mosque, and finally review the conception of a powerful holy place. To avoid repetitions, details recurring in all periods will be presented at their first occurrence, and later just mentioned. Within each period most space will be devoted to Muslim conceptions, since the Christian and Jewish ones seem to be a kind of annex. This is due to the fact that Muslim sources are much more eloquent. Muslim, Jewish, and Christian perceptions of the Haram interact, adjust to each other, and move in separate directions to mark the difference.

The Background: The Ruins of the Temple

Prior to the great rebuilding at the end of the seventh century, the Haram is part of the scrub which typically surround the cities and villages of Palestine, a place where people dump things.[10] We should not misunderstand the character of the place. This is no garbage dump in the modern sense of the word. There are cisterns there, and people are certainly careful not to pollute them, even if later Jews and Muslims consider the place as ritually impure. To allow the Haram to crumble and be overgrown is a deliberate act of the *Christian* authorities to show that once it was important but now it is not any more, and therefore has been reclaimed by nature.

The massive enclosing wall seems to have been built for eternity. It is made of giant ashlars of stone joined with great precision, despite their dimensions. The upper ridge of the wall is uneven, most impressively at the southeast corner where the wall is quite high and the outside level quite low. The former gates must have been monumental, but now are in ruins: the east gate has just its threshold and jambs standing, while in the south an underground gate leads through a corridor inside the Haram. Inside the walls, there are some remains of walls standing with a few pieces of marble floor in between, mostly overgrown by thorns and bushes and interspersed with caves which are partially transformed into cisterns. In between the ruins of the south gate there is a kind of altar, as well as—somewhere on the Haram—two statues. The ruinous impression of the area is further stressed by its low elevation in between the glittering crosses and the main gates of two splendid churches above, i.e., the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on a terrace in the centre of the city and the Eleona Church (or the Church of the Ascension) on the Mount of Olives.

The Christians consider the Haram the place where the Temple had been and in short call it the Temple of Solomon. The ruins of the east gate are believed to be the gate through which Jesus entered the city on Palm Sunday and the Beautiful Gate where Peter healed the lame man. The southeast corner is supposed to be the Pinnacle of the Temple, a great stone there the Cornerstone, some rooms nearby the palace of Solomon. The ruins and

rocks east of the south gate and the imprints on the floor all over the Haram are connected with the killing of Zechariah. The Rock, later so important, plays no role.

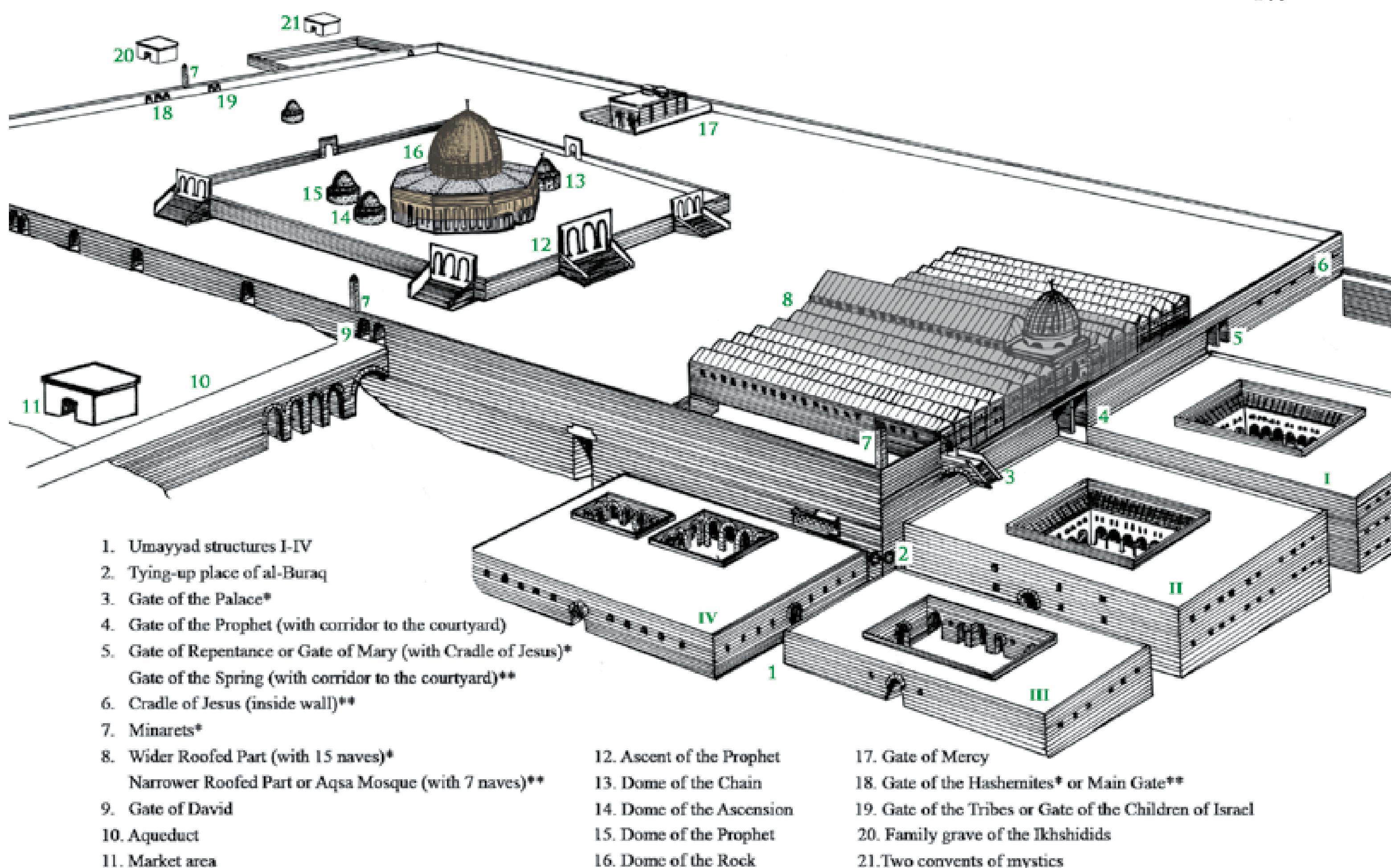
Architectural neglect, names and traditions, and the deliberate absence of ritual give the Haram its due part in Christian veneration, but simultaneously restrict its importance to the past—at an earlier stage of salvation history, in the Old Testament, this place had been important, but is no more. This enhances the importance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the empty Tomb of Christ, representing the current stage of salvation history, the New Testament, to which traditions and rituals from the Old Testament are transferred. The End of Time and the promised return of Christ to judge the living and the dead are recalled and hoped for on the Mount of Olives. Thus the ruins of the former Temple are part of a whole ensemble whose importance lies in the fact that it represents the first of these three stages of salvation history. This is obviously part of how Christians deal with salvation history, and the ruins of the former Temple are aimed at a Christian public.

Yet there is another conception. The *Jews* are the one religious group stigmatized by its theological approach which is near to and yet insurmountably different from the Christian one. In the reign of the neo-pagan emperor Julian (361–63) and under Sasanian occupation (614–28), they try to rebuild the Temple, but this does not leave any traces.

For them, the Haram is not only the place of the Former Temple. Every year on the Ninth of Av men and women gather to mourn its destruction while rending their black garments, blowing trumpets, and anointing a certain pierced stone—thus reassuring themselves of its future rebuilding. Christian monks are especially hostile to the ritual and at a major gathering of this kind during the time of Empress Eudokia some Jews are even killed by stones thrown at them by the monks.[11] Due to the political weakness of the Jews, both the attempts to rebuild the Temple and this mourning ritual do not change the Haram, but in the diaspora they daily, on the Sabbath, and at the high feasts remember Jerusalem in their prayers, while in the synagogue the Torah niche marks the Jewish prayer direction towards Jerusalem.

When the *Muslims* conquer the city, they are, or very soon become, aware that the ruins east of the city are identified with the Former Temple. Sometime later they erect there a simple, but large, mosque and thus split the area into a Muslim southern section and a northern section, roughly around the rock peak, which is open to all. By conducting their Friday service, a ritual of both religious and political meaning, in between the ruins of the Temple they pay respect to it, even claim it as their own, but stress that its position is subordinate to the Kaʿba in Mecca. They thereby accept its former—but reject its current—importance, an ambiguous attitude quite similar to the Christian one.

This first mosque does not speak the architectural language of the monumental churches. It does not refer to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre west of it and the Eleona



61 The Mosque of Jerusalem, the so-called "Temple" (*Bayt al-Maqdis, al-Quds*) or "Furthest Mosque" (*al-Masjid al-Aqsa*), from the Umayyad rebuilding (685) to the Crusader conquest (1099), showing parts that existed only before (*) and after (**) the earthquakes of the 1030s

Church to the east, i.e., to the three stages of the Christian salvation history, but rather to the Ka'ba. It is intended for the Muslim public only and thereby indicates how the two societies—the indigenous Christian Palestinians and the Muslim conquerors—are living side by side, quite independently, with almost no interaction. But it also emphasises the Muslim claim of political leadership over all other communities having an interest in the site, i.e., the Christians and the Jews. The *Christians* react pragmatically to the building and simply call it the prayer-house or mosque of the Muslims at the place of the Former Temple.

The Temple Rebuilt

The Umayyad Period

At the end of the seventh century, the Muslim authorities rebuild the Temple, and therewith attempt what is definitely the most far-reaching reshaping since its destruction by the Romans.[12]

Their plan is to rebuild as a *Muslim* mosque the destroyed Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis, al-Quds*), i.e., the Qur'anic Furthest Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aqsa*) visited by Muhammad on his Night Journey.[13] Although the conceptions of the Temple and of the mosque have contradicting features, they are actually considered to be two sides of one and the same coin.

(Re)building the Temple, in *architectural terms*, means first of all drawing a system of concentric frames around the Rock [fig. 61]. A first set of circles consists of the enclosing wall around the whole Haram, the edge of the platform, and the outer wall of the Dome of the Rock. Each of these walls is pierced by gates. The enclosing wall has a monumental east gate on the ruins of the former east gate, two south gates, one of them leading through an underground corridor into the Haram, and between five and ten gates to the west and the north. The platform is reached by six staircases. Of these six, four are situated opposite the four gates of the Dome of the Rock. The Dome of the Rock has its outside walls richly decorated with white marble below and polychrome gold mosaic above (only in the sixteenth century is the mosaic replaced by blue tiles), its roof coated with gold, and carries an extraordinarily high gold dome, which both dominates the Haram and marks its spiritual centre, the Rock proper. This dome glitters in the sunshine and can be seen from far away; it is higher than the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and thus shows the superiority of Islam over Christianity. The building has no main axis, which is best shown by the fact that it has four gates of the same size, one in each direction, north, south, east, and west. Inside the Dome of the Rock a second set of circles surrounds the Rock: the exterior wall, the octagonal arcade, and the circular arcade with its curtains and the fence. The part inside the circular arcade is located under the high dome, which fills the space beneath with brilliant light. Inside the building all lower surfaces are covered with white marble, all upper ones with polychrome gold mosaic [fig. 62].[14]

Concentricity being in both Christian and Jewish tradition a formative element of both the Former and the eschatological Temple, these circles declare the Haram the Temple, and the Rock the navel of the earth. The mosaics inside and outside the Dome of the Rock make it a part of Heaven. The column of brilliant light hovering over the Rock possibly represents the column of fire leading the Israelites through the desert and fits in with the Muslim tradition according to which the Rock is the Nearest Throne of God, the place where God himself resides.

By integrating pieces of bedrock and ruins, architecture stresses that the Haram is the Former Temple rebuilt. The enclosing wall has a lower layer with large stones and an upper one with small stones, and at the southeast corner the upper layer even reaches the

62 The original cover of the Dome of the Rock: a riot of gilded copper, mosaic cubes, and white marble
H.R. Allen's model, prepared in 1986 for the Tower of David Museum, Jerusalem, attempts to recreate the edifice's appearance at its completion in 691. © Tower of David Museum of the History of Jerusalem / Photo: Rani Lurie

top of the wall. The monumental east gate, the two south gates, the southwest gate, and possibly even the two north gates, contain remains of earlier gates. The rather irregular position of some minor domes on the platform probably reflects the position of older structures beneath that are considered to be remains of the Temple.

Muslim *traditions* identify the Haram again and again with the Temple of David and Solomon, from where the Ark of the Covenant and God's Presence had been removed, where the Children of Israel killed John, the son of Zechariah (the biblical prophet Zechariah), and Nebuchadnezzar in revenge slaughtered them; with the sanctuary destroyed and transformed into the city's garbage dumps by Helena, mother of the first Christian emperor, Constantine, when she built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but recognised and cleaned by ʿUmar; and with the Furthest Mosque[15] visited by Muhammad on his Night Journey.[16] To cut a long story short: this is the Former Temple rebuilt, the Qur'an is the true Torah, and the Muslims are the true People of Israel.

A great number of parts of the Haram are more explicitly connected to events which happened in the Temple; for our purpose, a few examples will suffice. At the Gate of Mercy to the east the Chain of Granting and Revelation had been suspended; there, God used to enter the Temple in the shape of a lion of fire. In the north part of the Haram lies the Qur'anic Chamber of David where two enemies came to have their cause judged. On the Throne of Solomon King Solomon prayed when he had finished building the Temple.[17] From the Gate of God's Presence the angels took the Ark of the Covenant away.[18] At the Chamber of Zechariah the latter stood in prayer when the birth of John was announced to him. At the Gate of Repentance Mary had been locked up by Zechariah, looked after by the angels, and it was there the birth of Jesus was announced to her. When Muhammad came here on his Night Journey he tied his fabulous riding animal al-Buraq to a stone ring in the wall; then, as the earlier prophets had done, he entered the Temple at the Gate of the Prophet (as, much later, did ʿUmar and the *patrikios*/patriarch of Jerusalem), walked from the Aqsa Mosque to the Dome of the Rock, climbed the platform at the Ascent of the Prophet, saw the virgins of Paradise at the Dome of the Chain, led the ritual prayer of all prophets at the Dome of the Prophet while the archangel Gabriel took part in the prayer at the Standing-place of Gabriel. Muhammad mounted al-Buraq at the Dome of Gabriel, put his hand on the Rock, and ascended to heaven from the Dome of the Ascension, if not from the Rock.

A Muslim tradition on how the Muslims discovered the Haram after their conquest of Jerusalem:

When ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab [the second caliph] had finished writing the document of truce with the people of Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), he said to the *patrikios* of the city: "Show me the Mosque of David." [...] The *patrikios* went to the Mosque of the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and brought ʿUmar to its gate which is [now] called the Gate

> of Muhammad. All the debris inside the mosque had fallen on the steps of the gate, even on the street in which the gate is, and it had become as much that it almost reached the ceiling of the gate. The *patrikios* said: "The only way to enter would be by crawling." And 'Umar said: "So, let us crawl!" And the *patrikios* crawled in front of 'Umar, 'Umar crawled after him, and we crawled after them, until, finally, we came out at the Rock of the Temple and were able to stand up. 'Umar looked, and considered things for a good while, then he said: "By the One in whose hand my soul is, this is what the Prophet has described to us [when he came back from his Night Journey]."[19]

The Rock inside the Dome of the Rock [fig. 63] is especially loaded with Temple traditions. This is one of the rocks of Paradise[20] and from beneath it originate the four rivers of Paradise and all the sweet water of the earth.[21] Before God began with Creation, he stood on it for forty years and from there he rose to heaven.[22] There Adam was created, and there he performed ritual prayer. This is the First Prayer-direction set up by Abraham,[23] Moses, and Solomon. This is the stone comprised of twelve stones which Jacob had under his head when he had his dream, the rock over which Isaac walked when he came here with Abraham for the sacrifice, and the place where David thanked God for ending the pestilence.

> **Muslim scholars vividly discuss the holiness of the Rock:**
> [...] Then said 'Ubayda ibn as-Samit: "No, by the One who, for forty years, used the Rock of the Temple [in Jerusalem] as a Standing-place (*maqam*), this is wrong and the scholars contemporary [with the Prophet] quote it [as follows] from previous revelations [the Torah?]—although I am not sure about that: 'God honoured and praised the Rock before He showed Himself to men and men then praised the Rock for forty years.'" This is made plausible by what al-Bukhari said, quoting the Prophet: "The Ka'ba was built forty years earlier than the Temple, and later, the Mosque of the Temple was built and men praised it. Before God showed Himself to men, he called the Rock holy, blessed it, honoured it and praised it for forty years."[24]

The authorities even installed a kind of Temple *ritual.* They employ Christian and Jewish mosque servants for general maintenance work, and forty acolytes who in shifts stay inside the Dome of the Rock and every Tuesday and Thursday conduct a service.[25] For this, they first eat, bathe, and don special clothes. They anoint the Rock, circumambulate it in a procession with their censers inside the closed curtains of the circular arcade until the dome is filled with incense, then open the curtains so that the incense spreads to the market in the city where at the same time a town-crier calls all to prayer. The service itself is remarkably simple and short, the faithful performing individually or together just two or four prostrations.

63 The interior of the Dome of the Rock

How the servants prepare the Muslim Temple service in Umayyad times: And on every Tuesday and Thursday, they order saffron to be pounded and milled and they prepare it, for one night, with musk, ambergris, and sandal wood perfumed rose water, and let it ferment this night. Then the servants are ordered to eat and they enter the Bath of Sulayman ibn ʿAbd al-Malik to wash and to purify themselves. Then, they go to the wardrobe where the robes are, undress and come out with new, red and blue clothes and a band [around their heads] and bring with them belts with which they gird their waists. Then, they lift the lower parts of their robes and go to the Stone, the Stone of the Dome of the Rock, and anoint what their hands might reach until it is well anointed.[26]

The brevity and simplicity of the service, similar to the short and unstructured congregational prayers Muslims hold on certain exceptional occasions, leaves no doubt that this is a Muslim service, the Temple service as Muslims think it should be. Its existence is surprising only at first glance. The history of Christian liturgy gives us at least two close parallels: the liturgies in the fourth-century Church of the Holy Sepulchre and in the Crusader Dome of the Rock both re-enact the Temple Service.

There are recommendations as to how individuals ought to pray on the Haram. One says that within one mile of the city visitors should stop speaking about secular matters, enter the mosque by the Gate of the Tribes, perform five ritual prayers, leave it, and return to normal talk only when a mile distant. Another model suggests entering the Dome of the Rock by the North Gate and praying inside at the black paving-stone. Both stress the importance of places north of the Rock where Muslim ritual prayer is directed not only towards the Kaʿba but also towards the Rock of Jerusalem, towards both the present and the former prayer-direction.

Architecture,[27] traditions,[28] and ritual emphasize the Haram's authenticity. The Umayyad caliphs responsible for the master-plan obviously consider possession of and rebuilding in the authentic place of the Temple a very strong point in favour of their political and religious claims to underline the authenticity of the Muslim faith and its identity with the faith of David and Solomon.

This is also the central aim of the *inscription* of ʿAbd al-Malik (caliph 685–705) in the Dome of the Rock, which stresses that God is one, that Muhammad is a prophet, and Christ like him a prophet and a human being, not the son of God [fig. 64]. The inscription declares that the Muslims are the legitimate heirs of the faithful of old and admonishes the contemporary Christians to renounce their new and distorting characterisations of Christ: Islam is the original undistorted faith, i.e., original undistorted Christianity, and contemporary Christianity is only a travesty.

The assertion that the Haram is the rebuilt Temple continues the Byzantine idea that

64 Part of the inscription of ʻAbd al-Malik inside the Dome of the Rock claiming that Jesus is God's messenger, not his incarnation *(Parts in round brackets are not shown in the photo, but are necessary for understanding)*:

The inscription reads: "(People of the Book, go not beyond the bounds in your religion, and say not as to God but the truth.) The Messiah, **Jesus, the son of Mary, is the Messenger of God, and His Word that He sen**(t to Mary, as a Spirit from Him. So believe in God and His Messengers, and say not, 'Three.' Refrain; better is it for you. God is only One God. Glory be to Him – He is far from having a son! To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and on earth; God suffices for a guardian.)" [Qurʻan 4.171]

the emperor builds a New Temple and thereby declares himself the legitimate heir of King David, installed by God to rule over His People. Building the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem had thus legitimised the rule of Constantine (emperor 306–37) and building the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople the rule of Justinian (emperor 518–27); later, building the *Pfalzkapelle* at Aachen legitimises the rule of Charlemagne (Western emperor 800–14). The claim to be the legitimate heir of the Christian emperor leads to the caliphs' attempts to conquer Constantinople, the capital of what is left of the Byzantine Empire, an integral

part of Muslim foreign policy until ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (caliph 717–20). The whole conception is obviously aimed at people living in Syria-Palestine and acquainted with Byzantine political categories—the Christian officials of the Muslim reign.

The rebuilding of the Temple alludes as well to the Jewish belief that the Temple will be rebuilt when the End of Days draws near. Rebuilding is thus also aimed at a Jewish public. What many prophets have been foretelling over the centuries is now happening—this is the eschatological Temple, this is the End of Days, and the caliph is the Messiah the Jews have been awaiting. This is the tone of the Jewish traditions praising ʿAbd al-Malik for rebuilding the Temple and of the Muslim traditions referring to him as [the Second] David, King of Israel.

But the Muslim building with its impressive appearance of Byzantine monumental architecture has, first of all, a clear message to a Muslim public, i.e., the Muslims of Syria-Palestine. The caliph thus shows his will and power to use the enormous resources of Byzantine skill and experience to promote the Muslim cause. This gives him not only a powerful position vis-à-vis his rivals, but also considerably increases his authority: obviously, he is able to harness all this knowledge and make it productive on behalf of the Muslims. This is the Umayyad claim of building a Muslim Late Antique society, a society shaped and led by the Muslims, incorporating the heritage of its Christian subjects.

Christian sources rarely mention the Haram and point out any specific places in it. They continue calling it the Former Temple which the Jews wanted to rebuild, where they indeed built a synagogue, but from where they were soon after evicted by the Muslims. To consider the Muslim mosque a synagogue refers to the widespread Christian idea that the Muslims are basically nothing but Jews. Some interpret the Muslim building as the eschatological Temple—a short-sighted conception as this implies accepting the Muslim claims. Its opponents emphasise that the Muslim buildings are definitely not the Temple. The solution is to play down the topic, to deal with it as little as possible.

The ʿAbbasid Period

In the ʿAbbasid period we basically witness a shift in emphasis, as the Haram partially loses the charisma of being the Temple. The extent of this shift, however, depends on the manner of its realisation.

Muslim traditions which identify the Haram with the Temple, for instance, flourish more than ever. Many Umayyad traditions only now attain their full power. On the Haram itself, in *architecture*, concentricity and authenticity continue to be the two main features. Although no new buildings are added, Umayyad structures are well maintained, further enlarged, and embellished. These additions bear *inscriptions* mentioning who ordered them, but never refering to the Temple. The existing buildings obviously attract attention,

but in architecture at least, the conception of the Haram as the Temple is no longer active and neither stimulates new investment nor prompts people to destroy anything.

The same holds true for *ritual*. The well-established system of servants and slaves in charge of the Haram works properly, but the Umayyad Temple service, clearly an expensive duty, has fallen into oblivion.

We thus find a gap between names and traditions firmly declaring the Haram the Temple, on the one hand, and ritual disappearing, on the other hand, with architecture maintained, but not extended, in between. The Muslim authorities care for the conception but do not invest in new buildings or in state-owned servants which would require continuous financial support. The conception of the Haram as the Temple joins the list of outdated conceptions carefully transmitted and still shaping the city's appearance, even after the historical circumstances which created them are long gone.

All this is indicative of Muslim emancipation from a Byzantine way of thinking. The claim of succeeding the Byzantine emperors loses importance with the end of the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mun in 813, if not already with the 'Abbasid revolution in 750, and enters the stock of still valid but only secondary claims. But traditions develop their own dynamic and this probably makes the caliphs maintain the splendour of the place—not least to display their generosity to and responsibility for a place hallowed by traditions.

Christian traditions. The Muslims slowly forget what the New Temple was meant to signify and that particular conception loses its aggressiveness. This enables the Christian traditions to exchange the outdated conception of the Temple in ruins for the now harmless Muslim view that the Haram is the Temple of Solomon.[29] For Christians, the Rock becomes the place where Jacob in his dream heard God speaking, as well as the altar of the Former Temple. The Dome of the Rock is now the Holy of Holies. The eastern Gate of Mercy is the gate through which Jesus entered on Palm Sunday, the gate which first closed down when Heraclius wanted to enter with the relic of the True Cross, in imperial splendour. And the Aqsa Mosque is the Stoa of Solomon.

> **The monumental East Gate is used in a Christian sermon on pride and humbleness:**
> When the emperor descended from the Mount of Olives, by the very same gate by which the Lord had entered when He came to suffer, he also wished to enter, embellished with his royal diadem and his imperial ornaments and sitting [on his war charriot]. But suddenly the stones of the gate descended and closed in front of him and the wall became one piece. And when everybody was astonished and struck by great fear, they looked up and saw high up the sign of the Holy Cross, shining in the sky with a blazing sheen. And the angel of the Lord stood over the

> gate, looking at it [the Cross] in his hands, and said: "When the King of Heavens, the Lord of the whole World [Jesus] entered through this gate to complete the mysteries of suffering, he did not show up in purple nor embellished with a diadem, nor did he ask for a chariot with a mighty mare, but sat on the back of a humble ass and gave to his followers the example of humbleness." In that, the emperor rejoiced in the Lord having seen the angel, laid down the sign of reign [...] and the door granted him free access.[30]

After the existing buildings had been identified as the ruins of the Former Temple in the Byzantine period, and the topic of the Temple had been downplayed in the Umayyad period, the ʿAbbasid period now proceeds to identify them with the Former Temple, despite their Muslim appearance and the many Muslim traditions connected with them. Their architectural unity and outstanding beauty may have furthered the identification, not to mention the obvious uselessness of the old conception which, confronted with these buildings, neither convinces nor helps to explain their existence. The political implications of a Muslim New Temple are now irrelevant for both Muslims and Christians.

Considering the Haram to be the Temple subsequently becomes one of the most successful conceptions of the city. Later, the Crusaders integrate the Haram into their Christian Jerusalem and consider the Dome of the Rock the Temple of the Lord [Jesus] (*Templum Domini*) and the Aqsa Mosque the Temple of Solomon (*Templum Solomonis*). And from Mamluk times till today the view of the Haram with the Dome of the Rock, both from the east—from the Mount of Olives—and from the west with the Western Wall, are the most popular Christian and Jewish representations of the Former Temple.

Jewish traditions. After having dealt with the Haram only summarily in the Umayyad period, Jewish traditions now begin once again to mention it at length. It is no longer only the place of the Former and Future Temple, but the existing buildings now are themselves considered to be the Temple as it had been. Some parts are considered as surviving from the Former Temple, but this does not imply that all the other buildings are new constructions—the Muslim buildings are not simply commented upon. The Rock becomes the Foundation Rock (*even shetiyyah*) from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away.[31] The Gate of Mercy is the Gate of Nikanor where the high priest purified men, women, and lepers and gave women suspected of adultery the water of curse, while the ruins beneath it are considered the East Gate rebuilt by Nehemiah where Ezekiel saw the glory of God entering the Temple.[32] The Gates of the Chamber of Mary are claimed to be the Water Gate—where Ezra re-installed the Feast of the Tabernacles, the Song Gate, and the Women's Gate. The Gate of the Prophet and its corridor is the

Gate of the prophetess Huldah and the *Mishneh*. And the Mount of Olives with the Chair of the Cantors, a piece of bedrock, now becomes the Place of the Ascent of God's Presence and God's Footstool where God's Glory was standing after the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians and to which it will return.[33]

Ritual and custom emphasise the centrality of the Haram. Prayer is directed towards the Rock. On the Feast of the Tabernacles, the main feast of the year, a procession circumambulates the gates of the Haram from the southwestern Gate of Huldah to the eastern Gate of the Priest, and the latter is favoured for individual prayer.[34]

Jewish names and traditions, ritual, and custom declare that the Haram is the Temple. This may again be influenced, at least partly, by its outstanding beauty and architectural unity, as well as by the Muslim double conception of the Temple which is also a mosque. The Muslim conception has become harmless and does not imply recognition of Muslim rule as the eschatological fulfilment of Jewish hopes. Attention focuses on the wall, especially on the gates, and on the Mount of Olives, from where there is the best view of the Haram. Jews are not necessarily forbidden to enter the interior—Muslim devotion just occupies the centre, marginalises Jewish devotion, and relegates it to the borders.

The Fatimid Period

Muslim conceptions. In the Fatimid period the Muslim authorities continue using the conception of the Temple in the same ambiguous way. They neither change the concentric layout of the Haram, in architecture, nor the features which emphasised its authenticity. They maintain it and make repairs where necessary. When the heavy earthquakes of 1015 and 1033 damage Jerusalem and, inside the Haram, first and foremost the Aqsa Mosque and all of the south part which is supported by huge arches, the Fatimid al-Zahir (ruled 1021–36) rebuilds it.[35] On a monumental inscription inside the new Aqsa Mosque, he stresses his role as a patron and connects the building with Muhammad's Night Journey. The Fatimids maintain the Haram at great expense, most probably to sustain their political legitimacy. As will be shown later, they even transfer features from the Temple to the conception of an imperial mosque.

Names and traditions proclaim the Haram to be the Temple and the centre of the world; traditions flourish and now have a life of their own. What we thus have is the gap, described above, between names and traditions on the one hand and architecture on the other. Ritual plays no role.

This too changes with the earthquakes of 1015 and 1033 and the following rebuilding of the south of the Haram. The Gate of Mary, till now just a room in the south wall, is connected by an underground corridor to the courtyard and thus becomes a second entry from the south. The Prayer-niches of Zechariah and Mary, which had been in the same

room, are moved to a new room in the southeast corner of the Haram, and are combined with the Cradle of Jesus, most probably to relieve the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem of the burden of Muslim veneration.

Christian traditions continue to call the Haram the Temple and the Dome of the Rock the Holy of Holies. But they also continue to use the 'Abbasid conception, although only seldom, which shows that they are not particularly concerned with the Haram.

Jewish interest. This is in sharp contrast to a growing Jewish interest. The Jews sometimes distinguish between the destroyed Temple, to be rebuilt, and the present buildings, but mostly equate one with the other.

Names and traditions focus as before on the Rock, for them the Holy of Holies, and the Foundation Rock from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, the gates, and the Mount of Olives.

Ritual and custom declare the Haram the centre of the world. The faithful individually visit the gates throughout the year. At the great feasts a procession goes praying and singing round the Haram from gate to gate and up to the Mount of Olives from where the Dome of the Rock—a place rarely, if ever, accessed by Jews—is best viewed. Although they obviously know that the Former Temple had been destroyed and, in the End of Days will have to be rebuilt, they nevertheless identify the existing Muslim buildings with the Temple.

> **In a letter, a Jewish leader mentions the prayer procession at the Feast of Tabernacles:**
> Our prayers are constant for you and the dear elders with you, on the Mount of Olives opposite the Temple of God [the Haram], i.e., at the Place of Our God's Footstool, and at the Gate of the Priest, and at the gates of the Temple of God [the Haram], in the community of all of Israel, at the feast, the feast of God, the Feast of Tabernacles.[36]

The Imperial Mosque of Jerusalem

The Umayyad Period

Muslim traditions. Let us now return to the Umayyad period and to the conception of the Muslim imperial mosque. An official inscription in the north wall which gives the dimensions of the Haram *calls* it a mosque (*masjid*). The sources describe the Haram's physical shape by relying on the technical terms used for great mosques. They speak of minarets, ablution places, a courtyard with cisterns, and a treasury, and call the Aqsa Mosque a roofed hall with a main gate, a gable roof, and a pulpit or standing-place (*maqam*).

An Iraqi geographer describes the layout of the Haram:
And in Jerusalem there is a mosque [the Haram]... This mosque has, in the southwest corner, a roofed building [the Aqsa Mosque]. This roofing covers about half of the width of the mosque and all other space of the mosque is empty, with no buildings, except the Place of the Rock [the Dome of the Rock].[37]

A Muslim tradition explains the position of the Aqsa Mosque exactly in front of the Dome of the Rock:
And ʿUmar said to Kaʿb [a Muslim convert of Jewish origin]: "Where would you put the mosque?" Kaʿb said: "Put it behind the Rock [to its North] to combine the Prayer-direction of Moses and the Prayer-direction of Muhammad." But ʿUmar said: "You have shown some Jewishness! By God, the best part of the mosque is the one in front of the Rock [to its south]." And he built it in the front part of the mosque.[38]

Architecture shows the same ambiguous picture. The buildings might easily be interpreted as a mosque. The Haram is oriented towards the south as are all mosques in Palestine. It has all the parts which are characteristic of contemporary imperial mosques like the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina: four minarets (three in the west wall, one of them in the southwest corner, and one in the north wall), ablution places near the gates, arcades (inside the west and north walls), a paved courtyard, a treasury, cisterns (fed by an aqueduct), a roofed hall (the Aqsa Mosque) with a main gate, (fifteen) naves and (eleven) vertical naves, a gable roof with a dome, and a pulpit.

Architecture emphasises the pre-eminence of the Aqsa Mosque, i.e., the place where the first simple mosque had been. It thus stresses the superiority of the Kaʿba in Mecca to the Rock in Jerusalem. The monumental north façade of the building (with its mosaic-covered gable wall, a main copper gate and additional seven large gates on each side, the central gate of each group of seven being also a copper gate), the wide central nave under the gable roof, and the main prayer-niche are all in line with the Rock and thus emphasise the position of the Aqsa Mosque in front of the Rock.

Rituals and customs bear the same dual message. Some rituals define the whole Haram a mosque: the prayer call comes from the minarets atop the west and north walls, ritual ablution is performed at ablution places just outside the gates, and individual ritual prayer may be performed all over the area. But the main ritual, which defines a mosque as such, i.e., congregational prayer, is performed in the Aqsa Mosque only, with the *imam* leading and preaching from the pulpit there. There is not a single reference to congregational prayer performed anywhere else on the Haram.

What does this mean? The Umayyads extend the mosque in the south of the Haram to the four corners of the Former Temple, to equate the mosque with the Temple. But the former conception continues to exist. This results in two contradicting positions: the new one of a greater mosque (the whole Haram) and the old one of a smaller mosque (the Aqsa Mosque)—a mosque with another mosque inside it. The authorities propagate the new conception through architecture, names, and ritual, but the old conception is surprisingly persistent and deeply rooted: the south building continues to be called a mosque, and traditions and rituals clearly maintain that this is the only place where congregational prayer may be performed.

Both conceptions, as well as the emphasis on the idea that the Ka'ba is superior to the Rock, are obviously part of a Muslim way of thinking and aimed at a Muslim public. The complex combination of two overlapping conceptions may even mirror a Muslim society only partly secluded from the indigenous Christian majority, certain groups being more, and others less, involved with Christians.

The 'Abbasid Period

In the 'Abbasid period the conception of the Haram as the Mosque of Jerusalem gains in importance, mainly due to the fact that the other conception, the Haram as Temple, slowly falls into oblivion. The definition of this imperial mosque remains as ambiguous as previously, with the Haram as a wider mosque and the Aqsa Mosque as a smaller mosque inside it.

The Fatimid Period

Muslim traditions. This conception develops, in the Fatimid period, into one of a mosque complex (the Haram) with minor mosques on all four sides, the Aqsa Mosque being one of those minor mosques. When the Fatimid authorities rebuild the Aqsa Mosque after the earthquakes of 1015 and 1033 they seize upon the opportunity to transfer a number of features from the conception of the Temple unto it.

Visitors describing the Haram use the same terms as they employ for imperial mosques. They see a Main Gate, ablution places, a courtyard, and pools and cisterns. There is a Roofed Hall (the Aqsa Mosque) with a main gate, a space with restricted access (*maqsura*) next to the prayer-niche and, till the rebuilding of the 1030s, a pulpit. In addition to the Aqsa Mosque, there are other places called mosques: a west gate and the monumental east gate, both locked, the Chamber of David in the north, and the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus in the southeast corner. The two convents of mystics just outside the north wall have their own separate mosques.

Architecture clearly makes the Haram a Fatimid imperial mosque. Its (official) main gate is a monumental portal-minaret in the north wall in line with the monumental north staircase to the platform; there are no other minarets. A splendid double gate in the west wall embellishes the real main entrance from the market. There are ablution places and

cisterns, in part supplied with water by the aqueduct. The courtyard has a stone floor and is surrounded by arcades, one in the southwest, one in the west, and three in the north.

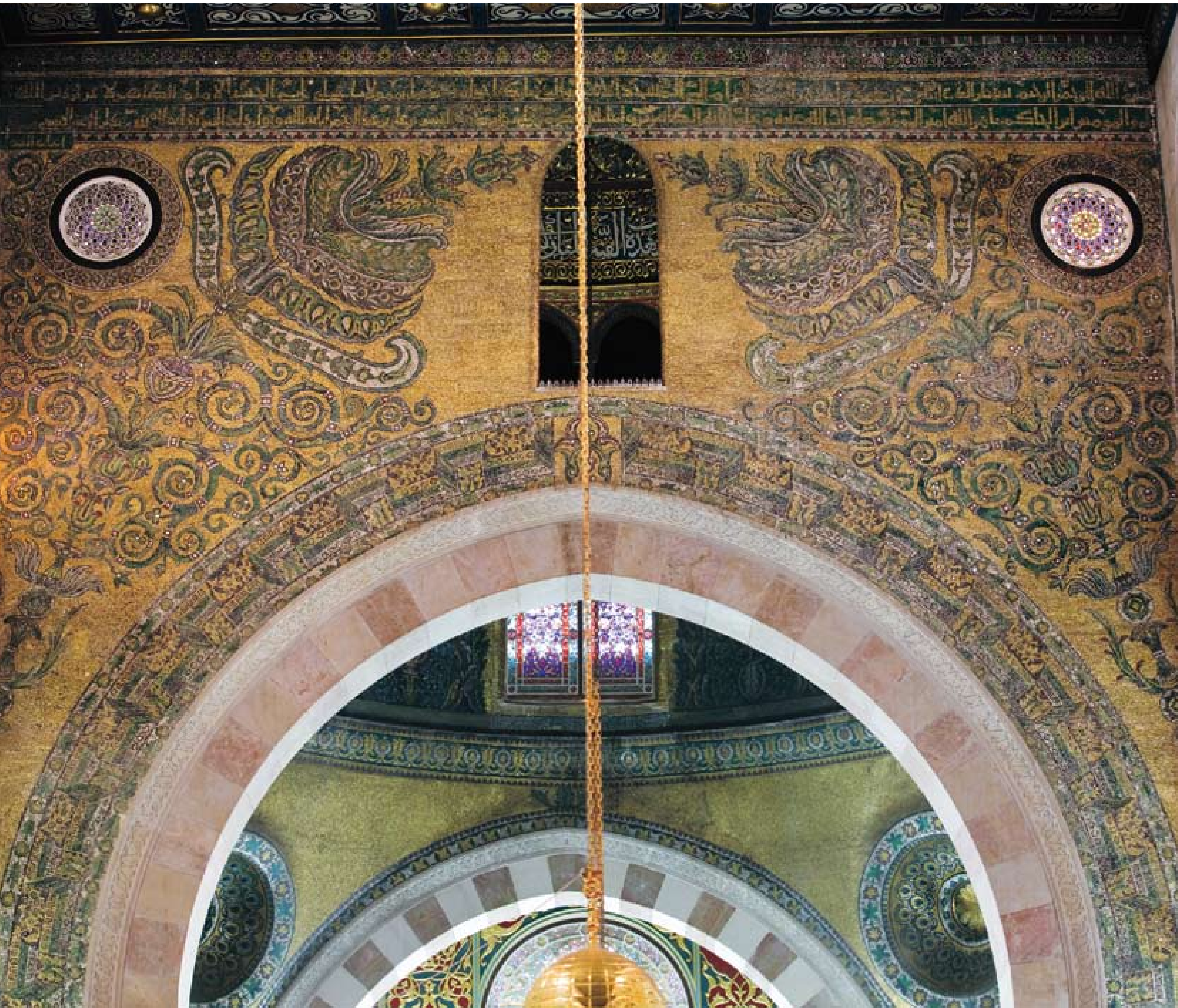
After the earthquakes the new Aqsa Mosque is of the same length, but much less wide, and it has a north and an east façade (both with an arcade in front), together with an additional west arcade. There are five naves and eleven vertical naves, a main prayer-niche and further prayer-niches, but no pulpit. This is basically the building as it exists today.

This much smaller new Aqsa Mosque has its north arcade, the monumental main gate, the wider central nave, and the monumental arch with the inscription in front of the prayer-niche all exactly in front of the Rock, thus emphasising the precedence of the Kaʿba over the Rock. This axis even becomes the all-dominant axis of the Haram, from the monumental portal-minaret in the north over the monumental north staircase to the platform and the Dome of the Rock to the Aqsa Mosque. All other minor mosques are marked as such by prayer-niches: the west gate, the monumental east gate, the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus, the mosques of the two convents of mystics, the Dome of the Chain, and the Dome of Gabriel.

The rebuilding not only transforms the Haram into a mosque complex, but also adds to the existing system of concentric zones around the Rock a second system around the main prayer-niche inside the Aqsa Mosque. These zones become more and more splendid the nearer they draw to the centre. They are separated by walls, each with many entries but one splendid mosaic-covered, inscription-bearing main gate: the monumental portal-minaret in the north wall of the Haram (or the Gate of David in the west wall), the main copper gate of the Aqsa Mosque, and the monumental arch in front of the prayer-niche. The main prayer-niche, with its marble decoration and two splendid red marble columns to the left and right, becomes its new centre.

The key to this layout can be found on the monumental arch where the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir mentions himself, his ancestors, and descendants, side by side with the Furthest Mosque [fig. 65]. This does not place the Night Journey inside this building—traditions place it all over the Haram, but never here—but rather declares its main prayer-niche the centre of the Haram. This obviously alludes to the older system of concentric circles around the Rock. The Fatimid rebuilding thus causes the Umayyad dual conception of the Temple around the Rock and the imperial mosque oriented towards the Kaʿba to merge, and further develops the Umayyad conception of the wider and the smaller mosque. If we consider the immense financial investment the rebuilding demanded, we cannot doubt that the Fatimid caliphs took it quite seriously.

Traditions and rituals do not keep pace with architecture, but just repeat the well known conception of a wider mosque with a smaller mosque inside it. Where the authorities build permanent facilities they consider the whole of the Haram a mosque:



65 The Aqsa Mosque: Triumphal Arch of the Fatimid caliph Abu al-Hasan ʻAli al-Zahir li-Iʻzaz Din Allah (1021-36)
The inscription reads *(Parts in round brackets are not shown in the photo, but are necessary for understanding)*:

"(In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.) Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Furthest Mosque, the precincts of which We have blessed" [Qur'an 17.1]. [Has ordered] its construction our Lord ʻAli Abu al-Hasan the Imam, the Manifest to Strengthen the Religion of God, (Commander of the Faithful, son of the Ruling by the Command of God, Commander of the Faithdul --- blessings of God on him, on his pure fathers and on his most noble sons. ...)

the ablution places are now outside the wall (or under the Aqsa Mosque), and the prayer-call comes from the portal-minaret in the north wall. But congregational prayer, the main ritual defining a mosque, is performed only at the Aqsa Mosque. This is where the *imam*, standing near the main prayer-niche, directs the congregational prayer and where he preaches the Friday sermon.

We thus find the same discrepancy again. Architecture makes the Haram a mosque complex with minor mosques girding it from all four sides, and shifts the emphasis from the Rock inside the Dome of the Rock to the main prayer-niche inside the Aqsa Mosque, whereas traditions and ritual know only the old dual conception of a wider mosque with a smaller mosque inside.

The Haram as a Place of Spiritual Power

The Umayyad Period

The two conceptions mentioned so far are supported by the authorities and mainly expressed in architecture and traditions. But upon reading the sources, one has the strong impression that all this is somehow too sophisticated. On a deeper level the Haram is mostly perceived in accordance with a third, less explicit, conception which is obviously related to that of the Temple, but nevertheless, with time, becomes almost independent: this is a place of extraordinary spiritual power, of distinct holiness.

Muslim traditions charge the whole Haram with spiritual power and make the Dome of the Rock the most holy place on earth. This holiness gravitates around a number of topics.

First of all, the Haram has been *touched by God*. Before creating everything, God was standing on the Rock and from there rose to heaven. From here, the Ark of the Covenant and God's Presence (*al-Sakina*) were taken away. Because of this holiness, a good deed is more valuable and a bad one more wrongful if performed here than elsewhere.[39] In addition, this is one of the three great mosques every Muslim should visit, the other two being in Mecca and Medina.[40]

This is a *place of visions*. Here Jacob had his dream of angels and the Rock is the stone which he had under his head. At the Gate of Mercy God used to enter the Temple in the shape of a lion of fire. At the Chamber of Zechariah an angel announced the birth of John to Zechariah. At the Chamber of Mary the angels provided Mary with fruits and announced to her the birth of Jesus, who was born here, at the Birth-place of Jesus.

This is a *favourite place to ask God for healing, forgiving and answering prayers.* Dew falling here has the power to heal. Whosoever starts his pilgrimage to Mecca from here has all prior and future sins forgiven. Here God freed David and the Children of Israel from pestilence. At the Dome of the Chain David had a chain hanging down from heaven,

which in a lawsuit only the innocent party could touch, but not the guilty. At the Throne of Solomon, Solomon prayed when he had finished building the Temple, and God granted him everything he asked for. People even know the places most effective for prayer: God is said to answer all prayer at the east wall with its Gate of Mercy, at the Gate of Repentance and the Hitta Gate, at the Dome of the Chain, the Dome of the Prophet, and the Dome of the Rock (especially west and east of the Rock and at the black paving-stone), etc.

The Haram is considered *near to Paradise*.[41] Dew falling here originates from Paradise. The Rock is a piece of Paradise and from beneath it flow the four rivers of Paradise. The ladder Jacob saw while dreaming at this spot reached up to a gate of heaven. Muhammad on his Night Journey to Paradise came to this Furthest Mosque, and his visit is recalled at a number of places. And Sharik an-Numayri, one of the heroes of Early Islam, entered Paradise from a pit here.

This is the scene of *eschatological events*.[42] At the End of Days the eschatological *Sufyani* will be killed at the Gate of Mercy. The *Mahdi*, the Messiah, will die after the Ark of the Covenant was put in front of him here, and most of the Jews will, when looking at the Ark, become Muslims. The Ka'ba with the Black Stone will be brought here, along with all people who ever made the pilgrimage to Mecca, as well as Hell and Paradise. And on the Day of Judgment the archangel Israfil will resurrect mankind by blowing his trumpet from the Rock.

Architecture accentuates the holiness of some places. Some domes are gilded: the Dome of the Rock, the Dome of the Chain, and at first two—later even six—minor domes, as well as the dome of the Aqsa Mosque and all of its roof. Of these, the Dome of the Rock is by far the most important one, which is shown by its sheer dimensions, the white marble covering of its lower part, the polychrome gold mosaic of its higher parts, and the massive gold covering of its dome and roofs. The Rock inside it gains additional holiness by the shaft of brilliant light hovering over it and by a chain suspended from above to which are attached the two Horns of the Ram of Abraham, a pearl called "the Unique" (*al-Yatima*), and the Crown of Khosroes.

Suspending lamps are another, non-permanent means to emphasise holiness. The Haram has 5,000 (later 1,500) lamps burning all day, with an additional 2,000 candles on Friday nights, the nights of the two high feasts, and the Nights of the Ascension, of the Creation, and of *'Ashura'*. The Dome of the Rock, where incense is spread and about one fourth of all lamps burn all day, is definitely the centre of holiness.

Ritual. Today the monumental architecture of the Haram impresses us most. In those times, traditions were very powerful. Nevertheless, we should not forget that for most people ritual was and still is the *one* appropriate way to express veneration. Within a mile of the city one has to stop speaking of secular matters. Ritual prayer on the Haram is

considered very effective and the Haram is a favourite place for those who want to spend the night in ritual prayer. Prayers are even more powerful if said at the places mentioned above. The Dome of the Rock is the site of the official service held twice a week, with the Rock anointed and circumambulated in a procession carrying censers. Only the Dome of the Rock has forty servants especially assigned and adherents staying there permanently.

Visions interpreted are a last, very powerful way to attribute a distinct holiness to certain places. In the Umayyad period, we know only of one vision, in which God appears in the shape of a lion of fire.

Traditions, architecture, and this vision make the Haram a place of extraordinary holiness, an area both promising and dangerous, with a number of especially holy places, the Dome of the Rock being the most sacred of them. Borders around the whole Haram and between the zones are precisely defined, to be crossed only at some few well-defined places. The faithful react to this holiness by performing ritual prayer, twice a week in a common ritual, or individually, and by having visions. This is obviously the well-known conception of a Haram, with well-defined borders, accessible only under certain conditions. All this is deeply imbued with local Palestinian custom and has the features characteristic of the Palestinian reverence for holy places. This is the conception local people have independently of their religious affiliation, the conception which they transmit to foreign visitors and which theologians here and abroad further explain and justify. The distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, an important topic in the conception of the imperial mosque, plays no role at all.

The ʿAbbasid Period

In this period, in addition to *Muslim traditions* which do not change much, there are two new ways of realising conceptions.

Architecture. Burial allows people to participate in the holiness of the Haram: next to one of the north gates, there is the family grave of the Ikhshidids (935–61), a dynasty of Central Asian origin ruling Egypt.

Dreams and visions now become important. Dreams accompanied by interpretations create beautiful but enigmatic images of well-known traditions. Thus, the Gate of Mercy is, from inside the Haram, a gate made of light while from outside it is made of iron. An avenue as white as snow leading from the Aqsa Mosque to the Dome of the Rock is interpreted as the way followed by Muhammad on his Night Journey and the way the faithful go with God. The Dome of the Chain is said to be made of invisible light. The Dome of the Ascension shines green and red like a rainbow. The Dome of the Rock appears as a large and high dome of white light with a pearl on top, the Rock itself as a red ruby, and light coming from beneath it represents the four rivers of Paradise. Inside the Aqsa Mosque people swallowed up by the earth with only their heads sticking out are

said to be those who hate the ancestors. Muhammad is seen as he leaves the Dome of the Rock with a group of companions to perform ritual prayer at the Ascent of the Prophet. Of three men standing between the South Ascent and the Dome of the Rock two are lifted up and disappear; this is explained as meaning that after reliability and the cutting of the ties of kinship [in favour of God's cause] have disappeared, ritual prayer must be carefully maintained.

> **From the dream of Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah al-Hawli about the Haram, on the 'Ashura' Night A.H. 335/10–11 August 946:**
> Then, I left the dome [the Dome of the Rock] and there were trees of light reaching from the Gate of the Dome of the Rock to the Copper Gate [the Main Gate of the Aqsa Mosque] which is opposite the prayer-niche. And I said: "What are these trees?" And it was said to me: "This is the street of the believers in God." I said: "And what about those who oppose them?" He said: "Look, their way is blocked." Then, I asked about the Prophet, what kind of traces remained from his Night Journey. It was said to me: "Look at the earth!" And there was a light, white like snow, the traces of feet, which had become a street.[43]

Traditions, architecture, dreams, and visions definitely focus on the holiness of certain places standing out as more sacred than the already holy Haram. Dreams introduce a new dimension insofar as they furnish images of well-known traditions. Traditions dealing with Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension are especially popular. The growing importance of minor places reduces the predominance of the Dome of the Rock. The 'Abbasid Dome of the Rock is still a very powerful place but begins being accompanied by a number of minor ones—whereas the Umayyad Dome of the Rock had been absolutely pre-eminent and unchallenged by any other place.

The Fatimid Period

The Fatimid Haram is the Temple focussed on the Rock and on the prayer-niche inside the Aqsa Mosque, and an imperial mosque complex with minor mosques inside it. But visitors are mainly concerned with the incredible power of the place, with its holiness.

Muslim architecture declares that this is a holy landscape containing a number of extremely holy places. Till the great rebuilding of the 1030s, this landscape culminates in one peak, i.e., the Rock inside the Dome of the Rock. After the great rebuilding there is a second peak, the main prayer-niche of the Aqsa Mosque. In addition to domes and lamps, precious carpets and prayer-niches also mark holiness. Carpets are found in the Dome of the Rock, the Aqsa Mosque—the space of restricted access (*maqsura*) next to the prayer-niche even being covered with extremely precious North African mats, and

66 The minor domes on the Esplanade: minor holy places in a wider holy area

the monumental east gate. Prayer-niches multiply inside the Aqsa Mosque, in the minor mosques in the west, north, east, and southeast, and are even found in two minor domes on the platform [fig. 66]. All holy places now have prayer-niches and sometimes domes, lamps, and carpets—a rather inconsistent picture. Only the peak(s) of holiness, at first only the Dome of the Rock but later also the space of restricted access (*maqsura*) inside the Aqsa Mosque, are marked by all four features: a prayer-niche, a dome, lamps, and carpets.

Ritual prayer is considered appropriate and most effective all over the Haram. It might be combined, in some places, with certain prayer formulas and gestures, making it even more effective. The first written Muslim pilgrim guide extant explains how to visit the holy places. Such guides may have already existed previously and might be reflected in the careful lists of holy places provided by the Muslim geographers.

> **A Muslim prayer recommended in the Dome of the Chain:**
> It is recommended to make ritual prayer in the Dome of the Chain and to stay at the gate of the Dome of the Rock, which is called the Gate of Israfil, and to pray there. This is the place where the Children of Israel used to go if they had committed a sin, and where they asked God to forgive them. And one of the prayers recommended for this place is what the shaykh Abu l-Hasan Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allah told me in Damascus ..., I heard 'Ali ibn al-Hasan saying: "Oh Khy's [one of the mysterious names of God, see Qur'an 19.1], oh Light of Light, oh Holy, oh God, oh Merciful." He repeated that three times, then he said: "Forgive me the sins which pierce certitude, forgive me the sins which make ordeal descend, forgive me the sins which hold oath back, forgive me the sins which make enemies increase, forgive me the sins which hold prayer back, forgive me the sins which accelerate passing away and forgive me the sins which withdraw the veil.[44]

The times in which only the Dome of the Rock had its own servants are gone. Servants and adherents stay both in the Aqsa Mosque and the monumental east gate. The mystics previously mentioned live and pray in the two convents in the north but on Fridays join the congregational prayer on the Haram. A recluse possibly lives at the west staircase to the platform.

Touching the holy places is openly declared important. The Rock inside the Dome of the Rock is touched and kissed, despite the marble fence round it. People are encouraged to pray on top of the Cradle of Jesus.

Traditions and architecture, ritual and custom present a rather inconsistent but lively picture. Against the background of a general holiness a growing number of places gain a special status. This uneven picture with many small, embellished places is quite different from that of the impressive building projects with their all-embracing masterplans. Building a small dome, or donating a precious carpet or a lamp with some oil is not beyond the financial means and influence of an individual, a family, or a group wishing to mark their presence. The existence of a Muslim pilgrim-guide, the use of lamps and carpets, and individuals spending time there might be explained by informal, personal involvement. The Haram now becomes a place in which not only the authorities and those close to them invest but where more and more people become personally involved.

67 A tombstone of the Fatimid period, excavated ca. 1970 near Robinson's Arch. The deceased, whose name was deliberately effaced, died in 1002

The same holds true for the *Jews*. There is no doubt that the identification of the Haram with the Temple already implies its holiness, but this becomes more and more prominent.

Traditions attribute an extreme holiness to the Foundation Rock (the Rock inside the Dome of the Rock) and the place of the Ascent of God's Presence, also called the Place of the Presence of God's Strength and God's Footstool (on the Mount of Olives).

Architecture lends reality to the traditions. Mosaic decoration and precious carpets, well known means of characterising Fatimid Muslim holy places, now also embellish the so-called Cave, a Jewish holy place deep inside the west Haram wall.[45] The Haram, ruled and shaped as it is by Muslim conceptions, thus includes a piece of Jewish architecture. Architecture declares the Jewish claims vis-à-vis a Jewish, not a Muslim, public and gives them a share in the Haram's holiness.

Rituals and customs declare the gates of the wall and the Mount of Olives to be holy places. People circumambulate the gates and ascend the Mount of Olives, singing and praying, individually throughout the year, and on the Feast of Tabernacles, Passover, and Pentecost in a procession. Prayers recited are considered as effective as if said after a congregational service. Favoured places to pray at are the Gate of Judah in the west, where people ask God to explain their dreams, and the Gate of Mercy in the east.

Ritual concerned with a number of holy places thereby comes to the foreground, and this resembles the growing importance of Muslim ritual at many places on the Haram. But there are two basic differences: Jewish ritual is one-dimensional, around the gates and up to the Mount of Olives, and people may choose certain places and leave other places out, while Muslim ritual is concerned with two dimensions—if not three—and people may combine the holy places in many different ways. Jewish ritual connected with holiness is performed both individually and collectively while Muslim ritual focused on holiness is, as far as we know, performed only individually.

Ritual defines the Cave as the centre of the Jewish community in the city. It is here that the Torah scrolls are taken out for the service and that, if necessary, excommunications are pronounced. This invites a comparison between the Jewish Cave and the Jewish Chair of the Cantors on the Mount of Olives. Both are strongly related to the Rock as they are directly west and east of it. The Cave has the obvious advantage of being much nearer to the Rock and of being accessible to a Jewish public only. The Chair of the Cantors had the advantage of overlooking the Former Temple, but the serious disadvantage of being farther away and exposed to Muslim harassment. The changeover from the Chair of the Cantors to the Cave probably indicates a Fatimid policy of giving the Jewish minority a place under Jewish control, unharassed by the Muslim public.

The Fatimid Cave is maintained by pious foundations from the diaspora, giving people abroad the opportunity to participate in the Haram's holiness,[46] a feature to be compared to the increasing number of minor places on the Haram sponsored by Muslims outside Palestine.

Rituals and customs, and in one instance even architecture, attribute a distinct power to the Haram, i.e., to its wall, the central Rock, and the Mount of Olives. Restriction to the gates and to the Mount of Olives does not imply that the other parts of the Haram are not holy, but rather once again reflects Muslim control of the Haram, which leaves to the Jews mainly the gates—and the so-called Cave—as points of direct contact, and the Mount of Olives as a point of visual contact.

Conclusions

Contemporary sources show a surprisingly clear picture of the Haram, a picture which, despite the diversity of sources, is almost perfectly coherent in itself. For our period, we know of about fifty individual places on the Haram, related Muslim, Christian, and Jewish names and traditions, contemporary events, rituals and customs, visions and dreams. All these closely interact. Many features have close parallels in contemporary Jerusalem and Palestine.

The people of the period under discussion have a number of conceptions of perceiving the Haram which cannot be reconciled with each other. However problematic contradictions of this kind seem to be for the modern researcher, a careful look at the sources shows that they pose no problem for the people of those times. To get an all-encompassing conception which explains everything is no issue. The discovery of the simultaneous use of disparate conceptions has been one of the most striking results of our research.[47]

Of the three conceptions mentioned, the first—the perception of the Haram as the Temple—suits most of the different political situations and religious traditions, and therefore appears in a number of variations. Compared to this, the second—that this is the one mosque of Jerusalem—is much more straightforward. Both are officially maintained, but the people visiting the Haram are mostly concerned with the third one—that this is an area of extraordinary spiritual power.

For the four-and-a-half centuries of the Early Muslim period, the Haram of Jerusalem was the effective focus not of one religion, but of Jews and Muslims—and to some extent also of Christians—alike, a place of mutual adaptation and distinction, i.e., a place of interaction, as shared holiness is characteristic of Jerusalem.

Notes

1 The following is an abridged and updated version of Andreas Kaplony, *The Haram of Jerusalem (324–1099)*, Freiburger Islamstudien 22 (Stuttgart, 2002), where almost all source texts and the full range of references are given. Within the framework of this paper, references are restricted to some few and, where possible, recent publications. For the general history of Jerusalem in this period, see Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, trans. Ethel Broido (Cambridge, 1992; repr. 1997); *Bayt al-Maqdis*, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 9, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992–99); *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 638–1099*, ed. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem, 1996); *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York, 1999). For a special issue, see Shimon Gat, "The Seljuks in Jerusalem," in *Towns and Material Culture in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Yaacov Lev, The Medieval Mediterranean 39 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 1–39. For dating the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem to 635, see Heribert Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Hattab in Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984), 149–51; idem, "ʿOmar's Image as the Conqueror of Jerusalem," ibid. 8 (1986), 149–68.

2 The Christian pilgrim guides have been collected in John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977); Herbert Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land: die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästinapilger (4.–7. Jahrhundert)* (Stuttgart, 1979).

3 The physical Haram has been described by Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, vol. 2. b.3: *Jérusalem*, vol. 2–3, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archeologique orientale du Caire 44–45 (Cairo 1925–49); Keppel A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969; repr. New York, 1979); Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1970–80); Michael H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1987); Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif*, Qedem 28 (Jerusalem, 1989); Klaus Bieberstein and Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte*, 3 vols., Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B 100 (Wiesbaden, 1994) and the related maps of Klaus Bieberstein and Michael H. Burgoyne, *Jerusalem: Architectural Development*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B. IV.7 (Wiesbaden, 1992); Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem*, (Princeton, 1996); *Ottoman Jerusalem*, ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, 2 vols. (London, 2000); Kaplony, *Haram*; Mahmoud Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187–1250)*, BAR International Series 1628 (London, 2007); Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 3: *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2007).

4 Most inscriptions on the Haram are found in van Berchem, *Materiaux: Jérusalem* 2; Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (CIAP), vol. 5, Handbook of Oriental Studies: The Near and Middle East 30,5 (Leiden, etc., forthcoming).

5 For Muslim traditions on Jerusalem, see Ernst A. Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang: die Fada'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 35 (Freiburg i. Br., 1975), pp. 49–82; Izhak Hasson, "The Muslim View of Jerusalem: the Qur'an and Hadith," in *History of Jerusalem*, ed. Prawer and Ben-Shammai, pp. 349–85; Haj-Yehia Kussai, *Die Heiligkeit Jerusalems im Spiegel der arabischen Überlieferung und Geschichtsschreibung*, (Göttingen, 1990); Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts 8 (Leiden, 1994); Ofer Livne-Kafri, "The Muslim Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem (Fada'il al-Quds)," *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 58 (1998), 165–92 and the many articles of Heribert Busse mentioned below.

6 For Jerusalem in Arabic-Islamic geography, see Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Boston and New York 1890; repr. Beirut, 1965).

7 For the first Jewish guides to Jerusalem, see Joseph Braslavi et al., "Der älteste jüdische Jerusalem-Führer," in *Jerusalem: Texte—Bilder-Steine ... zum 100. Geburtstag von Hildi + Othmar Keel-Leu*, ed. Max Küchler and Christoph Uehlinger, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 6 (Göttingen, 1987), pp. 37–81; Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 621–31.

8 For the first Muslim pilgrim guide to Jerusalem, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, pp. 68–77.

9 For Jerusalem in the Geniza documents, see Gil, *History of Palestine*; Gat, "Seljuks."

10 For the Haram prior to the Umayyad rebuilding, see Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* 1:29–35; Busink, *Tempel*, pp. 3–5, 907–14, 1525–28; Bellarmino Bagatti, *Recherches sur le site du Temple de Jérusalem (Ier–VIIe siècle)*, Publications du Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio minor 22 (Jerusalem, 1979); Heribert Busse, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Agony, and the Temple: The Reflection of a Christian Belief in Islamic Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987), 279–89; idem, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Haram ash-sharif: Drei Heiligtümer und ihre gegenseitigen Beziehungen in Legende und Wirklichkeit," in *Jerusalemer Heiligtumstraditionen in altkirchlicher und frühislamischer Zeit*, ed. Heribert Busse and Georg Kretschmar, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 8 (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 9–15; Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 65–74; Cyril Mango, "The Temple Mount AD 614–638," in *Bayt al-Maqdis*, ed. Raby and Johns, 1:1–16; Bernard Flusin, "L'esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes, d'après deux récits byzantins," in ibid., 1:17–31; Heribert Busse, "The Destruction of the Temple and its Reconstruction in the Light of Muslim Exegesis of Sura 17:2–8," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), 1–17, 293.

11 François Nau, "Deux épisodes de l'histoire juive sous Théodose II (423 et 438) d'après la Vie de Barsauma le Syrien," *Revue des Études Juives* 83 (1927), 184–206, esp. 194–200.

12 For the Umayyad rebuilding, see van Berchem, *Materiaux: Jérusalem* 2:232–35; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*; Heribert Busse, "Zur Geschichte und Deutung der frühislamischen Harambauten in Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 107 (1991), 144–54; Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 92–104; Flusin, "L'esplanade"; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*; Heribert Busse, "The Temple of Jerusalem and Its Restitution by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan," *Jewish Art* 23–24 (1997–98), 23–33.

13 For the Muslim rebuilding of the Temple, see Nasser O. Rabbat, "The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock," *Muqarnas* 6 (1989), 12–21; Gustav Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und die frühislamische Architektur im Heiligen Land," in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben*, ed. Birgitt Borkopp (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 39–57 and pl. 1–24; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple"; idem, "Temple of Jerusalem."

14 See H.R. Allen, "Observations on the Original Appearance of the Dome of the Rock," in *Bayt al-Maqdis* 2: *Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 9.2 (London, 1999), pp. 197-213.

15 For the equation of the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aqsa*), the goal of Muhammad's Night Journey, with the Temple and the Haram, etc., see Kussai, *Heiligkeit Jerusalems*, pp. 57–84; Heribert Busse, "Jerusalem in the Story of Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991), 1–40; Angelika Neuwirth, "The Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in Islam," in *City of the Great King*, ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge, MA and London, 1996), pp. 93–116; 483–95; Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, vol. 4 (Berlin and New York 1997), pp. 387–91; Claude Gilliot, "Coran 17, Isra' dans la recherche occidentale," in *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam*, ed. Mohammad ʿAli Amir-Moezzi, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Sciences Religieuses 103 (Leuwen and Paris, 1996), pp. 1–26.

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19 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, ed. Ofer Livne-Kafri [Shfar'am, 1995], p. 51, no. 37.

20 For God's Throne in Islam, see Clément Huart and Joseph Sadan, "Kursi," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 5 (1986), cols. 509a–b; Gösta Vitestam, "'Arsh and Kursi: An Essay on the Throne Traditions in Islam," in *Living Waters: Scandinavian Orientalistic Studies Presented to Professor Dr. Frede Løkkegard …*, ed. Egon Keck et al. (Copenhagen, 1990), pp. 369–78; Josef van Ess, "'Abd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock," in *Bayt al-Maqdis*, ed. Raby and Johns, 1:89–103.

21 For the rivers of Paradise originating beneath the Rock, in Islam, see Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, pp. 53–62.

22 For God rising from the Rock to heaven, in Islam, see van Berchem, *Matériaux: Jérusalem* 2:49–53; van Ess, "'Abd al-Malik."

23 For Abraham in Jerusalem, in Islam, see Suliman Bashear, "Abraham's Sacrifice of His Son and Related Issues," *Islam* 67 (1990), 265–67; Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (Albany, 1990), pp. 105–59.

24 Ibn al- Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, p. 114, no. 132.

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26 al-Wasiti, *Fada'il Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. Izhak Hasson [Jerusalem, 1979], pp. 82–83, no. 136.

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30 Hrabanus Maurus, *Homilia* 1.70, ed. Jacobus Pamelius and Georgius Colvenerius, *Patrologia Latina* 110 (Paris, 1864), cols. 131–34.

31 For the Foundation Rock, see Wilhelm H. Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien*, Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 31,1 (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 15–18, 73–75; idem, *Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern, besonders den semitischen*, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse 70,2 (Leipzig, 1918), pp. 14–17; Joachim Jeremias, *Golgotha*, Angelos Beihefte 1 (Leipzig, 1926); Busink, *Tempel*, pp. 1174–78; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten," part 2, in *Jerusalemer Heiligtumstraditionen*, ed. Busse and Kretschmar, pp. 29–115, esp. 81–111.

32 For the East Gate in Judaism, see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 645–47.

33 For God's Presence on the Mount of Olives, see Moshe Gil, "Aliya and Pilgrimage in the Early Arab Period (634-1099)," *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3 (1983), 163–73; idem, *History of Palestine*, pp. 626–31; Ora Limor, "The Place of the End of Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem," *Jewish Art* 23–24 (1997–98), 16–19.

34 For Jewish prayer in Jerusalem, see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 148–49, 608, 621–31, 700–1; David Golinkin, "Jerusalem in Jewish Law and Custom," in *Jerusalem*, ed. Levine, pp. 408–23.

35 For the rebuilding of Jerusalem after the earthquakes of 1015 and 1030, see van Berchem, *Matériaux: Jérusalem*, 2:15–18, 261–88, 381–92; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* 194–96, 375–77; Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 397–400, 477–80; G.J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem from the Canaanites to the Mamluks*, Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 4 (Sydney, 1993), pp. 237–45.

36 "Letter of ha-ga'on Ben Me'ir," in *Sefer ha-yishuv*, vol. 2, ed. Simha Assaf and Leo A. Mayer (Jerusalem, 1944), p. 21, no. 24 (Hebrew).

37 Ibn Hawqal, *Liber Imaginis Terrae*, ed. Johannes H. Kramers, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 2, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1938–39), p. 171.

38 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, p. 53, no. 39.

39 For the importance of prayer said in Jerusalem in Islam, see Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang*, pp. 66–70; Meir J. Kister, "'You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques': A Study of an Early Tradition," in idem, *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam*, Collected Studies 28 (London, 1988), paper 13, pp. 184–90; Niels Henrik Olesen, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez Ibn Taymiyya* (661/1263–728/1328), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Islamiques 16 (Paris, 1991), pp. 72–79.

40 For the tradition of the three mosques to visit, see Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out"; Olesen, *Culte des saints*, pp. 72–79; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "The Early Shi'a and Jerusalem," *Arabica* 48 (2001), 112–20.

41 For the proximity of the Haram to Paradise, see Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, pp. 46–69.

42 For eschatological traditions on Jerusalem in Islam, see Khalil 'Athamina, "Jerusalem in Eschatological Literature: the Case of Islamic Hadith," *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 60–61 (2002), 115–26.

43 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, p. 53, no. 39.

44 Ibn al-Murajja, *Fada'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, p. 73, no. 62.

45 For the much discussed so-called Cave inside the West Wall, see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 607–9, 648–50.

46 For Jewish pious foundations for the benefit of the Cave, see Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 601–9; Moshe Gil, "Dhimmi Donations and Foundations for Jerusalem (638-1099)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27 (1984), 156–74; Avraham Grossman, "The Yeshiva of Eretz Israel, Its Literary Output and Relationship with the Diaspora," in *History of Jerusalem*, ed. Prawer and Ben-Shammai, pp. 225–69.

47 Similarly, on the coexistence of incongruent conceptions in Hellenistic-Roman Jerusalem, see Lee I. Levine, "Second Temple Jerusalem: A Jewish City in the Greco-Roman Orbit," in *Jerusalem*, ed. Levine, pp. 65–66; Albert I. Baumgarten, "The Role of Jerusalem and the Temple in 'End of Days' Speculation in the Second Temple Period," in ibid., pp. 79, 86 n. 8.