

The following is a fully searchable **pre-print version** of my *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem (324–1099): Temple, Friday Mosque, Area of Spiritual Power*. Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 22. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002. Page numbers might be slightly shifted – please, quote the printed version only.

Zurich, January 9th, 2010    Andreas Kaplony

# THE ḤARAM OF JERUSALEM 324- 1099

TEMPLE, FRIDAY MOSQUE,  
AREA OF SPIRITUAL POWER



BY ANDREAS KAPLONY

The copper coin on the title page illustrates the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem by the Muslims. The five-armed *mənōrāh*, on *recto*, represents the Temple of Jerusalem, the legend, on *recto* and *verso*, has the two parts of the Muslim creed, *lā ilāha illā Llāhu [waḥdahū]* "There is no God but God [alone]" and *Muḥammadun rasūlu Llāhi* "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God". Diameter 16.5-17.0 mm, weight 2.998 g. *Sammlung des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz* N 1999,25. I owe the reference to the kindness of Professor Max Küchler and Siegfried Ostermann. For Muslim copper coins showing the *mənōrāh*, see Barag, "Islamic Candlestick Coins"; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 139-148 (with fig. 43); Ilisch, *SNAT Iva* p. 10f.: nos. 27-31.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book owes much to many.

Professor Max Küchler (Freiburg i. Üe.) accompanied it from the first idea through many decisions until publication. The *Swiss National Science Foundation* supported it with a three-year scholarship. Professor Heribert Busse (Mühlheim a. M.) influenced me deeply by his publications on Muslim Jerusalem and gave me his good advice. Professor Charles Genequand (Geneva) showed his kind interest from the first planning until publication; upon his recommendation, the *Max van Berchem Foundation* (Geneva) covered the costs of its publication. Professor Ulrich Rudolph (Zurich) gave me his precious advice in the crucial final stage and welcomed me into the Institute of Oriental Studies; upon his recommendation, the University of Zurich supported my work with a one-year scholarship and the Faculty of Arts accepted it as *Habilitationsschrift* in islamology. Professor Werner Ende (Freiburg i. Br.) included it in the *Freiburger Islamstudien*.

Professor Johann Christoph Bürgel and Professor Rainer Schwinges (Berne) helped in preparing the project. Professor Klaus Bieberstein (Bamberg) shared his vast knowledge on Jerusalem's past and present with me. Professor Marcel Sigrist gave me access to the library of the *Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem*. Professor Myriam Rosen-Ayalon and Professor Amikam Elad (Jerusalem) introduced me to the *Hebrew University in Jerusalem* and the *Jewish National and University Library* - and the latter gave me his friendship both on good days and on days when nobody else even noticed. Richard Harper and his staff made the *British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem* my academic home - tea time became the frame for discussions with scholars from all backgrounds and nationalities. Khader Salameh and Yusuf Natsheh gave me access to the *Aqsa Library* and the *Department of Islamic Archaeology*, both part of the *Awqaf Administration in Jerusalem* - and their hospitality made the beauty of the H̱aram enter my eyes and my heart.

I had many stimulating discussions. In addition to those already mentioned, I had the pleasure of conversing, either on the spot or in the secure haven of academic institutions, with Mahmoud Hawari (Jerusalem), Professor Oleg Grabar (Princeton), Minna Lönnqvist (Helsinki), Professor Angelika Neuwirth and Johannes Pahlitzsch (Berlin), Andrew Petersen (Haverfordwest), Brigitte Porée (Paris), Robert Schick (Hyderabad), Gerald Grobbel and Johannes Thomann (Zurich). Olivia Franz-Klauser and Maria Wittmer-Butsch (Zurich), Frances Mil-

ler (Baden), Robert Schick (Hyderabad) and Edeltraud von der Schmitt (Berne) read the final draft and made me rethink my conclusions a last time.

Angi encouraged me to start this project. Angi, Mirjam, Esther and Magdalena shared with me the challenges of living in Jerusalem, reinstalling ourselves in Switzerland and finishing this nearly-never-ending story. My parents, my sister, my godmother, and my parents-in-law gave us their support. And we had friends, both there and here.

This book would have been impossible without your help. Thank you - and as the old letters say: *aṭāla Llāhu baqā'akum wa-adāma salāmatakum wa-sa'ādatakum*.

Acting on a mandate issued by the Swiss Federal Government, the *Swiss National Science Foundation for the Promotion of Scientific Research* supports research undertaken inside and outside universities and fosters young scientific talent.

Der *Kredit zur Förderung des akademischen Nachwuchses* der *Universität Zürich* ermöglicht jungen Akademikerinnen und Akademikern durch die Leistung von finanziellen Beiträgen, sich während einer bestimmten Zeit intensiv den wissenschaftlichen Studien zu widmen.

La *Fondation Max van Berchem* fut constituée en 1973 en hommage à Max van Berchem (1863-1921), le fondateur de l'épigraphie arabe en tant que discipline. Etablie à Genève, elle a pour vocation de promouvoir l'étude de l'archéologie, de l'histoire, de la géographie, de l'histoire de l'art, de l'épigraphie, de la religion, de la littérature islamiques et arabes.

## LIST OF FIGURES

|    |                                                                                                         |     |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1  | The ḤARAM                                                                                               | 15  |
| 2  | The ḤARAM WALL and the GATES                                                                            | 16  |
| 3  | The COURTYARD                                                                                           | 17  |
| 4  | The PLATFORM                                                                                            | 18  |
| 5  | The DOME OF THE ROCK                                                                                    | 19  |
| 6  | The AQṢĀ MOSQUE                                                                                         | 20  |
| 7  | The Pre-Marwānid former Temple                                                                          | 24  |
| 8  | The Pre-Marwānid former Temple dominated by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Mount of Olives    | 25  |
| 9  | The Pre-Marwānid mosque of Jerusalem subordinate to the Ka'ba of Mecca                                  | 29  |
| 10 | The Marwānid mosque of Jerusalem                                                                        | 36  |
| 11 | The Marwānid Temple                                                                                     | 43  |
| 12 | The Dome of the Rock part of the Marwānid Temple                                                        | 44  |
| 13 | The Marwānid holy area                                                                                  | 53  |
| 14 | The Dome of the Rock part of the Marwānid holy area                                                     | 54  |
| 15 | The High 'Abbāsīd mosque of Jerusalem                                                                   | 62  |
| 16 | The High 'Abbāsīd Temple                                                                                | 66  |
| 17 | The Dome of the Rock part of the High 'Abbāsīd Temple                                                   | 67  |
| 18 | The High 'Abbāsīd holy area                                                                             | 73  |
| 19 | The Dome of the Rock part of the High 'Abbāsīd holy area                                                | 74  |
| 20 | The Temple in High 'Abbāsīd Jewish sources                                                              | 80  |
| 21 | The Fāṭimid Temple                                                                                      | 86  |
| 22 | The Dome of the Rock part of the Fāṭimid Temple                                                         | 87  |
| 23 | The Fāṭimid mosque of Jerusalem                                                                         | 92  |
| 24 | The mosques inside the High Fāṭimid mosque                                                              | 93  |
| 25 | The zones of the High Fāṭimid mosque                                                                    | 95  |
| 26 | The zones inside the Aqṣā Mosque                                                                        | 96  |
| 27 | The Fāṭimid holy area                                                                                   | 102 |
| 28 | The Dome of the Rock part of the Fāṭimid holy area                                                      | 103 |
| 29 | The Aqṣā Mosque part of the High Fāṭimid holy area                                                      | 104 |
| 30 | The prayer-route of Ibn al-Murağğā in the Early Fāṭimid holy area                                       | 106 |
| 31 | The Fāṭimid Temple in Jewish sources                                                                    | 109 |
| 32 | The Marwānid rebuilding                                                                                 | 116 |
| 33 | The High Fāṭimid rebuilding of the area's south and the corresponding migration of names and traditions | 117 |
| 34 | Changes in architecture and traditions since the High Fāṭimid period                                    | 118 |
| 35 | The Pre-Marwānid area                                                                                   | 179 |
| 36 | The Pre-Marwānid wall and gates                                                                         | 187 |
| 37 | The Pre-Marwānid interior                                                                               | 199 |
| 38 | The position of the Pre-Marwānid mosque of the Muslims                                                  | 209 |
| 39 | The Marwānid area                                                                                       | 213 |

|    |                                                                                                                                |     |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 40 | The Marwānid wall and gates                                                                                                    | 257 |
| 41 | The Marwānid courtyard                                                                                                         | 284 |
| 42 | The position of the Marwānid platform                                                                                          | 294 |
| 43 | The Marwānid platform                                                                                                          | 295 |
| 44 | The position of the Marwānid Dome of the Rock                                                                                  | 313 |
| 45 | The Marwānid Dome of the Rock (layout)                                                                                         | 314 |
| 46 | The Marwānid underground corridor under the Dome of the Rock                                                                   | 335 |
| 47 | The two zones inside the Marwānid Dome of the Rock (layout)                                                                    | 341 |
| 48 | The two zones inside the Marwānid Dome of the Rock (cross-section)                                                             | 342 |
| 49 | The assumed position of the Marwānid fence around the Rock                                                                     | 344 |
| 50 | The position of the Marwānid place of congregational prayer                                                                    | 371 |
| 51 | The Marwānid place of congregational prayer (layout)                                                                           | 372 |
| 52 | The High ‘Abbāsīd area                                                                                                         | 383 |
| 53 | The High ‘Abbāsīd wall and gates                                                                                               | 404 |
| 54 | Remains of a triple gate at BĀB AL-‘ATM                                                                                        | 446 |
| 55 | Remains of a triple gate at BĀB ḤIṬṬA                                                                                          | 451 |
| 56 | The High ‘Abbāsīd Pool of the Children of Israel and the gate nearby                                                           | 453 |
| 57 | The High ‘Abbāsīd courtyard                                                                                                    | 464 |
| 58 | The position of the High ‘Abbāsīd platform                                                                                     | 473 |
| 59 | The High ‘Abbāsīd platform                                                                                                     | 474 |
| 60 | The position of the High ‘Abbāsīd Ascent of the Prophet                                                                        | 479 |
| 61 | The position of the High ‘Abbāsīd Dome of the Rock                                                                             | 497 |
| 62 | The High ‘Abbāsīd Dome of the Rock (layout)                                                                                    | 498 |
| 63 | The High ‘Abbāsīd Dome of the Rock (view)                                                                                      | 499 |
| 64 | The position of the gates of the High ‘Abbāsīd Dome of the Rock                                                                | 507 |
| 65 | The gates of the High ‘Abbāsīd Dome of the Rock (layout)                                                                       | 508 |
| 66 | The layers of the High ‘Abbāsīd dome of the Dome of the Rock                                                                   | 532 |
| 67 | The position of the High ‘Abbāsīd Roofed Hall                                                                                  | 537 |
| 68 | The High ‘Abbāsīd Roofed Hall (layout)                                                                                         | 538 |
| 69 | Factors defining the position of the High ‘Abbāsīd Roofed Hall                                                                 | 542 |
| 70 | The Fāṭimid area                                                                                                               | 559 |
| 71 | Water storage in the Fāṭimid courtyard as described by Nāṣir                                                                   | 577 |
| 72 | The Fāṭimid wall and gates                                                                                                     | 579 |
| 73 | The Fāṭimid underground gates (cross-section)                                                                                  | 587 |
| 74 | The Early Fāṭimid Gate of the Prophet, and the Chamber of Mary or Cradle of Jesus, in the sequence of Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 52-69 | 601 |
| 75 | The High Fāṭimid Gate of the Prophet, the Gate of the Spring and the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus, in the sequence of Nāṣir   | 606 |
| 76 | The Fāṭimid Gate of David (view from the west)                                                                                 | 615 |
| 77 | The High Fāṭimid Main Gate and the Gate of the Tribes, in the sequence of Nāṣir                                                | 628 |
| 78 | The position of the Fāṭimid Main Gate, the characteristic Fāṭimid portal-minaret opposite the [main] Prayer-niche              | 632 |
| 79 | The High Fāṭimid double gate the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance (view from the courtyard)                                | 641 |
| 80 | The Fāṭimid courtyard                                                                                                          | 645 |
| 81 | The concentric zones of the Fāṭimid area around the Rock (layout)                                                              | 648 |
| 82 | The concentric zones of the Fāṭimid area around the Rock (side view)                                                           | 649 |



|     |                                                                                                                      |     |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 83  | The High Fāṭimid arcades of the southwest corner                                                                     | 651 |
| 84  | The High Fāṭimid Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus                                                                       | 669 |
| 85  | The Fāṭimid platform                                                                                                 | 676 |
| 86  | The Fāṭimid Ascent of the Prophet (side view)                                                                        | 688 |
| 87  | The position of the Fāṭimid North Ascent                                                                             | 697 |
| 88  | The position of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock                                                                         | 714 |
| 89  | The Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock (layout)                                                                                | 715 |
| 90  | The Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock (side view)                                                                             | 716 |
| 91  | The height of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock                                                                           | 723 |
| 92  | The layout of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock as described by Nāṣir, without any conjecture                             | 740 |
| 93  | The layout of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock as described by Nāṣir, with conjecture                                    | 741 |
| 94  | The columns between each two pillars of the outer and inner arcades of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock (layout)         | 742 |
| 95  | The layout of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock as described by Nāṣir, with double conjecture                             | 743 |
| 96  | The Early Fāṭimid place where people pray and touch [and kiss] the Rock, in the sequence of Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 52-69 | 746 |
| 97  | The position of the Early Fāṭimid Inner Roofed Mosque                                                                | 759 |
| 98  | The Early Fāṭimid Inner Roofed Mosque (layout)                                                                       | 760 |
| 99  | The Early Fāṭimid Inner Roofed Mosque and the whole area                                                             | 762 |
| 100 | The position of the High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall or Aqṣā Mosque                                                          | 770 |
| 101 | The High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall or Aqṣā Mosque                                                                          | 771 |
| 102 | Dimensions of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque and the open courtyard east of it                                         | 777 |
| 103 | High Fāṭimid places connected by Nāṣir with Muḥammad's Night Journey                                                 | 778 |

# CONTENTS

|                  |     |
|------------------|-----|
| Acknowledgements | V   |
| List of figures  | VII |
| Contents         | XI  |

|                              |    |
|------------------------------|----|
| Introduction                 | 1  |
| Goals and method (A001-A010) | 1  |
| Periodisation (A011-A016)    | 4  |
| Sources (A017-A045)          | 6  |
| Matters of form (A046-A049)  | 14 |
| Plans of today's ḤARAM       | 15 |

## Part A: Conceptions

|                                                                                                                                               |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1. The Pre-Marwānid phase (324-685): the former Temple                                                                                        | 23 |
| 1.1. The monumental architecture of ruins: the former Temple (Christian) (A050-A057)                                                          | 23 |
| 1.2. The almost hidden alternative: the Temple destroyed to be rebuilt (Jewish) (A058-A061)                                                   | 28 |
| 1.3. The conquerors' mosque inside the Temple (Muslim) (A062-A067)                                                                            | 29 |
| 1.4. The pragmatic adaptation: a mosque inside the former Temple (Christian) (A068)                                                           | 31 |
| 1.5. Conclusions (A069-A070)                                                                                                                  | 31 |
| 2. The Marwānid phase (685-813): the Temple Mosque                                                                                            | 33 |
| 2.1. The masterplan I: the mosque of Jerusalem - and the mosque inside it (Muslim) (A071-A082)                                                | 33 |
| 2.2. The masterplan II: the New Temple (Muslim) (A083-A099)                                                                                   | 38 |
| 2.3. The local perspective: a place of extraordinary spiritual power (Muslim) (A100-A110)                                                     | 49 |
| 2.4. Adapting one Muslim conception, but rejecting the other: the mosque inside the former Temple, but not the Temple (Christian) (A111-A113) | 56 |
| 2.5. Conclusions (A114-A117)                                                                                                                  | 57 |
| 3. The High ʿAbbāsīd phase (813-969): the mosque                                                                                              | 59 |
| 3.1. Definitely the mosque of Jerusalem - and the mosque inside it (Muslim) (A118-A126)                                                       | 59 |
| 3.2. The view falling into oblivion: the New Temple (Muslim) (A127-A137)                                                                      | 64 |
| 3.3. The network of holy places (Muslim) (A138-A146)                                                                                          | 71 |
| 3.4. Taking over a toothless conception: the mosque and Temple (Christian) (A147-A151)                                                        | 77 |
| 3.5. Back to the stage: the former and future Temple - just the Temple (Jewish) (A152-A158)                                                   | 79 |
| 3.6. Conclusions (A159-A160)                                                                                                                  | 82 |

|      |                                                                                                         |     |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.   | The Fāṭimid phase (969-1099): the reformed Temple Mosque                                                | 83  |
| 4.1. | A view still existent: the New Temple (Muslim) (A161-A169)                                              | 83  |
| 4.2. | Rewriting the masterplan: the mosque of Jerusalem - and the many mosques inside it (Muslim) (A170-A186) | 89  |
| 4.3. | Getting personally involved: a network of favourite holy places (Muslim) (A187-A200)                    | 98  |
| 4.4. | The mosque and Temple (Christian) (A201-A203)                                                           | 108 |
| 4.5. | The former and future Temple - just the Temple (Jewish) (A204-A208)                                     | 108 |
| 4.6. | Getting as near as possible to the holy: a holy wall and holy gates (Jewish) (A209-A216)                | 111 |
| 4.7. | Conclusions (A217-A218)                                                                                 | 113 |
|      | General conclusions (A219-A244)                                                                         | 115 |
|      | Bibliography                                                                                            | 123 |
|      | Index to Part A                                                                                         | 165 |

## Part B: Places

|      |                                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1.   | The Pre-Marwānid phase (324-685)                                                                                                                                                 | 179 |
| 1.1. | The whole area (B001)                                                                                                                                                            | 179 |
|      | B001. The (former) Temple = the Capitol                                                                                                                                          | 180 |
| 1.2. | The wall and the gates (B002-B008)                                                                                                                                               | 187 |
|      | B002. The Beautiful Gate                                                                                                                                                         | 188 |
|      | B003. The Pinnacle                                                                                                                                                               | 191 |
|      | B004. The Cornerstone                                                                                                                                                            | 193 |
|      | B005. The palace of Solomon                                                                                                                                                      | 194 |
|      | B006. The monastery of the nuns                                                                                                                                                  | 195 |
|      | B007. The room where Solomon wrote the [Book of] Wisdom                                                                                                                          | 196 |
|      | B008. The south gate and its corridor                                                                                                                                            | 197 |
| 1.3. | The interior (B009-B013)                                                                                                                                                         | 199 |
|      | B009. The interior in general                                                                                                                                                    | 200 |
|      | B010. The cisterns and pools and a certain crypt                                                                                                                                 | 201 |
|      | B011. The pierced stone                                                                                                                                                          | 203 |
|      | B221. The two statues                                                                                                                                                            | 205 |
|      | B012. The altar with the blood of Zechariah = the red rocks with the blood of Zechariah                                                                                          | 205 |
|      | B013. The mosque of the Muslims (635-685)                                                                                                                                        | 208 |
| 2.   | The Marwānid phase (685-813)                                                                                                                                                     | 213 |
| 2.1. | The whole area (B014-B016)                                                                                                                                                       | 213 |
|      | B014. (The Mosque of) the Temple = the Furthest Mosque = the Mosque of David = the Mosque of Solomon = the (Friday) mosque of Jerusalem = the mosque on the Temple = the Capitol | 214 |
|      | B015. The inscription with the dimensions of the area                                                                                                                            | 254 |

|      |                                                                                                                                |     |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
|      | B016. The ablution places                                                                                                      | 254 |
| 2.2. | The wall and the gates (B017-B025)                                                                                             | 257 |
|      | B017. The wall and the gates                                                                                                   | 258 |
|      | B018. The Gate of the Prophet = the Gate of Muḥammad                                                                           | 259 |
|      | B019. The Stopping-place where Muḥammad stopped al-Burāq                                                                       | 262 |
|      | B020. The Gate of Repentance (with the Chamber of Mary)                                                                        | 264 |
|      | B021. The Ḥiṭṭa Gate                                                                                                           | 267 |
|      | B022. The Gate of David = the Gate of Zion                                                                                     | 271 |
|      | B222. The northwest gate                                                                                                       | 272 |
|      | B023. The Gate(s) of the Tribes and the minaret next to it                                                                     | 273 |
|      | B024. The east wall and the Gate of Mercy                                                                                      | 277 |
|      | B025. The minarets                                                                                                             | 281 |
| 2.3. | The courtyard (B026-B030)                                                                                                      | 284 |
|      | B026. The courtyard                                                                                                            | 285 |
|      | B027. The cisterns                                                                                                             | 285 |
|      | B028. The Pool of ar-Raġīʿ and the aqueduct                                                                                    | 288 |
|      | B029. The rock where Solomon prayed [later the Throne of Solomon]                                                              | 290 |
|      | B030. The Dwelling-place of al-Ḥiḍr                                                                                            | 292 |
| 2.4. | The platform (B031-B037)                                                                                                       | 294 |
|      | B031. The platform                                                                                                             | 296 |
|      | B032. The minor domes                                                                                                          | 297 |
|      | B033. The Dome of the Chain = the Place of the Chain                                                                           | 298 |
|      | B034. The dome where Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance                                       | 304 |
|      | B035. The Treasury                                                                                                             | 305 |
|      | B036. The Dome of the Ascension = the dome which is north of [the Dome of] the Rock                                            | 307 |
|      | B037. The place where Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of (the angels and) the [former] prophets [later the Dome of the Prophet] | 309 |
| 2.5. | The Dome of the Rock (B038-B047)                                                                                               | 313 |
|      | B038. The Dome of the Rock                                                                                                     | 315 |
|      | B039. The wall of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                         | 329 |
|      | B040. The gates of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                        | 330 |
|      | B041. The Black Paving-stone, the bench next to it, the underground corridor, and the Tomb of Solomon                          | 333 |
|      | B042. The octagonal arcade                                                                                                     | 337 |
|      | B043. The columns next to the Rock                                                                                             | 339 |
|      | B044. The fence around the Rock                                                                                                | 342 |
|      | B045. The Rock                                                                                                                 | 346 |
|      | B046. The dome of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                         | 363 |
|      | B047. The pavement of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                     | 369 |
| 2.6. | The place of congregational prayer (B048-B051)                                                                                 | 371 |
|      | B048. The place of congregational prayer                                                                                       | 373 |
|      | B049. The gates of the place of congregational prayer                                                                          | 379 |
|      | B050. The [central] nave and the gable roof                                                                                    | 380 |
|      | B051. The Pulpit of the Temple = the Standing-place                                                                            | 381 |

|      |                                                                                                                                                                          |     |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.   | The High ʿAbbāsid phase (813-969)                                                                                                                                        | 383 |
| 3.1. | The whole area (B052-B056)                                                                                                                                               | 383 |
|      | B052. (The Mosque of) the Temple = the Furthest Mosque = the (Friday) mosque of Jerusalem = the mosque on the Temple and the inscription with the dimensions of the area | 384 |
|      | B053. The aqueduct or Channel of al-Marǧīʿ and the two pools at its beginning                                                                                            | 398 |
|      | B054. The ablution places                                                                                                                                                | 400 |
|      | B055. The meeting room of the Ḥanafīya                                                                                                                                   | 401 |
|      | B056. The <i>Ḥanqāh</i> , a prayer-place of the Karrāmīya = the convents and meeting rooms of the Karrāmīya                                                              | 402 |
| 3.2. | The wall and the gates (B057-B089)                                                                                                                                       | 404 |
|      | B057. The wall                                                                                                                                                           | 405 |
|      | B058. The gates                                                                                                                                                          | 405 |
|      | B059. The minarets                                                                                                                                                       | 407 |
|      | B060. The [collective] Gates of the Fifth-Servants                                                                                                                       | 408 |
|      | B061. The House of the Fifth-Servants                                                                                                                                    | 411 |
|      | B062. The Gate(s) of the Prophet = the Gate of Muḥammad = the Gate(s) of Ḥuldāh (with the <i>Mišnāh</i> )                                                                | 412 |
|      | B063. The Gates of the Five                                                                                                                                              | 417 |
|      | B064. The Gate of Repentance (with the Chamber of Mary = the Birth-place of Jesus) = the Gates of (the Chamber of) Mary = the Gates of the Lady                          | 418 |
|      | B065. The triple gate Water Gate/Song Gate/Women Gate                                                                                                                    | 423 |
|      | B066. The Pinnacle (of the Mosque)                                                                                                                                       | 424 |
|      | B067. The Gate of the Palace = the Gate of al-Ḥiḍr                                                                                                                       | 425 |
|      | B068. The South Minaret (with the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq)                                                                                                            | 427 |
|      | B069. The Ḥiṭṭa Gate                                                                                                                                                     | 428 |
|      | B070. The Gate of the Priest                                                                                                                                             | 430 |
|      | B071. The Gate of Solomon                                                                                                                                                | 432 |
|      | B072. The Gate(s) of David and the minaret next to it                                                                                                                    | 433 |
|      | B073. The Gate of God's Presence                                                                                                                                         | 437 |
|      | B074. The Gate of (the House of) Umm Ḥālīd                                                                                                                               | 438 |
|      | B075. The Gate of the Hashemite                                                                                                                                          | 439 |
|      | B076. The Gate of (the Family of) Judah                                                                                                                                  | 439 |
|      | B077. The Gate of Abraham                                                                                                                                                | 440 |
|      | B078. The Gate of al-Walīd                                                                                                                                               | 441 |
|      | B079. The Gate of the Cattle = the <i>Parbār</i>                                                                                                                         | 441 |
|      | B080. The [collective] Gates of the Tribes and the north minaret                                                                                                         | 443 |
|      | B081. The Gates of the Hashemites                                                                                                                                        | 445 |
|      | B082. The Gate of Isaac                                                                                                                                                  | 447 |
|      | B083. The [particular] Gate(s) of the Tribes, and the bath and the burial places nearby                                                                                  | 447 |
|      | B084. The Gate of Ḥannā                                                                                                                                                  | 451 |
|      | B085. The Pool of the Children of Israel and the Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel                                                                              | 452 |
|      | B086. The east wall and the Gate(s) of Mercy = the Gate of Nikanor (with the [former] East Gate)                                                                         | 454 |
|      | B087. The gate where Jesus entered the city                                                                                                                              | 459 |
|      | B088. The Chamber of Zechariah                                                                                                                                           | 460 |
|      | B089. The Gate of the Valley                                                                                                                                             | 462 |

|      |                                                                                                                         |     |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.3. | The courtyard (B090-B097)                                                                                               | 464 |
|      | B090. The courtyard                                                                                                     | 465 |
|      | B091. The west arcades                                                                                                  | 466 |
|      | B092. The north arcades                                                                                                 | 467 |
|      | B093. The cisterns                                                                                                      | 467 |
|      | B094. The Throne of Solomon                                                                                             | 469 |
|      | B095. The Chamber of Jacob                                                                                              | 469 |
|      | B096. The Chamber of al-Ḥiḍr                                                                                            | 471 |
|      | B097. The Cave of Abraham                                                                                               | 471 |
| 3.4. | The platform (B098-B109)                                                                                                | 473 |
|      | B098. The platform (with its staircases)                                                                                | 475 |
|      | B099. The South Ascent = the Ascent of the Prophet = the staircase opposite the [south]<br>Gate of the Dome of the Rock | 477 |
|      | B100. The staircase opposite the [west] gate of the Dome of the Rock                                                    | 480 |
|      | B101. The staircase opposite the [north] gate of the Dome of the Rock                                                   | 481 |
|      | B102. The staircase opposite the [east] gate of the Dome of the Rock                                                    | 481 |
|      | B103. The minor domes                                                                                                   | 482 |
|      | B104. The Dome of the Chain                                                                                             | 482 |
|      | B105. The Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr                                                                                       | 485 |
|      | B106. The Dome of the Ascension                                                                                         | 486 |
|      | B107. The Place of the Night Journey                                                                                    | 493 |
|      | B108. The Dome of the Prophet = the Dome of Muḥammad                                                                    | 493 |
|      | B109. The Standing-place of Gabriel = the Prayer-place of Gabriel                                                       | 495 |
| 3.5. | The Dome of the Rock (B110-B123)                                                                                        | 497 |
|      | B110. The Dome of the Rock                                                                                              | 500 |
|      | B111. The wall of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                  | 503 |
|      | B112. The gates of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                 | 505 |
|      | B113. The Black Paving-stone = the paving-stone with the Rock in front [to its south]                                   | 510 |
|      | B114. The three arcades                                                                                                 | 512 |
|      | B115. The arcades in a round configuration and the low arcades on top                                                   | 514 |
|      | B116. The circular non-octagonal arcade                                                                                 | 516 |
|      | B117. The fence around the Rock                                                                                         | 516 |
|      | B118. The Rock and the chain suspended over it                                                                          | 517 |
|      | B119. The cave under the Rock                                                                                           | 523 |
|      | B120. The drum of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                  | 526 |
|      | B121. The dome of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                  | 527 |
|      | B122. The floor of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                 | 535 |
|      | B123. The roofs of the Dome of the Rock                                                                                 | 536 |
| 3.6. | The Roofed Hall (B124-B130)                                                                                             | 537 |
|      | B124. The Roofed Hall and the open space east of it                                                                     | 539 |
|      | B125. The gates and the north arcade of the Roofed Hall                                                                 | 543 |
|      | B126. The naves of the Roofed Hall                                                                                      | 547 |
|      | B127. The prayer-niche                                                                                                  | 550 |
|      | B128. The Pulpit of the Temple                                                                                          | 551 |
|      | B129. The black paving-stone and the white paving-stone behind the pulpit                                               | 552 |
|      | B130. The roofs of the Roofed Hall, with the gable roof and the dome                                                    | 557 |

|      |                                                                                                                                                            |     |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.   | The Fāṭimid phase (969-1099)                                                                                                                               | 559 |
| 4.1. | The whole area (B131-B133)                                                                                                                                 | 559 |
|      | B131. The (Friday) Mosque of the Temple = the (Friday) mosque of Jerusalem = the mosque on the Temple, and the inscription with its dimensions             | 560 |
|      | B132. The cisterns and pools                                                                                                                               | 575 |
|      | B133. The aqueduct and the large pool from which it comes                                                                                                  | 578 |
| 4.2. | The wall and the gates (B134-B154)                                                                                                                         | 579 |
|      | B134. The wall                                                                                                                                             | 580 |
|      | B135. The gates                                                                                                                                            | 583 |
|      | B136. The south wall                                                                                                                                       | 592 |
|      | B137. The Gate of the Prophet (with its corridor, the shield-like pattern made by Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and the ablution place)                       | 593 |
|      | B138. The Kneeling-place of the she-camel = the place (which Gabriel pierced with his finger and) where Gabriel tied up al-Burāq                           | 599 |
|      | B139. The Early Fāṭimid Chamber of Mary and her worshipping-place = the Cradle of Jesus (969-1030s)                                                        | 600 |
|      | B140. The High Fāṭimid Gate of the Spring (1030s-1099)                                                                                                     | 604 |
|      | B141. The west wall                                                                                                                                        | 607 |
|      | B142. The Ḥiṭṭa Gate                                                                                                                                       | 607 |
|      | B143. The Gate of the Priest                                                                                                                               | 610 |
|      | B144. The Gate of David                                                                                                                                    | 610 |
|      | B145. The Gate of Judah                                                                                                                                    | 615 |
|      | B146. The Gate of God's Presence                                                                                                                           | 616 |
|      | B147. The Gate of the Cave (with the Cave)                                                                                                                 | 619 |
|      | B148. The Gate of the Cattle                                                                                                                               | 622 |
|      | B149. The north wall                                                                                                                                       | 625 |
|      | B150. The Gate of the Tribes                                                                                                                               | 626 |
|      | B151. The Main Gate [the portal-minaret]                                                                                                                   | 630 |
|      | B152. The gate leading to the two Ṣūfī convents, and the convents themselves                                                                               | 632 |
|      | B153. The east wall                                                                                                                                        | 636 |
|      | B154. The Gate of Mercy = the double gate the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance                                                                         |     |
| 4.3. | The courtyard (B155-B167)                                                                                                                                  | 645 |
|      | B155. The courtyard                                                                                                                                        | 646 |
|      | B156. The arcades                                                                                                                                          | 649 |
|      | B157. The High Fāṭimid south arcade (1030s-1099)                                                                                                           | 650 |
|      | B158. The [triple] west arcade                                                                                                                             | 652 |
|      | B159. The arcade between the two north gates (with the Dome of Jacob)                                                                                      | 654 |
|      | B160. The arcade east of the two north gates                                                                                                               | 656 |
|      | B161. The arcade of the northeast corner                                                                                                                   | 657 |
|      | B162. The High Fāṭimid Chamber of David (1030s-1099)                                                                                                       | 658 |
|      | B163. The rocks in the north part of the mosque and the Throne of Solomon                                                                                  | 659 |
|      | B164. The Chamber of (the prophet) Zechariah                                                                                                               | 662 |
|      | B165. The High Fāṭimid (Mosque of the) Cradle of Jesus (with the Cradle of Jesus, the Prayer-niche of Mary and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah) (1030s-1099) | 664 |
|      | B166. The myrtle tree                                                                                                                                      | 674 |
| 4.4. | The platform (B168-B183)                                                                                                                                   | 676 |
|      | B167. The platform                                                                                                                                         | 677 |

|                                                                                                                  |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| B168. The cistern under the platform                                                                             | 679 |
| B169. The fence around the platform                                                                              | 680 |
| B170. The staircases to the platform                                                                             | 681 |
| B171. The Ascent of the Prophet                                                                                  | 682 |
| B172. The Ascent of Ġūrī                                                                                         | 689 |
| B173. The two west staircases, one of them the West Ascent (with the rock <i>Bah-bah</i> = the Place of al-Ḥiḍr) | 693 |
| B174. The place where al-Ḥiḍr prays every day just before noon                                                   | 695 |
| B175. The North Ascent                                                                                           | 696 |
| B176. The East Ascent                                                                                            | 698 |
| B177. The minor domes                                                                                            | 699 |
| B178. The Dome of the Chain                                                                                      | 700 |
| B179. The Early Fāṭimid Dome of the Gathering (969-1030s)                                                        | 704 |
| B180. The Dome of the Prophet = the Dome of the Messenger                                                        | 705 |
| B181. The Dome of the Balance                                                                                    | 708 |
| B182. The Dome of the Ascension                                                                                  | 709 |
| B183. The Dome of Gabriel                                                                                        | 711 |
| 4.5. The Dome of the Rock (B184-B194)                                                                            | 714 |
| B184. The Dome of the Rock                                                                                       | 717 |
| B185. The wall of the Dome of the Rock                                                                           | 730 |
| B186. The gates of the Dome of the Rock, among them the Gate of Isrāfīl                                          | 732 |
| B187. The Black Paving-stone                                                                                     | 735 |
| B188. The outer arcade and the ceilings of the outer and inner ambulatories                                      | 737 |
| B189. The arcade next to the Rock                                                                                | 743 |
| B190. The fence around the Rock                                                                                  | 745 |
| B191. The place where people pray and touch [and kiss] the Rock                                                  | 745 |
| B192. The Rock                                                                                                   | 747 |
| B193. The cave under the Rock                                                                                    | 754 |
| B194. The dome and the drum of the Dome of the Rock                                                              | 755 |
| 4.6. The Early Fāṭimid Roofed Hall (969-1030s) (B195-B201)                                                       | 759 |
| B195. The Inner Roofed Mosque                                                                                    | 761 |
| B196. The gates of the Inner Roofed Mosque                                                                       | 763 |
| B197. The arcades of the Inner Roofed Mosque                                                                     | 765 |
| B198. The naves, the roof and the dome of the Inner Roofed Mosque                                                | 765 |
| B199. The [main] Prayer-niche                                                                                    | 766 |
| B200. The Prayer-niche of ‘Umar, the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya and all [other] prayer-niches                      | 767 |
| B201. The pulpit                                                                                                 | 769 |
| 4.7. The High Fāṭimid Aqṣà Mosque (1030s-1099) (B202-B209)                                                       | 770 |
| B202. The Aqṣà Mosque and the courtyard east of it                                                               | 772 |
| B203. The gates of the Aqṣà Mosque                                                                               | 779 |
| B204. The naves of the Aqṣà Mosque                                                                               | 781 |
| B205. The cistern inside the Aqṣà Mosque                                                                         | 783 |
| B206. The boxes of the cities of Syria-Palestine and Iraq                                                        | 784 |
| B207. The <i>Maqṣūra</i> and the dome of the Aqṣà Mosque                                                         | 785 |
| B208. The [main] Prayer-niche                                                                                    | 787 |
| B209. The Prayer-niche of ‘Umar and the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya                                                 | 788 |



## INTRODUCTION

### GOALS AND METHODS

A001. From the Muslim conquest in 635<sup>1</sup> until the Crusader conquest in 1099, Jerusalem is one of the cities of the world we know best. Sources are rich and diverse; visitors come from Spain, Gaul, Germany, Asia Minor, Iran, Egypt, North Africa and, of course, from Syria-Palestine itself. These are Latin, Greek, Coptic, Armenian and Nestorian Christians, Karaite and Rabbanite (both Palestinian and Babylonian) Jews, as well as Sunnite and Shi'ite Muslims. Descriptions preserved are in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Persian - pilgrims' reports and pilgrim guides, commentaries on the Bible and the Koran, and other collections of traditions, as well as hagiographical, geographical and historical works, not to mention inscriptions, buildings and original letters. The city is indeed better known than any other city of the time.

A002. Due to these diverse interests, Jerusalem develops from a city of one religion into a place shared by all three religions. In the beginning, it is a Christian city, almost entirely shaped by the Duophysites, but visited as well by other Christian confessions - and even some Jews. Later, first under Sunnite and then Shi'ite rule, it is visited by all Muslim, Christian and Jewish confessions. In order to allow all these different communities to get along with each other, a characteristic set of rules evolved. Apart from some short interruptions, this shared holiness has been one of Jerusalem's outstanding and most constant features ever since.

A003. To understand the emergence of the Muslim city in the period 635-1099, we have to include the Christian city of the preceding period (324-635) in our research. They are closely linked, and Muslim conceptions are mostly reactions to conceptions of this earlier phase.

A004. Despite the promising situation of the sources and the historical importance of the period, research has not been particularly forthcoming and has often been restricted to the examination of one religious community.<sup>2</sup> Not only has this method deprived us of the opportu-

---

<sup>1</sup>For dating the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem to 635, see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 111-114; Busse, "Omar's Image" 149-151; 160; 168; Schick, *Christian Communities* 70; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 96f.

<sup>2</sup> The restrictedness of most research on Jerusalem has also been lamented Grabar, "Space and Holiness" 275-277.

nity to see one and the same aspect from different sides, but it has also prevented from understanding how conceptions migrated between communities.

A005. The following study describes the emergence and interaction of conceptions through which Christians, Muslims and Jews share one and the same city, and the political circumstances and religious axioms which give each conception its specific shape.

A006. Such an objective would call for a minute description of every spot in the city, every ritual and every idea. In order not to lose focus, one outstanding part of the city has been chosen. Being important to all three religions, this place is described by almost all sources - the ḤARAM, the area of the former Temple.

A006.a. All research on this area should encompass the so-called Umayyad Palaces excavated to the south,<sup>1</sup> but the lack of proper excavation reports of them is quite a disappointment.

A007. We are looking for the conceptions through which people see the area of the former Temple, the centres of gravity of the individual features, and their points of reference (= our Part A). These are expressed in four ways:<sup>2</sup>

- names and traditions
- architecture, i.e., position and physical shape
- rituals and customs
- visions and dreams

A008. Each of these four categories has its own rules. Architecture, for example, requires considerable funds for building and maintenance and a building permit from the appropriate authorities, but it allows individuals to express their own conceptions. Rituals and customs

---

<sup>1</sup>Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 19; Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 44; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 10; Küchler, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste" 120.

For the Umayyad Palaces, see B018.2.b.

<sup>2</sup>Jewish and Christian names, traditions, architecture and ritual are taken into consideration by Kühnel, "Jewish and Christian Symbolism"; Christian names, traditions, architecture and ritual, by Wilkinson, *Jerusalem. IV. Alte Kirche*, TRE 16 (1987) 620f.; Ousterhout, "Temple, Sepulchre, Martyrion"; Ousterhout, "Flexible Geography"; and architecture and ritual, by Renoux, *Codex arménien*; Baldovin, *Urban Character* 45-104; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten"; Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*; Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple" 78. Similarly, Muslim traditions and architecture are used by Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram"; architecture and ritual, by Elad, *Jerusalem* 159f.; traditions, liturgy, architecture and dreams, by Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution"; historical memories (not necessarily transformed into places of holiness or worship), pious memories (requiring or inviting behaviour), and eschatological memories (infused by the expectation of the end of time), by Grabar, "Space and Holiness" 279f.

are much slower to change and much more difficult to hinder. Dreams and visions may, through different interpretations, provide legitimacy where no other legitimacy is found.<sup>1</sup>

A009. Our analysis is based on a careful description of the ḤARAM with almost all its parts and on the establishment of as many parallels as possible (= our Part B). A kind of catalogue lists, for the whole area, its parts and all known individual places:

- name(s) (Muslim, Christian, Jewish)
- exact position
- physical shape
- contemporary events
- traditions (Muslim, Christian, Jewish)
- rituals and customs (Muslim, Christian, Jewish)
- visions and dreams (Muslim, Christian, Jewish)

A010. This research focuses on coexistence in Jerusalem. Therefore, only sources showing direct familiarity with the city are taken into consideration. To have included architecture, traditions and rituals which reflect on Jerusalem from a distance would have overburdened this project.

---

<sup>1</sup>For the function of dreams in Arabic literature, see Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self* 88-93.

## PERIODISATION<sup>1</sup>

A011. In most cases, sources mention names and terms still in use in modern Jerusalem, and scholars have assumed that medieval and modern names necessarily refer to the same places.<sup>2</sup> However, a closer look reveals not only that names have changed place since the Middle Ages (A222), but also that they did so even during the period of this survey (A220, A221).

A012. An analysis of these changes yields four periods, two of which are further divided. Within a period, the sources correspond almost perfectly with each other. Each of the four periods shows a distinctive profile of sources. These periods are:

- the Pre-Marwānid period (324-685)
  - the Pre-Muslim Pre-Marwānid period (324-635)
  - the Muslim Pre-Marwānid period (635-685)
- the Marwānid period (685-813)
- the High 'Abbāsīd period (813-969)
- the Fāṭimid period (969-1099)
  - the Early Fāṭimid period (969-1030s)
  - the High Fāṭimid period (1030s-1099)

A013. The Marwānid period starts with the rebuilding of the area of the former Temple by 'Abd al-Malik (Umayyad caliph 65-86/685-705) in 685,<sup>3</sup> one of the most far-reaching decisions in the city's architectural history. It ends with the decrease in Christian pilgrims' re-

---

<sup>1</sup>There are other periodisations for our period. van Berchem, *Jérusalem* distinguishes (1) "Omayyades" and (2) "Abbasides et Fatimides". Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* has (1) "Byzantinische Zeit I" (324-614); (2) "Sassanidische Zeit" (614-628); (3) "Byzantinische Zeit II" (628-635/638); (4) "Umayyadische Zeit" (660/661-750); (5) "Abbāsīdische Zeit" (750-970); (6) "Fāṭimidische Zeit" (970-1073); (7) "Salḡūkische Zeit" (1073-1098); and (8) "Fāṭimidische Zeit II" (1098-1099). Gil, *Palestine* 420f. has (1) "the Muslim conquest and establishment" (634-661); (2) "the Umayyad-Damascene rule" (661-750); (3) "the Abbasid-Baghdadian rule" (750-878); (4) "the Turco-Egyptian rule of the Ṭūlūnides and Ikhshīdids" (878-970), of which thirty years are again under "Abbasid-Baghdadian rule" (905-935), (5) "the war of sixty years" (970-1030) with many participants, the most important being the Fatimids, (6) "the Fatimid-Egyptian rule" (1030-1071), (7) "the Turkish rule" (1071-1099) and (8) "the renewed Fatimid rule" (1099). Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* describes (1) the Byzantine city (around 600); (2) the first decades of Muslim rule (637-692); (3) the Umayyad city (692-750); (4) the 'Abbāsīd city (750-969); and (5) the Fāṭimid city (969-1099).

<sup>2</sup>Natsheh, "Ottoman Jerusalem" 604 A. 37 also stresses the points that monuments in Jerusalem continuously change their names.

<sup>3</sup>For the Marwānid rebuilding of the area, see A071.

ports, the destruction of many churches and the Anti-Christian pogroms in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> All of these three events are to be dated at around 800 and are possibly connected with the civil war between al-Amīn (ʿAbbāsīd caliph 193-198/809-813) and al-Maʿmūn (ʿAbbāsīd caliph 198-218/813-833). The period thus covers the later branch of the Umayyads, i.e., the Marwānids (caliphs 64-132/684-750) and the Early ʿAbbāsids (caliphs since 132/749), but not the earlier branch of the Umayyads, i.e., the Sufyānids (caliphs 61-64/661-683).

A014. The Pre-Marwānid period begins at around 324 with the building of Palestine (including Jerusalem) as the Christian Holy Land by Constantine (emperor 306-337).<sup>2</sup> When, sometime after the Muslim conquest of 635, the first place of Muslim congregational prayer is built, this marks the division into Pre-Muslim and Muslim phases<sup>3</sup> (any further possible subdivisions have been omitted). The period ends with the rebuilding of the area by ʿAbd al-Malik in 685.

A015. The High ʿAbbāsīd period starts with the end of the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʿmūn. It lasts until the Fāṭimid conquest in 969, which changes the city from Sunnite to Shiʿite rule and transforms Jerusalem's appearance drastically through the building of a new south city wall, a new Church of the Holy Sepulchre and a new Aqṣà Mosque.<sup>4</sup>

A016. The Fāṭimid period begins with the Fāṭimid conquest in 969. The main dividing line between the Early and the High Fāṭimid phases manifests itself in the construction of the new Aqṣà Mosque. The period ends with the death or exodus of the Muslim and Jewish inhabitants during the Crusader conquest in 1099 and the ensuing transformation into a Christian city with a Western appearance.<sup>5</sup> The combined result of both the Crusader conquest and the

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Anti-Christian pogroms and destruction of churches in Jerusalem around 800, see Gil, "Dhimmi Donations and Foundations" 160; Gil, *Palestine* 474f.; Bieberstein, "Gesandtenaustausch"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 190; 2 185.

<sup>2</sup>For the establishment of Jerusalem as part of the Christian Holy Land, see Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten"; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 7-14; Gibson/Taylor, *Holy Sepulchre* 73-85; Walker, *Holy Cities, Holy Places* 131-308; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy* 82-100; Bowman, "Mapping".

<sup>3</sup>For the period from the first Sāsānid conquest in 614 until the Muslim conquest in 635, see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 39; Mango, "Temple Mount"; Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 26-28; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 175-177; 3 37f.

<sup>4</sup>For the High Fāṭimid rebuilding, see A169.

<sup>5</sup>For the transformation of Jerusalem by the Crusader conquest and the Muslim reconquest, see Grabar, "A New Inscription" 83; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 39; Schein, "Between Moriah and Holy Sepulchre"; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 166f.; 176; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 23f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 33; 47-49; Richards, "Mamlūk State" 58; Richards, "Jerusalem Under the Mamlūks" 58; Gil, *Palestine* 827f.; 828 A.2; Küchler, "Die Probatische und Betesda" 146f.; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 52; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 3-6.

Muslim conquest in 1187 is the interruption of Muslim continuity in the city, so that many Muslim traditions become connected with different places, where they remain today. This development is comparable to the shifts of places after the Roman conquests in 70 and 132.

SOURCES<sup>1</sup>

## General

A017. Many of our sources speaking about Jerusalem claim to quote older sources. As a result, scholars have attributed such information to the period of the alleged older source rather than the period of the actual source. In order to stay on firm ground, two decisions had to be taken here, as described below. Further research may show that these rules are too rigid. However, given the complexity of the source situation, it is advisable to resort to simple and strict rules.

A018. Each source was attributed to one of the four periods mentioned earlier, whereby most were attributed to the period in which they were written. A small number of sources are just too recent to be attributed to an earlier period, and yet they are so close to sources of this earlier period that an attribution to the earlier period is beyond any doubt.<sup>2</sup> Plain descriptions have been considered to refer to the period of the respective source, and descriptions in direct quotations to the period of the quotation. Cases in which the authenticity of the quotation is doubtful have not been classified as quotations.

A019. All earlier (before 324) and later (after 1099) sources have been excluded, especially the many travellers' reports and collections of Muslim traditions of later phases. The reason for this is to stress the characteristic features of our four periods. Likewise, any influence of later conceptions - e.g., the impact of the Crusader conquest in 1099 - can be avoided.

## The Pre-Marwānid period (324-685)

A020. The main sources of this period are **reports of Christian pilgrims**,<sup>3</sup> the *Itinera-*

---

<sup>1</sup>Surveys of the sources are also given by van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 9-12; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 153-201; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 33-39; Gil, *Palestine* XIII f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 1-4; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 8-18.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn Ḥabīb, *Ta'riḥ* (died 853) is to be considered Marwānid; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḥ* (974), al-Muqaddasī (985) and Ibn Ḥawqal (ca.988) are to be considered High 'Abbāsīd.

<sup>3</sup>For the reports of Christian pilgrims, see Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes*; Renoux, *Codex arménien* 1; Fiey, "Pèlerinage des Nestoriens et Jacobites"; Seeman, *Altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*; Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*; Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d' Orient*; Walker, *Holy Cities, Holy Places*; Sivan, "Emergence of Christian Palestine"; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*; Bowman, "Pilgrim Narratives"; Gil, *Palestine* 435-442; 482-489; Elad, *Jerusalem* 172 f.; Külzer, *Peregrinatio Graeca*; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 51-57;

*rium Burdigalense* (333), the reports of Etheria (ca.400) and Eucherius (ca.450), the *Breviarium* (ca.550), the *Itinerarium Placentinum* (ca.570), the report of Theodosius (ca.518-530) and the report of Arculfus (at Jerusalem in 680) recorded by Adomnanus. Related to these are Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* - a description of a picture gallery - (after 400) and Beda's *Homily 105 on Palm Sunday*. All these texts come from Western Europe and are part of a tradition flourishing mainly in the Pre-Marwānid and Marwānid periods. Only Adomnanus refers to Muslim Jerusalem (635-685); the remainder refer to Pre-Muslim Jerusalem (324-635).

A021. The authors of these reports lead the reader through a spiritual landscape full of allusions to the Bible and to Christian tradition, a background with which both writer and reader are well acquainted. The physical experience of these places is meant to deepen their spiritual meaning; travelling is primarily a spiritual experience. Christian spirituality is not really concerned with the former Temple, so most Christian authors deal with it only briefly. Similarly, their interest in architecture, places and habits is only secondary, and yet these scanty remarks are our main sources. Even though we may want to extract as much information as possible out of them, the details gain their full weight only when we check them against the background of their respective allusions.<sup>1</sup>

A022. The reports describe a two-dimensional landscape, a network of holy places, which they enumerate one by one in a one-dimensional order. Although previously neglected as a potential source of information, the sequence of places has been used as a source throughout this study.<sup>2</sup>

A023. A two-dimensional representation is given by the *Madaba map* (ca.600), a map which must be read according to its own conventions and not as a modern topographical map. Here again the main concern is spiritual. As a consequence, the area of the former Temple is represented on a much-reduced scale, and marginalised. But due to the systematic iconography of the map, we may nevertheless extract some significant information from it.

A024. Over the centuries, the **remains of the area** - the WALLS and GATES as we have

---

Pahlitzsch, "St. Maria Magdalena"; Alexander, "Jerusalem the Golden"; Patlagean, "Byzantium's Dual Holy Land"; Bowman, "Mapping".

<sup>1</sup>The cruciality of perceiving the Bible texts alluded has also been shown by Bowman, *mapping*. For an example of how neglecting the background may lead to an incorrect interpretation, see B002.2.a.

<sup>2</sup>Sequence has been taken into consideration by Le Strange, *Palestine* 180f.; 189; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 104; 200; 203; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 44f.; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 269; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 78f.; Gil, *Palestine* 642; Burgoyne, "Gates" 119-121; Elad, *Jerusalem* 86; 94f.; 113; 116 A.199; 126-128; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 138; 160-162; Alexander, "Jerusalem the Golden" 255f.



them today - have been shattered by earthquakes and altered by constant rebuilding.<sup>1</sup> Our knowledge of the physical remains is based mainly on drawings made and photographs taken since 1850. Excavations are almost totally lacking and the dating of many places is much disputed. Therefore, I spent several hours every week for almost two years in the ḤARAM in order to discuss nearly every place with Palestinian, Israeli and Western colleagues.

#### The Marwānid period (685-813)

A025. By far the most important sources of this period are the **remains of the buildings** themselves, especially the Marwānid layout and decoration of the DOME OF THE ROCK and of a number of ḤARAM GATES, as well as the Marwānid layout of the ḤARAM in its entirety. Their architectural language is Byzantine and thus different from that of the later Islamic centuries, but the themes they deal with are nevertheless Islamic. Putting it in simple terms, one could say they speak Byzantine, but think Islamic. Connecting this information with the written sources is one of the key challenges for all research on Jerusalem, and helps us to understand the patterns underlying all later Muslim conceptions.

A026. **Inscriptions** may provide the bridge from architecture to written sources.<sup>2</sup> Most important are the long INSCRIPTION inside the DOME OF THE ROCK and the two INSCRIPTIONS which used to be above its EAST and NORTH GATES. Their statements correspond perfectly with the conceptions just mentioned.

A027. Therefore, this research relies to a wide extent on sources which up to now have been used only sparingly for reconstructing the area's physical shape, i.e., the **Muslim traditions** quoted and requoted in many of the great collections.<sup>3</sup> Working through all this mate-

---

<sup>1</sup>For the remains of the area, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 122-225; Warren, *Plans, Elevations, Sections*; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock*; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2; Marçais, "Panels"; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque*; Corbett, "Observations"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 29-35; 65-131; 373-380; 463-466; colour plate in front of title page; pl. 1-37; pl. 63; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 213-322; Busink, *Tempel* 904-1016; Burgoyne/ Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem*; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I*; Burgoyne, "Gates"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental Stairway"; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount*; Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*.

For combining written sources and archaeological evidence, see Conrad, "Historical Evidence and Archaeology"; Schick, *Christian Communities* 2-4.

<sup>2</sup>For inscriptions, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2; Kessler, "Reconsideration"; Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions"; Burgoyne, "Marwānid Inscription"; Busse, "Inchriften im und am Felsendom"; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie".

<sup>3</sup>For traditions on Jerusalem, see Goldziher, "Umeyyaden und 'Abbāsiden" 35-37; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 5f.; Busse, "Kultstätten" 120-126; 130; 138f.; Goitein, "Sanctity"; Sivan, "Caractère sacré"; Busse, "Sanctity"; Sivan, "Beginnings"; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 49-82; Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out"; Ashtor, "Literature in

rial was beyond my reach, so I have chosen to access the material through the collections of al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Muraǧǧā (first half of the 11th century), the only collections of traditions in praise of Jerusalem (*faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*) we have from the Pre-Crusader period. A glance at their editions shows that most of their traditions - unless they refer to later dreams and visions - are found as well in the canonical collections of the 9th century, if not already in the *Tafsīr* of Muqātil (died 767).<sup>1</sup> The canonical collections were compiled shortly after 813 and include the most reliable and generally accepted traditions of that time. Therefore, we may consider traditions mentioned in al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Muraǧǧā to be Marwānid<sup>2</sup> - if they are also mentioned in Muqātil's *Tafsīr* or in the canonical collections. Some traditions have been taken from the *Story of David* by Wahb b. Munabbih (died 728) and from the *Ta'riḥ* of Ibn Ḥabīb (died 853).<sup>3</sup> The actual age of Muslim traditions is irrelevant to our argument.<sup>4</sup>

A028. Traditions are very short, mostly just a few lines, seldom as much as a few pages. They are teachings transmitted in a fixed shape from one authority to the next, often with additional remarks, written down at an earlier or later stage. The transmission protocol (*isnād*), i.e., the list of the persons transmitting the tradition, is an integral part of each tradition. Comments of the transmitters are marked as such. One and the same tradition may have reached the collector in slightly different versions and with different transmission protocols; in such a case, the collector combines them into one tradition (with proper remarks on the differences) or mentions them one after the other. What we have in the end are huge collections of traditions, many of which are similar to each other, featuring an incredible number of names and critical remarks.

---

Praise of Jerusalem"; Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem"; Kister, "Antiquity of Traditions"; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb"; Busse, "Omar's Image"; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram"; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief"; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca"; Rabbat, "Meaning of the Dome of the Rock"; Kussai, *Heiligkeit*; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension"; Elad, "History and Topography"; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung"; Sharon, "Praises of Jerusalem"; Gil, *Palestine* 98-104; Elad, "Dome of the Rock"; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock"; Busse, "Umar-Moschee"; Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account"; Busse, "Tower of David"; Busse, "Jerusalem im Kreis der heiligen Städte"; Elad, *Jerusalem* 2; 6-22; 28f.; 59; 147-163; 172f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution"; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period" 113-116; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa"; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple"; Hasson, "Muslim View"; Busse, "Shape of the Holy"; Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem"; Livne-Kafri, "Early Šī'a"; 'Aṭhamina, "Eschatological Literature". van Berchem, *Jérusalem*, already in the 1920s constantly refers to the manuscript of al-Mušarraḥ, i.e., Ibn al-Muraǧǧā, published only in 1995.

<sup>1</sup>A survey of traditions on Jerusalem Muqātil mentions in his *Tafsīr* is given in Hasson, "Muslim View" 383-385: noch kontrollieren in Edition.

<sup>2</sup>Kister, "Antiquity of Traditions"; Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" 165.

<sup>3</sup>For attributing Ibn Ḥabīb, *Ta'riḥ* to the Marwānid period, see A018.

<sup>4</sup>For the current discussion of the reliability of Early Islamic tradition, see Noth/Conrad, *Early Arabic Historical Tradition*; Motzki, "Quo vadis, Ḥadīṭ-Forschung?"; Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentizität*; Motzki, *Biography of Muḥammad*; Motzki, "Der Prophet und der Schuldner".

A029. Traditions deal with nearly everything one might think of, but al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Muraǧǧā chose those dealing with Jerusalem. The aims of their traditions are diverse. Their scope includes locating allusions to the Koran and Muslim traditions at certain spots, explaining peculiar features or customs through the Koran or Muslim tradition or attributing them to the Islamic conquerors or later famous men. The great number of allusions to the Koran and Muslim traditions make them resemble the reports of Christian pilgrims. However, the brevity of the individual traditions pushes the spirituality of the individual author far into the background and stresses instead the aspects of teaching and explaining.

A030. **Reports of Christian pilgrims** are the report of Willibald (in Palestine 723-727) found in his *Life* written by Hugeburc and the report of Iacintus (ca.750). The *Commemoratorium* (808) gives a survey of the monasteries of Jerusalem.

A031. Everyday perceptions of Muslim visitors to Jerusalem are found in Leontios' Arabic *Life of Stephan Sabaïta* (725-794), a monk who lived in a monastery in the Judaeian desert and visited nearby Jerusalem from time to time. The remarks of the Byzantine historian Theophanes (up to 813) on Muslim Jerusalem possibly come from Syriac historiography.<sup>1</sup>

#### The High 'Abbāsīd period (813-969)

A032. The main sources of this period are the works of the **Muslim geographers**:<sup>2</sup> al-Iṣṭaḥrī (9th century), Ibn al-Faḳīh (902), al-Muqaddasī (985), who himself grew up in Jerusalem, and Ibn Ḥawqal (ca.988).<sup>3</sup> Additionally, the geographical part of al-Maḳdisī's cosmography (966) has to be included in this list. Related to these is Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's (died 940) description of the city in his collection on etiquette, *adab*. Similar to the reports of the Christian pilgrims and the comments of the Muslim traditions, these descriptions refer to an already known spiritual landscape. However, their interest definitely lies in the physical representation. Traditions attributed to a particular place are treated as one of its many possible peculiarities, such as physical shape, exact position and respective customs. Relying heavily on these descriptions was certainly correct, yet scholars overestimated them when they considered their information to be valid for all of Pre-Crusader Jerusalem.

A033. Although they have been used extensively, even more advantage may be taken of

<sup>1</sup>For the sources of Theophanes, see Conrad, "Theophanes"; Gil, *Palestine* 474; Mango, "Temple Mount" 1f.

<sup>2</sup>For the description of Jerusalem by Muslim geographers, see Le Strange, *Palestine*; Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charīf".

<sup>3</sup>For attributing al-Muqaddasī and Ibn Ḥawqal to the High 'Abbāsīd period, see A018.

them, because they are much more technical than is generally assumed. Terms used are mostly well defined. Places are usually described in a strict order - geography follows a kind of round tour, and *adab* literature mentions each type of place separately.

A034. A number of **Muslim traditions** mention dreams which emphasise the special importance of the area and ascribe a specific spiritual appearance to each place (A144). All of these traditions move in a kind of tour from one place to the next, so the respective sequences deserve our special attention.

A035. The **Jewish commentary** on *Lamentations* by the Karaite Sulaymān b. Ruḥaym (in Jerusalem 898-ca.942), obviously well acquainted with Jerusalem, locates a number of allusions to the Bible and Jewish tradition along the walls of the former Temple, a procedure very similar to that of many Muslim traditions.

A036. A new kind of source are the **Jewish pilgrim guides** *Ṣalawāt al-abwāb* and *Gil Nr.2* (both 10th century) - two texts from the Cairo Geniza.<sup>1</sup> Like the Muslim traditions mentioned above, they refer to allusions to the Bible and to Jewish tradition and locate them in a certain tour-like order. In addition, they guide the reader from one place to the next and tell him where to perform the particular ritual.

#### The Fāṭimid period (869-1099)

A037. The main source of this period is the Persian report of **Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw** (visiting Jerusalem in 1047). This seems to be the report of a traveller, but actually its purpose is still unclear.<sup>2</sup> He has plenty of material on High Fāṭimid Jerusalem - the description of Jerusalem fills about one-fifth of his book - and his descriptions are very precise. With good reason, researchers have relied heavily on his text, but, unfortunately, have generalised its information by applying it to the whole Pre-Crusader period, as has been done with Muslim geography. Almost all his information is valid for the whole Fāṭimid period, except for his description of the newly built High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque and the southeast corner.

A038. The accuracy of his report has been doubted, but the faults for which he is admonished are mostly due to the use of an outdated edition (Schefer) and translation (Schefer, al-Ḥaššāb). In contrast, the Persian original has shown itself to be much more precise and tech-

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Jewish pilgrim guides, see Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer"; Küchler, "Jerusalem-Führer aus der Geniza"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 195.

<sup>2</sup>For Nāṣir's description of Jerusalem, see Le Strange, *Nāṣir*; Le Strange, *Palestine*; Jakobsdóttir, "Nāṣir-i Khosro"; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣir".

nical than had been thought - another feature in common with Muslim geography. Terminology is well defined and consistent throughout the book.<sup>1</sup> The author adheres strictly to the sequence chosen, i.e., in approaching the central Rock in concentric circles.

A039. Early Fāṭimid Jerusalem is described in a fragment of the **geographer** al-Muhallabī (died 990).<sup>2</sup> His description corresponds essentially with Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw's, except where al-Muhallabī describes the Early Fāṭimid south building and the southeast corner. al-Muhallabī quotes many traditions of non-Muslim provenance. Until now, he has been the main source for the situation existing before the building of the new Aqṣā Mosque.

A040. But the two **collections of Muslim traditions** already mentioned, by al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn al-Murağğā, are not only collections of predominantly Marwānid traditions. They have their own value as collections. This includes the general introductions, opening and concluding remarks on major parts, titles of chapters, remarks in the transmission protocol (*is-nād*) of individual traditions and the arrangement of chapters and traditions. This material, until now almost ignored by scholars, is particularly valuable insofar as it refers as well to the Early Fāṭimid period.

A041. A series of remarks in Ibn al-Murağğā has been found to be the first **Muslim pilgrim guide** to Jerusalem (A197.b).<sup>3</sup> There is neither heading nor introduction. The series begins immediately with the first of nineteen places, guides the reader from one place to the next, explains the necessary ritual for each and adduces relevant traditions, most of which concern prayers. What we are dealing with here is a survey of the places which really matter to an Early Fāṭimid Muslim pilgrim, all the rituals performed at them and the legitimations given for these rituals. For obvious reasons, sequence is once more an essential feature.

A042. For the Fāṭimid phase, the **remains of the buildings** have a significance similar to what they had for the Marwānid period, but the written sources are now much richer and more reliable than they were in the Marwānid phase. What we have is mainly the High Fāṭimid layout and decoration of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and a number of ḤARAM GATES, as

---

<sup>1</sup>For an example, see B180.3.a.

<sup>2</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem XIII*, attributes al-Muhallabī to the mid-10th century, i.e., in my categories, to the High 'Abbāsīd period.

<sup>3</sup>For this pilgrim guide to Jerusalem (**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**: 64,14-81,22), see Sivan, "Beginnings" 270f.; Busse, "Omar's Image" 167; Elad, *Jerusalem XVII-XIX*: 68-77; 163f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 166; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32f.; Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 66-70.

For a similar guide to Hebron (**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.565-570**: 340,3-343,20), see Elad, "Hebron" 42-45; 60-62; Busse, "Patriarchengräber" 85; Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 66.

well as the relation of this AQṢĀ MOSQUE to the whole ḤARAM. (There are almost no remains which are definitely from the Early Fāṭimid period. They have either been erased by new buildings of the High Fāṭimid phase or can hardly be distinguished from High ʿAbbāsīd remains.) The language and use of Fāṭimid architecture are still not fully understood, and the political and theological programmes of the High Fāṭimid architecture of Jerusalem have not attracted much attention. However, the picture we get for the time being fits quite well with the written sources.

A043. The **inscriptions**, primarily the monumental inscriptions in the DOME OF THE ROCK and the AQṢĀ MOSQUE (mostly of the High Fāṭimid period), are at least as important as the Marwānīd inscriptions. They perfectly support the other written sources.

A044. There are more than one hundred and twenty Jewish-Arabic **letters**<sup>1</sup> from the Cairo Geniza (mostly first half of the 11th century) relevant for the present study. These documents, almost all written by Jewish merchants travelling between Egypt and Palestine, shed light on nearly all aspects of everyday life. Through them, we understand the role Jerusalem played in the life of these merchants. Individual and collective prayers occur in them on many occasions, both in personal and official letters, and we are quite well informed through them of many a ritual and event.

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Geniza documents, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*; Gil, *Palestine* XIII; XVI-XIX; Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary*.

## MATTERS OF FORM

A045. Names of sources appear in bold letters. Modern topographical NAMES are in capital letters, names from the period itself, in normal writing (for the problem, see A011). Round brackets (parentheses), both in the text and in footnotes, denote remarks essential to the text; square brackets give additions and completions.

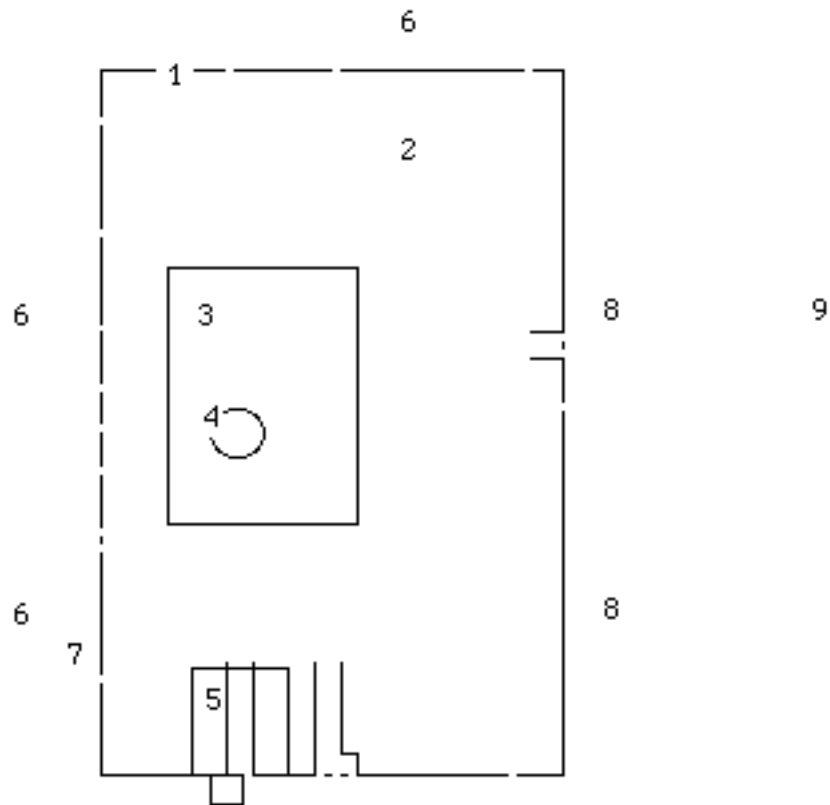
A046. The transcription used is the one proposed by the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*. Additionally, I mark *alif mamdūda* by ā, *alif maqṣūra* by à.

A047. In order to make them accessible to specialists in all fields, sources are quoted in footnotes. Quotations are in Italics and - apart from Greek - transliterated; in the text, they are all translated. Most sources are quoted by page and line (separated by a comma); if necessary, the chapter (after a colon) is added. The Bible and the Koran are quoted by book, chapter/*sūra* and verse (separated by full stops). Quotations follow the manuscripts as closely as possible.

A048. In the footnotes, emendations are in round brackets, those of the editor marked by "read", those by myself, by "I read"; in the text, emendations are marked only by an asterisk.

A049. Apart from passages from the Bible (quoted from the New King James' version) and the Koran (quoted from Arberry's version), translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

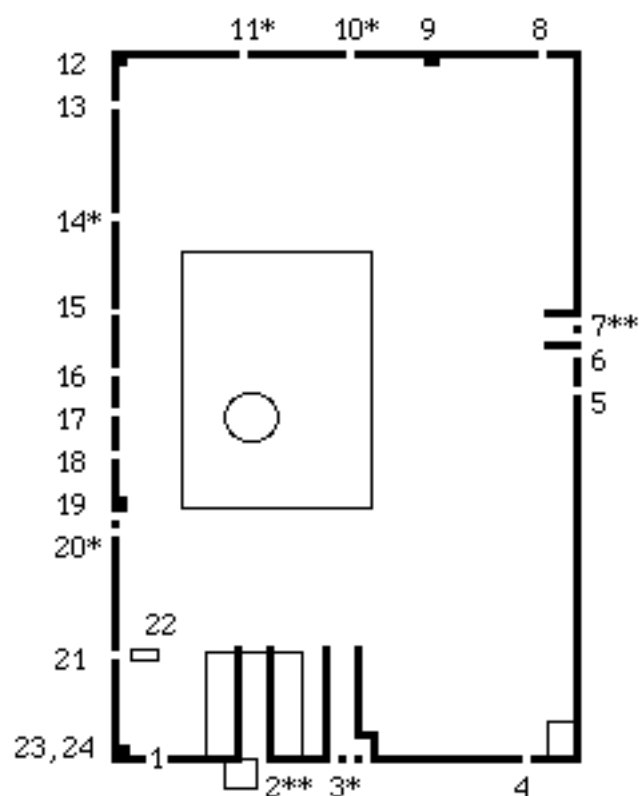
# PLANS OF TODAY'S ḤARAM



**1**

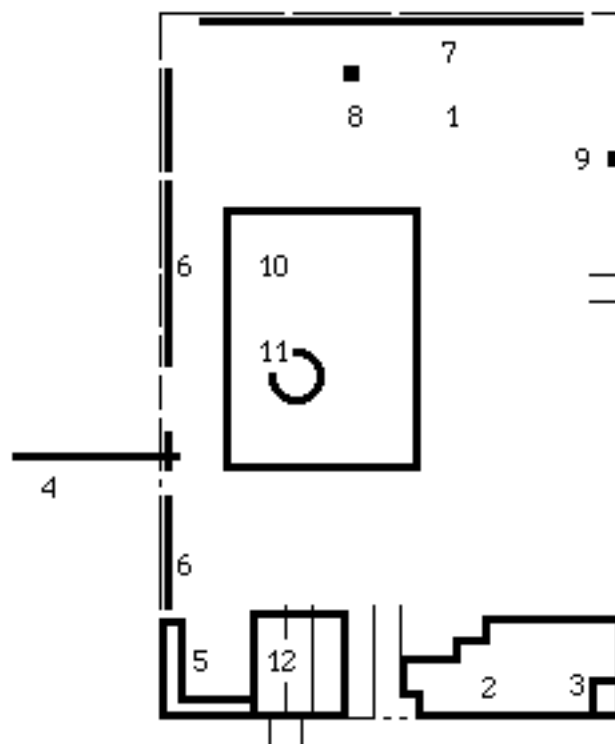
**Figure 1. The ḤARAM:** 1 The ḤARAM WALL. - 2 The COURTYARD. - 3 The PLATFORM. - 4 The DOME OF THE ROCK. - 5 The AQṢĀ MOSQUE. - 6 The OLD CITY. - 7 The WEST WALL PLAZA. - 8 The KIDRON VALLEY. - 9 The MOUNT OF OLIVES.





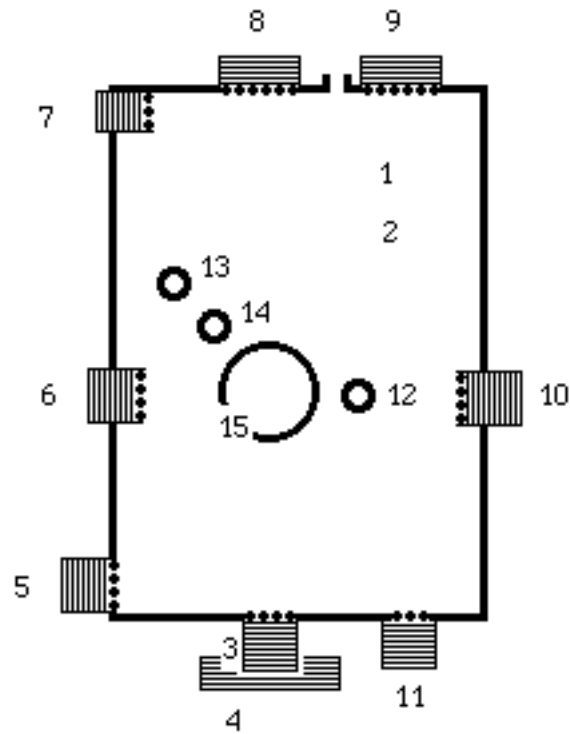
2

**Figure 2. The ḤARAM WALL and the GATES:** 1 The ḤARAM WALL. - 2\*\* The DOUBLE GATE with the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR and MAQĀM AL-ḤIDR inside the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR. - 3\* The TRIPLE GATE with the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR. - 4 The SINGLE GATE. - 5 BĀB AL-ĠANĀ'IZ. - 6 The SMALL EAST GATE immediately south of the GOLDEN GATE, seen from inside the EAST ḤARAM WALL. - 7\* The GOLDEN GATE with the OLDER EAST GATE below. - 8 The ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ. - 9 BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ MINARET. - 10\* BĀB ḤITṬA. - 11\* BĀB AL-ʿATM. - 12 BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA MINARET. - 13 BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA. - 14\* BĀB AN-NĀḌIR. - 15 BĀB AL-ḤADĪD. - 16 BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN. - 17 BĀB AL-MATHARA. - 18 WARREN'S GATE (below). - 19 BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET. - 20\* Double gate BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA. - 21 BĀB AL-MAĠĀRIBA (above) and BARCLAY'S GATE (below). - 22 BĪR AL-MAĠĀRIBA. - 23 The SOUTH MINARET. - 24 The HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER. / Similar gates: \* The BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP (see B020.3.b). - \*\* The DOUBLE GATE and the GOLDEN GATE (see B002.2.c).



### 3

**Figure 3. The COURTYARD:** 1 The CISTERNS in the COURTYARD. - 2 SOLOMON'S STABLES. - 3 MASĜID MAHD ĪSĀ. - 4 The AQUEDUCT. - 5 ĜĀMI' AN-NISĀ' and AL-FAĤRĪYA. - 6 and 7 The WEST ARCADES and the NORTH ARCADES, both partly integrated into or built upon by other buildings. - 8 QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŠ-ŠAĤRA. - 9 KURSĪ SULAYMĀN. - 10 The PLATFORM. - 11 The DOME OF THE ROCK. - 12 The AQŠĀ MOSQUE.



4

**Figure 4. The PLATFORM:** 1 The PLATFORM. - 2 The CISTERN under the PLATFORM. - 3 The SOUTH STAIRCASE. - 4 The MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE. - 5 The SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE. - 6 The WEST STAIRCASE. - 7 The NORTHWEST STAIRCASE. - 8 The NORTH STAIRCASE. - 9 The NORTHEAST STAIRCASE. - 10 The EAST STAIRCASE. - 11 The SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE. - 12 QUBBAT AS-SILSILA. - 13 QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĠ. - 14 QUBBAT AN-NABĪ. - 15 The DOME OF THE ROCK.

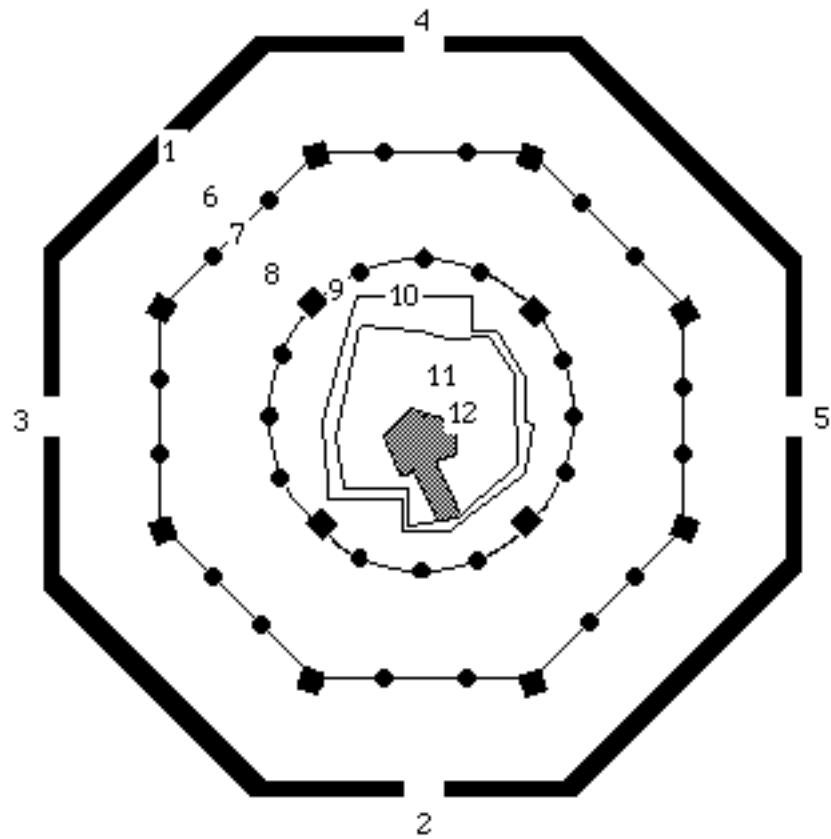
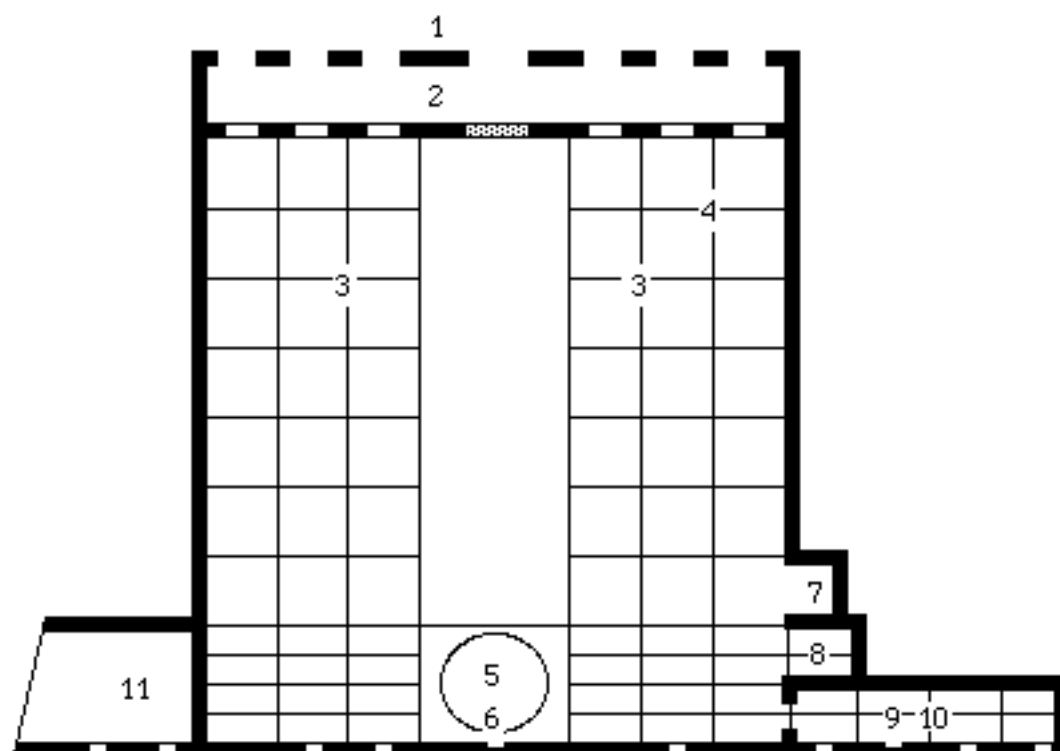


**Figure 5. The DOME OF THE ROCK:** 1 The EXTERIOR WALL. - 2 The SOUTH GATE. - 3 The WEST GATE. - 4 The NORTH GATE. - 5 The EAST GATE. - 6 The OUTER AMBULATORY. - 7 The OCTAGONAL ARCADE. - 8 The INNER AMBULATORY. - 9 The CIRCULAR ARCADE. - 10 The FENCE around the ROCK. - 11 The ROCK. - 12 The CAVE under the ROCK and the two COLUMNS at the upper end of the STAIRCASE.



## 6

**Figure 6. The AQṢĀ MOSQUE:** 1 The NORTH ARCADE. - 2 The seven NORTH GATES with the CENTRAL NORTH GATE. - 3 The seven NAVES north-south, among them the larger CENTRAL NAVE, and the eleven VERTICAL NAVES west-east. - 4 BI'R AL-WARAQA. - 5 The DOME. - 6 The MAIN PRAYER-NICHE. - 7 MIḤRĀB ZAKARĪYĀ. - 8 ĠĀMI' AL-ARBA'ĪN. - 9 MIḤRĀB 'UMAR. - 10 ĠĀMI' 'UMAR. - 11 ĠĀMI' AN-NISĀ'.

## PART A: CONCEPTIONS

## 1. THE PRE-MARWĀNID PHASE (324-685): THE FORMER TEMPLE

### 1.1. THE MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE OF RUINS: THE FORMER TEMPLE (CHRISTIAN)

A050. The Pre-Marwānid area is almost completely perceived through one - Christian - conception. This is the place of the former Temple, of the Temple which once was, but now is no more.

A051. This is first of all a place of non-**architecture**.<sup>1</sup> The ruins of the Temple are carefully neglected by the Byzantine authorities and they become part of the ring of wild nature which usually surrounds the cities and villages of Palestine.<sup>2</sup> The interior is in ruins, a garbage dump supposedly mostly overgrown by thorns and bushes (B009.2). The many underground cavities characteristic of the region of Jerusalem are, with some little effort, transformed into cisterns and pools (B010.3). And this is a place where people drop things they do not need any more.

A052. We have to be careful not to misunderstand the character of the place. This is no garbage dump in the modern sense of the word - with the cisterns there, people were definitely careful not to pollute them. Later Jews and Muslims consider the place as ritually impure, but ritual impurity is not hygienic uncleanness (B009.2.a).

A053. But the place does not simply fall back into a wild stage. It is meant to show that once it was important, but now is not any more, and therefore has been taken back by nature (B001.3). There is first of all a massive enclosing wall which seems to have been built for eternity, made of giant blocks put, despite their dimensions, quite precisely on top of each other (B001.3). The upper ridge of the wall is uneven; most impressive is the high and sharp peak at the southeast corner where the wall is very high and the level outside the wall especially low (B136.3). A number of gates are standing in ruins; there are also ruins at the south

---

<sup>1</sup>Non-architecture, i.e., carefully left, conserved or even arranged ruins, may have a quite powerful meaning. It would be worth reflecting on the function of ruins in places as different as Romantic parks, archaeological gardens and war museums.

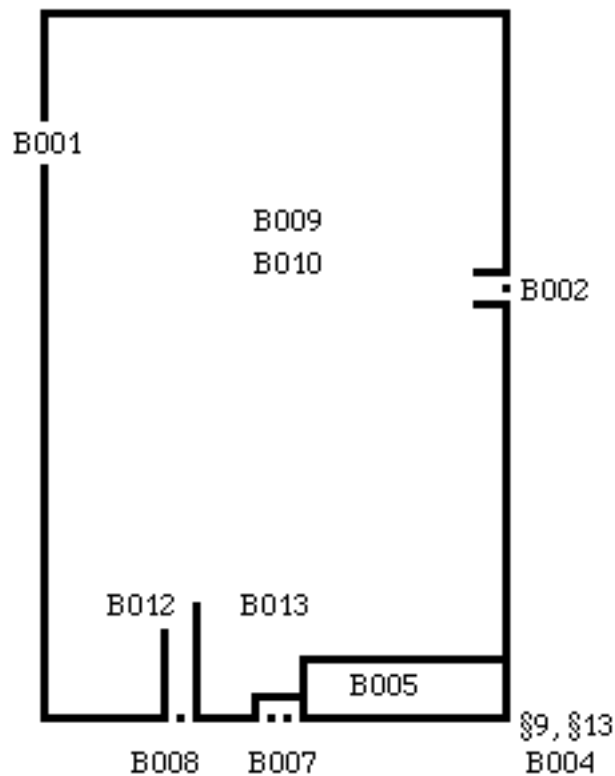
<sup>2</sup>For rubbish discarded on open round around 19th century Jerusalem, see Roaf, "Life in Jerusalem" 395f. For the garbage dumps up to 20 m high around Egyptian cities in the 19th century, see Grohmann, *Einführung* 10.

wall and inside the area.

A053.a. In the southeast corner is an extraordinarily large cornerstone (B004.3). Under the peak are a number of rooms (B005.3). A room nearby is covered by one stone (B007.3).

A053.b. The east gate has just its threshold and side parts standing (B002.3). An underground south gate leads through a corridor to the interior of the area (B008.3). There are possibly more gates or breaks in the north and west walls, but no details are available (B001.3).

A053.c. There are ruins inside the area (B001.3) and there are two statues standing (B221.2); after the Muslim conquest the first Muslim prayer-place is built on top of the ruins of the south part (B013.3). In the ruins of the south gate is a kind of altar with red rocks, a reddish marble floor in front [east of it] (B012.3). There are remains of a marble floor (B012.3) and traces on the ground like nails (B012.4).



7

**Figure 7. The Pre-Marwānid former Temple:** B001 Wall partly in ruins, possibly with further gates and breaks in the north and west walls. - B002 East gate. - B004 Extraordinarily large cornerstone. - B005 Rooms. - B007 Room covered by one stone. - B008 Underground south gate. - B009 Interior mostly covered with debris and overgrown by thorns and bushes, on the ground traces like nails. - B010 Natural cisterns and constructed pools (in the interior). - B012 The altar with the blood of Zechariah. - B013 Pre-Muslim ruins, later Muslim mosque.



A054. The impression of an area formerly important but now in ruins is further stressed by its low elevation, dominated from both west and east by a splendid church above.<sup>1</sup> Both the main gate of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the centre of the city on a terrace and the main gate of the Eleona Church (or the Church of the Ascension) on the Mount of Olives look down upon the former Temple;<sup>2</sup> the cross of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the cross on the church of the Mount of Olives glitter over the area of the former Temple (B046.3.a).

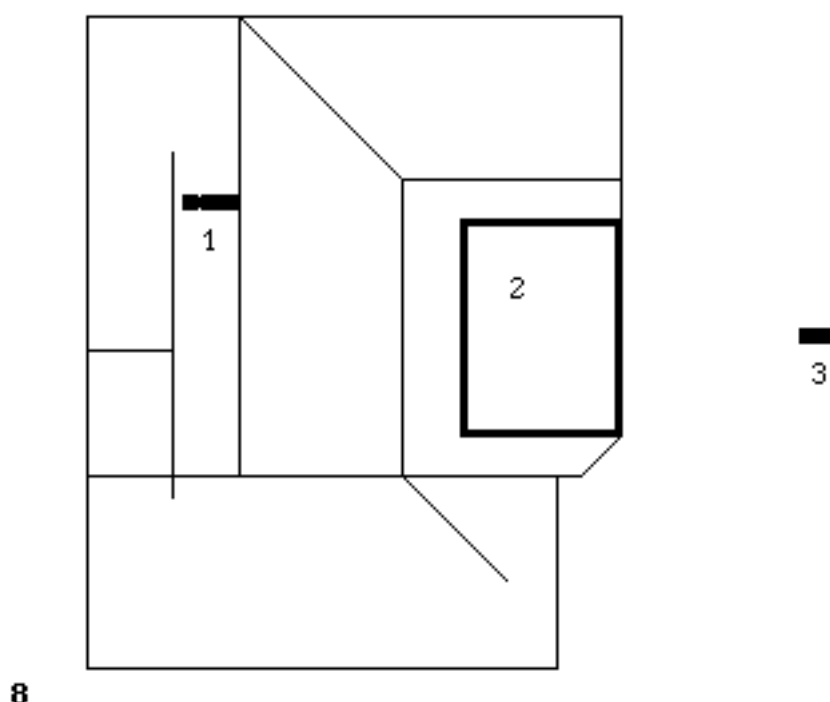


**Figure 8. The Pre-Marwānid former Temple dominated by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Mount of Olives:** 1 The Church of the Holy Sepulchre. - 2 The area of the former Temple. - 3 The Eleona Church (or the Church of the Ascension).

A055. The Muslim conquerors erect a mosque after 635 in the south part of the area. They

<sup>1</sup> The position of the Temple ruins between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Mount of Olives has also been emphasized by Grabar, "Space and Holiness" 280f.

<sup>2</sup> Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 32. van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 90 emphasises the position of the Dome of the Rock between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the church on the Mount of Olives.

For the position of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre opposite the former Temple, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 269f. n.3; Ousterhout, "Temple, Sepulchre, Martyrion" 44; Walker, *Holy Cities, Holy Places* 315-325; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy* 93-97; Parmentier, "No Stone Upon Another" 146; 154f.

thus claim the south part for themselves and split the area into two parts, a north one roughly around the rock peak, open to all, and a south one belonging to the Muslims. Both their mosque is a simple building and does not challenge the splendid Christian churches (B013.3). The Muslims are obviously either not interested or not capable of expressing their claims in the architectural language known in Jerusalem. Apart from the mosque the former Temple stays in ruins, controlled from both west and east by a magnificent church.

A056. **Names** consider the area to be the Temple of Solomon<sup>1</sup> or the place where the Temple was (B001.1). **Traditions** identify these ruins with the former Temple, certain places in it with parts of the Temple, or at least with Solomon.<sup>2</sup>

A056.a. The east gate was built by Solomon [the builder of the Temple]; this is the gate where on Palm Sunday Jesus entered the city;<sup>3</sup> this is the Beautiful Gate of the Temple where Peter healed the lame man (B002.4). The southeast corner is the Pinnacle of the Temple (B003.1), where Jesus was tempted (B003.5); there is the Cornerstone (B004.2), first rejected, but then used to complete the Temple (B004.4).<sup>4</sup> The rooms under the southeast corner are the palace of Solomon (B005.4); another room nearby is the room where Solomon wrote the Book of Wisdom (B007.4).

A056.b. A kind of altar and the red rocks in front [east] of it in the ruins of the south gate are the altar with the blood of Zechariah, imprints all over the area are the traces of the nails of the soldiers who killed him (B012.4).<sup>5</sup> No traditions are attributed to the Rock later so important.

A057. Names and traditions, architectural neglect and the absence of ritual make this the former Temple and thus recall an earlier stage of salvation history - the Old Covenant. This gives the area its due part in Christian veneration, but simultaneously restricts its importance

---

<sup>1</sup>For Muslim traditions about Solomon, see Busse, "Sanctity" 458f.; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon"; Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath"; Busse, "Persepolis" 13-16; Walker/Fenton, "Sulaymān b. Dāwūd"; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 8-12.

<sup>2</sup>For the Christian traditions dealing with the ruins of the Temple, see B001.5, for Muslim traditions, Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" 169-171.

<sup>3</sup>For the Christian tradition of Christ entering by the Beautiful Gate, see Mango, "Temple Mount" 15f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 126; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 13f.; 16f. For further Jewish and Christian traditions about the East Gate and the entry to Jerusalem or the Temple, see Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 19.16-19; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa".

<sup>4</sup>For the Jewish and Christian traditions of the Pinnacle of the Temple and the Cornerstone, see Jeremias, "Eckstein"; Busse, "Kultstätten" 122; Busink, *Tempel* 658; 668-671; 1212 n.378; Pillinger, *Dittochaeon des Prudentius* 81; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 56.

<sup>5</sup>For Christian, Muslim and Jewish traditions about the killing of Zechariah in the Temple, see Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 127-133; Strack/Billerbeck, *Kommentar* 1 940-943; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f.; Schützinger, "Nebukadnezar und Johannes"; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 183; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 173; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 56 n.86; 235 n.15; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 108; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 2 104-106; 111 n.241; Gil, *Palestine* 652; 653 n.121; Elad, *Jerusalem* 120-127; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple" 7-16; Busse, "Jerusalem" 356; Döpp, *Deutungen* 18-32 (general context); Neuwirth, "Three Names" 82.

to the past - this place was important, but is not so any more. All 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 Covenant. Not only the community of all faithful, the Church,<sup>1</sup> but also the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre replaces the former Temple, is called the New Temple,<sup>2</sup> mirrors in its architecture the Temple,<sup>3</sup> and has traditions<sup>4</sup> and ritual<sup>5</sup> transferred to it. The future end of time and the promised return of Christ to judge the living and the dead are recalled and hoped for at the Eleona Church (or the Church of the Ascension). The former Temple is part of this ensemble of three places; its importance lies in the fact that it represents the oldest of these three stages of salvation history.<sup>6</sup> The whole is obviously part of the Christian discourse on salvation history and the ruins of the former Temple are aimed at a Christian public.

A057.a. It has been claimed that the area declares first of all the Christians victory over the Jews and their control of them. There is no doubt that the emperors tried to control their Jewish subjects as much as they could. But the ruins of the Temple refer to Temple-centred Judaism as the predecessor of Christianity, not to contemporary Rabbinical Judaism as the rival of Christianity.

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Church as the New Temple, see Kühnel, *From Earthly to Heavenly Jerusalem*; Walker, *Holy Cities, Holy Places*; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*; Kühnel, "Geography and Geometry".

<sup>2</sup>For the Church of the Holy Sepulchre being called the Christian New Temple, see Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 8f.; Wilkinson, Jerusalem. IV. Alte Kirche, TRE 16 (1987) 620; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 77; Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple" 78; Ousterhout, "Temple, Sepulchre, Martyrion" 46; 49-51; Walker, *Holy Cities, Holy Places* 315-325; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy* 93-97; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 27; Lidov, "Heavenly Jerusalem" 344.

<sup>3</sup>Kühnel, "Jewish and Christian Symbolism" 150-152; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 7-10; Ousterhout, "Temple, Sepulchre, Martyrion" 47-50.

<sup>4</sup>Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 132; Jeremias, *Golgotha*; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 10; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 22; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 77; 89; Kühnel, "Jewish and Christian Symbolism" 150f.; Wilkinson, Jerusalem. IV. Alte Kirche, TRE 16 (1987) 620; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 284f.; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 243; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 7-14; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 2 81-111, especially 101-109; Ousterhout, "Temple, Sepulchre, Martyrion" 45-47; Busse, "Kaaba" 184f.; Prawer, "Christian Attitudes" 326-331.

<sup>5</sup>Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten", especially 2 99f.; 106f.; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 298-310; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 77; 97f.; Kühnel, "Jewish and Christian Symbolism" 150; Wilkinson, Jerusalem. IV. Alte Kirche, TRE 16 (1987) 620; Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage* 107-127; Renoux, *Codex arménien*; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 22-24; Ousterhout, "Temple, Sepulchre, Martyrion" 45f.

<sup>6</sup>Peters, "Holy Places" 44f., stresses that the *Madaba Map* barely shows the former Temple.

## 1.2. THE ALMOST HIDDEN ALTERNATIVE: THE TEMPLE DESTROYED TO BE REBUILT (JEWISH)

A058. There is another conception, the Jewish one - this is the former Temple, now in ruins, to be rebuilt at the end of time.

A059. A **ritual** is held every year at the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple [the 9  $\bar{A}b$ ] when men and women gather here, mourn the destruction while rending their black garments, blowing trumpets and anointing a certain pierced stone (B001.6) - and thus reassure themselves of its rebuilding in the future. At a major gathering of this kind during the time of the empress Eudokia, some people are killed by stones which are thrown (B001.4).

A060. Under Julian (emperor 361-363) and the Sāsānids (in Jerusalem 614-628) Jews try unsuccessfully to build a new Temple (B001.4) and thereby declare the area through **architecture** the Temple rebuilt in the last days.

A061. Ritual and architecture thus refer to one and the same conception, but this concerns the area only to a very small extent. This is the more striking, as ritual and architecture abroad recall Jerusalem constantly, in prayers daily, weekly and on the high feasts<sup>1</sup> and in the Torah niche of the synagogue and its orientation towards Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The Christian authorities declare this a purely historical area and leave only very restricted space to the Jews, who consider it still important, mourn its destruction and hope for its future rebuilding. Monks even throw stones at Jews praying nearby and force them to leave (B001.4). The whole question mirrors the uneven balance of power and that is why the Jewish attempts to rebuild the Temple take place in periods of reduced Christian influence.

---

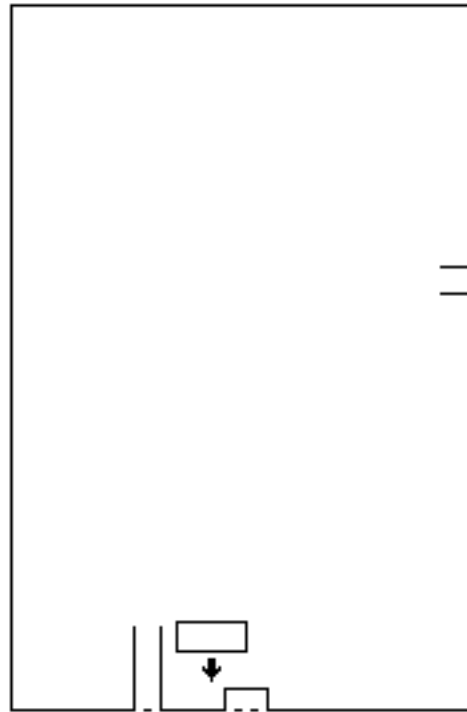
<sup>1</sup>Kühnel, *From Earthly to Heavenly Jerusalem* 29-48; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy* 37-45.

<sup>2</sup>Dequeker, "L' iconographie du Temple".

## 1.3. THE CONQUERORS' MOSQUE INSIDE THE TEMPLE (MUSLIM)

A062. The Muslim conquerors of the city in 635 either are, or very soon become, aware that the area east of the city is generally considered the former Temple. They react to this in a surprising way and declare a part of it their Friday mosque.

A063. This new conception is expressed in **architecture**. Some ruins in the south part of the area are transformed into a Friday mosque, a large building with space for 3000 people but built in a simple style, oriented southwards towards the Ka'ba (B013.3). The remaining part of the area is left untouched, overlooked as before by churches from both west and east.



9

Figure 9. The Pre-Marwānid mosque of Jerusalem subordinate to the Ka'ba of Mecca.

A064. Things become even more clear in **ritual**. This is the Friday mosque the Muslims have in Jerusalem, the place of their Friday service important in both religious and political matters (B013.4), oriented as all prayer is towards the south, towards the Ka'ba.

A065. The Muslims mark, in architecture and in ritual, their presence on the former Temple

and hold it thereby in respect. But at the same time, they stress its current secondary position, subordinate to the Ka'ba in Mecca. They thereby accept its former importance, but reject its current importance - an ambiguous attitude quite similar to the Christian one.

A066. The mosque definitely does not speak the architectural language of the monumental Christian churches, but is a rather simple building.<sup>1</sup> It does not refer to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to its west and the Eleona Church to its east, i.e., to the three stages of Christian salvation history, but is oriented towards the Ka'ba. This building obviously is of no interest in the Christian discourse which has been decisive up to now for the architecture of the city, but is part of a Muslim discourse. This is a Muslim building, aimed at a Muslim public with no need to react to the Christian discourse. It thereby mirrors how the two societies - the indigenous Christian Palestinians and the Muslim conquerors - live for the time being, side by side, quite independently and in parallel, with almost no interaction.

A066.a. It has been said that the Pre-Marwānid building denies the sanctity of the place and emphasises the Early Islamic predilection for modest structures. The style of the building is indeed not involved with Byzantine architecture, but the decision to build the mosque in the place of the former Temple already implies a reaction to the sanctity of the area.<sup>2</sup>

A067. But the building's place in the south part of the area and the ritual connected with it emphasise the one point of exchange - the Muslim claim of political leadership over all other communities interested in the place, i.e., over the Christians and the Jews.

---

<sup>1</sup>For the lacking interest of the Muslims of the first two generations in adopting the sophisticated architecture of the conquered peoples, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 64; 650.

<sup>2</sup>Gil says about the Umayyad Dome of the Rock and Aqṣà Mosque "The construction of the two magnificent mosques on the Temple Mount was contrary to the spirit of early Islam, which denied the sanctity of the place on the one hand, and considered that more modest structures should suffice, on the other" (Gil, *Palestine* 96), but more precisely about the building of the first mosque " 'Umar built his first mosque only as a place of prayer ... on the Temple Mount out of respect and recognition of the tradition of the Children of Israel, which linked this places with the memory of the ancient prophets, the predecessors of Muḥammad and his heralds" (Gil, *Palestine* 91).

#### 1.4. THE PRAGMATIC ADAPTATION: A MOSQUE INSIDE THE FORMER TEMPLE (CHRISTIAN)

A068. The Christians react to the building of a mosque quite pragmatically and adapt the old conception to the current situation. They use the Muslim **name** and call this the prayer-house or mosque of the Muslims at the place of the former Temple (B013.2). The term receives no special attention.

#### 1.5. CONCLUSIONS

A069. The Pre-Marwānid period regards the area unanimously as the place of the former Temple. This leads to three conceptions. The one which shapes the period the most by far is the Christian one, that this used to be the Temple, but is now replaced by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (or by the Church, i.e., the community of all faithful) and no longer plays any role. Concurrent with this, but almost imperceptible in Jerusalem is the Jewish conception that this was indeed the Temple, but that its ruined state is only temporary and that it shall be rebuilt at the end of time. The Muslim conception, in force for about half a century, mirrors the Christian conception and regards this, the former Temple now replaced by the Ka'ba, as a place which has lost its importance.

A070. The Muslims build a mosque in the area and thus drastically change the appearance of the area. The area is in their eyes oriented towards the Ka'ba and they see themselves as entitled to its most noble part, its south half nearest to the Ka'ba. Both orienting the area towards another, more important, point outside itself and splitting it into two parts, one more and one less appropriate for Muslim prayer, are new elements with most serious consequences in the long run. The Christians take this conception up immediately to describe the new situation.

## 2. THE MARWĀNID PHASE (685-813): THE TEMPLE MOSQUE

### 2.1. THE MASTERPLAN I: THE MOSQUE OF JERUSALEM - AND THE MOSQUE INSIDE IT (MUSLIM)

A071. The Marwānid building project,<sup>1</sup> definitely the most far-reaching rebuilding of the area from its destruction by the Romans until today, equates the Muslim mosque with the Temple. The mosque and the Temple will be dealt with separately, but actually they are the two sides of one and the same coin.

A072. The rebuilding extends the borders of the mosque, previously a building in the south part of the area, to the four corners of the area and thus equates mosque and former Temple.<sup>2</sup> But the old conception of a smaller mosque inside the former Temple continues to exist. We have two concurrent conceptions, a new one of a greater mosque which covers the whole area and an older one of a smaller mosque which covers only a part of it - a mosque with another mosque inside.<sup>3</sup>

A073. **Names** declare the whole a Friday mosque. This is a (Friday) mosque, the mosque of Jerusalem, the Mosque of the Temple (B014.1). An inscription in the arcade between the two north gates mentions on the spot the length and the width of the area and calls this a mosque

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid rebuilding of the area and the masterplan of this rebuilding, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 232-235; Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100f.; 188; Creswell, *EMA* 1 65-67; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 73; 93-99; 110f.; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 49-54; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount"; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24; 29-31; Busink, *Tempel* 909f.; 914-917; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" 169f.; 173; 176-178; Peters, "Dome of the Rock" 130-135; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 97f.; 117-119; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 324a-325b; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 283; 285; Busse, "'Omar's Image" 164f.; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram"; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 242; Sharon, "Birth of Islam"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments*; Reinink, "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History" 182-185; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung"; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 34-38; Elad, "History and Topography"; Gil, *Palestine* 65-74; 92-104; Blair, "Date" 67f.; Elad, "Dome of the Rock"; Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple"; Küchler, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste"; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 127f.; Elad, *Jerusalem*; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 185f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 26-28; 54f.; 111; 129; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 387f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution"; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 162; Grabar, "Space and Holiness" 283; 286; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 41-44; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 87 n. 62.

<sup>2</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 24.

<sup>3</sup>Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 15.



(B131.8). Its parts are called by the terms used for Marwānid Friday mosques. There are minarets (B025.2), ablution places (B016.2), a courtyard (B026.1), cisterns (B027.1), a treasury (B035.4) and a kind of roofed hall (the name of which refers to another conception, see A074) with a main gate (B049.1), and the Pulpit of the Temple or Standing-place (*al-Maqām*) (B051.5). There are no **traditions** which consider the whole area a mosque.

A074. At the same time the south building is by its **name** the place of Muslim congregational prayer (B048.1), the Friday mosque. **Traditions** stress that the south part of the building is the right place for Muslim congregational prayer.

A074.a. 'Umar put the place of Muslim congregational prayer south of the Rock reasoning that Jewish and Muslim prayer are here best distinguished - here, Jewish prayer, towards the Rock, is northwards, Muslim prayer, towards the Ka'ba, southwards - (B048.7) or that the south part next to the Ka'ba is the most noble part and should therefore belong to the Muslims (B048.7).<sup>1</sup>

A075. **Architecture** declares the whole area a mosque.<sup>2</sup> The area has its long side from north to south and this fits with the southern orientation of mosques in Palestine.<sup>3</sup> It has, apart from the prayer-niche which is not mentioned, the characteristic parts of a Marwānid Friday mosque. There are four minarets - three in the west wall and one in the north wall (B025.2) - and ablution places near the gates (B016.2), a courtyard (B026.2), a treasury (B035.3), cisterns (B027.2) fed by water channels and by an aqueduct (B028.3), a roofed hall (B048.3) with a gable roof (B050.2), a main gate (B049.3) and a pulpit (B051.3).

A075.a. The small difference between the precise prayer-direction towards Mecca and the orientation of the ḤARAM (of about 13°<sup>4</sup>) may have been recognised, but plainly was accepted.<sup>5</sup>

A075.b. Terms like "left" and "right", "in front" and "behind" mostly refer to a person oriented in the prayer-

---

<sup>1</sup>For Muslim traditions about 'Umar in Jerusalem, see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 1-10; Fattal, *Statut légal* 45-47; Busse, "Sanctity" 442-454; 460f.; 468; Creswell, *EMA* 1 34f.; 42; Sivan, "Beginnings" 266f.; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 73; 88-94; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 57-60; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 18; Donner, *Conquests* 151f.; 247; Goitein, "Jerusalem in the Arab Period" 171-174; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb"; Busse, "'Omar's Image"; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 6; 15-17; 25f.; Noth, "Abgrenzungsprobleme"; Busse, "Kanzel des Propheten" 99; Kussai, *Heiligkeit* 172; 175; Gil, *Palestine* 52-56; 56f. n.58; 65-74; 90f.; 91 n.18; 93f. n.18; 140-142; 432f.; Busse, "'Umar-Moschee"; Schick, *Christian Communities* 159-170; Elad, *Jerusalem* 30-33; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 47f.; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period" 106-108; Gil, "Jewish Community" 196f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29-33; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 14f.; Busse, "Patriarchengräber" 90; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 96-101; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 161.

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 14f.

<sup>3</sup>Walls/King, "Sundial" 19; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 15.

<sup>4</sup>Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom" 20 n.

<sup>5</sup>Walls/King, "Sundial" 19.

direction and mean east and west, south and north.<sup>1</sup> 'Umar ordered the Muslims to have their place of congregational prayer in the front [south] part of the mosque, not in its back [north] part behind [north of] the Rock (B048.7). Both right and left [west and east] of the Black Paving-stone is a pillar and a column (B038.11); one should make ritual prayer right and left [west and east] of the Rock (B033.2.d).

A075.c. The general orientation is in one instance towards the east, in another one towards the Rock. The chain of David had its place in front [east] of the Rock (B033.5). Inside the Dome of the Rock are the columns with the brocade curtains behind [further outside than] the fence (B043.2).

A075.d. The terms "east" and "west", "north" and "south" are much used. North of the Rock Muḥammad led the [former] prophets in ritual prayer (B037.2);<sup>2</sup> there is a dome north of [the Dome of] the Rock (B036.2); the Dome of the Rock has a North Gate (B040.1). There is the South Minaret (B068.1); the Dome of the Rock has a South Gate (of the Dome of the Rock) (B040.1); in the Dome of the Rock is an underground corridor towards the North Gate, on the south side [of the gate] (B041.2). We have the east wall of (the Mosque of) the Temple (B024.1); the Dome of the Chain is east of [the Dome of] the Rock (B033.2), the Treasury east of [the Dome of] the Rock (B035.2). Three of the four minarets are in one west row (B025.2); Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets west of the Rock (B037.2.a); 'Umar ordered the Muslims to have the place of congregational prayer in the west part of the mosque, in its west side (B048.7).

A076. **Architecture** emphasises at the same time that the south building is the best place for congregational prayer. The south building - basically at the same place as the Pre-Marwānīd mosque (B048.4.a) - is entered through the main gate (B049.1) and one is led by the [central] gable roof (B050.2) in the prayer-direction, from the Rock to the Ka'ba. The main axis of the building is in line with the Rock, the whole building in front of the Rock. This expresses the priority of the Ka'ba over the Rock, of the current prayer-direction over the former prayer-direction.<sup>3</sup>

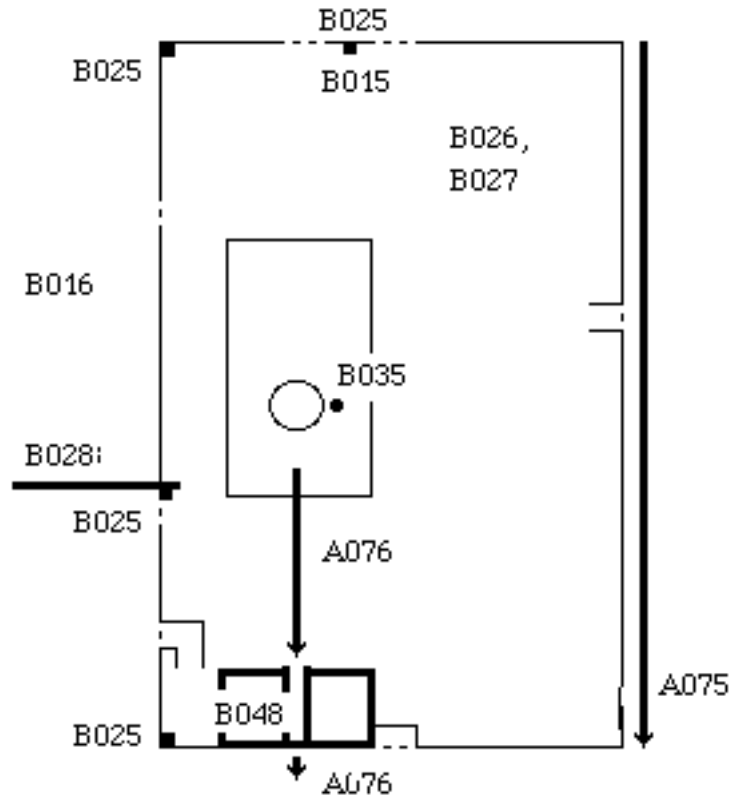
---

<sup>1</sup>For the main direction of the mosque and the related terms, see Le Strange, "as Suyûtî" 94f.; Le Strange, *Palestine* 94f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 42f.; 46 n.3; Creswell, *EMA* 1 27 n.14.

For the parallel use of terms related to the main direction of the Jewish Temple, see Busink, *Tempel* 252f. n.320.

<sup>2</sup>For the Muslims traditions about Muḥammad leading the former prophets in ritual prayer, see Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 101; Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out" 189f.; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" 178; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 20f.; Schrieke/Horowitz, "Mi'rādī" 100a.

<sup>3</sup>For the Jewish prayer-direction towards Jerusalem (cf. **1 Kings** 8.38; 8.44; 8.48, **2 Chronicles** 6.34; 6.38, **Daniel** 6.10) and for the Muslim conception of the two prayer-directions and the change from the first towards Jerusalem to the second towards Mecca (**Koran** 2.142-152), see Le Strange, *Palestine* 114; Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen* 285f.; Hirschberg, *Sources* 315; 321-324; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* 198f.; 202; Busse, "Sanctity" 441; Creswell, *EMA* 1 11-13; Busink, *Tempel* 256f. n.346; 904-907; Kessler, *Reconsideration* 11 n.20 (note of Hamilton); Sivan, "Beginnings" 266; Donner, *Conquests* 97; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 323a; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 7; Wensinck, "Ḳibla" 84ab; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 19; Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 2.142-150; Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf" 66; 68; Kussai, *Heiligkeit* 50-56; Gil, *Palestine* 65-67; Elad, *Jerusalem* 31; Busse, "Jerusalem im Kreis der heiligen Städte" 7; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 95-102; Neuwirth, "Three Names 79-84"; Neuwirth, "Genesis".



## 10

**Figure 10. The Marwānīd mosque of Jerusalem:** A075 The long side north-south. - A076 The place of the Roofed Hall in front of the Rock with the prayer-direction towards the south. - B015 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B016 The ablution places. - B025 The four minarets. - B026 The courtyard. - B027 The cisterns. - B028 The aqueduct. - B035 The Treasury. - B048 The Roofed Hall with the main gate, the gable roof and the pulpit.

A077. Minor **rituals** and **customs** define the whole area as a Friday mosque. This is the place of [individual] ritual prayer (B014.13). People make their ritual ablution outside the area, near the gates (B016.5); the water of the cisterns in the area itself may not be used for ritual ablution (B014.6). The minarets along the west and north borders of the area are the places from which the muezzins call for prayer (B025.3). Inside the roofed hall, the pulpit is the place where the *imām* leads the congregational prayer and where he delivers the Friday sermon (B051.6). In this area the people show allegiance to Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik (Umayyad caliph 96-99/715-717) (B034.4). The money of all Muslim treasuries is brought to the Treasury here (B035.4). There is some teaching in the area (B014.6), inside the South Gate of the Dome of the Rock (B038.11). People may enter the Dome of the Rock in sandals (B038.13).

A077.a. We may be tempted to deduct from the use of sandals in the Dome of the Rock that this is no mosque; but in this period, taking off one's shoes inside the mosque is not necessarily compulsory.<sup>1</sup>

A078. But congregational prayer, the main **ritual** which defines a mosque as such, declares only the south building a mosque (B048.8) - there is the pulpit where the *imām* leads the congregational prayer and where he delivers his Friday sermon (B051.6). Congregational prayer is never connected with the whole area.

A079. These are two parallel conceptions. The old Pre-Marwānid conception declares the south building a mosque. It is obviously so deeply rooted that the south building keeps its Pre-Marwānid name, that traditions consider this and only this the place appropriate for congregational prayer, and that the main ritual defining a mosque - congregational prayer - is connected exclusively with the south building. The new conception defines the whole area as mosque. It is strongly propagated by architecture, names and rituals and customs.

A080. Architecture carrying the new conception is concentrated in the west and north walls of the area. They define the new borders of the Muslim mosque against the predominantly non-Muslim city. The situation is different for the south and east borders of the mosque where the walls overlook the neighbouring regions from high above and are more dominant.

A081. The resistance of the old conception is surprising. The south building is always called the place of Muslim congregational prayer as seen through the old conception, but never the Roofed Hall of the mosque as it should be if seen through the new conception. Traditions dealing with the mosque of Jerusalem refer only to the old, never to the new conception. Even architecture, which places so much weight on the whole area, nevertheless emphasises the priority of the south building.

A082. Both conceptions of the mosque, as well as the emphasis on the pre-eminence of the Ka'ba over the Rock, are obviously part of a Muslim discourse and aimed at a Muslim public. The complex combination of two overlapping conceptions may even mirror the complex situation of a Muslim society which is now only partly secluded from the indigenous Christian majority and where certain groups are becoming more and more involved in the Christian discourse.

## 2.2. THE MASTERPLAN II:

---

<sup>1</sup>For praying in sandals, see Jarrar, "Bišr al-Ḥāfi" 221f. For entering the mosque without sandals, see Jarrar, "Bišr al-Ḥāfi" 209.

THE NEW TEMPLE<sup>1</sup> (MUSLIM)

A083. The Marwānid rebuilding declares the area not only the mosque of Jerusalem, but at the same time the rebuilt Temple.

A084. **Names** and **traditions** identify the area again and again with the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B014.1), and certain places on it with parts of the Temple.

A084.a. The whole area is the Temple. The Koran is considered a new Torah, the community of the Muslims the new builders of the Temple [the New Israel] (B014.7).<sup>2</sup> Here Jacob had his dream of a ladder reaching from the stone under his head up to a Gate of Heaven, which angels were descending and ascending, while God told him that he [Jacob] would build a sanctuary [the later Temple] at the spot of his dream where he and his progeny would worship (B014.7). This is the Temple planned and founded by David and built by Solomon, the Mosque of David and the Mosque of Solomon for which David himself carried stones (B014.7), the Temple where Solomon built the Tomb of Moses and Aaron (B014.7). In the time of David there was the Rock of the Temple and the plain where he then built the Temple; during the pestilence he ordered the Children of Israel to pray here, and after the pestilence he told them that here, where God had had mercy upon them, would be the best place to build a mosque (B014.7). This is the Temple where in the time of the Children of Israel the Greatest Temple (*al-Miḥrāb al-Akbar*) had been and the Greatest Lamp which had been suspended by Gabriel, which had come originally from Paradise and which burned, day and night without ever being extinguished, with olive oil from Mount Sinai with neither smoke nor impurity, where the Gate of Repentance had been next to the Greatest Temple and the Lamp of Paradise (B014.7); this is the Temple, the place from which [in the time of the Children of Israel] the Ark of the Covenant and God's Presence had been taken away (B014.7).<sup>3</sup> Here was the Temple of Zechariah and John, here the Children of Israel killed John, the son of Zechariah, [the Biblical prophet Zechariah], and here Nebukadnezar

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Muslim restitution of the Temple, see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 40-42; 45; Vajda, "al-Muhallabi" 194-196, especially 195 n.10; 201f.; Busse, "Kultstätten" 124; Busse, "Sanctity" 441f.; 458-460; Kessler, "Reconsideration" 11 n.20 (note of Hamilton); Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 93-99; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" 169f.; 176-178; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 92; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 325a; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 95; Busse, "Omar's Image" 164f.; 168; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram"; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 242; Rabbat, "Meaning of the Dome of the Rock"; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 145; 153f.; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49-52; Reinink, "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History" 182-185; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 89f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 161-163; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur", especially 39; 42-44; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple"; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 46; 110; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 108; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution".

For Muslim traditions connected with the Temple of Solomon, see Schützinger, "Nebukadnezar und Johannes"; Sivan, "Beginnings" 266; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 74-88; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple".

<sup>2</sup>For eschatological Muslim traditions of the Marwānid period connected with the Rock, see Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 60f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 81f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 113; Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" 185.

<sup>3</sup>For the Muslim conception of God's Presence (*as-Sakīna*), see Goldziher, "Sakīna"; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 52 n.42; Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 2.24; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 240; Elad, *Jerusalem* 110; 110f. n.168; Fahd, "Sakīna"; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple" 5.

in revenge slaughtered the Children of Israel (B014.7).<sup>1</sup> This is the Temple where Zechariah stood in prayer when the birth of John was announced to him (B014.7).<sup>2</sup> Here was the Temple of Muḥammad, this is the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*)<sup>3</sup> visited by Muḥammad [on his Night Journey] and recognised by ‘Umar (B014.7); this is the Temple where "the Temple of our prophet Muḥammad" had been opposite the Lamp of God, the Lamp of Paradise (B014.7). The holy part of the earth is Syria-Palestine; the holy part of Syria-Palestine, Palestine; the holy part of Palestine, Jerusalem; the holy part of Jerusalem, the mountain; the holy part of the mountain, the dome (B014.8); Syria-Palestine is blessed, Palestine is holy and the Temple is the Holy of Holies (B014.8). Dew falling onto the area comes from Paradise and has the power to heal (B027.5). Šarīk b.Ḥubāša/Ḥubāša an-Numayrī entered Paradise from a pit here (B014.7).<sup>4</sup> Every night another 70,000 angels descend and praise God here (B014.8). Paradise is on the roofs of the Temple (B014.8). This is God's Nearest Throne, from beneath it come [the four rivers of Paradise and] all waters of the world (B014.8).

A084.b. Particular places are identified with parts of the Temple. Possibly a [stone] ring outside the area is the Stopping-place where Muḥammad stopped al-Burāq and tied her up on his Night Journey to the Furthest Mosque, as the earlier prophets had done (B019.4).<sup>5</sup> The east gate is the Gate of Mercy (B024.1), where in the time of the Children of Israel the Chain of Granting and Revelation was suspended and everyone who wanted to

---

<sup>1</sup>For Muslim traditions about the killing of Zechariah in the Temple, see A056.b. For Muslim traditions about the destruction of the Temple, see Busse, "Destruction of the Temple"; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 84f.

<sup>2</sup>For Muslim traditions about Zechariah and Mary in the Temple and about the Chamber of Mary, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 304 s.v. "Marie"; Busse, "Kultstätten" 122f.; 136; 138; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 80; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 22; 28-30; Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn" 287; Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 3.35-37; 3.44; Wensinck/Johnstone, "Maryam" 616a; Elad, *Jerusalem* 93-97; 117-119; 126-130; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu"; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 989; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 82.

<sup>3</sup>For the equation of *al-Masğid al-Aqṣā* "the Furthest Mosque", the goal of Muḥammad's Night Journey, with the Temple and thereby with the whole area, and for the later restriction of the term to the south building, see Schrieke, "Himmelsreise Muhammeds" 13-16; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 1 n.1; 426f.; Horovitz, "Mohammeds Himmelfahrt"; Hirschberg, "Sources" 320-324; Guillaume, "al-Masjid al-Aqṣā"; Plessner, "Muḥammad's Clandestine ‘Umra"; Paret, "Ferne Gebetsstätte"; Paret, "al-Burāq" 1350ab; Busse, "Sanctity" 441-443; 450; 454; 458-460; 465; Creswell, *EMA* 1 65f.; Kister, Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 73; 95; 99-111; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 49-51; 57-60; Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom" 17 n.2; 24; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 3f.; Busink, *Tempel* 907-909; 911; 919; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 116; Busse, "'Omar's Image" 165; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 14f.; 21-25; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 242; Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 17.1; Hillenbrand, "Vermächtnis des Felsendoms" 64; 71; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 154; Kussai, *Heiligkeit* 57-84; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 2f.; 13f.; 17; 25f.; 31-38; Grabar, "al-Masjd al-Aqṣā" 695b; Gil, *Palestine* 96-98; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 43f.; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 90-92; Neuwirth, "Erste Qibla - Fernstes Masğid" 246-251; Schrieke/Horovitz, "Mi‘rāj" 99b-100a; Elad, *Jerusalem* 28f.; Hasson, "Muslim View" 353-359; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning"; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 4 387-391; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29f.; 32f.

<sup>4</sup>For the Muslim tradition of the Pit of the Leaf, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 197; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Shalem, "Bi'r al-Waraqā"; Elad, *Jerusalem* 169; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 48.

For Muslim traditions declaring this area near to Paradise, see A101.

<sup>5</sup>For Muslim traditions of how al-Burāq was tied up, see Paret, "al-Burāq" 1350b; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 16f. n.88; 32; 32f. n.170; 34.

ask God something touched this chain, prayed and had his wish fulfilled (B024.4);<sup>1</sup> here God grew a gold tree and a silver tree when the Temple was finished [by Solomon] (B024.4);<sup>2</sup> in the time of the Sons of Aaron [the priests] a fire lion [God] used to enter by this gate on his way from the Mount of Olives to the Rock, which was the altar (*haykal*) (B024.4). The easterly south gate is the Gate of Repentance (B020.1), where in the time of the Children of Israel, God used to forgive banished people (B020.1); here Mary was locked up by Zechariah, visited by angels and, once, not found by Zechariah (B020.4);<sup>3</sup> this room and its door were as central in the mosque [the Temple] as the Ka'ba and its door [in the *Haram* of Mecca] (B020.4). The westerly south gate is the Gate of the Prophet or Gate of Muḥammad (B018.1), where Muḥammad entered the Temple on his Night Journey to the Furthest Mosque (B018.5); when 'Umar and the patrēkiow of Jerusalem entered the Temple, they crawled over the garbage filling this gate (B018.5). The Pool of ar-Raḡī' [and the aqueduct] were built by Hezekiah (B028.4). A certain rock in the area [the later Throne of Solomon<sup>4</sup>] is the rock on top of which Solomon prayed when he had finished building the Temple (B029.4). A dome east of the Dome of the Rock is the Place of the Chain or Dome of the Chain (B033.1), where in the time of David or Solomon a chain hung down from heaven, which in a lawsuit only the party in the right could touch, but not the party in the wrong (B033.5); this chain was tricked one day by a Jew and then drawn back to heaven (B033.5); here Muḥammad saw the virgins of Paradise (B033.5). At a place on the platform Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the prophets (B037.3). A dome on the platform is the Dome of the Ascension (B036.1). The pavement of the Dome of the Rock is the roof of Paradise (B047.3); walking in the Dome of the Rock is like walking in one of the gardens of Paradise (B038.7). God stood on the Rock for forty years before he began with creation (B045.5);<sup>5</sup> he rose from the Rock to heaven (B045.5) and put his foot on it when he left for heaven (B045.5);<sup>6</sup> from beneath the Rock God spread all land (B045.5); Adam made ritual prayer on this rock (B045.5);<sup>7</sup> this is the First Prayer-direction set up by Abraham who put his foot on it, towards this place all prophets from Adam up to Muḥammad turned in prayer, among them Abraham and Moses (B045.5);<sup>8</sup> this is the stone which Jacob had under his head when he saw the angels descend and ascend (B045.5);

<sup>1</sup>For Muslim traditions about the chain of David or Solomon, see Hirschberg, "Sources" 333; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 117f. n.3; 152 n.43; Busse, "Kultstätten" 138; Tritton, "Three Inscriptions" 537; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267. For David as judge (*Koran* 38.22; 38.26), see Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen* 376-380; Paret, "Dāwūd" 187b; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 90; Busse, "Tower of David" 147; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 99. For Solomon as judge (*Koran* 21.78-79), see Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen* 377f.; Busse, "Kultstätten" 138; Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath" 113f.; Walker/Fenton, "Sulaymān b. Dāwūd" 857a.

<sup>2</sup>For Muslim traditions of the gold tree and silver tree of Solomon, see Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 87.

<sup>3</sup>For Muslim traditions about the Chamber of Mary, see A084.a.

<sup>4</sup>For Muslim traditions about the Throne of Solomon, see Busse, "Kultstätten" 138; Busse, "Sanctity" 466; Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad *Koran* 38.35; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 85; Busse, "Kanzel des Propheten" 109; Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath" 112-114; 120-124; Elad, *Jerusalem* 82-85; Busse, "Persepolis" 17f.; Walker/Fenton, "Sulaymān b. Dāwūd" 858a; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 8-12; Busse, "Patriarchengräber" 88f.

<sup>5</sup>This is obviously the Jewish idea of *Āḥan ha-šetiyyāh* "the Foundation Stone", see van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 95. For the Foundation stone, see A205.a.

<sup>6</sup>For the Muslim tradition that God rose from the Rock to heaven and his foot on the Rock, see Hirschberg, "Sources"; Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out" 195f.; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock"; Elad, *Jerusalem* 49; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 113f.; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 109.

For traditions about the feet of God in Jerusalem and their possible imprints, in general, see B045.5.a.

<sup>7</sup>For Muslim traditions about Adam and the Rock of Jerusalem, see Pedersen, "Ādam" 182a-183a.

<sup>8</sup>For Muslim traditions about Abraham and his connection with the Rock of Jerusalem, see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock"; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Haram" 3; 18; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 238f.;

in the time of David the Rock of the Temple was here and the plain where he then built the Temple; during the pestilence he ordered the Children of Israel to pray here, and after the pestilence he told them that here, where God had had mercy upon them, would be the best place to build a mosque (B014.7); David prayed on top of the Rock, here he thanked God for ending the pestilence (B045.5); the Torah and the Sons of Aaron [the priests] called it in Hebrew the *haykal* "the altar", there was a hole in the Rock where they put their offerings in a suspended plate and God took away what he was pleased with, whereas all other offerings were poured on the ground (B045.5); in the region of the Dome of the Rock Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of all [former] prophets and he ascended from here to heaven (B045.5); the Byzantine emperor was threatened by Muḥammad, he therefore ordered the area to be cleaned, but when the Muslims arrived only one-third had been cleaned (B045.5), 'Umar searched for the Rock (B045.5), when he and the patr̥kiow of Jerusalem entered the Temple, they crawled over the garbage filling the later Gate of the Prophet (B018.5), 'Umar found the interior of the area a garbage dump (B014.7), he and the Muslims carried the garbage which covered the Rock away in their own clothes (B045.5).<sup>1</sup> The Rock is one of the rocks of Paradise and God's Nearest Throne,<sup>2</sup> from beneath it come [the four rivers of Paradise and] all waters of the world (B045.6);<sup>3</sup> all sweet water of the earth originates from beneath the Rock of the Temple (B045.6).

A085. **Ritual** also declares the area the Temple. In addition to three hundred mosque slaves who probably do the common work (B014.6) and ten Christian mosque servants from the people of the city who clean the water channels and cisterns (B014.18), forty servants are especially assigned to the Dome of the Rock (B038.10). These forty servants are from the people of Palestine (*Anbāṭ*) (B014.6) - but there is at least one *Anṣārī* among them (B038.10) - and they receive an allowance (B038.10). They stay in shifts in the Dome of the Rock and do not leave the mosque while on duty (B038.10). They maintain the Dome of the Rock and every Tuesday and Thursday hold a service in the Dome of the Rock (B038.9).<sup>4</sup> For this

---

Bashear, "Abraham's Sacrifice" 265-267; Firestone, *Abraham-Ishmael Legends* 105-159; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 112 and n.130; 113.

<sup>1</sup>For traditions about 'Umar cleaning the Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 138-144; Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 32-35; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 11; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief"; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 86-94; Busse, "'Omar's Image" 167f.; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 25-27; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 78f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29f.

<sup>2</sup>For Muslim traditions about the Throne of God, see Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen* 21-27; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 88 n.60; 92-94; Huart/Sadan, "Kursī"; Vitestam, "'Arsh and Kursī"; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock".

<sup>3</sup>For Muslim traditions about the rivers of Paradise and thereby all (sweet) water originating beneath the Rock in the Dome of the Rock, see Gardet, "Djanna" 460b; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 80; 109; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 92f.; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 53-62 (with illustrations); Shalem, "Bi'r al-Waraqā" 58 n.8; Baer, "Visual Representations" 387; Jamil, "Caliph and Qutb" 54.

<sup>4</sup>For the servants of the whole area and the service in the Marwānid Dome of the Rock, see Schefer, *Nassir* 76f. n.2; Le Strange, *Palestine* 146-148; Busse, "Kultstätten" 118; Busse, "Sanctity" 459; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 20; Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 43; Hasson, *al-Wāsiṭi* 44 n.1; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 266 n.25; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 154f.; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 58-60; Gil, *Palestine* 71f.; 146f. n.11; 153f. n.21; 222; 635f.; 636f. n.111; Elad, "History and Topography" 56f.; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 35f.; 48; Sharon, "Praises of Jerusalem" 59f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 51-61; 160; 162; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 54; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 109f.; Gil, "Jewish Community" 169; Busse, "The Temple



service, they first prepare themselves, eat, bathe and put on special clothes. They then prepare the Rock, anoint it, circumambulate it in a procession with incense inside the closed curtains of the circular arcade until the dome fills 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 invites all to prayer. The service itself is remarkably simple and short, the faithful performing individually or together just two or four *rak'a*. The servants then conclude the service, cleaning and drying the Rock and closing the gates.

A086. This is a kind of official Temple service, held twice a week, with priests in shifts on duty who prepare themselves and the Rock in advance in a lengthy ceremony and afterwards put everything in order.<sup>1</sup> The short and simple character of the service, similar to the short and unstructured congregational prayers the Muslims hold on certain occasions (B038.9.b), leaves no doubt that this is a Muslim service - this is the Temple service as Muslims think it should be. The existence of a Muslim Temple service is surprising only at first glance. The history of Christian liturgy gives us at least two close parallels: both the liturgies in the fourth century Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the New Temple (A057), and in the Crusader Dome of the Rock, the Temple of the Lord,<sup>2</sup> are modelled after the Temple service.

A087. The faithful not only take part in this congregational service, but pray individually in a similarly unspectacular way in the area. One model of visiting the area recommends that within one mile of the city one should stop speaking about secular matters, enter the mosque by the Gate of the Tribes [north of the Dome of the Rock] while orienting oneself towards the Temple, perform five ritual prayers at the mosque, then leave the area and return to normal speaking only at a mile's distance (B014.7). Another model suggests entering the Dome of the Rock by the North Gate and praying at the black paving-stone [north of the Rock] (B038.11). Both stress the importance of places north of the Rock where Muslim ritual prayer is directed not only towards the Ka'ba but also towards the Rock of Jerusalem, towards both the present and the former prayer-direction.

A088. **Architecture** declares this area the Temple by two means - by drawing a system of concentric circles around the Rock and by stressing the area's authenticity.

A089. First, we have the most outstanding feature of the area - its concentricity around the

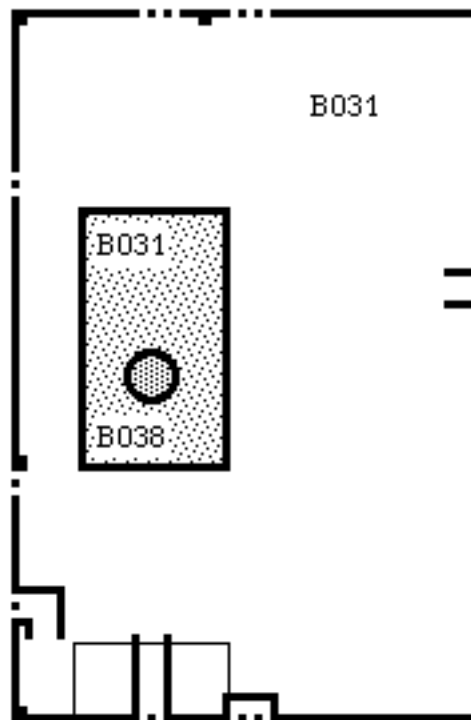
---

and Its Restitution" 26; 28; 30f.; 33; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 167-179; Elad, "Pilgrims and Pilgrimage" 301-303.

<sup>1</sup>Busse, "Sanctity" 459; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 26f.; 30f.; 33.

<sup>2</sup>Kedar, "Intellectual Activities" 129.

Rock.<sup>1</sup> A first set of higher and higher concentric zones surrounds the Dome of the Rock (B038.2); these zones are the area outside the wall, the courtyard (B026.2) and the platform (B031.2).<sup>2</sup> The exterior of the Dome of the Rock is covered with white marble below and with mosaic above (B038.3), the place of the Rock in its interior is marked by a high golden dome, the highest part of the whole area (B046.3). The zones are separated in level and partly by walls, but connected by staircases and/or gates.<sup>3</sup> Centrality is also emphasized by the introduction of four gates on all four sides (instead of only one gate).<sup>4</sup>



## 11

**Figure 11. The Marwānid Temple:** B026 The courtyard. - B031 The platform. - B038 The Dome of the Rock.

A089.a. The enclosing wall has a number of gates. The east wall has a monumental double gate (B024.3). The south wall has a monumental west double gate (B018.3) which leads into the area through an underground corridor (B018.5); another gate further east leads just into a room, but not through to the courtyard (B020.3).

<sup>1</sup>Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 383f.; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 90.

<sup>2</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 30-32 (referring to the platform).

<sup>3</sup>For the different levels of the ḤARAM connected by staircases, see Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 19f.

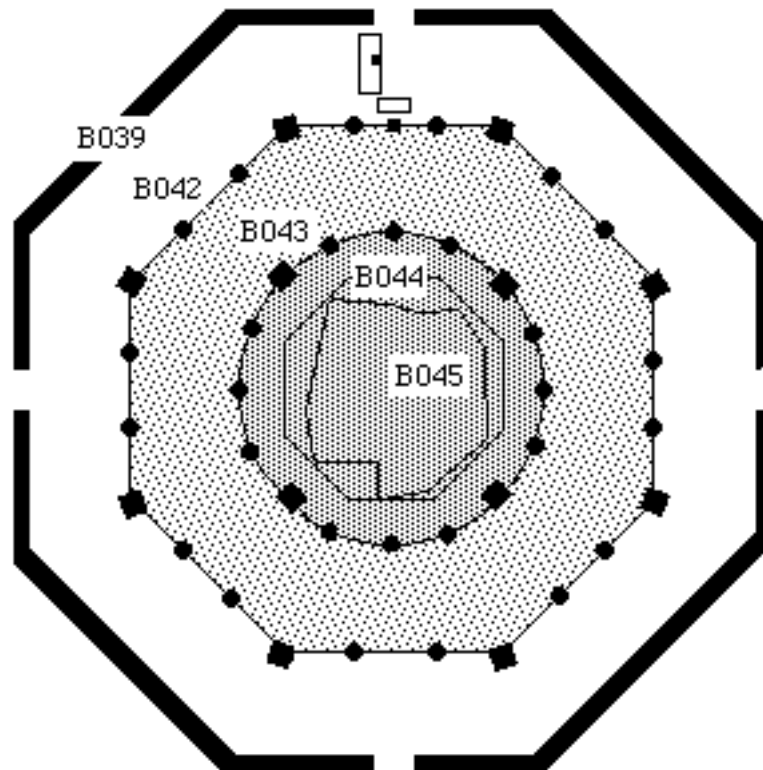
<sup>4</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 390.

The west wall has a south double gate (B021.3) , a central double gate (B022.2) and a north gate (B222.2). The north wall has two gates (B023.2).

A089.b. The access to the platform is unknown (B031.3.b).

A089.c. The Dome of the Rock an exterior wall (B039.2) with four gates, one gate in each direction, north, south, east and west (B040.2).

A090. Inside the Dome of the Rock a second set of concentric circles surrounds the Rock (B045.2); these circles are the exterior wall (B039.2), the octagonal arcade (B042.3), the circular arcade with its curtains (B043.3) and the fence (B044.2). The part next to the Rock inside the circular arcade is under a high dome (B046.3) which fills the space beneath with brilliant light (B043.3.c). Inside the Dome all lower surfaces are covered with white marble, all upper surfaces with mosaic (B038.3). A mosaic inscription on the arcades represents ‘Abd al-Malik (Umayyad caliph 65-86/685-705) (B042.3).



12

**Figure 12. The Dome of the Rock part of the Marwānid Temple:** - B039 The exterior wall. - B042 The octagonal arcade. - B043 The circular arcade with its curtains. - B044 The fence. - B045 The Rock.

A091. Inside the Dome of the Rock a black paving-stone in the floor marks the place where one's ritual prayer is directed towards both the Ka'ba and the Rock of Jerusalem (B041.2).

A092. The area being concentric obviously refers to the Temple - centrality is one of the great themes of the Temple,<sup>1</sup> thought to be the navel of the earth.<sup>2</sup> Both the former and the eschatological Temples of Christian and Jewish tradition have in their centres the Holy of Holies, the place where God himself resides, surrounded by concentric courtyards, the world around the Temple - the city of Jerusalem, the Holy Land and the regions of the Gentiles - being just a prolongation of this system of concentric circles (**Ezekiel** 5.5; 38.12). Architecture thereby declares the area the Temple,<sup>3</sup> the Dome of the Rock by its mosaics a part of Heaven,<sup>4</sup> and the Rock the place where God himself resides.<sup>5</sup> This fits with the column of brilliant light hovering over the Rock (B043.3.c) recalling the fire column leading Israel through the desert<sup>6</sup> and the tradition which declares the Rock the Nearest Throne of God (B045.6).

A093. Secondly, architecture stresses the area's authenticity - this is no new building, but the former Temple rebuilt. Quite a few places in the area openly display pieces of bedrock or ruins, obviously as constitutive elements.<sup>7</sup>

A093.a. The monumental east gate is on top of the remains of an earlier gate (B024.3). Both the monumental westerly south gate (B018.3) and the easterly south gate (B020.3) integrate remains of earlier gates. The sou-

---

<sup>1</sup>For concentricity as one of the basic conceptions connected with Jerusalem, see Busse, "Sanctity" 456f.; Busink, *Tempel* 1177f.; Kühnel, *From Earthly to Heavenly Jerusalem*; Donceel-Voûte, "Carte de Madaba", especially 521f.; 524; Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf"; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 89f.; Poorthuis/Safrai, *Centrality*; Kühnel, "Geography and Geometry"; Levy-Rubin/Rubin, "Image" 353; Kühnel, "The Use and Abuse of Jerusalem" XXII-XXV (with fig. 1-5); XXXVf. (with fig. 17); Pullan, "Jerusalem in the Santa Piacenza Mosaic" 409.

<sup>2</sup>For Jewish, Christian and Muslim traditions declaring Jerusalem or a certain place inside it the navel of the earth, see Roscher, *Omphalos* 24-28; 130; Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien* 15-18; ; Roscher, *Omphalosgedanke* 12-40; 102f.; Hirschberg, "Sources" 333-335; Busink, *Tempel* 658f.; 1176f.; Kühnel, "Jewish and Christian Symbolism" 150f.; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 2 92-97; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27-29; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock"; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 131f.; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 112; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 137f.; Alexander, "Jerusalem as Omphalos"; Ben-Shammai, "Jerusalem in Bible Exegesis" 458.

<sup>3</sup>Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 112.

<sup>4</sup>For the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock connecting it to the former Temple, see Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 84-87; 96-99; 110. For the mosaics representing the trees and jewels of Paradise, see Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 46-69; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 148f..

<sup>5</sup>Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 112.

<sup>6</sup>For Muslim traditions connecting the fire column with the Ka'ba, see Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 240.

<sup>7</sup>I owe the conception that, possibly, pre-existing ruins determined the position of the Marwānīd buildings to the kindness of Prof. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, when we had a very stimulating discussion while looking down from Mount Scopus onto the *Haram*.

therly west double gate is a reused older gate (B021.3). The two north gates possibly use former breaches or gates as well (B023.2). A certain place in the north of the courtyard is a distinct piece of rock (B029.3). The platform around the Dome of the Rock embellishes a former rock hill with its peak, the Rock, on open display inside the Dome of the Rock (B031.3). The dome east of the Dome of the Rock possibly has a chain inside (B033.3). The rather irregular place of the domes east (B033.3) and northwest (B036.2, B037.2) of the Dome of the Rock may be given by older structures beneath. The Dome of the Rock is defined by the Rock in its centre (B038.2). There may be a cave under the Rock; the cave is most probably not entered (B045.3.a).

A094. Traditions,<sup>1</sup> architecture<sup>2</sup> and ritual<sup>3</sup> lay a special stress on the area's authenticity. The Marwānid caliphs responsible of the masterplan obviously considered the possession of the authentic place of the Temple and its rebuilding a very strong point in favour of their political and religious claims. The New Temple the Christians had in Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (A057), is definitely not in the place of the former Temple - this is never claimed - but in the place of the resurrection of Christ. The place of the Muslim New Temple, in the authentic place of the Old Temple, shows the authenticity of the Muslim faith and its identity with the faith of David and Solomon, and the place of the Christian New Temple in a new place, the newness and distorting character of the Christian faith.

A095. This is the idea underlying the inscription of 'Abd al-Malik in the Dome of the Rock (B042.3), in the central building of the area, which stresses that God is one and that Muḥammad was a prophet and Christ like him only a prophet [and only a man], not the son of God.<sup>4</sup> This declares the Muslims to be the legitimate heirs of the faithful of old and admonishes the contemporary Christians to renounce their new and distorting characterisations of Christ:

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Muslim transfer of Temple-related traditions from the New Christian Temple, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to the New Muslim Temple and thereby back to the original place of the Temple, see Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 11; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89; 118f.; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca"; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 150; 154; Busse, "Kaaba"; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution".

For the Muslim transfer of such traditions further to the Ka'ba, be this directly from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or from the place of the former Temple, or indirectly from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre via the place of the former Temple, see Roscher, *Omphalosgedanke* 57-61; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension"; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca".

<sup>2</sup>For the model character of the Christian New Temple, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for the building of the Muslim New Temple built to supersede it, see Busse, "Kultstätten" 136; Busse, "Sanctity" 460; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66f.; 80; 92; 101-109; Chen, "Design of the Dome of the Rock" 50; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" 176-178; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89; 97f.; 117-119; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 2-6; 14-24; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 7; 56-60; 65f.; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 150; 154; Elad, "Dome of the Rock"; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 90; 101; Elad, *Jerusalem* 161-163; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 108f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution".

<sup>3</sup>For the Temple-related ritual of the Muslim New Temple being modelled after the Temple-related ritual of the Christian New Temple, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 33.

<sup>4</sup>Kessler, "Reconsideration" 11 n.20; Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom" 21-23; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie"; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118f.; Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 229; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 154; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 90; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 28f.; 33.

Islam is the original undistorted faith - the original undistorted Christianity - while contemporary Christianity is only a travesty.<sup>1</sup>

A096. Names and traditions, ritual and architecture declare the area the rebuilt Temple. This is the Byzantine idea that 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 thus had legitimised the rule of Constantine (emperor 306-337) and building the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople the rule of Justinian (emperor 518-527);<sup>2</sup> later, building the *Pfalzkapelle* at Aachen legitimises the rule of Charlemagne (Western emperor 800-914).<sup>3</sup> The claim to be the legitimate heir of the Christian emperor leads to the caliphs' attempt to conquer Constantinople, capital of what is left of the Byzantine Empire, an integral part of Muslim foreign policy changed only by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (caliph 99-101/717-720).<sup>4</sup>

A097. In the Byzantine conception, the area of the former Temple had not been a place to be rebuilt. But the caliph uses exactly this area for his New Temple. Thus he not only declares himself the legitimate heir of David installed by God to rule the faithful, but may even point out the fact that this New Temple is the only one in the place generally recognised as authentic. This is obviously aimed at people living in Syria-Palestine, trained in Byzantine political categories - the Christian officials of the Muslim reign.<sup>5</sup>

A098. The rebuilding of the former Temple alludes as well to the Jewish conception that the Temple will be rebuilt in the last days. The rebuilding is thus also aimed at a Jewish public. Now what many prophets have been foretelling over the centuries is happening - this is the eschatological Temple, these are the last days, and the caliph is the eschatological ruler the Jewish people have been waiting for.<sup>6</sup> This is the tune of the Jewish traditions praising 'Abd al-Malik for rebuilding the Temple (B014.12) and of the Muslim traditions calling him [the Second] David, King of Israel.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 54f.; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 94; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" 172; Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 229; Jamil, "Caliph and Qutb" 55-57.

<sup>2</sup>Patlagean, "Byzantium's Dual Holy Land" 113.

<sup>3</sup>Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 47-49.

<sup>4</sup>Kaplony, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus* 391.

<sup>5</sup>For similar cases where the Muslim argumentation is dependent on a Byzantine discourse, see Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" 169-171; 183f.

<sup>6</sup>For Judaeo-Muslims - former Jews who have become Muslims - shaping the first Muslim conceptions of Jerusalem, see Goitein, "Jerusalem in the Arab Period"; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 243; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 153.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.50:** 64,1 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 162f.; partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25) (*ağāba* (read *aṣāba*) *Ka'buni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī ba'di l-kutubi 'SRWSL'YM*

A099. But the Muslim building with its impressive appearance of Byzantine monumental architecture has, first of all, a clear message for the Muslims, i.e., the Muslims of Syria-Palestine.<sup>1</sup> 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 inside Muslim society, especially against rivals, but also a considerable increase in authority as he is obviously able to harness all this knowledge and to make it productive in favour of the Muslims. This is the Marwānid claim of building a Muslim Byzantine society, a society shaped and led by the Muslims, incorporating the heritage of the Byzantine subjects.

### 2.3. THE LOCAL PERSPECTIVE:

---

(read *Īrūšālāyim*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu wa-yuqālu lahā l-haykala*) *abʿaṭu ilayki ʿabdī ʿAbda l-Maliki yabnīki wa-yuzaḥrifuki* (*wa-la-aruddanna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi malikahā l-awwala* (Elad and Busse read *mulkahā l-awwala*) *wa-la-ukallilannahu* (Elad and Busse read *wa-la-ukallilannahā*) *bi-d-dahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati wa-l-marḡāni wa-la-abʿaṭanna ilayki ḥalqī wa-la-aḍaʿanna* (Elad reads *wa-la-aṣnaʿanna*) *ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿAršī wa-ana Llāhu r-rabbu wa-Dāwūdu maliku Banī Isrāʾīla*) (but not = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 138**: 86,3 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25) (*aṣāra Kaʿbuni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī t-Tawrāti ʾYSRWʾ ʾWMLYLʾM* (read *Īrūšālāyim*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu yuqālu lahu l-haykala*) *abʿaṭu ilayki ʿabdī ʿAbda l-Maliki yabnīki wa-yuzaḥrifuki*.

<sup>1</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 93; Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 229.

A PLACE OF EXTRAORDINARY SPIRITUAL POWER (MUSLIM)<sup>1</sup>

A100. The Marwānid area is not only the mosque of Jerusalem and the rebuilt Temple. It is also a place of extraordinary spiritual power, of distinct holiness. This conception is obviously related to that of the Temple, but the conception is so strong and, with time, almost independent, that it is best treated separately.

A100.a. The existence of detailed legends how Gabriel announced John's birth to Zechariah and how Mary served the Temple as a temple virgin has been adduced as evidence that places connected to these legends in the area were visited by Pre-Marwānid Christians, although that is not mentioned by theologians or pilgrims.<sup>2</sup> This is possible, but legends may as well have been floating without being fixed at certain places and without these places being visited regularly.

A101. **Traditions** charge the whole area with a special holiness (*ḥurma*) (B045.5) and some spots even with extreme holiness. This is a place near to Paradise,<sup>3</sup> and Muḥammad came here on his Night Journey to Paradise. God has touched it and it is connected with God's Presence. God uses this place to heal, to forgive and to answer prayer. People have visions here. Everything done here is more important than that done elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> This is one of the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] one should visit.<sup>5</sup> This is the scene of eschatological events.

A101.a. The holy part of the earth is Syria-Palestine; the holy part of Syria-Palestine, Palestine; the holy part of Palestine, Jerusalem; the holy part of Jerusalem, the mountain; the holy part of the mountain, the dome (B014.8); Syria-Palestine is blessed, Palestine is holy and the Temple is the Holy of Holies (B014.8). Dew falling onto the area comes from Paradise and has the power to heal (B027.5). The holiness (*ḥurma*) of the place was desecrated by the Children of Israel when they killed John, the son of Zechariah, [the Biblical prophet Zechariah] - and they were, because of this, killed by Nebukadnezar, and again by the Byzantines, i.e., the Christians, when they covered the Rock with garbage and even with [ritually unclean] menstruation wraps - and they were, because of this, overcome by the Muslims (B045.5).

A101.b. Paradise is on the roofs of the Temple (B014.8); dew falling onto the area comes from Paradise (B027.5); whosoever takes upon himself the state of the *ḥaḡḡ*- or *ʿumra*-pilgrimage in the Aqṣà Mosque has all prior and

<sup>1</sup>For the conception of the area as a place of spiritual power, see Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 110f.

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 23.

<sup>3</sup>For Muslim traditions declaring this area near to Paradise, see Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 46-69; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 148f.; Gil, *Palestine* 95.

<sup>4</sup>For the special weight of all prayer in Jerusalem, see Sivan, "Beginnings" 267f.; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 66-70; Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out" 184-190; Olesen, *Culte des saints* 72-79; Gil, *Palestine* 98f.; 99f. n.24.

<sup>5</sup>For the Muslim tradition of the three mosques to visit, see Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68; Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out"; Olesen, *Culte des saints* 72-79; Hasson, "Muslim View" 359-362; Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" 181f.; Livne-Kafri, "Early Šī'a".



future sins forgiven and will enter Paradise (B014.8).<sup>1</sup> When Jacob was dreaming here, he saw a ladder reaching from the stone under his head up to one of the gates of heaven and angels descending and ascending it (B014.7). Šarik b. Ḥubāša/Ḥubāša an-Numayrī entered Paradise from a pit here (B014.7). The pavement of the Dome of the Rock is the roof of Paradise, on every inch of it a prophet prayed and an angel stood (B047.3); walking in the Dome of the Rock is like walking in one of the gardens of Paradise (B038.7). The whole area is God's Nearest Throne, from beneath it come [the four rivers of Paradise and] all waters of the world (B014.8); the Rock is a piece of Paradise, God's Nearest Throne, from beneath it come [the four rivers of Paradise and] all waters of the world (B045.6); all sweet water originates from beneath the Rock of the Temple (B045.6).

A101.c. The area is the Temple of Muḥammad, the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masǧid al-Aqṣā*) visited by Muḥammad [on his Night Journey] and recognised as such by ʿUmar (B014.7). A hole or ring outside the wall is the Stopping-place where Muḥammad stopped al-Burāq and tied her up, as the former prophets had done (B019.4). He entered the Temple at the Gate of the Prophet or Gate of Muḥammad and Gabriel lit for him [in the corridor] a light as [bright as] the sun (B018.5).<sup>2</sup> At the Dome of the Chain he met the virgins of Paradise (B033.5). He led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets at a place on the platform (B037.3) or in the region of the Dome of the Rock (B045.5). He ascended to heaven from the region of the Dome of the Rock (B045.5).

A101.d. This very area has been touched by God himself. Before God created everything he was, for forty years, standing on the Rock (B045.5); he rose from the Rock to heaven (B045.5) and when he left for heaven he put his foot on the Rock because the Rock was the only mountain which humbled itself down, but all other mountains stretched out and proudly offered their service (B045.5). At the end of time the Rock will be the place of God's ascent and the place of his Throne (B045.5).

A101.e. The Presence of God (*as-Sakīna*) is connected with this area. The Ark of the Covenant and God's Presence had been taken away from the earth of the Temple [in the time of the Children of Israel] (B014.7). In the last days the Ark of the Covenant will be brought from Tiberias to the Temple, put here in front of the Mahdī [the eschatological Messiah], and most of the Jews will become Muslims when looking at it, and then the Mahdī will die (B014.9).

A101.f. This is an area where God heals, forgives and answers prayer. During the pestilence David assembled the Children of Israel here to pray and God answered his prayer here (B014.7). Whosoever takes upon himself the state of the *ḥaǧǧ*- or *ʿumra*-pilgrimage in the Aqṣā Mosque has all prior and future sins forgiven and will enter Paradise (B014.8). The dew falling onto the area has the power to heal (B027.5). The east wall with its Gate of Mercy is the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (B024.5);<sup>3</sup> in the time of the Children of Israel, the Chain of Granting and Revelation was suspended here and everyone who wanted to ask God something touched this chain, prayed and had his wish fulfilled (B024.4). At the Gate of Repentance, in the time of the Children of Israel, God used to forgive banished

<sup>1</sup>For the *iḥrām* or *iḥlāl*, i.e., the taking upon himself the state of the pilgrimage, in Jerusalem, see Matthews, "Merits" 14 n.50; Busse, "Sanctity" 467; Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out" 179; 192f.; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 328b-329a; 331a; Kussai, *Heiligkeit* 97-116; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 154; Elad, "History and Topography" 64-67; Gil, *Palestine* 96; 98f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 64f.

<sup>2</sup>For Muslim traditions about Gabriel guiding Muḥammad on the Night Journey, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 89; Hirschberg, "Sources" 335f.; Pedersen, "Djabrāʿīl" 373b; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 8f.; 11; 26; 31f.; 34; Schrieke/Horowitz, "Miʿrādǧ" 100a.

<sup>3</sup>For the Muslim conception of the Gate of Mercy, see Paret, "Sure 57,12f." 390; Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad *Koran* 57.12f.; Busse, "Jerusalem im Kreis der heiligen Städte" 1f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 126.

people (B020.1). The Ḥiṭṭa Gate is the Koranic gate where God ordered the Children of Israel, "Enter this town [and eat comfortably from it wherever ye please, enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions and increase those who do well]", but the Children of Israel did not obey (B021.4);<sup>1</sup> whosoever prays at the Ḥiṭṭa Gate gains for each two *rak'a* the merit the Children of Israel would have had [i.e., the forgiveness of sins] if they had entered the gate which they did not enter (B021.5). Solomon prayed on top of a certain rock in the area when he had finished building the Temple and God granted him everything he asked for (B029.4). God answers all prayers said on the black paving-stone (B041.5). If one makes ritual prayer right and left [west and east] of the Rock, says a personal prayer at the Place of the Chain and gives alms, God answers all personal prayers and washes all sins away back to the day one was born (B033.6).

A101.g. This is a place of many visions. Here Jacob had the dream of a ladder reaching from the stone under his head up to one of the gates of heaven with angels descending and ascending (B014.7), the Rock is the stone which Jacob had under his head (B045.5). In the time of the Sons of Aaron [the priests] a fire lion [God] used to enter the area by the Gate of Mercy on his way from the Mount of Olives to the Rock, which was the altar (B024.4). In this Temple the birth of John was announced to Zechariah (B014.7). Here the angels visited Mary (B020.4).

A101.h. All good and bad done here counts twice, even thousandfold (B014.8). This is one of the three mosques to visit (B014.8). Ritual prayer made here has its special weight; is equivalent to 1000 prayers [made elsewhere]; is equivalent to less than one fourth of a ritual prayer in the mosque of Medina; is equivalent to 500 prayers, but in Medina to 1000; is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Mecca to 100,000; is equivalent to 50,000 prayers, but at home to one, in the neighbourhood mosque to 25, in the Friday mosque to 500, in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, at Mecca to 100,000, at the coast [on the *ḡihād*] to 2,000,000, with the teeth-stick to 400; is equivalent to 50,000 prayers, but at home to one, in the neighbourhood mosque to 26, in the Friday mosque to 500, in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Mecca to 100,000; is equivalent to 20,000 prayers, but in the mosque of Mecca to 100,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Medina to 1000; is equivalent to 500 prayers, but in the mosque of Medina to 1000, at the coast [on the *ḡihād*] to 2,000,000 - and each congregational ritual prayer in each of these places another 25 times more (B014.7). All people who have made [just] two *rak'a* in the Dome of the Rock will at the end of time be considered blessed (B038.6).

A101.i. This is the place of important eschatological events. At the Gate of Mercy the [eschatological figure] Sufyānī will be killed (B024.6). The Ark of the Covenant will be brought from Tiberias to the Temple and put here in front of the Mahdī; most of the Jews will, when looking at it, become Muslims, and then the Mahdī will die (B014.9). When the angel Isrāfīl gathers mankind on the Koranic "day when the herald will make proclamation from a place near at hand" he will gather them while standing on the Rock (B045.5); God will gather mankind to the Rock and bring his people to it (B045.5); the Ka'ba will be brought to the Temple together with all people who have visited it on *ḥaḡḡ* or *'umra* and God will rain from underneath his [heavenly] Throne until all of them are covered with water 12 ells deep; all mosques, including the Ka'ba, will visit the area or the Dome of the Rock as one visits a bride (B014.9, B038.6). God will send his servant 'Abd al-Malik to the Rock and he will build and embellish it (B045.5); God himself will shape a light dome over the Rock which shines in heaven and in the air and may be seen from far away, and all people who have prayed in the Dome of the Rock two *rak'a* or more will be considered blessed (B038.6). The Rock will be the place of God's ascent and the place of his Throne (B045.5). God will make flow a river with milk, a river with honey, and a river with wine from the Rock

---

<sup>1</sup>For Koranic *ḥiṭṭa* and the Muslim traditions about the Ḥiṭṭa Gate, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 103; Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen* 337f.; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 268-270; Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 2.58f.; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103; Gil, *Palestine* 645; 645-647 n.116; Elad, *Jerusalem* 114-116; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa". For the prostration upon entering the Temple or the city of Jerusalem, see B021.4.a.

(B045.5).

A102. **Architecture** declares this a holy landscape with a number of holier spots and with holier and holier zones culminating in the Rock. A first set of higher and higher concentric zones separated in level and/or by walls but connected by gates and staircases, surrounds the Dome of the Rock; the zones are the area outside the wall, the courtyard and the platform (935.1). Inside the Dome of the Rock, a second set of concentric circles surrounds the Rock; these circles are the exterior wall, the octagonal arcade, the circular arcade with its curtains and the fence next to the Rock (A090).

A103. The platform has three places marked by domes (B032.1) and thus declared holy. Of these, the Dome of the Rock is, by its sheer dimensions and gold coat (B038.3), declared by far the most important one; by its marble and mosaic covering outside and inside (B038.3) it is attributed a very special holiness and nearness to Heaven (A092). Smaller domes are the Dome of the Chain (B033.3), identical with the dome where Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik sits when the people show him allegiance (B034.4) and with the Treasury (B035.3), and the Dome of the Ascension (B036.3). The shape of a further place on the platform is unknown (B037.2).

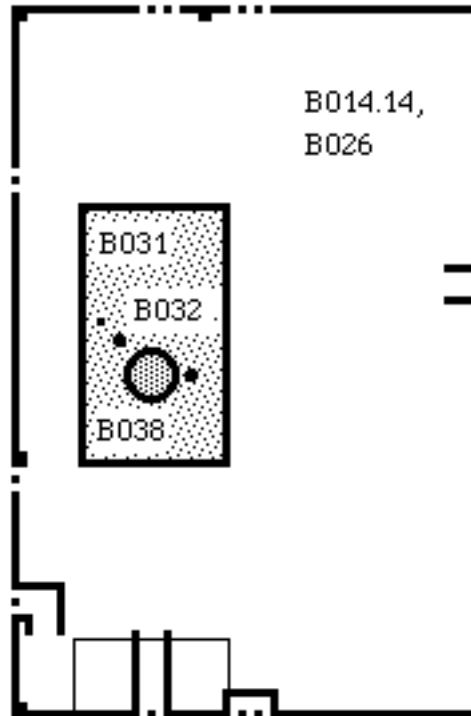
A104. Inside the Dome of the Rock is the Rock itself, emphasised by a chain, the two Horns of the Ram of Abraham, a pearl called "the Unique" (*al-Yatīma*) and the Crown of Khosroes suspended over it (B045.2),<sup>1</sup> and especially by a shaft of brilliant light hovering over it (B043.3.c).

A105. The quite large number of 5000 lamps (B014.15) - in Jerusalem lamps mark holy places (B014.7.c) - declares the area a holy place.<sup>2</sup> The concentration of about one fourth of them in the Dome of the Rock, burning all day and spreading a perfume (B038.12), makes this definitely the centre of holiness. Lamps burn all day long, are extinguished at night (B014.16), but are left burning together with an additional 2000 candles on Friday nights [from Thursday to Friday], in the middle of the months of *Rağab*, *Šaʿbān* [and *Ramaḍān*] - the Night of the Ascension, the Night of the Creation and the ʿĀšūrā<sup>2</sup>-Night - and on the nights of the two feasts (B014.17).

---

<sup>1</sup>For the tradition of the pearl called *al-Yatīma* "the Unique", the Horns of the Ram of Abraham and the Crown of Chosroes suspended over the Rock, see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 50; Busse, "Sanctity" 460; Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 71-73; Blair, "Date" 85; Elad, *Jerusalem* 52; 160. For *al-Yatīma* "the Unique [Pearl]", see Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 71-73; Shalem, "al-Yatima". For suspending items at holy places, see Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 71; Shalem, "al-Yatima" 45; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 70; 73; 101 n.98 and n.99; Halm, "Šamsa".

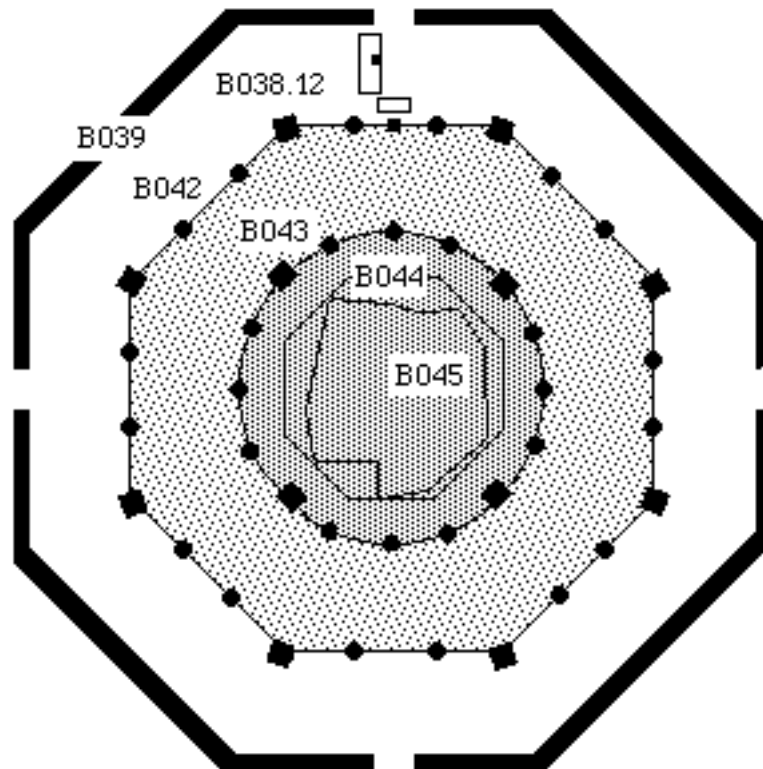
<sup>2</sup>For the use of lamps to mark a building as holy see Baer, "Visual Representations" 388.



## 13

**Figure 13. The Marwānid holy area:** B014.15 Lamps (all over the area). - B026 The courtyard. - B031 The platform. - B032 The two minor domes and a third place, all on the platform. - B038 The Dome of the Rock, covered by marble and mosaic, having a golden dome, with lamps burning and spreading a perfume.

A106. **Ritual** declares the whole area very powerful, the Dome of the Rock even extremely powerful. One should, within a mile of the city, stop speaking of secular matters (B014.6). Ritual prayer in the area is considered very effective; it is even more powerful inside the Dome of the Rock at certain spots next to the Rock, possibly combined with personal prayer at the Place of the Chain. The Dome of the Rock is the place of the service held twice a week; in preparation for this service the Rock is anointed, then circumambulated in a procession with incense (B038.9).



## 14

**Figure 14. The Dome of the Rock part of the Marwānīd holy area:** - B038.12 Lamps burning and spreading a perfume. - B039 The exterior wall. - B042 The octagonal arcade. - B043 The circular arcade with its curtains. - B044 The fence. - B045 The Rock with the shaft of brilliant light hovering over it.

A106.a. In the mosque of Jerusalem all good and bad counts twice, even thousandfold (B014.8). Ritual prayer here has a special weight; is equivalent to 1000 prayers [made elsewhere]; is equivalent to less than one fourth of a ritual prayer in the mosque of Medina; is equivalent to 500 prayers, but in Medina to 1000; is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Mecca to 100,000; is equivalent to 50,000 prayers, but at home to one, in the neighbourhood mosque to 25, in the Friday mosque to 500, in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, at Mecca to 100,000, at the coast [on the *ḡihād*] to 2,000,000, with the teeth-stick to 400; is equivalent to 50,000 prayers, but at home to one, in the neighbourhood mosque to 26, in the Friday mosque to 500, in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Mecca to 100,000; is equivalent to 20,000 prayers, but in the mosque of Mecca to 100,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Medina to 1000; is equivalent to 500 prayers, in the mosque of Medina to 1000, and at the coast [on the *ḡihād*] to 2,000,000 - and each congregational ritual prayer in each of these places another 25 times more (B014.7).

A106.b. Everyone who makes [just] two *rakʿa* in the Dome of the Rock will at the end of time be considered blessed (B038.6). People make ritual prayer on the Black Paving-stone [north of the Rock], especially on the *Ramaḍān* nights (B041.4); ritual prayer said on the black paving-stone is answered by God (B041.5). If one makes ritual prayer right and left [west and east] of the Rock, says a personal prayer at the Place of the Chain and gives alms, then God answers all prayer and washes all sins away back to the day one was born (B033.6). People

are advised to pray at the black paving-stone (B038.11).

A107. The area is a favourite place to spend the night in ritual prayer (B014.6). The Dome of the Rock is the only place with forty servants especially assigned (B038.10) and the only place where an adherent always stays (B038.11).

A108. A **vision** declares the Dome of the Rock the place to meet God. Here one night, a servant falls asleep, awakens again and sees [God in the shape of] a fire lion (B044.5).

A109. Traditions, architecture and a vision declare this a powerful area of extraordinary holiness with zones of increasing holiness surrounding the Dome of the Rock, a place both very promising and very dangerous for men, and declare the Dome of the Rock itself an extremely holy place, and a number of other places still especially holy. Borders around the whole area and between the zones are precisely defined and to be crossed only at a few well-defined places. The faithful react to this holiness by ritual prayer, either twice a week embedded in a lengthy ritual, or individually, and by visions. This is obviously the well-known conception of a *tōmenon* with well-defined borders, which men may enter only under certain conditions and with a distinct comportment.<sup>1</sup> The simple character of the ritual corresponds with the simplicity of the Muslim ritual of the time in general.

A110. The whole conception is deeply imbued with local Palestinian customs and has the features characteristic of the Palestinian reverence for holy places. We may suppose this is the conception the inhabitants of Jerusalem have of the place independently of their religious affiliation, 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 theme in the conception of the Muslim Friday mosque (A082), plays no role at all in this conception.

## 2.4. ADAPTING ONE MUSLIM CONCEPTION, BUT REJECTING THE OTHER:

---

<sup>1</sup>Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 18; Walker, *Holy Cities, Holy Places* 131-308; Wilken, *The Land Called Holy* 82-100.

### THE MOSQUE INSIDE THE FORMER TEMPLE, BUT NOT THE TEMPLE (CHRISTIAN)<sup>1</sup>

A111. Christians still consider the area the former Temple. They also try to adapt both Muslim conceptions, the one of the mosque and the one of the Temple.

A112. The **name** of the area makes it the former Temple (B014.10). **Traditions** consider it the former Temple (B014.10) which the Jews wanted to rebuild (B014.11), where they indeed built a synagogue, but soon after were thrown out by the Muslims (B014.10). This is the Pre-Marwānid Christian conception of the former Temple with the mosque inside, possibly already influenced by the Marwānid conception of the Muslim New Temple. To consider the Muslim mosque a synagogue refers to the widespread Christian idea that the Muslims are basically nothing other than Jews.

A245. At the same time, some Christians even give the new buildings the **name** "the Temple of God" (B014.2).

A113. Christian sources rarely mention the area, they specify no places in it. The old conception of the former Temple partly relied on the ruins shown there - but the ruins are now rebuilt. Some Christians interpret the Muslim building as the eschatological New Temple - a short-sighted conception as it implies in the end accepting the Muslim claims, and its opponents indeed emphasise that the Muslim buildings are definitely not the Temple (B014.10). The solution is to play down the topic, to deal with it as little as possible. We do not have to conclude that the Christians are forbidden to enter the area - for them the area never was a really important place to visit and now becomes just less and less accessible and attractive.

## 2.5. CONCLUSIONS

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Christian reaction to the Marwānid rebuilding, see Reinink, "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History"; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24.

A114. The Marwānid building project changes the field of ruins overgrown with bushes east of the city into a very impressive architectural ensemble comparable to the Friday mosques of Damascus, Medina and Mecca.<sup>1</sup> It starts from the generally accepted conception that this is the former Temple and develops the small mosque of the conquerors into the splendid mosque of Jerusalem and the Muslim New Temple. This is definitely a holy area - and holiness is closely related to the Temple.

A115. Thus we have the merger of at least three discourses into one. The building of a Friday mosque competing with the monumental Byzantine churches shows the caliph's power and willingness to use the resources of the conquered cultures to further the Muslim cause. The rebuilding of the former Temple is the building of the eschatological Temple by the Saviour much-longed-for by the Jews. His building of a New Temple declares him the New David installed by God to rule over the Muslims (and all faithful) as His Chosen People, his choice to build it on the generally accepted authentic place of the former Temple stresses the unbroken continuity from the faith of old, to Islam and the deviation of Christianity. The Christians quickly call the rebuilt area not only a mosque, a safe thing to do, as this has no political consequences, but also the Temple, a rather dangerous adaptation, as this implies accepting the Muslim claims. Apart from this, they do not openly react to the Muslim challenge - they just downplay the topic.

A116. Concurrently there is the conception of a smaller mosque just in the south part. This old conception is so deeply rooted that it continues to exist in spite of the intellectual attractiveness and immense beauty of the new conception maintained by very substantial financial means.

A117. The conceptions of the mosque of Jerusalem and of the New Temple may not be brought into line. While the mosque of Jerusalem refers to a point outside, the Temple - the navel of the earth - serves as a point of reference for the entire world. Nor are the conceptions of the wider and of the smaller mosque congruent. The minarets have their place along the walls of the whole area, but congregational prayer is nevertheless best performed inside the south building.

---

<sup>1</sup>For the building of the great Umayyad mosques, see Creswell, *EMA* 1; Creswell, "Architecture" 629a-636b; Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations" 224f.; Grabar, "Islamic Art and Byzantium" 80-82; Nadler, *Umayyadenkalifen* 46; Pedersen, "Masdjid" 646b-647a; Kaplony, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus* 137-140; 167-191; 393f.



### 3. THE HIGH ʿABBĀSID PHASE (813-969): THE MOSQUE

#### 3.1. DEFINITELY THE MOSQUE OF JERUSALEM - AND THE MOSQUE INSIDE IT (MUSLIM)

A118. The High ʿAbbāsid period does not witness such drastic changes as the periods before and after. What we have are basically shifts in emphasis. The area is now seen more and more as the mosque of Jerusalem and as a place of extraordinary spiritual power, less and less as the Temple.

A119. **Names** declare the whole area a Friday mosque.<sup>1</sup> This is a (Friday) mosque, the Holy (Friday) Mosque, the Mosque of the Temple (B052.1) and the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masǧid al-Aqṣā*) (B052.8). The inscription in the centre of the north wall gives the dimensions of the whole area and calls this a mosque (B052.6). Its parts are called by the common terms of High ʿAbbāsid Friday mosques. There are minarets (B059.1), ablution places (B054.1), a courtyard (B090.1), cisterns (B053.4, B093.1) and a roofed hall (B124.1) with a main gate called the Greatest Copper Gate (B125.1), a prayer-niche (B127.1) and the Temple (B128.1). **Traditions** do not declare this a mosque.

A120. Concurrently the **name** of the south building declares it the prayer-place of the Muslims, the Friday mosque (B124.1) and **traditions** stress the deliberate choice to put it directly south of the Rock.

A120.a. There ʿUmar set up the prayer-place (B052.8); he built it in the west part of the mosque [south of the Rock] (B052.8). The Umayyads built it with its prayer-niche opposite the Rock (B118.5, B124.7).

A121. **Architecture** defines the whole area as a mosque. The long side of the area is from north to south and thus fits with the south orientation of the mosques in Palestine. It has the characteristic parts of a High ʿAbbāsid Friday mosque. We find four minarets (B059.3), a third one at the southwest corner (B068.2), another one possibly between the two north gates (B080.3), one possibly on top of the west wall (B072.6). There are four ablution places next to the gates (B054.3); at least one of them is fed by the aqueduct (B053.4); next to one of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 14f. (referring to **al-Muqaddasī** who calls the south building *muǧaṭṭā* "roofed hall").

north gates is a bathhouse built half in Syro-Palestinian, half in Persian style (B083.2). The courtyard is all paved (B090.3) and girded by arcades along both its west and north walls (B091.2, B092.2), but not along either the east wall nor along the south width east of the roofed hall (B124.4). We have cisterns (B093.3) for winter rain and summer dew (B053.4) partly filled by the aqueduct which draws in springtime the winter rain water stored in two pools outside the city (B053.4). Both [scholarly groups of] the Ḥanafīya (B055.4) and the Karrāmiya (B056.4)<sup>1</sup> have their own rooms. There is a roofed hall (B124.6) with fifteen naves and eleven vertical naves (B126.2), with a gable roof and a dome (B130.2), with a main north façade having a mosaic-covered gable wall and a main copper gate in line with both the Rock and the main prayer-niche, and with a plain east façade (B125.3), with a prayer-niche (B127.2) opposite the Rock (B118.3);<sup>2</sup> the pulpit is also inside the roofed hall (B128.2); behind [south of] the pulpit are two stones with inscriptions (B129.2).

A121.a. Left and right, in front and behind depend on the prayer-direction and mean east and west, south and north. There are three arcades in the back [north] part of the mosque (B092.2); the Dome of the Ascension and the Dome of the Prophet are in back [north] of [the Dome of] the Rock (B106.2); the Roofed Hall has its back part [the north gable wall] covered with mosaic (B125.3) and its gable roof behind [north of] its beautiful dome (B130.2). The Prayer-place of [the popular saint] al-Ḥidr is in front [south] of the Dome of the Chain (B104.2); a paving-stone in the Dome of the Rock has the Rock in front [to its south] (B113.2). There are no buildings in the left [east] part of the mosque (B124.4); both the Dome of the Ascension and the Dome of the Prophet are right [west] of [the Dome of] the Rock (B106.2). The courtyard has three arcades on the right [west] part of the mosque (B091.2). Both right [west] of the Roofed Hall's Greatest Copper Gate and on the left [east] side are seven gates (B125.2, B125.3). The place of the Rock opposite the Roofed Hall's [main] Prayer-niche (B118.3) and the (Greatest) Copper Gate opposite the prayer-niche (B125.2) also refers to the prayer-direction.

A121.b. Only once is the general direction towards the north. There are two stones with inscriptions behind [south of] the Pulpit of the Temple (*ḥalf Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*), one of them in back [south] of the prayer-direction [wall] (*fī ḡahr al-qibla*) (B129.2.a).

A121.c. The terms "east" and "west", "north" and "south" are common. Both the Dome of the Prophet and the Standing-place of Gabriel are in the north [as seen from the Dome of the Rock] (B106.2, B109.2); Gabriel called the prayer-call north of the Rock (B106.2.e). One of the staircases which lead onto the platform is the South Ascent (B099.1); among the gates of the Dome of the Rock is the South Gate (B112.1); the Roofed Hall is in the south side of the mosque (B124.4). One finds the east wall of the mosque (B086.1); the Dome of the Chain has its

<sup>1</sup>For the convents of the Karrāmiya in Jerusalem, see Massignon, *Lexique technique* 262; 262; Bosworth, "Karrāmiyya" 694b-695b; Chabbi, "Khānḳāh" 1057b; van Ess, *Karrāmiya* 20f. A.56; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 328b; Gil, *Palestine* 301; 301f. A.39; 423 A.82. For Ibn Karrām and the Karrāmiya, see Massignon, *Lexique technique* 255-272; Bosworth, "Karrāmiyya"; van Ess, *Karrāmiya*; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 2 609f.; 4 421.

<sup>2</sup>For the asymmetric position of the prayer-niche opposite the Rock and the relation between prayer-niche and Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 90; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 196 A.203; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 31-33; 38; Creswell, *EMA* 1 34; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 117; Grabar, "Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra" 298a; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 15f.; Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27-29 (with fig. 15); 70; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.; B033.2.c herein.

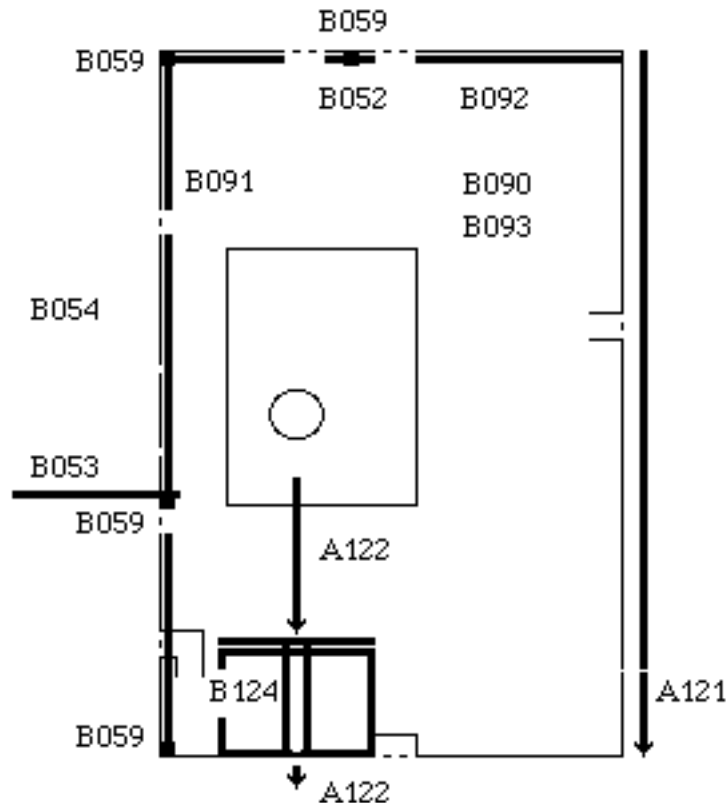
place east of the Dome of the Rock (B104.2); the Roofed Hall has on the east side eleven gates (B125.3). The Gate of the Women opens from the Dome of the Rock westwards (B112.2); 'Umar ordered the Muslims to have their place of congregational prayer in the west part of the mosque (B052.8); the Roofed Hall is in one of the west corners of the mosque (B124.4).

A122. **Architecture** at the same time declares the south building the best place for Muslim congregational prayer and thereby a mosque. Architecture emphasises the building's south-orientation to the Ka'ba and so its inferiority to it - the inferiority of the former prayer-direction towards the Rock to the current prayer-direction towards the Ka'ba. There is a monumental north façade with a copper main gate in line with the Rock and seven large gates on each side (B125.3); the central gate of each group of seven is a copper gate less beautiful than the main gate (B125.3); an inscription on this main gate represents al-Ma'mūn ('Abbāsid caliph 198-218/313-333) (B125.3).<sup>1</sup> An arcade (B125.3) built by 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (governor of Ḥurāsān 214-230/828-845) (B125.4) stresses the importance of this north façade further; there is possibly also an inscription to mark the presence of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (B125.3). In sharp contrast to this, the east façade has just eleven plain gates (B125.3) opening onto the open space east of the building. A wider central nave emphasises the main axis and leads the faithful from the main copper gate to the prayer-niche, from the Rock to the Ka'ba.

A123. **Ritual and customs** make the whole area a Friday mosque. People make their ritual ablution at the ablution places next to the gates (B078.2.1); favourite entries to the mosque are the Ḥiṭṭa Gate and the Gate of David (B069.8). The muezzins use the minarets to proclaim [in the prayer-call] five times a day the uniqueness of God and the prophethood [of Muḥammad] (B059.4) and we know one muezzin of the Temple by name (B052.7). The Pulpit of the Temple is obviously the place to give the Friday sermon (B128.4); we know one preacher of the Temple by name (B052.7). The prayer-niche indicates the prayer-direction and next to it the *imām* leads the congregational prayer (B127.3). There are people teaching (B052.7); the Ḥanafīya [a juristic school] have a meeting room for contemplating [God] where they read in a booklet B055.4); the adherents of [the Ṣūfī] Ibn Karrām have convents and meeting rooms where they read in their booklet (B056.4).

---

<sup>1</sup>For al-Ma'mūn building in Jerusalem, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 24f.; 2 227; 235-239; 250-255; 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 69-72; 77; 80f.; Kessler, "Reconsideration" 9 A.75; Sharon, "Inscription from 65 A.H." 246; Gil, *Palestine* 297-299; Elad, *Jerusalem* 41f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 58; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 64f.



15

**Figure 15. The High ʿAbbāsid mosque of Jerusalem:** A121 The long north-south side. - A122 The place of the Roofed Hall in front of the Rock with the prayer-direction towards the south. - B052 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B053 The aqueduct. - B054 The four ablution places. - B059 The four minarets. - B090 The courtyard. - B091 The west arcade. - B092 The north arcade. - B093 The cisterns. - B124 The Roofed Hall with the main north façade having a mosaic-covered gable wall and a main north gate, with the plain east façade, the gable roof and the dome, the prayer-niche and the pulpit.

A124. Nevertheless, the **ritual** which defines a mosque, the congregational prayer, is connected with the Roofed Hall (B124.1, B124.3), never with the whole mosque.

A125. This is the Marwānid double conception of a wider mosque encompassing the whole area and a smaller mosque restricted to the south building. The development is ambiguous. The south building, by being called Roofed Hall, is partly integrated into the wider conception, but the additional emphasis on its north façade and main axis accentuates the conception of the smaller mosque.

A126. This double conception mirrors the Muslim society of the Marwānid period, with its tensions between Muslims more involved with the local Christians, caring less about the con-

ceptions of the Pre-Marwānid Muslim conquerors, and Muslims less involved with the Christians, caring more about the older Muslim conceptions (A082). It does not mirror the High 'Abbāsīd situation. It is best to add it to the long list of outdated conceptions which have been carefully transmitted and still shape the city's appearance, even after the historical circumstances which created them are long gone.

### 3.2. THE VIEW FALLING INTO OBLIVION: THE NEW TEMPLE (MUSLIM)

A127. **Names and traditions** equate the area with the Temple, the Mosque of the Temple (B052.1), and certain places in the area, with parts of the Temple.

A127.a. The whole area is the Temple. God chose of the whole earth Mecca and Jerusalem, of Jerusalem, the Temple (B052.9). Here, Jacob had his dream of a ladder reaching up to heaven with angels ascending and descending and was told by God that he and his progeny were heirs of this holy land and that he should build him a mosque in it, and Jacob made the layout [of the mosque] (B052.8). This is the Temple built by David and Solomon (B052.8). This is the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*) [visited by Muḥammad on his Night Journey] (B052.8).

A127.b. Particular places are defined as parts of the Temple. The lower part of the wall with large stones was built by David, the upper part with smaller stones by 'Abd al-Malik, and the crenellations by later Umayyads (B052.8). A hole at the southwest corner of the wall is the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq [where Muḥammad on his Night Journey tied up al-Burāq] (B068.4). The east wall with the east gate is the wall with the Gate of Mercy (B086.1), the Koranic "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (B086.5). The easterly south gate is the Gate of Repentance (B064.1), where God forgave David (B064.4), or the Gates of (the Chamber of) Mary or the Gates of the Lady (B064.1), the room behind the Chamber of Mary (B064.1), where the angels brought Mary winter fruits in summer and summer fruits in winter and where the angel chose Mary "above the women of the worlds" [by making her pregnant with Jesus] (B064.4) and the Birth-place of Jesus [where Jesus was born] (B064.4);<sup>1</sup> performing ritual prayer at this place is like entering Paradise, and entering this place is like looking at Jesus and Mary [in Paradise] (B064.7). The westerly south gate is the Gate(s) of the Prophet or Gate of Muḥammad (B062.1), where Muḥammad entered the area (B062.7). A west gate is the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (B069.1), the Koranic gate where God ordered the Children of Israel in vain, "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions", but they laughed at him, and God cursed them (B069.5). Another west gate is the Gate of God's Presence or Place of God's Presence (B073.1) [from which the angels took the Ark of the Covenant in the time of the Children of Israel (B073.4)]. In the north part of the area, possibly at a piece of rock, is the Throne of Solomon, where he prayed when he had finished building the Temple (B094.4). A cave in the north part of the area is the Cave of Abraham (B097.1) where Abraham retired for prayer (B097.4). Another place is the Chamber of Zechariah, where the angels foretold the birth of John to Zechariah (B088.3); to be at this place is like entering Paradise, entering this place is like looking at Zechariah [in Paradise] (B064.7). One of the south staircases to the platform is the Ascent of the Prophet (B099.1) [where Muḥammad entered the platform (B099.4)]. A dome east of the Dome of the Rock is the Dome of the Chain (B104.1), where Solomon put a chain to judge among the Children of Israel, the Chain of David "which was the place of clear proofs" (B104.4). A dome northwest of the Dome of the Rock is the Dome of the Prophet or Dome of Muḥammad (B108.1), where Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets (and the angels) (B108.4). Another place to the northwest is the Standing-place or Prayer-place of Gabriel (B109.1) [where Gabriel took part in the prayer led by Muḥammad (B109.3)]. Yet another dome northwest of the Dome of the Rock is the Dome of the Ascension (B106.1) the place from which Muḥammad ascended to heaven (B106.4). Next is the Place of the Night Journey (B107.2) [related to Muḥammad's Night Journey in general (B107.3)]. Muḥammad walked from the main gate of the Roofed Hall to the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock (B090.4). The Rock is the Rock of Moses [where Moses turned in ritual prayer], the First Prayer-direction and the

---

<sup>1</sup>For the birthplace of Jesus in Christian and Muslim traditions, see B165.6.a.

[present] prayer-direction of the Jews (B118.5); when Solomon had finished building the Temple, he stood on the Rock and prayed (B118.5); ‘Abd al-Malik told the people that Muḥammad ascended from the Rock to heaven and that he put his foot on it (B118.5);<sup>1</sup> the Rock is at one of the gates of Paradise (B113.4); from beneath it flow the four rivers of Paradise (B113.5); all sweet water originates from beneath the Rock (B118.6); the talisman of the Temple which prevents snakes from biting is one of the inscriptions behind the pulpit (B129.4).<sup>2</sup>

A128. **Architecture** identifies the area in two ways with the Temple, by emphasising its concentricity around the Rock and the authenticity of its place.

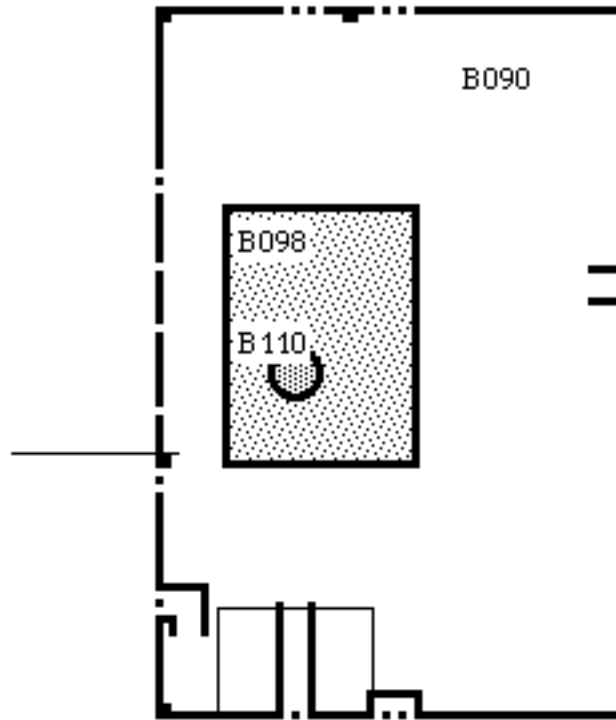
A129. There is, as before, a first set of concentric higher and higher zones around the Dome of the Rock (B110.4); these zones are the area outside the wall, the courtyard (B090.3) with arcades along the west and north walls (B091.2, B092.2), but not along either the east wall nor along the south wall east of the Roofed Hall (B124.4), and the platform (B098.3). The Dome of the Rock has its wall below covered with white marble, above with polychrome gold mosaic (B111.3), its roof gold-coated (B123.3); the place of the Rock in its centre (B118.3) is marked by a remarkable drum (B120.2) - covered with gold mosaic (B111.3) and pierced by fifty-six glass windows (B120.3) - and above this an unusually high gold dome; this dome glitters in the sunshine and may be seen from far away (B121.3, B121.4); is higher than the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (B121.3) and thus shows the superiority of Islam over Christianity (B121.6). The zones are, as before, different in level and partly separated by a wall but connected by staircases and/or gates. Burial places outside [some of] the gates (B058.4) commemorate both the people buried there and their families. The family burial place of the Iḥšīdids next to the easterly north gate (B083.4) marks the presence of the Iḥšīdids, an inscription possibly in the area's main wall marks the presence of the Iḥšīdid Abū l-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Iḥšīd (B083.2.e). The west staircase has an inscription which commemorates the architect of staircase (B100.3).

A129.a. In the enclosing wall are a number of gates. The east wall has a double gate (B086.4, B087.3). Another gate, more or less at the southeast corner (B089.2), is open just for a short while (B089.3). The south wall has a double gate with a corridor under the Roofed Hall (B062.5), and a triple gate further east which leads into a room, but is not connected with the courtyard (B064.3, B065.2). A single gate roughly at the southwest corner may be entered only from outside the area (B067.3) and is open only for a while (B067.4). The west wall is pierced by a number of new gates, not all of them open through all of the period; the first gate from the south is a single gate (B069.3, B070.2), one of the two main entries (B069.8, B070.4); then comes a gate (B071.3) which is open only for a while (B071.4); next is a double gate (B072.5), the other main entry to the mosque (B069.8); next is a single gate accessible only from outside the area (B073.3); last are three new single gates, a first (B074.2, B075.2,

<sup>1</sup>For the footprints of Muḥammad, see Hartmann, "al-Ḳadam bei Damaskus"; Horovitz, "Muhammeds Himmelfahrt" 167f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 49-52; Busse, "Kultstätten" 135; Arnold, "Ḳadam sharīf"; Busink, *Tempef* 909; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 90f.; Hasan, "Footprint".

<sup>2</sup>For talismans, see Calasso, "La protection de la ville".

B076.2), a second (B077.3), and third one (B078.3, B079.2). The north wall has two triple gates, one further west (B080.4, B081.3, B082.2), one further east (B080.4, B083.3, B084.2), and a single gate (B085.3).



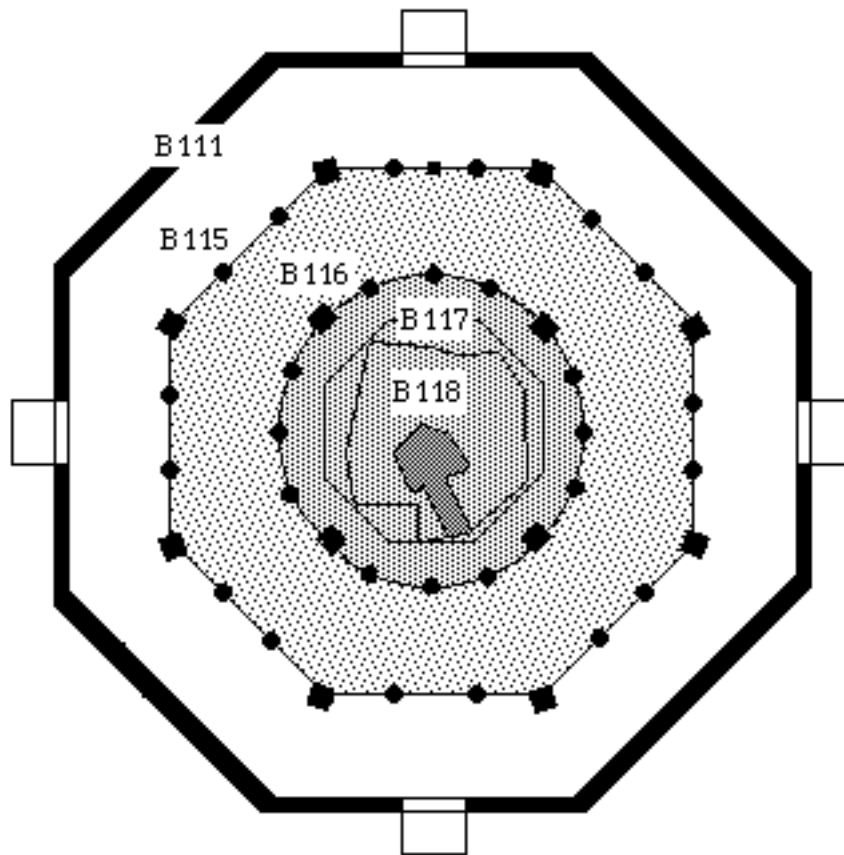
## 16

**Figure 16. The High ʿAbbāsid Temple:** B090 The courtyard. - B098 The platform. - B110 The Dome of the Rock.

A129.b. The platform is reached by six staircases (B098.3). Four of them are opposite the four gates of the Dome of the Rock (B098.3). These are a west staircase (B100.2) which is possibly built or rebuilt in 340/951 (B100.3), a north (B101.2), a south (B099.3) and an east staircase (B102.2).

A129.c. The Dome of the Rock has four gates, towards the south, the east, the north and the west (B112.2), each gate being opposite a stairway to the platform (B098.3), the south one additionally opposite the Copper Gate of the Roofed Hall and its main prayer-niche (B090.4). The gates have marble lobbies in front (B112.3, B112.4), which are renovated by [Šağab] the mother of al-Muqtadir (ʿAbbāsid caliph 295-320/908-932) (B115.4).





17

**Figure 17. The Dome of the Rock part of the High ‘Abbāsid Temple:** B111 The exterior wall. - B115 The octagonal arcade. - B116 The circular arcade. - B117 The fence. - B118 The Rock.

A130. Inside the Dome of the Rock a second set of concentric circles surrounds the Rock (B118.4); these circles are the exterior wall (B111.3), the octagonal arcade (B115.3), the circular arcade (B116.3) and the fence (B117.2). The part next to the Rock, inside the circular arcade, is under a high dome (B121.3, B121.4) supported by a remarkable drum (B120.2). There is a white marble floor (B122.3). All lower parts are covered with white marble, all upper parts with polychrome gold mosaic (B111.3, B115.3, B116.3). The ceiling of the ambulatories has painted beams on open display (B115.4). Inscriptions mark the presence of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Ma’mūn [and his progeny]; his name is added to the Umayyad inscriptions above the east and north [and the west and south] gates (B112.3) and replaces the name of the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in the mosaic inscription on the arcades (B115.3). Inscriptions on the ceiling, although invisible from below, represent [Šagab] the mother of al-Muqtadir (‘Abbāsid caliph 295-320/908-932) and Labīb, the official in charge (B115.4).

A131. Some buildings openly display ruins or pieces of bedrock and thus stress the authenti-

city of the place. These are all buildings inherited from the Marwānid period; there are no new buildings from the High ʿAbbāsid period.

A131.a. The wall has a lower layer with large stones, an upper layer with smaller stones, and a crenellation (B057.2). The east gate is built on top of the ruins of an older gate (B086.4). Both the westerly south gate (B018.3, B062.5) and the easterly south gate (B020.3, B064.3) display remains of earlier gates. A place in the southwest corner has a hole in the corner (B068.2.a). A place in the north part of the courtyard consists of a piece of bedrock (B094.3), another one of a cave (B097.3). The Dome of the Rock displays a piece of bedrock (B118.4); under this rock is a cave (B119.3).

A132. Architecture stresses as before the central place of the Rock and the authenticity of the area. It thus declares the whole area to be the Temple. The Marwānid buildings which refer to this conception are basically left as they are and some of them are even further embellished, but no new buildings are added. The conception obviously is neither important enough to attract much financial support nor so intolerable as to make people rebuild the area.

A133. This becomes even more evident in **ritual**. There are still servants, slaves in charge of the whole area (B052.15), but the Marwānid kind of Temple service (A085), clearly a quite expensive duty, has become unknown.

A134. We thus find a gap between names and traditions on the one hand and ritual on the other hand, with architecture in between. Names and an increasing number of traditions firmly declare the area the Temple. There is no Temple ritual, there are no Temple servants. Architecture which declares the area the Temple is left untouched, but attracts no investment. To sum up - the conception is just maintained from the official side and not abolished, but there is no interest in investing in architecture and state-owned servants - the two means which would require continuous financial support.

A135. All this shows the Muslim emancipation from the Byzantine discourse.<sup>1</sup> The claim of succeeding the Byzantine emperors becomes less important with the end of the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn in 813, if not already with the ʿAbbāsid revolution in 750, and enters the stock of still valid, but only secondary, claims. This concerns, above all, the servants and their official liturgy in the Dome of the Rock, and to a lesser degree architecture. Names and traditions now develop their own dynamics. We may suppose that this is what makes the caliphs maintain the splendour of the place - not least to display their generosity to

---

<sup>1</sup>Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 111 ("The triumph of this association [the identification with the Aqṣā Mosque] must be linked with a decline in the importance of the Temple area in anti-Christian propaganda as well as with the growth of pietistic legends within the Islamic community.").

and responsibility for a place hallowed by names and traditions.

A136. The uncoupling from the Byzantine political discourse is accompanied by the emergence of misunderstandings.<sup>1</sup> Some traditions claim that 'Abd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock to counterbalance the impression the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre made on the Muslims (B052.8), and that this mosque was [in his time] more beautiful than the mosque of Damascus and the Greatest Church of the Christians in Jerusalem (B052.8). The height (and beauty) of the Dome of the Rock indeed shows the political superiority of Islam (B121.6), but is not a goal in itself.

A137. Other traditions claim that 'Abd al-Malik favoured Jerusalem, under his own control, to replace Mecca, under the control of the Zubayrids, and even diverted the annual pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem, and that only the 'Abbāsids re-established the superiority of Mecca (B052.8, B052.10).<sup>2</sup> Rebuilding the former Temple claims political pre-eminence indeed, but this is part of the argument with the Byzantine emperor, not with the Zubayrids. Patronising the centrality of Jerusalem implies, for these traditions, minimising the importance of Mecca - an idea strange to the Marwānids, who invested large sums in both Jerusalem and Mecca.

A137.a. A Muslim source states that, when 'Abd al-Malik struggled with Ibn az-Zubayr, he forbade the people of Syria-Palestine to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and ordered them to consider the Temple of Jerusalem as equal to the *Ḥaram* of Mecca, the Rock [of Jerusalem] as equal to the Ka'ba, and referred to the famous tradition that one may visit [equally] the three mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem and to the ascension of Muḥammad from the Rock of Jerusalem, he then built a dome over the Rock and suspended brocade curtains, and the people circumambulated the Rock until the end of the Umayyad reign as they had circumambulated the Ka'ba (B052.8).

---

<sup>1</sup>Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 153f., referring to the alleged diversion of the pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem and to the rivalry between the domes of the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

<sup>2</sup>For the alleged diversion of the pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem, see Goldziher, "Umeyyaden und 'Abbāsiden" 35-37; Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 15-17; Le Strange, *Palestine* 115-117; Horovitz, "Muhammeds Himmelfahrt" 167; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 234f.; 251; Hirschberg, "Sources" 317-321; 331; 339; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25-30; Goitein, "Sanctity" 136-140; 147; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 35f.; 45f.; Busse, "Kultstätten" 124; Busse, "Sanctity" 441f.; 454; 460; Creswell, *EMA* 1 62; 65-67; 80f.; Sellheim, "Bürgerkrieg" 104; Busink, *Tempel* 6f. A.23; 280; 646 A.89; Kessler, "Reconsideration" 11 A.20; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267f., especially A.23; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 49f.; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.; Busink, *Tempel* 914-17; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg* 227-231; Grabar, "Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra" 298b; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 324b-325a; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 341b-342a; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 94f.; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 2; 6 A.22; 16f.; Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 229; 232f.; Bloom, *Minaret* 42; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 14; 66; Hillenbrand, "Vermächtnis des Felsendoms" 64; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 153f.; Gil, *Palestine* 93; 93f. A.18; 102-104; Elad, "Dome of the Rock"; Blair, "Date" 59; 84f.; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 99f.; ; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 185; 3 73; 76f.; Kaplony, "Ta'rif" 93f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 53; 58-61; 80f.; 147-163; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 115f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 33; Livne-Kafri, "Early Šī'a" 115-117.

A Christian source mentions that ʿAbd al-Malik, in his conflict with Ibn az-Zubayr, ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥaǧǧ*) not to Mecca, but to Jerusalem (B052.10).

### 3.3. THE NETWORK OF HOLY PLACES (MUSLIM)

A138. The High 'Abbāsid area is definitely a very special, a very holy place. This conception becomes more and more independent of the conception of the Temple and develops its own dynamics.

A139. **Names** and **traditions** attribute to the area an extraordinary, to certain spots in it even an extreme, spiritual power. It is close to Paradise and has been visited by Muḥammad on his Night Journey and Ascension to Paradise. It is connected with God's Presence. God uses this place to heal, to forgive and to answer prayer. This is a place where people had visions. This is one of the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] one should visit and everything done here is more important than that done elsewhere. This is the scene of eschatological events.

A139.a. Here, Jacob had his dream of a ladder reaching up to heaven with angels ascending and descending (B052.8). The Rock is at one of the gates of Paradise (B113.4). Praying at the Birth-place of Jesus and the Chamber of Zechariah is like entering Paradise, entering these places is like looking at Jesus and Mary or at Zechariah and Mary [in Paradise] (B064.7). From under the Rock flow the four rivers of Paradise (B113.5); all sweet water originates from beneath the Rock (B118.6).

A139.b. This is the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*) [where Muḥammad was brought on his Night Journey] (B052.8). There is the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq [where Muḥammad tied up al-Burāq] (B068.4). Muḥammad entered the mosque at the Gate(s) of the Prophet or Gate of Muḥammad (B062.7). He walked from the main gate of the Roofed Hall to the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock (B090.4). There is the Ascent of the Prophet (B099.1) [where he ascended the platform (B099.4)]. He led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets (and of the angels) at the Dome of the Prophet or Dome of Muḥammad (B108.4), and we have the Standing-place of Gabriel or Prayer-place of Gabriel (B109.1) [where Gabriel took part in this prayer (B109.3)]. Muḥammad rose from the Dome of the Ascension to heaven (B106.4). Next is the Place of the Night Journey (B107.1) [also related to his Night Journey (B107.3)]. 'Abd al-Malik told the people that Muḥammad ascended from the Rock to heaven (B118.5).

A139.c. The area has been touched by God himself. God chose of the whole earth Mecca and Jerusalem, of Jerusalem, the Temple (B052.9). There is the Gate of God's Presence or Place of God's Presence (B073.1) [from which the angels took the Ark of the Covenant with God's Presence (B073.4)].

A139.d. Here God heals, forgives and answers prayer. The east wall with the Gate(s) of Mercy is the Koranic wall "with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (B086.5). God forgave David at the Gate of Repentance (B064.4). The Ḥiṭṭa Gate is the Koranic gate where God ordered the Children of Israel, "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions", but they laughed at him, and God cursed them (B069.5); the Ḥiṭṭa Gate refers to the aforementioned Koranic gate and whoever enters it or descends to it will, because of this, leave it as free of his sins as a newborn child (B069.4). At the Chamber of Zechariah, the angels foretold the birth of John to [the childless] Zechariah (B088.3). On the Throne of Solomon (B094.4), on the Rock, Solomon prayed when he had finished building the Temple [and God answered his prayer] (B118.5). If someone prays two or four *rak'a* at the Dome of the Prophet, he will have his

needs fulfilled by God (B108.5). The talisman of the Temple, possibly one of the inscriptions behind the pulpit, prevents snakes from biting (B129.4).

A139.e. This is a place of visions. Here, Jacob saw the angel ascend and descend (B052.8). The angels foretold the birth of John to Zechariah at the Chamber of Zechariah (B088.3). They brought Mary, at the Chamber of Mary, winter fruits in summer and summer fruits in winter; an angel came here to Mary [to announce the birth of Jesus] (B064.4).

A139.f. This is one of the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] one should visit (B052.9). Muḥammad said to come here (B052.9). Ritual prayer here is equivalent to 1000 prayers [made elsewhere]; is better than 1000 prayers (B052.9); is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in Mecca to 100,000 prayers and 120 mercies [*sic*] (*raḥma*) for all people circumambulating [the Kaʿba], praying and taking part in discussions, but in Jerusalem mercy just pours down [without being counted, onto all people staying there] (B052.17).

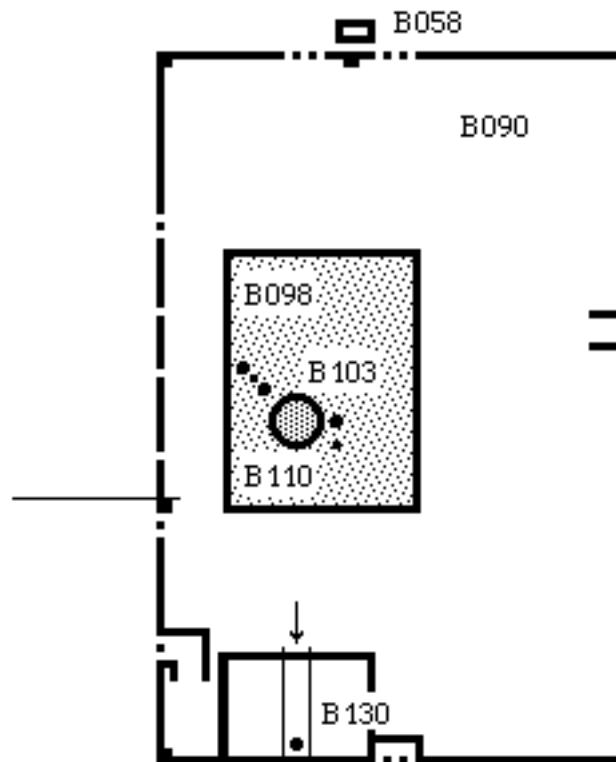
A139.g. This is the scene of important eschatological events. Hell will be brought to the area and Paradise will visit it as one visits a bride; the Kaʿba will visit it, together with all people who made *ḥaǧǧ* to it; and the Black Stone [of Mecca] will visit it (B110.6). There is the Gate of the Hashemite (B075.1), which may refer to the eschatological Hashemite (B075.3). The Dome of the Rock has the Gate of Isrāʾīl and the Gate of the Trumpet (B112.1) [referring to the gathering of mankind when Isrāʾīl blows the trumpet (B112.8)].

A140. **Architecture** makes this a holy landscape with a number of especially holy places and with zones of increasing holiness culminating in the Rock. The first set of higher and higher concentric zones different in level and/or separated by walls, but connected by gates and staircases, surrounds the Dome of the Rock (B110.4); the zones are the area outside the wall, the courtyard (B090.3) with its west (B091.2) and north (B092.2) arcades and the platform (B098.3). Inside the Dome of the Rock, a second set of concentric circles surrounds the Rock (B118.4); these circles are the exterior wall of the building (B111.3), the octagonal arcade (B115.3), the circular arcade (B116.3) and the fence (B117.2).

A141. Lamps mark the whole area as holy, and a number of places, as especially holy. The area has 1500 lamps (B052.14), including the Dome of the Rock's 446 lamps (B110.8). The platform has four domes (B103.2). The Dome of the Rock (B110.4), by its dimensions (B121.3), the white marble covering of its lower and the polychrome gold mosaic of its higher parts (B111.3, B115.3, B116.3) and the gold covering of its dome (B121.4) and all its roofs (B123.3), is definitely the most important of them; the importance of the Dome of the Rock is further emphasised by the Roofed Hall's mosaic-covered gable wall directly opposite it (B125.3). The other smaller domes are the Dome of the Chain (B104.3), the Dome of the Ascension (B106.3) and the Dome of the Prophet or Dome of Muḥammad (B108.3); all of them have golden roofs (B052.5). Also on the platform are the Prayer-place of [the popular

saint] al-Ḥiḍr (B105.2)<sup>1</sup> and the Standing-place of Gabriel (B109.2). The Roofed Hall has a dome next to the prayer-niche (B130.2); the Roofed Hall has both its roof and dome gilded (B130.3).

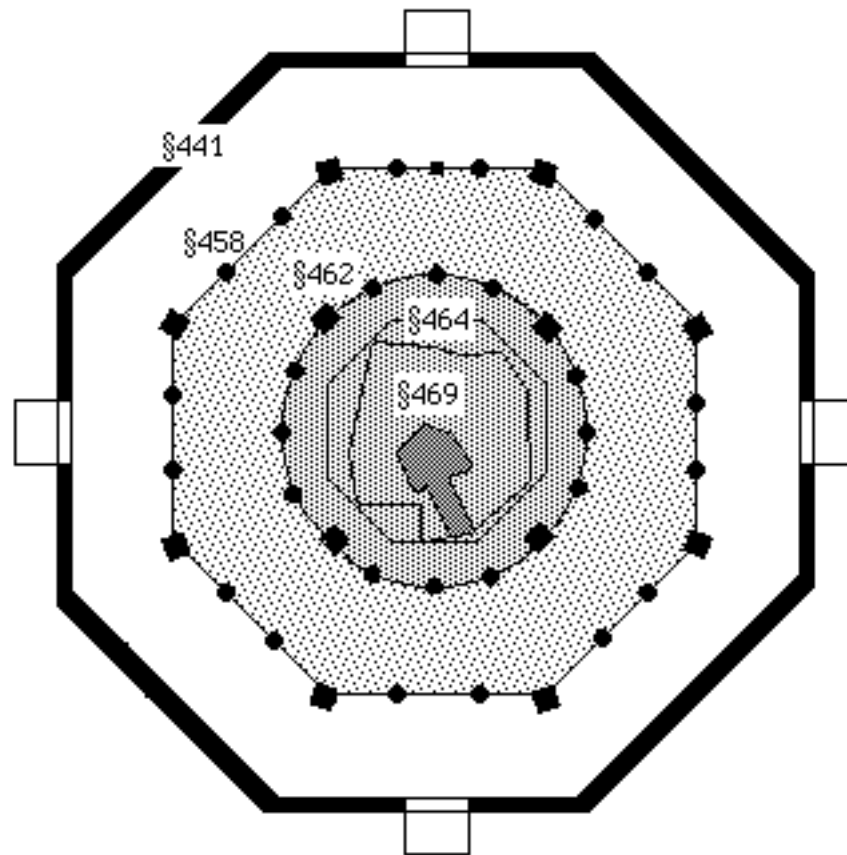
A142. The existence of Muslim burial places around the wall may also have to do with the area's holiness. There are burial places next to [some of] the gates (B058.4), among them the family burial place of the Iḥšīdids next to the easterly north gate (B083.4).



## 18

**Figure 18. The High 'Abbāsid holy area:** B058 Muslim burial places (outside the gates, one near the easterly north gate). - B090 The courtyard. - B098 The platform. - B103 The three minor domes, with golden roofs, and the two further places, all on the platform. - B110 The Dome of the Rock with walls covered below with white marble, above with polychrome gold mosaic, with golden roofs and with a golden dome. - B130 The Roofed Hall with a golden roof, with a mosaic-covered gable wall and a golden dome.

<sup>1</sup>For the popular saint al-Ḥiḍr, identified with the anonymous servant of *Koran* 18.60-82, see Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad *Koran* 18.60-82; Wensinck, "al-Khaḍir"; Borotav, "Khaḍir-Ilyās".



78

**Figure 19. The Dome of the Rock part of the High ʿAbbāsid holy area:** B111 The exterior wall. - B115 The octagonal arcade. - B116 The circular arcade. - B117 The fence. - B118 The Rock with a shaft of brilliant light hovering over it, and with a chain suspended over it.

A143. **Ritual**, i.e., ritual prayer, declares the whole area a very powerful place, and certain spots on it, especially a place inside the Dome of the Rock north of the Rock, extremely powerful.

A143.a. This is one of the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] people should visit (B052.9). Muḥammad said to come here (B052.9). Ritual prayer made here is equivalent to 1000 prayers [made elsewhere], is better than 1000 prayers (B052.9); is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in Mecca to 100,000 prayers and 120 mercies [*sic*] (*rahma*) for all people circumambulating [the Kaʿba], praying and taking part in discussions, but in Jerusalem mercy just pours down [without being counted, onto all people staying there] (B052.17).

A143.b. Everyone who enters the Ḥiṭṭa Gate or descends to it will become as free of sins as a newborn child, because this is the Koranic gate concerning which God ordered [the Children of Israel], "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions" (B069.4). All people who make ritual prayer at the Birth-place of Jesus and the Chamber of Zechariah are as if they had entered Paradise [free of sins?], and all people who enter these places are as if they had looked at Mary and Jesus or at Zechariah and Mary [in Paradise] (B064.7). All people in need who make [just] two or four *rakʿa* at the Dome of the Prophet have all their



prayers fulfilled (B108.5). People should pray at the three corners of the Dome of the Rock and at the paving-stone which is in front [south] of the Rock, because the Rock is on one of the gates of Paradise (B113.4).

A144. **Dreams** are a new way to attribute holiness to a certain place in Jerusalem. Dreams visualise well-known traditions through beautiful but enigmatic images, mostly accompanied by interpretations.

A144.a. On the 'Āšūrā'-Night 335/10-11 August 946, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawli has the following dream.<sup>1</sup> The Gate of Mercy is, from the side of the mosque, a gate made of light, but from the side of the valley, a gate made of iron [and thereby the Koranic "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment"] (B086.7). The Ḥiṭṭa Gate is the Koranic gate concerning which God ordered, "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions" and everyone who enters this gate or descends to it becomes as free of sins as he was the day of his birth (B069.4). Making ritual prayer at the Birth-place of Jesus and at the Chamber of Zechariah is like entering Paradise, entering these places like looking at Mary and Jesus or at Zechariah and Mary [in Paradise] (B064.7). From the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock to the [Roofed Hall's] Copper Gate are trees of light and a path of light as white as snow, the trees are explained as the way the faithful go with God, as opposed to the blocked ways of their opponents, and the path of light is white because this was the way of Muḥammad on the night of the Night Journey (B090.4). The Dome of the Chain and the Chain after which it is named are said to be made of light and [therefore] invisible to men (B104.5). The place of the dome [of the Dome of the Ascension] glitters green and red like a rainbow (B106.5). The Rock is a red ruby and only some [few] people are allowed to see it thus (B113.5); from under the four sides of the Rock light is coming forth, these are the [four] rivers coming from Paradise (B113.5); the Dome of the Rock has a large and high dome made of white light with a pearl on top (B121.8). In the first row [the southernmost arcade of the Roofed Hall] people are swallowed up by the earth, with their heads sticking out; these are the people who hate the ancestors (*as-salaf*) (B126.6).

A144.b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyà l-Bazzār al-Baḡdādī, in *Raḡab* 341/22 November-21 December 952, sees in a dream Muḥammad leaving the Dome of the Rock with a group of companions, praying at the central column of the Ascent of the Prophet and explaining to him [to al-Baḡdādī] the special importance of the place (B052.17).

A144.c. In the same month, 'Abd as-Salām al-Hawḡī prays between the South Ascent and the Dome of the Rock and sees [in a vision] three men standing in front [south] of him, of whom two are lifted away; it is explained to him that the two lifted away represent reliability and the cutting of the ties of kinship [in favour of God's cause] and that both do not exist any more, and that the third man represents ritual prayer, which one should be careful to maintain (B099.5).

A145. Traditions, architecture and dreams attribute an extraordinary holiness to the area, and more important than this, they attribute to a good number of places in it even an extreme holiness. The focus is now definitely on the holiness of these individual places standing out from the general holiness of the area. Traditions emphasising holiness continue to be transmitted. The architecture is not only kept, but the platform now even has four domes instead of three. Dreams introduce a new dimension insofar as they visualise well-known traditions - tradi-

<sup>1</sup>For the dream of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawli, see Elad, *Jerusalem* 70 (al-Ḥūli); 187 (al-Ḥūli or al-Ḥūzi).

tions dealing with Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascension are especially popular subjects of dreams. Both the building of an additional dome and the emergence of dreams show the vitality and power of this conception.

A146. The growing importance of other places reduces the singularity of the Dome of the Rock. The High ʿAbbāsid Dome of the Rock is a very powerful place accompanied by a number of similar, but somehow less important, places - whereas the Marwānid Dome of the Rock was absolutely pre-eminent and unchallenged by the definitely minor places around it. The High ʿAbbāsid Dome of the Rock has not yet become *primus inter pares*, but the development goes in this direction.

### 3.4. TAKING OVER A TOOTHLESS CONCEPTION: THE TEMPLE (CHRISTIAN)<sup>1</sup>

A147. The Muslims slowly forget what the New Temple was meant to signify and the conception loses its aggressiveness. This allows the Christians to exchange their Pre-Marwānid conception of the Temple in ruins for the now harmless Muslim conception of a mosque which is the Temple.

A148. **Names** and **traditions** identify the area with the Temple of Solomon (B052.10), and certain places in it with parts of the Temple.

A148.a. The Rock was the altar (*haykal*) of the Children of Israel, who venerated it, and this was their prayer-direction (B118.7); here Jacob heard God speaking [when he saw the angels descend and ascend] (B118.7). The Dome of the Rock is the Holy of Holies (B110.7). The east gate is the [Temple] gate where [on Palm Sunday] Jesus entered (B087.4) and which closed down in front of Herakleios when he wanted to enter in imperial splendour with the relic of the True Cross, but opened when he humbled himself (B087.4). The south building is the Stoa of Solomon (B124.9).

A149. At the same time, **names** and **traditions** make this the synagogue or mosque of the Muslims built by 'Umar at the place of the former Temple, enlarged by 'Abd al-Malik or al-Walid so that it included the Rock (B052.10). The non-Muslim origin of the place is also emphasised by a tradition that the Dome of the Rock was built using the dome of the church of Ba'labakk (B052.10).<sup>2</sup>

A150. This is, at first glance, the well-known Christian conception - formerly the Temple, now a mosque. But a number of outstanding places - the Rock inaccessible to Christians, all of the Dome of the Rock, the south building and the east gate easily accessible to them - are now perceived separately and identified as parts of the former Temple.<sup>3</sup> Neither the Muslim appearance of the buildings nor the many Muslim traditions which lead back to 'Abd al-Malik prevent their identification with the Old Temple. The architectural unity of the area and its outstanding beauty may have furthered the identification, not to mention the obvious uselessness of the old conception, the former Temple in ruins, a conception which, confronted with these buildings, neither convinces nor helps to explain their existence. What we finally get is

---

<sup>1</sup>For the High 'Abbāsīd Christian conception identifying the area and the Dome of the Rock with the Temple of Solomon, see Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 51-57, especially 55; 57.

<sup>2</sup>For the Marwānid caliphs robbing the churches of Syria-Palestine while building the great mosques, see Eisener, *Sulaimān* 21; Pedersen, "Masdjid" 646b-647a; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 126; Schick, *Christian Communities* 132-134; Kaplony, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus* 137-140; 167-173; 393f.

<sup>3</sup>The importance of this new Christian conception of considering the area and the Dome of the Rock the Temple of Solomon has been emphasised by Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 55; 57.

the Muslim conception of a mosque which is the Temple, referring not to the Muslims, but to Solomon and his time. The former Christian reluctance to accept this Muslim conception (A113) is obviously gone; calling the area the Temple no longer implies accepting the Muslim claims that they built the eschatological New Temple. The political implications of a Muslim New Temple are now, for both Muslims and Christians, irrelevant.

A151. The equation with the Temple subsequently becomes one of the most successful conceptions about Jerusalem. The Crusaders integrate the area into their conception of the city and consider the Dome of the Rock the Temple of the Lord [Jesus] (*Templum Domini*) and the Aqṣà Mosque the Temple of Solomon (*Templum Solomonis*).<sup>1</sup> And from Mamlūk times up to today, the view of the area with the Dome of the Rock, both from the east from the Mount of Olives, and from the west with the West Wall, is one of the most popular Christian and Jewish representations of the former Temple.<sup>2</sup>

### 3.5. BACK TO THE STAGE: THE FORMER AND FUTURE TEMPLE - JUST THE TEMPLE (JEWISH)

A152. The Jewish sources which now reappear resume the known conception of the former and future Temple, but at least partly consider the existing buildings as parts of the Temple. Jerusalem is now reintegrated into the networks of the Jewish world.

A153. **Names** and **traditions** declare the area the Temple (B052.11, B079.3), certain places along the walls - mainly gates - parts of the Temple, and the Mount of Olives opposite the area [and looking down onto it] the temporary replacement of the Temple.

---

<sup>1</sup>For Christian identifications of the Dome of the Rock with the Temple, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 373-376; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini", especially 24-26; Schein, "Between Moriah and Holy Sepulchre"; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 23; Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, *Pilgrimage* 54-88; 298-310; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 55; 57; Weiss, "Hec Est Domus Domini"; Fleck, "Linking Jerusalem and Rome" 432-434.

<sup>2</sup>Kaplony, "Jerusalem".

A153.a. The gates of the wall are the gates of the Temple (B058.2). The east wall was built by Solomon and has since remained thus (B086.8). The east gate is the Gate of Nikanor (B086.2), where the high priest purifies the men and women with a discharge and the leprous and gives the woman suspected of adultery the water of curse (B086.6); the ruins under the east gate belong to the East Gate [of the Temple] (B086.2) [rebuilt by Nehemiah, the place of the chief guardian, where in a vision Ezechiel saw a group of unfaithful Jerusalemites standing and the glory of God entering the Temple, a closed gate entered only by the king when he eats [ritually] in front of God (B086.6)].<sup>1</sup> The southeast corner is the Pinnacle [of the Temple] (B066.4). The three doors of the easterly south gate are the Water Gate [where Ezra read the Torah to the people, where he re-installed the Feast of the Tabernacles and where the people built tabernacles], the Song Gate and the Women Gate (B063.1). The south gate further west and its corridor are the Gate(s) of [the prophetess] Ḥuldāh (B062.2),<sup>2</sup> and the *Mišnāh* (B062.2), where the prophetess Ḥuldāh sat (B062.8); this is an [undestroyed and] undestroyable part of the Temple (B062.8). A west gate is the Gate of the Priest (B070.1), also an [undestroyed and] undestroyable part of the Temple (B062.8). Another west gate is the Gate of Judah (B076.1) [one of the north [*sic*] gates of the eschatological Temple (B076.3)]. A third west gate is the *Parbār* (B079.1), [a kind of entry] on the west side of the Temple with six guardians, four of them at the street [leading there] and two at the *Parbār* itself, a place where people brought offerings into the Temple (B079.3). The aqueduct which supplies the area with water is the Channel of al-Marǧī' (B053.2), by which Hezekiah brought water to Jerusalem (B053.5). The Mount of Olives with the Chair of the Cantors is the mountain east of the city where God's glory was standing when he left the city in the time of its destruction by the Babylonians and where it will come back (B014.7.d); the Mount of Olives is "the Place of the Stool of our God" (B014.7.d). The Mount of Olives is, at least by Muslims, considered to be opposite the Prayer-direction of the era's Jews [the Rock] (B118.5).

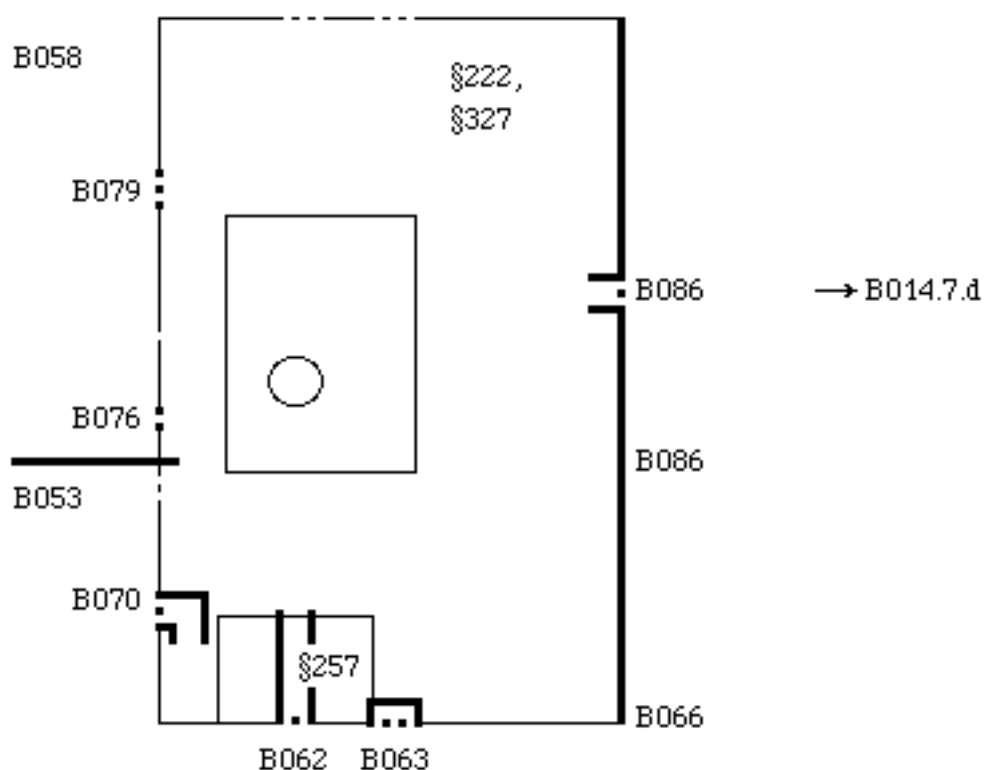
A154. **Ritual** and **custom** emphasise the centrality of the area. Prayer is directed towards the Rock [inside the Dome of the Rock] (B118.5). On the Feast of the Tabernacles, the main feast of the year, a procession surrounds the gates from the Gate of Ḥuldāh to the Gate of the Priest (B058.5);<sup>3</sup> a favoured place for prayer is the Gate of Mercy (B086.9).<sup>4</sup> Karaite emigrants from Iraq live outside the Gate of Judah because of the nearness of the neighbourhood to the former Temple (B076.4).

<sup>1</sup>For Jewish traditions about the East Gate, see Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn"; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn"; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 62-64; Gil, *Palestine* 645-647 A.116.

<sup>2</sup>For Jewish traditions about the prophetess Ḥuldāh, see Rüterswörden, "Prophetin Hulda".

<sup>3</sup>For Jewish prayer in High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid Jerusalem, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 2 284f.; Gil, "Aliya" 169-171; Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn"; Grossman, "ʿAlīyāh lə-rägāl"; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn"; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer"; Prawer, *Jews in the Latin Kingdom* 128-168; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.; 608; 621-631; 700f.; Friedman, "Jewish Pilgrimage" 139f.

<sup>4</sup>For Jewish prayer at the Gate of Mercy, see Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 267 A.26; Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 224; Gil, *Palestine* 642f. A.114.



20

**Figure 20. The Temple in High ʿAbbāsid Jewish sources:** B014.7.d The Mount of Olives "the Place of the Stool of our God" with the Chair of the Cantors. - B053 The Channel of al-Marġīʿ. - B058 The gates of the Temple. - B062 The Gate(s) of Ḥuldāh and the *Mišnāh*. - B063 The triple gate Water Gate/Song Gate/Women Gate. - B066 The Pinnacle. - B070 The Gate of the Priest. - B076 The Gate of Judah. - B079 The *Parbār*. - B086 The east wall with the Gates of Mercy or Gate of Nikanor with the East Gate beneath.

A155. The Chair of the Cantors on the Mount of Olives (B014.7.d) is a piece of bedrock, no real **architecture**.

A156. Names and traditions, ritual and custom declare, in two levels of intensity, the area the Temple. It is, in general, considered the Temple, but attention focuses on the wall, especially on the gates, and also on the Mount of Olives, where one may best look over the area. Jews are not necessarily forbidden to enter the interior. Rather, Jewish devotion is marginalised by Muslim devotion occupying the interior of the area, and therefore focuses on the borders.

A157. Some parts of the area are considered as surviving from the Old Temple. This implies that all other parts of the area are newly built, but the Muslim buildings are not commented

upon. The area as a whole is, at the same time, identified with the Temple.<sup>1</sup> This may again be influenced, at least partly, by the outstanding beauty of the area and its architectural unity, as well as by the Muslim double conception of a mosque and a Temple. The Muslim conception is now rather harmless and does not imply recognition of Muslim rule as the eschatological fulfillment of Jewish hopes.

A158. The identification reminds us of the fact that the Christians also equate the existing buildings with the former Temple (A150). The Christian conception of the former Temple started from the ruins here, but was made useless by the Marwānid rebuilding. The Jewish conception had no positive interpretation of the ruins, was therefore untouched by the Marwānid reshaping and so did not have to replace an older conception.

### 3.6. CONCLUSIONS

A159. The High 'Abbāsid period witnesses, basically, one change - the conception of the Muslim New Temple slowly vanishes into the background although it is still transmitted by Muslim traditions. This shifts the balance. Ritual no more refers to the Temple, but deals more and more with the area's reputation as a place with an immense spiritual power. At the same time, the place is firmly established as the mosque of Jerusalem.

A160. The conception of the Muslim Temple not only becomes weaker, but the respective political goals are slowly forgotten. This not only leads to a number of misunderstandings, but also allows the Christians and Jews to call this the mosque and Temple without recognising the original political and religious claims of the Muslim builders.

---

<sup>1</sup>For later Jewish identifications of the Dome of the Rock with the Temple, see Sabar, "The Venice Haggadah" 301-303.

## 4. THE FĀṬIMID PHASE (969-1099): THE REFORMED TEMPLE MOSQUE

### 4.1. A VIEW STILL EXISTENT: THE NEW TEMPLE (MUSLIM)

A161. The Fāṭimid period maintains the conception of the Temple.

A162. **Names** and **traditions** declare the area (the Mosque of) the Temple, formerly the Sanctuary but now a mosque (B131.10), and a number of places in it parts of the Temple.

A162.a. The whole area is the Temple. The Place of the Rock was not reached by the Flood, this was the first altar after the Flood (B131.10). God ordered Abraham to pray here (B131.10). The Rock was much esteemed from the time of Abraham until the Children of Israel arrived from Egypt in Syria-Palestine and God made this known to his holy men (B184.11). The Rock was first known when Jacob was fleeing from Esau, came to the Place where the Rock is now, saw in his dream angels descending and ascending and called this the Gate of Heaven (B184.11). This is the Sanctuary founded by David and built by Solomon (B131.10); this is the mosque Solomon built around the Rock so that the Rock became the centre of the mosque and the prayer-niche of the people (B131.10). This is the Sanctuary which Helena, the mother of Constantine, destroyed and transformed into the city's privies and garbage dumps when she built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other churches, the Sanctuary which ʿUmar and the Muslims then cleaned and where they built a mosque (B131.10).

A162.b. Particular places are parts of the Temple. The [wall of the] mosque was built by ʿAbd al-Malik on top of some old foundations (B134.7). A place outside the Gate of the Prophet is the Kneeling-place of the she-camel (B138.4); when Muḥammad arrived at the Temple on his Night Journey, Gabriel made a hole in a stone there and tied up al-Burāq (B138.4). The gates are the gates of the Temple (B135.1). The east wall with the east gate is the wall and the Gate of Mercy (B154.1), is the double gate, the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance (B154.1), the Koranic "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (B154.8), where God revealed to David that he had accepted his repentance (B154.6); the gate was built by Solomon in honour of his father David (B154.6). Inside the easterly south gate is the Early Fāṭimid Chamber of Mary and the spot of her worshipping-place (B139.1) [where Mary lived a retired life devoted to worship and where the birth of Jesus was announced to her (B139.4)]. The westerly south gate is the Gate of the Prophet (B137.1), where Muḥammad entered the mosque on the Night of the Ascension (B137.7); the corridor behind, made of [very large] blocks, was built by Solomon (B137.7), and a shield-like pattern in the corridor is the trace of [the Early Islamic hero] Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who sat down and imprinted his shield in the stone (B137.7). The most southerly west gate is the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (B142.1), concerning which God ordered the Children of Israel [in vain] to enter the mosque as he said, "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions and increase those who do well" (B142.5). A pseudo-gate in the west wall is the Gate of God's Presence (B146.1), where the angels put the Ark with God's Presence when they brought it [back to Saul] (B146.4). A dome in one of the north arcades is the Dome of Jacob (B159.4), where Jacob prayed (B159.5). The extraordinarily well-built cisterns (B132.3) were made by Solomon (B132.5). One of the rocks in



the north part of the mosque is the Throne of Solomon (B163.1), where Solomon sat when he built the mosque (B163.4), where he prayed when he had finished building the Temple and where his prayers were answered (B163.4). A dome in the northeast corner is the Chamber of the prophet Zechariah (B164.1), where he used to pray (B164.4). A building in the north part of the area is the Chamber of David (B162.1) [where the two enemies came to have their cause judged by David (B162.4)]. A room in the southeast corner is the High Fāṭimid (Mosque of the) Cradle of Jesus (B165.1), a stone in it the Cradle of Jesus (B165.4), from which the baby Jesus "was speaking to the people" to defend his mother (B165.6); in this room Jesus was born (B165.6) and the finger-like imprints in a column (B165.3) are the traces of Mary when she was in labour (B165.6);<sup>1</sup> two prayer-niches in this room (B165.4) are the Prayer-niche of Mary (B165.1) [where she was living alone (B165.6)] and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah (B165.1) [where he was staying in prayer when the birth of John was announced to him (B165.6)]. A south staircase to the platform is the Ascent of the Prophet (B171.1), where Muḥammad entered the platform and from where he went to the Dome of the Rock (B171.6). The cistern under the platform is said to have the purest and best water of all cisterns in the mosque, as Jerusalem in general has the best and purest water (B168.4.a). The dome east of the Dome of the Rock is the Dome of the Chain (B178.1), where David had a chain suspended which, in a lawsuit, only the one in the right was able to touch, but not the one in the wrong (B178.4); here or at the Gate of Isrāfīl God forgave the sinners among the Children of Israel their sins (B178.4); here Muḥammad met the virgins of Paradise (B178.4). Another dome east of the Dome of the Rock is the Dome of the Gathering (B179.1) [where Muḥammad gathered all [former] prophets and led their ritual prayer (B179.5)]. A dome northwest of the Dome of the Rock is the Dome of the Ascension (B182.1), the place from which Muḥammad rose on his Night Journey to heaven, as God rose from the Rock to heaven (B182.4); the same dome is the Dome of the angel Gabriel (B183.1) [where Gabriel took part in the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets and angels led by Muḥammad (B183.4)], where Muḥammad on his Night Journey mounted al-Burāq (B183.4). Another dome northwest of the Dome of the Rock is the Dome of the Prophet or the Dome of the Messenger (B180.1), where Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets and angels and mounted al-Burāq [to ascend to heaven] (B180.4). The east gate of the Dome of the Rock is the Gate of Isrāfīl (B186.3), here or at the Dome of the Chain nearby God forgave the sinners among the Children of Israel their sins (B178.4). From the Rock God rose [after the creation] to heaven (B182.4); this was the first piece of the Earth created (B192.6); here Adam was created ((B192.6); the Rock had been the twelve stones which Jacob had under his head when in a dream he saw the angels descend and ascend, he called this place the Gate of Heaven and then realised that the twelve stones had become one (B184.11); the imprints on the Rock were made by Isaac, who as a boy walked over the Rock when he came here with his father Abraham [for the sacrifice] (B192.6); the Rock was the [first] prayer-direction and set up by Moses shortly before his death (B192.6); the Rock was the reason Solomon built the mosque here, in his time the Rock was the [first] prayer-direction and he therefore built the mosque around the Rock, and the Rock became the centre of the mosque and the prayer-niche of the people (B131.10); Muḥammad first had the Rock as prayer-direction, but then changed to the Ka'ba (B192.6); Muḥammad came on his Night Journey first to the Dome of the Rock, he prayed at the Rock and put his hand on the Rock, when he left the Rock rose in honour of him, Muḥammad put his hand on it to make it retake its former place and the Rock settled half-way back, leaving a cave beneath (B184.11).

A163. Misunderstandings of the conception continue to exist. 'Abd al-Malik is said to have wanted to divert the pilgrimage (*al-ḥaġġ*) of the people of Syria-Palestine from Mecca to Jerusalem, to alienate them from Muḥammad's family (B131.10).

A164. **Architecture** identifies the area, as before, with the Temple by emphasising the cen-

<sup>1</sup>For the birthplace and the Cradle of Jesus in Christian and Muslim tradition, see B165.6.a.

trality of the Rock and the authenticity of the place.

A165. There is again a first set of higher and higher zones, different in level and separated by a wall, connected by staircases and/or gates (B155.3), around the Dome of the Rock (B184.5) and the Rock in its centre (B184.4); these zones are the area outside the enclosing wall (B134.5), the courtyard (B155.3) with its arcades (B156.2), and the platform (B167.3) with its fence of green marble with dots in all colours (B169.3) and with staircases partly covered by mosaic (B171.4). The Dome of the Rock has an exterior wall [below] of hewn stone (B185.3), but above covered with mosaic (B185.3), has a drum and an unusually high golden dome to mark the place of the Rock in its centre (B185.3), and has a roof covered [on its underside] by worked wood (B188.5). An inscription on the easterly south staircase to the platform represents the Fāṭimid general Nūṣṭakīn al-Ġūrī ad-Dizbirī (B172.4).

A165.a. The enclosing wall has a number of gates, both above-ground and underground (B135.4). The east wall (B153.3) has a monumental double gate (B154.4). The south wall (B136.3) has a westerly double gate with a corridor under the Roofed Hall (B137.3, B137.4), with the largest stone of the mosque (B137.5) and a shield-like pattern in the wall (B137.7); the easterly south gate is, in the Early Fāṭimid period, a pseudo-gate not connecting with the courtyard (B139.3), and in the High Fāṭimid period, a double gate, with a corridor leading through to the courtyard (B140.3). The west wall (B141.2), from the south to the north, has first a double gate with a corridor (B142.3); next is a double gate (B144.3) which leads from the market to the mosque (B144.5), a gate embellished with mosaics which mention the Fāṭimid caliph (B144.4); next comes a double gate, a highly decorated pseudo-gate now closed and transformed into a mosque (B146.3, B147.2); last is another double gate (B148.3). The north wall (B150.2) has, to the west, a richly decorated triple gate - the only triple gate of the mosque and the Fāṭimid portal-minaret - (B151.3); to the east is a double gate (B150.3); and a third gate leads directly to two Ṣūfī convents (B152.2).

A165.b. The platform is reached by six staircases, built at a cost of about 100,000 *dīnār* (B170.2). There are two south staircases (B171.2), one further west, with columns of green marble with dots in all colours (B171.4) and one further east (B172.3), built by the Fāṭimid general Nūṣṭakīn al-Ġūrī ad-Dizbirī (B172.4). The two west staircases (B173.2) and the east staircase (B176.3) are similar to the south staircases. The north staircase is the largest of all (B175.3).

A165.c. The Dome of the Rock has four gates, one in each direction, towards the south, the east, the north and the west (B184.5), each with two teak doors and a lobby in front (B186.3).

A166. Inside the Dome of the Rock, there is a second set of concentric circles around the Rock (B192.5), i.e., the exterior wall (B185.3), the octagonal arcade (B188.3), the circular arcade (B189.2) and the fence (B190.3). The part next to the Rock, inside the circular arcade, is under a high dome supported by a drum (B194.3). Surfaces below are of hewn stone, above, and on [the inside of] the drum, covered with polychrome gold mosaic (B185.3). The ceiling of the ambulatories is worked wood (B188.5). The mosaic inscription on the arcades represents of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma’mūn (B188.3). Inscriptions above all four gates

mark the presence of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Qā'im (322-334/934-946) (B186.3); the gold inscription on a large white candle gives the name of the Fāṭimid caliph (B184.8).

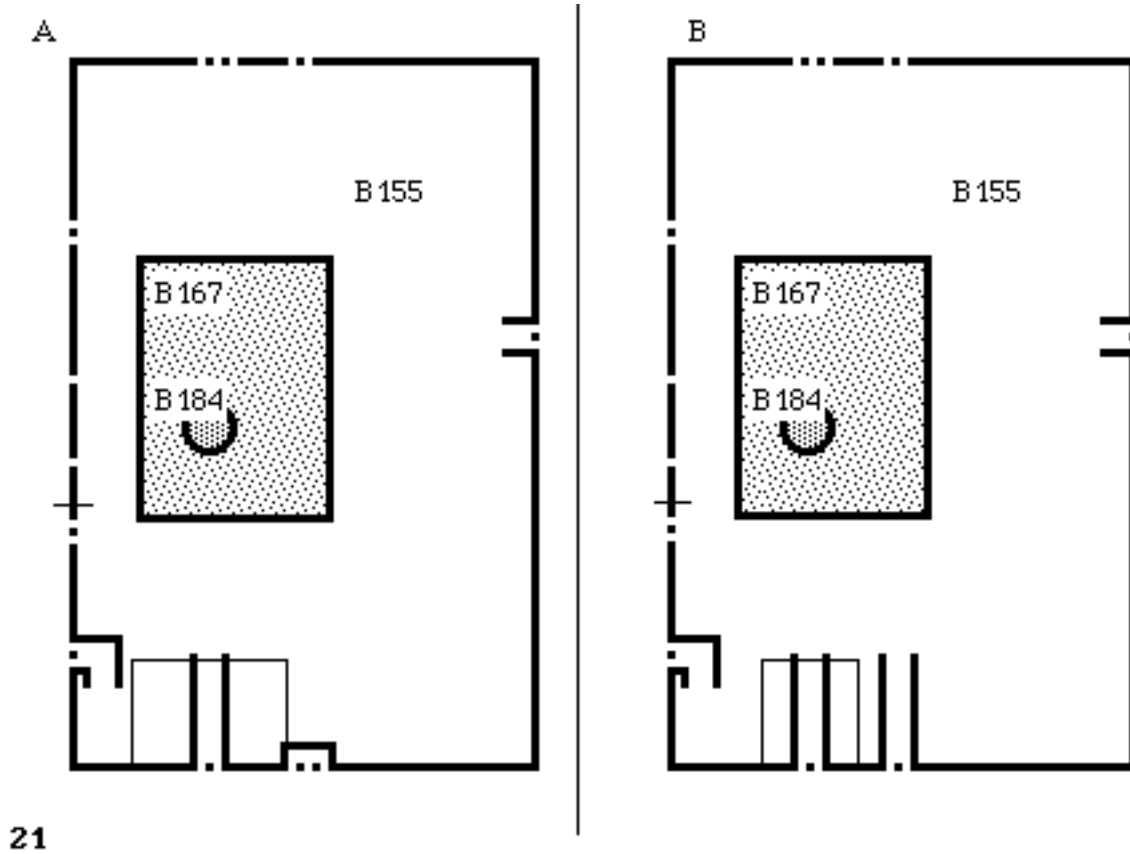
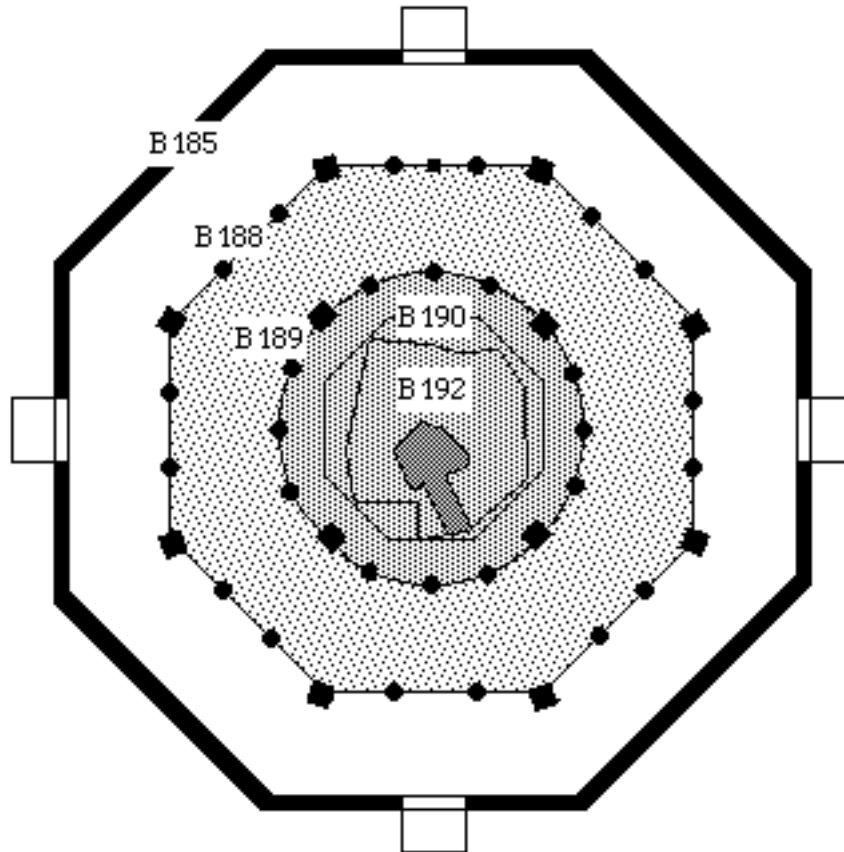


**Figure 21. The Fāṭimid Temple:** A Early Fāṭimid. - B High Fāṭimid / B155 The courtyard. - B167 The platform. - B184 The Dome of the Rock.

A167. Both old and newly built places openly display ruins or pieces of bedrock, and thus emphasise the authenticity of the place.

A167.a. The wall has two layers, a lower layer with large stones and an upper layer with small stones (B134.5); at the southeast corner the upper layer reaches the top of the wall (B136.3). The westerly south gate displays remains of an older gate (B018.3, B137.3); the wall inside the gate has the largest stone of the area (B137.5) and a shield-like pattern (B137.7). In the easterly south gate are remains of an earlier gate (B020.3, B140.3). In the southwest corner is a kind of hole (B138.2). One of the rocks scattered in the north part of the courtyard is distinct and is famous in its own right (B163.3). The High Fāṭimid room in the southeast corner has a column with imprints like those of two fingers (B165.3), a stone like a cradle and two prayer-niches with inscriptions referring to Mary and Zechariah (B165.4). One of the two staircases leading to the platform from the west has a rock beneath (B173.2). A dome northwest of the Dome of the Rock shows bare bedrock in its floor (B183.3). The Dome of the Rock has, in its centre, a piece of bedrock with sorts of traces on its surface (B192.5); beneath the Rock, a cave (B193.3); and north of the Rock, a black paving-stone in the floor (B187.2). Behind [south of] the

Pulpit of the Temple are two miracles of nature, two paving-stones with traces which are considered as mentioning Muḥammad or Muḥammad and Ḥamza (B129.3). The west wall has, on its outside near one of the south gates, what is possibly a stone with a hole (B138.3).



22

**Figure 22. The Dome of the Rock part of the Fāṭimid Temple:** B185 The exterior wall. - B188 The octagonal arcade. - B189 The circular arcade. - B190 The fence. - B192 The Rock.

A168. Inscriptions start to mention the names of certain places. A dome in the area's north-east corner has an inscription which calls it the Chamber of the prophet Zechariah (B164.3). The newly established High Fāṭimid room in the southeast corner has two prayer-niches with inscriptions which refer to Mary and Zechariah (B165.4). Inside the Aqṣā Mosque, a mosaic inscription mentions the Night Journey of Muḥammad to the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*) (B207.4).

A169. What we thus have is the gap already known (A132), between names and traditions on the one side and architecture on the other - ritual plays no role. Names and traditions firmly

declare the area the Temple and the centre of the world,<sup>1</sup> traditions flourish and now have a life of their own. Architecture changes neither the concentricity of the area around the Rock nor the features which emphasise its authenticity. The area is properly maintained, repairs are made where necessary. When an earthquake damages the dome and the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock, az-Zāhir (Fāṭimid caliph 411-427/1021-1036) rebuilds them - and stresses his care for the building in a conspicuous inscription on the spot (B194.4).<sup>2</sup> The Fāṭimids definitely do not let the Dome of the Rock fall into decay - this would certainly have repercussions for their political legitimacy. They maintain the Dome of the Rock and the whole area at a great expense, and thus further their political legitimacy.

#### 4.2. REWRITING THE MASTERPLAN: THE MOSQUE OF JERUSALEM - AND THE MANY MOSQUES INSIDE IT (MUSLIM)

A170. The Fāṭimid period develops out of the double conception of two mosques inside each other - the whole area and the south building -, a double conception of a wider mosque - the whole area - which encompasses a number of interior mosques, among which the south building is the largest and most important. A number of features are adopted from the conception of the Temple and thus promote the importance of the mosque.

<sup>1</sup>The centrality of the Temple is stressed by **Ibn al-Murağğā** 306,10-13 *qāla š-šayḥu* [Ibn al-Murağğā] *wa-ba'da dīkrī li-faḍli l-masāğīdi wa-mā ḥaṣṣahā Llāhu ta'ālā bihi mimmā daḥala l-Masğida l-Qudsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *Masğida l-Qudsi*) *fī 'umūmihi aḍkuru faḍā'ila š-Ša'mi wa-mā ḥaṣṣahā Llāhu ta'ālā bihi li-anna l-Balada l-Muqaddasa ayḍan dāḥilun taḥta 'umūmi dālīka lā bal huwa aḥaqqu bi-l-faḍli li-annahu qutbu š-Ša'mi wa-min aḡlihi fuḍḍila aktaru š-Ša'mi fa-kullu faḍīlatin waradat fī š-Ša'mi wa-li-l-Qudsi* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-li-l-Qudsi*) *minhā a'zamu ḥaẓẓin wa-awfāru naṣībīn*.

<sup>2</sup>For the earthquakes of 1015 and 1033 and the subsequent High Fāṭimid rebuilding in Jerusalem, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 124f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 62; 2 15-18; 261-288; 381-392; 452f. (addition by Wiet); Mann, *Jews in Egypt and Palestine* 1 155-158; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 89-91; Amiran, "Revised Earthquake Catalogue"; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 38-47; Busse, "Sanctity" 461; Creswell, *EMA* 1 94-96; 182; 375-377; 483; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 227f.; 300-308; 314; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I*; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" 24; Kenaan, "A Local Trend" 114; Sharon, "Inscriptions from the Western Wall" 215f.; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 271 n.40; Goitein, "Jerusalem in the Arab Period" 185; 188; Prawer, "The Jerusalem the Crusaders Captured" 2; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; 105; Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* 503-505; Gil, *Palestine* 174 n.48; 192f.; 385f.; 397-400; 477-480; 607f.; 647; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 130; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 141f.; Wightman, *Walls* 237-245; Amiran/Arieh/Turcote, "Earthquakes" 268; 291; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 195-200; 2 390; 3 51f.; 54; 58; 74; 81; 198f.; Gibson/Taylor, *Holy Sepulchre* 23; 61f.; 81; 85; Amiran, "Location Index" 125; Broshi, "Inhabitants of Jerusalem" 20; Elad, *Jerusalem* 42-44; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 11; 122; 162; Gil, "Political History" 30; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu" 123f.; B147.3 herein. For lists of earthquakes in Palestine, see Amiran, "Revised Earthquake Catalogue"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 181f.; Russell, "Earthquake Chronology"; Amiran, "Earthquake Catalogue"; Amiran, "Location Index"; Gil, *Palestine* 839-861 in his chronology; Schick, *Christian Communities* 125f.

A171. **Names** declare the area a Friday mosque. This is a mosque, the (Friday) mosque (of Jerusalem), the Holy Mosque, the (Friday) Mosque of the Temple (B131.1). The inscription between the two north gates gives the dimensions of the area and refers explicitly to a mosque (B131.8). The parts of the area are called by the terms used for Fāṭimid mosques. We have a Main Gate (B151.1), ablution places (B137.1), a courtyard (B155.1), pools and cisterns (B132.3) and a south building called the south arcade of the mosque (B195.1), the Roofed Hall or *Maqṣūra* [sic] (B202.1); this south building has a main gate (B196.2, B203.3), a [main] Prayer-niche (B199.1, B208.3), an Early Fāṭimid pulpit (B201.1) and a High Fāṭimid *maqṣūra* (B207.1).

A172. But, at the same time, **names** declare a number of places in the area mosques. The south building is a mosque (B195.4, B202.3), in the Early Fāṭimid period called the Inner Roofed Mosque (B195.1), in the High Fāṭimid period *Masġid al-Aqṣà* "the Furthest Mosque" (B202.6). A west gate is a mosque (B146.3). The High Fāṭimid room in the area's southeast corner is a mosque (B165.1), the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus (B165.3). The monumental east gate is a mosque (B154.5). The two Šūfī convents outside the area's north wall have their own prayer-places [and thus are mosques as well] (B152.4). And a building in the north part of the area is a kind of a small mosque (B162.3).

A173. The name *Masġid al-Aqṣà* "the Furthest Mosque" always meant, in both the Marwānīd and High 'Abbāsīd periods, the whole area (B014.7, B052.8). In the High Fāṭimid period, it probably still refers to the whole area (B131.1), but now definitely means the south building as well (B202.6). The term shows up in a prominent place inside the south building, over the entrance to the *Maqṣūra*, together with the name of the Fāṭimid caliph aḏ-Ḍāhir (B207.4). This marks not only aḏ-Ḍāhir's presence here, but also his commitment to the Furthest Mosque.

A174. **Architecture** declares the area a Friday mosque. Its long side is from north to south and this fits with the south orientation of the Palestinian mosques. It has the characteristic parts of a Fāṭimid Friday mosque. There is the main gate, a monumental portal-minaret in the back wall (B151.3) continued by the monumental north staircase to the platform (B175.3); there are no other minarets (B151.3). A splendid double gate in the west wall embellishes the gate towards the market (B144.2). There are ablution places, one of them under the Roofed Hall (B137.5). There are pools and cisterns (B132.3), one of them under the platform (B168.2), another one inside the Roofed Hall (B205.2); these cisterns are fed by the rain falling on the mosque (B132.4) and by an aqueduct coming from a large cistern outside the city (B133.2). The courtyard has a stone floor (B155.3, B155.4) and is surrounded by three

west arcades (B158.1, B158.3, B158.4) and three north arcades (B159.2, B160.2, B161.2), but no east arcade (B156.2). Along the south side of the courtyard is, in the Early Fāṭimid period, the Roofed Hall [of the same width as the High ‘Abbāsīd Roofed Hall] (B195.1); in the High Fāṭimid period there is a Roofed Hall much reduced in width (B202.3), an arcade which connects the Roofed Hall with the southeast corner (B157.3), and no south arcade east of the Roofed Hall (B195.2). The Early Fāṭimid Roofed Hall (B195.3) covers one-sixth of the length of the mosque and two-thirds of its width (B195.2); has [fifteen] naves (B198.2), with a larger central nave and a dome (B198.2); has north, west and east façades, each with an arcade in front, and a [main] north gate opposite the [main] prayer-niche (B196.2); has a [main] Prayer-niche (B199.2), further prayer-niches (B200.1) and a pulpit (B201.2). The High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall is much reduced in width but not in length (B202.3); has a north and an east façade, each with an arcade in front (B202.3, B203.2) and an additional west arcade (B157.2), the central north gate made of copper opposite the [main] prayer-niche (B203.2); has five naves, with a wider central nave (B203.2.b) with a dome (B207.4) and eleven vertical naves (B203.2.c); has a *maqṣūra* (B207.3, B207.4) and, nearby, the [main] prayer-niche (B208.3) under the dome (B207.4), and further prayer-niches (B209.3); no pulpit is mentioned (B202.3).

A174.a. "Left" and "right", "in front" and "behind" again mean east and west, south and north. The Throne of Solomon is one of the rocks in the back [north] part of the Friday mosque (B163.2), the Dome of the Prophet is behind [north of] the Dome of the Ascension, the Dome of the Messenger [the same building] behind [north of] the Dome of Gabriel (B180.2). The Throne of Solomon is in front [south] of the Dome of Jacob (B159.2). A person standing on the platform has the Ascent of the Prophet on the right [west] side, the Ascent of Ġūrī on the left [east] side (B171.2.a); the largest stone of the mosque is inside the Gate of the Prophet on the right [west] side (B137.5); the High Fāṭimid Prayer-niche of ‘Umar is on the right [west] side of the [main] Prayer-niche, and the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya, on the left [east] side (B209.2).

A174.b. The long side of the mosque is from north to south (B131.5). The broad side of the mosque is from west to east, with the prayer-direction [wall] in the south, the south side wall (B131.5). There is a gate in the [north] broad side of the mosque which goes eastwards (B150.2); the Gate of the Spring is in the [south] broad side of the mosque (B140.2). The High Fāṭimid Aqṣà Mosque is in the southwest [corner of the] wall [of the mosque] (B202.2). The Dome of the Rock has gates on all four sides: an east one, a west one, a north one and a south one (B184.5).

A174.c. The terms "north" and "south", "east" and "west" are common. A person who enters the mosque by the Gate of David has an arcade on the left side, which is the north one (B158.3.a); the mosque has a north wall (B149.1); the Gate of the Tribes (B150.2), the Main Gate (B150.2), the inscription with the dimensions of the mosque (B131.8) and the Chamber of David (B162.2) are all on the north side [of the mosque]; the prayer-direction wall is opposite the north wall (B131.5.a); there is an arcade in the north[east] corner of the mosque (B161.2); the North Ascent (B175.1) reaches the platform from the north (B175.2). There is the south wall [of the mosque] (B136.1); the prayer-direction [wall] is in the south, in the south side wall (B131.5); the Gate of the Prophet is in the south side [of the mosque], the [same] gate is, with its ablution place, in the south side wall (B137.5); two staircases lead from the south side to the platform (B171.2); both the Dome of the Chain (B178.3)

and the Dome of Gabriel (B183.3) are closed on all sides except on the south side; the Rock has imprints on the side which is south (B192.5); the Early Fāṭimid Roofed Hall is the south arcade of the mosque where the prayer-niche is (B195.1); the High Fāṭimid Aqṣà Mosque has its place in the southwest [corner of the] wall [of the mosque] (B202.2), and east of it is an open courtyard along the south wall [of the mosque] (B202.2); the High Fāṭimid *Maqṣūra* is in the centre of the south wall [of the Roofed Hall] (B207.2). The mosque is [inside the city] in the east and the wall of the Friday mosque is the east wall of the city (B153.2); leaving the market eastwards in the direction of the mosque, one arrives at the Gate of David (B144.2); the Main Gate is in the mosque's [north] broad side which goes eastwards (B150.2); the gate to the two Ṣūfī convents has its place in the wall of the [north] broad side of the mosque (B152.2). The double gate, the Gate of Repentance/the Gate of Mercy, is in the east wall [of the mosque] (B154.3); the High Fāṭimid Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus is in the east wall [of the mosque] at the corner which is [further] south (B165.2) and has the Prayer-niche of Mary in its interior in the east side (B165.4); the High Fāṭimid Gate of the Spring is the gate [further] east in the [south] broad side of the mosque (B140.2); aḏ-Ḍāḥir apparently rebuilds the east wall of the mosque (B135.5); one of the staircases leading to the platform is the East Ascent (B176.1). The west wall (B141.1) has a [triple] west arcade (B158.1); on the west side of the platform are two places where one may enter the platform (B173.2), one of them being the West Ascent proper (B173.1).

A174.d. The third way to locate a place is to give a fixed point and the direction one has to take from it (B150.2.a). If one enters the mosque by the Gate of David [eastwards], there are, on the right [south] side, two arcades (B158.3), and on the left side, which is the north one, one arcade (B158.4). If one enters the double gate, the Gate of Repentance/the Gate of Mercy, [from the courtyard] facing east, the gate on the right [south] side is the Gate of Mercy, and the other, the Gate of Repentance (B154.1.a). And if one stands in the middle of the platform, one has the Ascent of the Prophet on the right [west] side and the Ascent of Ġūrī on the left [east] side (B171.2.a). The Valley of Hell is behind the Gate of Mercy (B154.3).

A175. At the same time, **architecture** declares the south building the best place for Muslim congregational prayer - a mosque. It emphasises its place in front of the Rock and thereby the precedence of the Ka'ba over the Rock. The south building has in both the Early Fāṭimid and the High Fāṭimid periods a main north façade with a main copper gate in front of the Rock opposite the [main] prayer-niche (B196.2, B203.3), and an inscription at this gate which represents the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn (B196.3, B203.3); the importance of the north façade is additionally stressed by an arcade in front (B196.2, B202.3), but this arcade is less imposing than it was in the High 'Abbāsid period (A122) because now the west and east façades also have arcades in front (B196.2, B157.2, B203.2). The asymmetric position of the building in the west part of the area, in front of the Dome of the Rock, is made very obvious, in the Early Fāṭimid period, by the open space to its east which covers one-third of the total width of the mosque (B195.2), and, in the High Fāṭimid period, by the same open space (B202.2) and by the fact that the building is much smaller (B202.3) and so even more clearly south of the Rock. Both the wider Early Fāṭimid and the narrower High Fāṭimid buildings have a main axis which leads the faithful from the central north gate through a wider central nave (B203.2.b) to the [main] prayer-niche and the dome above (B208.3), from the Rock to the Ka'ba.



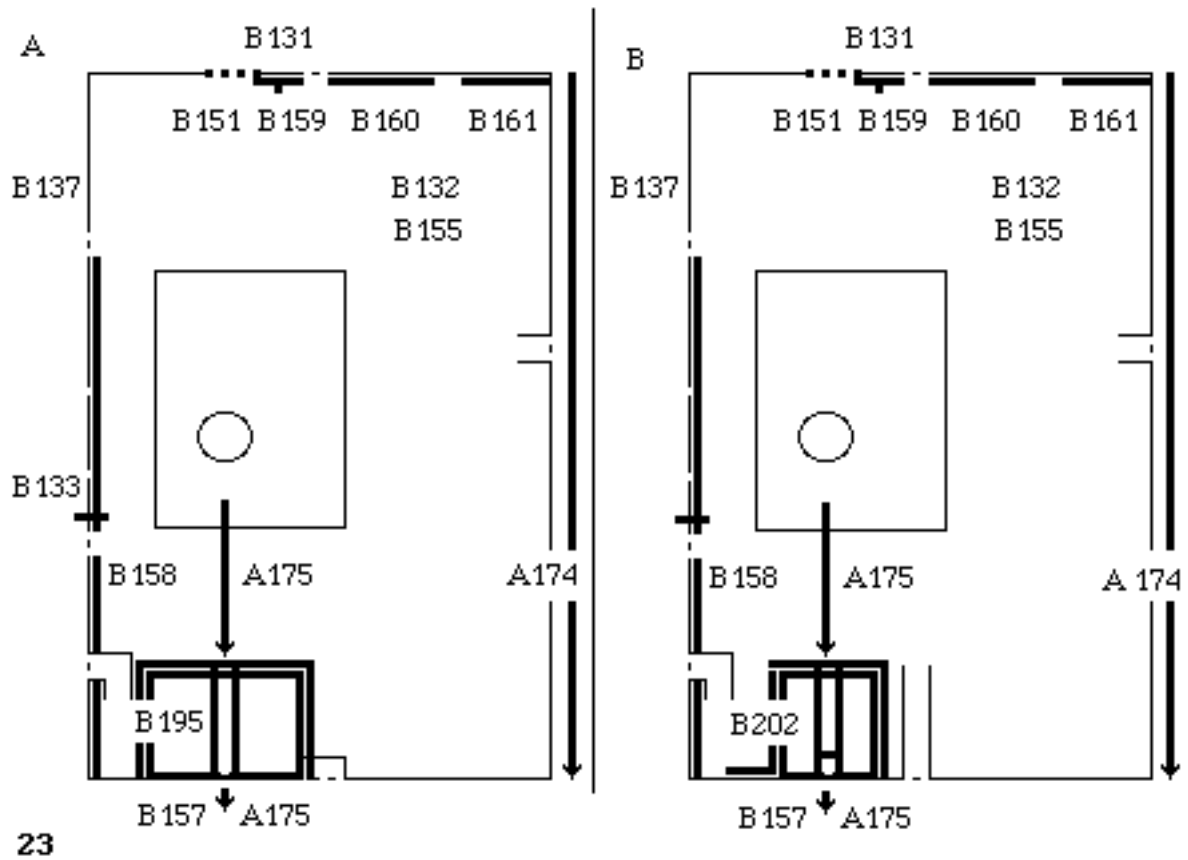
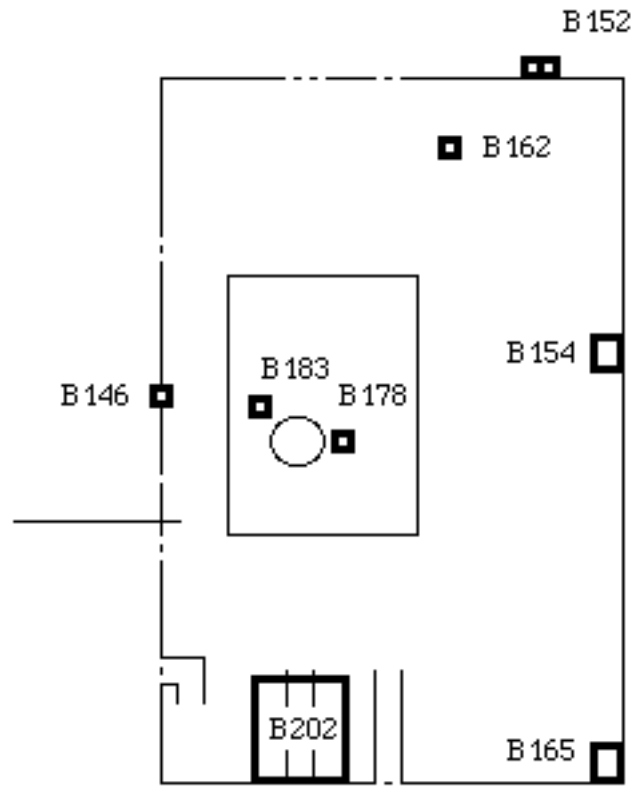


**Figure 23. The Fāṭimid mosque of Jerusalem:** A Early Fāṭimid. - B High Fāṭimid / A174 The long side north-south. - A175 The position of the Roofed Hall in front of the Rock with the prayer-direction towards the south. - B131 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B132 The pools and cisterns. - B133 The aqueduct. - B137 The ablution places. - B151 The monumental portal-minaret. - B155 The courtyard. - B157 The High Fāṭimid south arcade. - B158 The triple west arcade. - B159 The arcade between the two north gates. - B160 The arcade east of the two north gates. - B161 The arcade of the northeast corner. - B195 The Early Fāṭimid Roofed Hall with a north, a west and an east façade and a main north gate, a wider central nave and a dome, a [main] Prayer-niche and a pulpit. - B202 The High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall with a north and an east façade, a central north gate, a wider central nave, a *maqṣūra* with a dome and a [main] prayer-niche.

A176. And **architecture** declares not only the south building a mosque, but a number of other places as well. A west gate is closed and made into a mosque with prayer-niches (B146.3). The monumental east gate is closed and transformed into a mosque with beautiful carpets (B154.5). The High Fāṭimid room in the area's southeast corner is also a mosque (B165.1) with two prayer-niches (B165.3). The two Ṣūfī convents outside the area's north wall have a number of prayer-places and prayer-niches (B152.3). A building in the north part of the area is similar to a small mosque (B162.3). Both the somewhat larger dome east of the Dome of the Rock (B178.3) and the dome further northwest of the Dome of the Rock

(B183.3) have south walls with prayer-niches.



## 24

**Figure 24. The mosques inside the High Fāṭimid mosque:** B146 The mosque of the Gate of God's Presence, with many prayer-niches. - B152 The two Šūfī convents with prayer-places and prayer-niches. - B154 The mosque of the double gate, the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance, with beautiful carpets. - B162 The High Fāṭimid Chamber of David, similar to a small mosque. - B165 The High Fāṭimid Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus, with two prayer-niches. - B178 The Dome of the Chain, with a prayer-niche. - B183 The Dome of Gabriel, with a prayer-niche. - B202 The High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall, a mosque with prayer-niches.

A177. The aforementioned earthquake damages not only the Dome of the Rock (A169), but also the south part of the area, and aẓ-Zāhir rebuilds the south [and the east] wall, with the underground vaults and corridors (B135.5), and the south building (B202.5).<sup>1</sup> This High Fāṭimid rebuilding of **architecture** changes the area almost totally and adds to the existing system of concentric zones around the Rock a second system of concentric zones - the whole area, the south building and the *Maqṣūra* - surrounding the [main] Prayer-niche. Zones become more splendid the more interior they are. Separating the zones are walls, each with

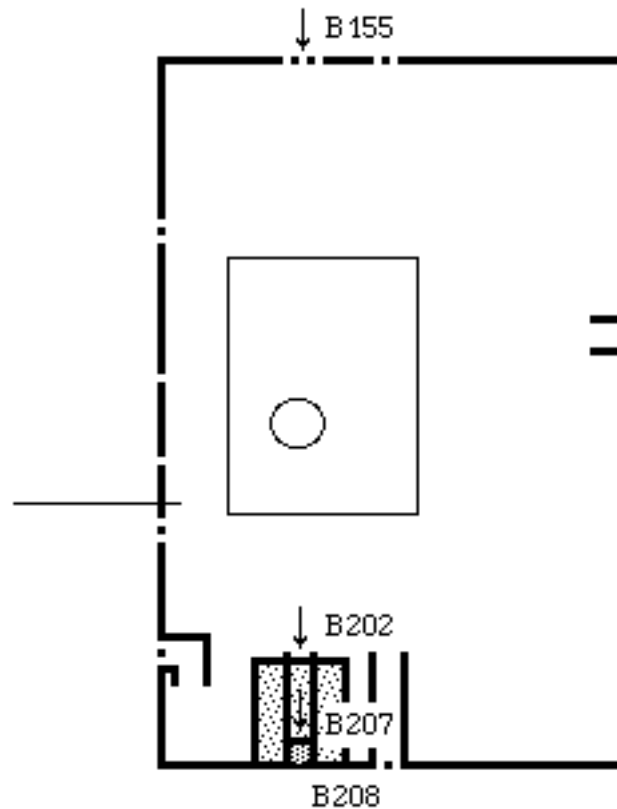
<sup>1</sup>For the earthquakes of 1015 and 1033 and the subsequent High Fāṭimid rebuilding in Jerusalem, see A169.

many gates but one especially splendid main gate, and these gates guide the visitor from outside the area to the main prayer-niche.

A178. Most exterior is the whole area (B155.3); it is surrounded by the main wall (B134.5) and officially entered by the Main Gate (B151.3), but usually by the Gate of David where an inscription mentions the Fāṭimid caliph (B144.4). Further inside is the Roofed Hall (B202.3); it is entered by its main copper gate (B203.3); it is lit by windows (B204.3) and all paved with polychrome marble where beautiful carpets are spread (B202.4); each of the boxes along the four walls belongs to a city of Syria-Palestine or Iraq (B206.4) and thus marks the presence of that city. Next is the *Maqṣūra* (B207.3); it is surrounded by a marble fence and entered through an arch where an inscription mentions aẓ-Zāhir, his ancestors and descendants (B207.4); both the arch leading into it and the dome above it are mosaic-covered (B207.4); there are many lamps suspended one by one and precious mats spread (B207.3). The focus of these zones is the prayer-niche (B208.2), with marble decoration and a red marble column on both the left and the right, respectively (B208.2).

A179. This system is also alluded to by the inscription in front of the *Maqṣūra* which mentions the Furthest Mosque (*Masġid al-Aqṣà*). This does not locate the Night Journey of Muḥammad inside this building - traditions locate the Night Journey all over the area, but never here - but rather declares the *Maqṣūra* next to the prayer-niche (and the whole south building) the centre of the area (B202.6.a).

A180. The whole system of concentric zones and the decoration of the *Maqṣūra* obviously allude to the older system of concentric zones around the Rock and to the decoration of the Dome of the Rock - but replace the Rock with the main Prayer-niche. The High Fāṭimid Temple, clearly oriented towards the Ka'ba, further condenses the Marwānid double conception



25

**Figure 25. The zones of the High Fāṭimid mosque:** B155 The Courtyard entered by the Main Gate. - B202 The Roofed Hall entered by the main copper gate. - B207 The *Maqṣūra* entered by the monumental arch. - B208 The [main] prayer-niche.

of the Temple around the Rock and the mosque of Jerusalem oriented towards the Kaʿba into one and at the same time develops the Marwānid conception of the wider mosque and the smaller mosque. The importance of this conception of the mosque may be estimated if we consider the immense financial investment in construction.

A181. The merger of conceptions is nicely shown in the term "the Furthest Mosque" (*Mas-ḡid al-Aqṣà*). The Marwānid and High ʿAbbāsid periods called the whole area around the Rock the Furthest Mosque and considered it all a mosque - concurrently with a second conception which focused on the south building. The Fāṭimid period still considers the whole area the Temple around the Rock and a mosque, but additionally calls the south building the Furthest Mosque - the Rock is still there, but the focus of the reformed Temple is on the prayer-niche pointing towards the Kaʿba.

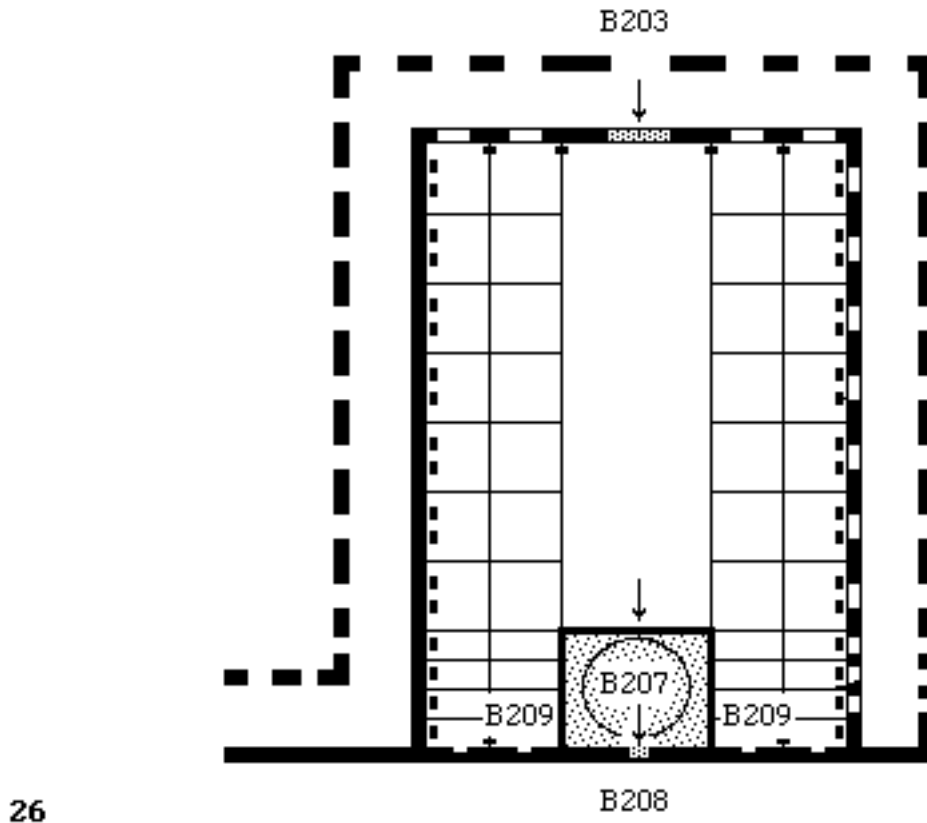


**Figure 26. The zones inside the Aqṣā Mosque:** B203 The main copper gate. - B207 The *Maqṣūra* with the arch and the dome on top, with single lamps and lanterns suspended, with precious North African mats. - B208 The [main] Prayer-niche covered with mosaic. - B209 The two secondary prayer-niches.

A182. **Rituals** and **customs** declare the whole area a Friday mosque. People perform their congregational prayer [somewhere] here and the Ṣūfīs of the nearby convents join them for the congregational Friday service (B152.5). Ritual ablution is made at the ablution places outside the gates; ritual ablution may be renewed at the ablution place under the Roofed Hall so there is no need to leave the mosque and to be late for ritual prayer (B137.8). People are reminded to pray by the prayer-call from the monumental portal-minaret (B151.3.c); the Ṣūfīs join the Friday service upon hearing the prayer-call (B152.5). There is some teaching done (B131.14, B186.4), in one instance at the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock (B186.4).

A183. When congregational prayer - the main **ritual** defining a mosque - is located, it is always connected with the south building. The [main] Prayer-niche inside the Roofed Hall gives the prayer-direction, standing nearby the *imām* leads the congregational prayer (B199.4, B208.4). The Friday sermon - mentioned only in Early Fāṭimid period - is given from the pulpit [inside the south building] (B201.4).

A184. **Ritual** makes at least one of the minor places a mosque. The Ṣūfīs usually make their prayers in the two convents, except for the congregational Friday service (B152.5).

A185. Names, architecture and ritual simultaneously define the whole area and a number of places in it as mosques - traditions play no role. This is still a dual conception, but instead of a wider mosque and a smaller mosque we now have a wider mosque and many smaller mosques. The south building becomes now *primus inter pares*, the largest and most important of a series of minor mosques which gird the area on all four sides.

A186. The area is still perceived as one mosque, but certain spots are also considered mosques. Among these the Roofed Hall is especially important. Quite similarly, the area is regarded as the Temple - but the idea of the Temple is in some places more concentrated than in others (A180). The area is considered holy - but certain places are more intensely holy than others (A200). This general trend somehow mirrors the hierarchical structure of Fāṭimid theology with *hypostaseis* emanating one from another, with circles of salvation embracing true Shiite faithful (*al-Muʿminūn*), Muslims (*al-Muslimūn*) and monotheists (*ahl al-kitāb*).

### 4.3. GETTING PERSONALLY INVOLVED: A NETWORK OF FAVOURITE HOLY PLACES (MUSLIM)

A187. The Fāṭimid area is a mosque complex with interior mosques, the Temple around the Rock and the reformed Temple. But visitors are above all concerned with the incredible power of the place, with its holiness.

A188. **Names** and **traditions** attribute to the whole area an extraordinary holiness, to some spots even an extreme holiness. The area is next to Paradise and was visited by Muḥammad on his Night Journey to Paradise. It is related to the former prophets and other important men. It is connected with God's Presence. God uses this place to heal, to forgive and to answer prayer. It is a place of visions. This is one of the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] one should visit and everything done here is more important than that done elsewhere. It is related to important eschatological events.

A188.a. The Dome of the Rock is considered a sanctuary (B184.5) and called the Holy [Dome of the] Rock (B184.1).

A188.b. The place is near to heaven. Here Jacob had his dream that the angels were descending and ascending; he called this the Gate of Heaven and the twelve stones under his head merged into the one Rock (B184.11). Muḥammad rose from the Dome of the Ascension to heaven, as God rose from the Rock to heaven (B182.4).

A188.c. Muḥammad rose on his Night Journey from the area to heaven, as al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik told the people (B131.10). When Muḥammad arrived at the Temple Gabriel made a hole with his finger at the Kneeling-place of the she-camel and tied up al-Burāq (B138.4). Muḥammad entered the mosque by the corridor behind the Gate of the Prophet (B137.7). He entered the platform by the Ascent of the Prophet and passed from there to the Dome of the Rock (B171.6). He first prayed in the Dome of the Rock [*sic*] and put his hand on the Rock; when he left the Rock rose in honour of him; he put his hand on the Rock, the Rock settled only partly back and left the Cave beneath (B184.11). Muḥammad met the virgins of Paradise at [the Dome of] the Chain (B178.4). There is the Dome of the Gathering (B179.1) [where he gathered the former prophets and the angels and led their ritual prayer (B179.5)]. He led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets and the angels at the Dome of the Prophet (B180.4); he mounted al-Burāq at the very same Dome of the Messenger [to ascend to heaven] (B180.4). There is the Dome of Gabriel (B183.1) [where Gabriel took part in the ritual prayer of all [former] prophets and the angels, led by Muḥammad (B183.4)]; al-Burāq was brought there so that Muḥammad might mount her [to ascend to heaven] (B183.4). Muḥammad rose from the Dome of the Ascension to heaven, as God rose from the Rock to heaven (B182.4). The Roofed Hall is the Koranic Furthest Mosque (B202.6).

A188.d. Some places are connected with prophets and other important men. A dome in one of the north arcades is the Dome of Jacob (B159.4), where Jacob prayed (B159.5). Under the West Ascent is the rock *Baḥ-baḥ* or Place of al-Ḥiḍr (B173.1). There are the High Fāṭimid Prayer-niches of ʿUmar and Muʿāwiya (B209.1). In the room in the southeast corner Jesus was born (B165.6); the imprints in a column similar to those of two fingers (B165.3) are the traces of Mary when she was in labour (B165.6); this is the (Mosque of the) Cradle of Jesus (B165.1) and a stone here is the Cradle of Jesus (B165.4), from which the baby Jesus spoke to defend his mother (B165.6).

A188.e. The Gate of God's Presence is the place where the angels put the Ark of God's Presence [the Ark of the Covenant] when they brought it back [to Saul] (B146.4). The Rock inside the Dome of the Rock has never been touched by human feet (B192.6).

A188.f. Here God heals, forgives and answers prayer. The east wall with the Gate(s) of Mercy is the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (B154.8). David had, at the Gate of Repentance, an inspiration that God accepted his repentance and here God accepts all repentance (B154.6). The Ḥiṭṭa Gate is the gate concerning which God ordered the Children of Israel [in vain] to enter the mosque, "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions and increase those who do well" (B142.5). Solomon prayed at the Throne of Solomon when he had finished building the Temple and here he was answered by God (B163.4); all prayer said at the Throne of Solomon is answered (B163.5). The angel announced the birth of John to [the childless] Zechariah at the High Fāṭimid Prayer-niche of Zechariah (B165.6). Prayer said at the Early Fāṭimid Chamber of Mary or Birth-place of Jesus is answered, as has been tried by more than one (B139.6); here people should say the prayer Jesus said when God raised him from the Mount of Olives; they should return to God, break with all sins, thank God for the visit here, endeavour in obedience, ritual prayer, personal prayer and almsgiving, and thus they will gain much merit and become as free of sins as they were the day of their birth (B139.6). It is generally accepted that prayer at the Dome of the Ascension is answered (B182.4). People who have committed a sin should pray two *rak'a* at the Dome of the Chain and the Gate of Isrāfīl and endeavour in the prayer which Muḥammad used to say in distress and sadness [and then they will become free of their sin] (B178.6); all prayer here is answered, as has been tried by more than one (B178.5). All prayer said in [the Dome of] the Rock is answered (B184.12). One may pray at the Black Paving-stone inside the Dome of the Rock using God's greatest name, of which Muḥammad said that all prayer using it is answered (B187.4). Prayer said in the cave under the Rock is answered (B193.6).

A188.g. This is a place of visions. Here Jacob had his dream of the angels descending and ascending, he called this the Gate of Heaven, and the twelve stones which were under his head then merged into the one Rock (B184.11). At the High Fāṭimid Prayer-niche of Zechariah the angels announced the birth of John to Zechariah (B165.6). We have the Early Fāṭimid Chamber of Mary and her worshipping-place (B139.1) and the High Fāṭimid Prayer-niche of Mary (B165.1) [where the birth of Jesus was announced to her (B165.6)].

A188.h. This is one of the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] people should visit (B131.11). Ritual prayer made in Jerusalem (*\*Bayt al-Maqdis*) is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in Medina, to 50,000, and in Mecca, to 100,000 (B131.11); the Dome of the Rock is the Third Sanctuary of God (B131.11).

A188.i. There is the Dome of the Balance (B181.1) [related to the Last Judgement]. al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik tried to hold the people of Syria-Palestine back from the pilgrimage to the Ḥiḡāz, he told them that the gathering and judgement of the last days would be in the mosque [of Jerusalem] and that Muḥammad rose from here to heaven (B131.10).

A189. **Architecture** declares this a holy landscape with a number of especially holy places, culminating in the Early Fāṭimid period in one peak, in the High Fāṭimid period in two peaks. Both the Early Fāṭimid and the High Fāṭimid systems have, as a first step, higher and higher zones separated in level and/or by walls with gates and staircases (B155.3). The area outside the enclosing wall (B134.5), the courtyard (B155.3) with its arcades (B156.2), and the platform (B167.3) with its fence of green marble with dots in all colours (B169.3) all surround the Dome of the Rock (B184.5). Inside the Dome of the Rock the exterior wall (B185.3), the



octagonal arcade (B188.3), the circular arcade (B189.2) and the fence (B190.3) surround the Rock (B192.5). The other, exclusively High Fāṭimid system has, on one and the same level, three buildings inside one another with increasing splendour. The whole area (B155.3), the Aqṣà Mosque (B202.3) and the dome-crowned *Maqṣūra* (B207.3) surround the [main] Prayer-niche (B208.2).

A190. We have two parallel systems of places decorated with mosaic. In the first system, there is the Dome of the Rock with all lower parts of hewn stone, but all upper parts and the drum covered with mosaic (B185.3). In the second system, the main gates leading into the zones are decorated with mosaic; these are the Main Gate (B151.3) and the gate opposite the market (B144.4), both leading into the whole area, and the arch leading into the *Maqṣūra* (B207.4) - but the copper gate (B203.3) leading into the Aqṣà Mosque has no mosaic. The [main] prayer-niche (B208.3) and the dome on top of the *Maqṣūra* (B207.4) are also covered with mosaic. The two systems are connected by the southwest staircase with its mosaic-decorated vaults (B171.4).

A191. Domes mark a number of spots as holy. The platform has five domes in the Early Fāṭimid period, four in the High Fāṭimid period (B177.1). The Dome of the Rock (B184.5) is, because of its dimensions (B184.6) and gold covering (B194.3), definitely the most important of them. Next to its east gate is a rather large dome with columns in two circles (B178.3). Only in the Early Fāṭimid period does another dome stand nearby (B179.3). The Dome of the Rock has, towards the northwest, one dome closer (B180.3, B181.3) and one farther away (B182.3, B183.3). Outside the platform are the Dome of Jacob in one of the north arcades (B159.4) and the Chamber of Zechariah in the northeast corner (B164.3). The *Maqṣūra* inside the Roofed Hall is roofed by a dome (B198.2, B207.2).

A192. Prayer-niches multiply both inside the Roofed Hall and at other places. The Early Fāṭimid Roofed Hall has a [main] prayer-niche (B199.3) and a number of secondary prayer-niches (B200.1), the High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall, a [main] prayer-niche (B208.3) and two secondary prayer-niches (B209.3). Both the Gate of God's Presence (B146.3) and the two Ṣūfī convents (B152.4) have many prayer-niches. There are two prayer-niches in the High Fāṭimid room in the area's southeast corner (B165.4). Each of two minor domes on the High Fāṭimid platform has its own prayer-niche (B178.3, B183.3).

A193. Lamps mark certain places as holy. The Dome of Jacob has lamps and lanterns [burning] (B159.4). In the High Fāṭimid room in the area's southeast corner, many copper and silver lamps which burn all night are suspended (B165.3). The Dome of the Rock has many silver lamps, each with a notice about its [silver] weight (B184.7), and one large white candle

(B184.8); a gold inscription on this candle represents the Fāṭimid caliph (B184.8). Over the Rock a single silver lamp is suspended (B184.5). Candles are always burning in the cave under the Rock (B193.3). The south building has, in the *Maqṣūra*, lamps and lanterns suspended one by one (B207.3).

A194. Marble floors and precious carpets and mats<sup>1</sup> are a new way to mark holy places as such. The monumental east gate is a mosque with many kinds of carpets (B154.5). The floor of the Dome of the Rock is all covered with precious rush mats and beautiful carpets, some even of silk (B184.9). The Early Fāṭimid south building has a marble floor (B195.3); the High Fāṭimid south building has a polychrome marble floor, beautiful carpets (B202.4) and in its *Maqṣūra*, even more precious North African mats (B207.3). Last, but not at least, is the Jewish Cave embellished with rush mats (B147.3).

A195. Domes, prayer-niches, lamps and floors show a rather inconsistent picture. There are a number of extremely hot spots in an already holy area. The one or the two peaks, the Dome of the Rock or the Dome of the Rock and the *Maqṣūra* inside the Roofed Hall, respectively, are marked by all three features: a dome, lamps and precious carpets. All other places have only one or two features.

A196. This uneven picture, with many small spots embellished, is different from the picture of the impressive building projects with their all-embracing masterplans. Building a small dome, or donating lamps - with their oil - or precious carpets, is not beyond the financial means and influence of an individual, a family or a group wishing to mark presence at this holy place. What we have is the living reverence for the area's holiness, carried out not only by the leading elite of the state, but also by a wider circle.

A197. **Ritual** and **customs** declare the whole area a powerful place, and a quite large number of spots, extremely powerful. All over the area ritual prayer is considered appropriate and most effective. At certain spots ritual prayer, possibly combined with certain prayer-formulas and certain comportment, is considered even extremely effective. People are advised to visit these special places in a given prayer-route. Now, touching the holy places is openly declared important.

---

<sup>1</sup>For the use of carpets and mats, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 123-129; 6 22 s.v. "carpet"; 48 s.v. "ḥuṣr"; 70 s.v. "mats".

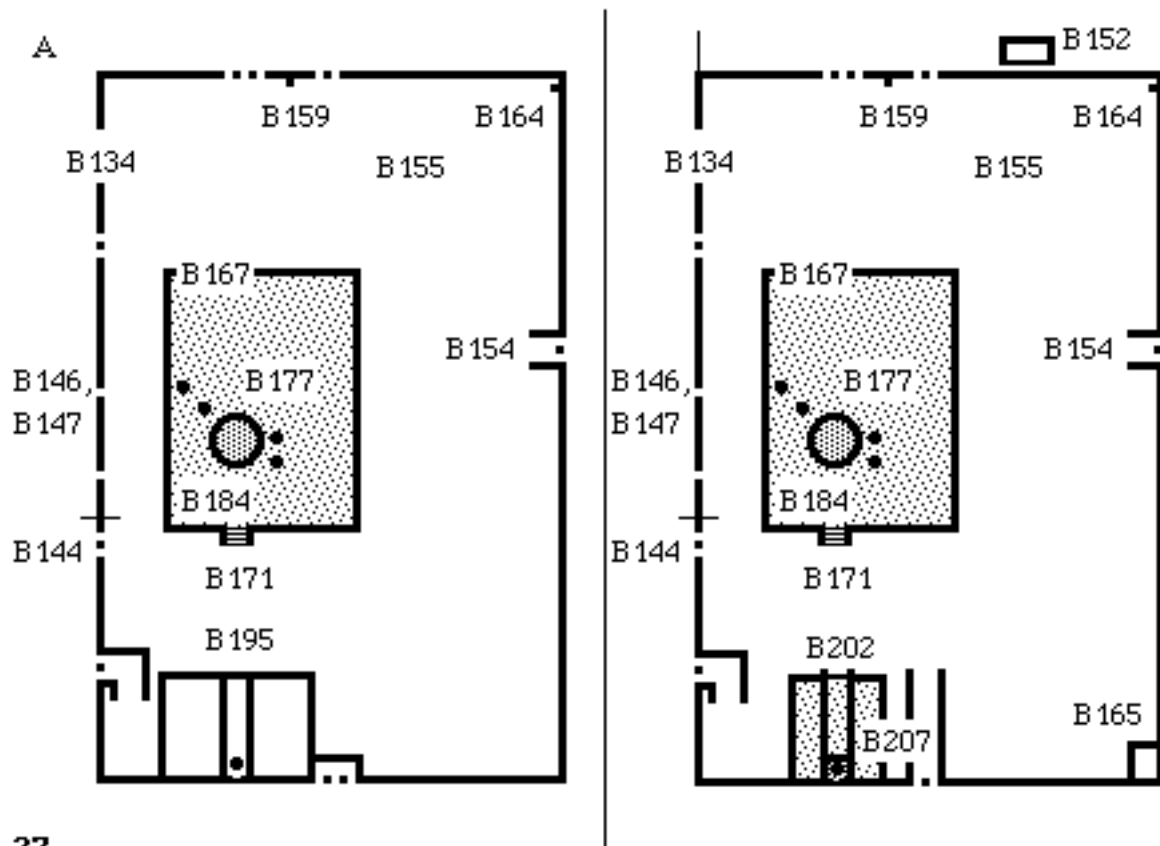


**Figure 27. The Fāṭimid holy area:** A Early Fāṭimid. - B High Fāṭimid / B134 The exterior wall. - B144 The Gate of David covered with mosaic. - B146 The Gate of God's Presence with many prayer-niches. - B147 The Jewish Cave with rush mats. - B152 The two Šūfī convents with prayer-niches. - B154 The east gate with carpets. - B155 The courtyard. - B159 The Dome of Jacob with lamps and lanterns. - B164 The Chamber of Zechariah with its dome. - B165 The High Fāṭimid room in the southeast corner with two prayer-niches and with copper and silver lamps. - B167 The platform. - B171 The southwest staircase to the platform, with mosaic-decorated vaults. - B177 The minor domes on the platform; in the High Fāṭimid period two of them with a prayer-niche. - B184 The Dome of the Rock with walls below of hewn stone and above covered with polychrome gold mosaic, with a drum covered with mosaic, with silver lamps and a white candle, with precious rush mats and beautiful carpets, some even of silk. - B195 The Early Fāṭimid Roofed Hall with a dome, a marble floor, a [main] prayer-niche and additional prayer-niches. - B202 The High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque with a polychrome marble floor and beautiful carpets and with a [main] prayer-niche and two further prayer-niches. - B207 The High Fāṭimid *Maqṣūra* with precious North African mats and with lamps and lanterns suspended one by one.

A197.a. People should visit the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] (B131.11); ritual prayer made in Jerusalem (*\*Bayt al-Maqdis*) is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in Medina, to 50,000, and in Mecca, to 100,000 prayers (B131.10).

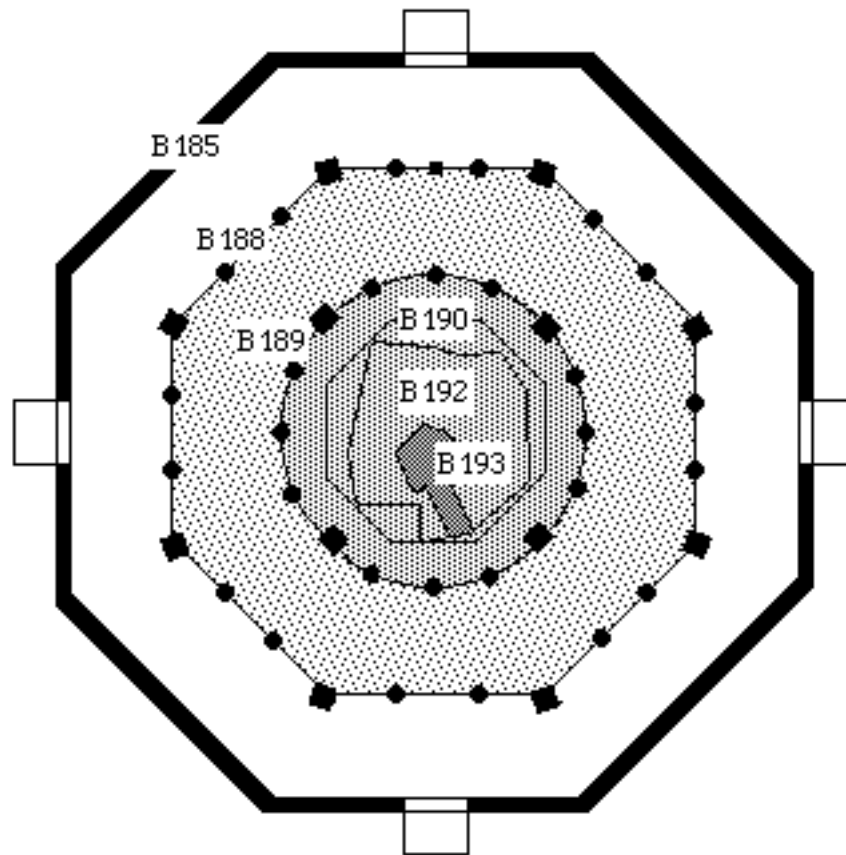


**Figure 28. The Dome of the Rock part of the Fāṭimid holy area:** B185 The exterior wall. - B188 The octagonal arcade. - B189 The circular arcade. - B190 The fence. - B192 The Rock with a shaft of brilliant light hovering over it, and a silver lamp suspended over it. - B193 The cave under the Rock with lamps.

A197.b. People should follow a prayer-route with a number of stations.<sup>1</sup>

- 1) One should enter the mosque [at the **Gate of David** from the market] with the right foot first and say the prayer Muḥammad used to say when he entered the mosque, and when one leaves say the prayer Muḥammad used to say when he left the mosque (B144.6).
- 2) One should enter the **Dome of the Rock**, circumambulate the **Rock** with the Rock on one's right hand contrary to the Ka'ba in Mecca, come to **the place where people pray**, put one's hand on the Rock without kissing it, and say the prayer Muḥammad recommended for angels, prophets and faithful, or say the three prayers the Children of Israel said when they were in distress, or say the prayer the praying people amongst the Children of Israel used in the Temple and their other prayer-places when God sent down calamities upon them, or say the prayer which [the prophet] Idrīs used to say and which he forbade to be taught to stupid people for fear they might use it [and force God to answer their foolish sayers] (B184.15). All prayer said in [the Dome of] the Rock is answered (B184.12).

<sup>1</sup>The following are mostly the recommendations of **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**: 64,14-81,22; the recommended prayer-formulas are quoted under the respective paragraphs. For this prayer-route, see A041.

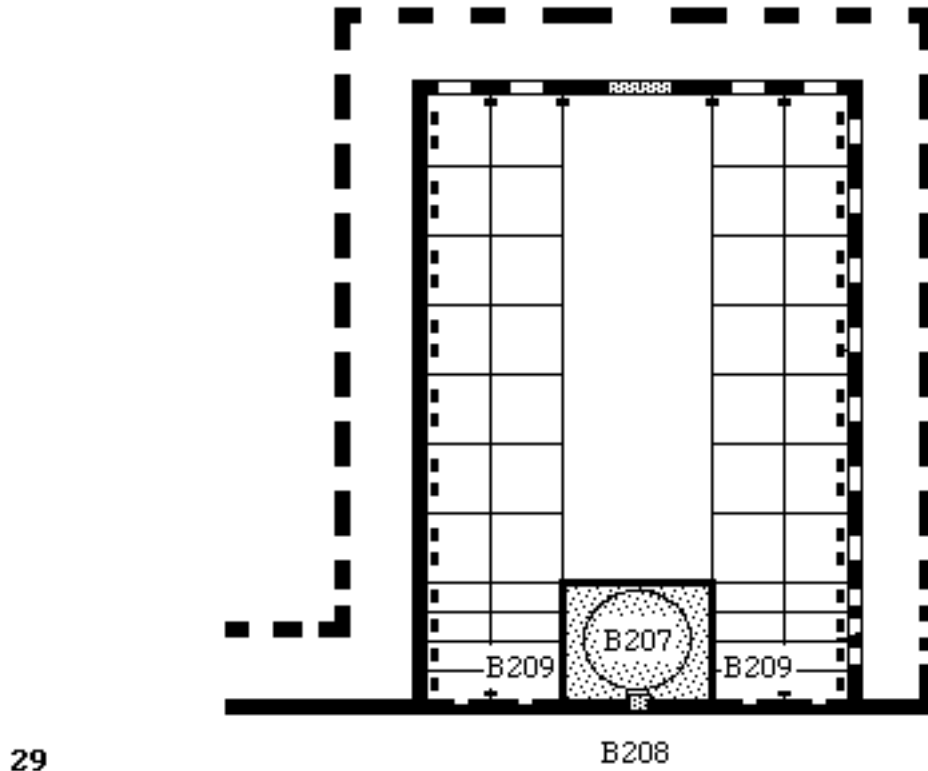


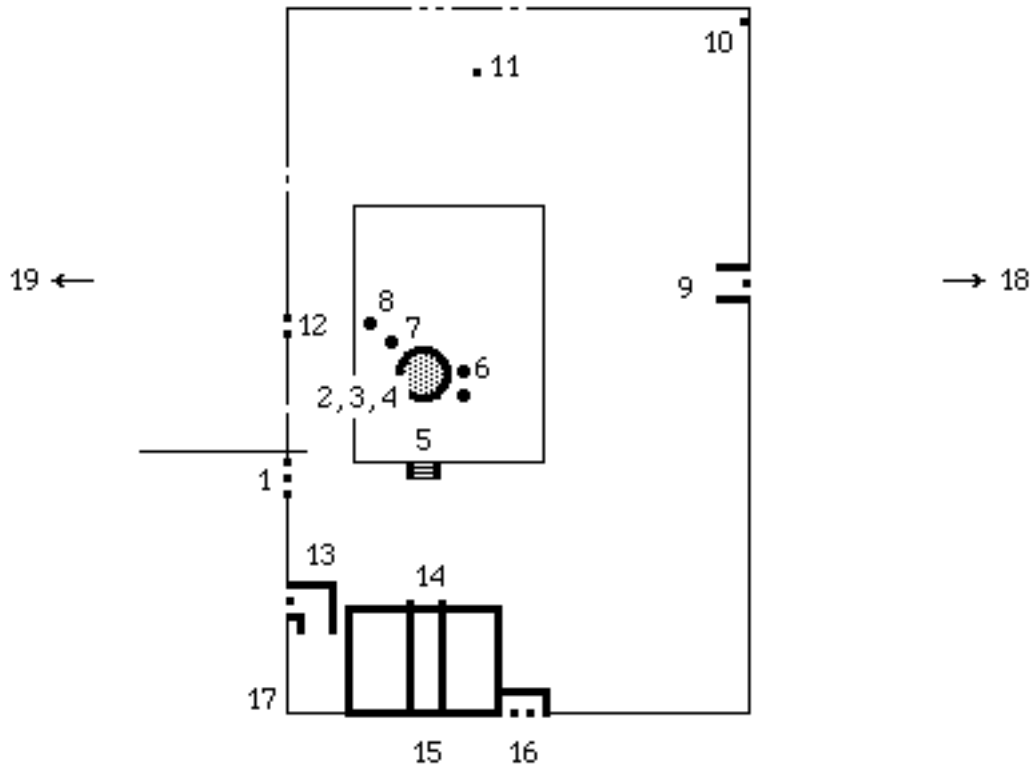
**Figure 29. The Aqṣā Mosque part of the High Fāṭimid holy area:** B207 The *Maqṣūra* with the arch in front and a dome on top, with lamps and lanterns suspended one by one and with precious North African mats. - B208 The [main] Prayer-niche covered with mosaic. - B209 The two secondary prayer-niches.

- 3) One should say on the **Black Paving-stone** the prayer Muḥammad used to say when he prayed with his companions, or pray with God's greatest name, of which Muḥammad said that all prayer using it would be answered (B187.4).
- 4) One may pray in the **cave under the Rock** - if one does so, one should first formulate one's intention, repent and endeavour in obedience and prayer, make ritual prayer here and pray the same prayers [as on the Black Paving-stone] (B193.6). All prayer said here is answered (B193.6).
- 5) One should stand at the **Ascent of the Prophet** and say the prayer Muḥammad used to say almost every time he rose from a meeting, or the prayer he said at his death (B171.7).
- 6) One should pray at the **Dome of the Chain** and stand at the **Gate of Isrāfil** and use a prayer 'Alī used to say or a prayer Muḥammad used to say when he was in distress; people who have committed a sin should make ritual prayer here with two *rak'ā* and endeavour in one of the most glorious prayers, a prayer Muḥammad liked to teach other people, a prayer which God always answers (B178.6). All prayer said here is answered, as has been tried by more than one (B178.5).
- 7) One should pray at the **Dome of the Ascension**, endeavour in prayer, in the prayer Muḥammad said in the middle of the night (B182.6). It is generally accepted that here all prayer is answered (B182.4).
- 8) One should pray at the **Dome of the Prophet** and endeavour in the same prayer [as in the Dome of the Ascension (B182.6)], or endeavour in the prayer which God taught Muḥammad when he was asked: "About

- what quarrels the Highest Assembly, Muḥammad?" (B180.5).
- 9) One should pray at the **Gate of Mercy** from inside the wall, say the same prayer [as at the Dome of the Ascension] (B154.8), ask God many times to grant Paradise and to protect from Hell, one should endeavour in prayer and foremost pray: "We ask God for Paradise and we take refuge with God from Hell." (B154.8). Many people pray here and seek to come nearer to God (B154.8).
  - 10) One should pray at the **Chamber of Zechariah** and say the same prayer [as at the Dome of the Ascension (B182.6)], endeavour in prayer, ask God [foremost] for Paradise and protection from Hell because the place is part of the wall [mentioned in the Koranic verse, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment"] (B164.5).
  - 11) One should pray at the **rocks in the back [north] part of the mosque** and endeavour in prayer at the **Throne of Solomon** while orienting oneself in the prayer-direction (B163.6). Prayer said at the Throne of Solomon is answered (B163.5).
  - 12) One should endeavour in prayer at the **Gate of God's Presence** (B146.6).
  - 13) One should endeavour in prayer at the **Ḥiṭṭa Gate** (B142.6); people make ritual prayer here, pray "There is no god but God. Oh God, take my sin from me and forgive me!" and enter the gate many times (B142.4).
  - 14) One should enter the **Inner Roofed Mosque**, pray at the **Prayer-niche of 'Umar** and endeavour there in prayer, as at the **\*Prayer-niche of Mu'āwiya** and all [other] **prayer-niches** in the mosque (B195.4).
  - 15) One should pray at the **Gate of the Prophet** and say the same prayers as before (B137.8).
  - 16) One should endeavour in prayer at the **Chamber of Mary** or **Birth-place of Jesus**, pray and recite **Koran** 19 mentioning Mary and prostrate oneself, and behave as 'Umar did when he prayed in the Chamber of David, recited **Koran** 38 mentioning David and prostrated himself; prayer here is then answered, as has been tried by more than one (B139.6); one best says the prayer Jesus said when God raised him from the Mount of Olives; one should, at the same time, repent, break with all sins, thank God for the visit here, endeavour in obedience [?], ritual prayer, prayer and almsgiving; one thus gains much merit and becomes free of all sins as one was on the day of one's birth (B139.6). People make ritual prayer on top of the Cradle of Jesus (B165.4).
  - 17) One should endeavour in prayer at the **place where Gabriel tied up al-Burāq** and ask God for the good things of this world and the Other World (B138.5).
  - 18) One should endeavour in prayer at **as-Sāhira on the Mount of Olives** and say the prayer Jesus said immediately before God raised him from the Mount of Olives.<sup>1</sup>
  - 19) One should ascend to the **Chamber of David** (at the CITADEL) and either recite **Koran** 38 by heart or read it aloud or pray, and ask God as urgently as possible to change one's mind and to protect and redeem from Hell, and pray the prayer David used to pray, i.e., **Psalms** 108 and 151 [sic].<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.68:** 80,3-5 *fa-in arāda an yaṭla 'a ilā s-Sāhirati wa-huwa Ṭūru Sīnā* (read *Ṭūru Zaytā*) *fa-l-yaf'al fa-inna fihī aṭaran 'an Ṣafiyata zawġi n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu annahā atat Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-ṣa'idat ilā Ṭūri Sīnā* (read *ilā Ṭūri Zaytā*) *wa-huwa maḍkūrun fī bābihi bi-isnādihi* (**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.350:** 236,5-8) *wa-yağtahid fī d-du'ā'i*. For the prayer itself, see B139.6.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.69:** 81,9-21 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 33) *fa-in arāda an yadhūla Mihrāba Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu l-ladī 'alā bābi l-baladi fa-l-yaf'al fa-ka-dālika qāla* (read *fa'ala*) *amīru l-mu'minīn 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu ḥina fataha l-balada ṣa'ida ilayhi wa-qara'a fihī sūrata ṣ (Koran 38) wa-sağada fihā, fa-in kāna yuḥsinu an yaqra'ahā fa-yustaḥabbu lahu dālika ka-mā fa'ala amīru l-mu'minīna fa-in lam yakun yaḥfaẓuhā zāhiran fa-l-yaqra'hā fī l-muṣṣaḥfī fa-in lam yuḥsin an yaqra'a fa-l-yuṣallī* (read *fa-l-yuṣallī*) *fihī mā qasama Llāhu lahu wa-yad'u (I read wa-yad'u) wa-akṭara mā yustaḥabbu an yad'uwa fī dālika l-mawḍi'i bi-t-tawbati wa-l-ṣmāti wa-n-nağāti mina n-Nāri wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yad'uwa bi-d-du'ā'i l-ladī kāna Dāwūdu 'alayhi s-salāmu yad'u bihi wa-huwa 'ilāhī as'aluka l-amāna 'inda naṣabi l-mawāzini wa-našri*



30

**Figure 30. The prayer-route of Ibn al-Murağğā in the Early Fāṭimid holy area:** 1 The entrance to the mosque. - 2 The entrance to the Dome of the Rock, the Rock, the place where people pray. - 3 The Black Paving-stone. - 4 The cave under the Rock. - 5 The Ascent of the Prophet. - 6 The Dome of the Chain and the Gate of Isrāfīl. - 7 The Dome of the Ascension. - 8 The Dome of the Prophet. - 9 The Gate of Mercy. - 10 The Chamber of Zechariah. - 11 The Throne of Solomon. - 12 The Gate of God's Presence. - 13 The Ḥiṭṭa Gate. - 14 The Inner Roofed Mosque, the Prayer-niche of 'Umar, the Prayer-niche of Mu'āwiya and all [other] prayer-niches. - 15 The Gate of the Prophet. - 16 The Chamber of Mary or Birth-place of Jesus. - 17 The place where Gabriel tied up al-Burāq. - 18 as-Sāhira on the Mount of Olives. - 19 The Chamber of David.

A197.c. Direct contact with the holy places becomes important. The Rock is touched at a certain place and kissed (B191.2), although a marble fence (B190.3) is meant to prevent people from touching it (B190.4). In the room of

*d-dawāwīni ilāhī as'aluka an lā tafḍaḥanī fī ḥalqika wa-an tu'ṭiyāni amānan min munāqaṣatika iyyāya ilāhī lā tağ'alnī munfaridan bi-'amalī waḥdī wa-lākini ġ'al lī raḥmataka amānani Llāhumma innī as'aluka riḍāk, fa-innaka in a'ṭaytanī riḍāka hānat 'alayya l-ašyā'u ilāhī lā tuwaqqifnī fī mawqifi l-ḥaṭṭā'ina wa-lā tuḥāsibnī ḥisāba l-muḍnibīna wa-hab lī yā ilāhī mā kāna mina d-dilali wa-tusallimnī wa-lā yuḍī'anī (read wa-lā tuḍī'anī) wa-ġfar lī fa-innaka taf'alu mā našā'u (read tašā'u) ilāhī as'aluka an lā tağ'alānī min ahli s-salāsili wa-l-aḡlālī wa-lā tusalliṭ 'alayya n-nirāna fa-innī lā t̄qata lī bihā' (ka-dālīka fataaltuhu (read naqaltuhu) mina n-Zabūri fī sūratī ṭamāniyatīn (read ṭamānin) wa-mi'atin wa-fī sūratī iḥdā wa-ḥamsīna mi'atin (read wa-mi'atin)).*

For the pseudo-psalms of Muslim tradition, see Kister, "Ḥaddithū" 230f.; Khoury, Wahh 258-263.

the southeast corner people make their ritual prayer directly on the Cradle of Jesus (B165.4).

A198. We thus hear for the first time recommendations to visit the Muslim holy places of Jerusalem in a certain sequence and to use pre-formulated prayers, but similar pilgrim guides may have already existed in the High 'Abbāsid period and are possibly mirrored in the careful lists of places by Muslim geographers (see A032).

A199. Some places are served by a group of people. These are either servants or adherents who stay there - the distinction between the two groups may be shifting. People involved with a certain place may have a major role in defending the importance of their place vis-à-vis other places, especially in spreading corresponding traditions and in raising funds.

A199.a. Possibly at the west staircase, a man prays aloud every day before noon (B174.3). The two Šūfī convents have adherents who live there and perform all prayers there except on Fridays when they join the congregational prayer in the whole mosque (B152.5). The mosque in the monumental east gate has its own servants (B154.9). The Dome of the Rock always has people staying there, adherents [of the Dome of the Rock] and [other] faithful (B184.16). The Aqṣà-Mosque has its own servants (B202.7) who sit on or next to the boxes along its four walls (B206.4).

A200. Traditions and architecture, ritual and customs show a rather inconsistent, but lively picture. Against the background of a general holiness, certain spots gain a special status more and more. These are not only the Dome of the Rock and the *Maqṣūra*, but also a large number of additional holy places inside the south building. Among the most surprising features is the existence of a Muslim prayer-route with a number of holy places which should be visited in a certain order and where a pre-formulated prayer or a choice of pre-formulated prayers is recommended. Not the less surprising is the use of lamps and carpets to enhance the importance of a place and the existence of individuals or groups who are involved with one particular place. The keyword may be personal involvement.<sup>1</sup> The area now becomes a place where more and more people - not only the rulers and those close to them, but other people as well - get personally involved.

#### 4.4. THE MOSQUE INSIDE THE FORMER TEMPLE (CHRISTIAN)

A201. The Christians still consider the area both the Temple and a mosque. Both the fact that this is the unchanged High 'Abbāsid conception and the small number of references show the lack of interest in the area.

---

<sup>1</sup> Goldziher, "Heiligenverehrung" 357 already stressed that popular reverence of relics is definitely private and not part of official public Islam.



A202. **Names** and a **tradition** identify the area with the Temple, and the Dome of the Rock with the Holy of Holies [of the Temple].

A202.a. The area is the former Temple (B131.2), where the blood of the prophet Zechariah fell [onto the ground] (B184.13). The Dome of the Rock is the Holy of Holies (B184.13).

A203. A **name** and a **tradition** at the same time declare the area a mosque (B131.2) built by ʿUmar (B131.12).

#### 4.5. THE FORMER AND FUTURE TEMPLE - JUST THE TEMPLE (JEWISH)

A204. Jews continue to identify the area with the Temple. They sometimes distinguish between the Temple destroyed to be rebuilt and the present buildings, but sometimes equate them without a second thought.

A205. **Names** and **traditions** declare the area the Temple (B131.3), which, hopefully soon, will be rebuilt (B131.13), certain places with parts of the Temple, and consider the Mount of Olives a kind of temporary replacement of the Temple.

A205.a. The wall around the area is the wall of the Temple (B134.3), its gates are the gates of the Temple (B135.2), the gates in front of the Temple (B135.3). A west gate is the Gate of the Priest (B143.1). Another west gate entered only from outside the wall is the Gate of Judah (B145.1) [the north [*sic*] gate of the eschatological Temple (B145.3)]. The Rock is the Foundation Stone [the stone from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, in the Holy of Holies] (B192.7).<sup>1</sup> The Jews brought by ʿUmar to Jerusalem settled in the city's south, in [the neighbourhood called] the Market of the Jews next to the Temple and its gates and next to the Spring of Sulwān (B131.13). The Mount of Olives is the place of the Ascent of God's Presence, the place of the Presence of God's strength and the Stool of God's foot (B014.7.d).<sup>2</sup>

A206. **Ritual** and **customs** declare the area the centre of the world. People go round the gates through the year individually, on the great feasts in a procession, sing a litany which repeats "Holy and blessed ..." (*qadōš wə-bārūk* ...) and pray at the gates because these are the

<sup>1</sup>For the Jewish conception of the Foundation Stone (*Āḥān Šəṭīyāh*), see Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien* 15-18; 73-75; Roscher, *Omphalosgedanke* 14-17; Jeremias, "Eckstein" 66; Jeremias, *Golgotha*; Busink, *Tempel* 12f.; 281; 658; 1174-1178; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 61-63; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 4; 9f.; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 2 81-111; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 95; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 176f.; Alexander, "Jerusalem as Omphalos" 114f.

<sup>2</sup>For Jewish traditions about God's Presence on the Mount of Olives, see Gil, "Aliya; "Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279f.; 282; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 64; 68-70; Küchler, "Füsse des Herrn" 29 n.46; Gil, *Palestine* 626-631; 640; 640f. n.113; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 168; Limor, "Eschatological Geography" 16-19.

gates of the Temple in front of the Sanctuary, then ascend the Mount of Olives and continue singing and praying there (B135.8; B184.18).

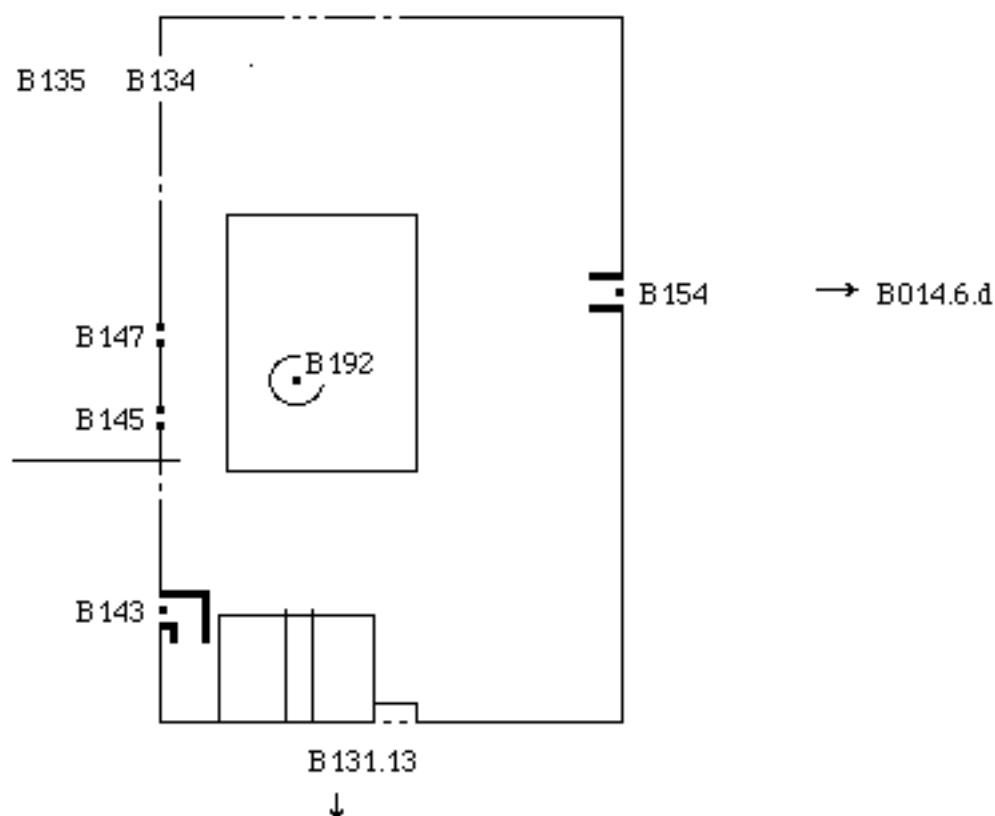


**Figure 31. The Fāṭimid Temple in Jewish sources:** B014.7.d The Mount of Olives, the place of the Ascent of God's Presence, the place of the Presence of God's strength. - B131.13 [The neighbourhood called] the Market of the Jews. - B134 The wall of the Temple. - B135 The gates of the Temple, the gates in front of the Temple. - B143 The Gate of the Priest. - B145 The Gate of Judah. - B147 The Cave. - B154 The Gate(s) of Mercy. - B192 The Foundation Stone.

A207. Outside the Gate of the Priest Rabbanites are living (B143.3), because this neighbourhood is near to the holy area.

A208. The identification with the Temple, in both names and traditions and ritual and customs, is much in the foreground. The Temple is definitely destroyed and will be rebuilt, but the existing buildings are identified nevertheless with the Temple. There are two levels of intensity. Obviously, the whole area is the Temple, but attention focuses on the walls, especially on their gates, on the Mount of Olives, where the area is best overlooked, and now also on the Rock inside the Dome of the Rock, a place rarely, if ever, accessed by Jews.

#### 4.6. GETTING AS NEAR AS POSSIBLE TO THE HOLY: A HOLY WALL AND HOLY GATES (JEWISH)

A209. There is no doubt that the area is the Temple, but visitors see the area mostly through another conception - this is an area of holiness, of immense power.

A210. **Name** and **traditions** attribute to the area extraordinary holiness, to the Rock [inside the Dome of the Rock] and the Mount of Olives even an extreme holiness.

A210.a. The identification of the area with the Temple (B131.3) already implies the holiness of the place. This is the Glorious and Noble Temple, the Holy Place, the Glorious and Great Sanctuary (B131.3). The Rock is the Foundation Stone [the stone from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, in the Holy of Holies] (B192.7). The Mount of Olives is the place of the Ascent of God's Presence, the place of the Presence of God's strength and the Stool of His Feet (B014.7.d).

A211. Even Jewish **architecture** plays a role in declaring this a holy area. Mosaic decoration and precious carpets, well known means of characterising Fāṭimid Muslim holy places (A190, A194), embellish the Jewish Cave (B147.3). The area of the former Temple, ruled and shaped as it is by Muslim conceptions, thus has a piece of Jewish architecture, certainly not public, but hidden in the underground, inside the west wall. Architecture declares the Jewish claims vis-à-vis a Jewish, not a Muslim, public and gives them a share in the area's holiness.

A212. **Ritual** and **customs** declare the gates of the wall and the Mount of Olives holy places. People circumambulate the gates and ascend the Mount of Olives through the year individually, and on the great feasts in a procession.

A212.a. People circumambulate the gates individually day and night, for instance, every Monday and Thursday, or in a procession once a year or three times a year at the [three] feasts [the Feast of Tabernacles, Passover and Pentecost] (B135.8, B 154.11). They circumambulate the gates of the Temple, sing a litany repeating *qadōš wə-bārūk* ... "holy and blessed ...", pray at the gates and ask God to have mercy on them and on relatives and friends in need, then ascend the Mount of Olives, and sing and pray there as well (B135.8). These prayers are considered as effective as if said after congregational service (B135.8) and they are thought to be successful because these are the gates of the Temple in front of the Sanctuary (B184.18). Especially favoured is prayer at the Gate of Judah (B145.4), where people ask God to explain their dreams (B145.4), and at the Gate(s) of Mercy (B154.10).

A213. Ritual concerned with a number of holy places thereby comes to the foreground, and this is similar to the growing importance of Muslim ritual dealing with a number of holy places. But there are two basic differences: Jewish ritual is one-dimensional, around the gates

and up to the Mount of Olives, and people may at the best choose certain places and leave other places out; whereas Muslim ritual is concerned with two dimensions, if not three, and people may combine the holy places in many different ways. And Jewish ritual is performed both individually and collectively, while Muslim ritual is, as far as we know, performed individually.

A214. **Ritual** defines the Cave as the centre of the Jewish community in the city, people assemble here to take out the Torah scrolls [for services] and to pronounce, if necessary, excommunications (B147.5). This leads one to compare the Cave to the High 'Abbāsid Chair of the Cantors on the Mount of Olives (B014.7.d). Both the Cave and the Chair of the Cantors are strongly related to the Rock as they are directly west and east of it. The Cave has the obvious advantages of being quite near to the Rock and of being a closed room and so not under direct Muslim control. The Chair of the Cantors has the advantage of overlooking the former Temple, but also the serious disadvantage of being farther away and of being in the open air and so exposed to Muslim harassment. The change from the Chair of the Cantors to the Cave mirrors a conscious Fāṭimid policy of giving the Jewish minority a place under Jewish control, unharassed by any Muslim claim.<sup>1</sup>

A215. The Cave is maintained by pious foundations from abroad (B147.5) and this gives people abroad the opportunity to participate in the area's holiness<sup>2</sup> - a feature again to be compared to the increasing number of Muslim minor places in the area (A200).

A216. Ritual and customs, and in one instance even architecture, attribute a distinct power to the area, i.e., to its wall, the central Rock and the Mount of Olives. The restriction to the gates and to the Mount of Olives does not imply that the other parts of the area are not holy, but rather mirrors the fact that the Muslim control of the area marginalises Jewish contacts with it and leaves for them the gates as points of direct contact, and the Mount of Olives as a point of visual contact. The new importance of the Rock may well be stimulated by the beauty of the architectural unity of the area and the emphasis it puts on the Dome of the Rock.

## 4.7. CONCLUSIONS

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid integration of minorities, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 2 273-407; Gil, *Palestine* 470f.; 549-561. For a parallel case where the Fāṭimids establish the Muslim Birth-place of Jesus and Cradle of Jesus to relieve the pressure on the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, see Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu", *in nuce* Soucek, "Maryam bint 'Imrān and Her Miḥrāb" 38.

<sup>2</sup>For Jewish pious foundations in favour of the Cave, see B147.5.

A217. In the Fāṭimid period, Muslim conceptions witness basically three developments. The dual conception of a wider mosque with a smaller interior mosque is generally kept, but instead of one interior mosque there are now many interior mosques. The High Fāṭimid rebuilding combines this double conception with a number of features taken over from the conception of the Temple, and thus enhances the focus of the mosque on the prayer-niche. In parallel to these official developments, individuals and groups are more and more involved with particular spots in the area and this results in a network of individually-arranged holy places. All three developments place the emphasis on particular places rather than on the whole.

A218. The Christians continue to use the Muslim terminology and call the present buildings the Temple and the mosque of the city. Similarly, the Jews continue to identify these buildings with the Temple, even though they also speak of the Temple to be rebuilt. There is no doubt that both Christians and Jews are aware of the fact that the Temple has been destroyed, but the attractiveness of the terms which give the building meaning is obviously overwhelming. Jewish individuals become involved with particular spots - as do Muslims - along the area's edges and thus have their share in the area's holiness.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A219. Contemporary sources show a surprisingly clear picture of the area of the former Temple, a picture, despite the diversity of sources, almost perfectly coherent in itself, apart from two breaks of continuity. We know, for the period 685-1099, the Muslim names of the whole area, its parts and about fifty individual spots in it, and may locate these places and describe their physical shape. In addition, we have, in many cases, a sample of related Muslim traditions, and in some instances, a Christian or Jewish name, a related contemporary event or a Muslim or Jewish vision or dream. For the period 324-685, the whole area and about fifteen places in it are known, even if much less known. Many features have close parallels in contemporary Muslim, Christian and Jewish Jerusalem and Palestine. All these details are richly documented in Part B.

A220. The first of the two breaks mentioned above is the Marwānid building in about 685, which creates a new architectural landscape in the area mostly in ruins. Places, at least in part, are built where earlier places were (A093), but there is no continuity in names and traditions.

A221. The second break is the High Fāṭimid rebuilding of the area's south. The Roofed Hall loses about half its width on both the left and right, but keeps its main axis oriented towards the Dome of the Rock. The easterly south gate, formerly a room, now leads through to the courtyard; the respective traditions migrate to the east gate and to a new room in the area's southeast corner. The latter room attracts further traditions from a place near the east gate and from the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.<sup>1</sup>

A222. The picture the Pre-Crusader sources provide is strikingly different from the situation today. Today, almost all gates are reduced to single gates. Underground gates are closed and transformed into mosques; one of the traditions has come to an open north gate; another tradition has changed its place from one gate in the north wall to another one and, simultaneously, to a city gate nearby.<sup>2</sup> The north and west walls have new minarets, and a girdle of splen-

---

<sup>1</sup>For the concentration of the four traditions at the southeast corner, see Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu".

<sup>2</sup>For names and traditions who have changed their place since the Pre-Crusader period, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 138f.; 173-189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 67f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 19 A.1; 2 5f.; 23-31; 33-36; 38-47; 104; 109 A.1; 171f.; 194f.; 199-203; 446-449; Matthews, "Wailing Wall" 338f.; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 34f.; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; 83; Tsafir, "Muqaddasi's Gates" 158; Busse, "Vom

did Mamlūk complexes of madrasas, Şūfī convents, tombs and hostels has been built. In front of the west wall is a square; next to the southeast corner are excavations. A tower in the south wall blocks more than half of a south gate.

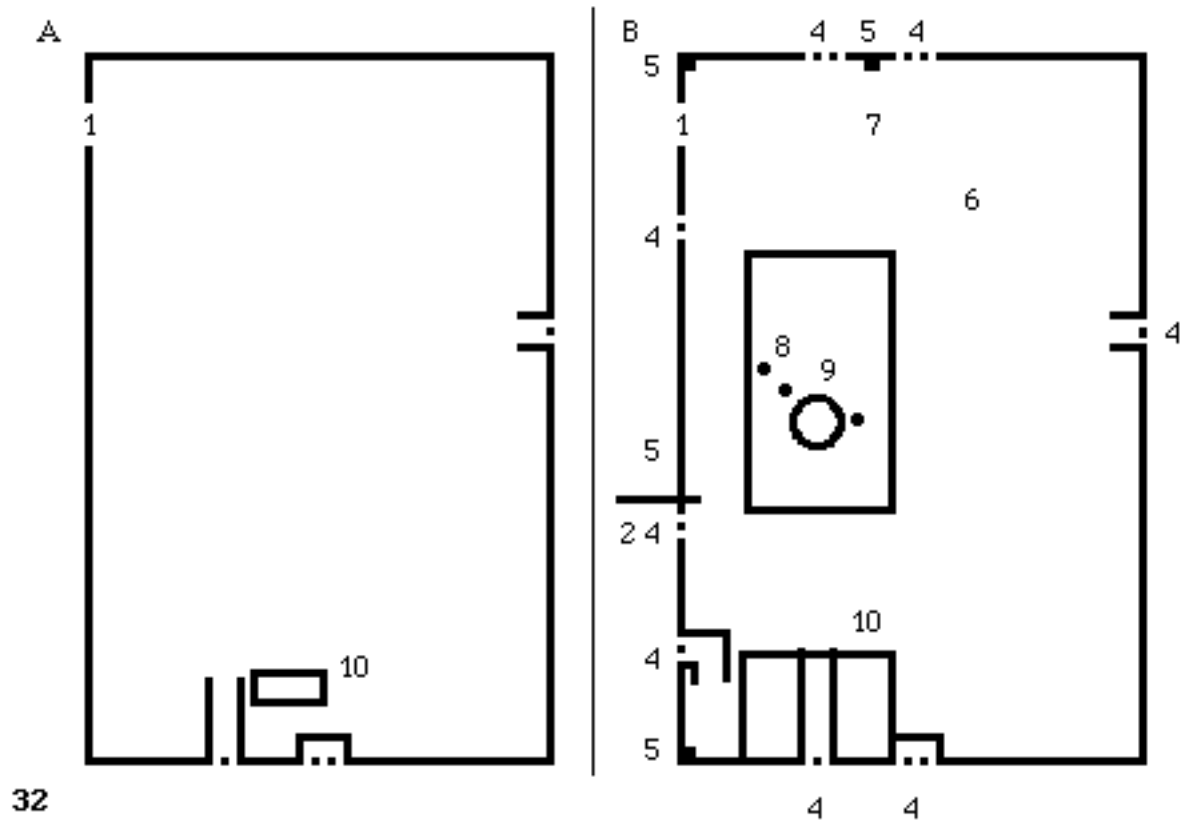


**Figure 32. The Marwānid rebuilding:** A Pre-Marwānid. - B Marwānid / 1 The Pre-Marwānid wall in ruins and the Marwānid rebuilt wall. - 2 The aqueduct. - 3 The ablution places (outside the wall). - 4 The gates. - 5 The minarets. - 6 The courtyard with the cisterns. - 7 The two minor places in the area's north. - 8 The platform and its minor domes. - 9 The Dome of the Rock. - 10 The Pre-Marwānid mosque and the Marwānid Roofed Hall.

A223. The period 324-1099 perceives what we call today the ḤARAM of Jerusalem through three conceptions - this is the Temple, the mosque of Jerusalem and an area of extraordinary spiritual power (= Part A). The conception of the Temple, inherited from the Pre-Marwānid period where it was the only existing explanation, becomes for a while the official interpretation, then loses almost all force. The conception of the mosque of Jerusalem, introduced by

Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 29 A.61; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103f.; Grabar, "al-Ḥuds" 343a; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 75; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 308; Gil, *Palestine* 647 A.117; Burgoyne, "Gates" 108; 119; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 202; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIII; 46; 68; 86; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32 A.91.

the Muslim conquerors, then equated with the Temple and maintained by substantial means from the official side, becomes more and more the official interpretation. Visitors are, nevertheless, mostly concerned with the area's extraordinary spiritual power, a conception originally closely connected with the idea of the Temple, but with time becoming almost independent.

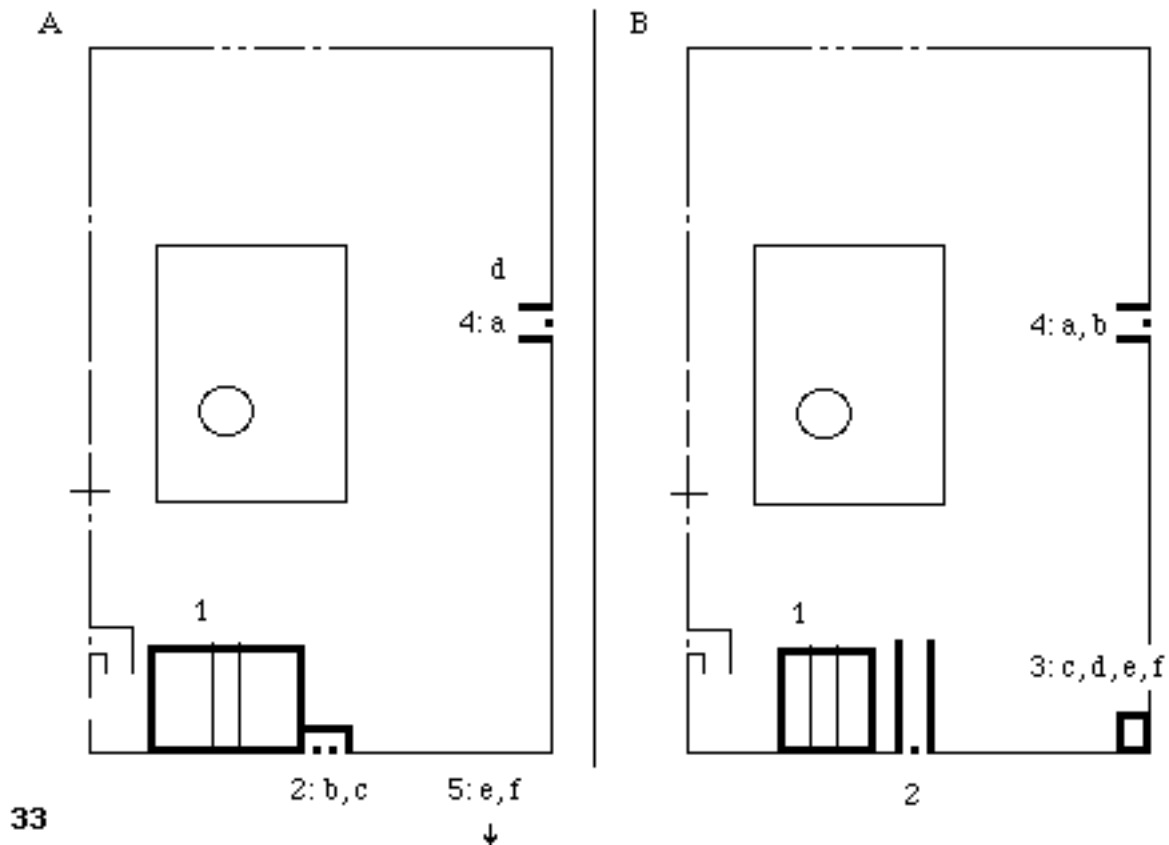
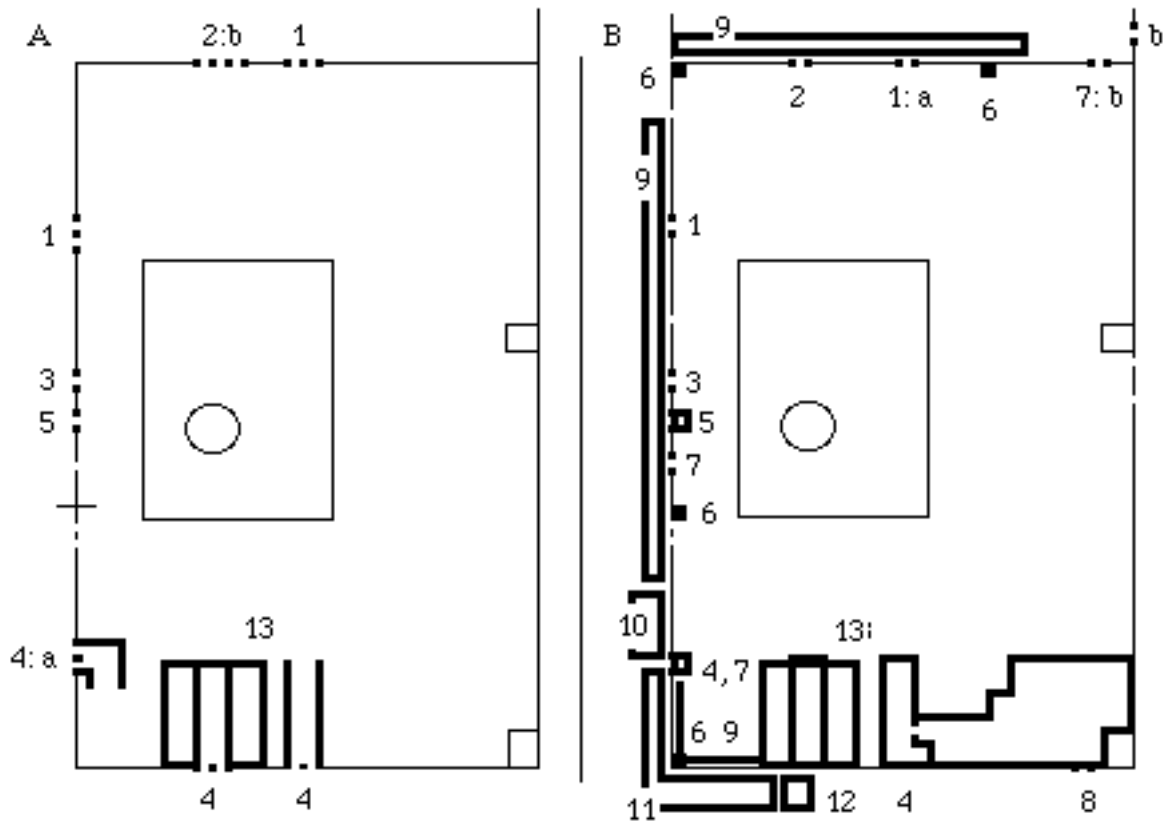


**Figure 33. The High Fāṭimid rebuilding of the area's south and the corresponding migration of names and traditions:** A Early Fāṭimid. - B High Fāṭimid / 1 The Roofed Hall, reduced in width. - 2 The easterly south gate, opened. - 3 A new room in the southeast corner. - 4 The east gate. - 5 The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem / a The Gate of Mercy. - b The Gate of Repentance. - c The Chamber of Mary. - d The Chamber of Zechariah. - e The Birth-place of Jesus. - f The Cradle of Jesus .





34

**Figure 34. Changes in architecture and traditions since the High Fāṭimid period:** A High Fāṭimid . - B Today / 1 Double gates reduced to single gates (BĀB AN-NĀẒIR, BĀB ḤIṬṬA). - 2 The Fāṭimid portal-minaret, a triple gate reduced to a single gate (BĀB AL-‘ATM). - 3 A gate rebuilt as monumental single gate (BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN). - 4 Underground gates closed and transformed into mosques (BARCLAY’S GATE, the DOUBLE GATE, the TRIPLE GATE with SOLOMON’S STABLES). - 5 A closed underground gate made inaccessible (WARREN’S GATE). - 6 New MINARETS. - 7 New single gates (the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ, BĀB AL-MATHARA, BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA). - 8 A new single gate, closed again (the SINGLE GATE). - 9 Madrasas along the north, west and south walls. - 10 Square outside the west wall (the WEST WALL PLAZA). - 11 Excavations area near the southeast corner. - 12 A new tower. - 13 The AQṢĀ MOSQUE rebuilt / a Fāṭimid Ḥiṭṭa Gate and modern BĀB ḤIṬṬA. - b Fāṭimid *Bāb al-Asbāt* "the Gate of the Tribes", modern ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ and modern CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ.

A224. There is no doubt that different people use different conceptions at one and the same time for one and the same object - and the Christians, Jews and Muslims of our period indeed understand the area of the former Temple differently, in part. But Muslims use at one and the same time not only one, but a number of conceptions for the area, conceptions which may not be reconciled with each other (A117). However problematic contradictions of this kind may be for the modern observer, a careful look at the sources shows that they are no problem for the period. To get an all-encompassing conception which explains all is not the

issue of the time. The simultaneous use of incongruent conceptions is one of the most striking results of our research.<sup>1</sup>

A225. Of the three conceptions mentioned, that of the **Temple** adapts most to the different political situations and religious traditions, and therefore appears in a number of variations.

A226. The Pre-Marwānid period considers the area almost completely as the former Temple, now and forever in ruins: this place had a central role in salvation history, but now is replaced either by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or by the Church, the community of all faithful. The Muslim conquerors define the area quite similarly: this is the former Temple, the first prayer-direction towards which all faithful turned in prayer; but now it is replaced by the Ka'ba in Mecca, the second prayer-direction now valid.

A227. And there is an alternative view. The Jews consider this not only the former Temple, but also the place of the future Temple to be built at the end of time. The present status of decay is just temporary.

A228. The Marwānid caliphs adopt the idea of the eschatological Temple and rebuild the area as, simultaneously, the Friday mosque of Jerusalem and the Muslim New Temple. The area has two points of reference - as a mosque it is oriented towards the Ka'ba, as the Temple, towards the Rock of Jerusalem. By building the New Temple, they pursue three goals: to show the overwhelmingly Christian population the authenticity of the Islamic faith and its unbroken continuity from the faith of old; to present to the Jews the caliph as the promised redeemer who rebuilds the eschatological Temple; and to mark, for their Muslim fellows and especially their rivals, their will and power to use the sophisticated means of Byzantine architecture to promote the Muslim interests. All three goals are highly political. The very substantial cost of the building and of the service performed here indicate the importance of the place for the Marwānid claims.

A229. The rebuilding transforms the area into a very attractive complex of architecture - this is no longer a place in ruins. This makes the former Christian conception based on the ruins obsolete. Therefore, the Christians downgrade the topic. They use the old conception only very reluctantly, but do not immediately develop a new conception. They neither adopt nor attack the Muslim conception of the New Temple.

---

<sup>1</sup> Similarly on the coexistence of incongruent conceptions in Hellenistic-Roman Jerusalem, see Levine, "Second Temple Jerusalem" 65f.; Baumgarten, "Role of Jerusalem" 79; 86 n. 8.

A230. The High 'Abbāsīd period has a new political discourse which integrates the Marwānīd claims, but moves them to second rank. The 'Abbāsīds maintain the Muslim New Temple, even though on a smaller scale, but slowly the goals fall into oblivion and are even misunderstood. But traditions deal much with the Temple and develop their own life which flourishes independently of any immediate political and religious claim. The decreasing aggressiveness of the conception now allows the Christians and Jews to adopt it. They call the existing Muslim buildings the Temple without recognising the religious and political claims originally connected with them. This is the beginning of visualising, in Christian and Jewish contexts, the former Temple through the Marwānīd buildings - later on the Dome of the Rock in particular becomes one of the most widespread representations of the Temple.

A231. The High Fāṭimid rulers maintain the Marwānīd New Temple on the same scale as before. While rebuilding the area's south, they duplicate certain features of the Temple, use them for embellishing the mosque and thus weaken further the importance of the conception of the Temple. The Christians call the Muslim building just the Temple. Jews do so as well, but simultaneously stress that certain places are left from the Old Temple and that the Temple has to be rebuilt.

A232. Compared to this first conception, the second one, of the **mosque of Jerusalem**, is much more straightforward.

A233. The Muslim conquerors establish their prayer-place in between the ruins of the former Temple, possibly replacing a short-lived Jewish prayer-place. Their intention is perhaps, as in many other places, just to mark presence. Both establishing a prayer-place of secondary rank in the area and splitting it into two parts are innovations with far-reaching consequences - this had until now been either a central sanctuary or no sanctuary, but never a place dependent on another centre, and it had always been one entity, not two parts. The Christians immediately call this building the prayer-place of the Muslims, without attributing much importance to the term.

A234. The Marwānīds transform the whole area into a splendid Friday mosque comparable to the great Umayyad Friday mosques of Damascus, Medina and Mecca, a Friday mosque which is also the Muslim New Temple. This is the official conception maintained by very substantial means. It is oriented towards the Ka'ba and has its prayer-niche carefully placed to emphasise the pre-eminence of the Ka'ba over the Rock, of the current prayer-direction over the former prayer-direction. The Christians immediately adopt the use of the term for the whole area.

A235. But the older conception of a small mosque in the area's south continues to exist. The Muslims call the south building - actually just the roofed hall - the mosque and consider it the best place for congregational prayer. The conception is obviously so deeply-rooted that it continues to exist despite the massive official support of the rival conception of a wider mosque.

A236. The High 'Abbāsids make the existing mosque into one of the great High 'Abbāsid mosques and furnish it with all characteristic elements. The less the area is seen as the Temple, the more it is just the Friday mosque of Jerusalem, and this becomes the conception generally used. The term is also common among Christians and Jews.

A237. Simultaneously, the conception of the small mosque in the area's south, i.e., in the south building, is in force.

A238. The Fāṭimids again change the area's appearance and equip it with all elements characteristic of the great Fāṭimid mosques. The devastation of the area's south in a series of earthquakes makes the High Fāṭimids build a new roofed hall - called from now on the Aqṣà Mosque. For this, they copy a number of features from the Temple, introduce them into their mosque, and thus enhance, in architecture as well, the status of the south building vis-à-vis the Dome of the Rock. The decoration, more and more splendid the nearer one gets to the centre, possibly mirrors one of the main features of Fāṭimid theology - the emphasis on concentric circles. The importance the conception has for the Fāṭimids may again be estimated from the immense financial resources they invest. Christians and Jews continue to call this the mosque of the city.

A239. Out of the conception of the small mosque inside the wider mosque a new conception now develops, of a number of mosques inside the wider mosque, among which the south building is considered the most important. The area thus slowly disintegrates and becomes a complex of buildings.

A240. The two conceptions of the Temple and of the Friday mosque are officially maintained, but the people visiting the area are mostly concerned with the third conception - this is an **area of extraordinary spiritual power**. People deal with the area's holiness as the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Palestine of all three religions deal with holy places. It is they who shape the conception and transmit it to visitors from abroad. There is a strong connection with the conception of the Temple, but the Temple is not constantly referred to and holiness is a quite independent feature. The conception is unconcerned by the vicissitudes of politics and remains basically unchanged.

A241. Both the Marwānid and the High ʿAbbāsīd periods consider this an extraordinarily holy area, with a number, slowly increasing, of extremely hot spots, the most important being the Rock proper.

A242. The Fāṭimid period adds to the Rock a second peak of holiness, the main prayer-niche inside the Aqṣà Mosque. Muslims are now advised to visit the holy places of the area in a given order using preshaped prayer formulas, and are promised a certain reward for each place. They now become personally involved with certain places which they like to visit and which they embellish. Jews consider this a holy area as well, but their devotion is marginalised by the Muslims and the Jews' focus is on the area's edges, mainly the gates. While visiting the holy places in a procession, they follow a certain order and use preshaped formulas. They also become personally involved with single places which they, at least in one instance, embellish.

A243. Jerusalem is a city holy not only to one religion, but holy to Jews, Muslims and Christians alike - this is one of its most characteristic features. This research describes, in as much detail as possible, how the part of the city most in focus for all three religions developed during the first four and a half centuries of coexistence. It elaborates the conceptions which shaped the area's perception, and their interaction and mutual adaptation.

A244. Our results may be compared to the rules of coexistence valid in this area for the different Jewish groups - among them the Christians - before the destruction of the Temple, for the different Muslim groups in the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, and the different groups of Muslims, Jews and Christians - faithful, nationalists and tourists - in our time, as well as to the rules of co-existence valid in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for the different Christian confessions past and present.

A245: see after A112.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

## SOURCES

- |                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Adomnanus                     | Bieler, L. (ed.), "Adamnani de locis sanctis libri tres", in: <i>Itineraria</i> , 175-234; 854 (= part 6). Translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Adomnan: The holy places", in: Wilkinson, <i>Pilgrims Before the Crusades</i> 93-116; Donner, Herbert (transl.), "Der Bischof Arkulf und der Abt Adomnanus (um 680) (Adamnani de locis sanctis libris tres)", in: Donner, <i>Pilgerfahrt</i> , 315-421 (= chapter 8). Maps: Wilkinson, "Arculf's Plans"                                                                                                                           |
| <i>Apocalypse Lévi</i>        | Lévi, Israel (ed. transl.), "Une apocalypse judéo-arabe", <i>REJ</i> 67 (1914) 178-182                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Bān Mēʿīr                     | Assaf, Simha/Mayer, L.A. (edd.), "Letter of ha-gāʾōn bān Mēʿīr", in: Assaf, Simha/Mayer, L.A. (edd.), <i>Sefer ha yishuv [Book of settlements]</i> , Jerusalem 1944, 21 (= Nr.24); Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 279                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Beda, <i>De locis sanctis</i> | Fraipont, I. (ed.), "Beda Venerabilis de locis sanctis", in: <i>Itineraria</i> , 245-280; 855 (= part 8). Maps: Wilkinson, "Arculf's Plans"                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Beda, <i>Homilia 105</i>      | Giles, J.A. (ed.), "Homilia CV In die palmarum", <i>PL</i> 94 (1862) 507                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Bernardus                     | Tobler, Titus/Molinier, Augustus (edd.), "Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi Franci [circa 870]", in: Tobler/Molinier, <i>Itinera</i> 1, XLIV-XLVII; 307-320 (= part 13). Commentary: Tobler, Titus, "Itinerarium Bernardi, monachi franci", in: Tobler, <i>Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae</i> , 85-99; 393-408 (= part 3). Translation: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Bernard the Monk: A Journey to the Holy Places and Babylon", in: Wilkinson, <i>Pilgrims Before the Crusades</i> , 140-145                                                                                                 |
| BGA                           | <i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Bible                         | Kittel, Rudolf et al. (edd.), <i>Biblia Hebraica</i> , 5th edition Stuttgart 1949; Rahlfs, Alfred (ed.), <i>Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes</i> , 2 volumes Stuttgart 1935. Reprint Stuttgart 1982. Nestle, Eberhard/Nestle, Erwin et al. (edd.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , 26th edition 4th print Stuttgart 1981; Weber, R./Gryson, Roger et al. (ed.), <i>Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem</i> , 4th edition Stuttgart 1994. <i>The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments. The New King James version</i> , New York 1990 |

---

<sup>1</sup>A number of books arrived too late to be included. These were Theophanes translated by Mango and Scott; Paszkiewicz/Zadrozny, *Jerzolima*; Piccirillo/Alliata, *Madaba Map Centenary*; Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*.

- al-Bīrūnī, *Āṭār*  
 al-Bīrūnī, *Ġamāhir*  
*Breviarius*  
 Burgoyne Nr. 1  
 Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.  
 CAA  
*Commemoratorium*  
*CCSL*  
*CSCO*  
 Elias of Nisibis  
 Epiphanius  
 Etheria  
 Eucherius
- Sachau, C. Eduard (ed.), *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî*, Leipzig 1878. Translation: Sachau, E. (transl.), *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, London 1879  
 al-Krankūy, Sālim [= Krenkow, F.] (ed.), *Kitāb al-ġamāhir fī maʿrifat al-ġawāhir min taṣnīf al-ustād Abī r-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1355/[1936] (*Ġamʿiyat Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUṣmāniya*). Translation: Krenkow, F. (transl.), "The Chapter on Pearls in the Book on Precious Stones by al-Bērūnī", *IC* 15 (1941) 399-421; 16 (1942) 21-36  
 Weber, R. (ed.), "Breviarius de Hierosolyma", in: *Itineraria*, 105-112 (= part 3). Translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Breviarius (or Short Account) of Jerusalem", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 58-61; Donner, Herbert (transl.), "Das Jerusalem-Brevier (um 550) (Breviarius de Hierosolyma)", in: Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*, 226-239 (= chapter 6)  
 see Burgoyne, "Marwānid Inscription"  
 see Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions"  
*Codices Arabici Antiqui*  
 Tobler, Titus/Molinier, Augustus (edd.), "Commemoratorium De Casis Dei vel Monasteriis [circa 808]", in: Tobler/Molinier, *Itinera* 1, XLIII f.; 299-305 (= part 12). Commentary: Tobler, Titus, "Commemoratorium de Casis Dei vel Monasteriis", in: Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, 77-84; 355-392 (= part 2). Translation: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Commemoratorium (or Memorandum) on the Churches in Jerusalem", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 135-138  
*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*  
*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*  
 Brooks, E.W. (ed.), *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum*, 2 parts Paris 1910, 1909 (*CSCO* 6. *CSCO Scriptores Syri* 21-22. *CSCO Textus. Series Tertia* 7-8). Translation: Brooks, E.W. (transl.), *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum*, 2 parts Paris 1910 (*CSCO* 63. *CSCO Scriptores Syri* 21-22. *CSCO Versio. Series Tertia* 7-8).  
 Edition and translation: Donner, "Epiphanius".<sup>1</sup> Further translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Epiphanius the Monk: The Holy City and the Holy Places", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 116-121; Külzer, *Peregrinatio graeca*, 14-17  
 Franceschini, Aet./Weber, R. (edd.), "Itinerarium Egeriae", in: *Itineraria*, 27-103; 851 f. (= part 2). Translations: Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*; Donner, Herbert (transl.), "Die Nonne Etheria (Peregrinatio Etheriae) (um 400)", in: Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*, 69-137 (= chapter 2)  
 Fraipont, I. (ed.), "Eucherii <quae fertur> de situ Hierusolimae epistula ad Faustum presbyterum", in: *Itineraria*, 235-243; 853 f. (= part 7). Translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Eucherius. Letter to

<sup>1</sup>The Slavic versions have not been taken into consideration.

- Faustus the Island Presbyter", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 53-55; Donner, Herbert (transl.), "Der Bischof Eucherius (nach 444) (Eucherii quae fertur de situ Hierusolimae epistula ad Faustum presbyterum)", in: Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*, 171-189 (= chapter 4)
- Eusebios, *Vita Constantini* Winkelman, Friedhelm (ed.), *Eusebius Werke*. 1,1: *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, Berlin 1975 (*Die griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*). Translation: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Eusebius on the Buildings on Golgotha", in: Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 164-171.
- Eustratios Garitte, Gérard (ed.), *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614 recensiones Arabicae*, Leuven 1973-74 (CSCO 340; 347. CSCO *Scriptores Arabici* 26; 28). Translation: Garitte, Gérard (transl.), *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614 recensiones Arabicae*, Leuven 1973-74 (CSCO 341; 348. CSCO *Scriptores Arabici* 27; 29)
- al-Farazdaq Bevan, Anthony Ashley (ed.), *The Nakā'id of Jarir and al-Farazdaq*, 3 volumes Leiden 1905-1912
- Gil Nr. ... Edition and translation: Gil, *Äräš-Yiśrā'el*
- Gil Nr.2 Edition and translation: Gil, *Äräš-Yiśrā'el*. 2 3-7 Translation (and edition): Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer"
- al-Harawī Edition: Sourdel-Thomine, *al-Harawī. Texte*. Translations: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim; Sourdel-Thomine, *al-Harawī. Traduction*
- Hieronymus, *Comm. in Esaiam* Adriaen, Marcus (ed.), *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Commentatorium in Esaiam libri I-XVIII*, 2 volumes Turnholt 1963 (CCSL 73-73A = *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri opera* 1,2-2A)
- Hieronymus, *Comm. in Matheum* Hurst, D./Adriaen, M. (edd.), *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Commentatorium in Matheum libri IV*, Turnholt 1969 (CCSL 77. *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri opera* 1,7)
- Hieronymus, *Comm. in Sophoniam* Adriaen, M. (ed.), [*S. Hieronymi presbyteri*] *Commentatorium in Sophoniam prophetam liber unus*, in: Adriaen, M. (ed.), *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Commentarii in prophetas Naum Abacuc Sophoniam Aggaeum Zachariam Malachiam*, Turnholt 1970 (CCSL 76A. *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri opera* 1,6), 655-711
- Hieronymus, *Hom. de nativitate Domini* Morin, Germanus (ed.), [*S. Hieronymi presbyteri*] *Homilia de nativitate Domini*, in: Morin, Germanus (ed.), *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Tractatus sive homiliae in psalmos, in Marci Evangelium aliaque varia argumenta*, 2nd edition Turnholt 1958 (CCSL 78. *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri opera* 2), 524-529
- Ḥillūq ha-Qārā'im wa-ha-Rabbānīm Ḥillūq ha-Qārā'im wa-ha-Rabbānīm, ed. in: Pinsker, S. (ed.), *Liqqūṭe qadmōniyōt*, Vienna 1860, 2 104
- Hrabanus Maurus, *Homilia I 70* Pamelius, J./Colvenerius, G. (edd.), "Beati Rabani Mauri ... operum omnium pars secunda. Homiliae. Homiliae de festis praecipuis, item de virtutibus. Homilia LXX Reversio sanctae atque gloriosissimae crucis Domini nostri Jesu Christi", *PL* 110 (1864) 131-134
- Hugeburc, *Vita Willibaldi* Holder-Egger, O. (ed.), "Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis", in: Holder-Egger, O. (ed.), "Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi auctore sanctimoniali Heidenheimensi", *MGH SS* 15 (1887-1888) 80-117;



- 574a. Translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Hugeburc. Life of St. Willibald - Extracts", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 124-135; Bauch, Andreas (transl.), "Das Leben des hl. Willibald", in: Bauch, Andreas, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Diözese Eichstätt. 1: Biographien der Gründungszeit*, 2nd edition Regensburg 1984 (*Eichstätter Studien* N.F. 19), 11-122
- Iacintus Garcia Villada, Z. (ed.), "Descripciones desconocidas de Tierra Santa en codices Españoles. 2: Descripción des prespitero Jacinto", *Estudios Ecclesiasticos* 4 (1925) 322-324. Reprint: "The Itinerary of Iacintus: The Latin text", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 205 (= appendix 8). Translation: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Iacintus the Presbyter. Pilgrimage (Fragment)", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 123
- Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih al-ʿAryān, Muḥammad Saʿīd et al. (edd.), *al-ʿIqd al-farīd taʿlīf ... Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Rabbih al-Andalusī*, 2nd edition 4 volumes in 8 parts Cairo 1372/1953. Translation: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim
- Ibn al-Bannāʾ, Taʾrīḥ Edition and translation: Makdisi, "Autography Diary"
- Ibn Baṭṭūṭa Edition and translation: Defrémery, C./Sanguinetti, B.R. (edd. transll.), *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah. Texte arabe accompagné d' une traduction*, 4 volumes Paris 1853-59. Reprint Paris 1914-22 (*Collection d' ouvrages orientaux publiés par la Société Asiatique*). Reprint Paris 1979 (*Collection UNESCO d' oeuvres représentatives. Série arabe. éditions anthropos*). Translations: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim; Gibb, H.A.R. (transl.), *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325-1354: Translated with Revisions and Notes ...*, 2 volumes Cambridge 1958-1962 (*[Works Issued by] The Hakluyt Society*). Reprint Nendeln (Liechtenstein) 1972.
- Ibn al-Faqīh Edition: de Goeje, *Ibn al-Fakīh*. Translations: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim; Massé, Henri/[Pellat, Charles] (transll.), *Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamaḍānī. Abrégé du livre des pays*, Damascus 1973 (*PIFD*)
- Ibn Ḥabīb, Taʾrīḥ Aguadé, Jorge (ed.), *ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (m.238/853). Kitāb al-taʾrīḥ (La historia)*, Madrid 1991 (*Fuentes Arabico-Hispanas* 1)
- Ibn Ḥawqal Kramers, J.H. (ed.), *Opus Geographicum auctore Ibn Ḥaukal (Abū'l-Ḳāsim ibn Haukal al-Naṣībī) ... cui titulus est "Liber imaginis terrae"*, 2 volumes Leiden 1938-39 (*BGA* 2). Index, glossary and corrections: de Goeje, *BGA* 4. Translations: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim; Kramers, J.H./Wiet, G. (transll.), *Ibn Ḥaukal. Configuration de la terre (Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ). Introduction et traduction*, 2 volumes Paris 1964 (*Collection UNESCO d' oeuvres représentatives. Série arabe*)
- Ibn Ḥurdādhbih Edition and translation: de Goeje, *Ibn Ḥurdādhbih*
- Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Edition: Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Muraḡḡā*
- al-Idrīsī Cerulli, E. et al. (edd.), *al-Idrīsī. Opus Geographicum sive Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrarare studeant*, 9 volumes Neapel/Rom 1970-1984. Reprint Neapel/Rom 1982ff. Translation: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim
- al-Iṣṭaḥrī Edition: de Goeje, *al-Istakhrī*. Index, glossary and corrections: de

- Itineraria* Goeje, *BGA* 4. Translation: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim  
*Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, 2 volumes Turnhout 1965 (CCSL 175f.)
- Itinerarium Burdigalense* Geyer, P./Cuntz, O. (edd.), "Itinerarium Burdigalense", in: *Itineraria*, 1-34; 851 (= part 1). Translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "The Pilgrim of Bordeaux", in: Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 153-163; Donner, "Pilger von Bordeaux".
- Itinerarium Placentinum* Geyer, P. (ed.), "Antonini Placentini itinerarium", in: *Itineraria*, 127-174; 853 (= part 5). Translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "The Piacenza Pilgrim. Travels from Piacenza", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 78-89; Donner, Herbert (transl.), "Der Pilger von Piacenza (um 570) (Antonini Placentini Itinerarium)", in: Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*, 240-314 (= chapter 7).
- Johannes Moschos Georgian Add. Nr.19 al-Kindī, *Quḍāt* Edition and translation: Flusin, "Esplanade" 17-22  
 Guest, Rhuvon (Hg.), *The Governors and Judges of Egypt or Kitāb el-ʿumarā (el-wulāh) wa Kitāb el quḍāh of el Kindī Together With an Appendix Derived Mostly From Raʿ al-iṣr by Ibn Hajar*, Leiden/London [on the Arabic title page: Beirut] 1912 (*E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series* 19), 299-500
- Koran* *al-Qurʿān al-Karīm*, 2nd edition Cologne-Deutz 1969-1970. English translation used: Bell, *Qurʿān*. Further translations used: Paret, *Koran-Übersetzung* and Paret, *Koran-Kommentar*; Arberry, *Koran*
- Leontios, *Vita Stephani Sabaitae* Pirone, Bartolomeo (ed. transl.), *Leonzio di Damasco. Vita di Santo Stefano Sabaita (725-794)*, Cairo/Jerusalem 1991 (*Studia Orientalia Christiana. Monographiae* 4)
- Madaba Map* Photographs: Donner, Herbert/Cüppers, Heinz, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba. Teil 1: Tafelband*, Wiesbaden 1977 (*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* [5]). References are by the system of number and letters in Avi-Yonah, *Madaba Mosaic Map*.
- al-Maḡdisī, *Badʿ* Huart, Claude (ed. transl.), *al-Maḡdisī. Badʿ al-ḥalq wa-t-taʿrīḥ (faususement sous le nom d'Abū Zayd al-Balḥī, Le livre de la Création et de l'Histoire)*, 6 volumes, Paris 1899-1919
- al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ* Barbier de Meynard, C./Pavet de Courteille/Pellat, Ch. (edd.), *Masʿūdī. Les Prairies d' or. Edition*, 7 volumes Beirut 1966-1979 (*Publications de l' Université Libanaise. Section des Etudes Historiques* 11). Translations: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim; Barbier de Meynard, C./Pavet de Courteille/Pellat, Ch. (transl.), *Masʿūdī. Les Prairies d' or: Traduction française*, 5 volumes Paris 1962-1997 (*Collection d' ouvrages orientaux publiés par la Société Asiatique*)
- al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* de Goeje, M.J. (ed.), *Kitāb at-tanbīh waʾl-ischrāf auctore al-Masʿūdī*, Leiden 1894 (*BGA* 8). Translation: Carra de Vaux, B. (transl.), *Maḡoudi. Le livre de l' avertissement et de la revision: Traduction*, Paris 1896 (*Collection d' ouvrages orientaux publiés par la Société Asiatique*). Reprint Frankfurt am Main 1986 (*VIGAIWB* 2)
- MGH SS* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*  
*Midrāš Qōhālāt Rabbāh Additions* Edition: Hirshman, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 218-221  
 Muǧīr ad-dīn ed. Būlāq 1283/1866. Translations: Sauvaire, *Moudjir-ed-dyn*; Le

- Strange, *Palestine* passim
- al-Muhallabī al-Munaḡḡid, Ṣalāḥ ad-dīn (ed.), "Qit'ā min kitāb mafqūd: al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik li-l-Muhallabī (al-mutawaffā sana 380 h. - 990 m.)", *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes* 4 (1958) 43-72. Many places are translated in: Vajda, "al-Muhallabī"
- al-Muqaddasī Edition: de Goeje, *al-Muqaddasī*. Index, glossary and corrections: de Goeje, *BGA* 4. Translations: Gildemeister, Muḡaddasī; Le Strange, *Palestine* passim; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī*
- Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 'Abd al-Bāqī, Muḡammad Fu'ād (ed.), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim li-Abī l-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ al-Quṣayrī an-Nīsābūrī*, Cairo 1374-1375/1955-1956
- Nāṣir Edition: Ġanīzāda, *Nāṣir*. Translations: Le Strange, *Nāṣir*; Le Strange, *Palestine* passim; al-Ḥaṣṣāb, *Riḥlat Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw*; Thackston, *Nāṣir*; Jakobsdóttir, "Nāṣir-i Khosro" [not accessible to me]. Definitely out of date is the edition and translation of Schefer, *Nassir*.
- P. London IV Edition: Bell, *Aphrodito Papyri*. Translation: Bell, "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri"
- PG Migne, Jacques Paul (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Graeco-Latina: Patrologia Graeca*, 161 volumes in 167 parts Paris 1857-1961
- Photios, *Amph.316* Westerink, L.G. (ed.), "[Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani] Qu[estio] 316. De sancto sepulcro", in: Westerink, L.G. (ed.), *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et amphilochia*. 6,1: *Amphilochiorum pars tertia*, Leipzig 1987 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romomanorum Teubneriana*) 122-124. Translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Photius. Question 107 to Amphilochius - Extract", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 146; Külzer, Andreas (transl.), "Die Beschreibung des Photios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel, über das Grab unseres Herrn Jesus Christus - Amphilochia 316 (W)", in: Külzer, *Peregrinatio Graeca*, 39f.; 280f.
- PL Migne, Jacques Paul (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Graeco-Latina: Patrologia Latina*, Paris 1844-1900
- PPTS *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*
- Prayers of Ṣim'on b. Yoḡay (Secrets)* Partial translation: Lewis, "Apocalyptic Vision"
- Prayers of Ṣim'on b. Yoḡay (Ten Kings)* Partial translation: Lewis, "Apocalyptic Vision"
- Prokopios, *Aedificia* Dewing, H.B./Downey, Glanville (edd. transll.), *Procopius, with an English Translation. 7: Buildings. General Index to Procopius*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London 1940. Reprint 1961 (*The Loeb Classical Library*). Translation: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Procopius of Caesarea. Buildings - Extracts", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 75-77
- Prudentius, *Dittochaeon* Edition and translation: Pillinger, *Dittochaeon des Prudentius*
- al-Qazwīnī Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand (ed.), *Zakarija Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, 2 parts Göttingen 1849-1848
- Sa'id b. Biṭrīq, *Ta'rīḥ* Edition and translation: Cheikho/Carra de Vaux/Zayyat, *Eutychii Annales*. Partial edition and translation: Breydy, Michael, *Das An-*

- namenwerk des Eutychius von Alexandrien: Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq um 935 A.D.*, Leuven 1985 (CSCO 471-472. CSCO Scriptores Arabici 44-45)
- Şalawāt al-Abwāb Goldfeld, L.N. (ed. transl.), "Nosah tēpīlāh šāl hā-bō bə-šaʿarē Yə-rūšālayim: Šēnī dāpīm mē-ha-Gəñizāh", Ha-Aretz 54 (18.5.1972)
- Sebeos Translations: Hübschmann, H. (transl.), *Zur Geschichte Armeniens und der ersten Kriege der Araber: Aus dem Armenischen des Sebēos*, Leipzig 1875. Reprinted in: *REArm* N.S. 13 (1978/79) 313-353; Macler, Frédéric (transl.), *Histoire d' Héraclius par l' évêque Sebēos traduite de l' arménien et annotée*, Paris 1904
- Sophronios, *Anakr.* 19-20 Edition and translation: Donner, *Sophronius*. Translation: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Sophronius of Jerusalem. Anacreontica 19 and 20 - Extracts", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 90-92
- Sulaymān, *Šarḥ Ēyḵāh* Edition: Feuerstein, *Salmon ben Jeruchamaṭ-Ṭabarī, Taʿrīḥ*. Edition: de Goeje et al., *at-Tabari*. Translation: aṭ-Ṭabarī. Taʿrīḥ. The History: English Translation From the Text of the Leiden Edition, 38 volumes Albany 1987ff. (*Bibliotheca Persica*)
- Theodosius Geyer, P. (ed.), "Theodosii de situ Terrae Sanctae", in: *Itineraria*, 113-125; 852f. (= part 4). Translations: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Theodosius. The Topography of the Holy Land", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 62-71; Donner, Herbert (transl.), "Der Archidiakon Theodosius (zwischen 518 und 530) (Theodosii de situ terrae sanctae)", in: Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*, 190-225 (= chapter 5)
- Theophanes de Boor, C. (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia*, 2 volumes Leipzig 1883-1885. Reprint Hildesheim/New York 1980. Translations: Breyer, L. (transl.), *Bilderstreit und Arabersturm in Byzanz: das 8. Jahrhundert (717-813) aus der Weltchronik des Theophanes*, 2nd edition Graz 1964 (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 6); Turtle-dove, Harry (transl.), *The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English Translation of Anni Mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813), with Introduction and Notes*, Philadelphia 1982 (*The Middle Ages*); Mango, C./Scott, R. (transl.), *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, Oxford 1997. Commentary: Rochow, Ilse, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes: Quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 717-813*, Berlin 1991 (*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten* 57)
- Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* Tobler, Titus, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex Saeculo VIII., IX., XII. et XV.*, Leipzig 1874
- Tobler/Molinier, *Itinera* 1 Tobler, Titus/Molinier, Augustus (edd.), *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae Bellis Sacris Anteriora et Latina Lingua Exarata*. 1, Geneva 1879 (*Publications de la Société de l' Orient Latin. Série Géographique* 1)
- van Berchem Nr. ... see van Berchem, *Jérusalem*
- Vita Bar Şawmā* Edition and translation of a few passages, with paraphrases of the parts in between: Nau, F., "Résumé de monographies syriaques", *ROC* 18 (1913) [1:] 270-276; [2:] 379-389; 19 (1914) [3:] 113-134; [4:] 278-289; [5:] 414-440; 20 (1915-1917) [6:] 3-32

- Vita Petri Iberi*  
Edition and translation: Raabe, *Petrus der Syrer*. Translation: Wilkinson, John (transl.), "John Rufus. The Life of Peter de Iberian - Extracts", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 56-58
- Wahb b. Munabbih  
Khoury, Raif Georges (ed.), *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 2 volumes Wiesbaden 1972 (CAA 1)
- al-Wāsiṭī  
Edition: Hasson, *al-Wāsiṭī*
- Yaḥyà b. Saʿīd  
Edition and translation in: Cheikho/Carra de Vaux/Zayyat, *Eutychii Annales*
- Yāpāt bān ʿAlī, *Təhillīm*  
Paraphrase of a passage: Gil, *Palestine* 643 A.115
- al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḥ*  
Houtsma, M.Th. (ed.), *Ibn Wādhīh qui dicitur al-Jaʿqubī, Historiae*, 2 volumes Leiden 1883. Reprint Leiden 1969. Translation: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim
- Yāqūt, *Buldān*  
Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand (ed.), *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch aus den Handschriften zu Berlin, St. Petersburg, Paris, London und Oxford*, 6 volumes Leipzig 1866-1870. Reprint Leipzig 1924. Translation: Le Strange, *Palestine* passim

## STUDIES

- ‘Abbās, "Qānūn"
- Abells, *Water Supply*
- Abu Raya, "Street of the Chain (A)"
- Abu Raya, "Hama‘araviyim Gate"
- Aguadé, *Nu‘aim*
- AIOUN*
- Alexander, "Jerusalem the Golden"
- Alexander, "Jerusalem as Omphalos"
- Allan/Abu Khalaf, "Wooden Ceiling"
- Amiran, "Earthquake Catalogue" Amiran, D.H.K., "A Revised Earthquake Catalogue of Palestine", *IEJ* 1 (1950-1951) 223-246; 2 (1952) 48-65 xxx
- Amiran, "Revised Earthquake Catalogue"
- Amiran, "Location Index"
- Amiran/Arieh/Turcote, "Earthquakes"
- Anawati, "‘Īsā"
- Arberry, *Koran*
- Arnold, "Ḳadam sharīf"
- al-Asad, "CAD Programs"
- Ashtor, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem"
- ‘Abbās, Iḥsān, "Riḥlat Ibn al-‘Arabī ilā l-Mašriq kamā ṣawwarahā 'Qānūn at-ta'wīl'", *al-Abḥāt* 21,2-4 (1968) 59-91
- Abells, Zvi, *Jerusalem's Water Supply From the 18th Century BCE to the Present*, Jerusalem 1993
- Abu Raya [read: Abu Raya], Rafa‘, "Jerusalem, Street of the Chain (A)", *ESI* 10 (1991) 134f.
- Abu Raya, Rafa‘, "Jerusalem, Hama‘araviyim Gate", *ESI* 16 (1997) 106-108
- Aguadé, Jorge, *Messianismus zur Zeit der frühen Abbasiden: Das Kitāb al-fitan des Nu‘aim ibn Ḥammād*, Ph.D. thesis Tübingen 1979
- Annali dell'Istituto Orientale Universitario Napoli*
- Alexander, Jonathan J.G., "'Jerusalem the Golden': Image and Myth in the Middle Ages in Western Europe", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 254-264
- Alexander, Philips S., "Jerusalem as the Omphalos of the World: On the History of a Geographical Concept", in: Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, 104-119 (= chapter 8)
- Allan, James W./Abu Khalaf, Marwan, "The Painted Wooden Ceiling in the Inner Ambulatory of the Dome of the Rock", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 465-472 (= chapter 29)
- Amiran, D.H.K., "A Revised Earthquake Catalogue of Palestine", *IEJ* 1 (1950-1951) 223-246; 2 (1952) 48-65
- Amiran, D.H.K., "Location Index for Earthquakes in Israel Since 100 B.C.E.", *IEJ* 46 (1996) 120-130
- Amiran, D.H.K./Arieh, E./Turcote, T., "Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas: Macroseismic Observations Since 100 B.C.E.", *IEJ* 44 (1994) 260-305
- Anawati, G.C., "‘Īsā", *EI* 2 4 (1978) 85a-90b
- Arberry, Arthur J. (transl.), *The Koran Interpreted*, London/New York 1955. Reprint London/Boston/Sydney 1981
- Arnold, T.W., "Ḳadam sharīf", *EI* 2 4 (1978) 383b-384b
- al-Asad, Mohammad, "Using Computer-Aided Design Programs for Urban and Architectural Reconstructions: The Case of Early Islamic Jerusalem", in: Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 175-183 (= appendix A)
- Ashtor, Eliyahu, "Muslim and Christian Literature in Praise of Jerusalem", in: Levine, *Jerusalem Cathedra* 1,

- 187-189
- ‘Athamina, "Eschatological Literature" 'Athamina, Khalil, "Jerusalem in Eschatological Literature: the Case of Islamic Ḥadīṭ", *AIOUN* 60-61 (2002) 115-126
- Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* Auld, Sylvia/Hillenbrand, Robert (edd.), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City: 1517-1917. Architectural Survey by Yusuf Natsheh*, 2 volumes London 2000
- Avi-Yonah, *Madaba Mosaic Map* Avi-Yonah, Michael, *The Madaba Mosaic Map With Introduction and Commentary*, Jerusalem 1954
- Avni, "Jerusalem as Textbook" Avni, Gideon, "Jerusalem as Textbook", *BAR* 22,3 (1996) 36-45; 65
- Baer, "Miḥrāb" Baer, E., "The Miḥrāb in the Cave of the Dome of the Rock", *Muqarnas* 3 (1985) 8-19
- Baer, "Visual Representations" Baer, Eva, "Visual Representations of Jerusalem's Holy Islamic Sites", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 384-392
- Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* Bagatti, Bellarmino, *Recherches sur le site du Temple de Jérusalem (Ier-VIIe siècle)*, Jerusalem 1979 (*Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio minor* 22)
- Bahat, "Western Wall Tunnels I" Bahat, Dan, "The Western Wall Tunnels", *Ariel* 84 (1991) 54-84
- Bahat, "Western Wall Tunnels II" Bahat, Dan, "The Western Wall Tunnels", in: Geva, *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, 177-190
- Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" Bahat, Dan, The physical infrastructure, in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 38-100 (= chapter 2)
- Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship* Baldovin, J.F., *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origin, Development, and Meaning of Stations Liturgy*, Rom 1987 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228)
- BAR* *Biblical Archaeology Review*
- Barag, "Islamic Candlestick Coins" Barag, D., "The Islamic Candlestick Coins of Jerusalem", *Israel Numismatic Journal* 10 (1988) 40-48
- Bashear, "Abraham's Sacrifice" Bashear, Suliman, Abraham's Sacrifice of His Son and Related Issues, *Islam* 67 (1990) 243-277
- Bashear, "Fārūq" Bashear, Suliman, "The Title 'Fārūq' and Its Associations with ‘Umar I", *SI* 72 (1990) 47-70
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- Bauch, "Pilgerreise Willibalds" Bauch, Andreas, "Pilgerreise Willibalds ins Heilige Land", in: Fischer/Schneider, *Das Heilige Land*, 13-18
- Baumgarten, "Role of Jerusalem" Baumgarten, Albert I., "The Role of Jerusalem and the Temple in 'End of Days' Speculation in the Second Temple Period", in: Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, 77-89 (= chapter 6)
- Bell, *Aphrodito Papyri* Bell, H.I. (ed.), *The Aphrodito Papyri*, London 1910 (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue, With Texts* 4)
- Bell, "Translations of the Aphrodito Papyri" Bell, H.I. (transl.), "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito

- Papyri in the British Museum", *Islam* 2 (1911) 269-283; 372-384; 3 (1912) 132-140; 369-373; 4 (1913) 87-96; 17 (1926) 4-8
- Bell, *Qur'ān* Bell, Richard (transl.), *The Qur'ān Translated, with a Critical Re-arrangement of the Surahs*, 2 volumes Edinburgh 1937-1939
- Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" Ben-Dov, M., "The Omayyad Structures Near the Temple Mount", in: Mazar, B./Ben-Dov, M. (edd.), *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Near the Temple Mount: Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons, 1969-1970/The Omayyad Structures near the Temple Mount*, Jerusalem 1971, 37-44; pl. XXIXf.
- Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount" Ben-Dov, M., "The Area South of the Temple Mount in the Early Islamic Period", in: Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed*, 97-101
- Ben-Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple* Ben-Dov, Meir, *In the Shadow of the Temple: The Discovery of Ancient Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1985
- Ben-Dov/Naor/Aner, *Western Wall* Ben-Dov, Meir/Naor, Mordechai/Aner, Zeev, *The Western Wall*, Tel Aviv 1983
- Bencheickh, "Mi'ṣrādī" Bencheickh, J.E., "Mi'ṣrādī. II. Littérature arabe du Mi'ṣrādī", *EI* 27 (1993) 102a-105a
- Ben-Shammai, "Karaites" Ben-Shammai, Haggai, "The Karaites", in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 201-224 (= chapter 6)
- Ben-Shammai, "Jerusalem in Bible Exegesis" Ben-Shammai, Haggai, "Jerusalem in Early Medieval Jewish Bible Exegesis", in: Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, 447-464 (= chapter 31)
- BEO *Bulletin d' Etudes Orientales*
- Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* Bianquis, Thierry, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide (359-468/969-1076): Essai d' interpretation de chroniques arabes médiévales*, 2 volumes Damascus 1986-1989 (PIFD)
- Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map 3* Bieberstein, Klaus, *Jerusalem: Baugeschichte. Karte 3: Vom Wiederaufbau in hadrianischer Zeit bis zum Vorabend der Kreuzzüge (117-1099 n.Chr.) = Jerusalem: Architectural Development. Map 3: From the Re-erection in the Hadrianic Period to the Eve of the Crusades (117-1099 A.D.)*, Wiesbaden 1992 (TAVOB IV 7.III)
- Bieberstein, "Gesandtenaustausch" Bieberstein, Klaus, "Der Gesandtenaustausch zwischen Karl dem Grossen und Hārūn ar-Rašīd und seine Bedeutung für die Kirchen Jerusalems", *ZDPV* 109 (1993) 152-173
- Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* Bieberstein, Klaus/Bloedhorn, Hanswulf, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*, 3 volumes Wiesbaden 1994 (TAVOB B 100)
- Blanchetière, "Julian" Blanchetière, F., "Julian philhellène, philosémite, anti-chrétien: L' affaire du Temple de Jérusalem (363)", *JJS* 31



- Blau, *Grammar of Christian Arabic* (1980) 61-81
- Blau, Joshua, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts From the First Millennium*, 3 volumes Leuven 1966-1967 (CSCO 267; 276; 279. CSCO Subsidia 27-29)
- Blair, "Date" Blair, Sheila S., "What Is the Date of the Dome of the Rock?", in: Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1, 59-87
- Bloom, *Minaret* Bloom, Jonathan, *Minaret Symbol of Islam*, Oxford 1989 (*Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* 7)
- BO *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
- Borotav, "Khiḍr-Ilyās" Borotav, P.N., "Khiḍr-Ilyās", *EI* 25 (1986) 5a-6a
- Bosworth, "Karrāmiyya" Bosworth, C.E., *EI* 24 (1978) 694a-696b
- Bosworth, "Observations on Inscriptions" Bosworth, C.E., "Some Observations on Jerusalem Arabic Inscriptions (ad *Levant* XI (1979) 112-137)", *Levant* 13 (1981) 266f.
- Bowersock, "Chronology" Bowersock, G.W., "The Chronology of the Attempt to Rebuild the Jewish Temple", in: Bowersock, G.W., *Julian the Apostate*, London 1978, 120-122 (= appendix I)
- Bowman, "Pilgrim Narratives" Bowman, Glenn, "Pilgrim Narratives of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: A Study in Ideological Distortion", in: Morinis, Alan (ed.), *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, Westport (Connecticut)/London 1992 (*Contributions to the Study of Anthropology* 7) 149-168 (= paper 8)
- Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" Braslavi, J./Alobaidi, Saleh-Joseph/Goldman, Yohanan/Küchler, Max (edd. transl.), "Der älteste jüdische Jerusalem-Führer: Library of the University of Cambridge. T.-S. Fragments (Arabic) 53. Dr.Hirschfeld Selection No.2. Faksimile und Transkription. Deutsche Übersetzung. [Französischer] Kommentar", in: Küchler/Uehlinger, *Jerusalem*, 37-81
- Brock, "Rebuilding of the Temple" Brock, Sebastian P., "The Rebuilding of the Temple Under Julian: A New Source", *PEQ* 108 (1976) 103-107
- Brock, "Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem" Brock, S.P., "A Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the Rebuilding of the Temple", *BSOAS* 40 (1977) 267-286
- Broshi, "Inhabitants of Jerusalem" Broshi, Magen, "The Inhabitants of Jerusalem", in: Rosovsky, *City of the Great King*, 9-34; 463f. (= paper 1)
- Brunschvig, "Barā'a" Brunschvig, R., "Barā'a", *EI* 21 (1960) 1058a-1059b
- BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
- Burgoyne, "Marwānīd Inscription" Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton, "A Recently Discovered Marwānīd Inscription in Jerusalem", *Levant* 14 (1982) 118-121; pl. XII.a and XIII
- Burgoyne, "Gates" Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton, "The Gates of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf", in: Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1, 105-124
- Burgoyne, "East Wall" Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton, "The East Wall of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf: a Note on Its Archaeological Potential", in:

- Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 479-491; fig. 31.1  
Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton/Abul-Hajj, Amal, "Twenty-Four Mediaeval Arabic Inscription From Jerusalem", *Levant* 11 (1979) 112-137; pl. XI-XXV
- Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton/Richards, D.S., *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*, Jerusalem 1987 ([*Publications of the*] *British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*) ([*Publications of the*] *World of Islam Festival Trust*)
- Buschhausen, "Fassade der Grabeskirche" Buschhausen, Helmut, "Die Fassade der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem", in: Folda, Jaroslav (ed.), *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford 1982 (*British Archaeological Reports. International Series* 152), 71-96
- Busink, *Tempel* Busink, Th.A., *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes: Eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des westsemitischen Tempelbaus*. 1: *Der Tempel Salomos*, Leiden 1970 (*Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten. Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata* 3). 2: *Von Ezechiel bis Middot*, Leiden 1980
- Busse, "Kultstätten" Busse, Heribert, "Der Islam und die biblischen Kultstätten", *Islam* 42 (1966) 113-147
- Busse, "Sanctity" Busse, Heribert, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam", *Judaism* 17 (1968) 441-468
- Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom" Busse, Heribert, "Die arabischen Inschriften im und am Felsendom in Jerusalem", *Das Heilige Land* 109 (1977) 8-24
- Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" Busse, Heribert, "Monotheismus und islamische Christologie in der Bauinschrift des Felsendoms in Jerusalem", *Theologische Quartalschrift* 161 (1981) 168-178
- Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" Busse, Heribert, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini", in: Fischer/Schneider, *Das Heilige Land*, 19-32
- Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb'" Busse, Heribert, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb in Jerusalem", *JSAI* 5 (1984) (= *From Jāhiliyya to Islam. Colloquium* [1]. *Jerusalem June 1980*) 73-119
- Busse, "'Omar's Image'" Busse, Heribert, "'Omar's Image as the Conqueror of Jerusalem", *JSAI* 8 (1986) (= *From Jāhiliyya to Islam. Colloquium* [2]. *Jerusalem July 1982*) 149-168
- Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" Busse, Heribert, "Jerusalem and Mecca, the Temple and the Kaaba: An Account of Their Interrelation in Islamic Times", in: Sharon, *Holy Land*, 236-246
- Busse, "Kanzel des Propheten" Busse, Heribert, "Die Kanzel des Propheten im Paradiesgarten", *WT* 28 (1988)<sup>1</sup> 99-111

<sup>1</sup>The volume has also been published separately, but with identical pagination: Havemann, Axel/Baber, Johansen (edd.), *Gegenwart als Geschichte. Islamwissenschaftliche Studien Fritz Steppat zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, Leiden 1988.

- Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram"
- Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung"
- Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension"
- Busse, "Kaaba"
- Busse, "Umar-Moschee"
- Busse, "Tower of David"
- Busse, "Jerusalem im Kreis der heiligen Städte"
- Busse, "Destruction of the Temple"
- Busse, "Jerusalem"
- Busse, "Polemik und Apologetik"
- Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa"
- Busse, "Patriarchengräber"
- Busse, "Persepolis"
- Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief"
- Busse, Heribert, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram aš-šarīf: Drei Heiligtümer und ihre gegenseitigen Beziehungen in Legende und Wirklichkeit", in: Busse/Kretschmar, *Heiligtumstraditionen*, 1-27
- Busse, Heribert, "Zur Geschichte und Deutung der frühislamischen Ḥarambauten in Jerusalem", *ZDPV* 107 (1991) 144-154
- Busse, Heribert, "Jerusalem in the Story of Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension", *JSAI* 14 (1991) (= *From Jāhiliyya to Islam. Colloquium* 3 2) 1-40
- Busse, Heribert, "Geschichte und Bedeutung der Kaaba im Licht der Bibel", in: Hahn et al., *Zion Ort der Begegnung*, 169-185
- Busse, Heribert, "Die 'Umar-Moschee im östlichen Atrium der Grabeskirche", *ZDPV* 109 (1993) 73-82
- Busse, Heribert, "The Tower of David/Miḥrāb Dāwūd: Remarks on the History of a Sanctuary in Jerusalem in Christian and Islamic Times", *JSAI* 17 (1994) (= *From Jāhiliyya to Islam. Colloquium* 4 1) 142-165
- Busse, Heribert, "Jerusalem im Kreis der heiligen Städte des Islams in der Auslegung von Sure 95,1-3", in: Görg, *Meilenstein*, 1-8
- Busse, Heribert, "The Destruction of the Temple and Its Reconstruction in the Light of Muslim Exegesis of Sūra 17: 2-8", *JSAI* 20 (1996) 1-17; 293
- Busse, Heribert, [Review of] Elad, *Jerusalem, Islam* 74 (1997) 354-356
- Busse, Heribert, "Antichristliche Polemik und Apologetik im Islam und die Kreuzzüge", in: Beltz, Walter (ed.), *Die Folgen der Kreuzzüge für die orientalischen Religionsgemeinschaften*, [Halle] 1997 (*Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 22), 51-62
- Busse, Heribert, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa: Qur'ān 2: 58 and the Entry into Jerusalem", *JSAI* 22 (1998) 1-17
- Busse, Heribert, "Die Patriarchengräber in Hebron und der Islam", *ZDPV* 114 (1998) 71-94
- Busse, Heribert, "Persepolis als Thron Ḡamšīds oder Moschee Salomos", in: Roemer, Hans Robert/Afshar, Iraj (edd.) *Sokhanvārih: 55 Papers in Memory of Parviz Nātil Khānlari*, Teheran 1997 (*Tus Publications* 436); with type-written corrections by the author
- Busse, Heribert, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Agony, and the Temple: The Reflection of a Christian Belief in Islamic Tradition", *JSAI* 9 (1987) (= *Jāhiliyya and Islam. Studies in Honour of M.J. Kister Septuagenarian Presented by Friends and Students*) 279-289

- Busse, "Shape of the Holy"
- Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution"
- Busse/Kretschmar, *Heiligtumstraditionen*
- Caetani, *Annali*
- Calasso, "La protection de la ville"
- Cameron/Conrad, *Near East 1*
- Carswell, "Deconstruction"
- Caskel, *Felsendom*
- Chabbi, "Khānḳāh"
- Cheikho/Carra de Vaux/Zayyat, *Eutychii Annales*
- Chen, "Design of the Dome of the Rock"
- Chen, "Golden Gate"
- Chen, "Setting Out Reconsidered"
- Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*
- Cohn, "Perforated Stone"
- Busse, Heribert, "Oleg Grabar, the Shape of the Holy, und andere neue Bücher über das frühislamische Jerusalem", *Islam* 75 (1998) 93-103
- Busse, Heribert, "The Temple of Jerusalem and Its Restitution by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 23-33
- Busse, Heribert/Kretschmar, Georg (edd.), *Jerusalem Heiligtumstraditionen in altkirchlicher und frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1987 (*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins* [8])
- Caetani, Leone, *Annali dell' Islam*, 10 volumes Milano 1905-1926
- Calasso, G., "Les remparts et la loi, les talismans et les saints: La protection de la ville dans les sources musulmanes médiévales", *BEO* 44 (1993) 93-104
- Cameron, Averil/Conrad, Lawrence I. (edd.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. 1: Problems in the Literary Source Material. Papers of the First Workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, Princeton 1992 (*Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 1)
- Carswell, John, "The Deconstruction of the Dome of the Rock", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 425-429 (= chapter 27)
- Caskel, Werner, *Der Felsendom und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, Cologne 1963 (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften* 114)
- Chabbi, J., "Khānḳāh", *EI* 24 (1978) 1057a-1058b
- Cheikho, L./Carra de Vaux, B./Zayyat, H. (edd.), *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales: Accedunt Annales Yahia Ibn Said Antiochensis*, 2 parts Beirut/Paris/Leipzig 1906-1909 (*CSCO* 50-51. *CSCO Scriptores Arabici* 6-7. *CSCO Textus. Series Tertia* 6-7)
- Chen, Doron, "The Design of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem", *PEQ* 112 (1980) 41-50
- Chen, Doron, "On the Golden Gate in Jerusalem and the Baptistry at Emmaus-Nicopolis", *ZDPV* 97 (1981) 171-177
- Chen, Doron, "Sir Archibald Creswell's Setting Out of the Plan of the Dome of the Rock Reconsidered", *PEQ* 117 (1985) 128-132
- Clermont-Ganneau, Charles, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine During the Years 1873-1874*, 2 volumes London 1899, 1896
- Cohn, Erich W., "Second Thoughts About the Perforated Stone on the Haram of Jerusalem", *PEQ* 114 (1982) 143-146

- Conrad, "Theophanes"
- Conrad, "Historical Evidence and Archaeology"
- Corbett, "Observations"
- Creswell, *EMA*
- Creswell, "Architecture"
- CS
- CSCO
- de Goeje, *BGA 4*
- de Goeje et al., *at-Tabari*
- de Goeje, *Ibn al-Fakîh*
- de Goeje, *Ibn Hurdādhbih*
- de Goeje, *al-Moqaddasi*
- de Goeje, *al-Istakhrî*
- Dequeker, "L' iconographie du Temple"
- Diem, *ABPP*
- Conrad, Lawrence I., "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition: Some Indications of Intercultural Transmission", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990) 1-44
- Conrad, Lawrence I., "Historical Evidence and the Archaeology of Early Islam", in: Seikaly, S./Baalbaki, R./Dodd, P. (edd.), *Quest for Understanding: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Malcolm H. Kerr*, Beirut 1991, 263-282
- Corbett, Spencer, "Some Observations on the Gateways to the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem", *PEQ* 84 (1952-1953) 7-14; pl. I-V
- Creswell, K.A.C., *Early Muslim Architecture*. 1: *Umayyads, 'Abbāsids and Ṭūlūnids*, 2nd edition Oxford 1969. Reprint New York 1979. 2: *Early 'Abbāsids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Ṭūlūnids, and Samānids A.D. 751-905*, Oxford 1940. Reprint New York 1979
- Creswell, K.A.C., "Architecture: Architecture musulmane primitive", *EI2* 1 (1960) 628b-645a
- Collected Studies*
- Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
- de Goeje, M.J., *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum: Pars quarta continens indices, glossarium et addenda et emendanda ad part. I-III*, Leiden 1879 (*BGA 4*)
- de Goeje, M.J. et al. (edd.), *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*, 15 volumes, Leiden 1879-1898. Reprint Leiden 1964-65
- de Goeje, M.J. (ed.), *Compendium Libri Kitâb al-Boldân Auctore Ibn al-Fakîh al-Hamadhânî*, Leiden 1885 (*BGA 5*)
- de Goeje, M.J. (ed. transl.), *Kitâb al-masâlik wa'-mamâlik (Liber viarum et regnorum) auctore Abû'-'Kâsim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah ibn Khordâdhbeh et excerpta e Kitâb al-kharâdj auctore Kodâma ibn Dja'far*, Leiden 1889 (*BGA 6*)
- de Goeje, M.J. (ed.), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici auctore Shams ad-dîn Abû Abdallah Mohammed ... al-Moqaddasi*, 2nd edition Leiden 1906 (*BGA 3*)
- de Goeje, M.J. (ed.), *Viae regnorum: Descriptio ditionis moslemicae auctore Abu Ishâk al-Fârisi al-Istakhrî*, 2n edition Leiden 1927 (*BGA 1*)
- Dequeker, L., "L' iconographie du Temple de Jérusalem dans les synagogues de l' antiquité en Palestine et en Syrie", in: Abecassis, A[rmann] et al. (edd.), *Jérusalem dans les traditions juives et chrétiennes: Colloque des 11 et 12 novembre 1982 Bruxelles, Löwen [1982] (Publications de l' Institut Judaicum)*, 33-55
- Diem, Werner, *Arabische Briefe auf Papyrus und Papier*

- der *Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, 2 volumes Harrassowitz 1991 (*Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Kommission für Papyrus-Editionen*)
- Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary* Diem, Werner/Radenberg, Hans-Peter, *A Dictionary of the Arabic Material of S.D. Goitein's "A Mediterranean Society"*, Wiesbaden 1994
- Diez, "Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock" Diez, Ernst, "The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem", *Ars Islamica* 1 (1934) 235-238
- Dietrich, "Personennamen mit ad-dīn" Dietrich, Albert, "Zu den mit ad-dīn zusammengesetzten islamischen Personennamen", *ZDMG* 110 (1960) 43-54
- Donceel-Voûte, "Carte de Madaba" Donceel-Voûte, Pauline, "La carte de Madaba: cosmographie, anachronisme et propagande", *RB* 95 (1988) 519-542
- Donner, *Conquests* Donner, Fred McGraw, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton 1981 (*Princeton Studies on the Near East*)
- Donner, "Epiphanius" Donner, Herbert (ed. transl.), "Die Palästinaabeschreibung des Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita", *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 42-91
- Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" Donner, Herbert, "Der Felsen und der Tempel", *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 1-11
- Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* Donner, Herbert, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land: Die ältesten Berichte christlicher PalästinaPilger (4.-7. Jahrhundert)*, Stuttgart 1979
- Donner, "Pilger von Bordeaux" Donner, Herbert (transl.), "Der Pilger von Bordeaux (333) (Itinerarium Burdigalense)", in: Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*, 36-68 (= chapter 1)
- Donner, *Sophronius* Donner, Herbert (ed. transl.), *Die anakreontischen Gedichte Nr.19 und Nr.20 des Patriarchen Sophronius von Jerusalem*, Heidelberg 1981 (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1981,10)
- Donner/Cüppers, "Vorbericht" Donner, Herbert/Cüppers, Heinz, "Die Restauration und Konservierung der Mosaikkarte von Madeba: Vorbericht", *ZDPV* 83 (1967) 1-33; pl. 1-12
- Donner/Cüppers, *Mosaikkarte von Madeba* 1 Donner, Herbert/Cüppers, Heinz, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba. 1: Tafelband*, Wiesbaden 1977 (*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* [5])
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- Döpp, *Deutungen* Döpp, Heinz-Martin, *Die Deutungen der Zerstörungen Jerusalems und des Zweiten Tempels im Jahre 70 in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten n.Chr.*, Tübingen/Basel 1998 (*Texte und Arbeiten zum Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* 24)
- Dozy, *Supplément* Dozy, R., *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2nd edition 2 volumes Leiden/Paris 1927
- Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period" Duri, Abdul Aziz, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period 7th-11th Centuries AD", in: Asali, K.J. (ed.), *Jerusalem in*

- Ecochard, "Dôme du Rocher"  
*EI2*  
 Eisener, *Sulaimān*  
 Elad, "Dome of the Rock"  
 Elad, "History and Topography"  
 Elad, *Jerusalem*  
 Elad, "Hebron"  
 Engle, *1,000 Years of Glassmaking*  
*ESI*  
 Fahd, "Sakīna"  
 Fattal, *Statut légal*  
 Fernandes, *Khanqah*  
 Feuerstein, *Salmon ben Jerucham*  
 Fiey, "Pèlerinage des Nestoriens et Jacobites"  
 Firestone, *Abraham-Ishmael Legends*
- History. 3,000 B.C. to the Present Day*, Revised edition  
 London/New York 1997, 105-129  
 Ecochard, Michel, "A propos du Dôme du Rocher et d' un  
 article de M. Oleg Grabar", *BEO* 25 (1972) 37-45  
 Gibb, H.A.R. et al. (edd.), *Encyclopédie de l' Islam*, 2nd  
 edition Paris/Leiden 1960ff. *Supplément* Paris/Leiden  
 1980ff.  
 Eisener, Reinhard, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion: Eine  
 Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik  
 und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987  
 Elad, Amikam, "Why Did ʿAbd al-Malik Build the Dome  
 of the Rock? A Re-Examination of the Muslim Sources",  
 in: Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1, 33-58  
 Elad, Amikam, "The History and Topography of Jeru-  
 salem During the Early Islamic Period: The Historical  
 Value of Faḡāʾil al-Quds Literature: A Reconsideration",  
*JSAI* 14 (1991) (= *From Jāhiliyya to Islam. Colloquium 3*  
 2) 41-70  
 Elad, Amikam, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship:  
 Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, Leiden 1994  
 (*Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts* 8)  
 Elad, Amikam, "Pilgrims and Pilgrimage to Hebron (al-  
 Khalil) During the Early Muslim Period (638?-1099)", in:  
 Le Beau, Bryan F./Mor, Menachem (edd.), *Pilgrims and  
 Travelers to the Holy Land*, Omaha 1996 (*Studies in  
 Jewish Civilization* 7), 21-62  
 Engle, A., *1,000 Years of Glassmaking in Ancient Jeru-  
 salem*, Jerusalem 1984 (*Readings in Glass History* 18)  
*Excavations and Surveys in Israel*  
 Fahd, T., "Sakīna", *EI2* 8 (1995) 918b-920a  
 Fattal, Antoine, *Le statut légal des Non-Musulmans en  
 pays d' Islam*, Beirut 1958 (*Recherches publiées sous la  
 direction de l' Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth*  
 10)  
 Fernandes, Leonor, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in  
 Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah Institution*, Berlin 1988 (*IU*  
 134)  
 Feuerstein, Salomon (ed.), *Der Commentar des Karäers  
 Salmon ben Jerucham zu den Klageliedern: Zum ersten  
 Male nach der Pariser Handschrift edirt, mit einer  
 Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen*, Ph.D. thesis  
 Bern/Krakau 1898  
 Fiey, J.M., "Le pèlerinage des Nestoriens et Jacobites à  
 Jérusalem", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale Xe-XIIIe  
 siècles* 12 (1969) 113-126  
 Firestone, R., *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of  
 Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis*, Albany

- 1990
- Fischer/Schneider, *Das Heilige Land*  
Fischer, Wolfdietrich/Schneider, Jürgen (edd.), *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter: Begegnungsraum zwischen Orient und Okzident. Referate des 5. Interdisziplinären Colloquiums des Zentralinstituts*, Neustadt an der Aisch 1982 (*Schriften des Zentralinstituts für Fränkische Landeskunde und Allgemeine Regionalforschung an der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg* 22)
- Fleck, "Linking Jerusalem and Rome"  
Fleck, Cathleen, A., "Linking Jerusalem and Rome in the Fourteenth Century: The Italian Bible of Anti-pope Clement VII", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 430-452
- Fleming, "The Gate Beneath the Golden Gate"  
Fleming, James, "The Undiscovered Gate Beneath Jerusalem's Golden Gate", *BAR* 9,1 (1983) 24-37
- Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*  
Flood, Finbarr Barry, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Making of an Umayyad Visual Culture*, Leiden 2001 (*Islamic History and Civilization* 33)
- Flood, "Ottoman Windows"  
Flood, Finbarr B., "The Ottoman Windows in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 431-463 (= chapter 28)
- Flusin, "Esplanade"  
Flusin, Bernard, "L' esplanade du Temple à l' arrivée des Arabes, d' après deux récits byzantins", in: Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1, 17-31
- Foruzānfar, *Risāla-i Qušayrīya*  
Foruzānfar, Badī' az-zamān (transl.), *Tarğuma-i Risāla-i Qušayrīya*, 3rd edition Teheran 1347/1989 (*Intišārāt-i Ilmī wa Farhangī* 217)
- Friedman, "Jewish Pilgrimage"  
Friedman, Mark, "Jewish Pilgrimage After the Destruction of the Second Temple", in: Rosovsky, *City of the Great King*, 136-146; 499-502 (= paper 7)
- Gabrieli, "Sefer Nāmeh"  
Gabrieli, F., "Il 'Sefer-nāmeh' e la crisi religiosa di Nāšir-i Ḥusraw", in: *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti Roma, 23-29 Settembre 1935-XIII*, Rom 1938-XVI, 556-559
- Ġanīzāda, *Nāšir*  
[Ġanīzādah, M. (ed.)], *Safarnāmah-i Nāšir-i Ḥusraw-i 'Alawī*, Berlin/Teheran 1341 h.q./[1922] (*Intišārāt-i Kitābfurūšī-yi Maḥmūdī*)
- GAP  
Gätje, Helmut/Fischer, Wolfdietrich (edd.), *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie*, 3 volumes Wiesbaden 1982-1992
- Gardet, "Djanna"  
Gardet, L., "Djanna", *EI* 22 (1965) 459a-464a
- Garitte, "Version géorgienne du Pré Spirituel"  
Garitte, Gérard, "La version géorgienne du 'Pré Spirituel'", in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* 2,1, Vatican City 1964 (*Studi e Testi* 232), 171-185
- Gaube, "Epigraphik"  
Gaube, Heinz, "Epigraphik", *GAP* 1 (1982) 211-225
- Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics"  
Gautier-van Berchem, Marguerite, "The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and of the Great Mosque in Damascus", in: Creswell, *EMA* 1, 211-372
- Gershuny, "Street of the Chain (B)"  
Gershuny, Lilly, "Jerusalem, Street of the Chain (B)", *ESI*



- Geva, *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*
- Giacumakis, "The Gate Below the Golden Gate"
- Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations"
- Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount*
- Gibson/Taylor, *Holy Sepulchre*
- Gil, *Pious Foundations*
- Gil, "Jewish Quarters"
- Gil, "Aliya"
- Gil, *Äräš-Yiśrā'el*
- Gil, "Dhimmī Donations and Foundations"
- Gil, *Palestine*
- Gil, "Political History"
- 10 (1991) 134 (fig.149); 135f.
- Geva, Hillel (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem 1994
- Giacumakis, George, "The Gate Below the Golden Gate", *Bulletin of the Near Eastern Archaeological Society* 4 (1974) 23-26
- Gibb, Hamilton A.R., "Arab-Byzantine Relations Under the Umayyad Caliphate", *DOP* 12 (1958) 219-233. Reprint in: Shaw, Stanford J./Polk, William R. (edd.), *Hamilton A.R. Gibb. Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, London 1962, 47-61
- Gibson, Shimon/Jacobson, David M., *Below the Temple Mount in Jerusalem: A Sourcebook on the Cisterns, Subterranean Chambers and Conduits of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf*, Oxford 1996 (*BAR [British Archaeological Reports]. International Series* 637)
- Gibson, Shimon/Taylor, Joan E., *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: The Archaeology and Early History of Traditional Golgotha*, London 1994 (*Palestine Exploration Fund Monographs. Series Maior* 1)
- Gil, Moshe (ed. transl.), *Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations From the Cairo Geniza Edited With Translation, Annotations and a General Introduction*, Leiden 1976 (*Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute* 2)
- Gil, Moshe, "The Jewish Quarters in Jerusalem (A.D. 638-1099) According to Cairo Geniza Documents and Other Sources", *JNES* 41 (1982) 261-278
- Gil, Moshe, "Aliya and Pilgrimage in the Early Arab Period (634-1009 [read: 634-1099])", in: Levine, *Jerusalem Cathedra* 3, 163-173
- Gil, Moshe, *Äräš-Yiśrā'el ba-Tqūpāh ha-Mūsliṃit ha-Riśōnāh (634-1099) [Palestine During the First Muslim Period (634-1099)]*, 3 volumes Tel Aviv 1983 (*Pirsūmē ha-Māḵōn l-Ḥeqār ha-Təpūsōt [Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute]* 41; 57; 58). Additions: Gil, Moshe, "Äräš-Yiśrā'el ba-Tqūpāh ha-Mūsliṃit ha-Riśōnāh (634-1099): Millū'im, ḥā'ārōt, tiqqūnīm [Palestine During the First Muslim Period (634-1099): Additions, Notes and Corrections]", *Teuda* 7 (1991) (= *Māḥqārīm bə-Maddā'ē hā-Yəhūdīyōt [Studies in Judaica]*) 281-345; XX
- Gil, M., "Dhimmī Donations and Foundations for Jerusalem (638-1099)", *JESHO* 27 (1984) 156-174
- Gil, Moshe, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge, etc. 1992. Reprint Cambridge, etc. 1997
- Gil, Moshe, "The Political History of Jerusalem During the Early Muslim Period", in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai,

- Gil, "Jewish Community"
- Gildemeister, "Nachrichten"
- Gimaret, "Saḡar"
- Goitein, "Sanctity"
- Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*
- Goitein, "Jerusalem in the Arab Period"
- Goitein, "al-Ḳuds"
- Goldziher, "Sakîna"
- Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*
- Goldziher, "Umeyyaden und 'Abbâsiden"
- Goldziher, "Heiligenverehrung"
- Görg, *Meilenstein*
- Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock"
- Grabar, "Islamic Art and Byzantium"
- Grabar, "A New Inscription"
- Grabar, "Commemorative Structures"
- Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 1-37 (= chapter 1)
- Gil, Moshe, "The Jewish Community", in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 163-200 (= chapter 5)
- Gildemeister, [J.], "Die arabischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Harambauten", *ZDPV* 13 (1890) 1-24
- Gimaret, D., "Saḡar", *EI* 2 8 (1995) 911ab
- Goitein, Shelomo D., "The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in Early Islam", in: Goitein, Shelomo D., *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden 1966, 135-148 (= chapter 7)<sup>1</sup>
- Goitein, S.D., *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 volumes Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1967-1993. Glossary of the Arabic terms: Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary*
- Goitein, Shlomo D., "Jerusalem in the Arab Period (638-1099)", in: Levine, *Jerusalem Cathedral* 2, 168-196
- Goitein, Shelomo D., "al-Ḳuds. A. Histoire", *EI* 2 5 (1986) 321b-340a
- Goldziher, Ignaz, "Über den Ausdruck 'Sakîna'", in: Goldziher, Ignaz, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* 1, Leiden 1896, 177-212; 217
- Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 volumes Halle 1888-1890. Reprint Hildesheim 1961
- Goldziher, Ignaz, "Umeyyaden und 'Abbâsiden", in: Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* 2, 28-87
- Goldziher, Ignaz, "Die Heiligenverehrung im Islam", in: Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* 2, 275-378
- Görg, Manfred (ed.), *Meilenstein: Festgabe für Herbert Donner*, Wiesbaden 1995 (*Ägypten und Altes Testament* 30)
- Grabar, Oleg, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem", *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959) 33-62. Reprint in: Grabar, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art* (= paper 2)
- Grabar, Oleg, "Islamic Art and Byzantium", *DOP* 18 (1964) 67-88. Reprint in: Grabar, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art* (= paper 4)
- Grabar, Oleg, "A New Inscription From the Ḥaram al-Sharif in Jerusalem", in: *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo 1965, 72-83. Reprint in: Grabar, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art* (= paper 14)
- Grabar, Oleg, "The Earliest Commemorative Structures: Notes and Documents", *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966) 7-46.

<sup>1</sup>This is a revised version of Goitein's "The Historical Background of The Erection of the Dome of the Rock", *JAOS* 70 (1950) 104-108.

- Grabar, "al-Ḥaram al-sharīf"
- Grabar, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art*
- Grabar, "Jerusalem"
- Grabar, "Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra"
- Grabar, "al-Ḳuds"
- Grabar, "al-Masjdīd al-Aḳṣā"
- Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*
- Grabar, "Space and Holiness"
- Grohmann, *Einführung*
- Grossman, "ʿAlīyāh lə-rägäl"
- Grossman, *Yeshiva of Eretz Israel*
- Grotzfeld, *Bad*
- Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang*
- Guillaume, "al-Masjdīd al-Aqsā"
- Hahn et al., *Zion Ort der Begegnung*
- Halm, "Treuhänder"
- Halm, "Šamsa"
- Reprint in: Grabar, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art* (= paper 10)
- Grabar, Oleg, "al-Ḥaram al-sharīf", *EI2* 3 (1971) 177b-179a
- Grabar, Oleg, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art*, London 1976 (CS 51)
- Grabar, Oleg, "Jerusalem", *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 7 (1986) 58b-61b
- Grabar, Oleg, "Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra", *EI2* 5 (1986) 297b-299a
- Grabar, Oleg, "al-Ḳuds. B. Monuments", *EI2* 5 (1986) 340a-345b
- Grabar, Oleg, "al-Masjdīd al-Aḳṣā", *EI2* 6 (1991) 695b-697a
- Grabar, Oleg, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem*, Princeton 1996
- Grabar, Oleg, "Space and Holiness in Medieval Jerusalem, in: Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, 275-286 (= chapter 19). Also in: *Islamic Studies* 40 (2001) 681-692
- Grohmann, Adolf, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde. 1: Einführung*, Prag 1954 (*Monografie Archivu Orientálního* 13,1)
- Grossman, Avraham, "ha-ʿAlīyāh lə-rägäl šäl rab ʿĒliyyāhū bān Mənāḥēm [Elijah ben Menahem's Pilgrimage]", *Tarbi z* 56 (5747/1986-1987) 273-278; III
- Grossman, Avraham, "The Yeshiva of Eretz Israel: Its Literary Output and Relationship with the Diaspora", in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 225-269 (= chapter 7)
- Grotzfeld, Heinz, *Das Bad im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter: Eine kulturgeschichtliche Studie*, Wiesbaden 1970
- Gruber, Ernst August, *Verdienst und Rang: Die Faḏāʿil als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam*, Freiburg i. Br. 1975 (*IU* 35)
- Guillaume, A., "Where Was al-Masjdīd al-Aqsā?", *al-Andalus* 18 (1953) 323-336
- Hahn, Ferdinand et al. (edd.), *Zion Ort der Begegnung: Festschrift für Laurentius Klein zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres*, Bodenheim 1993 (*Bonner Biblische Beiträge* 90)
- Halm, Heinz, "Der Treuhänder Gottes: Die Edikte des Kalifen al-Ḥākim", *Islam* 63 (1986) 11-72
- Halm, H., "Al-Šamsa: Hängekronen als Herrschaftsabzeichen der Abbasiden und Fatimiden", in: Vermeulen, U./De Smet, D. (edd.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras: Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd*

- and 3rd International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1992, 1993 and 1994, Leuven 1995 (*Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta* 73), 125-138
- Hamilton, "Some Capitals"  
Hamilton, Robert, "Some Capitals From the Aqsa Mosque", *QDAP* 13 (1948) 103-120
- Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque*  
Hamilton, R.W., *The Structural History of The Aqsa Mosque: A Record of Archaeological Gleanings From the Repairs of 1938-42*, Jerusalem/London 1949 ([Publications of The] Department of Antiquities in Palestine)
- Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar*  
Hamilton, R.W., *Khirbat al Mafjar: An Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley*, Oxford 1959 ([Publications of the] Palestine Archaeological Museum)
- Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā"  
Hamilton, Robert, "Once Again the Aqṣā", in: Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1, 141-144
- Hartmann, "al-Ḳadam bei Damaskus"  
Hartmann, Richard, "al-Ḳadam bei Damaskus", *OLZ* 16 (1913) 115-118
- Hartmann, "Sufyānī"  
Hartmann, Richard, "Der Sufyānī", in: *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen ... dicata*, Kopenhagen 1953, 141-151
- Hasan, "Footprint"  
Hasan, Perween, "The Footprint of the Prophet", *Muqarnas* 10 (1993) (= *Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar Contributed by His Students*) 335-343
- al-Ḥaṣṣāb, *Riḥlat Nāṣir-i Husraw*  
al-Ḥaṣṣāb, Yaḥyā (transl.), *Safarnāma: Riḥlat Nāṣir-i Husraw*, Cairo 1364/1945. 2nd edition Beirut 1970
- Hasson, *al-Wāsiṭī*  
Hasson, Isaac (ed.), *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas d' Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī*, Jerusalem 1979 (*The Max Schloessinger Memorial Series. Texts* 3)
- Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem"  
Hasson, Isaac, "Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem: Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis", in: Levine, *Jerusalem Cathedra* 1, 168-184
- Hasson, "Muslim View"  
Hasson, Izhak, "The Muslim View of Jerusalem", in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 367-377 (= chapter 11)
- Herzfeld, "Qubbat al-Ṣakhra"  
Herzfeld, Ernst, "Die Qubbat al-Ṣakhra, ein Denkmal frühislamischer Baukunst", *Islam* 2 (1911) 235-244
- Hillenbrand, "Qur'anic Epigraphy"  
Hillenbrand, R., "Qur'anic Epigraphy in Medieval Islamic Architecture", *REI* 54 (1986) (= *Mélanges offerts au professeur Dominique Sourdel*) 171-187
- Hillenbrand, "Vermächtnis des Felsendoms"  
Hillenbrand, Robert, "Das Vermächtnis des Felsendoms", *Forschungsforum: Berichte aus der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg* 2 (1990) 64-73
- Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*  
Hinz, Walther, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System*, Leiden 1955 (*Handbuch der Orientalistik. Ergänzungsband* 1,1)
- Hinz, "Dhirā'"  
Hinz, W., "Dhirā'", *EI* 2 (1965) 238b-239a
- Hirschberg, "Sources"  
Hirschberg, J.W., "The Sources of Moslem Traditions Concerning Jerusalem", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17

- Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" (1951-1952) 314-350  
 Hiršmān, Mēnāhēm [Hirshman, Mark], "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wa-ʿaliyāh lə-rägāl šāl Ēliyyāhū bān Mēnāhēm: Šabrōrē māsōrōt šāl yāmē ha-bēnayim bə-midrāšē ha-zākūr lə-ʿēl [The Priest's Gate and Elijah Ben Menahem's Pilgrimage]", *Tarbīz* 55 (5746/1985-1986) 217-225; II
- Honigmann, *Couvent de Baršaumā*  
 Honigmann, Ernest, *Le couvent de Baršaumā et le patriarcat jacobite d' Antioche et de Syrie*, Louvain 1954 (CSCO 146. CSCO Subsidia 7)
- Horovitz, "Muhammeds Himmelfahrt"  
 Horovitz, Josef, "Muhammeds Himmelfahrt", *Islam* 9 (1919) 159-183
- Huart/Sadan, "Kursī"  
 Huart, Cl./Sadan, J., "Kursī", *EI* 25 (1986) 512b-513a
- Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*  
 Hunt, E.D., *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312-460*, Oxford 1982. Reprint Oxford 1998
- IC  
*Islamic Culture*
- IEJ  
*Israel Exploration Journal*
- IJMES  
*International Journal of Middle East Studies*
- Ilisch, *SNATIVa*  
 Ilisch, Lutz, *Sylloge Nummorum Arabicorum Tübingen. IVa: Bilād aš-Šām I. Palästina*, Tübingen 1994
- IOS  
*Israel Oriental Studies*
- IQ  
*Islamic Quarterly*
- IU  
*Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*
- Jacobson, "Golden Section"  
 Jacobson, D.M., "The Golden Section and the Design of the Dome of the Rock", *PEQ* 115 (1983) 145-147
- Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental Stairway"  
 Jacobson, David M./Gibson, Shimon, "A Monumental Stairway on the Temple Mount", *IEJ* 45 (1995) 162-170
- Jakobsdóttir, "Nāšir-i Khosro"  
 Jakobsdóttir, Gudrun S. (transl.), "Nāšir-i Khosro's beretning om Jerusalem i Safarnámeh, 'Rejsedagbog'", in: Keck et al., *Living Waters*, 129-146 [not accessible to me]
- Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb"  
 Jamil, Nadia, "Caliph and Quṭb: Poetry as a Source for Interpreting the Transformation of the Byzantine Cross on Steps on Umayyad Coins", in: Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 2, 11-57
- JAOS  
*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- Jarrar, "Bišr al-Ḥāfī"  
 Jarrar, Maher, "Bišr al-Ḥāfī und die Barfüssigkeit im Islam", *Islam* 71 (1994) 191-240
- Jarrar, "Construction Plans"  
 Jarrar, Sabri, "Two Islamic Construction Plans for al-Haram al-Sharif", in: Rosovsky, *City of the Great King*, 380-416; 536-549 (= paper 17)
- Jeremias, "Eckstein"  
 Jeremias, J., "Der Eckstein", *ÖAggelow* 1 (1925) 65-70
- Jeremias, *Golgotha*  
 Jeremias, Joachim, *Golgotha*, Leipzig 1926 (*ÖAggelow: Archiv für Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte und Kulturkunde. Beiheft* 1)
- JNES  
*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- Johns, "House of the Prophet"  
 Johns, Jeremy, "The 'House of the Prophet' and the Concept of the Mosque", in: Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 2, 59-112

- Jomier, "Dikka", *EI* 2 (1965) 284b
- Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 2
- Johns, Jeremy (ed.), *Bayt al-Maqdis*. [2]: *Jerusalem and Early Islam*, London 1999 (*Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* 9,2)
- JRAS*
- JSAI*
- Kaplony, "Ta'rif"
- Kaplony, Andreas, "Eine wenig bezeugte Mit-Feier des muslimischen Opferfestes in Jerusalem: das 'vor-Gott-Stehen wie in 'Arafāt' (ta'rif)", *Compar(a)isaon* 2 (1994) 91-108
- Kaplony, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus*
- Kaplony, Andreas, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus: Gesandtschaften und Verträge zwischen Kaisern und Kalifen 639-750. Untersuchungen zum Gewohnheits-Völkerrecht und zur interkulturellen Diplomatie*, Ph.D. thesis Zurich 1994, Berlin 1996 (*IU* 208)
- Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu"
- Kaplony, Andreas, "Die fātimidische 'Moschee der Wiege Jesu' in Jerusalem", *ZDPV* 113 (1997) 123-132
- Kaplony, "Jerusalem"
- Kaplony, Andreas, "Jerusalem", *Der Neue Pauly* 14 (1999) (= *Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 2) 722-749
- Keck et al., *Living Waters*
- Keck, Egon/Søndergaard, Svend/Wulff, Ellen (edd.), *Living Waters: Scandinavian Orientalistic Studies. Presented to Frede Løkkegaard on His Seventy-fifth Birthday, January 27th 1990*, Kopenhagen 1990
- Kedar, "Intellectual Activities"
- Kedar, Benjamin Z., "Intellectual Activities in a Holy City: Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century", in: Kedar/Werblowsky, *Sacred Space*, 127-139 (= paper 9)
- Kedar/Werblowsky, *Sacred Space*
- Kedar, Benjamin Z./Werblowsky, R.J. Zwi (edd.), *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*, New York 1998
- Kenaan, "A Local Trend"
- Keenan, N.[read: Kenaan, N.], "A Local Trend in Crusader Art in Jerusalem", in: Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed*, 114f.
- Kessler, "Above the Ceiling"
- Kessler, Christel, "Above the Ceiling of the Outer Ambulatory in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem", *JRAS* (1964) 83-94
- Kessler, "Reconsideration"
- Kessler, Christel, "'Abd al-Malik's Inscription in the Dome of the Rock: a Reconsideration", *JRAS* (1970) 2-14
- Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes*
- Khitrowo, B. (transl.), *Itinéraires russes en Orient*. 1,1 [all published], Geneva 1889. Reprint Osnabrück 1966
- Khoury, "Arab Myths and Umayyad Monuments"
- Khoury, Nuha N.N., "The Dome of the Rock, the Ka'ba, and Ghumdan: Arab Myths and Umayyad Monuments", *Muqarnas* 10 (1993) (= *Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar Contributed by His Students*) 57-66
- Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out"
- Kister, M.J., "'You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques': A Study of an Early Tradition", *Le Muséon* 82 (1969) 173-196. Reprint with additional notes in: Kister, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam* (= paper 13)
- Kister, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*
- Kister, M.J., *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, London 1980 (*CS* 123)

- Kister, "Ḥaddithū"
- Kister, M.J., "Ḥaddithū 'an Banī Isrā'īla wa-lā ḥaraja: A Study of an Early Tradition", *IOS* 2 (1972) 215-239. Reprint with additional notes in: Kister, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam* (= paper 14)
- Kister, "Antiquity of Traditions"
- Kister, Meir, "A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem, in: Levine, *Jerusalem Cathedra* 1, 185f.
- Kittel, "Heiliger Fels"
- Kittel, Rudolf, "Der heilige Fels auf dem Moria: Seine Geschichte und seine Altäre", in: Kittel, Rudolf, *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte: Vier Abhandlungen*, Leipzig 1908 (*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament* 1), 1-96 (= paper 1)
- Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen*
- Klameth, G.K., *Die neutestamentlichen Lokaltraditionen Palästinas in der Zeit vor den Kreuzzügen*, 2 volumes Münster 1914-1923 (*Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen* 5,1; 10,2)
- Koehler/Baumgartner, *Lexikon*
- Koehler, Ludwig/Baumgartner, Walter, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 5 volumes and a supplementary volume, Leiden, etc. 1967-1996
- Kogan-Zehavi, "Hashalshélet Street"
- Kogan-Zehavi, Elena, "Jerusalem, Hashalshélet Street", *ESI* 16 (1997) 104-106
- Kramers, "Noms composés avec Dīn"
- Kramers, J.H., "Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn", *Acta Orientalia* 5 (1927) 53-67", *Acta Orientalia* 5 (1927) 53-67
- Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten"
- Kretschmar, Georg, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten Jerusalems in altkirchlicher Zeit", [1:] *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 166-205; [2:] in: Busse/Kretschmar, *Heiligtumstraditionen*, 29-115
- Küchler, "Füsse des Herrn"
- Küchler, Max, "Die 'Füsse des Herrn' (Eus., DE 6,18): Spurensicherung des abwesenden Kyrios an Texten und Steinen als eine Aufgabe der historisch-kritischen Exegese", in: Küchler/Uehlinger, *Jerusalem*, 11-35
- Küchler, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste"
- Küchler, Max, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste Jerusalems nach den Aphrodito-Papyri", *ZDPV* 107 (1991) 120-143
- Küchler, "Jerusalem-Führer aus der Geniza"
- Küchler, Max, "Ein jüdischer Jerusalem-Führer aus der Kairoer Geniza (UCL, T.-S. Arabic Box 53, f.2). Teil I: Der Text und sein Kontext", *Bulletin der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Judaistische Forschung* 1 (1992) 10-25
- Küchler, "Die Probatische und Betesda"
- Küchler, Max, "Die 'Probatische' und Betesda mit den fünf STOAI (Joh.5,2)", in: Kessler, Andreas/Ricklin, Thomas/Wurst, Gregor (edd.), *Peregrina curiositas: Eine Reise durch den orbis antiquus. Zu Ehren von Dirk Van Damme herausgegeben*, Freiburg (Schweiz)/Göttingen 1994 (*Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 27), 127-154
- Küchler/Uehlinger, *Jerusalem*
- Küchler, Max/Uehlinger, Christoph (edd.), *Jerusalem: Texte - Bilder-Steine. Im Namen von Mitgliedern und*

- Kühnel, "Jewish and Christian Symbolism" *Freunden des Biblischen Institutes der Universität Freiburg Schweiz herausgegeben ... zum 100. Geburtstag von Hildi + Othmar Keel-Leu*, Göttingen 1987 (*Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 6)
- Kühnel, Bianca, "Jewish Symbolism of the Temple and the Tabernacle and Christian Symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre and the Heavenly Tabernacle: A Study of Their Relationship in Late Antique and Early Medieval Art and Thought", *Jewish Art* 12-13 (1986-1987) 147-168
- Kühnel, *From Earthly to Heavenly Jerusalem* Kühnel, Bianca, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*, Rom/Freiburg/Vienna 1987 (*Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte. Supplementheft* 42)
- Kühnel, "Geography and Geometry" Kühnel, Bianca, "Geography and geometry of Jerusalem", in: Rosovsky, *City of the Great King*, 288-332; 516-526 (= paper 13)
- Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" Kühnel, Gustav, "Aachen, Byzanz und die frühislamische Architektur im Heiligen Land", in: Borkopp, Birgitt/Schellewald, Barbara/Theis, Lioba (edd.), *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, Amsterdam 1995, 39-57; pl. 1-24
- Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem* Kühnel, Bianca (ed.), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, Jerusalem 1998 (= *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998))
- Kühnel, "The Use and Abuse of Jerusalem" Kühnel, Bianca, "The Use and Abuse of Jerusalem", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) XIX-XXXVII
- Külzer, *Peregrinatio graeca* Külzer, Andreas, *Peregrinatio graeca in Terram Sanctam: Studien zu Pilgerführern und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien, Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer und metabyzantinischer Zeit*, Frankfurt am Main, etc. 1994 (*Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik* 2)
- Kussai, *Heiligkeit* Kussai, Haj-Yehia, *Die Heiligkeit Jerusalems im Spiegel der arabischen Überlieferung und Geschichtsschreibung*, Ph.D. thesis Göttingen 1990
- Lammens, *Omayyades* Lammens, Henri, *Etudes sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930
- Lammens, "Partage" Lammens, Henri, "Le calife Walid et le partage de la Mosquée des Omayyades à Damas", in: Lammens, *Omayyades*, 269-304
- Lammens, "Sofīānī" Lammens, Henri, "Le 'Sofīānī' héros national des Arabes syriens", in: Lammens, *Omayyades*, 391-408
- Lane, *Lexicon* Lane, Edward William, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 volu-



- mes Edinburgh 1863-1893
- Le Strange, "as Suyûtî"
- Le Strange, Guy, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary of Jerusalem in 1470 A.D., by Kamâl (or Shams) ad Dîn as Suyûtî: Extracts Re-Translated", *JRAS* N.S. 19 (1887) 247-305
- Le Strange, *Nâsir*
- Le Strange, G. (transl.), *Diary of a journey through Syria and Palestine by Nâsir-i-Khusrau*, London 1888 (PPTS 4,1)
- Le Strange, *Palestine*
- Le Strange, Guy, *Palestine Under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500. Translated from the Works of the Mediaeval Arab Geographers. With Maps and Illustrations*, Boston/New York 1890. Reprint Beirut 1965 (*Khayats Oriental Reprints* 14)
- Leisten, *Architektur für Tote*
- Leisten, Thomas, *Architektur für Tote: Bestattung in architektonischem Kontext in den Kernländern der islamischen Welt zwischen 3./9. und 6./12. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1998 (*Materialien zur iranischen Archäologie* 4)
- Levine, *Jerusalem Cathedra*
- Levine, Lee I. (ed.), *The Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel*, 3 volumes Jerusalem/Detroit 1981-1983 (*Publications of the Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Eretz Israel*)
- Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*
- Levine, Lee I. (ed.), *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, New York 1999
- Levine, "Second Temple Jerusalem"
- Levine, Lee I., "Second Temple Jerusalem: a Jewish City in the Greco-Roman Orbit", in: Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, 53-68 (= chapter 4)
- Levy-Rubin/Rubin, "Image"
- Levy-Rubin, Milka/Rubin, Rehav, "The Image of the Holy City in Maps and Mapping", in: Rosovsky, *City of the Great King*, 352-379; 530-536 (= paper 16)
- Lidov, "Heavenly Jerusalem"
- Lidov, Alexei, "Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 340-353
- Limor, "Eschatological Geography"
- Limor, Ora, "The Place of the End of Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 13-22
- Linder, "Christian Communities"
- Linder, Amnon, "Christian Communities in Jerusalem", in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 121-162 (= chapter 4)
- Livne-Kafri, "Some Traditions"
- Livne-Kafri, Ofer, "A Note on Some Traditions of *Faḍā'il al-Quds*", *JSAI* 14 (1991) 71-83
- Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Murağğā*
- Livne-Kafri, Ofer (ed.), *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām by Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī*, Shfaram [Šifā' 'Amr] 1995
- Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem"
- Livne-Kafri, Ofer, "The Muslim Traditions 'in Praise of

- Jerusalem' (*Faḍā'il al-Quds*): Diversity and Complexity", *AIOUN* 58 (1998) 165-192
- Livne-Kafri, "Early Šī'a" Livne-Kafri, Ofer, "The Early Šī'a and Jerusalem", *Arabica* 48 (2001) 112-120
- Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" Livne-Kafri, Ofer, "Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis ('The Merits of Jerusalem'): Two Additional Notes", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 19 (2001) 61-70
- Madelung, "Sufyāni" Madelung, Wilferd, "The Sufyāni Between Tradition and History", *SI* 63 (1986) 5-48. Reprint with additions in: Madelung, Wilferd, *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam*, London 1992 (CS 364) (= paper 3)
- Makdisi, "Autography Diary" Makdisi, George (ed. transl.), "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdād", *BSOAS* 18 (1956) [1:] 9-31; pl. I-III; [2:] 239-260; 19 (1957) [3:] 13-48; [4:] 281-303; [5:] 426-443. Reprint in: Makdisi, *History and Politics* (= paper 2)
- Makdisi, "Diary in Islamic Historiography" Makdisi, George, "The Diary in Islamic Historiography: Some Notes", *History and Theory* 25 (1986) 173-185. Reprint in: Makdisi, *History and Politics* (= paper 1)
- Makdisi, *History and Politics* Makdisi, George, *History and Politics in Eleventh-Century Baghdad*, Aldershot 1990 (CS 336)
- Mango, "Temple Mount" Mango, Cyril, "The Temple Mount AD 614-638", in: Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1, 1-16
- Mann, *Jews in Egypt and Palestine* Mann, Jacob, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine Under the Fatimid Caliphs: A Contribution to Their Political and Communal History Based Chiefly on Genizah Material Hitherto Unpublished*, Oxford 1920-22: Reprint New York 1970 with Preface and Readers Guide by Shelomo D. Goitein. Additions: Mann, Jacob, "A Second Supplement to 'The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine Under the Fatimid Caliphs'", *HUCA* 3 (1926) 257-308
- Mann, *Texts and Studies* Mann, Jacob, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, 2 volumes Cincinnati 1931, Philadelphia 1935. Reprint New York 1972
- Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* Maraval, P., *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient: Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1985
- Marçais, "Panels" Marçais, Georges, "The Panels of Carved Wood in the Aqṣā Mosque at Jerusalem", in: Creswell, *EMA* 2, 127-137
- Massignon, *Lexique technique* Massignon, Louis, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, 2nd edition Paris 1954 (Etudes Musulmanes 2)
- Matthews, "Wailing Wall" Matthews, Charles D., "The Wailing Wall and al Buraq: Is The 'Wailing Wall' in Jerusalem the 'Wall of al-Buraq' of Moslem Tradition?", *MW* 22 (1932) 331-339
- Matthews, "Merits" Matthews, Charles D. (ed.), "A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymīyyeh) on The 'Merits' of Jerusalem and Palestine",

- Mauss, "Méthode" *JAOS* 56 (1936) 1-21
- Mauss, C., "Note sur la méthode employée pour tracer le plan de la Mosquée d' Omar et la rotonde du Saint-Sépulcre à Jérusalem", *Revue Archéologique. 3ème série* 12 (1888) 1-31
- Mayer, *Architects* Mayer, L.A., *Islamic Architects and Their Works*, Geneva 1956
- Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* Mazar, B., *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem: Preliminary Report of the First Season, 1968*, Jerusalem 1969
- Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" Mazar, B., "The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Near the Temple Mount: Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons, 1969-1970", in: Mazar, B./ Ben-Dov, M. (edd.), *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Near the Temple Mount: Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons, 1969-1970/The Omayyad Structures near the Temple Mount*, Jerusalem 1971, 1-36; pl. I-XXXIII
- Mazar, "Excavations Near the Temple Mount" Mazar, B., "The Archaeological Excavations Near the Temple Mount", in: Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed*, 25-40
- Mazar, "Aqueducts" Mazar, A., "The Aqueducts of Jerusalem", in: Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed*, 79-84
- Mazar, "Herodian Jerusalem" Mazar, Benjamin, "Herodian Jerusalem in the Light of the Excavations South and South-west of the Temple Mount", *IEJ* 28 (1978) 230-237; pl. 35-38
- Meier, *Abū Saʿīd* Meier, Fritz, *Abū Saʿīd-i Abū l-Ḥayr (357-440/967-1049): Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Leiden/Teheran/Liège 1976 (*Acta Iranica* 11. *Acta Iranica Troisième Série. Textes et Mémoires*)
- Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" Meinecke, Michael, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaimān Qānūnī", in: [Shaath, Shauqi [Šaʿaṭ, Šawqī] (ed.)], *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Palestine Antiquities* 2, Aleppo 1988, 257-283; 338-360
- Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur* Meinecke, Michael, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, 2 volumes Glückstadt 1992 (*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Islamische Reihe* 5)
- MIFAO *Mémoires de l' Institut Français d' Archéologie Orientale du Caire*
- Milik, "Topographie" Milik, J.T., "La topographie de Jérusalem vers la fin de l' époque byzantine", *MUSJ* 37 (1961) (= *Mélanges offerts au Père René Mousterde pour son 80e anniversaire* 1) 125-189 (= fascicule 7)
- Milstein, "The Temple and the Ka'ba" Milstein, Rachel, "The Evolution of a Visual Motif: The Temple and the Ka'ba", *IOS* 19 (1999) (= *Compilation and*

- Miquel, "Jérusalem arabe"  
 Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī*  
 Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf"  
 Monnot, "Ṣalāt"  
 Motzki, "Quo vadis, Ḥadīṭ-Forschung?"  
 Motzki, "Der Prophet und der Schuldner"  
 Motzki, *Biography of Muḥammad*  
 Murphy-O'Connor, "Capitol"  
 MUSJ  
 MW  
 Myres, "Masjid Mahd 'Isa"  
 Myres, "Overview"  
 Nadler, *Umayyadenkalifen*  
 Nagel, "Inschriften im Felsendom"
- Creation in Adab and Luḡa. Studies in Memory of Naphtali Kinberg (1948-1997)* 23-48  
 Miquel, André, "Jérusalem arabe: Notes de topographie historique", *BEO* 16 (1958-1960) 7-13  
 Miquel, André (transl.), *al-Muqaddasī. Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm (La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces): Traduction partielle*, Damascus 1963 (*PIFD*)  
 Miquel, André, "Le Haram al-Charîf à Jérusalem", in: Papadopoulos, Alexandre (ed.), *Le mihrāb dans l'architecture et la religion musulmanes: Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris en mai 1980*, Leiden, etc. 1988, 65-69  
 Monnot, G., "Ṣalāt", *EI* 28 (1995) 956b-965b  
 Motzki, Harald, "Quo vadis, Ḥadīṭ-Forschung? Eine kritische Untersuchung von G.H.A. Juynbooll: 'Nāfi' the Mawlā of Ibn 'Umar, and His Position in Muslim Ḥadīṭ Literature'", *Islam* 73 (1996) 40-80; 193-231  
 Motzki, Harald, "Der Prophet und der Schuldner: Eine ḥadīṭ-Untersuchung auf dem Prüfstand", *Islam* 77 (2000) 1-83  
 Motzki, Harald (ed.), *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 2000 (*Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts* 32)  
 Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome, "The Location of the Capitol in Aelia Capitolina", *RB* 101 (1994) 407-415  
*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*  
*Moslem World*  
 Myres, David, "Restorations to Masjid Mahd 'Isa (the Cradle of Jesus) During the Ottoman Period", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 525-537 (= chapter 34)  
 Myres, David, "An Overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 325-354 (= chapter 23)  
 Nadler, Rajaa, *Die Umayyadenkalifen im Spiegel ihrer zeitgenössischen Dichter*, Ph.D. thesis Erlangen-Nürnberg 1990, [Erlangen] 1990  
 Nagel, Tilman, "Die Inschriften im Felsendom und das islamische Glaubensbekenntnis - der Koran und die Anfänge des Ḥadīṭ", *Arabica* 47,3-4 (2000) (= Gilliot, Claude und Nagel, Tilman (edd.), *Les usages du Coran. Présupposés et Méthodes. Formgebrauch des Korans. Voraussetzungen und Methoden. Actes du Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence (I.R.E.M.A.M./Section d'arabe de l'Université de Provence et Seminar für Arabistik der Universität Göttingen, 3-8 novembre 1998, à la Maison*

- Natsheh, "Ottoman Jerusalem" *Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l' Homme (M.M.S.H.) d' Aix-en-Provence* 329-365
- Natsheh, Yusuf, "The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 583-655 (= chapter 36)
- Natsheh, Yusuf, "Architectural Survey: Catalogue of Buildings", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 657-1012
- Nau, "Résumé" Nau, F., "Résumé de monographies syriaques. I: Histoire de Baršawma de Nisibe", *ROC* 18 (1913) [1:] 270-276; [2:] 379-389; 19 (1914) [3:] 113-134; [4:] 278-289
- Nau, "Deux épisodes" Nau, François, "Deux épisodes de l' histoire juive sous Théodose II (423 et 438) d' après la vie de Barsauma le Syrien", *REJ* 83 (1927) 184-206
- Neuwirth, "Erste Qibla - Fernstes Masğid" Neuwirth, Angelika, "Erste Qibla - Fernstes Masğid? Jerusalem im Horizont des historischen Muḥammad", in: Hahn et al., *Zion Ort der Begegnung*, 227-270
- Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" Neuwirth, Angelika, "The Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in Islam", in: Rosovsky, *City of the Great King*, 93-116; 483-495 (= paper 5)
- Neuwirth, "Genesis" Neuwirth, Angelika, "Jerusalem and the Genesis of Islamic scripture", in: Levine, *Jerusalem: Its sanctity and centrality*, 315-325 (= chapter 22)
- Neuwirth, "Three Names" Neuwirth, Angelika, "Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorific Names of the City", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 77-93 (= chapter 8)
- Nisan, "Jewish Source" Nisan, Mordechai, "Note on a Possible Jewish Source for Muhammad's 'Night Journey'", *Arabica* 17 (2000) 274-277
- Noth, "Abgrenzungsprobleme" Noth, Albrecht, "Abgrenzungsprobleme zwischen Muslimen und Nicht-Muslimen: Die 'Bedingungen 'Umar's (aš-šurūṭ al-ʿumariyya)' unter einem anderen Aspekt gelesen", *JSAI* 9 (1987) (= *Jāhiliyya and Islam. Studies in Honour of M.J. Kister Septuagenarian Presented by Friends and Students*) 290-315. [English translation: "Problems of Differentiation Between Muslims and Non-Muslims: Re-reading the 'Ordinances of 'Umar' (al-Shurūṭ al-ʿumariyya) ", in: Hoyland, Robert (ed.), *Muslims and Others in Early Islamic Society*, Ashgate 2004 (The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 18), 103-124 (= chapter 5)]
- Noth/Conrad, *Early Arabic Historical Tradition* Noth/Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 2nd edition Princeton 1994 (*Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 3)
- Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* Nuseibeh, Saïd/Grabar, Oleg, *The Dome of the Rock*, New York 1996
- Olesen, *Culte des saints* Olesen, Niels Henrik, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez*

- Olszowy-Schlanger, *Karaite Marriage Documents* (Bibliothèque d' Etudes Islamiques 16)
- OLZ
- Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple" *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
- Ousterhout, "Temple, Sepulchre, Martyrion" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989) 66-78
- Ousterhout, "Flexible Geography" *Gesta* 29 (1990) 44-53
- Pahlitzsch, "St. Maria Magdalena, St. Thomas und St. Markus: Tradition und Geschichte dreier syrisch-orthodoxer Kirchen in Jerusalem", *Oriens Christianus* 81 (1997) 82-106
- Paret, "Ferne Gebetsstätte" *Islam* 34 (1959) 150-152
- Paret, "al-Burāk", *EI2* 1 (1960) 1350a-1351b
- Paret, "Dāwūd", *EI2* 2 (1965) 187b-188a
- Paret, "Sure 57,12f." *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers: Ein Dokument der internationalen Forschung zum 27. September 1966*, Wiesbaden 1967, 387-390
- Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* *Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz. Mit einem Nachtrag zur Taschenbuchausgabe*, 4th edition. Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne 1989
- Paret, *Koran-Übersetzung* *Der Koran: Übersetzung*, 5th edition Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne 1989
- Parmentier, "No Stone Upon Another? Reactions of Church Fathers Against the Emperor Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple", in: Poorthuis/Safrai, *Centrality*, 160-175
- Paszkiewicz/Zadrozny, *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej [Jerusalem in European Culture]*, Warszawa 1997
- Patlagean, "Byzantium's Dual Holy Land", in: Kedar/Werblowsky, *Sacred Space*, 112-126 (= paper 8)
- Pavón Maldonado, "En torno a la Qubba real en la arquitectura hispano-musulmana", in: *Actas de las Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica (1978)*, Madrid 1981, 247-262
- Pedersen, "Ādam", *EI2* 1 (1960) 181b-183b

- Pedersen, "Djabrāʿil"
- Pedersen, "Masdjid"
- PEQ*
- PEFQS*
- Peters, "Dome of the Rock"
- Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca*
- Peters, "Holy Places"
- Piccirillo/Alliata, *Madaba Map Centenary*
- PIFAO*
- PIFD*
- Pillinger, *Dittochaeon des Prudentius*
- Plessner, "Muḥammed's Clandestine 'Umra"
- Plessner, "Ramaḍān"
- PO*
- Poorthuis/Safrai, *Centrality*
- Prawer, "The Jerusalem the Crusaders Captured"
- Prawer, *Jews in the Latin Kingdom*
- Prawer, "Christian Attitudes"
- Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*
- Pedersen, J., "Djabrāʿil", *EI22* (1965) 372b-373b
- Pedersen, Johs., "Masdjid. I. La mosquée dans les pays du centre du monde islamique. A-G", *EI26* (1991) 629b-664b
- Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
- Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
- Peters, Francis E., "Who Built the Dome of the Rock?", *Graeco-Arabica* 2 (1983) 119-138
- Peters, Francis E., *Jerusalem and Mecca: The Typology of the Holy City in the Near East*, New York/London 1986 (*New York University Studies in Near Eastern Civilization* 11)
- Peters, F.E., The Holy Places, in: Rosovsky, *City of the Great King*, 37-59; 464-474 (= paper 2)
- Piccirillo, Michele/Alliata, Eugenio (edd.), *The Madaba Map Centenary: Travelling Through the Byzantine Umayyad Period 1897-1997. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Amman, 7-9 April 1997*, Jerusalem 1999 (*Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio Maior* 40);
- Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*
- Publication de l'Institut Français de Damas*
- Pillinger, Renate (ed. transl.), *Die Tituli Historiarum oder das sogenannte Dittochaeon des Prudentius: Versuch eines philologisch-archäologischen Kommentars*, Vienna 1980 (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften* 142)
- Plessner, Martin, "Muḥammed's Clandestine 'Umra in the Dū l-Qaʿda 8.H. and Sūra 17,1", *RSO* 32 (1957) (= Studi in onore di Giuseppe Furlani) 525-530
- Plessner, M., "Ramaḍān", *EI28* (1995) 432ab
- Patrologia Orientalis*
- Poorthuis, M[arcel]/Safrai, Ch[ana] (ed.), *The Centrality of Jerusalem: Historical Perspectives*, Kampen 1996
- Prawer, Joshua, "The Jerusalem the Crusaders Captured: a Contribution to the Medieval Topography of the City", in: Edbury, Peter W. (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail*, Cardiff 1985, 1-16
- Prawer, Joshua, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford 1988
- Prawer, Joshua, "Christian Attitudes Towards Jerusalem in the Early Middle Ages", in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 311-348 (= chapter 10)
- Prawer, Joshua/Ben-Shammai, Haggai (edd.), *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 638-1099*,

- Pullan, "Jerusalem in the Santa Piacenza Mosaic" Jerusalem 1996  
Pullan, Wendy, "Jerusalem From Alpha to Omega in the Santa Pudenzia Mosaic", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 405-417
- Purvis, *Jerusalem*  
Purvis, James D., *Jerusalem, the Holy City: A Bibliography*, 2 parts London 1988, 1991 (ATLA [American Theological Library Association] *Bibliography Series* 20)  
*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
- QDAP  
Raabe, *Petrus der Syrer*  
Raabe, Richard (ed. transl.), *Petrus der Syrer: Ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts. Syrische Übersetzung einer um das Jahr 500 verfassten griechischen Biographie*, Leipzig 1895
- Rabbat, "Meaning of the Dome of the Rock"  
Rabbat, Nasser O., "The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock", *Muqarnas* 6 (1989) 12-21
- Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account"  
Rabbat, Nasser, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited: Some Remarks on al-Wasiti's Account", *Muqarnas* 10 (1993) (= *Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar Contributed by His Students*) 67-75
- Raby, "In Vitro Veritas"  
Raby, Julian, "In Vitro Veritas: Glass Pilgrim Vessels from 7th-Century Jerusalem", in: Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 2, 113-190
- Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1  
Raby, Julian/Johns, Jeremy (edd.), *Bayt al-Maqdis. 1: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, Oxford 1992 (*Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* 9,1)  
*Revue Biblique*
- RB  
RBK  
RCEA  
*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*  
Combe, Et. et al. (edd.), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, up to now 19 volumes Cairo 1931-1991 (PIFAO). Index to volumes 1-16: Kervran, Monika/Ory, Solange/Schneider, Madeleine (edd.), *Index géographique du Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe (tomes I à XVI)*, Cairo 1975 (PIFAO. *Bibliothèque d'Etudes* 68)  
*Revue des Etudes Islamiques*
- REI  
Reich/Billig, "Robinson's Arch"  
Reich, Ronny/Billig, Ya'akov, "Jerusalem, 'Robinson's Arch'", *ESI* 16 (1997) 108
- Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn"  
Reiner, Elchanan, "Li-š'ēlat Ša'ar ha-kōhēn ū-məqōmō [Concerning the Priest Gate and Its Location]", *Tarbīz* 56 (5747/1986-1987) 279-290; IV
- Reinink, "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History"  
Reinink, G.J., "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History in Response To the Rise of Islam, in: Cameron/Conrad, *Near East* 1, 149-187  
*Revue des Etudes Juives*
- REJ  
Renoux, *Codex arménien*  
Renoux, Athanase, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2 volumes Turnhout 1969-1971 (*PO* 35,1: Nr.163; 36,2: Nr.168)
- Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*  
Reynolds, Dwight F. (ed.), *Interpreting the Self: Auto-*



- Richards, "Mamlūk State" *biography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2001
- Richards, "Jerusalem Under the Mamlūks" Richards, Donald S., "The Mamlūk State", in: Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 53-56
- Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* Richards, Donald S., "Jerusalem Under the Mamlūks", in: Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 57-76
- Richmond, Ernest Tatham, *The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem: A Description of Its Structure and Decoration*, Oxford 1924
- Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" Richter-Bernburg, Lutz, "Going Places with Nāṣer-e Khosrow and His Translator", *WI33* (1993) 262-275
- Roaf, "Life in Jerusalem" Roaf, Susan, "Life in 19th-Century Jerusalem", in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 389-414 (= chapter 25)
- ROC *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
- Roscher, *Omphalos* Roscher, Wilhelm Heinrich, *Omphalos: Eine philologisch-archäologisch-volkskundliche Abhandlung über die Vorstellungen der Griechen und anderer Völker vom 'Nabel der Erde'*, Leipzig 1913 (*Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 19,9). Additions in: Roscher, *Omphalosgedanke*, 99-102
- Roscher, *Neue Omphalosstudien* Roscher, Wilhelm Heinrich, *Neue Omphalosstudien: Ein archäologischer Beitrag zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft*, Leipzig 1915 (*Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 31,1). Additions in: Roscher, *Omphalosgedanke*, 102
- Roscher, *Omphalosgedanke* Roscher, Wilhelm Heinrich, *Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern, besonders den semitischen: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft, Volkskunde und Archäologie*, Leipzig 1918 (*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 70,2)
- Rosen-Ayalon, "Particular Technique" Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam, "Notes on a Particular Technique of Architectural Decoration", *IEJ* 24 (1974) 232-236; pl. 51
- Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam, "Une mosaïque médiévale au Saint-Sépulchre: Contribution à l'histoire de l'art", *RB* 83 (1976) 237-255. Reprint in Kedar, Benjamin Z. (ed.), *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages: Selected Papers*, Jerusalem 1979, 338-346; pl. 20-24
- Rosen-Ayalon, "Māqōr Qādūm" Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam, "Māqōr qādūm 'al bəniyat Kīpat ha-šālšālāt bə-Har ha-bayit", *Teuda* 11 (5739/[1979]) 184f.
- Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam, "The Façade of the Holy Sepul-

- chre", *RSO* 59 (1985) (= Alfieri, Bianca Maria/Scerrato, Umberto (edd.), *Studi in onore di Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881-1954). 2. Il mondo islamico* 289-296; pl. I-VIII
- Rosen-Ayalon, "New Discoveries" Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam, "New Discoveries in Islamic Archaeology in the Holy Land", in: Sharon, *Holy Land*, 257-269
- Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif: An Iconographic Study*, Jerusalem 1989 (*Qedem* 28)
- Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam, "Art and Architecture in Ayyūbid Jerusalem", *IEJ* 40 (1990) 305-314; pl. 29-32
- Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam, "Art and Architecture in Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period", in: Prawer/Ben-Shammai, *Early Muslim Jerusalem*, 386-412 (= chapter 12)
- Rosovsky, *City of the Great King* Rosovsky, Nitza (ed.), *City of the Great King: Jerusalem from David to the Present*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London 1996
- Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg* Rotter, Gernot, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 45,3)
- RSO* *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
- Russell, "Earthquake Chronology" Russell, Kenneth W., "The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd Through the Mid-8th Century A.D.", *BASOR* 260 (1985) 37-59
- Rüterswörden, "Prophetin Hulda" Rüterswörden, Udo, "Die Prophetin Hulda", in: Görg, *Meilenstein*, 234-242
- Sabar, "The Venice Haggadah" Sabar, Shalom, "Messianic Aspirations and Renaissance Urban Ideals: The Image of Jerusalem in the Venice Haggadah, 1609", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 294-312
- Sadan, *Mobilier* Sadan, J., *Le mobilier au Proche Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976
- Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* Sauvaget, Jean, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine: Etude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique*, Paris 1947 (*PIFD*)
- Sauvaire, *Moudjîr-ed-dyn* Sauvaire, Henry (transl.), *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Abraham jusqu'à la fin du Xe siècle de J.-C.: Fragments de la Chronique de Moudjîr-ed-dyn traduits sur le texte arabe*, Paris 1876. Reprint Frankfurt am Main 1993 (*VIGAIW. Series Islamic Geography* 72)
- Schefer, *Nassir* Schefer, Charles (ed. transl.), *Sefer nameh: Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Egypte, en Arabie et en Perse, pendant les années de l'hégire 437-444 (1035-1042)*, Paris 1881 (*Publications de l'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes. IIe série* 1)
- Schein, "Between Moriah and Holy Sepulchre" Schein, Sylvia, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy

- Schick, "Reports"  
Schick, *Christian Communities*
- Schneider, "Epiphanius"
- Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*
- Schrieke, "Himmelsreise Muhammeds"
- Schrieke/Horovitz, "Mi'rādī"
- Schützinger, "Nebukadnezar und Johannes"
- Schwind, *Arator-Studien*
- Seemann, *Altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*
- Sellheim, "Bürgerkrieg"
- Shalem, "Bi'r al-Waraqā"
- Shalem, "al-Yatima"
- Sharon, "Inscriptions from the Western Wall"
- Sharon, "Inscription from 65 A.H."
- Sharon, *Holy Land*
- Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages", *Traditio* 40 (1984) 175-195
- Schick, Conrad, "Reports", *PEFQS* (1898) 79-85
- Schick, Robert, *The Christian Communities of Palestine From Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study*, Princeton 1995 (*Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 2)
- Schneider, A.M., "Das Itinerarium des Epiphanius Hagiopolita", *ZDPV* 63 (1940) 143-154
- Schoeler, Gregor, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin/New York 1996 (*Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients. N.F.* 14)
- Schrieke, B., "Die Himmelsreise Muhammeds", *Islam* 6 (1916) 1-30
- Schrieke, B./Horovitz, J., "Mi'rādī. I. Dans l'exégèse islamique et la tradition mystique du monde arabe", *EI* 7 (1993) 99b-102a
- Schützinger, Heinrich, "Die arabische Legende von Nebukadnezar und Johannes dem Täufer", *Islam* 40 (1965) 113-141
- Schwind, Johannes, *Arator-Studien*, Ph.D. thesis Trier, Göttingen 1990 (*Hypomnemata* 94)
- Seemann, Klaus-Dieter, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur: Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Genres*, München 1976 (*Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der Schönen Künste. Texte und Abhandlungen* 24)
- Sellheim, Rudolf, "Der Zweite Bürgerkrieg im Islam (680-692): Das Ende der mekkanisch-medinensischen Vorherrschaft", *Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main* 8 (1969) 83-111 (= paper 4)
- Shalem, Avinoam, "Bi'r al-Waraqā: Legend and Truth: A Note on Medieval Sacred Geography", *PEQ* 127 (1995) 50-61
- Shalem, Avinoam, "Jewels and Journeys: The Case of the Medieval Gemstone Called al-Yatima", *Muqarnas* 14 (1997) 42-56
- Sharon, M., "Arabic Inscriptions from the Excavations at the Western Wall", *IEJ* 23 (1973) 214-220; pl. 55f.
- Sharon, Moshe, "An Inscription from the Year 65 A.H. in the Dome of the Rock: A Study of a European Report", in: *Studia Orientalia memoriae D.H. Baneth dedicata*, Jerusalem 1979, 245-253
- Sharon, Moshe (ed.), *The Holy Land in History and Thought: Papers Submitted to the International Confe-*

- Sharon, "Birth of Islam"  
 Sharon, Moshe, "The Birth of Islam in the Holy Land", in: Sharon, *Holy Land*, 225-235
- Sharon, "Praises of Jerusalem"  
 Sharon, Moshe, "The 'Praises of Jerusalem' as a Source for the Early History of Islam, *BO* 49 (1992) 56-67
- Shoemaker, "Christmas"  
 Shoemaker, Stephen J., "Christmas in the Qur'ān: the Qur'ānic Account of Jesus Nativity and Palestinian Local Tradition", *JSAI* 28 (2003) 11-39: **nochmal**
- SI*  
*Studia Islamica*
- Sivan, "Caractère sacré"  
 Sivan, Emanuel, "Le caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles", *SI* 27 (1967) 149-182
- Sivan, "Beginnings"  
 Sivan, Emanuel, "The Beginnings of the Faḍā'il al-Quds Literature", *IOS* 1 (1971) 263-271<sup>1</sup>
- Sivan, "Emergence of Christian Palestine"  
 Sivan, Hagith S., "Pilgrimage, Monasticism, and the Emergence of Christian Palestine in the 4th Century", in: Ousterhout, Robert (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, Urbana/Chicago 1990 (*Illinois Byzantine Studies* 1), 54-65 (= chapter 3)
- Soucek, "Temple of Solomon"  
 Soucek, Priscilla, "The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art", in: Gutmann, Joseph (ed.), *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art*, Missoula (Montana) 1973 (*Religion and the Arts* 3), 73-123; pl. 25-33
- Soucek, "Maryam bint 'Imrān and Her Mihrāb"  
 Soucek, Priscilla, "The Temple After Solomon: The Role of Maryam bint 'Imrān and Her Mihrāb", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 34-41
- Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath"  
 Soucek, Priscilla P., "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor?", *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993) (= Necipoğlu, Gülru (ed.), *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*) 109-134
- Sourdel-Thomine, *al-Harawī (texte)*  
 Sourdel-Thomine, Janine (ed.), *Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī. Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, Damascus 1953 (*PIFD*)
- Sourdel-Thomine, al-Harawī (traduction)*  
 Sourdel-Thomine, Janine (transl.), *Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī. Guide des lieux de pèlerinage: Traduction annotée*, Damascus 1957 (*PIFD*)
- Sourdel-Thomine, "Bayt Laḥm"  
 Sourdel-Thomine, J., "Bayt Laḥm", *EI* 2 1 (1960) 1175b-1176a
- Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*  
 Speyer, Heinrich, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Gräfenhainichen 1931. Reprint Darmstadt 1971

<sup>1</sup>The article has also been published, with a different pagination: Sivan, Emmanuel [sic], "The Beginnings of the 'Faḍā'il al-Quds' Literature", *Islam* 48 (1971) 100-110.

- St.Laurent "Dome of the Rock"
- Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā"
- Strack/Billerbeck, *Kommentar*
- Talmon, "Signification of Jerusalem"
- TAVO
- TAVOB
- Thackston, *Nāṣer*
- Tritton, "Three Inscriptions"
- Tsafrir, "Muqaddasi's Gates"
- Tsafrir, "Massive Wall"
- Tsafrir/Foerster, "Earthquake of 749"
- Vajda, "al-Muhallabī"
- Vajda, "Isrāʿīliyyāt"
- van Berchem, *Jérusalem*
- van Ess, *Karrāmīya*
- van Ess, "Dome of the Rock"
- van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*
- VIGAIW
- St.Laurent, Beatrice, The Dome of the Rock: Restorations and Significance, 1540-1918, in: Auld/Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 415-424 (= chapter 26)
- Stern, Henri, "Recherches sur la Mosquée al-Aqṣā et sur ses mosaïques", *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963) 27-47; pl. 1-19
- Strack, Hermann C./Billerbeck, Paul, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 parts in 7 volumes, München 1922-1961
- Talmon, Shemaryahu, "The Signification of Jerusalem in Biblical Thought", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 1-12
- Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*
- Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Beihefte*
- Thackston Jr., Wheeler McIntosh (transl.), *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, Albany 1986 (*Bibliotheca Persica. Persian Heritage Series* 36)
- Tritton, A.S., "Three Inscriptions From Jerusalem", *BSOAS* 20 (1957) 537-539
- Tsafrir, Yoram, "Muqaddasi's Gates of Jerusalem - a New Identification Based on Byzantine Sources", *IEJ* 27 (1977) 152-161
- Tsafrir, Yoram, "The 'Massive Wall' East of the Golden Gate, Jerusalem", *IEJ* 40 (1990) 280-286
- Tsafrir, Yoram/Foerster, Gideon, "The Dating of the 'Earthquake of the Sabbatical Year' of 749 C.E. in Palestine", *BSOAS* 55 (1992) 231-235; pl. I-II
- Vajda, G., "La description du Temple de Jérusalem d'après le K. al-masālik wal-mamālik d' al-Muhallabī: Ses éléments bibliques et rabbiniques", *JA* 247 (1959) 193-202
- Vajda, G., "Isrāʿīliyyāt", *EI* 24 (1978) 221a-222a
- van Berchem, Max, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Deuxième partie [b]: Syrie du Sud. 3: Jérusalem*, 3 volumes Cairo 1922-1949 (*MIFAO* 43-45)
- van Ess, Josef, *Ungenützte Texte zur Karrāmīya: Eine Materialsammlung*, Heidelberg 1980 (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1980,6)
- van Ess, Josef, "'Abd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock: An Analysis of Some Texts", in: Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1, 89-103
- van Ess, Josef, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, 6 volumes Berlin/New York 1991-1997
- Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für Geschichte der*

- Vitestam, "'Arsh and Kursī"
- Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom"
- Waines, "Maṭbakh"
- Walker, *Holy Cities, Holy Places*
- Walker/Fenton, "Sulaymān b. Dāwūd"
- Walls/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions"
- Walls/King, "Sundial"
- Warren, *Plans, Elevations, Sections*
- Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem*
- Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*
- Weiss, "Hec Est Domus Domini"
- Wensinck, "al-Khaḍīr"
- Wensinck, "Ḳibla"
- Wensinck/Johnstone, "Maryam"
- Werblowsky, "Mindscape and Landscape"
- WI
- Wiet, "Anushtakin"
- Wightman, *Walls*
- Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften = Publications of the Institute for the History of Arab-Islamic Science*
- Vitestam, Gösta, "'Arsh and Kursī: An Essay on the Throne Traditions in Islam", in: Keck et al., *Living Waters*, 369-378
- Vogt, E., "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom", *Biblica* 55 (1974) 23-64; pl.
- Waines, D., "Maṭbakh. I. Sous le califat médiéval", *EI2* 6 (1991) 797a-799b
- Walker, P[eter] W.L., *Holy Cities, holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*, Oxford 1990 (*Oxford Early Christian Studies*)
- Walker, J./Fenton, P., "Sulaymān b. Dāwūd", *EI2* 9 (1997) 857a-858b
- Walls Archibald G./Abul-Hajj, Amal, "Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem: A Handlist and Maps", London 1980 (*[Publications of the] World of Islam Festival Trust*)
- Walls, Archibald G./King, David A., "The Sundial on the West Wall of the Madrasa of Sultan Qaytbay in Jerusalem", *Art and Architecture Research Papers* 15 (1979) 15-21. Reprint in: King, David A., *Islamic Astronomical Instruments*, London 1987 (CS 253) (= paper 20)
- Warren, Charles, *Plans, Elevations, Sections,, etc. Shewing the Results of the Excavations at Jerusalem, 1867-1870*, London 1884
- Warren, Charles/Conder, Claude Reignier, *The Survey of Western Palestine. Jerusalem*, London 1884
- Watt, W.M., *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956
- Weiss, Daniel H., "Hec Est Domus Domini Firmiter Edificata: The Image of the Temple in Crusader Art", *Jewish Art* 23-24 (1997-1998) (= Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*) 210-217
- Wensinck, A.J., "al-Khaḍīr", *EI2* 4 (1978) 935a-938b
- Wensinck, A.J., "Ḳibla. I", *EI2* 5 (1986) 84a-85b
- Wensinck, A.J./Johnstone, P., "Maryam", *EI2* 6 (1991) 613b-617a
- Werblowsky, R.J.Zwi, "Introduction: Mindscape and Landscape", in: Kedar/Werblowsky, *Sacred Space*, 9-17 (= paper 1)
- Die Welt des Islams*
- Wiet, Gaston, "Un proconsul fatimide de Syrie: Anushtakin Dizbiri (m. en 433/1042)", *MUSJ* 46 (1970-1971) (= *Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Dunand* 2) 383-407 (= fascicule 25)
- Wightman, G.J., *The Walls of Jerusalem from the Canaanites to the Mamluks*, Sydney 1993 (*Mediterranean*)

- Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*
- Wilken, "Christian Pilgrimage"
- Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*
- Wilkinson, "Streets"
- Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*
- Wilkinson, "Development of the Breviarius"
- Wilkinson, "Sources of Theodosius"
- Wilkinson, "Arculf's Plans"
- Wilkinson, "Epiphanius' Account"
- Wilkinson, Hugeburc
- Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*
- Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I*
- Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II"
- Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, *Pilgrimage*
- Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed*
- ZAL
- ZDPV
- Archaeology Supplement 4)
- Wilken, R.L., *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century*, Berkeley 1983
- Wilken, Robert L., "Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land", in: Rosovsky, *City of the Great King*, 117-135; 495-499 (= paper 6)
- Wilken, Robert L., *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought*, New Haven 1992
- Wilkinson, John, "The Streets of Jerusalem", *Levant* 7 (1975) 118-136
- Wilkinson, John, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, Warminster 1977
- Wilkinson, John, "The Development of the Breviarius", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 182f. (= appendix 2)
- Wilkinson, John, "The Sources of Theodosius, 'de situ Terrae Sanctae'", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 184-192 (= appendix 3)
- Wilkinson, John (transl.), "Arculf's Plans of the Holy Places", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 193-197; pl. 1-6 (= appendix 4)
- Wilkinson, John, "Epiphanius the Monk's 'Account' and Its Formation", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 198f. (= appendix 5)
- Wilkinson, John, "Hugeburc's Life of Willibald", in: Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 206-208 (= appendix 7)
- Wilkinson, John (transl.), *Egeria's Travels: New Translated With Supporting Documents and Notes*, 2nd edition Jerusalem/Warminster 1981
- Wilkinson, John, *Column Capitals in al-Ḥaram al-Sharif (From 138 A.D. to 1118 A.D.)*, Jerusalem 1987
- Wilkinson, John, "Column Capitals in the Ḥaram al-Sharīf", in: Raby/Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis* 1, 125-139
- Wilkinson, John/Hill, Joyce/Ryan, W.F., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, London 1988 (*Works Issued by The Hakluyt Society. Second Series* 167)
- Yadin, Y. (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City 1968-1974*, Jerusalem 1975
- Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*
- Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

# INDEX TO PART A

The index covers Part A and through the references given there most of Part B.

Aachen A096; A147  
 Aaron, see Tomb of Moses and Aaron; Sons of Aaron  
 9 *Āb* A059  
 ‘Abbāsīd revolution A135  
 ‘Abbāsīds A013; A137; A166; A175; A230; see High  
 ‘Abbāsīd period  
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawli A144.a  
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir A122  
 ‘Abd al-Malik A013; A014; A016; A090; A095;  
 A098; A101.i; A127.b; A130; A136; A137;  
 A137.a; A139.b; A149; A150; A162.b; A163  
 ‘Abd as-Salām al-Hawḡī A144.c  
 Ablution, see Ritual ablution  
 Ablution places A073; A075; A119; A121; A123;  
 A171; A174; A174.c; A182; Figure 10; Figure 15;  
 Figure 23; Figure 32  
 Abraham A084.b; A127.b; A162.a; A162.b; see Cave  
 of Abraham, Horns of the Ram of Abraham  
 Abū l-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Iḥšīd A129; see Iḥšīdids  
 Adam A084.b; A162.b  
 Adherents A107; A123; A199.a; see Servants; Slaves  
 Adomnanus A020  
 Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Bazzār al-Baḡdādī A144.b  
 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib A197.b  
 Almsgiving A101.f; A106.b; A188.f; A197.b  
 Altar A053.c; A056.b; A084.b; A101.g; A148.a;  
 A162.a; Figure 7  
 al-Amīn A013; A015; A135  
 Angels A084.a; A084.b; A101.b; A101.g; A101.i;  
 A127.a; A127.b; A139.a; A139.b; A139.c; A139.d;  
 A139.e; A148.a; A162.a; A162.b; A188.b; A188.c;  
 A188.e; A188.f; A188.g; A197.b  
 al-Anṣārī A085  
 Anti-Christian pogroms A013  
 Aqueduct A075; A084.b; A121; A153.a; A174; Figure  
 10; Figure 15; Figure 23; Figure 32  
 Aqṣā Mosque A015; A016; A037; A039; A066.a;

A101.b; A101.f; A151; A168; A174.b; A174.c;  
 A189; A190; A238; A242; Figure 26; Figure 27;  
 Figure 29; see Furthest Mosque; Roofed hall;  
 South building  
 AQṢĀ MOSQUE A042; A043; Figure 1; Figure 3;  
 Figure 6; Figure 34  
 Arcades, see Circular arcade; North arcade(s); Octa-  
 gonal arcade; South arcade; West arcade(s)  
 Arches A178; A190; Figure 25; Figure 26; Figure 29  
 Archaeological garden A051  
 Architecture A007; A008; A010; A021; A026; A042;  
 A051; A057; A060; A061; A063; A065; A066;  
 A066.a; A075; A076; A079-A081; A088; A092-  
 A094; A096; A099; A102; A109; A121; A122;  
 A128; A132; A134; A135; A140; A145; A155;  
 A164; A169; A174-A177; A185; A189; A200;  
 A211; A216; A228; A229; A238; Figure 34  
 Arculfus A020  
 Ark of the Covenant A084.a; A101.e; A101.i; A127.b;  
 A139.c; A162.b; A188.e; A205.a; A210.a  
 Ascension A137.a; A139; A145; see Night Journey;  
 Night of the Ascension; Dome of the Ascension;  
 Ascent of God's Presence; Place of the Ascent of  
 God's Presence; Place of God's Ascent  
 Ascent of Ġūrī A174.a; A174.d  
 Ascent of the Prophet A127.b; A139.b; A144.b;  
 A162.b; A174.a; A174.d; A188.c; A197.b; Figure  
 30  
 ‘Āṣūrā<sup>2</sup>-Night A105; A144.a  
 Authenticity A018; A088; A093; A094; A097; A115;  
 A128; A131; A132; A164; A167; A169; A228  
 BĀB AL-‘ATM Figure 2; Figure 34  
 BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ MINARET Figure 2  
 BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ, see CITY GATE BĀB AL-AS-  
 BĀṬ; ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ  
 BĀB AL-ĠANĀ’IZ Figure 2  
 BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA Figure 2  
 BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA MINARET Figure 2  
 BĀB AL-ḤADĪD Figure 2  
 BĀB ḤIṬṬA Figure 2; Figure 34  
 BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA Figure 2; Figure 34  
 BĀB AL-MATHARA Figure 2; Figure 34  
 BĀB AN-NĀZIR Figure 2; Figure 34  
 BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN Figure 2; Figure 34  
 BĀB AS-SAKĪNA Figure 2  
 BĀB AS-SILSILA Figure 2  
 BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET Figure 2



- Babylonians A153.a; see Nebukadnezzar  
*Bah-bah* A188.d  
 Ba<sup>ʿ</sup>labakk A149  
 BARCLAY'S GATE Figure 2; Figure 34  
 Bathhouse A121  
 Beautiful Gate A056.a  
 Beda A020  
 Bethlehem A214; A221; Figure 33  
 Bible Commentary A035  
 BI'R AL-MAGĀRIBA Figure 2  
 BI'R AL-WARAQA Figure 6  
 Birth-place of Jesus A127.b; A139.a; A143.b; A144.a;  
     A162.b; A188.f; A197.b; A214; Figure 30; Figure  
     33  
 Black A075.b; A059; A087; A091; A101.f; A106.b;  
     A139.g; A167.a; A188.f; A197.b; Figure 30  
 Black Paving-stone, Black paving-stone A075.b;  
     A087; A091; A101.f; A106.b; A167.a; A188.f;  
     A197.b; Figure 30  
 Black Stone in Mecca A139.g  
 Boxes A178; A199.a  
 Breviarius A020  
 Bride A101.i; A139.g  
 al-Burāq A084.b; A101.c; A127.b; A139.b; A162.b;  
     A188.c  
 BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP Figure 2  
 Burial places, see Tombs  
 Byzantines A025; A031; A051; A057.a; A060;  
     A066.a; A084.b; A096; A099; A101.a; A115;  
     A135; A136; A137; A228; Figure 18  
 Camel, see Kneeling-place of the she-camel  
 Candles A105; A166; A193; Figure 27  
 Carpets A176; A178; A194-A196; A200; Figure 24;  
     Figure 27  
 Cave of Abraham A127.b  
 Cave of the Jews A194; A211; A214; A215; Figure  
     27; Figure 31  
 Cave under the Rock A093.a; A131.a; A162.b; A167.a;  
     A188.c; A188.f; A193; A197.b; Figure 28; Figure  
     30  
 CAVE UNDER THE ROCK Figure 5  
 Ceiling A130; A166  
 Centrality, see Concentricity  
 Chain of David A075.c; A084.b; A127.b  
 Chain of Granting and Revelation A084.b; A101.f  
 Chain of Solomon A084.b  
 Chair of the Cantors A153.a; A155; A214; Figure 20  
 Chamber of David A162.b; A174.c; A197.b; Figure  
     24; Figure 30  
 Chamber of Mary A084.a; A127.b; A139.e; A162.b;  
     A188.f; A188.g; A197.b; Figure 30; Figure 33  
 Chamber of Zechariah A127.b; A139.a; A139.d;  
     A139.e; A143.b; A144.a; A162.b; A168; A191;  
     A197.b; Figure 27; Figure 30; Figure 33  
 Channel of al-Marǧī<sup>c</sup> A153.a; Figure 20  
 Channels A075; A085  
 Charlemagne A096  
 Children of Israel A066.a; A084.a; A084.b; A101.a;  
     A101.e; A101.f; A127.b; A139.d; A143.b; A148.a;  
     A162.a; A162.b; A188.f; A197.b; see Gate of the  
     Tribes  
 Chosroes see Crown of Chosroes  
 Christ, see Jesus, Tomb of Christ  
 Christians; Christian A001; A002; A005; A009;  
     A013; A014; A016; A021; A029; A030; A032;  
     A050-A057; A061; A065-A070; A082; A085;  
     A086; A092; A094-A097; A100.a; A101.a; A111-  
     A113; A115; A126; A129; A136; A137.a; A147-  
     A151; A158; A160; A201-A203; A218; A219;  
     A224; A228-A231; A233; A234; A236; A238;  
     A243-A245  
 Church A057; A069; A136; A224  
 Church of the Ascension A054; A057; Figure 8  
 Church of the Holy Sepulchre A015; A054; A057;  
     A066; A069; A086; A094; A096; A129; A136;  
     A162.a; A244; Figure 8  
 Church of the Nativity A214; A221; Figure 33  
 Churches A013; A149; see Hagia Sophia; Eleona  
     Church  
 Circular arcade A085; A090; A102; A130; A140;  
     A166; A189; Figure 12; Figure 14; Figure 17;  
     Figure 19; Figure 22; Figure 28  
 CIRCULAR ARCADE Figure 5  
 Circumambulating A085; A106; A137.a; A139.f;  
     A143.a; A197.b; A212; A212.a  
 Cisterns A051; A052; A073; A075; A077; A085;  
     A119; A121; A162.b; A171; A174; Figure 7;  
     Figure 10; Figure 15; Figure 23; Figure 32; see  
     Pit of the Leaf; Pool of ar-Raǧī<sup>c</sup>; BI'R AL-MA-  
     ĠĀRIBA; BI'R AL-WARAQA,  
 CISTERNS Figure 3; Figure 4  
 CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ Figure 34  
 Coast A101.h; A106.a  
 Collections of traditions A001; A019; A027; A028;

- A040
- Colours, see Black; Green; Polychrome; Red; White
- Concentricity A038; A084.b; A088; A089; A089.a; A090; A092; A095; A102; A122; A128; A130; A132; A137; A140; A144.b; A154; A164; A165; A166; A169; A174; A175; A177; A180; A224; A233; A238; Figure 23
- Congregational prayer A014; A064; A074; A074.a; A077-A079; A081; A085-A087; A101.d; A106; A117; A123; A124; A182-A184; A199.a; A212.a; A214; A228
- Conquests, see Roman conquests in 70 and 132; Sāsānid conquest in 614; Muslim conquest in 635; Fāṭimid conquest in 969; Crusader conquest in 1099; Muslim conquest in 1187
- Constantine A014; A096; A162.a
- Constantinople A096
- Contemporary events A009; A219
- Copper A121; A122; A175; A178; A129.c; A144.a; A174; A190; A193; Figure 25; Figure 26; Figure 27
- Copper Gate, copper gate A121; A121.a; A122; A129.c; A144.a; A175; A178; A190; Figure 25; Figure 26; see Greatest Copper Gate
- Corners, see Southeast corner; SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER; Southwest corner
- Cornerstone A053.a; A056.a; Figure 7
- Courtyard A073; A075; A089; A089.a; A092; A093.a; A102; A119; A121; A121.a; A129; A129.a; A131.a; A140; A165; A165.a; A167.a; A171; A174; A174.c; A174.d; A189; A221; Figure 10; Figure 11; Figure 13; Figure 15; Figure 16; Figure 18; Figure 21; Figure 23; Figure 25; Figure 27; Figure 32
- COURTYARD Figure 1; Figure 3
- Cradle A167.a
- Cradle of Jesus A162.b; A188.d; A197.b; A197.c; A214; Figure 33; see Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus
- Creation, see Night of the Creation
- Cross A054; A148.a
- Crown of Chosroes A104
- Crusader conquest in 1099 A001; A016; A019
- Crusaders A027; A032; A037; A086; A151; A222
- Curtains A075.c; A085; A090; A102; A137.a; Figure 12; Figure 14
- Customs A007-A009; A029; A032; A077; A079; A110; A123; A154; A156; A182; A197; A200; A206; A208; A212; A216
- Damascus A114; A136; A234
- David A027; A084.a; A084.b; A094; A096-A098; A101.f; A115; A127.a; A127.b; A139.d; A162.a; A162.b; A188.f; A197.b; see Chain of David; Chamber of David; Gate of David; Mosque of David
- Dew A084.a; A101.a; A101.b; A101.f; A121
- Dome of Gabriel A162.b; A174.a; A174.c; A188.c; Figure 24
- Dome of Jacob A162.b; A174.a; A188.d; A191; A193; Figure 27
- Dome of Muḥammad A127.b; A139.b; A141
- Dome of the Ascension A084.b; A102; A121.a; A127.b; A139.b; A141; A144.a; A162.b; A174.a; A188.b; A188.c; A188.f; A197.b; Figure 30
- Dome of the Chain A075.d; A084.b; A101.c; A102; A121.a; A121.c; A127.b; A141; A144.a; A162.b; A174.c; A188.c; A188.f; A197.b; Figure 24; Figure 30
- Dome of the Gathering A162.b; A188.c
- Dome of the Messenger A162.b; A174.a; A188.c
- Dome of the Prophet A121.a; A121.c; A127.b; A139.b; A139.d; A141; A143.b; A162.b; A174.a; A188.c; A197.b; Figure 30
- Dome of the Rock A054; A066.a; A075.c; A075.d; A077; A077.a; A084.b; A085-A087; A089; A089.c; A090-A092; A093.a; A095; A101.b; A101.c; A101.h; A101.i; A102; A104-A106; A106.b; A107-A109; A121.a; A121.c; A127.b; A129; A129.b; A129.c; A130; A131.a; A135; A136; A139.b; A139.g; A140; A141; A143; A143.b; A144.a; A144.b; A144.c; A146; A147; A148.a; A149; A150; A151; A154; A162.b; A162.b; A165; A165.c; A166; A167.a; A169; A174.b; A175-A177; A180; A182; A188.a; A188.c; A188.e; A188.f; A188.h; A189-A191; A193-A195; A197.b; A199.a; A200; A202; A202.a; A208; A210; A216; A221; A230; A238; Figure 11; Figure 12; Figure 13; Figure 14; Figure 16; Figure 17; Figure 18; Figure 19; Figure 21; Figure 22; Figure 27; Figure 28; Figure 30; Figure 32
- DOMES OF THE ROCK A025; A026; A043; Figure 1; Figure 3; Figure 4; Figure 5
- Domes A075.d; A084.a; A084.b; A085; A089; A090;

- A093.a; A101.a; A101.i; A102; A121; A121.a; A127.b; A129; A130; A136; A137.a; A141; A144.a; A145; A149; A162.b; A165; A166; A167.a; A168; A169; A174-A176; A178; A188.a; A188.d; A188.i; A189; A190-A192; A195; A196; Figure 13; Figure 15; Figure 18; Figure 23; Figure 26; Figure 27; Figure 29; Figure 32; see QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĠ; QUBBAT AN-NABĪ; QUBBAT AS-SILSILA; QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŞAḤRA
- DOUBLE GATE Figure 2; Figure 34
- DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR Figure 2
- Dreams A008; A009; A027; A034; A084.a; A101.b; A101.g; A127.a; A139.a; A144.a; A144.b; A145; A162.a; A162.b; A188.b; A188.g; A212.a; A219
- Drums A129; A130; A165; A166; A190; Figure 27
- Duophysites A002
- Early Fāṭimid period A012; A039-A042; A162.b; A165.a; A171; A172; A174; A174.c; A175; A183; A188.f; A188.g; A189; A191; A192; A194; Figure 21; Figure 27; Figure 33
- Earthquakes A024; A169; A177; A238
- East Ascent A174.c
- East Gate, east gate A053.b; A056.a; ; A084.b; A093.a; A127.b; A129.a; A131.a; A148.a; A150; A153.a; A162.b; A172; A176; A191; A194; A199.a; A221; Figure 7; Figure 20; Figure 27; Figure 33; see OLDER EAST GATE; SMALL EAST GATE
- EAST ḤARAM WALL Figure 2
- East staircase A129.b; A165.b
- EAST STAIRCASE Figure 4
- East wall A075.d; A089.a; A101.f; A121; A121.c; A127.b; A129; A129.a; A139.d; A153.a; A162.b; A165.a; A174.c; A177; A188.f; Figure 20
- Eleona Church A054; A057; A066; Figure 8
- Esau A162.a
- Eschatology A083-A099; A101; A101.e; A101.i; A113; A115; A139; A139.g; A150; A152-A158; A188; A204-A208; A228; A225-A231
- Etheria A020
- Eucherius A020
- Eudokia A059
- Events, see Contemporary events
- Excommunication A214
- AL-FAḤRĪYA Figure 3
- Fāṭimid conquest in 969 A015; A016
- Fāṭimid period A012; A016; A036; A037; A042; A161-A218; A238; A242; Figure 31; Figure 34; see Early Fāṭimid period; High Fāṭimid period
- Fāṭimids A165.a; A166; A178; A193
- Feast of the Tabernacles A153.a; A154; A212.a
- Fence A075.c; A090; A102; A130; A140; A165; A166; A178; A189; A197.c; Figure 12; Figure 14; Figure 17; Figure 19; Figure 22; Figure 28
- FENCE Figure 5
- Fire A084.b; A092; A101.g; A108
- First Prayer-direction A076; A084.b; A127.b; A224
- Flood A162.a
- Floors A053.c; A091; A130; A167.a; A174; A194; A195; A211; Figure 27
- Footprints of Muḥammad A127.b
- Forgiving A084.b; A101; A101.b; A101.f; A127.b; A139; A139.d; A143.b; A144.a; A162.b; A188; A188.f; A197.b
- Former prophets A066.a; A075.d; A084.b; A098; A101.c; A127.b; A139.b; A162.b; A188; A188.c; A188.d; A197.b
- Former Temple A006; A007; A013; A021; A023; A035; A050-A062; A065; A066.a; A068; A069; A072; A092-A094; A097; A098; A111-A115; A137; A149; A150-A158; A202.a; A204-A208; A211; A214; A219; A224-A231; A233; A245; Figure 7; Figure 8
- Foundation Stone A084.b; A205.a; A210.a; Figure 31
- Foundations, see Pious foundations
- Friday A077; A078; A105; A123; A183; A199.a
- Friday mosque A062-A064; A073-A075; A077; A101.h; A106.a; A110; A114; A115; A119-A121; A123; A171; A174; A174.a; A174.c; A182; A234; A240
- Furthest Mosque A084.a; A084.b; A101.c; A119; A127.a; A139.b; A168; A172; A173; A179; A181; A188.c; see Aqṣà Mosque; South building
- Gable roof A075; A076; A121; A121.a; Figure 10; Figure 15
- Gable wall A121; A121.a; A141; Figure 15; Figure 18
- Gabriel A084.a; A100.a; A101.c; A121.c; A127.b; A139.b; A162.b; A188.c; A197.b; Figure 30; see Dome of Gabriel; Prayer-place of Gabriel; Standing-place of Gabriel
- ĠĀMI' AL-ARBA'ĪN Figure 6
- ĠĀMI' AN-NISĀ' Figure 3; Figure 6
- ĠĀMI' 'UMAR Figure 6
- Garbage A051; A052; A084.b; A101.a; A162.a

- Gate of David A123; A174.c; A174.d; A178; A197.b; Figure 27
- Gate of God's Presence A127.b; A139.c; A162.b; A188.e; A192; A197.b; Figure 24; Figure 27; Figure 30
- Gate of Heaven A084.a; A101.b; A101.g; A153.a; A162.a; A162.b; A188.b; A188.g; A205.a; A206; A212.a; A212.a
- Gate of Isrāfil A139.g; A162.b; A188.f; A197.b; Figure 30
- Gate of Judah A153.a; A154; A205.a; A212.a; Figure 20; Figure 31
- Gate(s) of Mercy A084.b; A101.f; A101.g; A101.i; A127.b; A139.d; A144.a; A154; A162.b; A174.c; A174.d; A188.f; A197.b; A212.a; Figure 20; Figure 24; Figure 30; Figure 31; Figure 33
- Gate of Muḥammad A084.b; A101.c; A127.b; A139.b
- Gate of Nikanor A153.a; Figure 20
- Gate of Repentance A084.a; A084.b; A101.f; A127.b; A139.d; A162.b; A174.c; A174.d; A188.f; Figure 24; Figure 33
- Gate of the Hashemite A139.g
- Gate(s) of Ḥuldāh A153.a; A154; Figure 20
- Gate of the Priest A153.a; A154; A205.a; A207; Figure 20; Figure 31
- Gate(s) of the Prophet A084.b; A101.c; A127.b; A139.b; A162.b; A174.a; A174.c; A188.c; A197.b; Figure 30
- Gate of the Spring A174.b; A174.c
- Gate of the Tribes A087; A174.c; Figure 34
- Gate of the Trumpet A139.g
- Gate of the Women A121.c
- Gates in front of the Temple A205.a; Figure 31
- Gates of Mary A127.b
- Gates of the Chamber of Mary A127.b
- Gates of the Temple Figure 20; Figure 31
- Gates, see Beautiful Gate; Copper Gate; Greatest Copper Gate; East Gate; Ḥiṭṭa Gate; North gate(s); Portal-minaret; Song Gate; South gate; Water Gate; West gate; Women Gate; CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ; ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ; BĀB AL-ʿATM; BĀB AL-ĠANĀʾIZ; BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA; BĀB AL-ḤADĪD; BĀB ḤIṬṬA; BĀB AL-MAĠĀRIBA; BĀB AL-MATHARA; BĀB AN-NĀẒIR; BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN; BĀB AS-SAKĪNA; BĀB AS-SILSILA; BARCLAY'S GATE; DOUBLE GATE; OLDER EAST GATE; SMALL EAST GATE; GOLDEN GATE; SINGLE GATE; TRIPLE GATE; WARREN'S GATE; BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP
- ĠAWĀNIMA MINARET Figure 2
- Geniza letters A036; A044
- Geographers A001; A032; A033; A037; A038; A039; A198
- Ġihād A101.h; A106.a
- Glass A129
- Goals A001-A010
- God's ascent, see Place of God's Ascent
- God's Feet A084.b; see Stool of God's Feet
- God's greatest name A188.f; A197.b
- God's Lamp A084.a
- God's Nearest Throne A084.a; A084.b; A092; A101.b; see God's Throne
- God's Presence (*as-Sakīna*) A084.a; A101; A101.e; A139; A139.c; A162.b; A188; A205.a; see Ark of the Covenant; Gate of God's Presence; Place of God's Presence; Ascent of God's Presence; Place of the Ascent of God's Presence
- God's Stool, see Place of God's Stool
- God's Strength, see Place of the Presence of God's Strength
- God's Throne A101.d; A101.i; see God's Nearest Throne
- Gold A084.b; A089; A102; A129; A130; A141; A165; A166; A191; A193; Figure 13; Figure 18; Figure 27
- GOLDEN GATE Figure 2
- Greatest Copper Gate A119; A121.a; see Copper Gate
- Greatest Lamp A084.a
- Greatest Temple A084.a
- Green A144.a; A165; A165.b; A189
- Ḥaġġ, see Pilgrimage
- Hagia Sophia A096
- Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib A162.b; A167.a
- Ḥanafiya A121; A123
- ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ Figure 2; Figure 34
- ḤARAM WALL A024; Figure 1; Figure 2
- Hashemite A139.g; see Gate of the Hashemite
- Healing A056.a; A084.a; A101; A101.a; A101.f; A139; A139.d; A188; A188.f
- Heaven A084.b; A092; A101.c; A101.d; A101.i; A102; A127.a; A127.b; A139.a; A139.b; A162.b; A188.b; A188.c; A188.i; see Gate of Heaven

- Hebron A041  
 Helena A162.a  
 Herakleios A148.a  
 Hezekiah A084.b; A153.a  
 al-Ḥiḍr, see Place of al-Ḥiḍr  
 al-Ḥiḡāz A188.i  
 High ʿAbbāsīd period A012; A015; A031; A042; A118-A160; A173; A174; A181; A198; A201; A214; A230; A236; A241; Figure 15; Figure 16; Figure 18; Figure 19; Figure 20  
 High Fātimīd period A012; A016; A037; A042; A043; A162.b; A165.a; A167.a; A168; A171-A174; A174.a; A174.b; A174.c; A175; A188.d; A188.f; A188.g; A189; A191-A194; A217; A221; A231; A238; Figure 21; Figure 23; Figure 27; Figure 33; Figure 34  
 Ḥiṭṭa Gate A101.f; A123; A127.b; A139.d; A143.b; A144.a; A162.b; A188.f; A197.b; Figure 30; Figure 34  
 Holiness; holy area; holy places A002; A005; A022; A084.a; A100-A110; A114; A138-A146; A162.a; A186-A200; A206; A207; A209-A218; A223; A240-A242; Figure 13; Figure 14; Figure 18; Figure 19; Figure 27; Figure 28; Figure 29; Figure 30  
 Holy Land A014; A092; A127.a  
 Holy of Holies A084.a; A092; A101.a; A148.a; A162.b; A167.a; A174.c; A202; A202.a; A205.a; A210.a  
 Horns of the Ram of Abraham A104  
 Hugeburc A030  
 Ḥuldāh A153.a; see Gate(s) of Ḥuldāh  
 Ḥurāsān A122  
 Ḥusraw see Crown of Chosroes  
 Iacintus A030  
 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih A032  
 Ibn al-Faqīh A032  
 Ibn Ḥabīb A027  
 Ibn Ḥawqal A032  
 Ibn Karrā A123  
 Ibn al-Muraḡḡā A027; A029; A041; Figure 30  
 Ibn az-Zubayr A137.a; see Zubayrids  
 Idrīs A197.b  
 Iḡsīdids A129; A142; see Abū l-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Iḡsīd  
 Imām A077; A078; A123; A183  
 Imprints A056.b; A084.b; A127.b; A188.d  
 Incense A085; A106  
 Inscriptions A001; A026; A043; A073; A090; A095; A119; A121; A121.b; A122; A127.b; A129; A130; A139.d; A165; A166; A167.a; A168; A169; A171; A174.c; A175; A178; A179; A193; Figure 10; Figure 15; Figure 23  
 Iraq A154; A178  
 Isaac A162.b  
 Israel, see Children of Israel; New Israel  
 Isrāfil A101.i; A139.g; see Gate of Isrāfil  
 al-Iṣṭahṛī A032  
 Itinerarium Burdigalense A020  
 Jacob A084.a; A084.b; A101.b; A101.g; A127.a; A139.a; A139.e; A148.a; A162.a; A162.b; A188.b; A188.d; A188.g; see Dome of Jacob  
 Jesus A056.a; A094; A095; A127.b; A139.a; A139.e; A143.b; A144.a; A148.a; A151; A162.b; A188.d; A188.f; A188.g; A197.b; see Birth-place of Jesus; Cradle of Jesus; Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus; Tomb of Christ  
 Jews; Jewish A001; A002; A005; A009; A016; A035; A036; A044; A052; A056.a; A057; A057.a; A058-A061; A067; A069; A074.a; A084.b; A092; A098; A101.e; A101.i; A112; A115; A127.b; A151-A158; A160; A204-A216; A218; A219; A224; A227; A228; A230; A231; A233; A236; A238; A242-A244; Figure 31; see Cave of the Jews; Market of the Jews  
 John A084.a; A100.a; A101.a; A101.g; A127.b; A139.d; A139.e; A162.b; A188.f; A188.g; see Temple of Zechariah and John  
 Judah, see Gate of Judah  
 Julian A060  
 Justinian A096  
 Kaʿba A063-A066; A069; A070; A074.a; A075.a; A075.b; A076; A082; A084.b; A087; A091; A092; A094; A101.i; A121.a; A121.b; A122; A123; A127.b; A137.a; A139.f; A139.g; A143.a; A148.a; A153.a; A162.b; A174.b; A174.c; A175; A180; A181; A183; A197.b; A224; A228; A234; Figure 9; Figure 10; Figure 15; Figure 23  
 Karaites A001; A035; A154  
 Karrāmīya A121  
 KIDRON VALLEY Figure 1  
 Kissing A197.b; A197.c  
 Kneeling-place of the she-camel A162.b; A188.c  
 KURSĪ SULAYMĀN Figure 3

- Labīb A130  
 Lamp of God A084.a  
 Lamp of Paradise A084.a  
 Lamps A105; A141; A178; A193; A195; A196;  
     A200; Figure 13; Figure 14; Figure 26; Figure 27;  
     Figure 28; Figure 29; see Greatest Lamp  
 Largest stone A165.a; A167.a; A174.a  
 Leontios A031  
 Litany A206; A212.a  
 Madaba map A023  
 Mahdī A101.e; A101.i  
 Main gate A054; A073; A075; A076; A119; A121;  
     A122; A127.b; A139.b; A171; A174; A174.c;  
     A175; A177; A178; A190; Figure 10; Figure 25;  
     Figure 26; see Portal-minaret  
 Main prayer-niche A121; A121.a; A129.c; A171;  
     A174; A174.a; A175; A177; A183; A189; A190;  
     A192; A242; Figure 23; Figure 25; Figure 26;  
     Figure 27; Figure 29  
 MAIN PRAYER-NICHE Figure 6  
 Mamlūk period A151; A222; A244  
 al-Maʿmūn A013; A015; A122; A130; A135; A166;  
     A175  
 Map A023  
*Maqām*, see Standing-place  
 MAQĀM AL-ḤIDR Figure 2  
 al-Maqdisī A032  
*Maqṣūra* A171; A173; A174; A174.c; A177-A180;  
     A189-A191; A193-A195; A200; Figure 23; Fi-  
     gure 25; Figure 26; Figure 27; Figure 29  
 Marble A053.c; A089; A090; A102; A129; A129.c;  
     A130; A141; A165; A165.b; A178; A189; A194;  
     A197.c; Figure 13; Figure 18; Figure 27  
 al-Marǧīʿ, see Channel of al-Marǧīʿ  
 Market A085; A165.a; A174; A174.c; A190; A197.b  
 Market of the Jews A205.a; Figure 31  
 Marwānid period A012; A013; A020; A024; A025;  
     A027; A040; A042; A043; A071-A117; A125;  
     A126; A130-A133; A137; A146; A158; A173;  
     A180; A181; A220; A228; A230; A231; A234;  
     A241; Figure 10; Figure 11; Figure 32  
 Mary A084.a; A084.b; A100.a; A101.g; A127.b;  
     A139.a; A143.b; A144.a; A162.b; A167.a; A168;  
     A188.d; A188.g; A197.b; see Gates of Mary;  
     Chamber of Mary; Gates of the Chamber of Mary  
*Masǧid al-Aqṣā*, see Furthest Mosque  
 MASǦID MAHD ʾĪSĀ Figure 3  
 Mats A178; A194; Figure 26; Figure 27; Figure 29  
*Mawqif*, see Stopping-place  
 Mecca A065; A075.a; A075.d; A084.b; A101; A101.h;  
     A106.a; A114; A127.a; A136; A137; A137.a;  
     A139; A139.c; A139.f; A139.g; A143.a; A163;  
     A188; A188.h; A188.i; A197.a; A197.b; A224;  
     A234; Figure 9  
 Medina A101; A101.h; A106.a; A114; A137.a; A139;  
     A139.f; A143.a; A188; A188.h; A197.a; A234  
 MIḤRĀB ʿUMAR Figure 6  
 MIḤRĀB ZAKARĪYĀ Figure 6  
 Minarets A073; A075; A075.d; A077; A117; A119;  
     A121; A123; A174; A222; Figure 10; Figure 15;  
     Figure 32; see Portal-minaret; South Minaret;  
     BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ MINARET; BĀB AL-ĠAWĀ-  
     NIMA MINARET; BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET  
 Miracle of nature A167.a  
*Mišnāh* A153.a; Figure 20  
 Monday A212.a  
 Monks A031; A061  
 MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE Figure 4  
 Mosaic A089; A090; A092; A102; A121; A121.a;  
     A129; A130; A141; A165; A165.a; A166; A168;  
     A169; A178; A190; A211; Figure 13; Figure 15;  
     Figure 18; Figure 26; Figure 27; Figure 29  
 Moses A084.b; A127.b; A162.b; see Rock of Moses;  
     Tomb of Moses and Aaron  
 Mosque(s) A014; A053.c; A055; A062-A068; A070-  
     A082; A084.a; A084.b; A085; A087; A101.h;  
     A101.i; A106.a; A111-A113; A115; A117; A119;  
     A120; A120.a; A121; A121.c; A122-A125; A127;  
     A127.a; A127.b; A129.a; A136; A139.b; A144.a;  
     A147-A151; A157; A160; A162; A162.a; A162.b;  
     A165.a; A168; A170-A172; A174; A174.a;  
     A174.b; A174.c; A174.d; A175; A176; A180-  
     A187; A188.c; A188.f; A188.i; A194; A197.b;  
     A199.a; A201-A203; A217; A218; A222; A228;  
     A231; A233; A235; A236; A238; Figure 7; Figure  
     10; Figure 15; Figure 23; Figure 24; Figure 30;  
     Figure 32; Figure 34; see Friday mosque;  
     Neighbourhood mosque; Roofed Hall; Small  
     mosques; South building; Three mosques; ĠĀMIʿ  
     AL-ARBAʿĪN; ĠĀMIʿ AN-NISĀʿ; ĠĀMIʿ  
     ʿUMAR; MASǦID MAHD ʾĪSĀ  
 Mosque of David A084.a  
 Mosque of Jerusalem A073; A081; A083; A100;  
     A106.a; A114; A117-A126; A159; A170-A186;

- A223; A228; A232-A239; Figure 9; Figure 10; Figure 15; Figure 23
- Mosque of Solomon A084.a
- Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus A162.b; A172; A174.c; A188.d; Figure 24
- Mount of Olives A054; A084.b; A101.g; A151; A153; A153.a; A155; A156; A188.f; A197.b; A205; A205.a; A206; A208; A210; A210.a; A212; A212.a; A213; A214; A216; Figure 8; Figure 20; Figure 30; Figure 31
- MOUNT OF OLIVES Figure 1
- Mount Sinai A084.a
- Muezzin A077; A123
- al-Muhallabī A039
- Muḥammad A075.d; A084.a; A084.b; A095; A101; A101.c; A123; A127.a; A127.b; A139; A139.b; A139.f; A143.a; A144.a; A144.b; A145; A162.b; A163; A167.a; A168; A179; A188; A188.b; A188.c; A188.f; A188.i; A197.b; see Ascension; Night Journey; Gate of Muḥammad; Gate of the Prophet; Dome of the Messenger; Dome of Muḥammad; Dome of the Prophet; Footprints of Muḥammad
- Muqātil A027
- Muṣallā*, see Prayer-place; Mosque
- Muslim conquest in 635 A001; A014; A020; A053.c; A055; A062-A067; A223; A224; A233
- Muslim conquest in 1187 A001; A016
- al-Muqaddasī A032
- al-Muqtadir A129.c; A130
- Nāṣir-i Ḥusraw A037; Figure 71; Figure 75; Figure 77; Figure 92; Figure 93; Figure 97; Figure 103
- Names A007; A009; A011; A016; A028; A045; A056; A057; A068; A073; A074; A079; A084; A096; A112; A119; A120; A123; A127; A130; A134; A135; A139; A148; A149; A153; A156; A162; A166; A168; A169; A171-A173; A185; A188; A202; A203; A205; A208; A210; A219; A220; A222; A245; Figure 33
- Navel of the world A092; A117
- Nebukadnezar A084.a; A101.a; see Babylonians
- Neighbourhood mosque A101.h; A106.a
- Neighbourhoods, see Market of the Jews; Rabbanites
- New Israel A084.a
- New Temple A057; A083-A099; A112-A115; A117; A127-A137; A147; A150; A159; A161-A169; A225-A231; A234
- New Torah A084.a
- Night Journey A084.a; A084.b; A101; A101.c; A127.a; A127.b; A139; A139.b; A144.a; A145; A162.b; A162.b; A168; A179; A188; A188.c; see Ascension; Place of the Night Journey
- Night of the Ascension A105; A162.b
- Night of the Creation A105
- Nikanor, see Gate of Nikanor
- North African A001; A194; Figure 26 Figure 27; Figure 29
- North arcade A162.b; A174; A188.d; A191; Figure 15
- NORTH ARCADES Figure 3; Figure 6
- North Ascent A174.c
- North Gate A073; A075.d; A087; A089.a; A093.a; A121; A129; A129.a; A142; A171; A174; A222; Figure 15; Figure 18; Figure 23
- NORTH GATES A026; Figure 6
- North staircase A129.b; A165.b; A174
- NORTH STAIRCASE Figure 4
- North wall A053.b; A075; A080; A089.a; A119; A121; A129; A129.a; A165.a; A172; A174.c; A176; A222; Figure 7
- NORTHEAST STAIRCASE Figure 4
- Nūṣṭakīn al-Ġūrī ad-Dizbirī A165; A165.b
- Šaʿbān* A105
- Šagab A129.c; A130
- Šarīk b.Ḥubāša/Ḥubāša an-Numayrī A084.a; A101.b
- Šūfī convents A023; A123; A165.a; A172; A174.c; A176; A182; A184; A192; A199.a; A222; Figure 24; Figure 27
- Šūfis A036; A182; A184
- Šalawāt al-abwāb* A036
- Octagonal arcade A090; A102; A130; A140; A166; A189; Figure 12; Figure 14; Figure 17; Figure 19; Figure 22; Figure 28
- OCTAGONAL ARCADE Figure 5
- Oil A084.a; A196
- Old Temple, see Former Temple
- OLDER EAST GATE Figure 2
- Ottoman period A244
- Palace of Solomon A056.a
- Palm Sunday A020; A056.a; A148.a
- Paradise A084.a; A084.b; A092; A101; A101.a; A101.b; A101.f; A127.b; A139; A139.a; A139.g; A143.b; A144.a; A188; A197.b; Lamp of Paradise; Rivers of Paradise; Virgins of Paradise
- Parbār* A153.a; Figure 20

- Passover A212.a  
 Patrician (*patrĕkiow*) A084.b  
 Paving-stone A121.a; A143.b; A167.a  
 Pearl A104; A144.a  
 Pentecost A212.a  
 Perfume A105; Figure 13; Figure 14  
 Periodisation A011-A016  
 Personal involvement A187-A200; A242; A217  
 Peter A056.a  
 Physical shape A007; A009; A027; A032; A219  
 Pilgrim guide A001; A036; A041; A198  
 Pilgrimage A101.b; A101.f; A101.i; A136; A137;  
     A137.a; A139.g; A163; A188.i  
 Pilgrims' reports A001; A013; A020; A030  
 Pinnacle A056.a; A153.a; Figure 20  
 Pious foundations A215  
 Pit of the Leaf A084.a  
 Place of congregational prayer, see Mosque  
 Place of God's Ascent A101.d; A101.i  
 Place of God's Presence A127.b; A139.c  
 Place of God's Stool A153.a; Figure 20  
 Place of al-Ḥiḍr A188.d  
 Place of the Ascent of God's Presence A205.a; A210.a;  
     Figure 31  
 Place of the Chain A084.b; A101.f; A106; A106.b  
 Place of the Night Journey A127.b; A139.b  
 Place of the Presence of God's Strength A205.a;  
     A210.a; Figure 31  
 Platform A084.b; A089; A089.b; A093.a; A101.c;  
     A102; A103; A121.c; A127.b; A129; A129.b;  
     A129.c; A139.b; A140; A141; A145; A162.b;  
     A165; A165.b; A167.a; A174; A174.a; A174.c;  
     A174.d; A188.c; A189; A191; A192; Figure 11;  
     Figure 13; Figure 16; Figure 18; Figure 21; Fi-  
     gure 27; Figure 32  
 PLATFORM Figure 1; Figure 3; Figure 4; Figure 4  
 Pogroms, see Anti-Christian pogroms A013  
 Polychrome A178; A194; Figure 27  
 Pool of ar-Raġi<sup>c</sup> A084.b  
 Portal-minaret A165.a; A174; A182; Figure 23; Fi-  
     gure 34  
 Prayer, see Congregational prayer; Ritual prayer  
 Prayer answered by God A101; A101.f; A106.b;  
     A139; A139.d; A162.b; A188; A188.f; A188.f;  
     A197.b  
 Prayer formulas A197; A198; A200; A242  
 Prayer-call A121.c; A123; A182  
 Prayer-direction, see First Prayer-direction; Second  
     Prayer-direction  
 Prayer-niche(s) A075; A119; A120.a; A121; A121.a;  
     A122; A123; A141; A162.b; A167.a; A168; A174;  
     A174.c; A176; A178; A179; A180; A181; A188.f;  
     A188.g; A192; A195; A197.b; A217; A234;  
     Figure 15; Figure 24; Figure 26; Figure 27;  
     Figure 29; Figure 30; see Main prayer-niche;  
     MIḤRĀB ʿUMAR; MIḤRĀB ZAKARĪYĀ  
 Prayer-niche of Mary A162.b; A174.c; A188.g  
 Prayer-niche of Muʿāwiya A174.a; A188.d; A197.b;  
     Figure 30  
 Prayer-niche of ʿUmar A174.a; A188.d; A197.b; Fi-  
     gure 30  
 Prayer-niche of Zechariah A162.b  
 Prayer-place (*muṣallā*), see Mosque  
 Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr A121.a; A141  
 Prayer-place of Gabriel A127.b; A139.b  
 Prayer-route A197; A197.b; A198; A200; Figure 30  
 Pre-Marwānīd period A012; A014; A019; A020;  
     A50-A70; A076; A079; A100.a; A112; A126;  
     A147; A223; A226; Figure 7; Figure 8; Figure 32  
 Presence of God's Strength, see Place of the Presence  
     of God's Strength  
 Procession A085; A106; A154; A206; A212; A212.a;  
     A242  
 Prophets, see Former prophets  
 Prudentius A020  
 Psalms A197.b  
 Pulpit A075; A077; A078; A121; A127.b; A139.d;  
     A171; A174; A183; Figure 10; Figure 15; Figure  
     23  
 Pulpit of the Temple A073; A121.b; A123; A167.a  
 al-Qā'im A166  
 QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĠ Figure 4  
 QUBBAT AN-NABĪ Figure 4  
 QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŠ-ŠAḤRA Figure 3  
 QUBBAT AS-SILSILA Figure 4  
 Rabbanites A001; A207  
 Raġab A105; A144.b  
 ar-Raġi<sup>c</sup>, see Pool of ar-Raġi<sup>c</sup>  
 Ram of Abraham, see Horns of the Ram of Abraham  
 Ramaḍān A105; A106.b  
 Red A053.c; A056.b; A144.a; A178  
 Reliability A144.c  
 Remains A024; A025; A042  
 Ritual A006-A010; A036; A041; A044; A052; A057;



- A059; A061; A064; A065; A067; A077-A079; A085; A094; A096; A101.a; A106; A109; A123; A124; A133; A134; A143; A153.a; A154; A156; A159; A169; A182-A185; A197; A200; A206; A208; A212-A214; A216
- Ritual ablution A077; A123; A182
- Ritual prayer A075.b; A075.d; A077; A084.b; A087; A091; A101.c; A101.f; A101.h; A106; A106.a; A106.b; A107; A109; A127.b; A139.b; A139.f; A143; A143.a; A143.b; A144.a; A144.c; A162.b; A182; A188.c; A188.f; A188.h; A197; A197.a; A197.b; A197.c
- Rivers of Paradise A084.a; A084.b; A101.b; A127.b; A139.a; A144.a
- Rock *Bah-bah* A188.d
- Rock in the Dome of the Rock A056.b; A074.a; A075.b; A075.c; A075.d; A076; A082; A084.a; A084.b; A085-A092; A093.a; A101.b; A101.d; A101.f; A101.g; A101.i; A102; A104; A106; A106.b; A120; A120.a; A121; A121.a; A121.c; A122; A127.b; A128-A130; A132; A137.a; A139.a; A139.b; A139.d; A140; A143; A143.b; A144.a; A148.a; A149; A150; A153.a; A154; A162.a; A162.b; A164-A166; A167.a; A169; A174.c; A175; A177; A180; A181; A187; A188.b; A188.c; A188.e; A189; A193; A197.b; A197.c; A205.a; A208; A210; A210.a; A214; A216; A228; A234; A241; A242; Figure 10; Figure 12; Figure 14; Figure 15; Figure 17; Figure 19; Figure 22; Figure 23; Figure 28; Figure 30; see Foundation Stone
- ROCK in the DOME OF THE ROCK Figure 5
- Rock of Moses A127.b
- Rocks A053.c; A055; A056.b; A084.b; A093; A093.a; A101.f; A127.b; A131; A131.a; A155; A162.b; A167; A167.a; A174.a; A197.b; see Cornerstone; Largest stone
- Roman conquests in 70 and 132 A016; A059; A061; A071; A084.a; A153.a; A244
- Roofed Hall, roofed hall A073; A075; A077; A081; A119; A121.a; A121.c; A124; A125; A127.b; A129; A129.a; A129.c; A139.b; A141; A144.a; A165.a; A170-A172; A174; A174.c; A182; A183; A186; A187; A188.c; A191; A192; A195; A197.b; A217; A221; A235; A238; Figure 10; Figure 15; Figure 18; Figure 23; Figure 24; Figure 25; Figure 27; Figure 30; Figure 32; Figure 33; see
- Aqṣà Mosque; South building
- Ruby A144.a
- Ruins A051; A053; A053.c; A054-A056; A056.b; A057; A057.a; A058; A063; A069; A093; A113; A114; A131; A131.a; A147; A150; A153.a; A158; A167; A220; A224; A229; A233; Figure 7; Figure 32
- Rush A194; Figure 27
- as-Sāhira A197.b; Figure 30
- as-Sakīna, see God's Presence
- Sandals A077; A077.a
- Sāsānid A060
- Sāsānid conquest in 614 A014
- Saul A162.b; A188.e
- Second Prayer-direction A076; A224
- Sequence A022; A023; A033; A034; A036; A038; A041; A198; A200; A242
- Servants A085; A101; A106; A107; A108; A133-A135; A199; A199.a; see Adherents; Slaves
- Shield-like pattern A162.b; A165.a
- Shi'ite rule A002
- Silk A194; Figure 27
- Silver A084.b; A193; Figure 27; Figure 28
- SINGLE GATE Figure 2; Figure 34
- Slaves A085; A133; see Adherents; Servants
- SMALL EAST GATE Figure 2
- Small mosque A071-A082; A114; A118-A126; A170-A186; A235; A237; A239; Figure 24
- Snakes A127.b; A139.d
- Solomon A056; A056.a; A084.a; A084.b; A094; A101.f; A127.a; A127.b; A139.d; A150; A153.a; A162.a; A162.b; A188.f; see Chain of Solomon; Mosque of Solomon; Temple of Solomon; Palace of Solomon; Stoa of Solomon; Throne of Solomon
- SOLOMON'S STABLES Figure 3; Figure 34
- Song Gate A153.a; Figure 20
- Sons of Aaron A084.b; A101.g
- South arcade A171; A174; A174.c; Figure 23
- South Ascent A121.c; A144.c
- South building A039; A074; A076; A078; A079; A081; A084.a; A117; A120; A122; A125; A148.a; A150; A170-A173; A175-A177; A179; A181; A183; A185; A193; A194; A200; A235; A237-A239; see Aqṣà Mosque; Roofed hall
- South gate A053.b; A053.c; A056.b; A075.d; A084.b; A093.a; A127.b; A129.a; A131.a; A153.a; A162.b;

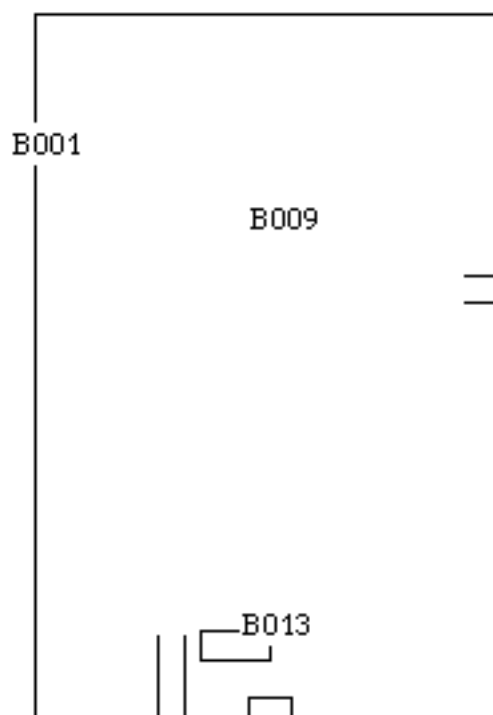
- A165.a; A167.a; A221; A222; Figure 7; Figure 33  
 South Minaret A075.d  
 SOUTH MINARET Figure 2  
 South staircase A127.b; A129.b; A162.b; A165; A165.b  
 SOUTH STAIRCASE Figure 4  
 South wall A015; A053; A089.a; A129; A129.a; A165.a; A174.c; A176; A177; A222; Figure 34  
 Southeast corner A037; A039; A053; A053.a; A056.a; A129.a; A153.a; A162.b; A167.a; A168; A172; A174; A176; A177; A188.d; A192; A193; A197.c; A221; A222; Figure 27; Figure 33; Figure 34  
 SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE Figure 4  
 Southwest corner A121; A127.b; A129.a; A131.a  
 SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER Figure 2  
 Southwest staircase A190; Figure 27  
 SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE Figure 4  
 Spring of Sulwān A205.a  
 Staircases, see East Ascent; East staircase; North Ascent; North staircase; South Ascent; South staircase; West Ascent; West staircase; EAST STAIRCASE; NORTH STAIRCASE; NORTH-EAST STAIRCASE; SOUTH STAIRCASE; SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE; SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE; MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE; WEST STAIRCASE  
 Standing-place (*maqām*) A073  
 Standing-place of Gabriel A121.c; A127.b; A139.b; A141  
 Statues A053.c  
 Stephan Sabā'ita A031  
 Stoa of Solomon A148.a  
 Stool of God, see Place of God's Stool  
 Stool of God's Feet A210.a; A205.a  
 Stopping-place (*mawqif*) A084.b; A101.c  
 Subterranean corridors, see Bī' R AL-MAĠĀRIBA; DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR; TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR  
 Sufyānids A013  
 Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik A077; A102  
 Sulaymān b. Ruḥaym A035  
 Sunday, see Palm Sunday  
 Synagogue A061; A112; A149; A233  
 Syria-Palestine A001; A084.a; A097; A099; A101.a; A137.a; A162.a; A163; A178; A188.i  
 Talisman A127.b; A139.d  
 Teeth-stick A101.h; A106.a  
 Temple of Solomon A056; A083; A086; A147; A148; A151  
 Temple of the Lord A151  
 Temple of Zechariah and John A084.a  
 Temple, see Former Temple; New Temple; Greatest Temple; Pulpit of the Temple; Gates in front of the Temple; Gates of the Temple  
 Terminology A033; A038; A075.b; A075.c; A075.d; A121.a; A121.b; A121.c; A174.a; A174.b; A174.c; A174.d; A218  
 Theodosius A020  
 Theophanes A031  
 Third Sanctuary of God A188.h  
 Three mosques: Mecca; Medina; and Jerusalem A101; A101.h; A137.a; A139; A139.f; A143.a; A188; A188.h; A197.a  
 Throne of God, see God's Throne  
 Throne of Solomon A084.b; A127.b; A139.d; A162.b; A174.a; A174.a; A188.f; A197.b; Figure 30  
 Thursday A085; A105; A212.a  
 Tiberias A101.e; A101.i  
 Tomb of Christ A057  
 Tomb of Moses and Aaron A084.a  
 Tombs A129; A142; A222  
 Torah A084.b; A153.a; see New Torah  
 Torah niche A061  
 Torah scroll A214  
 Touching A063; A084.b; A101; A101.d; A101.f; A134-A137; A158; A162.b; A188.e; A197; A197.c  
 Traditions A001; A007; A009; A010; A016; A019; A027-A029; A032; A034-A036; A039-A041; A056.a; A056.b; A057; A073; A074; A079; A081; A084; A084.a; A094; A096; A098; A101; A109; A112; A119; A120; A127; A139; A144; A145; A148-A150; A153; A156; A159; A162; A169; A179; A185; A188; A199; A200; A202; A203; A205; A208; A210; A219-A222; A224; A230; Figure 33; Figure 34; see Collections of traditions  
 Travellers' reports A019; A037  
 Treasury A073; A075; A075.d; A077; A102; Figure 10  
 Tree A084.b; A092; A144.a  
 TRIPLE GATE Figure 34  
 TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR Figure 2  
 Trumpet, see Gate of the Trumpet  
 Tuesday A085  
 Tying-up-place of al-Burāq A127.b; A139.b; A197.b;

- Figure 30  
 ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz A096  
 ʿUmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb A066.a; A074.a; A075.b; A075.d;  
     A084.a; A084.b; A101.c; A120.a; A121.c; A149;  
     A162.a; A197.b; A203; A205.a  
 ʿUmra, see Pilgrimage  
 Umayyad Palaces A006.a  
 Umayyads A013; A120.a; A127.b  
 Virgins of Paradise A084.b; A101.c; A162.b; A188.c  
 Visions A007-A009; A014; A027; A101; A101.g;  
     A108; A109; A139; A139.e; A144.c; A153.a;  
     A188; A188.g; A219  
 Wahb b. Munabbih A027  
 al-Walid b. ʿAbd al-Malik A149; A188.c; A188.i  
 Wall; see East wall; North wall; South wall; West wall;  
     EAST ḤARAM WALL; ḤARAM WALL  
 War museum A051  
 WARREN'S GATE Figure 2; Figure 34  
 al-Wāsiṭī A027; A029  
 Water Gate A153.a; Figure 20  
 West arcade A174; A174.c; Figure 15; Figure 23  
 WEST ARCADES Figure 3  
 West Ascent A174.c; A188.d  
 West gate A127.b; A129.a; A153.a; A162.b; A172;  
     A176; A205.a  
 West staircase A129; A129.b; A165.b; A199.a  
 WEST STAIRCASE Figure 4  
 West wall A053.b; A075; A080; A089.a; A121; A129;  
     A129.a; A162.b; A165.a; A167.a; A174; A174.c;  
     A211; A222; Figure 7; Figure 34  
 WEST WALL PLAZA Figure 1; Figure 34  
 White A089; A090; A129; A130; A141; A144.a;  
     A166; A193; Figure 18; Figure 27  
 Willibald A030  
 Window A129; A178  
 Women A059; A127.b; A153.a; ; see Gate of the  
     Women  
 Women Gate A121.c; A153.a; Figure 20  
 az-Zāhir A169; A173; A174.c; A177; A178  
 Zechariah A056.b; A084.a; A084.b; A101.a; A101.g;  
     A127.b; A139.a; A139.d; A139.e; A143.b; A144.a;  
     A162.b; A167.a; A168; A188.f; A188.g; A202.a;  
     Figure 7; see Temple of Zechariah and John;  
     Chamber of Zechariah  
 Zubayrids A137; see Ibn az-Zubayr

## PART B: PLACES

## 1. THE PRE-MARWĀNID PHASE (324-685)

### 1.1. THE WHOLE AREA



35

**Figure 35. The Pre-Marwānid area:** B001 Wall partly in ruins. - B009 Interior mostly covered with debris and overgrown by thorns and bushes, on the ground traces like nails. - B013 Pre-Muslim ruins and Muslim mosque.

## B001. The (former) Temple = the Capitol<sup>1</sup>

**B001.1. Names (Christian):** The Temple (*Templum*),<sup>2</sup> that noble Temple (*illud nobile Templum*),<sup>3</sup> the Temple famous in the whole world (*Templum in toto orbe celebratum*),<sup>4</sup> the

<sup>1</sup>For the Pre-Marwānid area of the former Temple and its statues, see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 11-13; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 235; Creswell, *EMA* 1 29-35; Busink, *Tempel* 3-5; 907-914; 1525-1528; 1529 n. 1; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 1 189; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 44-49; 54f.; 63f.; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 6-8; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 11-42; fig. 1-11; pl. I-XVI; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 21f.; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb"; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief"; Wilkinson, Jerusalem. IV. Alte Kirche, TRE 16 (1987) 617; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44f.; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 1; 9-15; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 39; 41; 70; Gil, *Palestine* 65-74; 90f.; Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple"; Mango, "Temple Mount"; 91f. n. 16; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 146; 155; 174f.; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple"; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 51f.; 56f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 28f.; 47-50; 123; Gil, "Jewish Community" 163-166; Parmentier, "No Stone Upon Another" 146f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 23f.; Tsafrir, "Byzantine Jerusalem" 144.

<sup>2</sup>**Itinerarium Burdigalense** 589.7 *sunt in Hierusalem piscinae magnae duae ad latus (P alatus) Templi; Prudentius, Dittochaeon* 177-180 *porta manet Templi Speciosam quam vocitarunt / egregium Salomonis opus sed maius in illa / Christi opus emicuit nam claudus surgere iussus / ore Petri stupuit laxatos currere gressus (Acts 3.2); Prudentius, Liber apotheosis* 513 (quoted Pillinger, *Dittochaeon des Prudentius* 81) *iacet illud nobile Templum; Eucherius* 34-36: 7 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 31) *Templum vero in inferiore parte urbis in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum magnificeque extructum (E instructum) quondam miraculum fuit; Eucherius* 40f.: 8 *vicina Templo (V in vicinia Templi ostenditur, PO vicina Templi) Bethsaida piscina gemino apparet insignis lacu (V Bethsaida gemino apparet insignis lacu, P Bethsaida piscina gemino apparit ut signis lacu) = Beda, De locis sanctis* 2,60f.: 2.4 (> Eucherius) *In vicinia Templi Bethsaida piscina gemino insignis lacu apparet; Eucherius* 46-48: 9 *iuxta murum Hierusalem vel Templi ab oriente Geennon (O ad orientem Gehennon) occurrit quae vallis Iosaphat vocatur (instead of quae ... vocatur: V vallis Iosaphat, P quae nullis Iosaphat, O quae vallis Iosaphat) a septentrione in austrum porrecta (E a septentrionali in austrum porrectum) = Beda, De locis sanctis* 5,13-15: 5.2 *iuxta murum Templi vel Hierusalem (LN Templi Hierusalem) ab oriente Gehennon occurrit quae est vallis Iosaphat a septentrionale plaga in austrum porrecta; Theodosius* 143,4: 11 *A Pinna Templi subtus monasterium est de castas (H monasterium de castas, P monasterium est de casta, G est monasterius puellarum de castas).*

Templum is part of a quotation (B002.2.a) in **Itinerarium Placentinum A** 170,21-171,2: 17 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 464; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 14; see Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 15f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 11ff.) *porta (G posta) civitatis quae cohaerit Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi (Acts 3.2) cuius liminare et tabulatio stat = Itinerarium Placentinum B* 203,14f.: 17 *porta civitatis quae coherit (B coheret) Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi (Acts 3.2) cuius liminare et tribulatio stat.*

<sup>3</sup>**Prudentius, Liber apotheosis** 513 (quoted Pillinger, *Dittochaeon des Prudentius* 81) *iacet illud nobile Templum.*

<sup>4</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Esaiam** XVII.44.8-12, 53-55 (transl. Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 13; Gil, *Palestine* 67 n. 70; Prawer, "Christian Attitudes" 319; see Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 21; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 87; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 23) ... *cum omnia desiderabilia eorum [of the Jews] versa sint in ruinas et Templum in toto orbe celebratum (E Templo toto orbe*

Old Temple (*Templum vetus*),<sup>1</sup> the former Temple (*Templum*),<sup>2</sup> the place where formerly the Temple and the religion of God were (*ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei*),<sup>3</sup> the deserted Temple (*desertum Templum*),<sup>4</sup> the ruins of the Temple of Solomon (*ruinae Templi Salomonis*),<sup>5</sup> the ruins of the Temple of the miserable group [of the Jews mourning the destruction of the Temple] (*ruinae Templi turbae miserorum*),<sup>6</sup> the ruins of the Temple and of the altar (*ruinae Templi et altaris*),<sup>7</sup> the Temple (*Templum*) built by Solomon,<sup>8</sup> the former Temple (*Templum*) which Wisdom built by the command of Solomon (*Sapientia per Salomonis obsequium*),<sup>9</sup> the building where the Temple was which Solomon had built (*aedes ubi Tem-*

---

*celebratum*) in sterquilinum urbis novae quae a conditore appellabatur Elia et in habitaculum transierit noctuarum.

<sup>1</sup>**Prudentius, Dittochaeon** 121-124 excidio Templi veteris stat Pinna (**Job** 38.6f.; **Isaiah** 28.16; **Psalms** 117. 22; **Ephesians** 2.20) superstes / structus enim lapide ex illo manet angulus (**Isaiah** 28.16) usque / in saeculum saeculi quem sperant aedificantes / nun caput est Templi et lapidum conpago novorum (**Psalms** 117.22; **Matthew** 21.42; **Mark** 12.10; **Luke** 20.17; **Acts** 4.11).

<sup>2</sup>**Eucherius** 34-36: 7 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 31) Templum vero in inferiore parte urbis in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum magnificeque exstructum (E instructum) quondam miraculum fuit; **Adomnanus** I 1,60-62: I.1.14 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 34) ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam Templum magnifice constructum fuerat in vicinia (YP vicina) muri ab oriente locatum ... = **Beda, De locis sanctis** 2,53-55: 2.3 (> Arculfus) In inferiore (PN inferiori) vero parte urbis ubi Templum in vicinia muri (PV in vicina muri) ab oriente locatum ipsique urbi transitu pervio ponte mediante fuerat coniunctum ...

<sup>3</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Esaiam** I,2,9 (quoted in Creswell, *EMA* 1 30; transl. Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 22) ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei ibi Adriani statua et Iovis idolum collocatum est.

<sup>4</sup>**Hieronymus, Hom. de nativitate Domini** 74f. dixerunt itaque pastores: Transeamus in Bethlehem' (**Luke** 2.15) dimittamus desertum Templum et transeamus usque ad Bethlehem.

<sup>5</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 175,3-6: 23 et oravimus (G orabimus) in praetorio (R in praeturio) ubi auditus est Dominus ubi modo est basilica sanctae Sofiae (R est basilica sancta Sofie, G basilica est Suffiae) ante ruinas (G ate rui) Templi Salomonis sub platea quae discurrit (B decurrit) ad Siloam fontem (G ad Silua fontis) secus porticum Salomonis (G secus portico Salomis) = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 206,18-21: 23 et oravimus in pretorio ubi auditus (B et modo auditus) est Dominus et modo est basilica sancte Sophie. Ante ruinas Templi Salomonis sub platea (B sup platea) aqua decurrit a fonte Syloa secus porticum Salomonis.

<sup>6</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Sophoniam** I,680f.: I.15-16 (transl. Gil, "Political History" 2; Gil, "Jewish Community" 165) (congregatur turba miserorum [the Jews] et patibulo Domini coruscante ac radiante ÉAnastāsei (N anasthassi) eius de Oliveti monte quoque crucis fulgente vexillo) plangere ruinas Templi sui populum miserum et tamen non esse miserabilem.

<sup>7</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Matheum** IV,313-319: 23.35 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 123; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24) simpliciores fratres inter ruinas Templi et altaris sive in portarum (RO sive imperatorum) exitibus quae Siloam (RO silva) ducunt (RGOKM dicunt, B d.cant, P ducant) rubra saxa (E saxam) monstrantes Zachariae sanguine (OB sanguinem) putant esse polluta (RO pollutam).

<sup>8</sup>**Breviarius A** 116f.: 6 inde venis ad Templo quod fabricavit Salomon (but not = **Breviarius B**).

<sup>9</sup>**Prudentius, dittochaion** 81-84 aedificat Templum Sapientia per Salomonis / obsequium, regina austri grave congerit aurum. / Tempus adest, quo Templum hominis sub pectore Christus / aedificet, quod Graia colant, quod barbara ditent.

*plum fuit quem Salomon aedificavit*),<sup>1</sup> the place of the Holy of Holies (*ipse sanctus sanctorum locus*);<sup>2</sup> the Capitol.<sup>3</sup>

B001.2. **Position:** The area is in the east part [of the city] next to the [east city] wall (*Templum in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum*)<sup>4</sup> on a lower place than the city proper.<sup>5</sup> This wall is the wall of both Jerusalem and the Temple (*murum Hierusalem vel Templi*), it has to its east the Gehennon or Josaphat Valley (*Geennon quae est vallis Iosaphat*), a valley where after rainfalls the torrent of the Kidron Valley (*torrens Cedron*) flows from the north to the south.<sup>6</sup> In front of the ruins of the Temple of Solomon (*ante ruinas Templi Salomonis*) is the

<sup>1</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.7-591.1 *et in aede ipsa* (P<sup>1</sup> *in aede ipsam*, V *in aedem ipsam*, S *in eadem ipse*) *ubi Templum fuit quem* (S *quod*) *Salomon aedificavit*...

<sup>2</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Matheum** XXIV,15 (quoted in Creswell, *EMA* 1 30) *de Adriani equestri statua que in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem stetit*.

<sup>3</sup>**Johannes Moschos Georgian Add. Nr.19** (see Mango, "Temple Mount" 2f.) (*Les Sarrasins athées entrèrent dans la Ville Sainte du Christ notre Dieu, Jérusalem ...*) *est aussitôt, en courant, ils arrivèrent au lieu qu' on appelle Capitole. (Ils prirent avec eux des hommes, certains de force, d' autres de leur plein gré, afin de nettoyer ce lieu et d' édifier cette maudite chose, destinée à leur prière, qu' ils appellent une mosquée (mijgit 'a).)*

For the Capitol, the Roman temple and the two statues in the area of the former Temple, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 29-31; Busink, *Tempel* 3-5; 17; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 1 189; 191; 191f. n. 89; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 43-45; Brock, "Rebuilding of the Temple" 106; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 6-8; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 20-25; ; Blanchetière, "Julian" 75; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 280 and endnote 2; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Haram" 1; 9; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 2 109; Reinink, "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History" 184f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 2f.; Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 26-28; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 144f.; 3 72; 374; Murphy-O'Connor, "Location of the Capitol"; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 28.

<sup>4</sup>**Adomnanus** I 1,60-62: I.1.14 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 34) *ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam Templum magnifice constructum fuerat in vicinia* (YP *vicina*) *muri ab oriente locatum ... = Beda, De locis sanctis* 2,53f.: 2.3 (< Arculfus) *in inferiore* (PN *inferiori*) *vero parte urbis ubi Templum in vicinia muri* (PV *in vicina muri*) *ab oriente locatum ...*

<sup>5</sup>**Johannes Moschos Georgian Add. Nr.19** (see Mango, "Temple Mount" 2f.) (*Jean, archidiacre de Saint Théodore le Martyr ...*) *Il se laissa séduire par eux pour un gain malhonnête et il alla de son plein gré travailler là-bas. (... Quand le très bienheureux saint Sophrone ... sut cela, il lui envoya des messagers, un vendredi, le fit venir et lui demanda ... Il lui donna cette assurance: "La Sainte-Anastase te donnera autant de travail que tu en voudras, et double salaire. ...) Si tu refuses de m' obéir, tu ne peux à la fois travailler là-bas et rester sous le joug où tu as été placé: en effet, même un laïc qui porte ne nom de chrétien ne peu aller travailler là-bas." Et les diacres ses compagnons lui adressaient eux aussi la même demande. Alors, à ce moment, il promit avec un serment garanti par la force de la vénérable Croix de ne plu travailler là-bas désormais. Mais deux jours plus tard, on le trouva là-bas, travaillant en secret.*

<sup>6</sup>**Eucherius** 46-49: 9 *iuxta murum Hierusalem vel Templi ab oriente Geennon* (O *ad orientem Gehennon*) *occurrit quae vallis Iosaphat vocatur* (instead of *quae ... vocatur*: V *vallis Iosaphat*, P *quae nullis Iosaphat*, O *quae vallis Iosaphat*) *a septentrione in austrum porrecta* (E *a septentrionali in austrum porrectum*) *per quam Cedron torrens* (V *per quam torrens*) *si quando pluviarum aquas recipit* (P *recepit*) *decurrit = Beda, De locis sanctis* 5,13-16: 5.2 *iuxta murum Templi vel Hierusalem* (LN *Templi Hierusalem*) *ab oriente Gehennon occurrit quae est*



*Praetorium* with the Basilica of the Holy Wisdom (*basilica sancta Sophiae*).<sup>1</sup> This is the ḤARAM.

**B001.3. Physical shape:** The area is enclosed by a wall partly in ruins. The wall has a south gate (B008.3), an east gate (B002.2) and possibly other gates or breaches. The interior is mostly covered with debris and overgrown by thorns and bushes (B009.2). Some ruins stand in the area's south (B013.3); after the Muslim conquest, the first Muslim mosque is built on top (B013.3). There are the (equestrian) statue of Hadrian and the idol of Jupiter (B221.2). The whole area is most probably a giant quarry for the building of Christian and Muslim Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

B001.3.a. The Roman and Pre-Roman WALL of today obviously exists in the Pre-Marwānid period. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* has *et in aede ipsa ubi Templum fuit quem Salomon aedificavit ...* "and in the building itself, where the Temple was, which Solomon had built ...".<sup>3</sup> Here, *aedes* may refer to a certain building in the area we are not aware of (Donner<sup>4</sup>) or to the remains of the Roman temple,<sup>5</sup> but a review of the references (B001.1, B052.2) shows that Latin *Templum* refers to the ḤARAM, never necessarily to a particular building in it, and we best suppose it defines the whole area as one large building,<sup>6</sup> as in the Marwānid, High 'Abbāsīd and Fātimīd periods.

B001.3.b. The *Itinerarium Placentinum*<sup>7</sup> has *porta civitatis quae cohaerit Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi*

---

*vallis Iosaphat a septentrionale plaga in austrum porrecta per quam torrens Cedron si quando pluviarum aquam recipit decurrit.*

<sup>1</sup>*Itinerarium Placentinum* A 175,3-6: 23 *et oravimus* (G *orabimus*) *in praetorio* (R *in praeturio*) *ubi auditus est Dominus ubi modo est basilica sanctae Sofiae* (R *est basilica sancta Sofie*, G *basilica est Suffiae*) *ante ruinas* (G *ate rui*) *Templi Salomonis sub platea quae discurrit* (B *decurrit*) *ad Siloam fontem* (G *ad Silua fontis*) *secus porticum Salomonis* (G *secus portico Salomis*) = *Itinerarium Placentinum* B 206,18-21: 23 *et oravimus in pretorio ubi auditus* (B *et modo auditus*) *est Dominus et modo est basilica sancte Sophie. Ante ruinas Templi Salomonis sub platea* (B *sup platea*) *aqua decurrit a fonte Syloa secus porticum Salomonis.*

For the Praetorium and the Hagia Sophia of Jerusalem, see Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 418-420; 545 s.v. "Kirchen/Hagia Sophia".

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 28; 49f..

<sup>3</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.7-591.1 *et in aede ipsa* (P<sup>1</sup> *in aede ipsam*, V *in aedem ipsam*, S *in eadem ipse*) *ubi Templum fuit quem* (S *quod*) *Salomon aedificavit ...; (etiam* (S *quod etiam*) *parent* (P<sup>1</sup> *parentu*) ... *per totam aream* (P *in totam aream*) ...).

<sup>4</sup>Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 7; Donner, "Pilger von Bordeaux" 56f.

<sup>5</sup>Mango, "Temple Mount" 3.

<sup>6</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 30 n. 8; Busink, *Tempel* 7 n. 24; 933; Donner, "Pilger von Bordeaux" 56f.

<sup>7</sup>*Itinerarium Placentinum* A 170,21-171,2: 17 (transl. partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 464; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 14; see Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 15f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 11ff.) (*Ipsa vallis Gessemani* (G *valle lessemani*, R *vallis Gessemani*) *ibidem vocatur Iosaphat (Iosafa).* *De Gessemani* (G *lessemani*) *ascendimus ad portam Hierusolima* (R *Hierosolimam*) *per grados* (R *per gradus*) *multos. In dextra parte portae* (G *porta posta*) *est olivetum* (R *oliveti*); *ibi est ficulnea in qua Iudas se* (R *se Iudas*) *suspendit cuius talea stat* (G *tale astat*, R *talia adstant*) *munita petris* (R *monita petris*, G *monita patris*.) *Porta* (G *posta*) *civitatis quae cohaerit Portae*

*cuius liminare et tabulatio stat* "This city gate is connected with the Beautiful Gate which was part of the Temple. Its threshold and side parts are still standing". Here, *cuius* refers to *Portae Speciosae* "the Beautiful Gate" (B002.2.a).

**B001.4. Contemporary events:** The Jews of Galilee and its surroundings apply to the empress **Eudokia** for a permit to pray in the ruins of the Temple built by Solomon; upon having this permit, they invite the Jews of Persia and of the large cities of Byzantium to gather at the Feast of Tabernacles (*ʿīdā da-mṭallē*) at Jerusalem; about 103,000 men and women gather there in black, mourning [the destruction of the Temple], rending their garments into pieces and putting ash on their heads; stones are thrown at them, some are killed, and all the Jews, the [Christian] clergy and the soldiers are sure that the stones were thrown by some monks of Bar Ṣawmā who were visiting the Pinnacle (*Qarnā*) of the Temple nearby, but in the end the monks are released.<sup>1</sup> Under **Julian** (emperor 361-363)<sup>2</sup> and possibly under the **Sāsānid rule** in Jerusalem (614-628),<sup>3</sup> Jews are trying unsuccessfully to rebuild the Temple. After the Muslim conquest, the Muslims proceed to the Capitol, clean it and build a mosque there.<sup>4</sup>

B001.4.a. Prior to the building of the mosque on the former Temple, there may have been a first short-living

---

*Speciosae quae fuit Templi (Acts 3.2) cuius liminare et tabulatio stat = Itinerarium Placentinum B 203,14f.: 17 (Et ipsa vallis Gethsemani (B Gessemani) ibidem vocatur (B vocatus est) Iosaphat. In dexteram partem (B in dextra parte) porte est olivetum et ficulnea in qua se Iudas laqueo se suspendit hoc est ad portam Hierusalem. Cuius taleas stat munita (B tale adstat munitae) petris; porta civitatis quae coheret (B coheret) Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi (Acts 3.2) cuius liminare et tribulatio stat.*

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Bar Ṣawmā* 3 119f.

For this gathering of the Jews and the throwing of stones, see Nau, *Résumé* 3 119-125; Nau, "Deux épisodes" 194-200; Honigmann, *Couvent de Barṣaumā* 17f.; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24; Cohn, "Perforated Stone" 146; Gil, *Palestine* 3; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 159; 176f.

<sup>2</sup>For the rebuilding of the Temple under Julian, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 30f. n. 14; Busink, *Tempel* 5; 912; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 1 191; 101f. n. 89; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" 22f.; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 46; Brock, "Rebuilding of the Temple"; Brock, "Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem"; Bowersock, "Chronology"; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 23f.; Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews* 128-160; Blanchetière, "Julian"; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 280-282; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 11-13; Mango, "Temple Mount" 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 174f.; Parmentier, "No Stone Upon Another"; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple" 11; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 159f.; Talmon, "Signification of Jerusalem" 12; Tsafrir, "Byzantine Jerusalem" 144; Irshai, "Jerusalem Bishopric" 112-114.

<sup>3</sup>The rebuilding of the Temple under the Sāsānids is unmentioned by the sources. It has been assumed by Avi-Yonah, *Jews of Palestine* 265-270; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 280f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 5; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 159f. The idea is rejected by Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 374.

<sup>4</sup>**Johannes Moschos Georgian Add. Nr.19** (see Mango, "Temple Mount" 2f.) (*Les Sarrasins athées entrèrent dans la Ville Sainte du Christ notre Dieu, Jérusalem ...)* est aussitôt, en courant, ils arrivèrent au lieu qu'on appelle Capitole. Ils prirent avec eux des hommes, certains de force, d'autres de leur plein gré, afin de nettoyer ce lieu et d'édifier cette maudite chose, destinée à leur prière, qu'ils appellent une mosquée (*mijgit'a*).

mosque in the atrium of the Basilica of Constantine<sup>1</sup> and a mosque at the Chamber of David (*Miḥrāb Dāwūd*) (the CITADEL);<sup>2</sup> both do not concern our argumentation.

**B001.5. Traditions (Christian):** These are the ruins of the Temple built by **Solomon** (B001.1), the habitation of nocturnal spirits (*habitaculum noctuarum*).<sup>3</sup>

**B001.6. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** The Jews (*Iudaei*) come every year (*singulis annis*) to a certain pierced stone (*lapis pertusus*) [somewhere in the area], anoint it, mourn [the destruction of the Temple] while rending their garments into pieces, then leave;<sup>4</sup> on the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple [on 9 Āb], the Jews gather here, men and women, and mourn the destruction of the Temple while blowing trumpets (*tuba*); they pay the authorities a sum for the permit to visit the city.<sup>5</sup> During the time of the empress Eudokia, Jews ga-

<sup>1</sup>Busse, "Omar's Image" 164; Busse, "Umar-Moschee"; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24; Busse, "Patriarchengräber" 73.

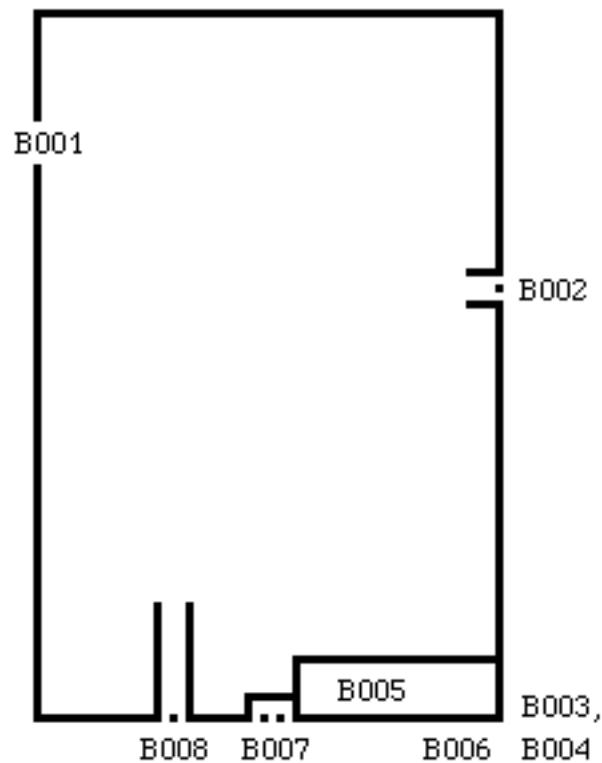
<sup>2</sup>Busse, "Omar's Image" 164-168; Busse, "Tower of David" 155f.

<sup>3</sup>**Hieronymus, *Comm. in Esaiam*** XVII.44.8-12,55 (transl. Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 13; Gil, *Palestine* 67 n. 70; Prawer, "Christian Attitudes" 319; see Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 21; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 87; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 23) (... *cum omnia desiderabilia eorum* [of the Jews] *versa sint in ruinas et Templum in toto orbe celebratum* (E *Templo toto orbe celebratum*) *in sterquilinium urbis novae quae a conditore appellabatur Elia*) *et in habitaculum transierit noctuarum*.

<sup>4</sup>***Itinerarium Burdigalense*** 591.4-6 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 30; Murphy-O'Connor, "Capitol" 410f.) *sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani* (P *Adriani*); *est et* (S *et est*) *non longe de statuæ lapis pertusus* (S *pertusus*) *ad quem veniunt Iudaei singulis annis et unguent eum et lamentant se cum gemitu et vestimenta sua scindunt et sic recedunt*; ***Itinerarium Burdigalense*** M VIII *inde non longe est lapis ad quem veniunt Iudei singulis annis et unguent eum et lamentant cum gemitu et sic redeunt*.

<sup>5</sup>**Hieronymus, *Comm. in Sophoniam*** I,668-692: I.15-16 (transl. partly Gil, "Political History" 2; Gil, "Jewish Community" 165) (*Dies iræ dies illa dies tribulationis et angustiae dies calamitatis et miseriae dies tenebrarum et caliginis dies nebulae et turbinis dies tubae et clangoris super civitates munitas et super angulos excelsos*) (***Zephaniah*** 1.15-16) ... *Vix ruinarum parva vestigia in magnis quondam urbibus cernimus ... Legamus Iosephum et prophetiam Sophoniae illius cernemus historiam*); *et hoc non tantum de captivitate dicendum est sed usque ad praesentem diem perfidi coloni post interfectionem servorum et ad extremum Filii Dei excepto planctu prohibentur ingredi Hierusalem; et ut ruinam* (N *ruina*) *suae eis flere* (N *fleri*) *liceat civitatis pretio redimunt ut qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi emant lacrimas suas et ne fletus quidem eis gratuitus sit. Videas in die quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Hierusalem venire populum lugubrem confluere decrepitas mulierculas et senes pannis annisque* (N *anusque*) *obsitos in corporibus et in habitu suo iram Domini demonstrantes. Congregatur turba miserorum et patibulo Domini coruscante ac radiante* *ĒAnastāsei* (N *anasthassi*) *eius de Oliveti monte quoque crucis fulgente vexillo plangere ruinas Templi sui populum miserum et tamen non esse miserabilem; adhuc fletus in genis et livida brachia et sparsi crines et miles mercedem postulat ut illis flere plus liceat; et dubitat* (N *dubitet*) *aliquis cum haec videat de die tribulationis et angustiae de die calamitatis et miseriae de die tenebrarum et caliginis de die nebulae et turbinis de die tubae et clangoris* (cf. ***Zephaniah*** 1.15-16)? *Habent enim et in luctu tubas et iuxta prophetiam vox sollemnitatis versa est in planctum. Ululant super cineres sanctuarii et super altare destructum et super civitates quondam munitas et super excelsos angulos* (N *excelsis angulos*) *Templi de quibus quondam Iacobum fratrem Domini praecipitaverunt. Haec de captivitate dica sint Iudaeorum*.

ther at the Feast of Tabernacles (*ʿīdā da-mṭallē*) at Jerusalem; about 103,000 men and women gather there in black, mourning [the destruction of the Temple], rending their garments into pieces and putting ash on their heads, but are attacked by stones being thrown at them (B001.4).

1.2. THE WALL AND THE GATES<sup>1</sup>

36

**Figure 36. The Pre-Marwānid wall and gates:** B001 Wall partly in ruins. - B002 The Beautiful Gate. - B003 The Pinnacle. - B004 The Cornerstone. - B005 The palace of Solomon. - B006 The monastery of the nuns. - B007 The room where Solomon wrote [the book of] Wisdom. - B008 The south gate.

<sup>1</sup>For the Pre-Marwānid wall, see Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 39; 43; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount" 97-99; Wightman, *Walls* 84f.; 126; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 161; 163; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 33; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 26-28.

For the ḤARAM WALL, in general, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 118-121; 242-245; Creswell, *EMA* 1 156 n. 7; Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 39; 43; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 11f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 540 s.v. "al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf/Umfassungsmauern"; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 123.

## B002. The Beautiful Gate<sup>1</sup>

B002.1. **Names (Christian):** The Beautiful Gate (*Porta Speciosa*).<sup>2</sup>

B002.2. **Position:** The gate is in the east wall,<sup>3</sup> south of the east city gate<sup>4</sup> and somehow

<sup>1</sup>For the GOLDEN GATE today, the Pre-Marwānid east gate and the Marwānid Gate of Mercy, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 140-146; Le Strange, *Palestine* 183f.; Herzfeld, "Qubbat al-Šakhra" 243; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 434 n. 7; 435f. n. 3; 2 110f.; 163-165; 200; 202; 208; Hamilton, "Some Capitals" with fig. 5-7; pl. XXXIX.D-H; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 68 n. 1; Hirschberg, *Sources* 329; Corbett, "Observations" (with fig. 2; pl. III.2); Miquel, *al-Muqaddasi* 150f. n. 32; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 37; Busse, "Sanctity" 454; Creswell, *EMA* 1 123 fig. 68; 122; 123 fig. 68; 455; 461; 463-466 (with fig. 527); 538; fig. 526; Busink, *Tempel* 236-240; 913; 984-989 (with fig. 225); pl. 19 with fig. 226; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 1 195 n. 104; Giacomakis, "The Gate Below the Golden Gate" (with a plate); Kenaan, "A Local Trend" 115 (with plate); Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 24; 40; 161; Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" 129f.; pl. XXI.B; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 276f. n. 83; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 11-20; 26; pl. IIf.; pl. XIIf.; Pillinger, *Dittochaeon des Prudentius* 110-112; Buschhausen, "Fassade der Grabeskirche" 75; Chen, "Golden Gate"; Cohn, "Perforated Stone" 145; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 266f.; Fleming, "The Gate Beneath the Golden Gate" 25 and 34f. (plates); Peters, "Dome of the Rock" 124-130; Ben-Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple* 282-286; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 86-88; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 290; 293; 295; pl. 2; Grabar, "Jerusalem" 60a; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I* 6-15; 36-47; 182f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44f.; 49; 278; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 18; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 3 fig. 1; 33-45 (with illustrations); 70; 72; Tsafir, "Massive Wall"; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147f.; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Gil, *Palestine* 634 n. 109; Mango, "Temple Mount" 7-16 (with plates); Burgoyne, "Gates" 111f.; 114 fig. 8; 115 fig. 9-10; 122-124; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 128f.; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 142f.; Wightman, *Walls* 9; 217 fig. 69; 220 fig. 71; 221f.; 228 fig. 72; 230-232; 245; 259f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 200-204; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXIIIf.; 25f.; 46; 50; 68; 102-108; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 31; 42; 43 fig. 17; 120; 123-126; 172; Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 42f.; 54; Hillenbrand, "Monuments" 3; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 31; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 489f.

<sup>2</sup>**Prudentius, Dittochaeon** 177-180 *porta manet Templi Speciosam quam vocitarunt / egregium Salomonis opus sed maius in illa / Christi opus emicuit nam claudus surgere iussus / ore Petri stupuit laxatos currere gressus (Acts 3.2); Itinerarium Placentinum A* 170,21-171,2: 17 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 464; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 14; see Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 15f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 11ff.) *porta (G posta) civitatis quae cohaerit Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi (Acts 3.2) cuius liminare et tabulatio stat = Itinerarium Placentinum B* 203,14f.: 17 *porta civitatis quae coherit (B coheret) Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi (Acts 3.2) cuius liminare et tribulatio stat.*

<sup>3</sup>**Prudentius, Dittochaeon** 177-180 *porta manet Templi Speciosam quam vocitarunt, / egregium Salomonis opus sed maius in illa / Christi opus emicuit nam claudus surgere iussus / ore Petri stupuit laxatos currere gressus (Acts 3.2); Madaba Map E.*

For the EAST ḤARAM WALL, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 11-18; Busink, *Tempel* 155f.; 832 fig. 200; 833; fig. 215; 979-989 with fig. 224; pl. 21 with fig. 229; Fleming, "The Gate Beneath the Golden Gate" 34 and 36 (plates); Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 77; Wightman, *Walls* 34f.; 84-87; 106-108; 159; 221f.; pl. 5.2; pl. 7.2; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 195-198; 541 s.v. "al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf/Umfassungsmauern/Östliche Umfassungsmauer"; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 13f.; Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 42; Burgoyne, "East Wall".

<sup>4</sup>**Madaba Map E.**

connected with the east city gate.<sup>1</sup> We best locate it at the place of the GOLDEN GATE,<sup>2</sup> possibly at the OLDER EAST GATE below the GOLDEN GATE.<sup>3</sup>

B002.2.a. The gate is in the *Itinerarium Placentinum* related to the city's east gate (not, as has been assumed,<sup>4</sup> to a small postern in the east wall, identified with the blocked SMALL EAST GATE visible from inside the EAST ḤARAM WALL, immediately south of the GOLDEN GATE and on one level with it<sup>5</sup>). The *Itinerarium Placentinum A* has *porta civitatis quae cohaerit Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi cuius liminare et tabulatio stat*, the *Itinerarium Placentinum B* ... *tribulatio stat* "This city gate is connected with the Beautiful Gate which was part of the Temple. Its threshold and the side parts are still standing.". This opens with *porta civitatis quae* "this city gate" - the colon put by the editor between *civitatis* and *quae* creates an anakoluth. *Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi* (past tense) quotes *prŰw tŌn yĒran toĒ fleroĒ tŌn legom°nhn ...raĒan* (**Acts** 3.2), *ad portam Templi quae dicitur Speciosa* (**Acts** 3.2 **Vulgata**); only *cuius liminare et tabulatio/tribulatio stat* (present tense) describes the current situation, referring either to *Templi* or to *Portae Speciosae* (Donner). We may argue that **Madaba Map E** is the undestroyed gate and therefore, the whole *Templum* should rather be meant (Donner), but the gate may have been first in ruins and then rebuilt prior to the **Madaba Map**. It has been said that *Templum* may refer both to the whole area and to some particular ruins in it (Donner), but a review of the references shows that Latin *Templum* refers to the ḤARAM, never necessarily to a particular building in it (B001.3.a). The existence of a threshold is also in favour rather of a gate than a building.

B002.2.b. The location of the gate on the **Madaba Map** is more or less at the GOLDEN GATE. The location of *Porta Speciosa* is much less clear. *Cohaerit in porta/posta civitatis quae cohaerit Portae Speciosae* has been referred to *porta civitatis* (at the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ) and to *Porta Speciosa* (at the GOLDEN GATE) being in one and the same wall,<sup>6</sup> but the distance between the gates remains quite puzzling.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Itinerarium Placentinum A* 170,21-171,2: 17 (transl. partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 464; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 14; see Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 15f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 11ff.) (*Ipsa vallis Gessemani* (G *valle Iessemani*, R *vallis Gessemani*) *ibidem* *vocatur Iosaphat* (*Iosafa*). *De Gessemani* (G *Iessemani*) *ascendimus ad portam Hierusolima* (R *Hierosolimam*) *per grados* (R *per gradus*) *multos. In dextra parte portae* (G *porta posta*) *est olivetum* (R *oliveti*); *ibi est ficulnea in qua Iudas se* (R *se Iudas*) *suspendit cuius talea stat* (G *tale astat*, R *talía adstant*) *munita petris* (R *monita petris*, G *monita patris*.) *Porta* (G *posta*) *civitatis quae cohaerit Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi* (**Acts** 3.2) *cuius liminare et tabulatio stat* = *Itinerarium Placentinum B* 203,14f.: 17 (*Et ipsa vallis Gethsemani* (B *Gessemani*) *ibidem* *vocatur* (B *vocatus est*) *Iosaphat. In dexteram partem* (B *in dextra parte*) *porte est olivetum et ficulnea in qua se Iudas laqueo se suspendit hoc est ad portam Hierusalem. Cuius taleas stat munita* (B *tale adstat munitae*) *petris*); *porta civitatis quae coherit* (B *coheret*) *Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi* (**Acts** 3.2) *cuius liminare et tribulatio stat*.

<sup>2</sup>Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 276f. n. 83; Wightman, *Walls* 217 fig. 69 (*Porta speciosa*); 220 fig. 71 (**Madaba Map E**); 221f. (*Porta speciosa*, **Madaba Map E**); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 31 (**Madaba Map E**).

<sup>3</sup>For the OLDER EAST GATE below the GOLDEN GATE, see Giacomakis, "The Gate Below the Golden Gate" (with a plate); Chen, "Golden Gate" 172f.; Fleming, "The Gate Beneath the Golden Gate", especially 26 (plates); Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 34; Burgoyne, "Gates" 112; Wightman, *Walls* 221f.; 228 fig. 72; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 200; 203.

<sup>4</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 464 and n. 10.

<sup>5</sup>For this SMALL EAST GATE, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 464; Busink, *Tempel* 984 fig. 225; 985f. (erroneously calling the gate "Begräbnisforte", i.e., BĀB AL-ĠĀNĀ'IZ).

<sup>6</sup>Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 276f. n. 83; Wightman, *Walls* 222 n. 52.

B002.2.c. The GOLDEN GATE and the DOUBLE GATE have a similar layout (both are double gates with two parallel series of domes), have similar exterior frames and a similar decoration, and we may suppose that they were built or rebuilt in the same period;<sup>2</sup> the decoration of both dates from the Umayyad period.<sup>3</sup> The parallelism of the two gates is obscured by the place of the DOUBLE GATE under the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR which is therefore necessary. The GOLDEN GATE (and so the DOUBLE GATE as well) are definitely built after *Itinerarium Placentinum* with its description of a gate in ruins (B002.3), i.e., after about 570.<sup>4</sup>

**B002.3. Physical shape:** The gate is different from all city gates. In the 6th century, only its threshold and side parts (*liminare et tabulatio/tribulatio*) are standing.<sup>5</sup> There is neither evidence that the gate is closed<sup>6</sup> nor that it is open.

B002.3.a. The difference between this gate and the city gates becomes obvious by comparing *Madaba Map* E to the *Madaba Map*'s other city gates.

B002.3.b. It has been suggested that these ruins are rebuilt both after the Sāsānid conquest, with the subsequent domination of some Jews, and after the Byzantine re-conquest, as a sign of the Christian pre-eminence over Judaism<sup>7</sup> and as a sign of the victory of Christianity and the installation of two Christian empires, the Byzantine and the Christian Sāsānid empires.<sup>8</sup> This may well be, but the sources allow no decisive remark.

**B002.4. Traditions (Christian):** The gate was built by **Solomon**.<sup>9</sup> This is the Beautiful

<sup>1</sup>Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 16 therefore rejects the location of *porta civitatis* at the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ.

<sup>2</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 68 n. 1; Corbett, "Observations" 9-11; 13f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 466 n. 24; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 293; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 33; 35-38; Mango, "Temple Mount" 8-10; Burgoyne, "Gates" 112.

<sup>3</sup>Corbett, "Observations" 10; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 86f.; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 33-45; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147.

<sup>4</sup>Mango, "Temple Mount" 12.

<sup>5</sup>*Itinerarium Placentinum* A 170,21-171,2: 17 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 464; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 14; see Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 15f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 11ff.) *porta* (G *posta*) *civitatis quae cohaerit Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi* (*Acts* 3.2) *cuius liminare et tabulatio stat = Itinerarium Placentinum* B 203,14f.: 17 *porta civitatis quae coherit* (B *coheret*) *Portae Speciosae quae fuit Templi* (*Acts* 3.2) *cuius liminare et tribulatio stat*.

<sup>6</sup>The gate has been considered as being closed by Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 18.

<sup>7</sup>Peters, "Dome of the Rock" 127; Mango, "Temple Mount" 7.

<sup>8</sup>Mango, "Temple Mount" 6f.

<sup>9</sup>*Prudentius, Dittochaeon* 177-180 *porta manet Templi Speciosam quam vocitarunt / egregium Salomonis opus sed maius in illa / Christi opus emicuit nam claudus surgere iussus / ore Petri stupuit laxatos currere gressus* (*Acts* 3.2).



Gate where the **apostle Peter** healed a lame man (**Acts 3.2**).<sup>1</sup>

### B003. The Pinnacle<sup>2</sup>

B003.1. **Names (Christian):** The Pinnacle (of the Temple) (*Pinna Templi*,<sup>3</sup> *Pinna*,<sup>4</sup> *Qarnā* of the Temple).<sup>5</sup>

B003.2. **Position:** The Pinnacle is above the palace (*palatium*) of Solomon (B005.2) and the nuns' monastery (B006.2), in a corner of the former Temple. We best locate it in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER.<sup>6</sup>

B003.2.a. The Fāṭimid corner is made up mainly of large stones (B136.3) and the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER has large stones rising from the west and the north, culminating in a sharp point right in the corner. The Pre-Marwānid corner was just this layer of large stones, a remarkably high ruin peak identified therefore as *Pinna Templi*.<sup>7</sup>

B003.2.b. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* has the Pinnacle preceded by the crypt where Solomon tortured the

<sup>1</sup>**Prudentius, Dittochaeron** 177-180 *porta manet Templi Speciosam quam vocitarunt / egregium Salomonis opus sed maius in illa / Christi opus emicuit nam claudus surgere iussus / ore Petri stupuit laxatos currere gressus (Acts 3.2).*

<sup>2</sup>For the Pre-Marwānid southeast corner, the Pinnacle, see Jeremias, "Eckstein" 69; Milik, "Topographie" 164; 175f.; Busse, "Kultstätten" 122f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 30f.; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 20; 24-26; Pillinger, *Dittochaeron des Prudentius* 81; 83; Grabar, "Jerusalem" 59b; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 28.

<sup>3</sup>**Theodosius** 143,4-10: 11 *a Pinna Templi subtus monasterium est de castas (H monasterium de castas, P monasterium est de casta, G est monasterius puellarum de castas); Breviarius B* 119-122: 6 (transl. Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 25) *et inde venis ad illam Pinnam Templi ubi temptavit Satanas Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum (Matthew 4.5; Luke 4.9) (= but Breviarius A* 119-122: 6 *inde venis ad illa Pinna ubi Satanas posuit Dominum (Matthew 4.5; Luke 4.9)).*

<sup>4</sup>**Prudentius, Dittochaeron** 121-124 *excidio Templi veteris stat Pinna (Job 38.6f.; Isaiah 28.16; Psalm 117. 22; Ephesians 2.20) superstes / structus enim lapide ex illo manet angulus (Isaiah 28.16) usque / in saeculum saeculi quem sperunt aedificantes / nun caput est Templi et lapidum conpago novorum (Psalm 117.22; Matthew 21.42; Mark 12.10; Luke 20.17; Acts 4.11); Breviarius A* 119-122: 6 *inde venis ad illa Pinna ubi Satanas posuit Dominum (Matthew 4.5; Luke 4.9) (= but Breviarius B* 119-122: 6 (transl. Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 25) *et inde venis ad illam Pinnam Templi ubi temptavit Satanas Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum (Matthew 4.5; Luke 4.9)).*

Cf. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.4f. *et sub pinna (S without et sub pinna) turris (V turre) ipsius ...*

<sup>5</sup>**Vita Bar Sawmā** 3 120.

<sup>6</sup>For the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 146-158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 7; 15-18; 109-115; Avi-Yonah, *Madaba Mosaic Map* 70; Milik, "Topographie" 164; 175f.; Busink, *Temple* 219; 236f. (with fig. 64); 668 n. 15; 673; pl. 17 (with fig. 214); 956f. (with fig. 215); 979-981; pl. 20 with fig. 228; 1211f.; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 38-40; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 60; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 43 n. 8; 44f.; 77; Burgoyne, "Gates" 105; Wightman, *Walls* 214f.; 225; pl. 5.1; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 274 fig. 126; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 607f.

<sup>7</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 31 n. 3.

demons (inside the ḤARAM) and followed by the Cornerstone (at the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER), the Palace of Solomon (at SOLOMON'S STABLES), the room where Solomon wrote the [Book of] Wisdom (between the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER and the DOUBLE GATE), the underground cisterns and pools, then inside the area the altar of Zechariah. The author describes the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER from outside, then enters through a gate in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL (B008.2).

***Itinerarium Burdigalense***

*cripta ubi Salomon daemones torquebat -> **angulus turris excelsissimae** -> lapis angularis magnus -> Solomon's palatium -> cubiculus in quo sedit et sapientiam descripsit - > \*excepturia magna aquae subterranea et piscinae - > in aede ipsa ubi Templum fuit: altar of Zachariah*

B003.2.c. ***Breviarius A*** has the Pinnacle preceded by the House of Pilate with the Hagia Sophia, and the Temple in general with an outstanding crypt, and followed by the descent to *Silua* (at SILWĀN) and Jeremiah's pit (*lacus*) there. ***Breviarius B*** has the Pinnacle preceded by the House of Pilate and followed by a basilica with the layout of a cross (*basilica in cruce posita*), a basilica where the sick people washed themselves and were healed (at SILWĀN) and the Basilica of Mary with her tomb (at the CHURCH OF MARY in GETHSEMANE) . Both sequences allow location at the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER.

***Breviarius A***

*Domus Pilati: basilia grandis, cubiculua ... vocatur sancta Sophia -> Templum: una cripta -> **Pinna** -> Silua: lacus ubi missus est sanctus Hieremias*

***Breviarius B***

*Domus Pilati -> **Pinna** -> basilica in cruce posita -> basilica ubi se lavabant infirmi et sanabantur -> Basilica sanctae Mariae: sepulchrum eius*

B003.3. **Physical shape:** This is a ruin,<sup>1</sup> a (high) tower (*turris excelsissima*,<sup>2</sup> *turris*<sup>3</sup>).

B003.a. A Chapel of James in the area's southeast corner has been alleged to have existed;<sup>4</sup> the sources do not support this.

B003.4. **Contemporary events:** In the time of the empress Eudokia, some monks of Bar Ṣawmā visit the Pinnacle (*Qarnā*) of the Temple and are accused of throwing stones at the Jews gathering nearby for the Feast of Tabernacles (*ʿīdā da-mṭallē*) (B001.4).

B003.5. **Traditions (Christian):** This is the Pinnacle (**Job** 38.6f.; **Isaiah** 28.16; **Psalms**

<sup>1</sup>**Prudentius**, *Dittochaeon* 121-124 *excidio Templi veteris stat Pinna* (**Job** 38.6f.; **Isaiah** 28.16; **Psalms** 117. 22; **Ephesians** 2.20) *superstes / structus enim lapide ex illo manet angulus* (**Isaiah** 28.16) *usque / in saeculum saeculi quem spererunt aedificantes / nun caput est Templi et lapidum conpago novorum* (**Psalms** 117.22; **Matthew** 21.42; **Mark** 12.10; **Luke** 20.17; **Acts** 4.11).

<sup>2</sup>***Itinerarium Burdigalense*** 589.11-590.1 *ibi (S et ibi) est angulus turris excelsissimae ...*

<sup>3</sup>***Itinerarium Burdigalense*** 590.4f. *et sub pinna* (S without *et sub pinna*) *turris* (V *turre*) *ipsius sunt cubacula plurima*.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, "Jerusalem" 59b.

117.22; **Ephesians** 2.20), where **Jesus**, tempted by Satan, said, "You shall not tempt the Lord your God" and "Him alone you shall serve" (**Matthew** 4.7; 4.10; **Luke** 4.12; 4.8);<sup>1</sup> this is the place where he was put by Satan (**Matthew** 4.5; **Luke** 4.9).<sup>2</sup>

### B004. The Cornerstone

B004.1. **Names (Christian):** The Cornerstone (*angulus*) (B004.4).

B004.2. **Position:** This is a cornerstone and therefore part of the corner of the wall. We best locate it in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER.

B004.2.a. We do not know if it is in a rather low or a rather high course, because *angulus* is both the first stone, a building's foundation, and the last stone in an arch, holding the building together by its sheer existence.<sup>3</sup> The name may be given to a peculiar stone immediately in the corner, possibly the LARGEST STONE of the SOUTH EAST ḤARAM CORNER.

B004.2.b. For the sequence of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, see B003.2.b.

B004.3. **Physical shape:** This is a large cornerstone (*lapis angularis magnus*),<sup>4</sup> probably distinct by its sheer dimensions.

B004.3.a. A parallel to the Cornerstone as a distinct stone in this wall: A stone inside the Fātimid Gate of the mosque (*bar dar-i masǧid*) (the DOUBLE GATE) is considered the largest stone of the whole mosque (B137.5).

B004.4. **Traditions (Christian):** This is the cornerstone concerning which Jesus said, "the stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief cornerstone" (**Psalms** 118.22; **Matthew** 21.42; **Mark** 12.10; **Luke** 20.17; **Acts** 4.11), Christ.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 589.11-590.2 *ibi (S et ibi) est angulus turris excelsissimae ubi Dominus ascendit et dixit ei is qui (S ei qui) temptabat eum et ait ei Dominus: 'Non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum', 'sed illi soli servies' (Matthew 4.7; 4.10; Luke 4.8; 4.12); Vita Bar Šawmā 3 120.*

For the Christian tradition of the Pinnacle of the Temple and the Cornerstone, see A056.a.

<sup>2</sup>*Breviarius A* 119-122: 6 (*Inde vadis ad Domum Pilati ... Inde venis ad Templo quod fabricavit Salomon non inde remansit nisi una cripta.*) *Inde venis ad illa Pinna ubi Satanas posuit Dominum (Matthew 4.5; Luke 4.9) = Breviarius B* 119-122: 6 (transl. Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 25) (*Et inde venis ad Domum Pilati ...*) *Et inde venis ad illam Pinnam Templi ubi temptavit Satanas Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum (Matthew 4.5; Luke 4.9); Vita Bar Šawmā 3 120.*

<sup>3</sup>Jeremias, "Eckstein"; Pillinger, *Dittochaeon des Prudentius* 81.

<sup>4</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.3 *ibi est et (S et ibi est) lapis angularis magnus.*

<sup>5</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.3f. (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 30) *Ibi est et (S et ibi est) lapis angularis magnus de quo dictum est: 'Lapidem, quem reprobaverunt aedificantes hic factus est ad caput anguli' (instead of hic ... anguli: P item ad caput anguli, missing in S) (Matthew 21.42; Mark 12.10; Luke 20.17; Acts 4.11); Prudentius, Dittochaeon 121-124 excidio Templi veteris stat Pinna (Job 38.6f.; Isaiah 28.16; Psalm*

## B005. The palace of Solomon

B005.1. **Names (Christian):** The palace (*palatium*) of Solomon (B005.4).

B005.2. **Position:** These rooms are under the Pinnacle<sup>1</sup> [as seen from outside the wall (B003.2.b)]. We best locate them at SOLOMON'S STABLES.<sup>2</sup>

B005.2.b. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* has these rooms preceded by the crypt where Solomon tortured the demons (inside the ḤARAM), the Pinnacle and the Cornerstone (both at the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER), and followed by the room where Solomon wrote the [Book of] Wisdom (between the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER and the DOUBLE GATE), the underground cisterns and pools, then, past the entrance to the area (at the DOUBLE GATE, see B003.2.b), the altar of Zechariah inside the area. This fits with SOLOMON'S STABLES as well.

### *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

*cripta ubi Salomon daemones torquebat -> angulus turris excelsissimae -> lapis angularis magnus -> Solomon's palatium -> cubiculus in quo sedit et sapientiam descripsit - > \*excepturia magna aquae subterranea et piscinae - > in aede ipsa ubi Templum fuit: altar of Zachariah*

B005.3. **Physical shape:** There are many rooms.<sup>3</sup>

B005.4. **Traditions (Christian):** This is the palace (*palatium*) of Solomon.<sup>4</sup>

117.22; *Ephesians* 2.20) *superstes / structus enim lapide ex illo manet angulus (Isaiah 28.16) usque / in saeculum saeculi quem sperunt aedificantes / nun caput est Templi et lapidum conpago novorum (Psalm 117.22; Matthew 21.42; Mark 12.10; Luke 20.17; Acts 4.11).*

For the Christian tradition of the Pinnacle of the Temple and the Cornerstone, see A056.a.

<sup>1</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.4f. (*Ibi (S et ibi) est angulus turris excelsissimae ubi Dominus ascendit et dixit ei is qui (S ei qui) temptabat eum ...)* *Et sub pinna (S without et sub pinna) turris (V turre) ipsius sunt cubacula plurima.*

<sup>2</sup>For SOLOMON'S STABLES, now officially AL-MASĠID AL-MARWĀNĪ, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 163f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 15-18; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" 10; Busink, *Tempel* 9 fig. 4; 961-963 (with fig. 218); Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 43; 45-47; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 193-195; Elad, *Jerusalem* 96; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 203 fig. 91; 261 fig. 120; 268-279 (with figures); 281.

<sup>3</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.4f. *et sub pinna (S without et sub pinna) turris (V turre) ipsius sunt cubacula plurima.*

<sup>4</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.4-6 *et sub pinna (S without et sub pinna) turris (V turre) ipsius sunt cubacula plurima ubi Salomon palatium habebat. (Ibi (S without ibi) etiam constat cubiculus in quo sedit (S ibi sedit) et sapientiam (M sapientia) descripsit (V discipisit, S descripsit, M scripsit)).*

**B006. The monastery of the nuns<sup>1</sup>**

**B006.1. Names (Christian):** A monastery (of nuns) (*monasterium de castas*,<sup>2</sup> *monasterius puellarum*,<sup>3</sup> *monasterium*<sup>4</sup>).

**B006.2. Position:** The monastery is under the Pinnacle of the Temple (*a Pinna Templi sub-tus*).<sup>5</sup> We best locate it outside the ḤARAM, just under the SOUTHEAST CORNER.

**B006.2.a. Theodosius** mentions for Jerusalem first all places inside the city, then outside *Sanctus Stephanus* (at the CHURCH OF STEPHEN next to the ECOLE BIBLIQUE), then *Piscina Siloe* (at SILWĀN) and *Domus Pilati*, then *Piscina Probatica* (at the BETHESDA POOL) and *Ecclesia domnae Mariae*, then *Sanctus Iacobus*, the Kidron Valley (*Vallis Iosaphat*) and *Ecclesia domnae Mariae matris Domini* (at the CHURCH OF MARY in GETHSEMANE) and finally our monastery. This is a place outside the wall, not too far from the Kidron Valley.

**Theodosius**

*Sanctus Stephanus -> Piscina Siloe -> Domus Pilati -> Piscina Probatica -> Ecclesia domnae Mariae -> Sanctus Iacobus -> Vallis Iosaphat -> Ecclesia domnae Mariae matris Domini -> **monasterium de castas***

**B006.3. Physical shape:** The monastery has gates (*portae*) which are opened only when someone wants to become a nun, walls (*muri*) through which the nuns get food and cisterns (*cisternae*) where they draw water (B006.4). Inside the monastery is also a cemetery for the deceased nuns (B006.4).

**B006.4. Ritual and customs (Christian):** The nuns, after their entry into the monastery, no longer have any direct contact with the outside world. They open the gates (*portae*) only if someone wants to become a nun, get their food from people who put it onto the walls (*muri*), draw their water from their own cisterns (*cisternae*), and bury their dead there inside the monastery (*ibi intus in monasterio*).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the Pre-Marwānid monastery of the nuns under the southeast corner, see Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 211f. n. 59; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 388 ("Kloster ... das mit jenem zu identifizieren ist, das Theodosius unterhalb der Zinne des Tempels beschrieb").

<sup>2</sup>**Theodosius** 143,4: 11 *a Pinna Templi subtus monasterium est de castas* (H *monasterium de castas*, P *monasterium est de casta*, G *est monasterius puellarum de castas*).

<sup>3</sup>**Theodosius G** 143,4: 11 *a Pinna Templi subtus est monasterius puellarum de castas*.

<sup>4</sup>**Theodosius** 143,4-6: 11 *et quando aliqua earum* (P *aliqua eorum*, H *aliqui eorum*) *de saeculo transierit ibi intus in monasterio ipso deponitur* (G *in monasterio ipso reponitur*, H *in ipso monasterio reponitur*).

<sup>5</sup>**Theodosius** 143,4: 11 *a Pinna Templi subtus monasterium est de castas* (H *monasterium de castas*, P *monasterium est de casta*, G *est monasterius puellarum de castas*).

<sup>6</sup>**Theodosius** 143,4-10: 11 *a Pinna Templi subtus monasterium est de castas* (H *monasterium de castas*, P *monasterium est de casta*, G *est monasterius puellarum de castas*) *et quando aliqua earum* (P *aliqua eorum*, H *aliqui eorum*) *de saeculo transierit ibi intus in monasterio ipso deponitur* (G *in monasterio ipso reponitur*, H *in*

B006.4.a. **Theodosius'** *et victualia eis per muros deponuntur* has been translated "their food is let down to them from the walls" (Wilkinson); this is rather "and food is laid down for them through the walls" - people bring food for the nuns and they take it only through the walls.

### B007. The room where Solomon wrote the [Book of] Wisdom<sup>1</sup>

B007.1. **Names (Christian):** The room where Solomon sat and wrote the [Book of] Wisdom (B007.4).

B007.2. **Position:** We locate the room best between the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER and the DOUBLE GATE.

B007.2.a. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* has the room where Solomon wrote the [Book of] Wisdom preceded by the crypt where Solomon tortured the demons (inside the ḤARAM), the Pinnacle and the Cornerstone (both at the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER) and Solomon's *palatium* (at SOLOMON'S STABLES), and followed by the underground cisterns and pools, then past the entrance to the area (at the DOUBLE GATE, see B003.2.b), the altar of Zechariah. This gives a place between the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER and the DOUBLE GATE, at the TRIPLE GATE.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

*cripta ubi Salomon daemones torquebat -> angulus turris excelsissimae -> lapis angularis magnus -> Solomon's palatium -> cubiculum in quo sedit et sapientiam descripsit - > \*excepturia magna aquae subterranea et piscinae - > in aede ipsa ubi Templum fuit: altar of Zachariah*

B007.2.b. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* introduces the room by *ibi etiam constant ...* This *ibi* has been referred to as the *palatium* of Solomon described immediately before, and the room has been identified with

---

*ipso monasterio reponitur) et (O without quando ... et) a quo illuc intraverint (H illud intraverint, G illuc intraverit) usque dum vivunt (G vivit) inde non exeunt (G inde non permittitur exire). Quando (G quando vero) aliqua de sanctimonialibus (H sanctemonialibus) illuc converti voluerit aut aliqua poenitens huic (G hoc) tantummodo ipsas portas (H tantum portas ipsas) aperiuntur nam semper clausae sunt (H erunt) et victualia eis per muros deponuntur (H per murum deponitur, G per muros deponitur) nam aquam ibi in cisternas habent (H aquas in cisternas habent, G aqua vero de cisterna auriuntur).*

<sup>1</sup>For the Pre-Marwānid room where Solomon wrote the Book of Wisdom, see Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 55 n. 85; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 156 n. 7; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 114.

<sup>2</sup>For the TRIPLE GATE, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 164-166; Le Strange, *Palestine* 182f.; Corbett, "Observations" (with pl. III.3); Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 161; Mazar, "Herodian Jerusalem" 234-236; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 12; 19f.; Busink, *Tempe* 1952f. (with fig. 212); 960f. with fig. 217; 963 fig. 218; Grabar, "al-Masjid al-Aḡṣā" 696a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44; 45 with n. 51 and n. 53; Wightman, *Walls* 9; 230f.; Burgoyne, "Gates" 110f. with fig. 6 and fig. 7; 122-124; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 114; 186; 2 387; 3 151f.; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 50 fig. 23; 203 fig. 91; 206 fig. 93; 259-268 (with figures); 274 fig. 126; 281; Hillenbrand, "Monuments" 3; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 31.

**Nāṣir's** Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus (*Masğid-i Mahd-i Īsā*)<sup>1</sup> and MASĞID MAHD ĪSĀ<sup>2</sup> in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER. But *ibi* is, in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, the usual marker to introduce a new item and rather means "there [in Jerusalem]".<sup>3</sup>

**B007.3. Physical shape:** This is a room covered with one stone.<sup>4</sup>

**B007.4. Traditions (Christian):** This is the room where **Solomon** sat and wrote the [Book of] Wisdom.<sup>5</sup>

### **B008. The south gate and its corridor**<sup>6</sup>

**B008.1. Names (Christian):** None.

**B008.2. Position:** This is a gate with a corridor which leads into the area's interior, the DOUBLE GATE with the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 55 n. 85, referring to a room in SOLOMON'S STABLES covered with one piece of stone [?].

<sup>2</sup>Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 156 n. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 7 (describing the use of *ibi* on the area of the former Temple).

<sup>4</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.5f. *ibi* (S without *ibi*) *etiam constat cubiculus ... ipse vero cubiculus uno lapide est tectus; Itinerarium Burdigalense M VI in Iherusalem est cubiculus uno lapide coopertum.*

<sup>5</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.5f. *ibi* (S without *ibi*) *etiam constat cubiculus in quo sedit* (S *ibi sedit*) *et sapientiam* (M *sapientia*) *descripsit* (V *descripsit*, S *descripsit*, M *scripsit*); *Itinerarium Burdigalense M VI in Iherusalem est cubiculus uno lapide coopertum: ibi Salomon sapientia scripsit.*

<sup>6</sup>For the Pre-Marwānid south gate and its corridor, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 466; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 33-45; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 114; 186; 2 386f.; 3 146-151; 372; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 123.

<sup>7</sup>For the DOUBLE GATE and the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 164-168; Le Strange, *Palestine* 180; 182 (and de Vogüé's drawings following pages 176, 179, 182); Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 67f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 88 n. 1; 110f.; 130 n. 1; 392; 440f.; Matthews, "Wailing Wall", especially 335-339; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 54 n. 1; 54f. fig. 31f.; 58 n. 1; 63; 66f.; 68 and n. 1; Corbett, "Observations" (with fig. 3; pl. If.); Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 147 n. 14; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78; 81; Creswell, *EMA* 1 122; 455; 461; 465f.; fig. 528; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 6; pl. 2; 18 fig. 8; Grabar, "al-Ḥaram al-sharīf" 178ab; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" 3f.; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount" 100; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 161; Mazar, "Herodian Jerusalem" 230; 231 fig. 1; 234-236; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 12; 19f.; Busink, *Tempel* 953 fig. 212; 958f. with fig. 216; 985; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 269f. n. 35; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 293; 295; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44f.; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I* 6-15; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 33-45 (with illustrations); 70-72; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 8-10; Burgoyne, "Gates" 108 fig. 3 and fig. 4; 109 fig. 5; 110; 112; 122-124; Wightman, *Walls* 9; 231 with fig. 73; 264; pl. 30.2; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 114; 186; 3 146-151; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25f.; 46; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 123f.; 172; Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 44f.; 54; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 194-196 with fig. 87f.; 206 fig. 93; 235-259 (with figures); 261 fig. 120; 280; Hillenbrand, "Monuments" 2; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 31; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 91 n. 82.

**B008.3. Physical shape:** Both the gate and the corridor are made of large stones, both are in ruins, but nevertheless lend access to the area's interior. Between the ruins of the Temple and the ruins of the altar, in the exits of the gates leading towards the Pool of Siloa (*inter ruinas Templi et altaris sive in portarum exitibus quae Siloam ducunt*), are the red rocks (*rubra saxa*) said to be saturated by the blood of Zechariah (B012.2).

B008.3.a. The architecture of the DOUBLE GATE and the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR behind has been dated very differently. More than once the date of a single part has been considered the date of the whole building, and specialists of different periods have claimed the building as theirs. But the building has been part of all the centuries, considered in one period as old-fashioned, in another as recent.<sup>1</sup>

B008.3.b. The GOLDEN GATE and the DOUBLE GATE are quite similar and we may suppose they were built or rebuilt in the same period (B002.2.c). The decoration of both dates from the Umayyad period (B002.2.c).

B008.3.c. The lower layers of the DOUBLE GATE's east side are large Herodian-style stones, and the middle part of the double gate should be *in loco*, given the archivolt's position. This tells us that in our Pre-Marwānid period, there was a gate in the wall, possibly with a kind of corridor more or less in ruins behind it.

B008.3.d. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* does not mention this entry, but possibly alludes to it. It describes the crypt where Solomon tortured the demons (inside the ḤARAM), the Pinnacle and the Cornerstone (both at the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER), the Palace of Solomon (at SOLOMON'S STABLES), the room where Solomon wrote the [Book of] Wisdom (between the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER and the DOUBLE GATE), the underground cisterns and pools and the altar of Zachariah. The entry he uses may well be the DOUBLE GATE.

B008.3.e. It has been claimed the gate may have been cleared up after the Muslim conquest and used as access to the ḤARAM,<sup>2</sup> and that this has been an Umayyad double gate;<sup>3</sup> this may be, but there is no positive evidence.

---

For the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 158-169; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 174-177; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 109-115; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 66-70; Busink, *Tempel* 951-963 with figures; pl. 17 fig. 214; 1211; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 41; Bieberstein/ Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 37f.); .

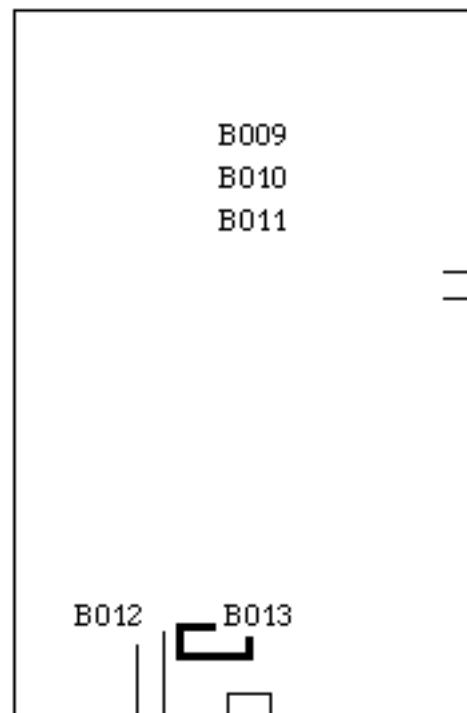
<sup>1</sup>For the parallelism of the two gates, see B002.2.c.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 123.

<sup>3</sup>Neuwirth, "Three Names" 91 n. 82.



## 1.3. THE INTERIOR



37

**Figure 37. The Pre-Marwānid interior:** B009 Interior mostly covered with debris, overgrown by thorns and bushes, on the ground traces like nails. - B010 Natural cisterns and built pools (in the interior). - B011 The pierced stone (inside or outside the area). - B012 The altar with the blood of Zechariah. - B013 Pre-Muslim ruins and Muslim mosque.

### B009. The interior of the area in general

B009.1. **Name:** The [interior] area (*area*) of the building itself where the Temple was which Solomon had built (*in aede ipsa ubi Templum fuit quem Salomon aedificavit*).<sup>1</sup>

B009.2. **Physical shape:** This is the Temple deserted (*desertum Templum*);<sup>2</sup> these are the ruins of the Temple of Solomon (*ruinae Templi Salomonis*),<sup>3</sup> the ruins of the Temple of the miserable group [of the Jews mourning the destruction of the Temple] (*ruinae Templi turbae miserorum*),<sup>4</sup> the ruins of the Temple and the altar (*ruinae Templis et altaris*),<sup>5</sup> ruins (*ruinae*) and the garbage dump (*sterquilinium*) of the new city called by its founder [Hadrian (emperor 117-138)] Aelia (*Elia*),<sup>6</sup> mostly overgrown by thorns and bushes and covered by debris.

<sup>1</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 591.2f. (*et in aede ipsa* (P<sup>1</sup> *in aede ipsam*, V *in aedem ipsam*, S *in eadem ipse*) *ubi Templum fuit quem* (S *quod*) *Salomon aedificavit ...*); *etiam* (S *quod etiam*) *parent* (P<sup>1</sup> *parentu*) ... *per totam aream* (P *in totam aream*) ...

<sup>2</sup>**Hieronymus, Hom. de nativitate Domini** 74f. *'dixerunt itaque pastores: Transeamus in Bethlehem* (L *Bethleem*, N *Bethlem*)' (**Luke** 2.15) *Dimittamus desertum Templum et transeamus usque ad Bethlehem.*

<sup>3</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 175,3-6: 23 *et oravimus* (G *orabimus*) *in praetorio* (R *in praeturio*) *ubi auditus est Dominus ubi modo est basilica sanctae Sofiae* (R *est basilica sancta Sofie*, G *basilica est Suffiae*) *ante ruinas* (G *ate rui*) *Templi Salomonis sub platea quae discurrit* (B *decurrit*) *ad Siloam fontem* (G *ad Silua fontis*) *secus porticum Salomonis* (G *secus portico Salomis*) = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 206,18-21: 23 *et oravimus in pretorio ubi auditus* (B *et modo auditus*) *est Dominus et modo est basilica sancte Sophie. Ante ruinas Templi Salomonis sub platea* (B *sup platea*) *aqua decurrit a fonte Syloa secus porticum Salomonis; Vita Bar Šawmā* 3 120.

<sup>4</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Sophoniam** I,680f.: I.15-16 (transl. Gil, "Political History" 2; Gil, "Jewish Community" 165) (*congregatur turba miserorum* [the Jews] *et patibulo Domini coruscante ac radiante ĒAnastāsei* (N *anastassi*) *eius de Oliveti monte quoque crucis fulgente vexillo*) *plangere ruinas Templi sui populum miserum et tamen non esse miserabilem.*

Cf. **Hieronymus, Comm. in Sophoniam** I,672-674: I.15-16 (transl. Gil, "Political History" 2; Gil, "Jewish Community" 165) *et ut ruinam* (N *ruina*) *suae eis flere* (N *fleri*) *liceat civitatis pretio redimunt ut qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi emant lacrimas suas et ne fletus quidem eis gratuitus sit.*

<sup>5</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Matheum** IV,313-319: 23.35 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 123; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24) *simpliciores fratres inter ruinas Templi et altaris sive in portarum* (RO *sive imperatorum*) *exitibus quae Siloam* (RO *silva*) *ducunt* (RGOKM *dicunt*, B *d.cant*, P *ducant*) *rubra saxa* (E *saxam*) *monstrantes Zachariae sanguine* (OB *sanguinem*) *putant esse polluta* (RO *pollutam*).

<sup>6</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Esaiam** XVII.44.8-12, 52-55 (transl. Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 13; Gil, *Palestine* 67 n. 70; partly Prawer, "Christian Attitudes" 319; see Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 21; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 87; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 23) (*civitas sancti tui facta est deserta Sion deserta facta est* (E *Sion deserta facta*) *Hierusalem desolata. Domus sanctificationis nostrae et gloriae nostrae ubi laudaverunt te patres nostri facta est in exustionem ignis et omnia desiderabilia nostra versa sunt in ruinas* (**Isaiah** 64.11) ...) *et superfluum est ea sermone disserere quae oculis pateat cum omnia desiderabilia eorum* [of the Jews] *versa sint in ruinas et Templum in toto orbe celebratum* (E *Templo toto orbe celebratum*) *in sterquilinium urbis novae quae a conditore appellabatur Elia et in habitaculum transierit noctuarum.*

The Rock later so famous (the ROCK) is also covered by debris. All over the area are traces like nails imprinted in wax (B012.4). In the area's south (roughly at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE) stand some ruins, on top of which the Muslims later build their first mosque (B013.3).

B009.2.a. Marwānīd and Fāṭimid sources say that the area had been covered by ritually impure garbage and that the Muslim conquerors moved this garbage away, especially from their future prayer-place and from the Rock (B014.6; B045.5; B131.10). But the interior had cisterns (B010.2), which obviously had to be kept clean, and was rather just part of the ring of wild nature around the city where people dropped what they did not need.

B009.2.b. The *lapis pertusus* of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, where the Jews come every year (*singulis annis*), which they anoint and where they weep, has been identified with the ROCK of the DOME OF THE ROCK, but this is neither probable nor improbable (B011.3.a).

B009.2.c. It has been assumed that a kind of platform may have existed;<sup>1</sup> this may well be, but sources are lacking.

**B009.3. Traditions (Jewish):** No Jewish traditions are mentioned for the area.

**B009.4. Traditions (Christian):** This is the area where the prophet Zechariah was killed in front of the altar by soldiers (Matthew 23.35; Luke 11.51, cf. 2 Chronicles 24.21) and the traces in the area like nails imprinted in wax are the traces of the nails of the soldiers who killed him (B012.4).

### **B010. The cisterns and pools<sup>2</sup> and a certain crypt**

**B010.1. Names (Christian):** [Natural] cisterns (*excepturia*) and built pools (*piscinae aedificatae*) (B010.3), a crypt (*cripta*).<sup>3</sup>

**B010.2. Position:** Cisterns and pools are found both inside and outside the area, inside and outside the ḤARAM.

---

<sup>1</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 30.

<sup>2</sup>For the ḤARAM CISTERNS of today and in the periods we deal with, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 217-225; Le Strange, *Palestine* 197-200; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 66-73; 98-102; 106f. n. 2; 138-140; 159-162; 167f.; 193-197; Milik, "Topographie" 178f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 190 n. 178; Busink, *Tempel* 17f.; 1003-1005; Wightman, *Walls* 83 (map); Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 309; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 114; 218; 3 44-46; 64; 67f.; 70f.; 89; 372; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental Stairway" 163 fig. 1 (numbers 13 and 16 are reversed); Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* (with figures); Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 26.

<sup>3</sup>*Breviarius A* 116-118: 6 (*Inde vadis ad Domum Pilati ...*) *Inde venis ad Templo quod fabricavit Salomon non inde remansit nisi una cripta*.

B010.2.a. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* has these cisterns and pools preceded by Solomon's *palatium*, under the *Pinna* (at SOLOMON'S STABLES), and the room where Solomon wrote the Book of Wisdom (between the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER and the DOUBLE GATE), all outside the area and followed by the altar with the blood of Zechariah in the area's interior; the cisterns described are probably, but not necessarily, outside the area. In **Eucherius** (and **Beda**) the pools are preceded by the *Templum* and followed by *Bethsaida piscina*.

***Itinerarium Burdigalense***

*sub pinna turris cubacula ubi Salomon palatium habebat -> cubiculus in quo ... Sapientiam descripsit -> excepturiae piscinae -> in aede ipsa ubi Templum fuit quem Salomon aedificavit ante aram sanguinem Zachariae ... fusum*

**Eucherius**

*Templum -> paucae illic cisternae -> Bethsaida piscina*

**Beda, De Locis Sanctis**

*Templum -> paucae illic cisternae -> Bethsaida piscina*

B010.2.b. But the cisterns of **Eucherius** (and **Beda**) are the cisterns of the whole city in general, not the cisterns of the ḤARAM. **Eucherius**<sup>1</sup> (*Templum ...*) *paucae illic cisternae in usum aquarum ostenduntur in ea parte civitatis quae ad septentrionem tenditur* "(the Temple ...) there are few water cisterns shown in the part of the city, which is towards the north" seems to locate a few cisterns first in the ḤARAM, then in the city's north part. It has been claimed that *cisternae* and *Bethsaida piscina* "Bethesda Pool" with its two pools mentioned next are identical (Wilkinson), but *Bethsaida piscina* is rather introduced as a new item. We should refer *illic* to the city in general, parallel to the usual *ibi* - this results in "there [in the city] are only a few water cisterns". The cisterns just mentioned refer not only to the ḤARAM, but to the whole city. Punctuation then is best changed and *in ea parte ... tenditur* drawn to the immediately following *Vicina Templo Bethsaida piscina ... apparet insignis* "In the part of the city which is towards the north, next to the Temple, appears the famous Bethsaida Pool."

B010.2.c. **Breviarius A** mentions a crypt (*cripta*) inside the former Temple as the only building still existing, then passes to the Pinnacle where Jesus was tempted, then to *Silua* with the pit (*lacus*) of Jeremiah. The crypt is therefore somewhere inside the area.

***Breviarius A***

*Templum: una cripta -> Pinna -> Silua: lacus ubi missus est sanctus Hieremias*

B010.3. **Physical shape**: These are large [natural] underground water cisterns (*\*exceptoria magna aquae subterranea*) and [artificial] pools built with great effort (*piscinae magno opere aedificatae*),<sup>2</sup> among them a certain [outstanding] crypt (*cripta*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Eucherius** 37-42: 7f. (transl. partly Creswell, EMA 1 31) *Paucae illic cisternae in usum (E usus) aquarum ostenduntur in ea parte civitatis quae ad septentrionem tenditur. Vicina Templo (V in vicinia Templi ostenditur, PO vicina Templi) Bethsaida piscina gemino apparet insignis lacu (V Bethsaida gemino apparet insignis lacu, P Bethsaida piscina gemino apparit ut signis lacu) quorum alter hibernis plerumque impletur imbribus alter rubris et discolor aquis (E rubri et aquis decolor) = Beda, De locis sanctis 2,58-62: 2.3f. (> Eucherius) Paucae illic cisternae in usum aquarum ostenduntur (A ostendunt). In vicinia Templi Bethsaida piscina gemino insignis lacu apparet quorum alter hibernis plerumque impletur imbribus alter rubris est discolor aquis.*

<sup>2</sup>**Itinerarium Burdigalense** 590.6f. *sunt ibi et excepturia (V sceptoria, S exceptoriae) magna (S magne) aquae subterraneae (P<sup>1</sup> subterranae, S subterrinae, V edificatae; I read subterranea) et piscinae magno opere aedificatae (S edificatae); .*

B010.3.a. The *excepturia magna aquae subterraneae* "large cisterns for underground water" of *Itinerarium Burdigalense* may originally have been *\*excepturia magna aquae subterranea* "large underground water cisterns", as the latter is more precise. The conjecture is very easy - the original *\*subterranea* may have been assimilated to the preceding genitive *aquae*.

B010.4. **Traditions (Christian):** This is the crypt (*cripta*) where Solomon tortured the demons.<sup>2</sup>

### B011. The pierced stone<sup>3</sup>

B011.1. **Name (Christian):** A pierced stone (*lapis pertusus*) (B001.6).

B011.2. **Name (Jewish):** Unknown.

B011.3. **Position:** The stone is outside or inside the HARAM.<sup>4</sup>

B011.3.a. This *lapis pertusus* "pierced stone" is a rock with a hole in it. It has been identified with the ROCK of the DOME OF THE ROCK.<sup>5</sup> The HOLE in the ROCK may have existed in the time of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and may even go back to Jewish, if not Pre-Jewish, religious practice,<sup>6</sup> but there is no evidence

---

<sup>1</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 589.11 *est ibi et* (V *est ibi*, S *est et ibi*) *cripta* (P *crepta*, S *adscripta*) *ubi Salomon daemones torquebat* (S *daemon ac torquebat*); *Breviarius A* 116-118: 6 (*Inde vadis ad Domum Pilati ...*) *Inde venis ad Templo quod fabricavit Salomon non inde remansit nisi una cripta*.

<sup>2</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 589.11 *est ibi et* (V *est ibi*, S *est et ibi*) *cripta* (P *crepta*, S *adscripta*) *ubi Salomon daemones torquebat* (S *daemon ac torquebat*).

<sup>3</sup>For the pierced stone the Jews visit in the Pre-Marwānid time, see Hirschberg, *Sources* 321-323; 326 n. 1; Avi-Yonah, *Madaba Mosaic Map* 59 n. 79; Milik, "Topographie" 175; Busse, "Kultstätten" 124; Creswell, *EMA* 1 30; Busink, *Tempel* 5f. n. 20; 6; 16f.; 909; 1000f.; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 1 170 n. 12b; 195; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 44f.; 63f.; Donner, "Pilger von Bordeaux" 56f. n. 87; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 4; 8; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 173; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 27f.; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 157 n. 5; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 21f.; Cohn, "Perforated Stone"; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 84f.; 93; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 280; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 2 95f. n. 195; 109f.; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 32 n. 170; Mango, "Temple Mount" 3; Gil, *Palestine* 69 n. 71; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 403; 3 72; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 56f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 28f.; 112 n. 131; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 27; 30; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 13 n. 59; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 176f.

<sup>4</sup>Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 63.

<sup>5</sup>Hirschberg, *Sources* 321-323; 326 n. 1; Creswell, *EMA* 1 30; 65; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 1 195 n. 104; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 173; Busink, *Tempel* 909f.; 1000f.; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 157 n. 5; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 84f.; 93; Mango, "Temple Mount" 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 403; 3 72; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 56; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 28f.

<sup>6</sup>Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 72f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 28f.

for its existence before the Crusades; the *argumentum ex silentio* that the Muslims had no reason to cut it<sup>1</sup> does not necessarily mean that it was made before them - it may have been made later. Against its location at the ROCK is the idea that Jews may not really have liked to enter the region of the former Holy of Holies<sup>2</sup> - but we do not know if the Jews of this time worried about that.<sup>3</sup> Identification of the *lapis pertusus* with the ROCK of the DOME OF THE ROCK is possible, but requires further evidence.

B011.3.b. The *lapis pertusus* has been located inside and outside the ḤARAM WALL<sup>4</sup> and at the GOLDEN GATE.<sup>5</sup> The HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER (B019.2) may have existed in the time of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and this may have been the *lapis pertusus*,<sup>6</sup> but again there is no evidence.

B011.3.c. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* has *lapis pertusus* preceded by the blood of Zechariah, the nails of the soldiers and the two statues of Hadrian, and followed by the House of Hezekiah and then the Pool of Siloa; the *Itinerarium Burdigalense M* has *lapis* preceded just by the blood of Zechariah and the nails of the soldiers, and followed by the House of Hezekiah. Neither sequence help us to locate the stone.

|                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Itinerarium Burdigalense</i>   | <i>in aede ipsa ubi Templum fuit ... ante aram: sanguis Zachariae vestigia clavorum militum -&gt; statuae duae Hadriani -&gt; lapis pertusus -&gt; domus Ezechiae -&gt; exeuntibus Hierusalem ut ascendas Sion in valle ... piscina quae dicitur Siloa</i> |
| <i>Itinerarium Burdigalense M</i> | <i>inter Templum et altare ... ante aram: sanguis zaccarie vestigia clavorum militum -&gt; lapis -&gt; domus Ezezie</i>                                                                                                                                    |

B011.4. **Physical shape:** This is a pierced stone (*lapis pertusus*), a rock with a hole in it.

B011.5. **Traditions (Jewish):** The place is connected with the destroyed Temple.

B011.5.a. It has been claimed that *lapis pertusus* of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* may have been venerated by the Jews, because they identified it with the Foundation Stone (*Ābān ha-Šəṭiyāh*) of *Mishna Yoma* 5.2, the stone from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, in the Holy of Holies; this may be, but there is no evidence.

B011.6. **Rituals and customs (Jewish):** The Jews (*Iudaei*) come every year (*singulis annis*) to a certain pierced stone (*lapis pertusus*) [somewhere in the area], anoint it, mourn [the destruction of the Temple] while rending their garments into pieces, then leave (B001.6).

---

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 29.

<sup>2</sup>Busink, *Tempel* 17; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 1 195 n. 104; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 8; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 56f. n. 87; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 29.

<sup>3</sup>Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 280 n. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Avi-Yonah, *Madaba Mosaic Map* 59 n. 79; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 56f. n. 87; Milik, "Topographie" 175.

<sup>5</sup>Cohn, "Perforated Stone".

<sup>6</sup>Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 56 n. 87; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 32 n. 170; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 27 n. 29; 30; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 13 n. 59.

### B221. The two statues<sup>1</sup>

B221.1. **Name (Christian):** The (equestrian) statue of Hadrian (*equestris statua Adriani*,<sup>2</sup> *Adriani statua*<sup>3</sup>) and the idol of Jupiter (*idolum Iovis*);<sup>4</sup> the two statues of Hadrian (*statuae duae Hadriani*).<sup>5</sup>

B221.2. **Position:** The statue of Hadrian and the idol of Jupiter are at the place where formerly the Temple and the religion of God were (*ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei*);<sup>6</sup> the equestrian statue of Hadrian (*equestris statua Adriani*) is at the place of the Holy of Holies (*in ipso sancto sanctorum loco*).<sup>7</sup> We best locate the two statues just in the ḤARAM.

B221.3. **Physical shape:** The statue of Hadrian is an equestrian statue (*equestris statua*) (B221.1).

### B012. The altar with the blood of Zechariah = the red rocks with the blood of Zechariah<sup>8</sup>

B012.1. **Names (Christian):** Red rocks (*rubra saxa*) said to be saturated by the blood of Zechariah, the altar in front of which Zechariah was killed (B012.4).

B012.2. **Position:** This place is in the same building [the whole area] where the Temple was

---

<sup>1</sup>For the two statues in the area of the former Temple, see B001.1.

<sup>2</sup>Hieronymus, *Comm. in Matheum* XXIV,15 (quoted in Creswell, *EMA* 1 30) *de Adriani equestri statua que in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem stetit*.

<sup>3</sup>Hieronymus, *Comm. in Esaiam* I,2,9 (quoted in Creswell, *EMA* 1 30) *ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei ibi Adriani statua et Iovis idolum collocatum est*.

<sup>4</sup>Hieronymus, *Comm. in Esaiam* I,2,9,1-5 (quoted in Creswell, *EMA* 1 30) *ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei ibi Adriani statua et Iovis idolum collocatum est*.

<sup>5</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 591.4-6 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 30) *sunt ibi et statuae duae Hadriani (P Adriani)*.

<sup>6</sup>Hieronymus, *Comm. in Esaiam* I,2,9,1-5 (quoted in Creswell, *EMA* 1 30) *ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei ibi Adriani statua et Iovis idolum collocatum est*.

<sup>7</sup>Hieronymus, *Comm. in Matheum* XXIV,15 (quoted in Creswell, *EMA* 1 30) *de Adriani equestri statua que in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem stetit*.

<sup>8</sup>For the Pre-Marwānīd altar where Zechariah was killed, see Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 127-133; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447; Busink, *Tempel* 19; 1002 n. 218; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 46f.; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 8; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 173; Donner, "Pilger von Bordeaux" 56 n. 86; 235 n. 15; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 2 104f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 56f. For the Christian traditions of the murder of Zechariah in the Temple, see A056.a.

which Solomon had built (*in aede ipsa ubi Templum fuit quem Salomon aedificavit*),<sup>1</sup> between the ruins of the Temple and of the altar, in the exits of the gates leading towards the Pool of Siloa (*inter ruinas Templi et altaris sive in portarum exitibus quae Siloam ducunt*).<sup>2</sup> We best locate the altar only generally in the ḤARAM.

B012.2.a. The altar of Zechariah has been located at the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER;<sup>3</sup> this is possible, but further evidence is required.

B012.2.b. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* M has *ibi inter Templum et altare in marmore ante aram ibi est sanguinem Zaccarie fusum* "there, between the Temple and the altar in marble in front of the altar, there is the shed blood of Zechariah". This seems to give a location; but *inter Templum et altare* quotes **Matthew** 23.35 *metaĴ toĒ naoĒ kaĴ toĒ yusiasthrĒou* and does not refer to the Pre-Marwānid situation.

B012.3. **Physical shape:** These are red rocks (*rubra saxa*) which seem to be saturated by blood;<sup>4</sup> this is a [kind of] altar (*ara*); in front [east] of the altar (*ante aram*) the ground is covered by marble; all over the area's interior are red traces like blood spilled.<sup>5</sup>

B012.3.a. The place of the blood of Zechariah is *ante aram* "in front of the altar". If we assume that the whole area is oriented eastwards, then the place would be east of the altar.

---

<sup>1</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.7-591.2 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 128) *et in aede ipsa* (P<sup>1</sup> *in aede ipsam*, V *in aedem ipsam*, S *in eadem ipse*) *ubi Templum fuit quem* (S *quod*) *Salomon aedificavit in marmore* (V *marmorem*) *ante aram sanguinem Zachariae* (V *Zacchariae*) (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51) *ibi dicas hodie fusum* (V *ibi dicas hodiae fusum*, S *dicunt usque hodie fusum*).

<sup>2</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Matheum** IV,313-319: 23.35 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 131; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24; see Mango, "Temple Mount" 3) *simpliciores fratres inter ruinas Templi et altaris sive in portarum* (RO *sive imperatorum*) *exitibus quae Siloam* (RO *silva*) *ducunt* (RGOKM *dicunt*, B *d.cant*, P *ducant*) *rubra saxa* (E *saxam*) *monstrantes Zachariae sanguine* (OB *sanguinem*) *putant esse polluta* (RO *pollutam*).

<sup>3</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 126.

<sup>4</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Matheum** IV,313-319: 23.35 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 131; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24; see Mango, "Temple Mount" 3) *simpliciores fratres inter ruinas Templi et altaris sive in portarum* (RO *sive imperatorum*) *exitibus quae Siloam* (RO *silva*) *ducunt* (RGOKM *dicunt*, B *d.cant*, P *ducant*) *rubra saxa* (E *saxam*) *monstrantes Zachariae sanguine* (OB *sanguinem*) *putant esse polluta* (RO *pollutam*).

<sup>5</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.7-591.3 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 128) *et in aede ipsa* (P<sup>1</sup> *in aede ipsam*, V *in aedem ipsam*, S *in eadem ipse*) *ubi Templum fuit quem* (S *quod*) *Salomon aedificavit in marmore* (V *marmorem*) *ante aram sanguinem Zachariae* (V *Zacchariae*) (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51) *ibi dicas hodie fusum* (V *ibi dicas hodiae fusum*, S *dicunt usque hodie fusum*); *etiam* (S *quod etiam*) *parent* (P<sup>1</sup> *parentu*) *vestigia clavorum militum qui eum occiderunt per totam aream* (P *in totam aream*) *ut putes in cera* (P<sup>1</sup> *ut pote sincera*, V *ut putes in ceram*) *fixum esse* (S *fuisse*); *Itinerarium Burdigalense* M VII *ibi inter Templum et altare in marmore ante aram ibi est sanguinem Zaccarie fusum* (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51) *etiam parent vestigia clavorum militum qui eum occiderunt*.



B012.3.b. It has been suggested that the red stones of the place - if these are red stones - may have been brought to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre;<sup>1</sup> this may be, but the sources do not mention it.

**B012.4. Traditions (Christian):** This is the altar (*ara*) [of the Temple] in front of which soldiers killed the prophet Zechariah (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51, cf. **2 Chronicles** 24.21); the marble ground in front [on the east side] of the altar (*ante aram*) shows the blood of Zechariah (*sanguis Zachariae*); imprints all over the area (*per totum aream*) like nails imprinted in wax are the traces of the nails of the soldiers who killed him;<sup>2</sup> some rather simple-minded [Christian] brethren say that these red rocks (*rubra saxa*) are saturated by the blood of Zechariah (*Zachariae sanguine polluta*).<sup>3</sup>

B012.4.a. Parallels to this Pre-Marwānid altar of Zechariah: The Pre-Marwānid Anastasis has, in front of the Tomb of Christ, an altar with the dried blood of Zechariah on it, where he is said to have been killed.<sup>4</sup> A Marwānid Muslim tradition has both the murder of John, the son of Zechariah, [the Biblical prophet Zechariah], by the Children of Israel and the slaughter of them in revenge by Nebukadnezzar (*Buht Naşar*) in the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B014.7). Fāṭimid Muslim tradition has two *miḥrāb* of Zechariah, in the north[east] corner of the mosque a dome "the Chamber of the prophet Zechariah" (*Miḥrāb-i Zakarīyā n-Nabī*) (B164.2) and in the southeast corner of the mosque, inside the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus, the Prayer-niche of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb-i Zakarīyā*) (B165.2). A Fāṭimid Christian tradition has the blood of Zechariah (toĒ ZaxarĒou tŪ aĀma) falling [to earth] in the Holy of Holies (tā ěgia t«n ěgĕvn) [in the area] (B184.13).

B012.4.b. A parallel to the ground covered with red: The Marwānid Tomb of Christ has red and white colours,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 132.

<sup>2</sup>*Itinerarium Burdigalense* 590.7-591.3 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 128) *et in aede ipsa* (P<sup>1</sup> *in aede ipsam*, V *in aedem ipsam*, S *in eadem ipse*) *ubi Templum fuit quem* (S *quod*) *Salomon aedificavit in marmore* (V *marmorem*) *ante aram sanguinem Zachariae* (V *Zacchariae*) (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51) *ibi dicas hodie fusum* (V *ibi dicas hodiae fusum*, S *dicunt usque hodie fusum*); *etiam* (S *quod etiam*) *parent* (P<sup>1</sup> *parentu*) *vestigia clavorum militum qui eum occiderunt per totam aream* (P *in totam aream*) *ut putes in cera* (P<sup>1</sup> *ut pote sincera*, V *ut putes in ceram*) *fixum esse* (S *fuisse*); *Itinerarium Burdigalense* M VII *ibi inter Templum et altare in marmore ante aram ibi est sanguinem Zaccarie fusum* (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51) *etiam parent vestigia clavorum militum qui eum occiderunt*.

For the Christian tradition about the altar where Zechariah was killed, see A056.b.

<sup>3</sup>**Hieronymus**, *Comm. in Matheum* IV,313-319: 23.35 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 123; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24) *simpliciores fratres inter ruinas Templi et altaris sive in portarum* (RO *sive imperatorum*) *exitibus quae Siloam* (RO *silva*) *ducunt* (RGOKM *dicunt*, B *d.cant*, P *ducant*) *rubra saxa* (E *saxam*) *monstrantes Zachariae sanguine* (OB *sanguinem*) *putant esse polluta* (RO *pollutam*).

<sup>4</sup>**Breviarius** A 70-73: 3 (transl. Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 128) *ante ipso sepulchro* [in front of the Holy Sepulchre] *est altare ubi Zacharias sanctus occisus est* (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51, cf. **2 Chronicles** 24.21) *ubi arescit sanguis eius* (but not = **Breviarius** B).

<sup>5</sup>**Adomnanus** I 3,14-18,22-24 = I.3.2-3 *De illius ergo petrae coloribus in qua illud sepe dictum tegoriolum dolatorum ferramentis interius cavatum habetur Dominicumque sepulchrum in aquilonali loco ipsius habens de una eademque petra excisum qua et monumentum hoc est ipsum tegorium Arculfus a me interrogatus dixit: ... Color vero illius eiusdem petrae monumenti et sepulchri* [the Holy Sepulchre, i.e. the rock sepulchre and the

possibly considered stripes of blood.<sup>1</sup>

### B013. The mosque of the Muslims (635-685)<sup>2</sup>

**B013.1. Names (Christian):** The mosque (*domus orationis*) of the Muslims (*Saracini*) in the place where the Temple had been built (*in illo loco ubi quondam Templum constructum fuerat*) (B013.2), the mosque (*mijgit'a*) at the Capitol.<sup>3</sup>

**B013.2. Position:** The mosque is in that place where the Temple had been built (*in illo loco ubi quondam Templum constructum fuerat*),<sup>4</sup> integrating some pre-existing ruins (B013.3). We best locate it in the south part of the ḤARAM, at the place of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.<sup>5</sup>

B013.2.a. The building is south of the Rock, more or less at the place of its High 'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid successors (at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE). It has been claimed that the Pre-Marwānid building was oriented towards the ROCK,<sup>6</sup>

---

place of Jesus' corpse] *non unus sed duo permixti videntur ruber (B rubor, Y rubeus) utique et albus unde et bicolor eadem ostenditur petra.*

<sup>1</sup>Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 235 n. 15.

<sup>2</sup>For the Pre-Marwānid mosque on the area of the former Temple, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 374f.; Lammens, "Partage" 271; Goitein, "Sanctity" 138f.; Busse, "Kultstätten" 124; Creswell, *EMA* 1 17; 32-35; 57; 195; 229; 652; Garitte, "Version géorgienne du Pré Spirituel" 182; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 88; 94; Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom" 48f.; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 3; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 24; 31; Busink, *Tempel* 911f.; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 97f.; 117; Busse, "Omar's Image" 164; 166f.; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 15-17; 24; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 4f.; 41; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 242; Conrad, "Theophanes"; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 148; 152f.; Küchler, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste" 120f.; Mango, "Temple Mount" 3; Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple"; Gil, *Palestine* 91; 91f. n. 16; Busse, "Umar-Moschee"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 185f.; 3 50; 52; 73; Elad, *Jerusalem* 23f.; 29-35; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 54; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 50; 118; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 23f.; Busse, "Patriarchengräber" 73; Johns, "House of the Prophet" 62; 64 fig. 9; 109f.; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 162.

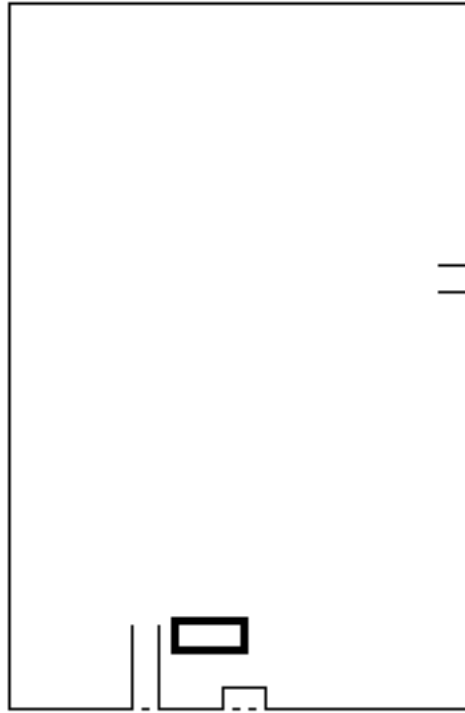
<sup>3</sup>**Johannes Moschos Georgian Add. Nr.19** (see Mango, "Temple Mount" 2f.) (*Les Sarrasins athées entrèrent dans la Ville Sainte du Christ notre Dieu, Jérusalem ...)* est aussitôt, en courant, ils arrivèrent au lieu qu' on appelle Capitole. Ils prirent avec eux des hommes, certains de force, d' autres de leur plein gré, afin de nettoyer ce lieu et d' édifier cette maudite chose, destinée à leur prière, qu' ils appellent une mosquée (*mijgit'a*).

<sup>4</sup>**Adomnanus** I 1,60-65: I.1.14 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 34; 229; partly Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 29; see Lammens, "Partage" 271) *ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam Templum magnifice constructum fuerat in vicinia (YP vicina) muri ab oriente locatum nunc Saracini (Y Saraceni, BZ Sarraceni) quadrangulam (YP quadrangulum) orationis domum ... ipsi frequentant = Beda, De locis sanctis* 2,53-58: 2.3 (< Arculfus) *in inferiore (PN inferiori) vero parte urbis ubi Templum in vicinia muri (PV in vicina muri) ab oriente locatum ipsique urbi transitu pervio ponte mediante fuerat coniunctum nunc ibi Saraceni quadratam domum ... oratione frequentant.*

<sup>5</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 34; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 3; Busse, "Omar's Image" 167; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 4; Gil, *Palestine* 91f. n. 16; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 50 ("im Süden des Platzes"); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 50; 118.

<sup>6</sup>Busink, *Tempel* 911f.

but there is no evidence for this.<sup>1</sup>



38

Figure 38. The position of the Pre-Marwānid mosque of the Muslims (B013).

B013.2.b. **Adomnanus** mentions the Muslims' *domus orationis* not in the main section, among the city's holy places, but in the general introduction;<sup>2</sup> inside this general introduction, it is preceded by the city towers and gates and the large fair on 12 September and followed by the city's houses; the sequence here is of no help for location. **Beda, De Locis Sanctis**, on the other hand, has this *domus* in his main section as one of the places to be described, preceded by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and followed by the Pool of Bethsaida, the Pool of Sulwān and Mount Zion; this fits with a rough location in the ḤARAM.

**Adomnanus**

*turres et portas* -> the feast on 12 September -> *in ... loco ubi quondam Templum ... constructum fuerat: Saracini orationis domum ... fabricati sunt ipsi frequentant* -> the city's houses -> *de ecclesia ... super sepulchrum Domini aedificata*

**Beda, De Locis Sanctis**

*ecclesia Constantiniana quae Martyrium appellatur* -> *Golgathana ecclesia* -> *Anastasis* -> *beatae Dei genitricis ecclesia* -> *platea quae*

<sup>1</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 34; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 31f.

<sup>2</sup>**Adomnanus** I 1,1-2,8; I.1.1-2.1.

*Martyrium et Golgotha continuat -> in inferiore parte urbis ubi Templum ... locatum fuerat: **Saraceni ... domum ... oratione frequentant** -> paucae cisternae -> Bethsaida piscina -> fons Siloe -> Sion*

B013.2.c. This first mosque has been located roughly at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE<sup>1</sup> or at ĠĀMI‘ UMAR;<sup>2</sup> both suggestions are possible, but each of them requires further support by the sources.

**B013.3. Physical shape:** This is a mosque (*mijgit’a*) (B013.4), a rectangular building (*domus quadrangula*) made of upright slabs and large beams (*subrectae tabulae et magnae trabes*) with space for about 3000 people, built in an ordinary [non-spectacular] style (*vili fabricati opere*)<sup>3</sup> on top of earlier ruins (*super quasdam ruinarum reliquias*). The building is at least partly built by workmen of Jerusalem, among them a certain Johannes, archdeacon of the church of Saint Theodoros the Martyr, a specialist in marble work.<sup>4</sup> Being a mosque, the building is oriented towards Mecca. No prayer-niche is mentioned.

<sup>1</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 4.

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Haram" 15f.

<sup>3</sup>**Adomnanus** I 1,60-66: I.1.14 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 34; 229; partly Gil, *Palestine* 91; Flusin, "L'esplanade du Temple" 29; see Lammens, "Partage" 271; Creswell, *EMA* 1 195; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 152f.) *ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam Templum magnifice constructum fuerat in vicinia (YP vicina) muri ab oriente locatum nunc Saracini (Y Saraceni, BZ Sarraceni) quadrangulam (YP quadrangulum) orationis domum quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias construentes vili fabricati sunt opere ipsi frequentant; quae utique domus tria hominum milia ut fertur capere potest = Beda, De locis sanctis 2,53-58: 2.3 (< Arculfus) in inferiore (PN inferiori) vero parte urbis ubi Templum in vicinia muri (PV in vicina muri) ab oriente locatum ipsique urbi transitu pervio ponte mediante fuerat coniunctum nunc ibi Saraceni quadratam domum subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam (A quosdam) ruinarum reliquias vili opere construentes (PV constituentes) oratione frequentant quae tria milia hominum capere videtur.*

<sup>4</sup>**Johannes Moschos Georgian Add. Nr.19** (see Mango, "Temple Mount" 2f.) *Les Sarrasins athées entrèrent dans la Ville Sainte du Christ notre Dieu, Jérusalem ... est aussitôt, en courant, ils arrivèrent au lieu qu'on appelle Capitole. Ils prirent avec eux des hommes, certains de force, d'autres de leur plein gré, afin de nettoyer ce lieu et d'édifier cette maudite chose, destinée à leur prière, qu'ils appellent une mosquée (mijgit'a). Parmi ces hommes se trouvait Jean, archidiacre de Saint-Théodore le Martyr, parce qu'il était, de son métier, poseur de marbre. Il se laissa séduire par eux pour un gain malhonnête et il alla de son plein gré travailler là-bas. Il était très habile de ses mains. Quand le très bienheureux saint Sophrone ... sut cela, il lui envoya des messagers, un vendredi, le fit venir et lui demanda, comme un père et comme le pasteur du troupeau raisonnable qui lui avait été confié par Dieu, de ne pas du tout profaner ses mains, mais de se tenir à l'écart d'une entreprise si abominable. Il lui donna cette assurance: "La Sainte-Anastase te donnera autant de travail que tu en voudras, et double salaire. Seulement, ne désobéis pas à ma volonté. Ne te nuis pas à toi-même et ne sois pas, pour beaucoup, la cause de leur perte, en travaillant de ton plein gré à la construction du lieu qu'a maudit le Christ (**Matthew** 24.2; **Mark** 13.2; **Luke** 13.35; 19.44; 21.6). Or toi, tu t'opposes à son ordre, alors que personne ne peut s'opposer à lui. Si tu refuses de m'obéir, tu ne peux à la fois travailler là-bas et rester sous le joug où tu as été placé: en effet, même un laïc qui porte le nom de chrétien ne peut aller travailler là-bas." Et les diacres ses compagnons lui adressaient eux aussi la même demande. Alors, à ce moment, il promit avec un serment garanti par la force de la vénérable Croix de ne plus travailler là-bas désormais. Mais deux jours plus tard, on le trouva là-bas, travaillant en secret. ...*

B013.3.a. This is a rectangular building built with upright slabs and large beams (*subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus*) with space for about 3000 people. It has been supposed that **Adomnanus'** (and **Beda, De Locis Sanctis'**) *subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus* are in favour of a wood building;<sup>1</sup> but as **Adomnanus** mentions the stone houses the city has,<sup>2</sup> this is rather improbable. Therefore, there is no contradiction between the description of **Adomnanus** and the remark of **Johannes Moschos Georgian Add. Nr.19** about Johannes, a specialist in marble work and very dexterous, working here. On the other hand, it has been deduced from the latter remark that the building may have been covered with marble slabs;<sup>3</sup> this may be, but the sources are not explicit about it.

B013.3.c. **Adomnanus** stresses the opposition between the former glory of the place and its simplicity in his time, *in illo famoso loco ubi quondam Templum magnifice constructum fuerat in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum* "in that famous place where once the Temple was wonderfully built next to the wall in the east" versus *nunc Saracini quadrangulam orationis domum quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias construunt vili fabricati sunt opere* "now the Muslims have made a rectangular house of prayer, which they made building with upright slabs and large beams on top of the remains of some ruins in an ordinary style". (Less clear is **Beda, De Locis Sanctis'** *in inferiore vero parte urbis ubi Templum in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum* ...). This possibly mirrors the feelings of the city's Christian inhabitants that the Muslim building, though large enough for 3000 people, does not fit in its style with the Muslim success; there is no need to overemphasise the simplicity of the building. The situation reminds us of the Muslim traditions that 'Umar came in old clothes to Jerusalem and when Sophronios, the patriarch of Jerusalem, offered him beautiful clothes fitting with 'Umar's rank, he refused them.<sup>4</sup> This prayer-place has also been compared to the era's simple mosque in Medina.<sup>5</sup>

B013.3.d. The same opposition may be found<sup>6</sup> in **Adomnanus'** description of the cathedral and the mosque in Damascus,<sup>7</sup> *et in honore sancti Iohannis Baptistae ibidem grandis fundata ecclesia est et quaedam etiam Saracinatorum ecclesia incredulorum et ipsa in eadem civitate ... fabricata est* "and here, in honour of Saint John the Baptist, a large church has been founded, and in the same city there has been made also a kind of church of the Muslims".

B013.3.e. The existence of a Pre-Marwānid prayer-niche at MIḤRĀB 'UMAR exactly south of QUBBAT AS-

<sup>1</sup>Flusin, "L'esplanade du Temple" 29.

<sup>2</sup>**Adomnanus** I 2,4-8: I.2.1 *Arculfus itaque de ipsis civitatis habitaculis a nobis interrogatus respondens ait: Memini me et vidisse et frequentasse multa civitatis eiusdem (B eiusdem civitatis) edificia plurimasque domus (B domos) grandes lapideas per totam magnam civitatem intra moenia circumdata mira fabricatas arte sepius considerasse.*

<sup>3</sup>Flusin, "L'esplanade du Temple" 29.

<sup>4</sup>For Muslim traditions about 'Umar in Jerusalem, see A074.a.

<sup>5</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 91.

<sup>6</sup>Lammens, "Partage" 272f. Creswell, *EMA* 1 195 also stresses the parallelism of **Adomnanus'** description of the church and the mosque in Jerusalem with his description of the church and the mosque in Damascus.

<sup>7</sup>**Adomnanus** II 28,8-11: II.28.2 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 188) (*Damascus vitias regalis magna* ...) *Et in honore (YPZ in honorem) sancti Iohannis Baptistae (B Baptistgulorum; Bieler reluctantly reads Baptistae Xristicorum) ibidem grandis fundata ecclesia est et quaedam (YZ ecclesia est quaedam, P est ecclesia quaedam) etiam Saracinatorum (Z Sarracenorum) ecclesia incredulorum et ipsa in eadem civitate quam ipsi frequentant fabricata est.*

SILSILA in the middle of the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL has been assumed (B033.2.c); this may be, but evidence is lacking.

**B013.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** This is the mosque (*mijgīt'a*) where the Muslims pray,<sup>1</sup> the mosque (*domus orationis*) of the Muslims (*Saracini*), where they go regularly for their [ritual] prayer.<sup>2</sup> This is the one mosque of Jerusalem, the city's Friday mosque.

B013.4.a. The term *domus orationis* possibly mirrors a Muslim term like *masǧid* "prayer-place, mosque" or *muṣallā* "prayer-place" (B048.1) known for the Marwānid building here.

B013.4.b. Both the large number of later traditions connected with the ḤARAM and the fact this is the later Friday mosque make it almost certain that this is the Pre-Marwānid Friday mosque.

B013.4.c. The existence of a Pre-Marwānid Muslim prayer-place in the area's south can also be deduced from the existence of two Marwānid prayer-places in the area, a smaller one embracing just the south part (B048.1.b) and a wider one embracing the whole area (B014.5). It does not make sense to suppose both may have emerged simultaneously. We should assume that an older Pre-Marwānid conception of Muslim prayer in the area's south was overlain by the Marwānid claim of the whole area for the Muslims.

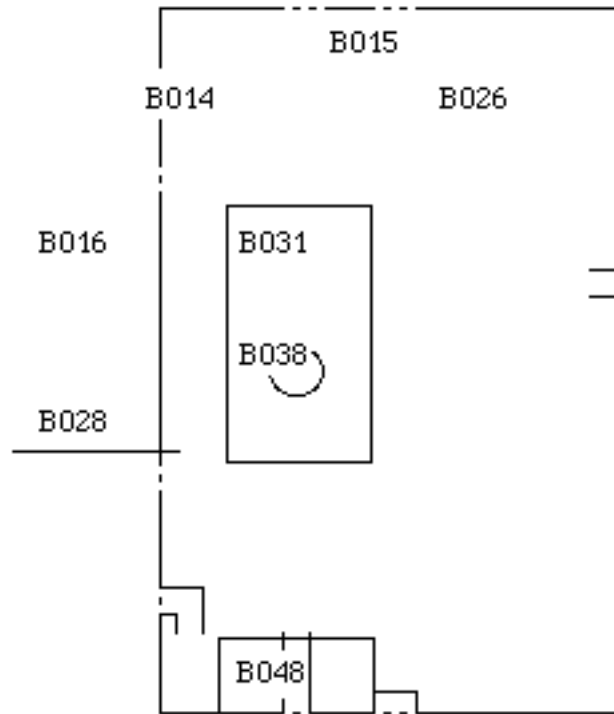
---

<sup>1</sup>**Johannes Moschos Georgian Add. Nr.19** (see Mango, "Temple Mount" 2f.) (*Les Sarrasins athées entrèrent dans la Ville Sainte du Christ notre Dieu, Jérusalem ...*) *est aussitôt, en courant, ils arrivèrent au lieu qu' on appelle Capitole. Ils prirent avec eux des hommes, certains de force, d' autres de leur plein gré, afin de nettoyer ce lieu et d' édifier cette maudite chose, destinée à leur prière, qu' ils appellent une mosquée (mijgīt'a).*

<sup>2</sup>**Adomnanus** I 1,60-65: I.1.14 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 34; 229; partly Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 29; see Lammens, "Partage" 271; Creswell, *EMA* 1 195) *ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam Templum magnifice constructum fuerat in vicinia (YP vicina) muri ab oriente locatum nunc Saracini (Y Saraceni, BZ Sarraceni) quadrangulam (YP quadrangulum) orationis domum ... ipsi frequentant = Beda, De locis sanctis 2,55-58: 2.3 (< Arculfus) (in inferiore (PN inferiori) vero parte urbis ubi Templum ... locatum ipsique urbi transitu pervio ponte mediante fuerat coniunctum) nunc ibi Saraceni quadratam domum ... oratione frequentant.*

## 2. THE MARWĀNID PHASE (685-813)

### 2.1. THE WHOLE AREA



39

**Figure 39. The Marwānīd area:** B014 The rebuilt wall. - B015 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B016 The ablution places (outside the area). - B026 The courtyard. - B028 The aqueduct coming from the Pool of ar-Raġī<sup>c</sup>. - B031 The platform. - B038 The Dome of the Rock. - B048 The Roofed Hall.

**B014. (The Mosque of) the Temple = the Furthest Mosque  
= the Mosque of David = the Mosque of Solomon  
= the (Friday) mosque of Jerusalem  
= the mosque on the Temple  
= the Capitol<sup>1</sup>**

**B014.1. Names (Muslim): (The Mosque of) the Temple (*Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis*,<sup>2</sup> *Bayt***

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānīd rebuilding of the area and the masterplan of this rebuilding, see A071.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, *Ta'rīḥ*** 132,22f.: 387 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 44f. n. 99) (*qāla š-Ša'bīyu ... qāla*) *wa-banā 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi fi sab'ina mina t-ta'rīḥi*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr. 55**: 40,10-12 *lā taqūmu s-sā'atu ḥattā yazūru l-Baytu l-Ḥarāmu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-yuqādāni ilā l-Ġannati ġamī'an wa-fihimā ahlūhumā wa-l-'arḍu wa-l-ḥisābu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi = al-Wāsiṭi Nr.152: 92,11-93,2 *lā taqūmu s-sā'atu ḥattā yazūru l-Baytu l-Ḥarāmu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-yanqādū* (read *fa-yanqādāni*) *ilā l-Ġannati wfh' ahluhā* (read *wa-fihimā ahlūhumā*) *wa-l-'arḍu wa-l-ḥisābu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 306: 211,10f. *lā taqūmu s-sā'atu ḥattā yazūru l-Baytu l-Ḥarāmu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-yataqāwadāni* (read *fa-yanqādāni*) *ilā l-Ġannati ġamī'an wa-fihimā ahlūhumā wa-l-'arḍu wa-l-ḥisābu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.140**: 87,2-5 (*qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fa-aqbala a'rābiyun ... fa-samī'a Muqātilun ... wa-yazburuhu bi-ṣawtihi ...*) *wa-ḍakara anna fi laylatin* (read *fi kulli laylatin*) *yanzilu sab'ūna alfi malakin mina s-samā'i ilā masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi yuhallilūna Llāha wa-yukabbirūna Llāha wa-yusabbihūna Llāha wa-yaḥmadūna Llāha wa-yuqaddisūna Llāha wa-yumağğidūna Llāha wa-yu'aẓẓimūna Llāha wa-lā ya'ūdūna ilayhi ilā an yaqūmu s-sā'atu = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.338: 229,14-16 (*qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fa-aqbala a'rābiyun ... fa-samī'a Muqātilun ... wa-yazburuhu bi-ṣawtihi ...*) *wa-inna fi kulli laylatin yanzilu sab'ūna alfi malakin yusabbihūna Llāha wa-yuhallilūna Llāha wa-yukabbirūna Llāha wa-yaḥmadūna Llāha wa-yuqaddisūna Llāha wa-yumağğidūna Llāha wa-yu'aẓẓimūna Llāha fi masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi tumma lā ya'ūdūna ilā yawmi l-qiyāmati*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.159**: 130,1-4 (*... qāla ḥaddaṭanī Abū l-'Awwāmi mu'addinun li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi 'an Abdi Llāhi bni 'Amri bni l-Āṣi qāla*) *inna s-sūra l-laḍi ḍakara Llāhu ta'ālā fi l-Qur'āni 'fa-qad ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-ẓāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'adābu' (Koran 57.13) sūru Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi š-šarqīyu 'bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-ẓāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'adābu' Wādī Ġahannuma (= shorter in al-Wāsiṭi Nr.17: 15,7-16,2 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 103f. n. 128) ḥaddaṭanā Ṣadaqatu bnu Yazīda 'an Sa'īdi bni 'Abdi l-'Azīzi 'an 'Aṭīyata bni Qaysin 'an 'Abdi Llāhi bni 'Amri bni l-Āṣi fi ḥāḍiḥi l-āyati 'fa-ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-ẓāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'adābu' (Koran 57.13) qāla huwa sūru Bayti l-Maqdisi š-šarqīyu; al-Wāsiṭi Nr.148: 91,5f. (*Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-huwa yuṣallī kulla ġum'atin fi ḥamsi masāğida* (read *fi ḥamsati masāğida*) *l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-masğidi l-Madīnati wa-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-masğidi Qabā'a* (read *wa-masğidi Qabā'a wa-masğidi l-Ṭūri*) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.175**: 140,10f. (*Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu ...*) *wa-huwa yuṣallī fi kulli ġum'atin fi ḥamsati masāğida l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-masğidi l-Madīnati wa-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-masğidi Qabā'a* (read *wa-masğidi Qabā'a wa-masğidi l-Ṭūri*); **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.18**: 25,7f. *inna Sulaymāna 'alayhi s-salāmu lammā nabā* (I read *banā*; Livne-Kafri reads *banā*) *Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-fariğa minhu ...*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.37**: 51,11 (transl. Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99-104; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 15) (*... anna 'Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu lammā fariğa min kitābi š-ṣulḥi baynahu wa-bayna ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla li-biṭri qihā dullinī 'alā Masğidi Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu qāla na'am ...*) *fa-nṭlaqa ilā Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi (ḥattā nṭahā bihi ilā bābihi l-laḍi yuqālu lahu Bāba Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama)*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.247**: 175,4f. (*... Abū Sa'īdin rağulun min ahli l-Iskandariyati qāla*) *kuntu ataytu* (Livne-Kafri reads *abaytu*) *fi*****



*al-Maqdis*,<sup>1</sup> *al-Quds*<sup>1</sup>), the Sanctuary (*al-Bayt*),<sup>1</sup> the Mosque of David (*Masğid Dāwūd*)

*masğidi baytin* (read *fī masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*) (... *fa-naʔartu fa-lam ara fī l-masğidi mutahağğidan*); **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.333**: 226,5 (... *anna l-Walida lammā māta wa-būyi'a li-Sulaymāna ... fa-atā* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-atā*) *Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-atathu l-wufūdu bi-l-bay'ati wa-lam tara wifādatan kānat ahna'a minhā*) *kāna yağlisu fī qubbatin fī ṣaḥni Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi mimma yalī ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock]; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.387**: 254,4f. (*tuftaḥu Ġahannumu min hādā l-wādī ya'nī Wādiya Ġahannuma*) *wa-tuftaḥu l-Ġannatu mina l-masğidi ya'nī Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.399**: 259,8-10 ...*anna n-Nabiya 'alayhi s-salāmu qāla ṣalātun fī Makkata bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī masğidi bi-ḥamsina alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-ḥamsatin wa-ṣalātun alfi ṣalātin*; **aṭ-Ṭabari, Ta'rīḥ** III 1 129,4f.: AH 140 *wa-lammā qadima Abū Ġa'afara Bayta l-Maqdisi ṣallā fī masğidihā* (A *ṭumma daḥalat sanatu ilḥ* (supposedly: *sanatu iḥdā wa-arba'i na wa-mi'atin*) *wa-fihā ḥaraḡa Abū Ġa'afara l-Mansūru ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-qadimahā wa-ṣallā fī masğidihā*); . Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.27**: 36,13-16 (... *anna Sulaymāna bna Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu lammā qabaḍahu Llāhu ta'ālā ilayhi ḥalafa min ba'dihi riğālun min wuldihi ... ḥattā ḥalafa ba'dahum min wuldi Sulaymāna* (read *rağulun min wuldi Sulaymāna*) *'alayhi s-salāmu ... qāla*) *banā ḡaddi Dāwūdu wa-abī Sulaymānu masğidan fa-mā lī lā abnī masğidan miṭla mā banaw ... fa-banā* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-banā*) *masğidan yuḍāhi Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *yuḍāhi bihi Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ... *wa-aḥraba masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ḥağarahu*. For *Bayt al-Maqdis* "the Temple, Jerusalem", from Aramaic *Bēṭ maqdēšā* "the Temple", see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 1f. n. 1; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 322ab; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 7f.; Ben-Shammai, "Jerusalem in Bible Exegesis".

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt** 1,1 107,12-15 (quoted in Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Murağğā* 63; transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 162; see Gil, *Palestine* 99f.) *awḥā Llāhu ilā Ya'qūba: innī ab'ātu min ḡurriyatika mulūkan wa-anbiyā' ḥattā ab'ata n-Nabiya l-Haramiya l-ladī tabnī ummatuhu haykala Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-huwa ḥātimu l-anbiyā'i wa-smuhu Aḥmadu*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.17**: 15,7-16,2 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 103f. n. 128) *ḥaddatānā Ṣadaqatu bnu Yazīda 'an Sa'idi bni 'Abdi l-'Azizi 'an 'Aṭiyata bni Qaysin 'an 'Abdi Llāhi bni 'Amri bni l-'Āsi fī hādīhi l-āyati 'fa-ḡuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bātinuhu fīhi r-raḡmatu wa-ḡāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'aḡābu'* (**Koran** 57.13) *qāla huwa sūru Bayti l-Maqdisi ṣ-ṣarqīyu (= longer Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.159*: 130,1-4 (... *qāla ḥaddatānī Abū l-'Awwāmi mu'addinun li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi 'an Abdi Llāhi bni 'Amri bni l-'Āsi qāla*) *inna s-sūra l-ladī ḡakara Llāhu ta'ālā fī l-Qur'āni 'fa-qad ḡuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bātinuhu fīhi r-raḡmatu wa-ḡāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'aḡābu'* (**Koran** 57.13) *sūru Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ṣ-ṣarqīyu 'bātinuhu fīhi r-raḡmatu wa-ḡāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'aḡābu'* Wādī Ġahannuma; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.32**: 24,13-25,2 ... *anna Maymūnata sa'alat Rasūla Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'an Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla ni'ma l-maskanu Baytu l-Maqdisi man ṣallā fīhi ṣalātan bi-alfi ṣalātin fīmā siwāhu*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.79**: 88,5-7 ... *anna Maymūnata zawḡa n-Nabiya 'alayhi s-salāmu qālat qultu ya-Rasūla Llāhi* (read *yā Rasūla Llāhi*) *afṭinā 'an Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *'an Bayti l-Maqdisi*; see the subsequent masculine pronouns and the parallels given in Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Murağğā*) *qāla ... fa-inna ṣ-ṣalāta fīhi bi-alfi ṣalātin fī-mā siwāhu*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.37**: 28,4-6 ('*an Abī Ḍarrin*) *anna Nabiya Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama su'ila 'ani ṣ-ṣalāti fī Bayti l-Maqdisi afḡalu aw fī Masğidi r-Rasūli fa-qāla ṣalātun fī masğidi hādā afḡalu min arba'i ṣalawātin fīhi = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.78: 78,12-79,2 ('*an Abī Ḍarrin qāla*) *qultu ya-Rasūla Llāhi* (Livne-Kafri reads *yā Rasūla Llāhi*) *ṣ-ṣalātu fī masğidika hādā afḡalu mina ṣ-ṣalāti fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-qāla ṣalātun fī masğidi hādā afḡalu min arba'i ṣalawātin fīhi*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.97**: 61,9f. (*ḥaddatānā Ḍamratu 'an Layṭin 'an Nāfi'in 'ani bni 'Umara qāla qāla lī yā Nāfi'u rtaḥil min Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *fa-inna s-sayyi'āti tuḡā'afu fīhi ka-mā tuḡā'afu l-ḡasanātu wa-aḡrama min Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr. 12**: 12,12-13,1 (*qāla Rasūla Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-salālātu r-rağuli* (read *'alayhi wa-sallama ṣalātu r-rağuli*) *fī baytihi bi-ṣalātin wāḡidatin wa-ṣalātuhu fī masğidi l-qabā'ili bi-ḡamsin wa-ṣalātun wa-ṣalātuhu fī l-ḡāmi'i bi-ḡamsi mi'ati ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu fī masğidi hādā bi-ḡamsina alfi ṣalātin*) *wa-ṣalātuhu fī Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-ḡamsina alfi ṣalātin* (wa-ṣalātuhu bi-Makkata bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin*

wa-*ṣalātu*hu ‘alā s-*sāḥili bi-alfay alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātu*hu bi-*miswākin bi-arba’i mi’ati ṣalātin wa-dakara ḥadīṭan ṭawīlan*); **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 94**: 60,3f. *al-ḥasanatu fī Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-alfin wa-s-sayyi’atu bi-alfin*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.130**: 78,10-12 (see Busse, “Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb” 89-91) *fa-taqaddama raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu* (Hasson reads *fa-taqaddama ‘Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu ya’nī ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ḥīna arāda kaṣfahā wa-izālata l-mazbalati ‘anhā*) *ḥattā mala’a asfala ṭawbihi mina l-mazbalati l-lati kānat fī Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.154**: 93,9f. ... *anna Ṣarika bna Ḥumāsata* (read *Ṣarika bna Ḥubāsata*) *n-Numayriya atā ḡubban fī Bayti l-Maqdisi yastasqī li-aṣḥābihi ... = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.165: 132,11f. *anna Ṣarika bna Ḥubāsata* (read *Ṣarika bna Ḥubāsata*) *an-Numayriya atā* (Hasson reads *atā*) *ḡubban fī Bayti l-Maqdisi yastaqī ...*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.92**: 95,7 *aṣ-ṣalātu fī Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-ḥamsi mi’atini l-ḡamā’atu minhā tuḍā’afu ḥamsan wa-‘iṣrīna* (wa-*ṣ-ṣalātu fī Maṣḡidi l-Madī nati bi-alfi ṣalātini l-ḡamā’atu minhā tuḍā’afu ḥamsan wa-‘iṣrīna wa-ṣ-ṣalātu ‘alā ṣāṭi’i l-baḥri bi-alfay alfi ṣalātini l-ḡamā’atu minhā bi-ḥamsin wa-‘iṣrīna*); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.263**: 185,7f. (see Busse, “Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb” 118) *kāna ‘Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ḡālisan fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ya’nī Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-Ummu d-Dardā’i ma’ahu ḡālīsaturun*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.305**: 211,5-7 *tuḥṣaru l-Ka’batu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi yawma l-qiyaṃati muta-‘alliqun bihā kullu man ḥaḡḡahā wa-‘tamarahā ... ṭumma yunzilu Llāhu maṭaran min taḥṭi ‘arṣihi fa-yumṭiruhu arba’ina yawman ḥattā yakūnu l-mā’u fawqahumu ṭnā’ ašara* (read *ṭnay ‘ašara*) *ḍirā’an*; **Muraḡḡā Nr.370**: 247,13-15 *ḡā’a raḡulun mina l-ḥumsi l-laḍina yusriḡuna maṣābiḥa Bayti l-Maqdisi ilā ‘Umara bni ‘Abdi l-‘Azizi yas’aluhu an yu’tiqahu fa-qāla lahu: kayfa u’tiquka wa-law ḍahabta la-anzuru lam yakun li ṣa’ratun min ḡasadika* (but = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.60**: 44,1f. (*kānati l-Yahūdu tusriḡu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-lammā waliya ‘Umaru bnu ‘Abdi l-‘Azizi aḥraḡahum*) wa-ḡa’ala fihi l-Ḥumsa (Livne-Kafri reads *fihi mina l-Ḥumsi*) *fa-atāhu raḡulun min ahli l-ḥumsi fa-qāla a’tiqnī qāla kayfa u’tiquka wa-law ḍahabta anzuru mā kāna li ṣa’ratun min ṣa’ri ḡasadika* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.369**: 247,10f. (*kānati l-Yahūdu tusriḡu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-lammā waliya ‘Umaru bnu ‘Abdi l-‘Azizi aḥraḡahum*) wa-ḡa’ala l-Ḥumsa (Livne-Kafri reads *fihi mina l-Ḥumsi*) *fa-atāhu raḡulun min ahli l-ḥumsi fa-qāla a’tiqnī qāla kayfa u’tiquka wa-law ḍahabta anzuru mā kāna li ṣa’ratun min ṣa’rika*).*

Bayt al-Maqdis refers to the whole city or to the Temple **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.185**: 148,4f. (see Busse, “Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb” 83) *aḥabbu ṣ-Ṣa’mi ilā Llāhi ta’ālā Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-aḥabbu l-Qudsi ilā Llāhi ta’ālā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu wa-ṭ-Ṭūru*.

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.5**: 13,15-14,1 (*lammā tāba Llāhu ‘alā Dāwūda ... wa-ṣalaḥat umūru Banī Isrā’īla ...*) *fa-ḥṭāra lahumu ṭ-ṭā’ūna wa-amarahum an yataḡahazū wa-yalbasū* (Livne-Kafri reads *ṭumma yalbasū*) *aktānahum wa-yahruḡū bi-nisā’ihim wa-imā’ihim wa-awlādiḥim amāmahum wa-hum ḥalfahum ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-ṣa’idi l-laḍi banā ‘alayhi Bayta l-Maqdisi* (read *buniya ‘alayhi Baytu l-Maqdisi*) (wa-huwa yawma’idīn Ṣ‘YH (read *ṣa’idun*) ... *qāla innī lā a’lamu amran ablaḡa fī ṣukrikum min binā’i maṣḡidin ‘alā ḥadā ṣ-ṣa’idi l-laḍi raḥimakumu Llāhu ‘alayhi fa-yubannihi* (read *fa-nubannihi*) *maṣḡidan ya’budu Llāha ‘azza wa-ḡalla fihi wa-nuqaddisu* (Livne-Kafri reads *wa-tuqaddisūhu*) *fihi antum wa-man ba’dakum qālū na’falu*); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.185**: 148,4f. (see Busse, “Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb” 83) *aḥabbu ṣ-Ṣa’mi ilā Llāhi ta’ālā Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-aḥabbu l-Qudsi ilā Llāhi ta’ālā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu wa-ṭ-Ṭūru*.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.185**: 148,4f. (see Busse, “Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb” 83) *aḥabbu ṣ-Ṣa’mi ilā Llāhi ta’ālā Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-aḥabbu l-Qudsi ilā Llāhi ta’ālā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu wa-ṭ-Ṭūru*.

Cf. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.51**: 39,6f. *aṣ-Ṣa’mu mubārakatun wa-Filaṣṭīnu muqaddasatun wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi Quds l-Qudsi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.207**: 158,14 *aṣ-Ṣa’mu mubārakatun wa-Filaṣṭīnu muqaddasatun wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi Quds l-Qudsi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.226**: 165,12-22 (see Elad, Jerusalem 111) (*Bābu ḍikri mā radda Llāhu ta’ālā min Tābūti s-Sakīnati ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ... lammā arāda Llāhu ta’ālā an yarudda ‘alā Banī Isrā’īla t-Tābūta ... ṭumma yuṣadda t-Tābūtu ‘alā ‘aḡalin ṭumma yu’allaqu ‘alā l-baqaratayni ... fa-wakala Llāhu bihimā arba’atan mina l-malā’ikati yasūqūnahumā*) *ḥattā idā balagātā l-Qudsa kusiratā nīrayhimā* (I read *nīrahumā*) *wa-duḥibatā*.

(B014.7), the Mosque of Solomon (*Masğid Sulaymān*) (B014.7), the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*) (B014.7), the mosque of Jerusalem (*masğid İliyā*),<sup>2</sup> a (Friday) mosque (*ğā-mi*<sup>c</sup>, *masğid*) (B014.5), a sanctuary (*bayt*) (B014.7),<sup>3</sup> the mountain (*al-ğabal*).<sup>4</sup>

B014.1.a. *al-Quds*<sup>5</sup> is used for the city and for the ḤARAM. Jerusalem<sup>6</sup> is meant by High 'Abbāsīd Muslim *al-*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 62,2f. (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf'alu bihā fī ḥilāfatī 'Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-lahu minā l-ḥadami n-Naṣārā minā r-rigālī 'aṣaratun ahlū baytin* (I read *ahlū Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *yatawāratūna ḥidmata l-bayti ...*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.96:** 60,15-61,6 (*ḥaddaṭanā Abū 'Ubaydi Llāhi Mu'āwiyatu bnu 'Abdi Llāhi l-Aṣ'arīyu ... 'an abī hi Rağā'a bni Ḥaywata*) *anna Ka'ba l-Aḥbāra kāna idā ḥarağa min Ḥimṣa yurīdu ṣ-ṣalāta fī masğidi İliyā'a ...* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.312:** 214,10f. (*ḥaddaṭanā Abū 'Abdi Llāhi Ma'ūnatu* (read *Mu'āwiyatu*, with *al-Wāsiṭī*) *bnu 'Abdi Llāhi l-Aṣ'arīyu ... 'ani bnihi* (read *'an abīhi*) *Rağā'a*) *anna Ka'ba l-Aḥbāra idā ḥarağa min Ḥimṣa yurīdu ṣ-ṣalāta fī masğidi İliyā'a ...*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Farazdaq Nr.61.15:** 571,15 (see Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out" 182; Jamil, "Caliph and Qutb" 56f.) *wa-baytāni baytu Llāhi naḥnu wulātuhū / wa-baytun bi-a'lā İliyā'a muṣarrāfū*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 10:** 18,1-6 (... *anna Ishāqa n-nabiya 'alayhi s-salāmu waṣṣā ilā bnihi Ya'qūba an lā yankiḥa mra'atan minā l-Kan'ānīnati wa-an yankiḥa min banāti ḥālihi l-Ayāna* (read *Lābāna*) *bni Māhiri bni Azraqa ...*) *fa-tawağğaha ilayhi Ya'qūbu fa-adrakahu l-laylu fī ba'di ṭ-ṭariqi fa-bāta mutawassidan ḥağaran fa-ra'a fī-mā yarā n-nā'imū anna sullaman manṣūban ilā bābin min abwābi s-samā'i 'inda ra'sihi wa-l-malā'ikatu yanzilūna* (Hasson reads *tanzilu*) *fīhi wa-ta'ruğu minhu wa-awḥā Llāhu ta'ālā ilayhi ... tumma ana ma'aka aḥfazuka ḥattā arudduka ilā hādā l-makāni fa-ğ'alhu baytan ta'budunī fīhi anta wa-ḍurriyatuka fa-huwa Baytu l-Maqdisi* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.554:** 335,13-19 (... *anna Ishāqa 'alayhi s-salāmu awṣā ilā bnihi Ya'qūba an lā yankiḥa mra'atan minā l-Kan'ānīna* (read *minā l-Kan'āniyina*) *wa-an yankiḥa min banāti ḥālihi Lāyāna* (read *Lābāna*) *bni Bāhiri bni Azraqa ...*) *fa-tawağğaha ilayhi Ya'qūbu fa-adrakahu l-laylu fī ba'di ṭ-ṭuruqi fa-bāta mutawassidan ḥağaran fa-ra'a fī-mā yarā n-nā'imū anna sullaman manṣūban ilā bābin min abwābi s-samā'i 'inda ra'isihi wa-l-malā'ikatu tanzilu fīhi wa-ta'ruğu minhu fa-awḥā Llāhu ilayhi ... tumma ana ma'aka aḥfazuka ḥattā uraddiduka* (read *arudduka*) *ilā hādā l-makāni fa-ğ'alhu baytan ta'budunī fīhi anta wa-ḍurriyatuka wa-huwa Baytu l-Maqdisi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 62,2-4 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf'alu bihā fī ḥilāfatī 'Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-lahu minā l-ḥadami n-Naṣārā minā r-rigālī 'aṣaratun ahlū baytin* (I read *ahlū Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *yatawāratūna ḥidmata l-bayti li-'amali l-ğišsi wa-kansi ḥuṣuri l-masğidi wa-kansi l-qanā l-latī tağri ilā ṣaḥāriği l-mā'i wa-kansi ṣ-ṣaḥāriği aydan*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.195:** 154,1f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24f. n. 15) *ṣakā* (Livne-Kafri reads *ṣakā*) *hādā l-baytu ilā Llāhi ta'ālā l-ḥarāba fa-awḥā Llāhu innī mubdiluka bi-Tawrātin muḥdatatin ya'nī l-Qur'āna wa-'ummārīn muḥdatīna ya'nī ummata Muḥammadīn 'alayhi s-salāmu (... fa-radīya).*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.56:** 41,2-4 (transl. van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 89; see Busse, "Sanctity" 456f.) *qudsu l-arđi ṣ-Ṣa'mu wa-qudsu ṣ-Ṣa'mi Filasṭīnu wa-qudsu Filasṭīna Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-qudsu Bayti l-Maqdisi l-ğabalu wa-qudsu l-ğabali l-masğidu wa-qudsu l-masğidi* (I read *wa-qudsu l-ğabali l-qubbatu*, thus also Ibn al-Murağğā; Hasson, Busse and van Ess read *wa-qudsu l-ğabali l-masğidu wa-qudsu l-masğidi l-qubbatu*) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.136:** 115,14f. *qudsu l-arđi ṣ-Ṣa'mu wa-qudsu ṣ-Ṣa'mi Filasṭīnu wa-qudsu Filasṭīna Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-qudsu Bayti l-Maqdisi l-ğabalu wa-qudsu l-ğabali l-qubbatu.*

<sup>5</sup>For Arabic *al-Quds* from Aramaean *Qōdšā*, both meaning "the Temple", see Busse, "Kultstätten" 119; Goitein, "Jerusalem in the Arab Period" 187; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 322ab; Ben-Shammai, "Jerusalem in Bible Exegesis".

<sup>6</sup>For the names of the city, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 83f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 22; Hasson, *al-Wāsiṭī*, French introduction 13-15; 20f.; Goitein, "Jerusalem in the Arab Period" 186f.; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 322ab; Gil, *Palestine* 114; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 187-189; Ben-Shammai, "Jerusalem in Bible Exegesis".

*Quds*,<sup>1</sup> High 'Abbāsid Jewish *Quds Allāh*,<sup>2</sup> Fāṭimid Muslim *al-Quds*,<sup>3</sup> Fāṭimid Jewish *al-Quds*,<sup>4</sup> *Quds*,<sup>1</sup> *al-Quds*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Mas'ūdī**, **Murūğ** 2 180,5f.: 974 (*ammā š-šā'mu ...*) *wa-bihi manāzilu l-anbiyā'* / *wa-l-Qudsu l-muğtabā*; **al-Muqaddasī** 30,10f. (*wa-mina l-muduni mā lahā aḳṭaru mini smin naḥwa* (C *mā lahā asāmin miṭlu*) ...) *Bayti l-Maqdisi Īliyā l-Qudsu l-Balāṭu*; **al-Muqaddasī** C 34,6f. (*wa-lā aṭma'u min ahli Makkata wa-lā afqaru min ahli Yaṭriba*) *wa-lā a'affu min ahli l-Qudsi* (= but **al-Muqaddasī** 34,6f. (*wa-lā aṭma'u min ahli Makkata wa-lā afqaru min ahli Yaṭriba*) *wa-lā a'affu min ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi*); **al-Muqaddasī** 187,10f.18f. 21-188,1 (... *fī hādā ġawābāni aḥaduhumā fiqhīyun wa-huwa anna l-Arḍa l-Muqaddasati ġibālun lā maḥālata wa-Arīḥā'u fī suhūlihā wa-min atbā'ihā*) *fa-zāhiru l-āyati maṣrūfun ilā ḥaḳīqati l-Qudsi wa-hiya Īliyā*. (.. *wa-l-ġawābu l-āḥaru iqlīmīyun*) *wa-dālika annahum umirū bi-duḥūli l-Qudsi wa-l-ġabbārīna bi-Arīḥā'a ... ma'a annahu yalzamu ṣāḥiba hādhi l-maqālati ṣay'āni immā an yaqūla innahum lam yu'marū bi-duḥūli ġibālī l-Qudsi wa-immā an yaqūla anna ġibāla Īliyā wa-l-Balqā'i laysat mina l-Arḍi l-Muqaddasati*.

*al-Quds* refers to the city rather than the Temple **al-Maqdisī**, **Bad'** 6 91,9 (see Goitein, "al-Quds" 322ab) (**Abū Ġāfara l-Manṣūru** ...) *wa-ḥağğā ġayra marratin wa-zāra l-Qudsā*.

<sup>2</sup>**Sulaymān**, **ṣarḥ Kohālāt cod. London 9.6** (quoted in Feuerstein, *Salmon ben Jerucham* 18f. n. 30) (*wa-ka-dālika idā kāna ḥattā yumkinahu an yuğāra Llāha ta'alā ka-qawlihi fī Pīnḥās* "'t taḥat aššār qānā' l-Ālōhāw") *wa-ka-dālika yuğāra li-Qudsi Llāhi* (*wa-mā fihi min al-'arēlim 'wl-təmə'im* (read *wa-t-təmə'im*) *wa-l-pəsēlim wə-zāḥim wə-məšōrā'im wə-ni'ūpim wə-məšubbāḥ zākār wə-battē šo'ot wə-mitpallēlim bə-ḥāšērōtāw 'al ha-mātim wə-maḳrīzim bō bə-kāl yōm 5 pə'amim lə-zikrōn gillul wə-nābi' šāqār*).

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 28,14-16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 87f.) *Bayt al-Muqaddas-rā* (I read *Bayt al-Maqdis-rā*) *ahl-i Šām wa-ān-tarafhā Quds ġūyand wa az ahl-i ān-wilāyāt kas-i kih ba-ḥağğ na-tawānad raftan dar ham-ān mawsim ba-Quds ḥādir šawad* (NP *šawand*) ...; **Nāṣir** 49,17 *paṅum muḥarram sana-i tis' wa-talāt wa-arba'mi'a-i hilāliya ba-Quds rasidim*.

<sup>4</sup>The difference between *al-Quds* and *al-Qūds* is purely orthographic.

*al-Quds* "Jerusalem" is found in **Gil Nr. 23**,21 (... *ta'lam anna li-ahl Ṭabarīya wa-ğumhūrḥā min aš-šuyūḥ wa-ğayrhum ... yaruddūnā bi-l-muḥāṭaba wa-l-mukātaba intidāb rağul lahum tamma* ...) *fa-ba'd burha min az-zamān wa-mūdda ta'ibtu fihā tamma lanā 'alayh inqālūh min al-Quds ilā 'indahum; **Gil 33v**,2 *min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 142**,35f. *wa-yakūn zāqēnnū ya'lam anna mā fī l-Quds aḥad yunāṣib wa-yuqāwim illā immā hum wa-immā min tibā'hum; **Gil Nr. 182**,4f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 630 n. 106) (**Ibn al-Fāsī** ... *wa-nazal ma'uh fī mawḍi'a[m]dā* (I read *amḍā*; Gil translates: *wə-hālak*; he apparently reads *wa-maḍā*) *ma'uh al-kanīs wa-daras wa-Yūsuf yasma'*) *wa-ṭali' ma'uh li-l-Quds* (*huwa wə-bān dōd[ō] wa-ḥābērō Yū[suf] al-5* [the Fifth] *wa-waṣalū l-Ġabal* [the Mount of Olives; thus Gil, *Ārāš Yiśrā'el* 2 663 s.v. "al-Ġabal"; Gil, *Palestine* 630 n. 106] *wa-Yūsuf ya[qūl] aš-šīr bayn yaday ibn al-Fāsī*); **Gil Nr. 190r**,3 (... *li tu'ahḥar*) *wa-ḥāṣṣatan kull kitāb uwağğih bih al-Quds*; **Gil Nr. 190v** top margin *al-Quds in šā' Allāh*; **Gil Nr. 196**, 4 (*ilā an tawaṣṣal rağul min al-Ġarb bi-du'a Nātān ibn Ibrāhīm*) *idda'a mawḍi' ra's matibat al-Qu[ds] [al-ladī] 'alā hādhi l-matiba sittata 'ašara [sana]*); **Gil Nr. 198**,24f.273549-51 *wa-awṣā 'inda wafātuh an lā yuṣ'ad bih ilā l-Quds wa-lā yudfan bayn ābāhu l-ağilla ... wa-lam yumkinuh al-maqām ma'uh fī l-Quds ... wa-qad baqītu dā'i' fī l-Quds ... fa-in aradtum an TSF ... hādā l-Quds wa-tu'inūni 'alā l-maqām fih fa-antum taf'alū ma'i kull al-ğamīl*; **Gil Nr. 211r**, 6f. [kata]btu ilā l-ḥābēr ḥarasuh *Allāh kitāb qabl hādā min [al-]Qud[s]*; **Gil Nr. 213**,28 *ša'id li-l-Quds* (... *fa-awwal nuzūluh li-r-Ramla tawallā umūr sūq al-Yahūd*); **Gil Nr. 237r**,3 [*min al-Quds 'ama*]ruh *Allāh*; **Gil Nr. 289r**,3 *min al-Quds 'amaruh [Allāh] bi-ṭul baqā mawlāya š-šayḥ*; **Gil Nr. 290r**,3f. (*aṭāl Allāh baqāk wa-adām salāmatak* ...) *wa-ğama' baynnā fī hādā l-Quds [al-ma']m[ūr]*; **Gil Nr. 292r**,10.13-15 (*wa-aqla'tu āḥar tiš[r]i urīd li-Lādiqlī li-Lādiqīya* (read *urīd li-Lādiqīya*) *fa-āmēn ašrafnā 'alā ġabal al-Quds* (*wa-kān ma'i rağul min ahl Fās fa-zatt li-ṣāḥib al-markab šikarat ruqūq wa-l-ğirāb matā' al-mā wa-nazaltu l-Yāfa wa-ṭali'tu ilā r-Ramla layl rōš ḥodāš Marḥāšwān* ...) *wa-ṭali'tu l-Quds al-ma'mūr ... laylat rōš ḥodāš Kislēwī* (read *Kislēw*) *wa-qumtu fī l-Quds ilā niṣf tēḥēt*; **Gil Nr. 292r**,17 *wa-waṣalnā ilā l-Quds* (*fa-mā akaltu fihi laḥm wa-lā ṭayr diyānan fa-kān yā-mulaya* [Classical Arabic***

yā mawlāya, thus Gil] *l-‘inab raṭl bi-dāniq ša’mī wa-aktar wa-l-ḡadā aladdanī* [Classical Arabic *aladdanī*] *wa-l-ḡibn wa-l-bard fa-antaqīd ‘alayh*; **Gil Nr. 293**,1 *min al-Quds al-maḥrūs*; **Gil Nr. 297r**,3 *min al-Quds*; **Gil, Nr. 298r**,2 *min al-Quds*; **Gil Nr. 298r**,16f. (*wa-hāda l-walad huwa l-yawm fī Miṣr*) *wa-l-bintayn fī l-Quds* [in the region of Jerusalem] (*wa-bnatuh l-awwala* [sic] *Rāḥēl hiya fī madīnat ar-Ramla sākina ma‘a zawḡhā*); **Gil Nr. 300**,5-8.26-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ḡalla wa-‘azza bi[l-minna] bi-[s]tiḡābuh [ilā mā] ana muwāṣiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ al-ḡalīl min al-ad‘iyya š-šāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī bi-ḥaḍrat hādā l-Quds ‘aḍada Llāh kāfathā bi-tūl baqāyuh wa-dawām na‘māyuh innuh walīy al-iḡāba bi-faḍluh (... fa-asalu Llāh yaḥrus ḥayātuh ...) wa-staḡāb minnī fih wa-fihim kull da‘wa šāliḥa l-lati ana dā‘ihā dāyman fī hādā l-Quds quddām hādā l-Bayt al-‘Azīm*; **Gil Nr. 310**,7-9.22-24 (*‘urīḍat bi-ḥaḍrat amīr al-mu‘minīn ruq‘a mutarḡama bi-ḡamā‘at al-Yahūd ar-Rabbānīn yas‘alūn fihā ḥamlhum ‘alā muqtaḍā s-siḡill al-mukarram al-muktatab lahum bi-an yumkin aḥbārhum min iqāmat furūd diyānathum ...*) *wa-t-taṣarruf fī ḥidm ḡamā‘athum bi-l-Quds wa-r-Ramla wa-ḡayr dālik min al-bilād (... fa-amar amīr al-mu‘minīn bi-kutub manšūra taḍmun ...)* *wa-lā yumkin al-Qara‘iyīn min i‘tirāḍ muqaddamī r-Rabbānīn bi-l-ib‘ād ‘an a‘māl al-Quds wa-Filasṭīn*; **Gil Nr. 312**,6-10.12-15.18-20 (... *wa-waddā* [Classical Arabic *wa-addā*] *dālik ilā mā lā nihāya luh min al-fitan ...*) *wa-qānūn al-madhab lā riyāsa ‘alā riyāsāt al-Quds li-annhā qiblathum ... wa-qad ama[r]hum Allāh ta‘[ā]llā bi-mtitāl amr ar-rāyis yakūn fī l-Quds wa-d-duḥūl taḥt amruh wa-anna man ḥālafuh fa-qad ḥālaf Allāh yaṣḥad bi-[dā]lika Tawrāthum (wa-ka-mā lā baqā li-l-ḡism bi-rā[s]ayn ka-dālik lā qarār li-balda bi-qāḍiyayn wa-innamā nusibat* [Classical Arabic *nusibat*] *hādih al-kanāyis ilā l-‘Irāqī* (I read *ilā l-‘Irāqīyīn*) *li-anna lahum rasm yu‘idū yawm tāni ba‘d ta‘ayyadhum ma’nā fa-sāmaḥūhum bihā ruyasā al-Quds ‘alā ṭarīq at-tafaḍḍul (li-yuṣallū fihā yawm ‘idhum al-ladī huwa ḡad ‘idnā ba‘d ta‘ayyudhum ma’nā wa-ammā ḡayr hādā lays ... wa-d-dalīl] ‘alā ṣiḡḥat mā dakarūh al-‘abīd anna bi-š-Šām kanāyis bi-bilād* (read *anna bi-š-Šām bilād*) *fihā kanāyis li-l-‘Irāqī* (I read *li-l-‘Irāqīyīn*) *li-ṣ-ṣalāt faqaṭ wa-lays lahum fihā ḥākīm wa-lā ḡayruh*) *wa-innamā ḡamī‘ mā yuf‘al ma‘hum ‘alā ṭarīq at-tafaḍḍul min ar-rayis al-ladī yakūn fī l-Quds fī kull waqt li-anna maḡīhum li-l-ḡaḡḡ fī l-Quds wa-l-ladī qām fī hādā l-amr fa-hum al-ḡamā‘a l-muta‘aṣṣibī n li-Yūsuf yuḡḥirū t-ta‘aṣṣub li-rāyis al-‘Irāq*; **Gil Nr. 313**,4f.ra‘à *Yūsuf as-Siḡilmāsī āb-[bēt]-dīn fī l-Quds ...*; **Gil Nr. 350**,2 *wa-qad katabtu ilā l-Quds ‘amaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr. 352**,11 *fa-ammā annī katabtu ilā l-Quds al-maḥrūs allā yadḥuluh (fa-lays al-amr ka-mā raqiya ilā Hār*; **Gil Nr. 352**,13f. *wa-l-ladī katab ilā l-Quds ‘amaruh Allāh ...*; **Gil Nr. 357v**,7f. *wa-l-ladī t-ta‘awwul wāqī‘an ‘alayhi huwa t-tawaḡḡuh ilā l-Quds al-maḥrūs ‘aqīb [hādih] 3 ha-šēbū‘ot*; **Gil Nr. 357v**,25f. *wa-in ra‘à dāk taṭawwal bi-taqdīmuh wa-infāduh ilā l-Quds wa-iḡ‘āluh ṭayy kitābuh ilā l-ḥābēr Abū l-Faraḡ Ḥayyīm yāḥ‘yāhū Ālōhēnū li-awṣaluh ‘inda ḥuḍūruh ilayh fa‘al*; **Gil Nr. 359**,3 *min al-Quds al-maḥrūs*; **Gil Nr. 362**,16f. *wa-mund sār Abū l-Faḍl ayyaduh Allāh min al-Quds mā ‘ariftu luh ḥabar*; **Gil Nr. 363**,14 *li-mā kān bi-l-Quds muwadda‘ wa-ana bi-r-Ramla uqāsi kull balā (wa-asma‘ bi-nafsi kāl ḥārpāh wə-ḡiddūpāh min aqallī n-nās ḡumlathum ḥaṣm wa-šan‘ā)*; **Gil Nr. 370v**,7 (*Ibn Šaknīyāh ...*) *fa-lays luh illā t-tankīl bih ka-mā ḡarat ‘ādat al-Maqādisa ḥarashum Allāh ma‘uh dā‘iman*) *yaḥbisūh wa-yanfūh min al-Quds*; **Gil Nr. 389**,18 (*fa-lammā sami‘nā hādih al-ḡumla aḥḍarnā Ḥayyīm ḍenan ilā bēyt dīn wa-ḥawwafnāh wa-adra[n]āh* [Classical Arabic *wa-adra‘nāhu*] *fa-aqarr bi-mā [qīl] wa-annuh andar* [Classical Arabic *andar*] *hādih al-‘ašara d-danānnīr* [sic] *al-muqaddam dikrhā ‘alā mā qīl ‘annuh wa-annhā wāḡiba ‘alayh wa‘awayn anna [ḥamsat] danānnīr* [sic] *minhā li-Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mhērāh wa-ḥamsat ad-danānnīr* [sic] *li-kanīsat Šahrašt ‘fa-‘araḍuh man ḥaḍa[r] ...*) *wa-qāl luh lā bal nadrak ḡumlatuh kān* [sic] *li-Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mhērāh fa-ḡaḥad dāk wa-staqarr al-ḥāl minnuh an [yaḡīb] ‘alayh šēnē ‘ēdīm anna hādih al-‘ašara d-danānnīr* [sic] *ḡumlathā kān nadarhā li-Bēyt ha-Miqdāš ... fa-ra‘à bēyt dīn wa-š-šuyūk an yuqarrir ... ‘alayhi rub‘ dīnār fī kull šahr yuwaddī awwalan li-[Bēy]t ha-Miqdāš mā yutbat luh wa-min ba‘d li-Šahrašt ... wa-min ba‘d hada aqnaynā min rabbēnū Ḥayyīm ḍenan bān rabbēnū Hārūn ...)* *anna ‘alayhi l-‘ašar]a d-danānnīr* [sic] *dahaban ‘aynan ḡiyādan li-l-Quds ‘alā š-šūra l-muqaddam dikruh*; **Gil Nr. 413r**,11f. (*Abū Naṣr Ḡālīb ibn Mūsā ibn Ḡālīb ...*) *wa-huwa iḍan waqtnā hādā bi-l-Quds*; **Gil Nr. 433r**,13 (*ṭalī‘ū ilā Har ha-zētīm wa-kasarū l-kūrsī [...] qālū ḥattā lā yaṭla‘ Rabbān ilā l-Quds*; **Gil Nr. 443r**,1 *min al-Quds*; **Gil Nr. 450r**,1 *min al-Quds*; **Gil Nr. 457r**,29f. *wa-ammā*

*Ibrāhīm ibn Fadāṅṅ wa-Ibrāhīm ibn al-Hārūnī fa-waṣalū ilā l-Quds min Bilād ar-Rūm; Gil Nr. 457r,30f. fa-lammā waṣal ibn Fadāṅṅ ma' zawḡatuh wa-banihim 'aniyīm šākūyīm ilā r-Ramla qabl wuṣūlhum al-Quds (Gil seems to delete: qabl wuṣūlhum al-Quds) ...; Gil Nr.457r right margin,6-8 (al-Qārā'in) fa-lammā waṣalū [Ibn Fadāṅṅ and his family] lā l-Quds ṭali'ū ilā Samaritiqāh wa-baqaw ma'hum; Gil Nr. 457v,8f. wa-huwa l-ān Ibrāhīm al-madkūr yaḥruḡ ma' ibnuh ilā ḡay'a fī š-Šām qarīb min al-Quds; Gil Nr.458r,3 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.463r,1f. min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.463r,5f. wa-nwī [Classical Arabic wa-nwī] l-'awda ilā l-Quds al-mubārak; Gil Nr.463r,19-21 (fa-qad dakar anna baynuh wa-bayn rabbēnū Abrāhām barrabbī Yiṣḥāq at-tilmīd mu'āmala) wa-ammā mā dakartuh min ḥāl[uh] fa-law annuh ḥāḡir fī l-Quds la-aḡḡartuh wa-alzamtuh an yuqīm lak bi-d-danānīr; Gil Nr.464r,2 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.464v,4 (mablaḡ al-ḥāṣil (read mablaḡ al-ḥāṣil) min ḡi[hat] Ēlī'āzār 2 alif [...].h mi'at alf 2 alfi) wa-l-ahl 8 mi'at alf alf min al-Quds; Gil Nr.465r,2 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr. 465r,7f. (wa-qad aḡraḡnī Llāh min al-ḡubūs min al-Quṣṭanīniya) wa-kuntu aqūl wa-ana fī Balad ar-Rūm in ḡallaṣnī Llāh uqīm bi-l-Quds (wa-l-ān yā aḡī ana 'alā l-iqāma fī ḡādih as-sana ḡāhunā); Gil Nr.465r,12f. wa-bi'tu ba'ḡ tiyābī fī madīnat Ṣūr ilā an waṣaltu li-l-Quds; Gil Nr.465r,16f. (wa-ka-dālik as'alak anta afn tuqrīḡnī 3) (I read an tuqrīḡnī 3; Gil reads an tuqrīḡnī 5) danānīr aw d danānīr wa-taṣṭarī lī min dālik kisā awsa' [...] aw Qarawī yakūn taqīl) li-anna l-Quds bārīd 'aḡīm (wa-taṣṭarī lī farw ṭuluh h aṣbār albasuh bayn at-tiyāb wa-'imāma ḡīrī aw niṣf ayṣ mā saḡul 'alayk ... wa-l-ān yā sayyidī lā tuḡḡil 'an ḡādā l-ladī katabtu ilayk wa-innī qad ḡalaktu bi-l-bard wa-lays lī lā ḡubba wa-lā ṣay li-an kānat 'alayya tiyāb rūmīya bi'tuhā bi-Ṣūr); Gil Nr.466r,1 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.466r,12f. (wa-qad kān ar-rayyis ad-Dāwūdī fī r-Ramla luh ayyām wa-ṭali' yawm al-itnayn li-ṭ ḡalawna min ṭēḡēt) fa-lam yuqīm bi-l-Quds illā yawmayn (wa-l-yawm al-ḡ ḡā'ū yaṭlubūh yanzilū r-Ramla); Gil Nr.467r,2 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.467r top margin,1-5 min al-Quds; Gil Nr.468r,1 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.468r,11 wa-rabbēnū 'Ayyāṣ waṣal ilā l-Quds sālim ba'd ṣu'ba 'aḡīma; Gil Nr.468r top margin, 10-13;v,1f. wa-fī yawmī ḡādā waṣal sayyidnā r-rayyis ilā l-Quds ... wa-rabbēnū Yōṣēḡ kān fī r-Ramla fī ḡin wuṣūl ar-rayyis ilā l-Quds li-anna r-rayyis ḡā' alā Nāblus wa-lam yadhul ilā (read illā) l-Quds; Gil Nr.469r,2 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.470r,1 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.471r,1f. min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.472r,1f. [min al]-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.472v,4 (wa-dakarta ḡadīt rabbēnū Abrāhām bān <sup>a</sup>d(ōnēnū) nn ... kān yufāriḡnī tumma ' [...] al-ladī aḡraḡuh ilā r-Ramla li-an kān [...] minhu wāḡid [...]) al-Quds as-sūq luh ( [...] lak daḡaluh Maymūn ad-dawla [...] iṣṭaraytu luh [...]); Gil Nr.473r,2 [min al-Quds] 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.477,3f. ([wa]-dakarta amr aṣ-ṣēṣ wa-l-ladī yurād ḡunā aktaruh aswad wa-samānī wa-ḡamī' al-alwān wa-l-qirmizī qalīl al-ḡurūḡ fī Bayt al-Maqdis wa-lākin rubbamā yubā' fī r-Ramla aw fī 'Asqalān) wa-amma l-marḡān fa-huwa ḡā'if al-ḡurūḡ [sic] fī l-Quds li-annuh balad ḡā'if (wa-lākin tuḡībuh aw ba'ḡ[uh] wa-t-tawfīq min Allāh wa-in ittafaq 'Aḡam (I read 'Aḡamī) yaṣṭarīh rubbamā); Gil Nr.479r,2 min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.479v,5 (ḡayr ana ra'aytu insān ismuh ḡannān ummuh tazawwaḡḡā fī l-Qal'a [i.e., Qal'at Ayyūb] ḡayyīm al-kōḡēn ibn at-Tūnisī) ḡā' ilā l-Quds wa-raḡa' ilā Ṣūr; Gil Nr.479v right margin,10-12 (wa-waṣal ṣay) ismuh rabbēnū Ṣīm'ōn wa-waṣal aḡar ismuh rabbēnū Iṣḡāq) wa-huwa bi-l-Quds ilā l-ān; Gil Nr.480r, 1f. (kitābī ...) min [al]-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.480r,12 (la-'alla yusallam al-ḡamī' li-sayyidī Abī Sa'īd Maḡlūf ibn 'Āzr[ō]n [abqāhu] Llāh) wa-huwa yunfidhum ilā l-Quds in ṣā'a Llāh; Gil Nr.480v,5 wa-l-Quds fīh rā'āb (al-qafiz al-qamḡ bi-talātat danānīr yaḡī bi-talāta wa-niṣf li-anna (I read li-annuh) turāb wa-ḡarbala Allāh yufarriḡ 'annā wa-'an aḡ-ḡu'afā); Gil Nr.482r,2 (kitābī ...) min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr. 482v,13f. (wa-afna as'ala)k tas'al sayyidī [A]bī l-Faraḡ Yōṣū'āh fī qalīl min al-qifār [mi]n al-Iskandarīya) li-anna fī l-[Quds laysa minn]uh (wa-huwa akbar 'aqār yaṣluḡ lī wa-yanfa'nī katīr); Gil Nr.483r,1f. (kitābī ...) [min al-Quds] 'amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.483r,1f. (yasluḡka fī dālik) li-an [wa]ṣal kitāb [...] min al-Quds; Gil Nr.484r,1f. (kitābī ...) min al-Quds 'ama' (read 'amaruh) Allāh; Gil Nr.485r,14 (wa-kān taqaddam kitābī ilayk 'aṭf kitāb al-ḡazzān al-Kāmikī bi-ta'rīḡ ēlūl ḡa'altuh 'aṭf kitāb aḡī ilayh wa-aḡad 'alayh yadfa'uh ilayk fīh ṣarḡ 'aḡīm) li-annī ḡasabtu an ya'ḡudak ṣahr tiṣrī fī l-Quds (yibbānāh bi-mḡērāh ḡattā 'arrafūnī annak lam talḡaq al-a'yād); Gil Nr.485v bottom margin,3 yaṣīl ilā*

*l-Quds yibbānāh bi-mhērāh*; **Gil Nr. 488r,1f.** (*kitābī ...*) [*min al*]-*Quds* ‘amaruh Allāh; **Gil Nr.488r,4f.** (*kitābī ...*) [*min al*]-*Quds* ‘amaruh Allāh ... wa-u‘limak min yawm wuṣūlī ilā l-[*Quds*] mā ra’aytu lak illā fard kitāb; **Gil Nr.490r,2-4** (*kitābī ...*) *min al-Quds al-mubārak darrakanā Llāh wa-iyayāk bināh wa-‘imāratuh bə-kāl Yisrā’īl* [sic] yawm a-ḡum‘a li-y baqīna min tēbēt ‘an ḥāl salāma wa-ni‘ma wa-ṣukr li-Llāh [*al-ladī*] darrakanī dālik al-waqt wa-dālik al-mušāhada al-ḡalīla [the view of Jerusalem]; **Gil Nr.493r,2** (*kitābī ...*) [*min al*]-[*Qu*]*ds*; **Gil Nr.496r,3f.** taqaddamat kutubī ilā mawlāya ‘idda nuhannih bi-mā tafaddal Allāh ma[ḡih] salāmatuh min al-Quds al-mubārak (*itqabbal Allāh minnuh du‘āh wa-ḡa‘al maḡih kappā[rāh] wa-sliḡāh wa-lā ḡayyab du‘āh*); **Gil Nr.497r,1** (*kitābī ...*) *min al-mustaqarr min al-Quds al-ma‘mūr*; **Gil Nr.499r,5f.** (*kuntu dakartu li-mawlāya amr ar-rubā‘īya l-latī waṣalat ilayya ma‘a rabbēnū Yiṣḡāq al-Andalusī ḡarasuh Allāh*) wa-ana mā kuntu aḡtār iḡābathā li-l-Quds ḡayr annuh ḡadā l-ladī qaḡā (*la-‘umrī mā kān murādūh illā l-ḡayr*; **Gil Nr.499r,14** (*wa-mā li wa-li-ḡayrī fī ḡādhī ad-diyār mimman huwa l-mušārik al-muhtabal bi-ḡawā’iḡ aṣḡiqāh wa-ana arḡab ilayh ḡarasuh Allāh li-yudabbir ḡālī fīḡā ka-mā yudabbir ḡāl nafsuh wa-lā talḡaqnī ḡādhī ḡādhī l-ḡasāra*) li-anna l-Quds al-ḡalīl mā na’kul illā wa-yu’kal minnī (*mā li fī l-balad fā’id wa-kull mā narā fī ḡaraka innamā ḡarraktuh ‘alayh*); **Gil Nr.500b v,29f.** (*wa-ana arḡab ilā mawlāya yaktub bi-faḡḡluh kitābuh li-sayyidī Abū l-Faraḡ Mardūk wa-yu’azzih ‘annī*) wa-yu’arrifuh anna mā ‘indī ‘ilm min dālik illā l-ān min al-mar’a Umm Baqā l-ladī talī‘at li-l-Quds (*wa-yalḡuf li mawlāya [fī] dālik bi-alḡāfuh ḡasab ‘awā’iduh*); **Gil Nr.500b v,32** (*wa-qad waṣalat kutub min mawlāya li-rabbēnū Aḡrāḡām ibn ar-rayyis Abū Sahl wa-afḡaytuhā min al-kutubī wa-anfadtuhā ilayh li-r-Ramla*) li-annuh lam yaḡla‘ li-l-Quds fī ḡādhī as-sana a’lamtuh dālik; **Gil Nr.501v,8f.** wa-‘ammak Abū Sahlān huwa ‘indnā fī l-Q’qds (*read fī l-Quds*) waḡi‘ (Allāh ta’ālā yaṣḡīh); **Gil 503r,31f.** (*maḡā bih li-r-Ramla yaṣḡarī ṣābūn nafaqa g dan[ā]nīr fī abkār li-l-fish*) wa-tali‘ li-l-Quds bi-lā ṣābūn (*qāl huwa ḡālī wa-‘ayyadnā l-fish wa-ḡaraḡnā min al-fish wa-lam yu’ḡīni ṣay*); **Gil Nr.503v,11f.** (*iqra’ kitābī ‘alā l-kabīra min awwaluh ilā āḡiruh*) wa-hiya tu’arrifak saḡāḡatuh wa-himmatuh wa-mā ‘āmltuh bih min awwal duḡūluh ilā l-Quds; **Gil Nr.503v,24f.** (*fā-lā yuraḡḡil li mawlāya ma’uh ṣay wa-lā ya’mal ma’uh kalām fī amrī ...*) wa-yatafaḡḡal mawlāya lā yu’arrifuh bi-ṣay min umūrī li-anna mā fī l-Quds al-yawm aḡarr ‘alayya minnuh; **Gil Nr.503v,30** (*fā-kāḡāhu Llāh ‘alā mā ‘āmalnī bih*) qad ṣār ma’ī fī l-Quds ka-annuh qaribī wa-nasibī aw ibn ‘ammī (*wa-lā kānat as-sā’a l-latī ‘araḡtuh wa-ḡtama’tu bih*); **Gil Nr.504r,1f.** (*katabtu ...*) *min al-Quds al-[mu]b[ā]rak*; **Gil Nr.504v,16f.** wa-baḡīnā fī r-Ramla ṣāḡr ‘alā l-farṣā wa-fī l-Quds aktar (*naḡūl bārūk ḡomēl lə-ḡayyāḡīm ḡōbōt*); **Gil Nr.505r,1f.** (*katabtu ...*) *min al-Quds al-ma‘mūr*; **Gil Nr.505r,4f.** (*wa-kuntu mu’ḡaqid an naḡīd lak ḡūnā kitāb li-natafarraḡ bih*) fā-mā waḡadtu lak ṣay lā fī ‘Asḡalān wa-lā fī r-Ramla wa-lā fī l-Quds (*fā-uḡibb minnak an lā tatrukni min kutubak*); **Gil Nr.509v left margin,1** al-Quds ‘amaruh Al[lāh]; **Gil Nr.510r,6f.** waradnī kitābuh al-‘azīz min al-Quds al-maḡrūs ma’ kitāb mawlāya ṣ-ṣayḡ marnū wə-rabbēnū Ṣim‘ōn ha-sōḡēr [... min] al-Lāḡiqīya; **Gil Nr.510r,16** wa-ana fī ḡāda l-waqt ḡālī‘an ilā l-Quds al-ma‘mūr; **Gil Nr.512r,3** (*kitābī ...*) *min al-Quds al-maḡrūs*; **Gil Nr.513r,1f.** (*kitābī ...*) *min al-Quds a[l]-ma‘mūr*; **Gil Nr.520,6.10f. 145** (*wa-katabtu ilayh muḡ 3 sinīn*) an yusallim ad-dan[ā]nīr li-rās matībat al-Quds ‘alā yadayk ... wa-katabtu kitāban ilā sayyidī Ēlī[yāhu] rās matībat al-Quds ḡawāb li-kitābuh al-wāṣil ‘alā yadayk (*ayyadaka Llāh ... wa-anfadtu l-ḡamī’ ilā ḡadratak al-ḡalīla lā ‘adimtak li-ta’nā bihā l-‘ināya l-aḡīra*) wa-tunfidhā ilā matībat al-Quds; **Gil Nr.521v,1f.** left column al-Quds in ṣā Allāh ‘azza wa-ḡalla; **Gil Nr.522v left margin,2** yaṣīl al-Quds in ṣā Allāh ‘azza wa-ḡalla; **Gil Nr.523v left margin,2** yaṣīl al-Quds in ṣā Allāh ‘azza wa-ḡalla; **Gil Nr.524r,2** (*kitābī ...*) [*min al*]-[*Qu*]*ds* ‘amaruh Allāh bi-baḡā[h]; **Gil Nr. 525r,22**; right margin,1 (*wa-dālik annuh nazalnā ilā r-Ramla wa-ḡtama’tu ma’uh*) wa-kān yaḡmūr wa-yataraddad ilā ‘Asḡalān wa-ilā [l-Quds] (*wa-yanzil ar-Ramla ...*) wa-ṣa’id al-Quds (*wa-nazal*); **Gil Nr.525v bottom left,3** (see Gil, Palestine 639) al-Quds al-mun‘amir Bāb al-Maḡāra; **Gil Nr.526r,16f.** (*wa-maṣaw ‘alā damī wa-dam [aw]lādī wa-taṣarrarū ‘alaynā wa-ḡubb Allāh [kān] ittaḡaq a[t]-ḡabīb ibn [...] al-Azḡar ḡalaṣnī wa-mā ankar ‘alayhim*) wa-lays yaḡsum al-mādda illā [...] tamma [Classical Arabic tamma] fī l-Quds; **Gil Nr. 527,8-10** (*wa-mā kān al-amr baynuh wa-baynī ḡādā*) a-lā kān qāl tukrī fī ilā l-Quds (*read tukrī fī l-Quds*) wa-ana ukriḡ lak min al-Quds ilā Ṣabariya (*qultu la-‘al yakūn tamma [Classical Arabic tamma] rāḡa*); **Gil Nr. 575,22f. 24f. 32f. 37f.**

(as-sulṭān ‘azza Llāhu naṣruḥ ...) fa-rağawtu [anna] ma‘ ‘adluḥ wa-ṣahāmatuḥ yaftaḥ Allāh ‘alā yadayh al-bilād wa-asīr ilā l-Quds āminan muṭma‘innan ... wa-lammā fataḥ Allāh ‘alā yadayh al-Quds al-mubārak fa-lam yatamādā l-ḥāl illā mudda yasīra lam yakun fihā zamān safar (wa-ṭalī‘at al-Ifranğ ...) fa-in naṣaranā Llāhu ‘alā yadayh wa-fataḥ al-Quds (wa-ka-dī ya[k]ūn) in šā’ Allāh fa-ana l-ladī lā albat [Classical Arabic lā albat] ‘an al-masīr ilayhā uṣāhidhā (wa-a‘ūd qāṣidan ilaykum in šā’ Allāh ... (fa-ana a‘ūd ‘alā kull wağḥ wa-sabab ma‘ al-ḥayāt) immā ba‘d naẓar al-Quds aw ba‘d al-yās min dālik (wa-kallā yakūn dālik); **Gil Nr. 593v,4** (wa-katabtu ḥādā l-kitāb ḥattā yakūn ma‘ak ‘ilm wa-min ḥayṭ waṣaltu ilā ‘Asqalān mā ḥadā [Classical Arabic mā hada’a] lī) wa-ana ruḥtu ilā l-Quds (wa-kuntu qad dafantu šay fī d-dār min qabl murūri ilā Miṣr wa-lam ağduḥ).

al-Quds "Jerusalem" is found in **Gil Nr. 1r,14-18** (fa-arsalū ilayhūm yaqūlū wa-kam yakūn ‘iddat al-qawm an-nāqilīn ilā l-Quds (fa-daḥalū ilā ‘Umar qālū luh wa-bi-kam ya’mūr amīr l-mu‘minīn bi-an yantaqilū ilā ḥadā l-balad min ṭā’ifat al-Yahūd); **Gil Nr. 80r,2** wa-‘arraftak kayf ġarā l-amr fī l-Quds wa-fī r-Ramla; **Gil Nr. 80r,29f.** wa-law lā ġamīl al-bārī lā maqām lī fī l-Quds; **Gil Nr. 80v,13f.** (fa-in kāna ḥadā fa-atyāhu fa-yuradd ‘alā aslāfuh l-ladī aḥrağū aqdās t[...]) ‘alā l-‘imāra l-bayt wa-dārayn b[...]) wa-sūq al-Quds (la-kānuh yatakallam ‘alā mā huwa ‘alayh min as-salāma wa-ğayruḥ fī l-balad; **Gil Nr. 115r,16-18** (wa-ams yawmī ḥadā waṣal al-qafaṣ wa-wazantu ‘alayh rūbā’ī mūḥaqqaq) wa-qad wağğahu bih ‘alā l-ğimāl ilā l-Quds wa-ana ġad yawmī ḥadā šā’ id ilā l-Quds in šā’ Allāh; **Gil Nr. 116r**, right margin, 1-11 ... ġamā’a min al-Quds li-an ṭalab an yakūn fih ḥaṭṭ sayyidi š-šəlīṣi wa-huwa fī l-Quds wa-ana fī ḥadā l-waq[t] bi-r-Ramla; **Gil Nr. 117r**, 15 wa-naḥnu wa-kull yahūdī fī l-Quds ‘arīfin bi-ṣiḥḥat al-mulk lahum; **Gil Nr. 139r,2** min al-Quds (‘amaruḥ Allāh wa-ğama‘ aš-šaml fih bi-mannih); **Gil Nr. 235r,2** min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 243r,1f.** [min] al-Quds al-ma’mūr bi-l-qurb in šā’ Allāh; **Gil Nr. 434r,1f.** (kitābī ...) min al-Quds [al-ma’mūr]; **Gil Nr. 440r,1** min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 441r,1** min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 444r,1** min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 444r,11** (wa-qadim bi-l-maḥḍar al-ladī ‘alā ibn Ġulayb [al-ladī kān katabuḥ] ‘alayh sayyidnā nṭ rḥ) wa-ilā l-ān lam yaṣil ilā l-Quds; **Gil Nr. 445r,1** min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 447r,1** min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 448r,12** wa-‘ind wuṣūlī l-Quds da’aytu lahum (Allāh yastağīb minnī šā[liḥ a[d]-du‘ā] li-mawlāya l-ḥābēr wa-li-kull ‘ōsāḥ ṭōbāḥ); **Gil Nr. 449r,1** min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 449r,19** (wa-in tağaddad šay) ... [bi-a]mr ad-dūkkān li-anna l-‘āmil bi-l-Quds bē-šārāḥ; **Gil Nr. 450r,16f.** 20 wa-fī ḥadā l-yawm ‘urriḥtu anna ibn ‘Allūn ū‘zil ‘an ūmalīyat al-Quds ... wa-anna ibn Mu‘ammar a[n]-Naṣrānī ‘āmil al-Quds ... wa-biṣanni’ū ‘indannā anna l-amīr Nağāḥ ad-dawla ya’ūd al-Quds (wa-huwā ka-mā ttaṣal bikūm min ḥāluḥ fa-in yakūn li-dālik ṣiḥḥā tu‘arriḥnī); **Gil Nr. 451r,1** min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 452r,10f.** 12 wa-qad anfadtu ma’a Marwān ibn Sūqayr min al-Quds qalil ġūbn lak yā sayyidi fī qūfayfa muḥayyaṭ (wa-sa’altuḥ infāduḥ min Saḥrağat ilā ‘indak yā sayyidi tu‘arriḥnī wuṣūluḥ ilayk) wa-fī yawmī ḥadā sār min al-Quds; **Gil Nr. 453r,10f.** 13.14-17.18f. (... aḥḍarū sādātī [š]-šuyūḥ mawlāya Abū l-Munağğā Muslim wa-mawlāya Abū Ġālib baqqāhūmu Llāh li-[š]-šayḥ Abū ‘Alī l-wakīl al-ma’rūf bi-Ibn a[š]-Sūfī wa-aṣār bi-ḥadā l-lafz bi-an tuqīmū wakīl immā l-Mu‘awwağ aw man ta‘alamū annūḥ nāḥiḍ fa-inna al-qāḍī a[t]-Tizī nāzīl [for ar-Ramla] wa-yaṣ‘ad [for Jerusalem] yawm al-itnayn fa-yakūn al-ḥiṭāb min al-wakīl fī mağlis mawlāya l-qāḍī Abū l-Mu‘allā adāma Llāh naṣruḥ) an qad ġarā fī qīṣṣat al-Yahūd bi-l-Quds tafrīṭ fī mā yata‘allaq bi-l-ḥiṣn (wa-‘arīf sayyidnā al-qāḍī anna šuhūd al-balad al-‘ādiliya küllhūm šuyūḥhūm wa-ṣabābhūm lam ya’rifū fī bābūḥ šay) wa-anna rağulayn rağībayn (read ġarībayn?) bi-l-ams waradā ilā l-Quds (fa-ṣahidū fī dālik bi-mā [š]-šuhūd aq‘ad bih ) fa-yastaṣraḥ [maw]lāya l-qāḍī adāma Llāh ‘izzūḥ min al-qāḍī l-muqīm bi-l-Quds ḥāl man šahid ‘indūḥ wa-man hūm wa-kayf ḥālūm wa-bi-mā-dā šahi[dū] ‘indūḥ (li-yu‘id lūḥ l-ğawāb ...) wa-yataqaddam al-qāḍī Abū l-Ma‘ālī adāma Llāh ‘ulāḥ ilā qāḍī l-Quds bi-mā fih al-kifāya; **Gil Nr. 457r**, 2f. (kitābī ilayk yā uḥṭi wa-ḥabibat qalbī aṭāl Allāh baqā’ik wa-awza’nī šukrik) wa-ağma‘ baynī wa-baynik fī ḥadā l-Quds al-muqaddas bi-raḥmatuḥ; **Gil Nr. 467r** top margin, 1-5 (min al-Quds ... wa-rabbēnū Yəḥūdāḥ [as]jal tu‘arriḥuḥ an katabtu ġawāb kitābuḥ wa-huwa qad ḥaraquḥ insān šayḥ mi-ḥnē ha-sakkānāḥ) wa-ḥaqq ḥadā l-Mawḍi‘ al-Muqaddas la-qad katabtuḥ wa-ḥaraquḥ) insān šayḥ; **Gil Nr. 525v** bottom margin left, 3 (see Gil, Palestine 639) al-Quds al-mun‘amir Bāb al-Mağāra.



aš-šarīf;<sup>2</sup> *al-Quds al-mubārak*<sup>3</sup> with the nisba *Qudsī*;<sup>4</sup> the expression may even, when used for the city, be followed by the wish, related to the Temple (the ḤARAM), that it soon be rebuilt.<sup>5</sup> The ḤARAM is meant by

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.490r,9f.** *wa-qad wašaltu yā mawlāya ilā Quds sālim fī l-ʿāfiya fī ġimsī* (read *fī ġismi*) (*baʿd mašaqqa ʿaẓīma wa-talġ aḥaḍnā fī t-ṭariq*).

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.298r,5-7** *wa-ʿan šawq lahumā šadīd ġiddan wa-ilā naẓarhumā wa-muṣṣahadathumā wa-huwa l-masūl ġalla wa-ʿazza fī qurb al-iġtimāʿ bihimā fī hādā l-Quds aš-šarīf ʿalā asarr ḥāl bi-mannuh wa-kara[mu]h*; **Gil Nr.298r,7-9** (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ġalla surʿat al-istiġāba bimā ana mu-wāsilhumā min al-adʿiy[ya] ṣ-ṣāliḥa fī hādā l-Quds aš-šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl yeqarrēb šiklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū*; **Gil Nr.299r,2** *min al-Quds aš-šarīf ḥarasuh Allāh wa-ʿamaruh fī ayyāmuh*; **Gil Nr.299r,7f.** *wa-asaluh ġalla wa-ʿazza an yastaġīb kull daʿwa ṣāliḥa l-latī ana dāʿihā li-mawlāya ṣ-ṣayḥ fī hādā l-Quds aš-šarīf innuh waliy al-iġāba*; **Gil Nr.301,2f.** 7-9.12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *min al-mustaqarr al-Quds aš-šarīf (ḥarasuh Allāh wa-ʿamaruh bi-baqāyuh ...) wa-asaluh ġalla smuh bi-l-minna bi-stiġābat mā ana muwāsiluh li-mawlāya ṣ-ṣayḥ min al-adʿiyya ṣ-ṣāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-šarī f quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ... wa-sababuh inqitāʿuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-talabuh mā yardīh taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā ṣ-ṣalāt fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl (ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōlō b-īmēnū b-ḥayyay wə-ʿal yedē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ġādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū).*

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.298r,25f.** (*fā-asal Allāh yuṭīl baqāhumā wa-an yuḍīm salāmāthumā [wa-an yastaġīb] minnī fihimā kull daʿwa ṣāliḥa wa-fī kull muḥsin*) *mimman yuʿinnī ʿalā l-maqām fī hādā l-Quds al-mubārak wa-ʿalā mā yardīh Allāh taʿālā fih*; **Gil Nr.298r,33-35** *wa-dakarā fī kitābhūmā ha-Ēl yirbāh kəḥūdām annahūmā yaʿzimā l-maġī ilā hādā l-Quds al-mubārak maʿ aq[wā]m uḥar maʿhum*; **Gil Nr.299r,6f.** (*Allāh ... wa-qarraba l-iġtimāʿ baynnā fī hād[ā] l-Quds al-mubārak ʿalā asarr ḥāl bi-mannuh wa-karamuh*; **Gil Nr.301,37f.** (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *asal Allāh iṣmāluh fih wa-fī kull muḥsin kull daʿwa ṣāliḥa fī hādā l-Quds al-mubārak (innuh waliy al-iġāba)*; **Gil Nr.490r,3f.** (*kitābī ... min al-Quds al-mubārak darraknā Llāh wa-iyṣāk bināh wa-īmāratuh bə-kāl Yisrāʾīl* [sic] *yawm a-ġumʿa li-y baqīna min tēbēt ʿan ḥāl salāma wa-niʿma wa-šukr li-Llāh [al-ladī] darraknī dālik al-waqt wa-dālik al-muṣṣahada al-ġalīla* [the view of Jerusalem]).

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.211,8** *wa-lammā kān fī hādā l-waqt ittafaq annī ġtamaʿtu [ma]ʿ ʿĀzrāh al-ḥazzān al-Qudsī ayyaduh Allāh.*

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.139r,2** *min al-Quds (ʿamaruh Allāh wa-ġamaʿ aš-šaml fih bi-mannih)*; **Gil Nr.237r,3** [*min al-Quds ʿama]ruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.243r,1f.** [*min*] *al-Quds al-maʿmūr bi-l-qurb in šāʾ Allāh*; **Gil Nr.525v** bottom (see Gil, *Palestine* 639) margin left,3 *al-Quds al-munʿamir Bāb al-Maġāra*; **Gil Nr.289r,3** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh [Allāh] bi-tūl baqā mawlāya ṣ-ṣayḥ*; **Gil Nr.290r,3f.** (*aṭāl Allāh baqāk wa-adām salāmatak ...*) *wa-ġamaʿ baynnā fī hādā l-Quds [al-maʿ]m[ūr]*; **Gil Nr.292r,10.13-15** (*wa-aqlaʿtu āḥar tiš[r]i urid li-Lādiqli li-Lādiqiya* (read *urī d li-Lādiqiya*)) *fa-āmēn ašrafnā ʿalā ġabal al-Quds (wa-kān maʿī raġul min ahl Fās fa-zatt li-ṣāḥib al-markab šikarat ruqūq wa-l-ġirāb matāʿ al-mā wa-nazaltu l-Yāfa wa-ṭaliʿtu ilā r-Ramla layl rōš ḥodāš Marḥāšwān ...)* *wa-ṭaliʿtu l-Quds al-maʿmūr ... laylat rōš ḥodāš Kislēwī* (read *Kislēw*) *wa-qumtu fī l-Quds ilā niṣf tēbēt*; **Gil Nr.299r,2** *min al-Quds aš-šarīf ḥarasuh Allāh wa-ʿamaruh fī ayyāmuh*; **Gil Nr.301,2f.** 12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *min al-mustaqarr al-Quds aš-šarīf (ḥarasuh Allāh wa-ʿamaruh bi-baqāyuh ...) wa-sababuh inqitāʿuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-talabuh mā yardīh taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā ṣ-ṣalāt fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl (ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōlō b-īmēnū b-ḥayyay wə-ʿal yedē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ġādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū)*; **Gil Nr.350,2** *wa-qad katabtu ilā l-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.434r,1f.** (*kitābī ...*) *min al-Quds [al-maʿ]m[ūr]*; **Gil Nr.458r,3** *min al-Quds (ʿamaruh Allāh)*; **Gil Nr.463r,1f.** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.464r,2** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.465r,2** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.466r,1** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.467r,2** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.468r,1** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.469r,2** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.470r,1** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Al[lāh]*; **Gil Nr.471r,1f.** *min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh*; **Gil Nr.472r,1f.** [*min al*]-*Quds*

Marwānid *al-Quds* (B014.1), High ‘Abbāsid Muslim *al-Quds* (B052.1), Fāṭimid Muslim *\*Masğid al-Quds* and *al-Quds* (B131.1), and Fāṭimid Jewish *al-Quds*, *Quds Allāh*, *al-Quds aš-šarīf* and *al-Quds al-ma‘mūr* (B131.3). The term may, in one and the same passage, be used for the city and the ḤARAM.<sup>1</sup>

B014.1.b. Some manuscripts have *Bayt al-Muqaddas* instead of *Bayt al-Maqdis*. To have spelling be consistent, throughout this book, *Bayt al-Muqaddas* has been corrected into *\*Bayt al-Maqdis* - only the name of the well-known geographer **al-Muqaddasī** has been maintained.

**B014.2. Names (Christian):** The mosque of the Muslims which is in Jerusalem (*masğid al-Muslimīn al-ladī fī Bayt al-Maqdis*, Armenian *lieu de prières*), the mosque which is in the Temple (Armenian *dans le Temple*) (B014.10), the mosque of Jerusalem (τὸ μασιγίδιον *‘Ie-roso-lū-mōn*) (B014.6); the Capitol (τὸ Καπιτόλιον);<sup>2</sup> the Temple of God (*Ναὸς Θεοῦ*).<sup>3</sup>

B014.2. **Anastasios Sinaïtes C3**'s *Ναὸς Θεοῦ* has been referred to as the Dome of the Rock,<sup>4</sup> but obviously refers to the whole area.

---

*‘amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.473r,2 [min al-Quds] ‘amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.479r,2 min al-Quds ‘amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.480r,1f. (kitābī ...) min [al]-Quds ‘amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.482r,2 (kitābī ...) min al-Quds ‘amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.483r,1f. (kitābī ...) [min al-Quds] [amaru]h Allāh; Gil Nr.484r,1f. (kitābī ...) min al-Quds ‘M’ (read ‘amaruh) Allāh; Gil Nr.485r,14 (wa-kān taqaddam kitābī ilayk ‘aṭf kitāb al-ḥazzān al-Kāmikī bi-ta’rīḥ ēlūl ḡa’altuh ‘aṭf kitāb aḥī ilayh wa-aḥad ‘alayh yadfa’uh ilayk fīh šarḥ ‘aẓīm) li-annī ḥasabtu an ya’ḥudak šahr tišrī fī l-Quds (yibbānāh bi-mhērāh ḥattā ‘arraḥūnī annak lam talḥaq al-a’yād); Gil Nr.485v bottom,3 yašīl ilā l-Quds yibbānāh bi-mhērāh; Gil Nr.488r,1f. (kitābī ...) [min al]-Quds ‘amaruh Allāh; Gil Nr.488r,4f. (kitābī ... [min al]-Quds ‘amaruh Allāh ...) wa-u’limak min yawm wuṣūlī ilā l-[Quds] mā ra’aytu lak illā fard kitāb; Gil Nr.490r,2 (kitābī ...) min al-Quds al-mubārak darraknā Llāh wa-īyyāk bināhu wa-‘imāratuh bə-kāl Yisrā’īl [sic]; Gil Nr.497r,1 (kitābī ...) min al-mustaḡarr min al-Quds al-ma‘mūr; Gil Nr.505r,1f. (katabtu ...) min al-Quds al-ma‘mūr; Gil Nr.510r,16 wa-ana fī ḥādā l-waqt ṭālī’an ilā l-Quds al-ma‘mūr; Gil Nr.513r,1f. (kitābī ...) min al-Quds al-[l]-ma‘mūr; Gil Nr.524r,2 (kitābī ...) [min al]-Qu[ds] ‘amaruh Allāh bi-baqā[h]; Gil Nr.525v bottom left,3 (see Gil, *Palestine* 639) al-Qūds al-mun‘amīr Bāb al-Mağāra.*

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.1r,3f. 9f. 14-18; v,12f.** (*Ūmar ...*) *tumma innuh amarhum bi-kans al-Qūds wa-tanzīfuh ... fa-amar bi-an yubnā sūr al-Qūds ... (fa-arsalū ilayhūm [to the Jews]) yaqūlū wa-kam yakūn ‘iddat al-qawm an-nāqilīn ilā l-Qūds (fa-daḥalū ilā Ūmar qālū luh wa-bi-kam ya’mūr amīr l-mu’mīnīn bi-an yantaqilū ilā ḥādā l-balad min ṭā’ifat al-Yahūd) ... tumma innuh qāl ayn tuḥibbū taskunū fī l-balad fa-qālū ḡanūbīy al-balad wa-huwa Sūq al-Yahūd) wa-kān min ṭalabhum qurb al-Qūds wa-abwābuh; Gil Nr.575,33.37f. (as-sultān [the Fāṭimid caliph] ‘azza Llāh naṣruḥ ... fa-in naṣaranā Llāh ‘alā yadayh wa-fataḥ al-Quds wa-ka-dī ya[k]ūn in šā’ Allāh) fa-ana l-ladī lā albat [Classical Arabic lā albat] ‘an al-masīr ilayhā ušāhidhā (wa-a’ūd qāsidan ilaykum in šā’ Allāh ... fa-ana a’ūd ‘alā kull waḡh wa-sabab ma’ al-ḥayāt) immā ba’d naẓar al-Quds aw ba’d al-yās min dālik (wa-kallā yakūn dālik).*

<sup>2</sup>**Anastasios Sinaïtes C3,2f.** *Πρὸ τούτων τῶν τριάκοντα χρόνων ᾠκησα ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν ὅτε τὸ Καπιτόλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἐξεχοίετο.*

For the term Capitol used for the area of the former Temple, see B001.1.

<sup>3</sup>**Anastasios Sinaïtes C3,17-19** *Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἐσκόπησα ἐντάξει διὰ τοὺς νομίζοντας καὶ λέγοντας Ναὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν νῦν κτιζόμενον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Πῶς γὰρ κτισθήσεται Ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ.*

<sup>4</sup>Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 30.

**B014.3. Names (Jewish):** The Temple (*ha-Bayit*),<sup>1</sup> the Temple of God the God of Israel (*Bēt ʿĀlōhē Yisrāʾēl*).<sup>2</sup>

**B014.4. Position:** People working on the Capitol (τὸ Καπιτόλιον) may be heard by people living both on the Mount of Olives (εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν) and at the church [of Mary] at Gethsemane (ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Γεθσημανί).<sup>3</sup> This sanctuary (*bayt*) is in the upper part of Jerusalem (*bi-aʿlā ʿĪliyā*).<sup>4</sup> This is the ḤARAM.

**B014.5. Physical shape:** This is a (Friday) mosque (*ḡāmiʿ*,<sup>5</sup> *masḡid*<sup>6</sup>). It measures [from

<sup>1</sup>**Apocalypse Lévi** 2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 24) (*wa-yimlōk taḥtāw Muʿāwiyāh bān Abī Sāpūn*) *w-Adōnay yəʿārēr āt ləḥābō wa-yibnāh āt ḥōmōt ha-Bayit*.

<sup>2</sup>**Apocalypse Lévi** 10f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 92; Elad, *Jerusalem* 24) (*Muʿāwiyāh bān Yazīd ... wə-ba-yōm tiḥzaq ha-mamlākāh ʿal šənayim wa-yāḥōʾ iš mi-Bnē Kēdār wa-mē-yōšʿē ḥʾlāšāw yaʿmod mālāk wa-yḥi d' bānim yōšbī m lō ʿal kissē maləḵūtō wa-yāʾsōp bənō ha-bān ha-ʿōmēd taḥtāw kāsāp wə-zāḥāb ... wə-gam hūʾ yimmēn dārāk Yərūšālayīm*) *wa-yibnāh āt Bēt Adōnay ʿĀlōhē Yisrāʾēl (... wə-šəmo ʿAbd al-Maʿliḵ bān Marwān wa-yimlōk taḥtāw Wilīd bān Marwān)*.

<sup>3</sup>**Anastasios Sinaïtes C3,2-16** Πρὸ τούτων τῶν τριάκοντα χρόνων ᾤκησα ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν ὅτε τὸ Καπιτόλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἐξεχοῖζετο. Ἐν μία οὖν ἀνέστην τῇ νυκτὶ πρὸ τριῶν ὥρων τοῦ κροῦσαι τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀκούω ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ τῷ ἐκχοιζομένῳ ὡς ἤχον λαοῦ πολλοῦ κάμνοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος καὶ κρᾶζοντος καὶ τὸ πλήθος τοῦ χόματος ρίπτοντος διὰ τοῦ τείχους. Ἐδόκου οὖν ἐγὼ τὸν λαὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι τὸν κάμνοντα καὶ ὥσανει ἐθλιβόμεν ὡς μηδὲ νυκτὸς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀνάπαυσιν. Ἐν ὅσῳ οὖν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις λογισμοῖς ἀδολεσχῶν (read ἀδολεσχοῦν) ἔκραξεν ὁ ξυλοκρούστης τῆς ἀγίας Ἀναστάσεως τὸ Κύριε ἐυλόγησον ὅπως σημάνη τὸ ξύλον. Κακείνου κρᾶξαντος, ἐυθέως ὁ μὲν θόρυβος ὃν ἤκουον ἡσύχασεν καὶ αἱ φωναὶ ἐπαύσαντο σιγῇ δὲ πολλῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ γέγονεν. ... Καὶ γὰρ πρῶτῳ κατελθόντος μου ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ διηγουμένου μου τὸ πρᾶγμα τισι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Γεθσημανί κατοικοῦντων ἡσρον καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ἀκηκοότας καὶ διηγουμένους.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Farazdaq Nr. 61.15:** 571,15 (see Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out" 182; Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb" 56f.) *wa-baytāni baytu Llāhi naḥnu wulātuhū / wa-baytun bi-aʿlā ʿĪliyāʾa mušarraḫū*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr. 47:** 61,16-62,2 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hāḏā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfatī ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-kāna lahu mina ḥadami l-Yahūdi lā yuʾḥadu minhu ḡizyatun* (read *mina l-ḥadami l-Yahūdi l-laḏīna lā yuʾḥadu minhum ḡizyatun*) *ʿašaratu riḡālin WBWʾLDWʾ* (read *wa-tawālādū*) *fa-šārū ʿišrīna raḡulan li-kansi awsāḥi n-nāsi fī l-mawāsīmi wa-š-šitāʾi wa-š-šayfi wa-li-kansi l-maṭāhiri l-laḏī* (read *l-latī*) *ḥawla l-ḡāmiʿi*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr. 19:** 17,3-5 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) (... *anna Kaʿban qadima ʿĪliyāʾa marratan mina l-mirāri*) *fa-rašā ḥabran min aḥbārīn Yahūdīn biḏʿata ʿašara dīnāran ʿalā an dallahu ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī qāma ʿalayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ḥīna farīga min bināʾi l-masḡidi* (*wa-hiya mimmā yalī nāḥiyata Bābi l-Asbāṭi*) = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr. 158:** 129,5-7 (... *anna Kaʿban qadima ʿĪliyāʾa marratan mina l-mirāri*) *fa-rašā* (read *fa-rašā*) *ḥibran min aḥbārīn Yahūdīn biḏʿata ʿašara dīnār* (read *dīnāran*) *ʿalā an dallahu ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī qāma ʿalayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ʿalayhimā s-salāmu yawma farīga min bināʾi l-masḡidi* (*wa-hiya mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi*); **al-Wāsiṭi Nr. 56:** 41,2-4 (transl. van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 89; see Busse, "Sanctity" 456f.) *qudsu l-arḏi š-Šaʿmu wa-qudsu š-Šaʿmi Filastīnu wa-qudsu Filastīna Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-qudsu Bayti l-Maqdisi l-ḡābali wa-qudsu l-ḡābali l-masḡidu wa-qudsu l-masḡidi* (I read *wa-qudsu l-ḡābali l-qubbatu*, thus also Ibn al-

Muraġġà; Hasson, Busse and van Ess read *wa-qudsu l-ġabali l-masġidu wa-qudsu l-masġidi l-qubbatu*) = **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.136**: 115,14f. *qudsu l-arđi š-Ša'mu wa-qudsu š-Ša'mi Filastīnu wa-qudsu Filastīna Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-qudsu Bayti l-Maqdisi l-ġabalu wa-qudsu l-ġabali l-qubbatu*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.63**: 45,11-46,1 ... *anna 'Umara qāla ayna naḍa'u masġida l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masġidi qāla fa-qāla Ka'bun fī mu'ahharihi qāla kallā lanā muqaddamu l-masāġidi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.162**: 131,6-8 ... *anna 'Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu qāla li-Ka'bin fa-ayna tarā lanā an naġ'ala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masġidi fa-qāla fī mu'ahharihi mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masġidi qāla fa-maḍā ilā muqaddamihi*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.96**: 61,3-5 (... *anna Ka'ba l-Aḥbāra kāna idā ḥaraġa min Ḥimṣa yuridu š-šalāta fī masġidi Īliyā'a* ...) *tumma yuġammi'a fī l-masġidi ḥamsa ṣalawātin ... qāla li-annī aġidu fī ba'ḍi l-kutubi anna l-ḥasanāti tuḍā'afu fī hādā l-masġidi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.312**: 214,12-15 (... *anna Ka'ba l-Aḥbāra idā ḥaraġa min Ḥimṣa yurida š-šalāta fī masġidi Īliyā'a* ...) *tumma NḤM'* (read *yaġma'u*) *fī l-masġidi ḥamsa ṣalawātin ... qāla li-annī aġidu fī ba'ḍi l-kutubi anna l-ḥasanāti tuḍā'afu fī hādā l-masġidi*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.133**: 79,11 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ḍamratu 'an Rustama l-Fārisīyi qāla* ...) *fa-ataytu l-masġida* (... *fa-ḥaraġa ilayya ba'ḍu ḥarasi š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]) = **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.139**: 117,14 (... *anba'anā Ḍamratu 'an Rustama l-Fārisīyi wa-qāla* (read *qāla* ...) *fa-ataytu l-masġida* (... *fa-ḥaraġa ilayya ba'ḍu ḥarasi š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]); ; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.134**: 79,18 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... qāla lammā kānat laylatu r-Raġfati utītu* ...) *fa-tawaḍḍa'tu tumma ataytu l-masġida* = **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.140**: 118,3f. (... *anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... qāla*) *lammā kāna* (read *kānat*, thus *al-Wāsiṭi*) *laylatu r-Raġfati utītu* ...) *fa-tawaḍḍa'tu tumma ataytu l-masġida*; **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.37**: 51,12f. (transl. Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99-104; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 15) (... *anna 'Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu qāla li-biṭriqihā dullinī 'alā Masġidi Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu ... fa-nṭlaqa ilā Masġidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā ntahā bihi ilā bābihi l-laḍi yuqālu lahu Bāba Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*) *wa-qadi nḥadara mā fī l-masġidi mina l-mazbalati 'alā daraġi l-bābi ḥattā ḥaraġa ilā z-zuqāqi l-laḍi fīhi l-bābu*; **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.38**: 52,2f. (see Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91; Livne-Kafri, "Early Ši'a" 116) *qāla qayṣaru ḥina qara'a kitāba Rasūli Llāhi 'alayhi wa-sallama* (read *ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*) *innakum yā ma'sara r-Rūmi la-ḥaliqan an yuytalū* (read *la-ḥaliqun an tuqtalū*) *'alā hādīhi l-mazbalati mimma ntahaktum min ḥurmati hādā l-masġidi* (*ka-mā qutilat Banū Isrā'ila 'alā dami Yahyā bni Zakariyā 'alayhimā s-salāmu*); **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.39**: 53,2-4 *fa-qāla 'Umaru li-Ka'bin ayna tarā an taġ'ala* (read *naġ'ala*) *l-masġida qāla ġ'alhu ḥalfa š-Šaḥrati fa-taġma'i l-qiblatayni Qiblata Mūsā wa-Qiblata Muḥammadin ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhim* (read *'alayhimā*) *fa-qāla qāhayta l-Yahūdīyata wa-Llāhi yā Abā Ishāqa ḥayru l-masġidi muqaddamuhā fa-banāhu muqaddama l-masġidi*; **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.42**: 55,4-7 (transl. partly Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29) (*lammā qadima 'Umaru raḥimahu Llāhu ta'ālā li-Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Bayta l-Maqdisi*) ...) *fa-lammā stawā fī l-masġidi naẓara yamīnan wa-šimālan tumma qāla hādā wa-l-laḍi lā ilāha illā huwa Masġidu Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu ... tumma anā* (read *atā*) *ġarbiya l-masġidi qāla ttaḥidū li-l-Muslimīna hāhunā masġidan yuṣallūna fīhi*; **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.47**: 62,7-9 *wa-tūlu l-masġidi sab'u mi'ati dirā'in wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna dirā'an bi-dirā'i l-maliki wa-arḍuhu arba'u mi'ati dirā'in wa-ḥamsatun wa-sittūna dirā'an* (I read *wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna dirā'an*) *bi-dirā'i l-maliki ayḍan*; **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.246**: 174,7f. (... *anba'anā Yazīdu bnu š-Šimāṭi* (read *Yazīdu bnu š-Šimṭi*) *qāla ḥaraġtu ma'a l-Awzā'iyyi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ... tumma 'N'* (read *atā*; Livne-Kafri reads *atā*) *ḡubban min dālika l-ġibābi* (read *min tilka l-ġibābi*) *fa-staqā dalwan min mā'in fa-tawaḍḍa'a qāla*) *fa-ġā'a nāsun fa-qālū lahu yā šayḥu ttaqi Llāha a-tatawaḍḍa'u fī l-masġidi*; **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.247**: 175,6 (... *Abū Sa'īdin raġulun min ahli l-Iskandariyati qāla kuntu ataytu* (Livne-Kafri reads *abaytu*) *fī masġidi baytin* (read *fī masġidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ...) *fa-naẓartu fa-lam ara fī l-masġidi mutahaġġidan*; **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.387**: 254,4f. (*tuftaḥu Ġahannumu min hādā l-wādi ya'nī Wādiya Ġahannuma*) *wa-tuftaḥu l-Ġannatu mina l-masġidi ya'nī Masġida Bayti l-Maqdisi*. Cf. **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.5**: 14,12-14 (*lammā tāba Llāhu 'alā Dāwūda ... wa-ṣalaḥat umūru Banī Isrā'ila* ...) *qāla innī lā a'lamu amran ablaġa fī šukrikum min binā'i masġidin 'alā hādā š-ša'īdi l-laḍi raḥimakumu Llāhu 'alayhi*

north to south and from east to west] 784 by 455 king's ells (*dirā' al-malik*) (521.36 by 302.58 m). Dimensions are apparently officially given by an inscription (B015.2). The whole area has 600 marble columns (sing. *'amūd*) in addition to the pillars (*\*asāṭīn*).<sup>1</sup>

B014.5.a. The terminology is ambiguous. Both the whole ḤARAM and the building in its south (B048.1) are called *masğid* "prayer-place, mosque". The two meanings are even used together.<sup>2</sup>

**B014.6. Contemporary events:** In *Ramaḍān* 65/11 April-10 May 685, the people in Jerusalem (*bi-Īliyā'a*) show allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik (Umayyad caliph 65-86/685-705) as caliph;<sup>3</sup> 'Abd al-Malik builds the Temple of God the God of Israel (*Bēt Ālōhē Yisrā'ēl*);<sup>4</sup> he

*fa-yubannihi* (read *fa-nubannihi*) *masğidan ya'budu Llāha 'azza wa-ğalla fihi wa-nuqaddisu* (Livne-Kafri reads *wa-tuqaddisu*) *fihi antum wa-man ba'dakum qālū naf'alu*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.13**: 20,7 (*inna Llāha ta'ālā awḥā ilā Sulaymāna ...*) *wa-aḥḍa fi binā'i l-masğidi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.27**: 36,13-16 (*... anna Sulaymāna bna Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu lammā qabaḍahu Llāhu ta'ālā ilayhi ḥalafa min ba'dihi riğālun min wuldihi ... ḥattā ḥalafa ba'dahum min wuldi Sulaymāna* (read *rağulun min wuldi Sulaymāna*) *'alayhi s-salāmu ... qāla*) *banā ḡaddi Dāwūdu wa-abī Sulaymānu masğidan fa-mā lī lā abnī masğidan miṭla mā banaw ... fa-banā* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-banā*) *masğidan yuḍāhi Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *yuḍāhi bihi Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *... wa-aḥraba masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ḥağarahu*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46**: 58,2-6 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 115; see Elad, *Jerusalem* 42 n. 90; 114f.; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 4; 4f. n. 27) *inna l-Bāba n-Nuḥāsa l-laḍi fi l-masğidi bāba l-ḥamali l-awsaṭi* (I read *bāba l-ğamali l-awsaṭi*; thus also Elad) *huwa min matā'i Kisrā wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsi l-laḍi* (read *al-laḍayni*) *'alā bābayi l-masğidi Bābu Dāwūda ... wa-l-bābu l-laḍi yu'rafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun huwa l-bābu l-laḍi kāna bi-Ariḥā lammā ḥaribat nuqila l-bābu ilā l-masğidi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.169**: 137,4f. (*qāla Muqātilun wa-kāna Zakariyā huwa l-ḥibru l-kabīru ...*) *fa-baynā huwa qā'imun ḍāta yawmin yuṣallī wa-n-nāsu yantaḏirūna an ya'ḍana lahum fi d-duḥūli wa-huwa qawluhu 'qā'imun yuṣallī fi l-miḥrābi'* (**Koran** 3.39) *ya'ni fi l-masğidi ...*; **aṭ-Ṭabari, Ta'rīḫ** I 2408,9f. (transl. Busse, "Omar's Image" 165f.; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 100; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 83f.; Busse, "Omar's Image" 165-168; Gil, *Palestine* 66; Elad, *Jerusalem* 157) *lammā šaḥaša 'Umaru mina l-Ġābiyati ilā Īliyā'a fa-danā min bābi l-masğidi qāla rquḇū lī Ka'ban (fa-lammā nfaraqa bihi qāla labbayka Llāhumma bi-mā huwa aḥabbu ilayka).*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47**: 61,3f. (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hāḍā mā kāna yuf'alu bihā fi ḥilāfati 'Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *ḍālika l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fi ḍālika l-waqti*) *... wa-fihi ...*) *wa-mīna l-'umudi sittumi'ati 'amūdin ruḥāmin siwā l-ābāti* (I read *siwā l-asāṭīna*).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.63**: 45,11-46,1 *... anna 'Umara qāla ayna naḍa'u masğida l-Muslimīna min hāḍā l-masğidi qāla fa-qāla Ka'bun fi mu'aḥḥarihi qāla kallā lanā muqaddamu l-masāğidi = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.162: 131,6-8 *... anna 'Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiyya Llāhu 'anhu qāla li-Ka'bin fa-ayna tarā lanā an nağ'ala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hāḍā l-masğidi fa-qāla fi mu'aḥḥarihi mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāti qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masğidi qāla fa-maḍā ilā muqaddamihi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.42**: 55,4-7 (transl. partly Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29) (*lammā qadima 'Umaru raḥimahu Llāhu ta'ālā li-Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Bayta l-Maqdisi*) *...*) *fa-lammā stawā fi l-masğidi naẓara yamīnan wa-šimālan tumma qāla hāḍā wa-l-laḍi lā ilāha illā huwa Masğidu Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu ... tumma anā* (read *atā*) *ğarbiyya l-masğidi qāla ttaḥiḍū li-l-Muslimīna hāhunā masğidan yuṣallūna fihi.**

<sup>3</sup>**Ḥalīfa, Ṭabaqāt** 1 329 (quoted in Elad, *Jerusalem* 24 n. 10) *tumma tuwuffiyya* [Marwān b. al-Ḥakam] *fi mustahalli ramaḍāna wa-stuḥlifa amīru l-mu'minīna 'Abdu l-Maliki bi-Īliyā'a fi šahri ramaḍāna.*

<sup>4</sup>**Apocalypse Lévi** 10f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 92; Elad, *Jerusalem* 24) (*Mu'āwiyāh bān Yazīd ... wə-ba-yōm tiḥzaq ha-mamlākāḥ 'al šənayim wa-yāḇō' iṣ mi-Bnē Kēdār wa-mē-yōṣ'ē ḥ<sup>a</sup>lāšāw ya<sup>a</sup>mod mālāk wa-yḥi d' bānim yōšbi*

builds the Mosque of the Temple (*Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis*) in the 70s/689-699, spends on it the tax of Egypt (*ḥarāğ Mişr*) of seven years, covers the dome with gilded copper tiles each carrying 7.5 *mitqāl* (31.86 g) of gold and pays 100,000 *mitqāl* (425 kg) of gold [i.e., 100,000 *dīnār*] for the embellishment of the top of the columns (*ra's al-a'mida*) [for the arcade];<sup>1</sup> he buys for it 300 servants to be in charge of the mosque (*ḥadam qawwām bi-l-masğid*), with the Fifth of the Treasury (*min ḥums Bayt al-Māl*) [and so owned by the Muslim state], who do most of the common work;<sup>2</sup> one day, 'Abd al-Malik sits with Umm ad-Dardā' in the Dome of the Rock (*aş-Şahra*), when the evening prayer is called (*idā nūdiya l-mağrib*), he goes with Umm ad-Dardā' leaning on him to the mosque (*al-masğid*) and she sits down with the people and he goes to the Standing-place (*al-Maqām*) and leads the ritual prayer of the people (*ṣallā bi-n-nās*).<sup>3</sup> In the time of **al-Walīd** (Umayyad caliph 86-96/701-715), workers and craftsmen are sent from Egypt to work in the mosque of Jerusalem (τὸ μασγίδιον 'Ie-

---

*m lō 'al kissē maləkūtō wa-yā'sōp bēnō ha-bān ha-ōmēd tahtāw kāsāp wə-zāhāb ... wə-gam hū' yimmēn dārāk Yērūšālayīm wa-yibnāh āt Bēt Adōnay 'Ālōhē Yisrā'ēl (... wə-šēmō 'Abd al-Ma[li]k bān Marwān wa-yimlōk tahtāw Wilīd bān Marwān).*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīḥ** 132,22-133,3: 387 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 44f. n. 99) (*qāla š-Ša'bīyu ... qāla*) *wa-banā 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi fī sab'ina mina t-ta'rīḥi wa-ḥawwala ilā bunyānihi ḥarāga Mişra sab'a sinīna wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī 'alā ş-Şahrati wa-ğā'ala 'alā l-ḥābi'ati l-latī fī a'lā l-qubbati ṭamāniyata ālāfi ṣaḥīfatin min nuḥāsīn maṭliyatīn bi-d-ḡahabi fī kulli ṣaḥīfatin sab'atu maṭāqila ḡahaban wa-niṣfu mitqālīn wa-afrağa 'alā ra'si l-a'midati mi'ata alfi mitqālīn ḡahabin.*

Cf. **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.138**: 86,3 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25) (*aşāra Ka'buni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī t-Tawrāti 'YSRW' 'WMLYL'M* (read *Īrūšālāyīm*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ş-Şahratu yuqālu lahu l-haykala*) *ab'ātu ilayki 'abdi 'Abda l-Maliki yabniki wa-yuzaḥrifuki* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.50**: 64,1 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 162f.; partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25) (*ağāba* (read *aşāba*) *Ka'buni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī ba'ḍi l-kutubi 'SRWSL'YM* (read *Īrūšālāyīm*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ş-Şahratu wa-yuqālu lahā l-haykala*) *ab'ātu ilayki 'abdi 'Abda l-Maliki yabniki wa-yuzaḥrifuki* (*wa-la-aruddanna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi malikahā l-awwala* (Elad and Busse read *mulkahā l-awwala*) *wa-la-ukallilannahu* (Elad and Busse read *wa-la-ukallilannahā*) *bi-d-ḡahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati wa-l-marğāni wa-la-ab'atanna ilayki ḡalqī wa-la-aḡa'anna* (Elad reads *wa-la-aşna'anna*) *'alā ş-Şahrati 'Arši wa-ana Llāhu r-rabbu wa-Dāwūdu maliku Banī Isrā'īla*).

For the Marwānid rebuilding of the area, in general, see A071.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47**: 61,11f. (*aş-Şahrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf'alu bihā fī ḥilāfati 'Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *ḡālīka l-waḡta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī ḡālīka l-waḡti*) ... *kullu ḡālīka 'umila fī ayyāmi 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna*) *wa-rattaba lahu mina l-ḡadami l-quwwāmi bihi ṭalāṭa mi'ati ḡādimini štarā lahu min ḥumsi Bayti l-māli*.

For these servants of the whole area, see A085.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.263**: 185,7-10 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118) *kāna 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ḡālisan fī ş-Şahrati ya'nī Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-Ummu d-Dardā'i ma'ahu ḡālīsatun ḡattā idā nūdiya l-mağribu qāma 'Abdu l-Maliki wa-qāmat Ummu d-Dardā'i yatawakka'u* (read *tatawakka'u*) *'alā 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna ḡattā yadhulu bihā l-masğida fa-idā ḡaḡalat wa-ḡalasat ma'an n-nāsi maḡā 'Abdu l-Maliki ilā l-maḡāmi fa-ṣallā bi-n-nāsi*.

ροσολύμων).<sup>1</sup> [The scholar] **az-Zuhrī** comes to the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), goes with Ḥalīd b. Ḥāzim round the [holy] places (*tilka l-mawāḍiʿ*) and prays at them (*yuṣallī fihā*), then listens to the teaching of [the scholar] ʿUqba b. Abī Zaynab who teaches there and they have an academic difference of opinion.<sup>2</sup> [The scholar] **al-Awzāʿī** makes his ritual ablution from the water of a cistern inside the mosque (*fī l-masgid*), even when people oppose him [because he should use a cistern outside the mosque], prays eight *rakʿa* putting the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) behind him (*warāʾ zahrihi*) [not combining old and new prayer-directions] and prays another five prayers [in the mosque] without visiting any of its [holy] places (*mawāṭin*); he thus shows how people should behave in the mosque and says ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did so as well.<sup>3</sup> Abū Ġaʿfar [**al-Manṣūr**] (ʿAbbāsīd caliph 136-158/754-775) comes, on his way back from the *ḥaġġ* of the year 140/757, to Jerusalem (*ilā Bayt al-Maqdis*) [he obviously reaches it only in 141/758] and prays in its mosque (*ṣallā fī masġidihā*).<sup>4</sup> **al-Mahdī** (ʿAbbāsīd caliph 158-169/775-785) comes in 163/779 to Jerusalem/to the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and prays

<sup>1</sup>P. London IV Nr.1366; P. London IV Nr.1403 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 373); P. London IV Nr.1414 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 373); P. London IV Nr.1433; P. London IV Nr.1435 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 373); P. London IV Nr.1439; P. London IV Nr.1441 (transl. Creswell, *EMA* 1 373); P. London IV Nr.1451.

For the information in these papyri on Jerusalem, see Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100; 116; 188; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 31; Creswell, *EMA* 1 243; 373f.; 638; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City* 120; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 6; 8; Küchler, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste"; Gil, *Palestine* 95f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 26.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī** Nr.165: 102,13-20 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 21; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 30 n. 57) (... *ʿan Ḥalīdi bni Ḥāzimin qāla*) *qadima z-Zuhriyu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-ġaʿaltu aṭufu bihi fī tilka l-mawāḍiʿi fa-yuṣallī fihā qāla qultu inna hā hunā ṣayḥan yuḥadditu ʿani l-kutubi yuqālu lahu ʿUqbata bna Abī Zaynaba fa-law ġalasnā ilayhi qāla fa-ġalasnā ilayhi fa-ġaʿala yuḥadditu faḍāʾila Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-lammā aḡara qāla z-Zuhriyu ayyuhā š-ṣayḥu an nunhiya* (read *lan tantahiya*) *ilā mā ntahā Llāhu ilayhi qāla Llāhu taʿālā ʿsubḥāna l-laḍi asrā bi-ʿabdihi laylan mina l-Masġidi l-Ḥarāmi ilā l-Masġidi l-Aqṣā* (**Koran** 17.1) *fa-ġadiba ʿalayhi wa-qāla lā taqūmu s-sāʿatu ḥattā tunqalu ʿizāmu Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama ilayhā*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā** Nr.246: 174,5-8 (... *anbaʿanā Yazīdu bnu š-Šimāṭi* (read *Yazīdu bnu š-Šimṭi*) *qāla ḥaraġtu maʿa l-Awzāʿiyi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-qāla lī ya-Abā š-Šimṭi* (Livne-Kafri reads *yā Abā š-Šimṭi*) *lā tuḥbir aḥadan bi-makānī hāhunā tumma ʾNʾ* (read *atā*; Livne-Kafri reads *atā*) *ġubban min dālīka l-ġibābi* (read *min tilka l-ġibābi*) *fa-staqā dalwan min māʾin fa-tawaḍḍaʾa qāla fa-ġāʾa nāsūn fa-qālū lahu yā ṣayḥu ttaqi Llāha a-tatawaḍḍaʾu fī l-masġidi? fa-lam yaltafit ilayhim tumma atā š-Ṣaḥrata fa-ġaʿalahā warāʾa zahrihi wa-ṣallā tamāni* (read *tamāniya*) *rakaʿātin qāla tumma ṣallaynā fihī ḥamsa ṣalawātin tumma ltafata ilayya fa-qāla ya-Abā š-Šimāṭi* (read *yā Abā š-Šimṭi*) *hādā fī ʿlu ʿUmara bni ʿAbdi l-ʿAzizi ḥina daḥala hādīhi l-baldata lam yaʿti ṣayʿan min tilka l-mawāṭini*).

<sup>4</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīḥ** III 1 129,4f.: AH 140 (*wa-fihā ḥaraġa Abū Ġaʿfara l-Manṣūru ḥāġġan fa-aḥrama mina l-Ḥi rati tumma raġaʿa baʿa mā qaḍā ḥiġġatan ilā l-Madinati fa-tawaḡġaha minhā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi* ...) *wa-lammā qadima Abū Ġaʿfara Bayta l-Maqdisi ṣallā fī masġidihā* (A *tumma daḥalat sanatu ilḥ* (supposedly: *sanatu iḥdā wa-arbaʿina wa-miʿatin*) *wa-fihā ḥaraġa Abū Ġaʿfara l-Manṣūru ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-qadimahā wa-ṣallā fī masġidihā*) (*tumma salaka š-Šaʿma muṣarīfan ḥattā ntahā ilā r-Raqqati*).

in it (*ṣallā fīhi*).<sup>1</sup> A certain **Abū Saʿīd** from Alexandria spends his night in the Mosque of the Temple (*Masǧid Bayt al-Maqdis*), but while many people used to spend their night in prayer (*mutahaǧǧidūn*), this night he sees nobody doing so [i.e., there are many people, but none of them is praying]; he then hears a voice from the direction of the dome which is over the Rock (*min naḥw al-qubba l-latī ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) admonishing the people to spend the night standing in prayer; he faints and when he recovers, all the people [supposed to be] spending their night in prayer are standing upright [and pray].<sup>2</sup>

B014.6.a. *Wa-yibnāh āt Bēt Adōnay ʾĪlōhē Yisrāʾēl* in **Apocalypse Lévi** has been interpreted as "and he [ʿAbd al-Malik] will build on the site where the House of God, the God of Israel stood";<sup>3</sup> but the text says "and he [ʿAbd al-Malik] will build the House of God, the God of Israel", as Fāṭimid Jewish texts speak of "the Temple of Our God" (B131.3).

**B014.7. Traditions (Muslim):** In [the area of] the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) **Jacob** dreamed with a stone under his head, that a ladder reached from this stone up to a gate of heaven, that the angels descended and ascended this ladder from one of the gates of heaven, and that God told him he would bring Jacob back to this place and he would make this a sanctuary (*bayt*) where Jacob and his progeny would worship him;<sup>4</sup> God foretold to him that he [God]

<sup>1</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī**, *Taʾrīḥ* III 500,4-6: AH 163 (see Gil, *Palestine* 298) *wa-fī ḥādīhi s-sanati wa-fī safratihi ḥādīhi ṣāra l-Mahdiyyu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā fīhi* (C *bīhi*) *wa-maʿahu l-ʿAbbāsu bnu Muḥammadin wa-l-Faḍlu bnu Ṣāliḥin wa-ʿAlīyu bnu Sulaymāna wa-ḥālūhu Yazīdu bnu Maṣṣūrīn* (A *wa-ʿAlīyu bnu Sulaymāna wa-Ḥālīdu bnu Yazīda bni Maṣṣūrīn*).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.247**: 175,4-13 (... *Abū Saʿīdin raǧulun min ahli l-Iskandarīyati qāla*) *kuntu ataytu* (Livne-Kafri reads *abaytu*) *fī masǧidi baytin* (read *fī masǧidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-kāna qabla mā yaḥlū mina l-mutahaǧǧidīna qāla fa-qumtu dāta laylatin baʿda mā maḍā mina l-layli ṭawīlun fa-naẓartu fa-lam ara fī l-masǧidi mutahaǧǧidan fa-qultu mā ḥāla n-nāsu l-laylata lā arā minhum aḥadan yuṣallī? qāla fa-wa-Llāhi innī la-aḍkuru dālīka fī nafsī id samīʿtu qāʾīlan yaqūlu min naḥwi l-qubbati l-latī ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati kalimātin kāda wa-Llāhi an yataṣadda ʿa qalbī kamadan wa-ḥtirāqan wa-ḥuznan fāta ya-Abā Saʿīdin* (Livne-Kafri reads *yā Abā Saʿīdin*) *wa-mā qāla qāla samīʿtuhu yaqūlu bi-ṣawtin ḥarfīn* (read *ḥarqīn*) *yaqūlu fa-yā ʿaǧaban li-n-nāsi laḍḍat ʿuyūnahum BT*<sup>3</sup> *M* (read *maṭāʿimu*) *ǧumuḍun baʿdahu l-mawtu muntaṣibun / fa-ṭūlu qiyāmi l-layli aysara mūnatin* (read *mūnatan*) *wa-aḥwanu min nārin taqūdu* (read *tūqada*) *wa-taltahibu / qāla fa-saqatū wa-Llāhi li-waǧḥi* (Livne-Kafri reads *ʿalā waǧḥi*) *wa-ḍahaba ʿaqli fa-lammā afaqtu naẓartu wa-idā lam yabqa MḤBTDHD* (read *mutahaǧǧidun*) *illā qāma*.

<sup>3</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 92.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.10**: 18,1-6 (... *anna Ishāqa n-nabīya ʿalayhi s-salāmu waṣṣā ilā bnihi Yaʿqūba an lā yankiḥa mraʿatan mina l-Kanāʿinati wa-an yankiḥa min banāti ḥālīhi l-Ayāna* (read *Lābāna*) *bni Māhiri bni Azraqa* ...) *fa-tawaǧǧaha ilayhi Yaʿqūbu fa-adrakahu l-laylu fī baʿḍi ṭ-ṭarīqi fa-bāta mutawassidan ḥaǧaran fa-raʾa fī-mā yarā n-nāʾimu anna sullaman maṣṣūban ilā bābin min abwābi s-samāʾi ʿinda raʾsihi wa-l-malāʾikatu yanzilūna* (Hasson reads *tanzilu*) *fīhi wa-taʾruǧu minhu wa-awḥā Llāhu taʾālā ilayhi ... tumma ana maʿaka aḥfazuka ḥattā arudduka ilā ḥādā l-makāni fa-ǧʿalhu baytan taʾbudunī fīhi anta wa-ḍurriyatuka fa-huwa Baytu l-Maqdisi = Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.554: 335,13-19 (... *anna Ishāqa ʿalayhi s-salāmu awṣā ilā bnihi Yaʿqūba an lā yankiḥa mraʿatan mina l-Kanāʿīna* (read *mina l-Kanāʿīniya*) *wa-an yankiḥa min banāti ḥālīhi Lāyāna* (read *Lābāna*) *bni Bāhiri bni Azraqa* ...) *fa-tawaǧǧaha ilayhi Yaʿqūbu fa-adrakahu l-laylu fī baʿḍi ṭ-ṭuruqi fa-bāta mutawassidan ḥaǧaran fa-raʾa**



would raise kings from among his progeny and send the Meccan prophet (*an-Nabī l-Ḥaramī*) called Aḥmad [i.e., Muḥammad], the seal of the prophets (*ḥātim al-anbiyāʾ*), to build the altar of the Temple (*haykal Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>1</sup> This is the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B014.1) founded by **David** and built by **Solomon**,<sup>2</sup> paved with gold and silver by Solomon,<sup>3</sup> the mosque (*masǧid*) built by David and Solomon.<sup>4</sup> This is the Mosque of **David** (*Masǧid Dāwūd*,<sup>5</sup> *Miḥrāb Dāwūd*<sup>6</sup>), in the time of David the Rock of the Temple (*Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*) was here and the plain where he then built the Temple (*aṣ-ṣaʿīd al-laḍī banā ʿalayhi Bayt al-Maqdis*); during the pestilence David ordered the Children of Israel to come here to pray, and

---

*fī-mā yarā n-nāʾimu anna sullaman manṣūban ilā bābin min abwābi s-samāʾi ʿinda raʾisihi wa-l-malāʾikatu tanzilu fīhi wa-taʾruḡu minhu fa-awḥā Llāhu ilayhi ... tumma ana maʿaka aḥfazuka ḥattā uraddiduka (read arudduka) ilā ḥādā l-makāni fa-ḡʿalhu baytan taʾbudunī fīhi anta wa-ḍurriyatuka wa-huwa Baytu l-Maqdisi.*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn Saʿd**, *Ṭabaqāt* 1,1 107,12-15 (quoted in Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Muraǧǧā* 63; transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 162; see Gil, *Palestine* 99f.) *awḥā Llāhu ilā Yaʿqūba: innī abʿātu min ḍurriyatika mulūkan wa-anbiyāʾ ḥattā abʿata n-Nabiya l-Ḥaramiya l-laḍī tabnī ummatuhu haykala Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-huwa ḥātimu l-anbiyāʾi wa-smuhu Aḥmadu.*

<sup>2</sup>Among many are **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.5**: 6,9-7,9); **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.8**: 8,9-9,13 = **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.15**: 22,13-22; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.9**: 9,16-10,16; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.10**: 11,3-10 = **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.88**: 93,3-7; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.22**: 19,1-20,1; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.4**: 12,4-13; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.5**: 13,5-14,22; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.6**: 15,3-7; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.7**: 15,9-11; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.8**: 16,4-17; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.9**: 17,4-7; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.11**: 18,11-14; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.12**: 19,5-15; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.13**: 20,4-22,7; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.183**: 146,20f. (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 79) (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrāʾīla ...*) *wa-kāna fīhi baʿda an banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda sittatu ālāfi miḥrābin bi-ʿadadi l-anbiyāʾi l-laḍīna baʿatahumu Llāhu taʾālā min ṣulbi Isrāʾīla (aʿlā l-maḥārībi yawmaʾidīn ...)*; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.388**: 254,8 (*... anbaʾanā Muḥammadu bnu Šuʿaybin qāla qultu li-ʿUṭmāna bni ʿAṭāʾa l-Ḥurāsāniyi mā yaqūlu (read taqūlu) fī ṣ-ṣalāti fī Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla naʿam itīhi fa-ṣalli fīhi) fa-inna Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu assasahu wa-banāhu Sulaymānu.*

For Muslim traditions about Solomon, see A056.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.388**: 254,8f. (*... anbaʾanā Muḥammadu bnu Šuʿaybin qāla qultu li-ʿUṭmāna bni ʿAṭāʾa l-Ḥurāsāniyi mā yaqūlu (read taqūlu) fī ṣ-ṣalāti fī Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla naʿam itīhi fa-ṣalli fīhi fa-inna Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu assasahu) wa-banāhu Sulaymānu wa-ballaṭahu bi-d-ḍahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati.*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.27**: 36,13-16 (*... anna Sulaymāna bna Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu lammā qabaḍahu Llāhu taʾālā ilayhi ḥalafa min baʿdihi riḡālun min wuldihi ... ḥattā ḥalafa baʿdahum min wuldi Sulaymāna (read raḡulun min wuldi Sulaymāna) ʿalayhi s-salāmu ... qāla) banā ḡaddī Dāwūdu wa-abī Sulaymānu masǧidan fa-mā lī lā abnī masǧidan miṭla mā banaw ... fa-banā (Livne-Kafri reads fa-banā) masǧidan yuḍāhī Masǧida Bayti l-Maqdisi (read yuḍāhī bihi Masǧida Bayti l-Maqdisi) ... wa-aḥraba masǧida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ḥaḡarahu.*

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.37**: 51,3f. (transl. Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99-104) *... anna ʿUmara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu lammā fariḡa min kitābi ṣ-ṣulḥi baynahu wa-bayna ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla li-biṭriqihā dullinī ʿalā Masǧidi Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu qāla naʿam.*

<sup>6</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīḥ** I 2408,11f. (transl. Busse, "Omar's Image" 165; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 100; see Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 90-93; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 83f.; Busse, "Omar's Image" 165-168; Gil, *Palestine* 66; Busse, "Tower of David" 155; Elad, *Jerusalem* 157) *tumma qaṣada l-Miḥrāba Miḥrāba Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu ...*

The term *Miḥrāb Dāwūd* usually is reserved for the CITADEL, see Busse, "Tower of David".

after the pestilence he told them that this plain (*hādā ṣ-ṣa'īd*) where God had shown mercy upon them would be the best place to build a mosque (*masğid*);<sup>1</sup> David wanted to build the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) on the Place which God had sanctified in Jerusalem (*fī l-Mawḍi' al-laḍī qaddasahu Llāh ta'ālā fī Īlīyā*) [but was not allowed to do so];<sup>2</sup> when David began the building of the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), he carried rocks on his shoulder and put them in place with his own hand.<sup>3</sup> This is the Mosque of Solomon (*Masğid Sulaymān*);<sup>4</sup> (the Mosque of) the Temple (*Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis*,<sup>5</sup> *Bayt al-Maqdis*<sup>6</sup>), the mosque (*al-masğid*) built by Solomon;<sup>7</sup> he built it on water into which

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.5:** 13,15-14,1; 14,12-14 (*lammā tāba Llāhu 'alā Dāwūda ... wa-ṣalaḥat umūru Banī Isrā'ī la ...*) *fa-ḥtāra lahumu t-tā'ūna wa-amarahum an yatağāhhazū wa-yalbasū* (Livne-Kafri reads *tumma yalbasū*) *akfānahum wa-yahruḡū bi-nisā'ihim wa-imā'ihim wa-awlādihim amāmahum wa-hum ḥalfahum 'alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-ṣa'īdi l-laḍī banā 'alayhi Bayta l-Maqdisi* (read *buniya 'alayhi Baytu l-Maqdisi*) *wa-huwa yawma'idin Ṣ'YH* (read *ṣa'īdun*) ... *qāla innī lā a'lamu amran ablaḡa fī šukrikum min binā'i masğidin 'alā hādā ṣ-ṣa'īdi l-laḍī raḥimakumu Llāhu 'alayhi fa-yubannihi* (read *fa-nubannihi*) *masğidan ya'budu Llāha 'azza wa-ḡalla fī hi wa-nuqaddisu* (Livne-Kafri reads *wa-tuqaddisūhu*) *fīhi antum wa-man ba'dakum qālū naf'alu*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.5:** 13,6f. (*lammā tāba Llāhu 'alā Dāwūda ...*) *aḥabba an yabniya Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-'alā Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (read *wa-'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan*) *fī l-Mawḍi' i l-laḍī qaddasahu Llāhu ta'ālā fī Īlīyā'a*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.157:** 128,15f. *fa-aqbalū ba'da ḍālīka 'alā binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-bāšara Dāwūdu bi-nafsihi yanqulu ṣ-Ṣaḥra 'alā 'ātiqihi wa-yaḡa'ahu bi-yadihi fī mawāḍi'ihī*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.42:** 55,5 (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29) (*lammā qadima 'Umaru raḥimahu Llāhu ta'ālā li-Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Bayta l-Maqdisi*) ...) *fa-lammā stawā fī l-masğidi naẓara yamīnan wa-šimālan tumma qāla hādā wa-l-laḍī lā ilāha illā huwa Masğidu Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu*

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.18:** 25,7f. *inna Sulaymāna 'alayhi s-salāmu lammā nabā* (I read *banā*; Livne-Kafri reads *banā*) *Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-fariḡa minhu ...*

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.20:** 18,1f. ... *anna Sulaymāna bna Dāwūda lammā fariḡa min binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi sa'ala Llāha 'azza wa-ḡalla ṭalāṭan* (but not = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.84:** 91,1 *inna Sulaymāna bna Dāwūda sa'ala Llāha 'azza wa-ḡalla ṭalāṭan*) = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.21:** 18,8f. (*ḥaddaṭanā Bnu 'Aṭā'a ... anna n-Nabīya ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama qāla lammā fariḡa Sulaymānu min binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi sa'ala Llāha 'azza wa-ḡalla ṭalāṭa ḥiṣālin*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.23:** 20,7f. *innahu lammā umira Sulaymānu bi-bunyāni Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-kānat arḡuhu li-raḡulin fa-starāhu* (read *fa-štarāhā*) *minhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ...* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 156:** 128,5f. *inna Llāha ta'ālā awhā ilā Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda ani bni Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-kānat arḡan li-raḡulin fa-štarāhā minhu Sulaymānu*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.46:** 36,3f. *fa-lammā ḥalā min mulki Sulaymāna sunanun* (read *sinūna*) *bada'a fī binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-kāna 'iddatu man ya'malu ma'ahu fī binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi alfu raḡulin* (read *ṭalāṭina alfi raḡulin*) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.12:** 19,5-7 *fa-lammā ḥalā mulku Sulaymāna BŠSYN* (read *fa-lammā ḥalā min mulki Sulaymāna sinūna*) *bada'a fī binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-labisa fī binā'ihī arba'u sinīna wa-kāna 'adadu man ya'malu ma'ahu fī binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi ṭalāṭina alfi raḡulin*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.183:** 146,10f.20 *wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā'īla ... wa-kāna fīhi ba'da an banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ...*

<sup>7</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.19:** 17,3-5 (transl. partly Elad, Jerusalem 82) (... *anna Ka'ban qadima Īlīyā'a marratan mina l-mirāri*) *fa-rašā ḥabran min aḥbārin Yahūdīn biḍ'ata 'ašara dīnāran 'alā an dallahu 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ḥīna fariḡa min binā'i l-masğidi* (wa-*hiya mimma yalī nāḥiyata Bābi l-Asbāṭi*) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.158:** 129,5-7 (... *anna Ka'ban qadima Īlīyā'a marratan mina l-mirāri*) *fa-rašā* (read *fa-rašā*) *ḥibran min aḥbārin Yahūdīn biḍ'ata 'ašara dīnār* (read *dīnāran*) *'alā an dallahu 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati qāma 'alayhā*

he threw a writing with a pious formula;<sup>1</sup> when he wanted to build the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), he bought its ground from a man;<sup>2</sup> he brought the Tomb of Moses and Aaron (*Tābūt Mūsà wa-Hārūn*) into the Temple (*fī Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>3</sup> In the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) were, in the time of the **Children of Israel**, [consecutively?] 6000 [minor] temples (sing. *miḥrāb*), corresponding to the prophets among the Children of Israel, among these temples, "the Temple of our prophet Muḥammad" (*Miḥrāb nabīyinā Muḥammad*) and the Temple of Zechariah and John (*Miḥrāb Zakarīyā wa-Yaḥyā*);<sup>4</sup> in the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) was, in the time of the Children of Israel, the Greatest Temple (*al-Miḥrāb al-Akbar*) and the Greatest Lamp (*al-Qindīl al-Akbar*) [i.e., the seven-armed Mənōrāh<sup>5</sup>], which had been suspended by Gabriel, which had come originally from Paradise and which burned day and night without ever being extinguished, burning with olive oil from Mount Sinai (*ḡabal Ṭūr Sīnā*) with neither smoke (*duḥān*) nor impurity (*\*adā*), and the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb t-tawba*) next to the Greatest Temple and to the Lamp of Paradise (*mimmā yalī l-Miḥrāb al-Akbar wa-Qindīl al-Ḡanna*), opposite the Gate of Judah, the son of Jacob (*\*bi-izā* *Bāb Yahūdā bni Ya'qūb*); the most important of these 6000 [minor] temples (sing. *miḥrāb*) was "the Temple of our

---

*Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alayhimā s-salāmu yawma fariḡa min binā'i l-masḡidi (wa-hiya mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbā'i); Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.13: 20,7 (inna Llāha ta'ālā awḡa ilā Sulaymāna ...) wa-aḡaḡa fī binā'i l-masḡidi.*

<sup>1</sup>*Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.13: 20,7-13 (inna Llāha ta'ālā awḡa ilā Sulaymāna ...) wa-aḡaḡa fī binā'i l-masḡidi fa-lam yaṭbuti l-binā'u fa-amara bi-hadmihi ṭumma ḡafara l-arḡa ḡattā balāḡa l-mā'a fa-qāla assasūhu 'alā l-mā'i fa-alqaw fihi l-ḡiḡārata fa-kāna l-mā'u yalfiḡuhā fa-da'a Sulaymānu l-ḡukamā'a l-aḡbara (read l-aḡbāra) wa-ra'suhum Aṡifun fa-qāla aṡirū 'alayya fa-qāla Aṡifun wa-man qāla minhum innā narā an yattiḡaḡa (read nattaḡiḡa) qilālan min nuḡāsin ṭumma mala'ahā (read namla'ahā) ḡiḡāratan ṭumma yuktaba 'alayhā ḡaḡā l-kitābu l-laḡi fī ḡātamika lā ilāha illā Llāhu waḡdahu lā ṡarika lahu wa-anna Muḡammadan 'abduhu wa-rasūluhu ṭumma yulqā (Livne-Kafri reads tulqā) l-qilālu fī l-mā'i fa-yakūna asāsu l-binā'i 'alayhi (read 'alayhā) fa-fu'ila fa-tabatati l-qilālu fa-aṡaḡa ṡ-ṡaḡra wa-l-ḡiḡārata 'alayhā wa-buniya ḡattā irtaḡa'a binan (read binā'uhā).*

<sup>2</sup>*al-Wāsiṡi Nr.23: 20,7f. innahu lammā umira Sulaymānu bi-bunyāni Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-kānat arḡuhu li-raḡulin fa-starāhu (read fa-ṡtarāhā) minhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ... = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.156: 128,5f. inna Llāha ta'ālā awḡa ilā Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda ani bni Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-kānat arḡan li-raḡulin fa-ṡtarāhā minhu Sulaymānu.*

<sup>3</sup>*al-Wāsiṡi Nr.46: 36,8 (fa-lammā ḡalā min mulki Sulaymāna sunanun (read sinūna) bada'a fī binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi ...) wa-awlaḡa fihi Tābūta Mūsà wa-Hārūna = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.12: 19,11 (fa-lammā ḡalā mulku Sulaymāna BŠSYN (read fa-lammā ḡalā min mulki Sulaymāna sinūna) bada'a fī binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi ...) wa-awlaḡa fihi Tābūta Mūsà wa-Hārūna.*

<sup>4</sup>*Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.183: 146,20-147,9 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṡṡāb" 79; Busse, "Tower of David" 155) (wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā'īla wa-huwa arba'ūna farsaḡan fī arba'ina farsaḡan ...) wa-kāna fihi ba'da an banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda sittatu ālāfi miḡrābin bi-'adadi l-anbiyā'i l-laḡina ba'aṡahumu Llāhu ta'ālā min ṡulbi Isrā'īla a'lā l-maḡārībi yawma'idini ṡnayni wa-ṡalāṡina miḡrāban (read ṡnāni wa-ṡalāṡina ḡirā'an) kānat talī l-Miḡrāba l-Akbara Miḡrābu nabīyinā Muḡammadin 'alayhi s-salāmu li-annahū awwalu n-nabīyina ḡikran wa-aḡiruhum mab'aṡan bihi fataḡa Llāhu n-nubūwata wa-bihi ḡatama (I read ḡatama) r-risāлата wa-huwa mustaqbilu Qindili Llāhi Qindili l-Ḡannati ... ṭumma Miḡrābu Zakarīyā wa-Yaḡyā ṡalawātu Llāhi 'alayhim aḡma'ina.*

<sup>5</sup>Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99.

prophet Muḥammad" (*Miḥrāb nabīyinā Muḥammad*), opposite the Lamp of God, i.e., the Lamp of Paradise (*mustaqbil Qindil Allāh Qindil al-Ġanna*);<sup>1</sup> this is the Temple of Zechariah and John (*Miḥrāb Zakarīyā wa-Yaḥyā*),<sup>2</sup> the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), where the Children of Israel killed John, the son of Zechariah, [the Biblical prophet Zechariah (2 Chronicles 24.21; Matthew 23.35; Luke 11.51)], and where Nebukadnezar (*Buḥt Naṣār*) in revenge slaughtered the Children of Israel.<sup>3</sup> From the earth of the Temple (*min arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*) the Ark of the Covenant (*at-Tābūt*) and God's Presence (*as-Sakīna*) had been taken away [in the time of the Children of Israel].<sup>4</sup> The birth of John was announced to Zechariah in the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>5</sup> in the mosque (*al-masġid*).<sup>1</sup> After its destruction this sanctuary

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.183:** 146,13-16; 146,18f.; 147,3 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 79; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99) (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā'īla ... wa-kāna fīhi Abwābu l-Asbāṭi l-arba'ati Bābu Yūsufā wa-Bābu Rūbīla wa-Bābu Šim'ūna wa-Bābu Yahūdā wa-kāna fīhi l-Miḥrābu l-Akbaru wa-l-Qindilu l-Akbaru l-laḍī 'allaqahu Ġibrīlu 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-kāna mina l-Ġannati lā yanṭafī'u laylahu wa-lā nahārahu zaytuhu min ġabalī Ṭūri Sīnā'a wa-qanādīluhu mina l-Ġannati lā yūġadu lahu duḥānun wa-lā adan wa-qanādīluhu* (read *wa-lā adan*) ... *wa-kāna fīhi mimma yalī l-Miḥrāba l-Akbara wa-Qindila l-Ġannati Bābu t-tawbati wa-huwa bi-izā'i Bābi Yahūdā* (read *bi-izā'i Bābi Yahūdā*) *bni Ya'qūba (... wa-kāna fīhi ba'da an banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda sittatu ālāfi miḥrābin bi-'adadi l-anbiyā'i l-laḍīna ba'aṭahumu Llāhu ta'ālā min ṣulbi Isrā'īla ... Miḥrābu nabīyinā Muhammadin 'alayhi s-salāmu ...)* *wa-huwa mustaqbilu Qindili Llāhi Qindili l-Ġannati (... ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhim aġma'ina).*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.183:** 147,8f. (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā'īla ... wa-kāna fīhi ba'da an banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda sittatu ālāfi miḥrābin bi-'adadi l-anbiyā'i l-laḍīna ba'aṭahumu Llāhu ta'ālā min ṣulbi Isrā'īla ...*) *tumma Miḥrābu Zakarīyā wa-Yaḥyā ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhim aġma'ina).*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.38:** 51,18-52,6 (see Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99; Livne-Kafri, "Early Šī'a" 116) *ġā'a kitābu Rasūli Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama* (add *ilā qayṣara*) *wa-huwa bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-'alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi mazbalatun qad ḥādat Miḥrāba Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu mimma alqati n-Naṣāra 'alayhā muṣāddatan* (read *muḍāddatan*) *li-l-Yahūdi ḥattā an kānati l-mar'atu tab'aṭu bi-ḥiraqi ḥayḍihā min Rūmiyata fa-tulqā 'alayhā qāla qayṣaru ḥīna qara'a kitāba Rasūli Llāhi 'alayhi wa-sallama* (read *ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*) *innakum yā ma'šara r-Rūmi la-ḥalīqan an yuytalū* (read *la-ḥalīqan an tuqtalū*) *'alā ḥāḍiḥi l-mazbalati mimma ntaḥaktum min ḥurmati ḥāḍi l-masġidi ka-mā qutilat Banū Isrā'īla 'alā dami Yaḥyā bni Zakarīyā 'alayhimā s-salāmu fa-amara bi-kansihā fa-aḥādū fī dālika fa-qadima l-Muslimūna š-Ša'ma wa-lam yakšifū minhā illā tuṭtaḥā fa-lammā qadima 'Umaru ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-fataḥahā wa-ra'ā mā 'alayhā mina l-mazbalati a'zama dālika fa-amara bi-kašfihā wa-saḥḥara lahā Anbāṭa Filasṭīna.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.20:** 29,4.6f. (*tumma inna Buḥt Naṣara qāla li-Irmīyā 'alayhi s-salāmu ...*) *fa-ḥaraba l-bayta wa-qatala 'alā dami Yaḥyā bni Zakarīyā* (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51, cf. **2 Chronicles** 24.21)) *arba'atan wa-īṣrīna alfan wa-d-damu yaġlī ... wa-qāla ḥalīfatu Buḥt Naṣara li-dami Yaḥyā as'aluka bi-l-laḍī ḥalaqaka allā sakanta bi-īḍni Llāhi ta'ālā fa-qad qutila man qutila wa-halakū.*

For Muslim traditions about the killing of Zechariah in the Temple, see A056.a. For Muslim traditions about the destruction of the Temple, see A084.a.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.399:** 260,17 *wa-rufī'a t-Tābūtu wa-s-Sakīnātu min arḍi Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

For the Muslim conception of *as-Sakīna* "God's Presence", see A084.a.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.169:** 137,1-5 (... *'an Muqātilin fī qawlihi ta'ālā 'fa-nādathu l-malā'ikatu fa-huwa qā'imun yuṣallī fī l-miḥrābi'* (**Koran** 3.39)) *qāla abšara Llāhu Zakarīyā bi-Yaḥyā fī Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla Muqātilun wa-kāna Zakarīyā huwa l-ḥibru l-kabīru l-laḍī yuqarribu l-qurbāna wa-yaftaḥu bāba l-madbaḥi wa-lā yadḥulūna ḥattā*

[the Temple] (*hādā l-bayt*) complained to God that it had been destroyed, but God promised to give in exchange a new Torah, that is the Koran (*Tawrāt muḥdaṭa ya'nī l-Qur'ān*) and new builders [the New Israel], that is the **Community of Muḥammad** (*'ummār muḥdaṭūn ya'nī Ummat Muḥammad*).<sup>2</sup> Of the 6000 temples (sing. *miḥrāb*) which were in the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) in the time of the Children of Israel [consecutively?], the most important was the Temple of **Muḥammad** (*Miḥrāb nabīyīnā Muḥammad*) [where he was brought on his Night Journey];<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad was brought here on his Night Journey<sup>4</sup> and this is "the Furthest Mosque" (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*) [where he then was brought] (**Koran** 17.1).<sup>5</sup> After the

---

*ya'dana lahum fī d-duḥūlī qāla fa-baynā huwa qā'imun dāta yawmin yuṣallī wa-n-nāsu yantaḏirūna an ya'dana lahum fī d-duḥūlī wa-huwa qawluhu 'qā'imun yuṣallī fī l-miḥrābī' (Koran 3.39) ya'nī fī l-masğidi idā huwa bi-rağulin ...; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.399: 260,4f. wa-baššara Llāhu Zakariyā bi-Yaḥyā (cf. Koran 3.39; 19.7) fī Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.399**: 262,9 *wa-ātā Llāhu Yaḥyā l-ḥukma ṣabīyan' (Koran 19.12) bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi.* For Muslim traditions about Zechariah and Mary in the Temple, see A084.a.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.169**: 137,4f. (*qāla Muqātilun wa-kāna Zakariyā huwa l-ḥibru l-kabīru ...*) *fa-baynā huwa qā'imun dāta yawmin yuṣallī wa-n-nāsu yantaḏirūna an ya'dana lahum fī d-duḥūlī wa-huwa qawluhu 'qā'imun yuṣallī fī l-miḥrābī' (Koran 3.39) ya'nī fī l-masğidi ...*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.195**: 154,1f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24f. n. 15) *šakā (Livne-Kafri reads šakā) hādā l-baytu ilā Llāhi ta'ālā l-ḥarāba fa-awḥā Llāhu innī mubdiluka bi-Tawrātin muḥdaṭatin ya'nī l-Qur'āna wa-'ummārin muḥdaṭina ya'nī ummata Muḥammadin 'alayhi s-salāmu (... fa-raḏiya).*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.183**: 147,1f. (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 79) (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā'ila ... wa-kāna fīhi ba'da an banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda sittatu ālāfi miḥrābin bi-'adadi l-anbiyā'i l-laḏina ba'aṭahumu Llāhu ta'ālā min ṣulbi Isrā'ila ...*) *Miḥrābu nabīyīnā Muḥammadin 'alayhi s-salāmu.*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.42**: 55,5f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29) (*lammā qadima 'Umaru raḥimahu Llāhu ta'ālā li-Bayti l-Maqdisi (Livne-Kafri reads Bayta l-Maqdisi) 'askara fī Ṭūri Zaytā tumma nḥadara fa-daḥala min Bābi n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu fa-lammā stawā fī l-masğidi naẓara yamīnan wa-šimālan) tumma qāla hādā wa-l-laḏī lā ilāha illā huwa Masğidu Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu l-laḏī aḥbaranā bihi Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama annahu usriya bihi ilayhi.*

For the Marwānid connection of the Night Journey with Jerusalem, see A084.a.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.11**: 12,4 (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ṣalātu r-rağuli fī baytihi bi-ṣalātin wāḥidatin wa-ṣalātuḥu fī masğidi l-qabā'ili bi-sittin wa-'iṣrīna (read bi-sittin wa-'iṣrīna ṣalātan) wa-ṣalātuḥu fī l-masğidi l-laḏī yuğamma'u fīhi bi-ḥamsi mi'ati ṣalātin) wa-ṣalātuḥu fī l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā bi-ḥamsīna alfi ṣalātin (wa-ṣalātuḥu fī masğidi bi-ḥamsīna alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuḥu fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin) = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.80: 89,5 (qāla n-Nabīyu 'alayhi s-salāmu ṣalātu r-rağuli fī baytihi bi-ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuḥu fī masğidi l-qabā'ili bi-sittin wa-'iṣrīna ṣalātan wa-ṣalātuḥu fī l-masğidi l-laḏī yuğma'u fīhi bi-ḥamsi mi'ati ṣalātin) wa-ṣalātuḥu fī l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā bi-ḥamsīna alfi ṣalātin (wa-ṣalātuḥu fī masğidi bi-ḥamsīna alfan wa-ṣalātuḥu fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi bi-mi'ati alfin (read bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin); **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.76**: 87, 2f. *ṣalātun fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī masğidi bi-alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā bi-'iṣrīna alfi ṣalātin [sic]; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.201**: 156, 10-12 *man ahalla bi-ḥağğatin aw 'umratin mina l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā ilā l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi guḏira lahu mā taqaddama min ḏanbihi wa-mā ta'aḥḥara aw wağabat lahu l-Ğannatu.***

Muslim conquest ‘Umar asked the πατρικίος of Jerusalem (*biṭrīq Bayt al-Maqdis*) to show him the Mosque of David (*Masġid Dāwūd*); the πατρικίος did so and ‘Umar recognised the area as the one Muhammad had described;<sup>1</sup> when ‘Umar and the Muslims conquered Jerusalem they found the area neglected and a garbage dump (*mazbala*)<sup>2</sup> full of garbage (*zib*);<sup>3</sup> upon approaching the door of the mosque (*bāb al-masġid*), he ordered his companions to watch Ka‘b [al-Aḥbār]; upon entering the door (*al-bāb*), he said, "Oh God, here I am, [order] what you most want (*labbayka Llāhumma bi-mā huwa aḥabbu ilayka*) [as

---

For the equation of the Koranic *al-Masġid al-Aqṣā* "the Furthest Mosque" with the Temple and for applying the term to the whole area, not only to the south building, see A084.a.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.37:** 51,3-16 (transl. Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99; see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99-104; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 15) ... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu lammā farīga min kitābi ṣ-ṣulḥi baynahu wa-bayna ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla li-biṭrīqihā dullinī ‘alā Masġidi Dāwūda ‘alayhi s-salāmu qāla na‘am ... fa-nṭlaqa ilā Masġidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā ntahā bihi ilā bābihi l-ladī yuqālu lahu Bāba Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama ... fa-ḥabā bayna yaday ‘Umara wa-ḥabā ‘Umaru ḥalfahu wa-ḥabawnā ḥalfahu ḥattā afḍaynā ilā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-stawfatnā fihi qiyāman* (read *wa-stawaynā fihi qiyāman*; Busse reads *wa-stawqafanā fihi qiyāman*) *fa-naẓara ‘Umaru wa-ta‘ammala maliyan fa-qāla hādā wa-l-ladī nafsī bi-yadihi l-ladī waṣafa lanā Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama.*

For ‘Umar in Jerusalem, see A074.a.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.130:** 78,10-14 (see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) (... *ḥaddaṭanī ṣayḥun min wuldi Ṣaddāda bni Awsin ‘an abihī ‘an ḡaddihī qāla*) *fa-taqaddama raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu* (Hasson reads *fa-taqaddama ‘Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu* *ya‘nī ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ḥina arāda kaṣfahā wa-izālata l-mazbalati ‘anhā*) *ḥattā mala‘a asfala ṭawbihi mina l-mazbalati l-lati kānat fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ḥamala wa-ḥamalnā fī ṭiyābinā miṭla mā ḥamala ḥattā alqaynāhu fī l-Wādī ḥattā ḡalā ‘an muṣallā ḡamā‘atin mina l-Muslimīna fa-ttaḥaḍahu muṣallan; Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.37: 51,12f. (transl. Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99; see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99-104; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 15) (... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu ... qāla li-biṭrīqihā dullinī ‘alā Masġidi Dāwūda ‘alayhi s-salāmu ... fa-nṭlaqa ilā Masġidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā ntahā bihi ilā bābihi l-ladī yuqālu lahu Bāba Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*) *wa-qadī ḥadara mā fī l-masġidi mina l-mazbalati ‘alā daraġi l-bābi ḥattā ḥaraġa ilā z-zuqāqi l-ladī fihi l-bābu wa-kaṭura ‘alā d-daraġi ḥattā kāda an yalzaqa bi-saqfihī; Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.38: 51,18-52,6 (see Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99; Livne-Kafri, "Early Šī‘a" 116) *ḡā‘a kitābu Rasūli Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama* (add *ilā qayṣara*) *wa-huwa bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi mazbalatun qad ḥadāt Miḥrāba Dāwūda ‘alayhi s-salāmu mimma alqati n-Naṣāra ‘alayhā muṣāddatan* (read *muḍāddatan*) *li-l-Yahūdī ḥattā an kānati l-mar‘atu tab‘ātu bi-ḥiraqi ḥayḍihā min Rūmiyata fa-tulqā ‘alayhā qāla qayṣaru ḥina qara‘a kitāba Rasūli Llāhi ‘alayhi wa-sallama* (read *ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*) *innakum yā maṣāra r-Rūmi la-ḥaliqan an yuytalū* (read *la-ḥaliqun an tuqtalū*) *‘alā ḥādihī l-mazbalati mimma ntahaktum min ḥurmati hādā l-masġidi ka-mā qutilat Banū Isrā‘īla ‘alā dami Yahyā bni Zakariyā ‘alayhimā s-salāmu fa-amara bi-kansihā fa-aḥaḍū fī dālīka fa-qadima l-Muslimūna ṣ-Ṣā‘ma wa-lam yakšifū minhā illā ṭultahā fa-lammā qadima ‘Umaru ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-fataḥahā wa-ra‘a mā ‘alayhā mina l-mazbalati a‘zama dālīka fa-amara bi-kašfihā wa-saḥḥara lahā Anbāṭa Filasṭīna.***

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.163:** 131,10-13 (*ḥaddaṭanā bnu Ṣaddāda anna ‘Umara maḍā* (Livne-Kafri reads *maḍā*) *ilā muqaddamihi mimma yalī l-ġarba fa-ḥaṭā fī ṭawbihi mina z-zibli l-ladī ‘alayhi wa-ḥaṭawnā ma‘ahu fī ṭiyābinā wa-maḍawnā bi-muḍīyihī ḥattā alqaynāhu fī l-wādī l-ladī yaqālu lahu Wādiya Ġahannuma ṭumma ‘ada wa-‘udnā bi-miṭlihi ḥattā ṣallaynā ma‘ahu fī mawḍī‘i masġidin yuṣallā fihi ḡamā‘atan fa-ṣallā ‘Umaru raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu binā fihi* (wa-lam yaqul *ḥaddaṭanī bnu Ṣaddāda wa-ṣ-ṣawābu ‘ani bni Ṣaddāda ‘an abihī*).

one does upon entering the *Ḥaram* of Mecca];<sup>1</sup> ‘Umar and the Muslims cleaned the part which then became the prayer-place of the Muslims, carrying the garbage in their own clothes and throwing it into the Kidron Valley (B045.5); ‘Umar asked [the scholar] Ka‘b where to put the prayer-place of the Muslims and Ka‘b suggested a place in its back [north] part (*mu‘aḥḥar*), but ‘Umar preferred a place in its front [south] part (*muqaddam*) (B048.7); Ka‘b explained to ‘Umar that by his cleaning, the prophecy on the redeemer (*al-fārūq*) cleaning Jerusalem 500 years after its destruction [by the Romans] became reality;<sup>2</sup> ‘Umar set up local people from Palestine (*Anbāt Filastīn*) as servants of [the Dome of] the Rock.<sup>3</sup> The Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) has a pit (*ḡubb*) which leads to Paradise; when the bucket of Šarik b. Ḥubāša n-Numayrī fell into it, he climbed after it and brought a leaf back from Paradise.<sup>4</sup> [The scholar] Ka‘b al-Aḥbār arrived from al-Ḥimṣ for prayer (*ṣalāt*) in the mosque of Jerusalem (*masǧid ʿĪliyā*), did not speak within a mile (*mīl*) of Jerusalem except for reciting the Koran and contemplating God (*illā bi-tilāwat kitāb Allāh wa-d-dīkr*), entered [the mosque] by

<sup>1</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīḥ** I 2408,10f. (transl. Busse, "Omar's Image" 165f.; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 100; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 83f.; Busse, "Omar's Image" 165-168; Gil, *Palestine* 67; Elad, *Jerusalem* 157) (*lammā ṣaḥaṣa ʿUmaru mina l-Ġābiyati ilā ʿĪliyāʾa fa-danā min bābi l-masǧidi qāla rquḇū lī Kaʿban*) *fa-lammā nfaraqa bihi qāla labbayka Llāhumma bi-mā huwa aḥabbu ilayka*.

<sup>2</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīḥ** I 2409,6f.10f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24, partly Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 91f.; see Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 91f.) (*Kaʿbun ...*) *fa-qāla yā amīra l-muʾminīna* [ʿUmar] *innahu qad tanabbaʾa ʿalā mā ṣanaʿta l-yawma nabīyun munḏu ḥamsimīʾati sanatīn fa-qāla wa-kayfa fa-qāla ... ilā an walīta fa-baʿaṭa Llāhu nabīyan ʿalā l-kunāsati fa-qāla absīrī ʾUri ṣalama ʿalayki l-Fārūqa yunaqqīki mimma fīki* (cf. **Zechariah** 2.10-12).

For the titel *Fārūq*, to be connected with Judeo-Aramaic *purqānā* "redemption", see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 91 n. 71; Bashear, "Fārūq"; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.38**: 52,6 (see Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) (... *wa-ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi mazbalatun ... fa-lammā qadima ʿUmaru ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-fataḥahā wa-raʾa mā ʿalayhā mina l-mazbalati a ʿzama qālīka fa-amara bi-kašfihā*) *wa-ṣaḥḥara lahā Anbāṭa Filastīna*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.154**: 93,9-13 ... *anna Šarīka bna Ḥumāšata* (read *Šarīka bna Ḥubāšata*) *n-Numayrīya atā ḡubban fī Bayti l-Maqdisi yastasqī li-aṣḥābihi id ḥarra minhu d-dalwu fa-nazala fī ṭalabihi id tabaddā lahu ṣaḥṣun fa-qāla nṭaliq maʿī fa-aḥaḍa bi-yadihi fī l-ḡubbi tumma adḥalahu l-Ġannata fa-aḥaḍa Šarikun waraqātin tumma raddahu ilā mawḍiʿihi fa-ḥaraḡa* = **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.165**: 132,11-14 *anna Šarīka bna Ḥubāšata* (read *Šarīka bna Ḥubāšata*) *an-Numayrīya atā* (Hasson reads *atā*) *ḡubban fī Bayti l-Maqdisi yastaqī id ḥarra minhu d-dalwu fa-nazala fī ṭalabihi id tabaddā* (Hasson reads *tabaddā*) *lahu ṣaḥṣun fa-qāla nṭaliq maʿī fa-aḥaḍahu bi-yadihi mina l-ḡubbi tumma adḥalahu l-Ġannata fa-aḥaḍa Šarikun waraqātin tumma raddahu ilā mawḍiʿihi*; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.164**: 132,2-6 *fa-taqaddamat rifqatun Bayta l-Maqdisi yašilūna fīhi fī ḥilāfati ʿUmara fa-nṭalaqa raḡulun min Banī Tamīma yuqālu lahu Šarīka yaʿnī bna Ḥubāšata* (read *bna Ḥubāšata*) *fa-saqā aṣḥābahu fa-waqaʿa dalwuhu fī l-ḡubbi fa-nazala li-yaʿḥuḍahu fa-waḡada bāban fī l-ḡubbi yuftaḥu ilā ḡinānin fa-daḥala mina l-bābi ilā l-ḡināni yamšī fihā wa-aḥaḍa waraqatan min ṣaḡariḥā ... fa-rtaḡa fa-atā ṣāḥiba Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-aḥbarahu bi-l-ladī raʾa mina l-ḡināni wa-duḥūlihi fihā fa-arsala maʿahu ilā l-ḡubbi fa-nazala l-ḡubba wa-nazala maʿahu nāsun fa-lam yaḡidū bāban wa-lam yašilū ilā ḡinānin*.

Cf. the Fāṭimid title **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā** 131,15 *Bābu mā ḡāʾa fī ḡubbi l-waraqati*.

For the Muslim tradition of this pit, see A084.a.

the Gates of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāt*) and thus oriented himself towards the Temple (*yastaqbil al-Quds*), combined five ritual prayers (*yuḡammi' ḥams ṣalawāt*) in the mosque (*fī l-masǧid*), left [the mosque] and spoke up again only at a mile's distance, all this because all good and bad deeds done in this mosque (*fī ḥādā l-masǧid*) have double weight.<sup>1</sup>

B014.7.a. A parallel to David carrying stones himself: In a Marwānid tradition, 'Umar and the Muslims carried the garbage forth from the courtyard in their own clothes (B045.5).

B014.7.b. A parallel to the Tomb of Moses and Aaron set up by Solomon: In a Fātimid tradition, Moses died soon after he made the Rock the [first] prayer-direction (B192.6).

B014.7.c. Parallels to the Greatest Lamp: The Pre-Marwānid Christian Tomb of Jesus has a lamp (*lucerna*),<sup>2</sup> a copper lamp (*lucerna aerea lucerna hydria*)<sup>3</sup> burning day and night, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem lamps (*luminaria*) burning day and night.<sup>4</sup> The Marwānid Christian Church of the Holy Sepulchre has items -

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.96:** 60,15-61,6 (*ḥaddaṭanā Abū 'Ubaydi Llāhi Mu'āwiyatu bnu 'Abdi Llāhi l-Aṣ'ariyu ... 'an abi hi Raǧā'a bni Ḥaywata*) *anna Ka'ba l-Aḥbāra kāna idā ḥaraǧa min Ḥimṣa yuridu ṣ-ṣalāta fī masǧidi Ḵlīyā'a idā ntahā ilā l-mīli min Ḵlīyā'a amsaka 'ani l-kalāmi fa-lam yatakallam illā bi-tilāwati kitābi Llāhi 'azza wa-ǧalla wa-ḍ-ḍikri ṭumma yadḥulu min Bābi l-Asbāti li-yastaqbila l-Qudsa ṭumma yuḡammi'a fī l-masǧidi ḥamsa ṣalawātin fa-idā nṣarafa ilā l-mīli takallama wa-kallama aṣḥābahu qālū lahu yā Abā Ishāqa mā yaḥmiluka 'alā ḍālīka qāla li-anni aǧidu fī ba'ḍi l-kutubi anna l-ḥasanāti tuḍā'afu fī ḥādā l-masǧidi wa-anna s-sayyi'āti yuf'alu bihā miṭlu ḍālīka fa-ana uḥibbu an lā yakūna minnī illā l-iḥsānu ḥattā anṣarifu* = **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.312:** 214,10-16 (*ḥaddaṭanā Abū 'Abdi Llāhi Ma'ūnatu* (read *Mu'āwiyatu*, with *al-Wāsiṭī*) *bnu 'Abdi Llāhi l-Aṣ'ariyu ... 'ani bnihi* (read *'an abihi*) *Raǧā'a*) *anna Ka'ba l-Aḥbāra idā ḥaraǧa min Ḥimṣa yurida ṣ-ṣalāta fī masǧidi Ḵlīyā'a idā intahā ilā l-mīli min Ḵlīyā'a amsaka 'ani l-kalāmi fa-lam yatakallam illā bi-tilāwati kitābi Llāhi wa-ḍ-ḍikri ṭumma yadḥulu min Bābi l-Asbāti yastaqbilu l-Qudsa ṭumma NḤM* (read *yaǧma'u*) *fī l-masǧidi ḥamsa ṣalawātin fa-idā nṣarafa ilā l-mīli takallama wa-kallama aṣḥābahu fa-qālū lahu ya-Abā Ishāqa* (Livne-Kafri reads *yā Abā Ishāqa*) *mā yaḥmiluka 'alā ḍālīka qāla li-anni aǧidu fī ba'ḍi l-kutubi anna l-ḥasanāti tuḍā'afu fī ḥādā l-masǧidi wa-anna s-sayyi'āti yuf'alu bihā miṭlu ḍālīka fa-ana uḥibbu an lā yakūna minnī illā l-iḥsānu ḥattā anṣarifu*.

<sup>2</sup>**Etheria** 24,31f.: 24.4 (*hora autem decima* [every day except on sunday] *quod appellant hic licinicon nam nos dicimus lucernare similiter se omnis multitudo colliget ad Anastasim incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei et fit lumen infinitum. Lumen autem de foris non affertur sed de spelunca interiori eicitur*) *ubi noctu ac die semper lucerna lucet id est de intro cancellos*.

<sup>3</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 171,6-8: 18 (*Quia monumento* (R *monumentum*, G *monomento*) [the Holy Sepulchre] *de petra est naturale excisus et potus ex ipsa petra excisus* (G *without et potus ... excisus*) *ubi* (R *ibi*) *corpus domini Iesu Christi positum fuit* (R *corpus domini positum fuit Iesu Christi*)) *lucerna aerea quae in tempore ad caput ipsius posita fuit* (G *ad caput ipsius posita fuit*, R *ad caput posita erat*) *ibidem* (G *et ibi*) *ardet die noctuque* = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 203,19-20: 18 (*quoniam ipsud* (B *quō ipsum*) *monumentum* [the Holy Sepulchre] *in quo corpus domini positum fuit in naturale excisus est petra* (B *in naturali excisum est petra*.) *Lucerna hydria* (B *ydriae*) *quae illo tempore ad caput eius posita fuerat ibidem ardet die noctuque*.

<sup>4</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 178,11: 29 (*Bethlem ... spelunca ubi natus est Dominus in qua est ipsum praeseptum ornatum* (G *ipse praeseptus ornatus*, R *ipsum praesepe ornatum*) *ex auro et argento*); *die noctuque intus luminaria* (R *die noctuque luminaria*) = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 209,5f.: 29 (*Bethleem ...*) *Ibi est* (B *est ibi*) *spelunca ubi natus est Dominus et praeseptum ex auro et argento ornatum*) *et iugiter ibi fiunt luminaria*.



lamps? - suspended one by one on chains;<sup>1</sup> the Tomb of Jesus has, day and night, twelve lamps (*lampades*) burning with oil (*oleo nutriente praefulgent*),<sup>2</sup> fifteen oil lamps (*crateras aureas*) burning,<sup>3</sup> lamps (*lampades*) alighted anew on the night before Easter;<sup>4</sup> on the square (*plateola*) between the Tomb of Jesus and the Basilica of Constantine, reaching to Golgotha, are lamps (*lampades*) burning day and night;<sup>5</sup> the Church of the Ascension has, over the imprints of Jesus' feet, a lamp (*lampa*) burning day and night,<sup>6</sup> a candle (*cisindulum*) in a glass box burning in rain and sunshine;<sup>7</sup> the Tomb of David not far from Bethlehem has, over the tombstone, a bright lamp

---

<sup>1</sup>**Iacintus** 323: 10 (*Ecclesia que circa sepulcrum est domnus Constantinus imperator fecit eam filio domna Elena regina. Dicamus de ecclesia. Intus in ecclesia sunt ordinate XII columpne ...*) *Et inter ipsas sunt alie sex quatrade et magne nimis quooportos de marmoreas lapides et ante singule pendent singule cantenas quibus tenent [...]*.

<sup>2</sup>**Adomnanus** I 2,60-65: I.2.12 *In quo utique sepulchro [the Holy Sepulchre] dudenae lampades iuxta numerum duodecim sanctorum apostolorum semper die ac nocte (B die et nocte) ardentes lucent ex quibus .IIII. or in imo illius lectuli sepulchralis loco inferius positae aliae vero bis quaternales super eius marginem (YPZ super marginem eius) superius conlocatae ad latus dexterum oleo nutriente praefulgent (Y praefulgentes) = Beda, De locis sanctis* 2,30-32: 2.2 (< Arculfus) (*monumentum Domini [the Holy Sepulchre] ...*) *ubi die noctuque XII lampades ardent quattuor intra sepulchrum (M inter sepulchrum) octo supra in margine dextro*; the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in **Adomnanus Y** (Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 195f. pl. 5f.; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 339 pl. 1) has twelve candles and the legend, *sepulchrum Domini cum XII luminaria*; the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in **Beda, De locis sanctis V** (Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 195f. pl. 6) has seven candles.

<sup>3</sup>**Hugeburc, Vita Willibaldi** 97,21: 4 (*et ibi secus est ille hortus in quo erat sepulchrum Salvatoris ... et ibi est intus lectum ubi corpus Domini iacebat*); *et ibi stant in lecto 15 crateras aureas (2 crateros aureos, 3 craterae aureae, 4 cratere aureo, 4a crateres aurei) cum oleo ardentes die noctuque*.

<sup>4</sup>**Bernardus** 315,7-14: 11 (*De hoc sepulcro [the Holy Sepulchre] non est necesse plura scribere cum dicat (L dicit, M dicatur) Beda in historia sua (M in historia Anglorum) inde sufficientiam (M adds que et nos possumus referre.) Hoc tamen dicendum est (FVM dicendum) quod sabbato sancto quod est vigilia Pasche mane officium incipitur in hac ecclesia et post peractum officium 'Kyrie eleison' (L Kariel) canitur donec veniente angelo lumen in lampadibus accendatur que pendent super (L supra) predictum sepulcrum de quo dat patriarcha episcopis et reliquo populo ut (L ubi) illuminet sibi unusquisque in suis locis (M sibi in suis locis)*).

<sup>5</sup>**Adomnanus** I 6,18-21: I.6.3 *Inter Anastassim (B Anastasim, P Anathasim, Z Anasthasim) hoc est illam sepe supra memoratam rotundam ecclesiam et basilicam Constantini quaedam patet plateola usque ad ecclesiam Golgathanam; in qua videlicet plateola die et nocte (P die et ac nocte) semper lampades ardent*; the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre **Adomnanus Y** (Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 194 pl. 5f.; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 339 pl. 1) has the legend, *plateola in qua die et nocte lampades ardent*.

<sup>6</sup>**Adomnanus** I 23,42-44: I.23.10 *Haec enim eadem Dominica vestigia (Y without haec ... vestigia) ingentis claritudine lampadis supra eandem rotam in trocleis pendentis die et nocte flammantis inluminantur (Y adds Haec enim eadem dominica vestigia ...) = Beda, De locis sanctis* 6,15-17: 6.1 (*ultima Domini vestigia ...*) *Haec circa aerea (L haec circa hanc erea) rota iacet (M vacet) usque ad cervicem (PVB ad verticem) alta ob occasu habens introitum pendente desuper in trocleis magna lampade totaque (M tota) die et nocte lucente*.

<sup>7</sup>**Hugeburc, Vita Willibaldi** 98,16-19: 4 (*Et inde venit [Willibald] ad aecclesiam in ipso monte ubi Dominus ascendit in caelum. Et in medio aecclesiae stat de aere factum sculptum ac speciosum et est quadrans illud stat in medio aecclesie ubi Dominus ascendit in caelum*); *et in medio aereo est factum vitreum quadrangulum (4 4a 4b est factum quadrangulum) et ibi est in vitreo parvum cisindulum (3 cicindulum, 4 4a asindulum) et circa cisindulum (3 cicindulum, 4 4a asindulum) est illud vitreum undique clausum et ideo est undique clausum (4 4a*

always burning.<sup>1</sup> One of the characteristics of High 'Abbāsīd Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*) is that the mosques have lamps (*qanādīl*) burning continuously (*'alā d-dawām*);<sup>2</sup> the mosque (*al-masğid*) is said having an allowance (*waḡī fa*) of 700 *ibrāhīmī qisṭ* oil every month - the *ibrāhīmī qisṭ* being 1.5 great *qisṭ* (*qisṭ kabīr*) - and of 8000 mats (*ḥuṣur*), 12 *dīnār* for twisting the wicks of the lamps (*as-surāfa li-fatā'il al-qanādīl*), 33 *dīnār* for the glass of the lamps (*zuğāğ al-qanādīl*) and 15 *dīnār* for workmen working on the roofs of the mosque (*ṣunnā' ya'malūn fī suṭūḥ al-masğid*) every year,<sup>3</sup> the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), an allowance (*waḡīfa*) of 100 *qisṭ* oil every month and 800,000 *dirā'* (532,000 m) mats (*ḥuṣur*) [of a certain standard width] every year.<sup>4</sup> The Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock has (many silver) lamps (*bisyār qindīl-i nuqra qindīlhā*) (B184.7) and quite a large candle (*šam'*) (B184.8) [burning] and has, over the Rock, a silver lamp (*qindīl-i nuqra*) suspended on a silver chain (*silsila-i nuqragīn*) (B184.5); the Fāṭimid Dome of Jacob has lamps and lanterns (*qindīl wa masrağahā*) burning (B159.4); the Fāṭimid Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus has many copper and silver lamps (*qindīlhā-yi bisyār-i birinğīn wa nuqragīn*) suspended burning all night (B165.3); the cave of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock has candles (*šam'*) continuously burning (B193.3); and the *Maqṣūra* of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque has lamps and lanterns (*qindīlhā wa masrağahā*) suspended one by one on chains (*silsilahā*) (B207.3).

B014.7.d. Parallels to the taking of the Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem: The High 'Abbāsīd Muslim Gate of God's Presence (*Bāb as-Sakīna*) may be the place where the Ark of the Covenant was for a while, but this is not explicit (B073.4). The High 'Abbāsīd Mount of Olives with the Chair of the Cantors (*Kursī ha-ḥazzānīm*) is, by a Jewish tradition, considered the mountain east of the city where God's glory was standing after he left the city, in the time of its destruction by the Babylonians (**Ezekiel** 11.23), and the Mount of Olives is where it will come back (**Zechariah** 14.4);<sup>5</sup> the High 'Abbāsīd Mount of Olives is the Jewish Place of the Stool of our God

4b *ideo est clausum, 3 undique clausum est) ut semper ardere possit in pluvia sed et in sole* (3 4 4a 4b *in pluvia et in sole*).

<sup>1</sup>**Adomnanus** II 4,6-9: II.4.3 (*Sepulchrum David ...*); *quod in parte media pavimenti ecclesiae sine aliquo habetur superposito ornamento humilem lapideam habens pyramidem illud supra circumdantem lampademque semper superpositam clare lucentem* = **Beda, De locis sanctis** 7,16f.: 7.2 *Ad aquilonem Bethlehem in valle contigua sepulchrum David in medio ecclesiae humili lapide tegitur lampade superposita* (B *lapide superposito*).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 182,6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 20f.) (*iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ...*) *wa-rusūmuhum annahum yaqidūna l-qanādīla fī masāğidihim 'alā d-dawāmi* (*yu'alliqūnahā bi-s-salāsili miṭla Makkata*).

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,19-23 (*wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *wa-waḡīfatuhu fī kulli šahrin mina z-zayti sab'umi'ati qisṭin bi-l-ibrāhīmīyi waznu l-qisṭi raṭlun wa-niṣfun bi-l-kabīri wa-waḡīfatuhu fī kulli 'āmin mina l-ḥuṣuri ṭamāniyatu ālāfin wa-waḡīfatuhu fī kulli 'āmin mina s-surāfati li-fatā'ili l-qanādīli ṭnā 'āsara dīnāran wa-li-zuğāğī l-qanādīli ṭalātātun wa-ṭalātūna dīnāran wa-li-ṣunnā'in ya'malūna fī suṭūḥi l-masğidi fī kulli 'āmin ḥamsata 'āsara dīnārin*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 171,7f. (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ... wa-ṭūlu l-masğidi ...*) *wa-kānat waḡīfatuhu fī kulli šahrin mi'atu qisṭi zaytin* (C *mi'atu qisṭin mina z-zayti, Yāqūt mi'atu dīnārin*) *wa-fī kulli sanatin ṭamāni mi'ati alfi dirā'i ḥuṣurin* (*Yāqūt ṭamāni mi'ati alfi dirā'in ḥuṣuran*).

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.2a** r,8-13 *taṭla' ilā Har ha-zētīm fī ḥağar ṭūluh y adrā' fī 'arḍ dirā'ayn fī samk dirā'ayn huwa Kursī ha-ḥazzānīm wa-huwa maṣṣūb al-mawḍi' in waqaf al-kābōd g sinīn wa-niṣf ['alā] Har ha-zētīm ilā [an] ḥaribat Yērūšalēm 'alā mā qāl 'wa-ya'al kēbōd Adōnay mē-'al tōk ha-'ir wa-ya<sup>a</sup>mod 'al ha-hār<sup>a</sup>šār mi-qādām la-'ir' (**Ezekiel** 11.23) *wa-ilā tamma* [Classical Arabic *ṭamma*] *ya'ūd al-kābōd ka-qawluh 'wa-'āmdū raglāw ba-yōm ha-hū' 'al Har ha-zētīm' wē-gōmēr* (**Zechariah** 14.4).*

For Jewish traditions about God's Presence on the Mount of Olives, see A205.a.

(*Məqōm H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglē Ālōhēnū*) (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4; **Isaiah** 66.1).<sup>1</sup> The Fāṭimid Mount of Olives is the Jewish place of the Ascent of God's Presence (*məqōm Maʿmad Šəḵīnāh*),<sup>2</sup> the place of the Presence of God's strength (*məqōm Šəḵīnat ʿuzzō*) (cf. **Ezekiel** 11.23; **Zechariah** 14.4) and the Stool of God's foot (*H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglō*) (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4);<sup>3</sup> another Fāṭimid Jewish tradition knows the search of ʿUmar, helped by one or more [Jewish] scholars, for the Foundation Stone (*Āḥān Šəṭīyāh*) [the stone from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, in the Holy of Holies] and his building of a dome over the Rock (B131.13). (For the return of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem, see B014.9.a).

B014.7.e. A parallel to Kaʿb orienting himself towards the Temple (*li-kay yastaqbil al-Quds, yastaqbil al-Quds*): In a Marwānīd tradition Solomon stood on a rock, oriented himself towards the Temple (*istaqbal al-Quds*) and asked God to grant him three wishes (B029.4).

B014.8. The **holy part** of the earth is Syria-Palestine (*quds al-arḍ aš-Šaʿm*); the holy part of Syria-Palestine, Palestine (*quds aš-Šaʿm Filasṭīn*); the holy part of Palestine, Jerusalem (*quds Filasṭīn Bayt al-Maqdis*); the holy part of Jerusalem, the mountain [the whole mosque] (*quds Bayt al-Maqdis al-ġabal*); the holy part of the mountain, the dome [the Dome of the Rock] (*quds al-ġabal al-qubba*);<sup>4</sup> Syria-Palestine is **blessed** (*aš-Šaʿm mubāraka*), Palestine holy (*Filasṭīn muqaddasa*) and the Temple the Holy of Holies (*Bayt al-Maqdis Quds al-Quds*);<sup>5</sup> the **most favourite place** of Syria-Palestine (*aš-Šaʿm*) for God is the Temple [or Jerusalem] (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), the most favourite place of the Temple [or Jerusalem] (*al-Quds*), the Dome of the Rock (*aš-Šaḥra*) and the Mount (*aṭ-Ṭūr*) [the Mount of Olives?].<sup>6</sup> **Paradise** is on the

<sup>1</sup>**Bān Mēʿīr** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpillōtēnū ʿalaykām tədirāh wə-ʿal ziqnē yəqār šā-lāḳām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglē Ālōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-ʿal Šaʿar ha-kōhēn wə-ʿal šaʿrē Miqdāš ha-Ālōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yisrāʾēl la-ḥaḡ ḥaḡ ha-Ālōhīm ḥaḡ ha-sūkkōt*.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr. 451r, 12** (*wa-mā naqdīr ʿalā mukāfaʿa lā lak yā sayyidī wa-lā li-ḡayrak aktar min ad-dūʿā a[š]-šālīḥ bə-tōaḳ ha-qāhāl*) *wa-fī s-sayr ʿalā abwāb al-Quds wa-fī Har ha-zētīm məqōm Maʿmad Šəḵīnāh (wa-nasʿaluh al-iḡāba bi-raḥmatuh)*.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr. 109r, 15** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 149 n. 16; see Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282) (*lə-maʿan lō yī nāzzēqū Bēyt Yisrāʾēl [... ba-ʿalō]tām ū-b-bōʿām bə-sōḥḥām ʿal šaʿrē [ha-Miqdāš ...] bə-qadōš wə-bārūkʿ ū-ka-ʿalōtām ʾāl Har [ha-zētīm]) [... nōkaḥ] hēykāl Ālōhēnū məqōm Šəḵīnat ʿuzzō wə-h<sup>a</sup>dōm [riglō]*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 56**: 41,2-4 (transl. van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 89; see Busse, "Sanctity" 456f.) *qudsu l-arḍi š-Šaʿmu wa-qudsu š-Šaʿmi Filasṭīnu wa-qudsu Filasṭīna Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-qudsu Bayti l-Maqdisi l-ġabalu wa-qudsu l-ġabali l-masḡidu wa-qudsu l-masḡidi* (I read *wa-qudsu l-ġabali l-qubbatu*, thus also Ibn al-Muraḡḡā; Hasson, Busse and van Ess read *wa-qudsu l-ġabali l-masḡidu wa-qudsu l-masḡidi l-qubbatu*) = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr. 136**: 115,14f. *qudsu l-arḍi š-Šaʿmu wa-qudsu š-Šaʿmi Filasṭīnu wa-qudsu Filasṭīna Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-qudsu Bayti l-Maqdisi l-ġabalu wa-qudsu l-ġabali l-qubbatu*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 51**: 39,6f. *aš-Šaʿmu mubārakatun wa-Filasṭīnu muqaddasatun wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi Quds l-Qudsi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr. 207**: 158,14 *aš-Šaʿmu mubārakatun wa-Filasṭīnu muqaddasatun wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi Quds l-Qudsi*.

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr. 185**: 148,4f. (see Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 83) *aḥabbu š-Šaʿmi ilā Llāhi taʿālā Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-aḥabbu l-Qudsi ilā Llāhi taʿālā š-Šaḥratu wa-ṭ-Ṭūru*.

roofs of the Temple (‘*alā aḡāḡīr Bayt al-Maqdis*)<sup>1</sup> and the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) has a pit (ḡubb) which leads to Paradise (B014.7); from beneath the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) come [the four rivers of Paradise and] all waters of the world (cf. **Psalm** 46.5; **Ezekiel** 47.1-12).<sup>2</sup> The Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) is **God's Nearest Throne** (‘*Arš Allāh al-Adnā*).<sup>3</sup> Every night another 70,000 **angels** descend to the mosque of the Temple (*masḡid Bayt al-Maqdis*) and praise God here, and they come here again only at the Last Day;<sup>4</sup> on every inch of the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) an angel stood or a prophet prayed.<sup>5</sup> **al-Ḥiḍr** [the popular saint identified with the anonymous servant of **Koran** 18.60-82] prays every week in five mosques, in the mosques of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Qabā’ and Mount Sinai (*aṭ-Ṭūr*), and each night in the mosque of Mount Sinai (*aṭ-Ṭūr*).<sup>6</sup> The **weight of good and bad deeds** done here is double,<sup>7</sup> is thousandfold.<sup>1</sup> Ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) made here has its special weight;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 229,1 *Bābu mā ḡā’a anna l-Ḡannata ‘alā aḡāḡīri Bayti l-Maqdisi ...; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.337: 229,5f. (‘an Ḥalīdi bni Ma’dāna qāla) inna l-Ḡannata ‘alā aḡāḡīri Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.41: 30,10f.** (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 88) (*yaqūlu Llāhu ‘azza wa-ḡalla li-Bayti l-Maqdisi*) anta ‘*Arš l-Adnā minka rtafa’tu ilā s-samwāti wa-minka basaṭtu l-arḍa wa-min taḥtika ḡa’altu kulla mā’in ‘adibin yaṭla’u fi ru’ūsi l-ḡibālī.*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.41: 30,10f.** (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 88) (*yaqūlu Llāhu ‘azza wa-ḡalla li-Bayti l-Maqdisi*) anta ‘*Arš l-Adnā minka rtafa’tu ilā s-samwāti wa-minka basaṭtu l-arḍa wa-min taḥtika ḡa’altu kulla mā’in ‘adibin yaṭla’u fi ru’ūsi l-ḡibālī.*

For the Throne of God, see A084.b.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140: 87,2-5** (*qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fa-aqbala a’rābiyun ... fa-sami’a Muqātilun naḡmata dālika fa-qāla ... wa-yazburuhu bi-ṣawtihi ...*) *wa-ḡakara anna fi laylatin* (read *fi kulli laylatin*) *yanzilu sab’ūna alfi malakin mina s-samā’i ilā masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi yuhallilūna Llāha wa-yukabbirūna Llāha wa-yusabbihūna Llāha wa-yaḥmadūna Llāha wa-yuqaddisūna Llāha wa-yumaḡḡidūna Llāha wa-yu’aẓẓimūna Llāha wa-lā ya’ūdūna ilayhi ilā an yaqūmu s-sā’atu = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.338: 229,14-16* (*qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fa-aqbala a’rābiyun ... fa-sami’a Muqātilun ... wa-yazburuhu bi-ṣawtihi ...*) *wa-inna fi kulli laylatin yanzilu sab’ūna alfi malakin yusabbihūna Llāha wa-yuhallilūna Llāha wa-yukabbirūna Llāha wa-yaḥmadūna Llāha wa-yuqaddisūna Llāha wa-yumaḡḡidūna Llāha wa-yu’aẓẓimūna Llāha fi masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ṭumma lā ya’ūdūna ilā yawmi l-qiyāmati.*

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.388: 254,9f.** (*... anba’anā Muḥammadu bnu Šu’aybin qāla qultu li-‘Utmāna bni ‘Aṭā’a l-Ḥurāsānīyi mā yaqūlu* (read *taqūlu*) *fi ṣ-ṣalāti fi Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla na’am itihī fa-ṣalli fihi fa-inna Dāwūda ‘alayhi s-salāmu assasahu wa-banāhu Sulaymānu wa-ballaṭahu bi-d-ḡahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati*) *wa-laysa minhu šibrun illā wa-qad saḡada ‘alayhi malakun aw nabīyun fa-la’alla ḡabhataka an tuwāfiya ḡabhata malakin aw nabīyin.*

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.148: 91,6f.** (*Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri ... wa-huwa yuṣalli kulla ḡum’atin fi ḡamsi masāḡida* (read *fi ḡamsati masāḡida*) *l-Masḡidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-masḡidi l-Madīnati wa-Masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-masḡidi Qabā’a*) [*wa-masḡidi ṭ-Ṭūri*] *wa-yuṣalli kulla laylatin fi masḡidi ṭ-Ṭūri = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.175: 140,11f.* (*Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri ‘alayhi s-salāmu ...*) *wa-huwa yuṣalli fi kulli ḡum’atin fi ḡamsati masāḡida, l-Masḡidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-masḡidi l-Madīnati wa-Masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-masḡidi Qabā’a*) [*wa-masḡidi ṭ-Ṭūri*] *wa-yuṣalli kulla laylatin fi masḡidi ṭ-Ṭūri.*

For al-Ḥiḍr, see A141.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.96: 61,4-6** (*... anna Ka’ba l-Aḥbāra kāna idā ḡaraḡa min Ḥimša yurīdu ṣ-ṣalāta fi masḡidi Ḥiyyā’a idā ntahā ilā l-mīli min Ḥiyyā’a amsaka ‘ani l-kalāmi fa-lam yatakallam illā bi-tilāwati kitābi Llāhi ‘azza wa-ḡalla*

is equivalent to 1000 prayers [made elsewhere],<sup>3</sup> but to less than one fourth of a prayer in the mosque of Medina;<sup>4</sup> is equivalent to 500 prayers, but in Medina to 1000 prayers;<sup>5</sup> is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Mecca to 100,000;<sup>6</sup> is equivalent to 50,000 prayers, but at home to one, in the neighbourhood

*wa-d-dikri tumma yadhulu min Bābi l-Asbāṭi li-yastaqbila l-Qudsa tumma yuḡammi'a fī l-masḡidi ḥamsa ṣalawātīn fa-idā nṣarafa ilā l-mīli takallama wa-kallama aṣḥābahu qālū lahu yā Abā Ishāqa mā yaḥmiluka 'alā dālika qāla) li-annī aḡidu fī ba'di l-kutubi anna l-ḥasanāti tuḏā'afu fī hādā l-masḡidi wa-anna s-sayyi'āti yuf'alu bihā miṭlu dālika fa-ana uḥibbu an lā yakūna minnī illā l-iḥsānu ḥattā anṣarifū = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.312: 214,14f. (... anna Ka'ba l-Aḥbāra idā ḥaraḡa min Ḥimṣa yurīda ṣ-ṣalāta fī masḡidi Īliyā'a idā intahā ilā l-mīli min Īliyā' amsaka 'ani l-kalāmi fa-lam yatakallam illā bi-tilāwati kitābi Llāhi wa-d-dikri tumma yadhulu min Bābi l-Asbāṭi yastaqbilu l-Qudsa tumma NḤM' (read yaḡma'u) fī l-masḡidi ḥamsa ṣalawātīn fa-idā nṣarafa ilā l-mīli takallama wa-kallama aṣḥābahu fa-qālū lahu ya-Abā Ishāqa (Livne-Kafri reads yā Abā Ishāqa) mā yaḥmiluka 'alā dālika) qāla li-annī aḡidu fī ba'di l-kutubi anna l-ḥasanāti tuḏā'afu fī hādā l-masḡidi wa-anna s-sayyi'āti yuf'alu bihā miṭlu dālika (fa-ana uḥibbu an lā yakūna minnī illā l-iḥsānu ḥattā anṣarifū); al-Wāsiṭi Nr.97: 61,9f. (ḥaddatanā Ḍamratu 'an Layṭin 'an Nāfi'in 'ani bni 'Umara qāla qāla li yā Nāfi'u rtaḥil min Bayti l-Maqdisi) fa-inna s-sayyi'āti tuḏā'afu fīhi ka-mā tuḏā'afu l-ḥasanātu (wa-aḥrama min Bayti l-Maqdisi).*

<sup>1</sup>*al-Wāsiṭi Nr.94: 60,3f. al-ḥasanatu fī Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-alfin wa-s-sayyi'atu bi-alfin.*

<sup>2</sup>*Leontios, Vita Stephani Sabaitae 255,9-11: 52 (kāna rāhibun āḡaru ... wa-ḡinsuhu Iskandarānīyun fa-ḥaddatanī bi-hādā l-'aḡabi l-'aḡibi wa-qāla li: innahu kāna raḡulun ḥasanu l-amānati bi-Llāhi miṣriyu l-ḡinsi. Fa-aḡbarānī ... wa-qāla: kuntu wa-ana fī baladī ... fa-... urītu an aḡhaba ilā Ūruṣalīma li-annī ṣtahaytu an amūta fihā) fa-laḡiqanī min bilādī wa-rāfaḡanī raḡulun kāna MQMṢ bna MQMṢ wa-kāna rāḡibun [sic] ḡiddan fī dīnihi wa-kufrihi wa-lahu fī dālika ḡiratun ḡayḡatun aḡarru minā n-nāri wa-arāda fī ḡiyatihi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi li-kay-mā yuṣalliya fī masḡidi l-Muslimīna l-ladī fihā.*

*Cf. Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.388: 254,8-10 (... anba'anā Muḥammadu bnu Šu'aybin qāla qultu li-'Uṭmāna bni 'Aṭā'a l-Ḥurāsānīyi mā yaqūlu (read taqūlu) fī ṣ-ṣalāti fī Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla) na'am ītihi fa-ṣalli fīhi fa-inna Dāwūda 'alayhi s-salāmu assasahu wa-banāhu Sulaymānu wa-ballaḡahu bi-d-dahabi wa-l-fidḡati wa-laysa minhu ṣibrun illā wa-qad saḡada 'alayhi malakun aw nabīyun fa-la'alla ḡabhataka an tuwāfiya ḡabhata malakin aw nabī yin*

<sup>3</sup>*al-Wāsiṭi Nr.32: 25,1f. (... anna Maymūnata sa'alat Rasūla Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'an Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla) ni'ma l-maskanu Baytu l-Maqdisi man ṣallā fīhi ṣalātan bi-alfi ṣalātin fīmā siwāhu; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.79: 88,6f. (... anna Maymūnata zawḡa n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu qālat qultu ya-Rasūla Llāhi (read yā Rasūla Llāhi) aftinā 'an Ṣaḡrati Bayti l-Maqdisi (read 'an Bayti l-Maqdisi; see the subsequent masculine pronouns and the parallels given in Livne-Kafri, Ibn al-Muraḡḡā) qāla) ... fa-inna ṣ-ṣalāta fīhi bi-alfi ṣalātin fīmā siwāhu.*

<sup>4</sup>*al-Wāsiṭi Nr.37: 28,4-6 ('an Abī Darrin) anna Nabīya Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama su'ila 'ani ṣ-ṣalāti fī Bayti l-Maqdisi afḡalu aw fī Masḡidi r-Rasūli fa-qāla ṣalātun fī masḡidī hādā afḡalu min arba'i ṣalawātīn fīhi = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.78: 78,12-79,2 ('an Abī Darrin qāla) qultu ya-Rasūla Llāhi (Livne-Kafri reads yā Rasūla Llāhi) ṣ-ṣalātu fī masḡidika hādā afḡalu minā ṣ-ṣalāti fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-qāla ṣalātun fī masḡidī hādā afḡalu min arba'i ṣalawātīn fīhi.*

<sup>5</sup>*al-Ḡazālī, Asrār al-Ḥaḡḡ 16 (quoted in Livne-Kafri, Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 95) ṣalātun fī masḡidī hādā [in the mosque of Medina] ḡayrun min alfi ṣalātin fīmā sawāhu illā l-Masḡida l-Ḥarāma wa-ka-dālika kullu 'amalin bi-l-Madīnati bi-alfin wa-ba'da madīnatihi l-Arḡu l-Muqaddasatu fa-inna ṣ-ṣalāta fihā bi-ḡamsimī'ati ṣalātin.*

<sup>6</sup>*Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.399: 259,8-10 ... anna n-Nabīya 'alayhi s-salāmu qāla ṣalātun fī Makkata bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī masḡidī bi-ḡamsīna alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī Masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-ḡamsatin wa-'iṣrīna alfi ṣalātin.*

mosque (*masğid al-qabā'il*) to 25, in the Friday mosque to 500, in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, at Mecca to 100,000, at the coast (*as-sāhil*) [on the *ğihād*] to 2,000,000, with the teeth-stick (*miswāk*) to 400;<sup>1</sup> is equivalent to 50,000 prayers, but at home to one, in the neighbourhood mosque (*masğid al-qabā'il*) to 26, in the Friday mosque to 500, in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, in the *Haram* of Mecca to 100,000;<sup>2</sup> is equivalent to 20,000 prayers, but in the mosque of Mecca to 100,000, in the *Haram* of Medina to 1000;<sup>3</sup> is equivalent to 500 prayers, but in the mosque of Medina to 1000, at the coast (*as-sāhil*) [on the *ğihād*] to 2,000,000 - and each congregational prayer in each of these places to another 25 times;<sup>4</sup> this is one of the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] one should visit.<sup>5</sup> Whoever is not able to pray here may instead give oil [for its lamps];<sup>6</sup> illuminating it has the same value as praying here.<sup>7</sup> Whosoever takes upon himself the state of the pilgrimage in the Temple

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.12:** 12,10-13,3 *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-salalātu r-rağuli* (read 'alayhi wa-sallama ṣalātu r-rağuli) *fī baytihi bi-ṣalātin wāḥidatin wa-ṣalātuhu fī masğidi l-qabā'ili bi-ḥamsin wa-ʿiṣrīna ṣalātan wa-ṣalātuhu fī l-ğāmi'i bi-ḥamsi mi'ati ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu fī masğidi ḥadā bi-ḥamsina alfi ṣalātin*) *wa-ṣalātuhu fī Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-ḥamsina alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu bi-Makkata bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu 'alā s-sāhili bi-alfay alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu bi-miswākin bi-arba'i mi'ati ṣalātin wa-ḍakara ḥadiṭan ṭawīlan.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.11:** 12,1-6 *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ṣalātu r-rağuli fī baytihi bi-ṣalātin wāḥidatin wa-ṣalātuhu fī masğidi l-qabā'ili bi-sittin wa-ʿiṣrīna* (read *bi-sittin wa-ʿiṣrīna ṣalātan*) *wa-ṣalātuhu fī l-masğidi l-ladī yuğamma'u fihi bi-ḥamsi mi'ati ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu fī l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā bi-ḥamsina alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu fī masğidi bi-ḥamsina alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.80: 89,3-6 *qāla n-Nabīyu 'alayhi s-salāmu ṣalātu r-rağuli fī baytihi bi-ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu fī masğidi l-qabā'ili bi-sittin wa-ʿiṣrīna ṣalātan wa-ṣalātuhu fī l-masğidi l-ladī yuğma'u fihi bi-ḥamsi mi'ati ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu fī l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā bi-ḥamsina alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātuhu fī masğidi bi-ḥamsina alfan wa-ṣalātuhu fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi bi-mi'ati alfin* (read *bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin*).*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.76:** 87,2f. *ṣalātun fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī masğidi bi-alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā bi-ʿiṣrīna alfi ṣalātin* [sic].

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.92:** 95,7 *aṣ-ṣalātu fī Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-ḥamsi mi'atini l-ğamā'atu minhā tuḍā'afu ḥamsan wa-ʿiṣrīna* (*wa-ṣ-ṣalātu fī Masğidi l-Madinati bi-alfi ṣalātini l-ğamā'atu minhā tuḍā'afu ḥamsan wa-ʿiṣrīna wa-ṣ-ṣalātu 'alā ṣaṭi'i l-baḥri bi-alfay alfi ṣalātini l-ğamā'atu minhā bi-ḥamsin wa-ʿiṣrīna*).

<sup>5</sup>**Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ** 15 511; 513.

For the Muslim tradition of the three mosques to visit, see A101.h.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.32:** 25,2 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 64) (... *anna Maymūnata sa'alat Rasūla Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'an Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla ni'ma l-maskanu Baytu l-Maqdisi man ṣallā fihi ṣalātan bi-alfi ṣalātin fimā siwāhu*) *qālat fa-man lam yuṭiq ḍālīka qāla fa-l-yuhdi ilayhi zaytan*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.79:** 88,7f. (... *anna Maymūnata zawğa n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu qālat qultu ya-Rasūla Llāhi* (read *yā Rasūla Llāhi*) *afṭinā 'an Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read 'an Bayti l-Maqdisi; see the subsequent masculine pronouns and the parallels given in Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Murağğā*) *qāla ... fa-inna ṣ-ṣalāta fihi bi-alfi ṣalātin fī-mā siwāhu*) *fa-man lam yastaṭi' minkum an ya'tiyahu wa-yazūrahu fa-l-yuhdi ilayhi zaytan yusrağu fihi* (*fa-inna man asrağa fihi ka-man ṣallā fihi*).

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.79:** 88,8 (... *anna Maymūnata zawğa n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu qālat qultu ya-Rasūla Llāhi* (read *yā Rasūla Llāhi*) *afṭinā 'an Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read 'an Bayti l-Maqdisi; see the subsequent masculine pronouns and the parallels given in Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Murağğā*) *qāla ... fa-inna ṣ-ṣalāta fihi bi-alfi ṣalātin fī-mā siwāhu*) *fa-man lam yastaṭi' minkum an ya'tiyahu wa-yazūrahu fa-l-yuhdi ilayhi zaytan yusrağu fihi*) *fa-inna man asrağa fihi ka-man ṣallā fihi* (but not = **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.32:** 25,2).

(*man ahalla min Bayti l-Maqdisi*,<sup>1</sup> *man aḥrama min Bayt al-Maqdis*<sup>2</sup>), or the state of the major or minor pilgrimage, in the Aqṣà Mosque (*man ahalla bi-ḥaḡḡa aw 'umra min al-Masḡid al-Aqṣà*),<sup>3</sup> has all prior and future sins forgiven and will enter Paradise.

B014.8.a. A parallel to the conception of Paradise on the roofs of the Temple (*'alà aḡāḡir Bayt al-Maqdis*): A Marwānīd tradition considers the pavement of the Dome of the Rock the roofs of Paradise (*aḡāḡir al-Ġanna*) (B047.3).

B014.9. In the last days the **Ark of the Covenant** (*Tābūt as-Sakīna*) will be brought from the Lake of Tiberias (*Buḥayrat Ṭabarīya*) to the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), put here in front of the Mahdī and most of the Jews will, when looking at it, become Muslims, then will the Mahdī die.<sup>4</sup> The Ka'ba and all the people who made *ḥaḡḡ* or *'umra* to it will visit the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) together and God will rain from underneath his Throne until all of them are covered with water 12 ells (5.98 m) deep<sup>5</sup> and even the bones of Muḥammad (*'izām Muḥammad*) will be brought here;<sup>6</sup> all mosques will be gathered at the Dome of the Rock and surround it like people surround a bride;<sup>7</sup> the Ka'ba will visit the Dome of the Rock and they

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.92**,59,5f. *man ahalla min Bayti l-Maqdisi ḡufira lahu mā taqaddama min ḡanbihi wa-mā ta'aḥḥara wa-udḥila l-Ġannata*.

Cf. the Fāṭimid title **al-Wāsiṭī** 58,11 *Bābu man ahalla min Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

For the *iḥrām* in Jerusalem, see A101.b.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.202**: 157,3 *man aḥrama min Bayti l-Maqdisi daḥala maḡfūran lahu*.

Cf. the Fāṭimid title **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa** 156,5 *Bābu faḍli l-iḥrāmi bi-l-ḥaḡḡi wa-l-'umrati min Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.201**: 156,10-12 *man ahalla bi-ḥaḡḡatin aw 'umratin mina l-Masḡidi l-Aqṣà ilà l-Masḡidi l-Ḥarāmi ḡufira lahu mā taqaddama min ḡanbihi wa-mā ta'aḥḥara aw waḡabat lahu l-Ġannatu*.

Cf. the Fāṭimid title **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa** 156,5 *Bābu faḍli l-iḥrāmi bi-l-ḥaḡḡi wa-l-'umrati min Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.323**: 222,1-3 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 111f.; 'Athamina, "Eschatological Literature" 124) ... *annahu 'alà yadayi l-Mahdīyi yazḥaru Tābūtu s-Sakīnati min Buḥayrati Ṭabarīyata ḥattà tuḥmalu* (read *yuḥmalu*) *fa-yūḍa'u bayna yadayhi fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-idā naẓarat ilayhi l-Yahūdu aslamat illā qalilan minhum tumma yamūtu l-Mahdīyu*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.305**: 211,5-7 *tuḥṣaru l-Ka'batu ilà Bayti l-Maqdisi yawma l-qiyāmati muta'alliqun bihā kullu man ḥaḡḡahā wa-ṭamarahā ... tumma yunzilu Llāhu maṭaran min taḥṭi 'arṣihi fa-yumṭiruhu arba'ina yawman ḥattà yakūnu l-mā'u fawqahumu tnā 'ašara* (read *tnay 'ašara*) *dirā'an*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.165**: 102,19f. (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 21; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 30 n. 57) (... *'an Ḥālidi bni Ḥāzimin qāla qadima z-Zuhrīyu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-ḡa'altu aṭūfu bihi fī tilka l-mawāḍi'i fa-yuṣalli fihā qāla qultu innahā hunā šayḥan yuḥaddītu 'ani l-kutubi yuqālu lahu 'Uqbata bna Abi Zaynaba fa-law ḡalasnā ilayhi qāla fa-ḡalasnā ilayhi fa-ḡa'ala yuḥaddītu faḍā'ila Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-lammā aḡṭara qāla z-Zuhrīyu ayyuhā š-šayḥu ...)* *fa-ḡadiba 'alayhi wa-qāla lā taqūmu s-sā'atu ḥattà tunqalu 'izāmu Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ilayhā*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.118**: 72,19-73,1 (see Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 235; Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" 180f.) (*qāla Llāhu 'azza wa-ḡalla li-Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *lā taḍhabu l-ayyāmu wa-l-layālī ḥattà yuḥṣaru ilayki kullu masḡidin yuḍkaru fihī smu Llāhi yaḥuffūna biki ḥafīfa r-rakbi bi-l-'arūsi id uhdiyāt ilà bayti ahlihā* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.123**: 110,15f. (*qāla Llāhu ta'ālā li-Šaḥrati Bayti l-*

will be led together to Paradise.<sup>1</sup>

B014.9.a. Parallels to the return of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem: A Pre-Marwānid Christian tradition compares [the reliquary of] the Holy Cross (*aṣ-Ṣalīb*, *Ṣalīb Allāh al-mukarram*) brought back safely from the Sāsānids to the Ark of the Covenant (*at-Tābūt*, *Tābūt al-ʿahd*) brought back safely from the Philistians] (1 **Samuel** 5.1-7.2).<sup>2</sup> A Marwānid Muslim tradition describes how the Ark of the Covenant (*at-Tābūt*, *Tābūt as-Sakīna*) was brought back to the Temple [*sic*] (*al-Quds*) by four angels and how David danced in front of it (cf. 1 **Samuel** 5.1-7.2; 2 **Samuel** 6.1-23).<sup>3</sup> The Fāṭimid Muslim Gate of God's Presence (*Bāb as-Sakīna*) is the place where the Ark with God's Presence carried by the angels [back to Saul] was put (B146.4). (For the taking of the Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem, see B014.7.d).

B014.9.b. A parallel to the visit of all mosques and the Kaʿba to the Dome of the Rock: A High ʿAbbāsīd tradition says that in the last days, both Mecca distinguished by its Kaʿba and Medina distinguished by Muḥammad will be

---

*Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *lā taḍhabu l-ayyāmu wa-lā li-layālī* (read *wa-lā li-layālī*) *ḥattā yuḥṣaru ilayki kullu masʿidin yuḍkaru fihi smu Llāhi yaḥuffūna biki ḥafifa r-rakbi bi-l-ʿarūsi idā htudiyat ilā bayti ahlihā.*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.55**: 40,10-12 *lā taqūmu s-sāʿatu ḥattā yazūru l-Baytu l-Ḥarāmu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-yuqādāni ilā l-Ġannati ḡamīʿan wa-fihimā ahlūhumā wa-l-ʿarḍu wa-l-ḥisābu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi* = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.152**: 92,11-93,2 *lā taqūmu s-sāʿatu ḥattā yazūru l-Baytu l-Ḥarāmu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-yanqādū* (read *fa-yanqādāni*) *ilā l-Ġannati wfhʾ ahluhā* (read *wa-fihimā ahlūhumā*) *wa-l-ʿarḍu wa-l-ḥisābu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.306**: 211,10f. *lā taqūmu s-sāʿatu ḥattā yazūru l-Baytu l-Ḥarāmu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-yataqāwadāni* (read *fa-yanqādāni*) *ilā l-Ġannati ḡamīʿan wa-fihimā ahlūhumā wa-l-ʿarḍu wa-l-ḥisābu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.151**: 92,9 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 177) (*qāla Kaʿbun ḥiġġatun aḥabbu ilayya min ʿumratayni wa-ʿumratun aḥabbu ilayya min rakbatin ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-lā taqūmu s-sāʿatu ḥattā tasīru iḥdāhumā ilā l-uḥrā li-anna l-maqāma wa-l-mizāna ʿindahā.*

<sup>2</sup>**Eustratios ABV XXIV,9** speaking about the reliquary of the Holy Cross ... *wa-lam yuftaḥ* (B *wa-lam yataḡayyir*, V *wa-lam yaftaḥū l-Fursu ġilāfahu*) *li-anna l-ladī sallama t-Tābūta min Banī Isrāʾīla huwa sallama ṣ-ṣalība mina l-aʿdāʾi* (B *li-anna l-ladī sallama t-Tābūta min Banī Isrāʾīla huwa l-ladī sallama ṣ-ṣalība mina l-aʿdāʾi*, V *li-anna Llāha ḥafīzahū wa-lam yasmaḥ lahum an yalmisūhu ka-mā ḥafīza Tābūta l-ʿahdi ḥina aḥadūhu qabāʾilu l-ḡurabā wa-raddūhu* (read *wa-raddahu*; see Garitte's translation 131 n. 1) *ilā Banī Isrāʾīla sāliman ka-dālika ḥafīza ṣalībahu l-mukarrama wa-raddahu ilā MWDH* (I read *ilā mawḍiʿihī*) *ka-mā ašā*).

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.226**: 165,12-22 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 111) (*Bābu dīkri mā radda Llāhu taʿālā min Tābūti s-Sakīnati ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi* ...) *lammā arāda Llāhu taʿālā an yarudda ʿalā Banī Isrāʾīla t-Tābūta wa-kāna qad nuqila ʿanhum wa-sallaṭa Llāhu ʿalā man aḥadahu l-waṣaba awḥā Llāhu taʿālā ilā nabīyin min anbiyāʾihim immā Dāniyāla wa-immā ḡayrihi in kuntum turīdūna an yarfaʿa Llāhu ʿankumu l-maraḍa fa-aḥriġū ʿankum ḥādā t-Tābūta qālū bi-āyati māḍā* (cf. 1 **Samuel** 6.4) *qāla bi-āyati annakum taʾtūna bi-baqaratayni sqny* (Livne-Kafri reads reluctantly: *ṣaġīratayni*) *lam taʿmalā qaṭṭu ʿamalan fa-idā naẓarnā ilayhi waḍaʿnā* (read *nazaratā ilayhi wuḍiʿatā*) *aʿnuqāhumā li-n-nīri ḥattā yuṣadda ʿalayhimā tumma yuṣadda t-Tābūtu ʿalā ʿaġalin tumma yuʿallaqu ʿalā l-baqaratayni tumma yuḥlayāni fa-yasīrāni* (read *tuḥlayāni fa-tasīrāni*) *ḥaytu yurīdu Llāhu an yubliġahumā fa-faʿalū dālika fa-wakala Llāhu bihimā arbaʿatan mina l-malāʾikati yasūqūnahumā ḥattā idā balaġatā l-Qudsa kusiratā nīrayhimā* (I read *nīrahūmā*) *wa-duḥibatā fa-nazala Dāwūdu ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-man maʿahu ilayhimā fa-lammā raʾa Dāwūdu t-Tābūta ḥaġala* (read *ḥaġala*) *ilayhā faraḥan bihā qāla ʿAbdu ṣ-Ṣamadi qulnā li-Wahbin mā maʿnā ḥaḥala* (read *ḥaġala*) *ilayhā qāla šibhan bi-r-raṣi qālat lahu mraʾatuhu la-qad ḥafaṭa ḥattā kāda n-nāsu an yamqutūka li-mā ṣanaʿta qāla a-tubṭiʾinī ʿan ʿaṭi rabbī lā takūnī li zawġatan abadan baʿdahā fa-fāraqahā* (cf. 1 **Samuel** 5.6-7.2; 2 **Samuel** 6.1-23).



brought to Jerusalem, chosen to be the place of resurrection.<sup>1</sup> A Fāṭimid tradition says that in the last days, the Ka'ba will visit the Dome of the Rock (B038.6).

**B014.10. Traditions (Christian):** This is the former **Temple of Solomon**, after the Muslim conquest the **Muslims** supported the Jews; the Jews wanted to rebuild the Temple of Solomon, discovered the Holy of Holies (Armenian *Saint des Saints*) and built a [Jewish] prayer-place (Armenian *lieu de prières*) on it; then the Muslims threw them out and made it their own prayer-place (Armenian *lieu de prières*), and the Jews built another [Jewish] prayer-place (Armenian *lieu de prières*) next to the Temple (Armenian *près du Temple*).<sup>2</sup> This is the mosque of the Muslims which is in Jerusalem (*masǧid al-Muslimīn al-ladī fī Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>3</sup> The Capitol (τὸ Καπιτόλιον) was cleared by Egyptians working in daytime; when once at night, some people work there, remove material and throw huge quantities over the walls (διὰ τοῦ τείχους), Anastasios Sinaïtes considers them demons who help the Egyptians in their work; some Christians claim that the Muslim [Marwānid] buildings built thirty years later are the Temple of God (Ναὸς Θεοῦ), but that this is not case is shown by the incident mentioned, Christ's prophecy that the area will be abandoned (**Matthew** 24.2; **Mark** 13.2; **Luke** 13.35; 19.44; 21.6) and Haggai's prophecy about the last glory of the Temple (**Haggai** 2.9) - referring to the destruction by Titus, after which there will be no other.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 166,17-167,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 85) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ...*) wa-amma l-faḍlu fa-li-annahā 'arṣatu l-qiyāmati wa-minhā l-maḥṣaru wa-ilayhā l-manṣaru (C wa-minhā l-ḥaṣru wa-ilayhā n-naṣru) wa-innamā fuḍḍilati Makkatu wa-l-Madīnatu bi-l-Ka'bati wa-n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-yawma l-qiyāmata tuzaffāni ilayhā fa-taḥwī l-faḍla kullahu.

<sup>2</sup>**Sebeos** c.31 (transl. Macler 102; Caetani, *Annali* 3 941f.) *Je dirai encore les desseins des Juifs insurgés qui, ayant rencontré un certain temps l'assistance des Hagarachs [the support of the Muslims], conçurent le dessein de réédifier le temple de Salomon; ayant découvert l'endroit qui s'appelle Saint des Saints, ils y construisirent avec les fondations et le bâtiment un lieu de prières pour eux-mêmes. Les Ismaélites, jaloux d'eux, les repoussèrent de cet endroit et appelèrent ce lieu leur [maison] de prières. [Les Juifs] construisirent dans un autre endroit, près du temple, un autre lieu de prières pour eux-mêmes.*

For the Christian tradition of the Jewish synagogue in the area of the former Temple, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 33; Kessler, "Reconsideration" 11 n. 22 (note by Hamilton); Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 281; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 16; Mango, "Temple Mount" 7; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 184; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24.

<sup>3</sup>**Leontios, Vita Stephani Sabaitae** 255,9-11: 52 (*kāna rāhibun āḥaru ... wa-ǧinsuhu Iskandarānīyun fa-ḥaddatāni bi-hāda l-ʿaǧabi l-ʿaǧibi wa-qāla lī: innahu kāna raǧulun ḥasanu l-amānati bi-Llāhi miṣrīyu l-ǧinsi. Fa-aḥbarāni ... wa-qāla: kuntu wa-ana fī baladī ... fa... urītu an aḍhaba ilā Ūrušalīma lī-anni štahaytu an amūta fihā*) fa-laḥiqāni min bilādī wa-rāfaqāni raǧulun kāna MQMṢ bna MQMṢ wa-kāna rāǧibun [sic] ǧiddan fī dīnihi wa-kufrihi wa-lahu fī dālīka ǧīratun ḥāyīǧatun aḥarru minā n-nāri wa-arāda fī ǧīyatīhi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi li-kay-mā yuṣalliya fī masǧidi l-Muslimīna l-ladī fihā.

<sup>4</sup>**Anastasios Sinaïtes** C3,2-22 *Πρὸς τοῦτων τῶν τριάκοντα χρόνων ᾠκησα ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν ὅτε τὸ Καπιτόλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐξεχοῖζετο. Ἐν μία οὖν*

B014.10.a. **Leontios, Vita Stephani Sabaitae** has (*raḡulun ...*) *wa-arāda fī ḡīyatihi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi li-kay-mā yuṣalliya fī maṣḡidi l-Muslimīna l-ladī fihā* "(a man ...) and he wanted to go to Jerusalem to pray in the mosque of the Muslims in it". *Fihā* refers to a feminine and we therefore best understand *Bayt al-Maqdis* as a city - all cities are femin - and not as "the Temple", which would be masculine.<sup>1</sup> The man therefore goes to the whole area "the mosque in Jerusalem", not to the south building, "the mosque [the south building] in the Temple".

B014.11. The Muslims want to **rebuild the Temple**.<sup>2</sup>

B014.12. **Traditions (Jewish): Mu'āwiya** built the walls of the Temple (*hōmōt ha-Bayit*).<sup>3</sup>

B014.13. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** [The scholar] Ka'b al-Aḥbār arrived from al-Ḥimṣ for prayer (*ṣalāt*) in the mosque of Jerusalem (*maṣḡid Ḩīyā*), did not speak within a mile (*mīl*) of Jerusalem except for reciting the Koran and contemplating God (*illā bi-tilāwat kitāb Allāh wa-d-dīkr*), entered [the mosque] by the Gates of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāt*) and thus oriented himself towards the Temple (*yastaqbil al-Quds*), combined in the mosque (*fī l-maṣḡid*) five ritual prayers in one (*yuḡammi' ḥams ṣalawāt*), left [the mosque] and spoke

---

ἀνέστην τῇ νυκτὶ πρὸ τριῶν ὥρων τοῦ κροῦσαι τὸ ξύλον τῆς αγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀκούω ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ τῷ ἐκχοῖζομένῳ ὡς ἦχον λαοῦ πολλοῦ κάμνοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος καὶ κρᾶζοντος καὶ τὸ πλήθος τοῦ χόματος ρίπτοντος διὰ τοῦ τείχους. Ἐδόκουν οὖν ἐγὼ τὸν λαὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι τὸν κάμνοντα καὶ ὥσανει ἐθλιβόμην, ὡς μηδὲ νυκτὸς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀνάπαυσιν. Ἐν ὅσῳ οὖν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις λογισμοῖς ἀδολεσχῶν (read ἀδολέσχουν) ἔκραξεν ὁ ξυλοκρούστης τῆς αγίας Ἀναστάσεως τὸ Κύριε ἐυλόγησον ὅπως σημάνῃ τὸ ξύλον. Κακείνου κρᾶξαντος ἐνθέως ὁ μὲν θόρυβος ὃν ἤκουον ἡσύχασεν καὶ αἱ φωναὶ ἐπαύσαντο σιγῇ δὲ πολλῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ γέγονεν. Τότε συνῆκα ὅτι δαιμόνων ἦν τὸ ἔργον καὶ χαιρομένων καὶ συνεργούντων ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐκχοῖσμῳ. Καὶ γὰρ πρῶτὸ κατελθόντος μου ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ διηγουμένου μου τὸ πραγματιστῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Γεθσημανὶ κατοικοῦντων ἡσρὸν καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ἀκηκόοντας καὶ διηγουμένους. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἐσκόπησα ἐντάξαι διὰ τοὺς νομίζοντας καὶ λέγοντας Ναὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν νῦν κτιζόμενον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Πῶς γὰρ κτισθῆσεται Ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ; Ἀπόφασις κεῖται περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσα Ἰουδαίους· ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται, εἶπεν ὁ Χριστὸς (**Luke** 13.34). Τουτέστιν, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔρημος μένει (**Haggai** 2.9). Ἐκείνη γὰρ ἦν ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου ἡ ἐσχάτη ἡ ἐπὶ Τίτου ἐμπυρισθεῖσα, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην, οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄλλῃ δόξᾳ ἐσχάτη. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἐσχάτου ἐσχατώτερον.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly ; Schützinger, "Nebukadnezar und Johannes" 117 n. 18.

<sup>2</sup> **Sebeos** c.31 (transl. Macler 102; Caetani, *Annali* 3 941f.) *Je dirai encore les desseins des Juifs insurgés qui, ayant rencontré un certain temps l'assistance des Hagarachs [the support of the Muslims], conçurent le dessein de réédifier le temple de Salomon; ayant découvert l'endroit qui s'appelle Saint des Saints, ils y construisirent avec les fondations et le bâtiment un lieu de prières pour eux-mêmes. Les Ismaélites, jaloux d'eux, les repoussèrent de cet endroit et appelèrent ce lieu leur [maison] de prières. [Les Juifs] construisirent dans un autre endroit, près du temple, un autre lieu de prières pour eux-mêmes.*

<sup>3</sup> **Apocalypse Lévi** 2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 24) (*wa-yimlōk tahtāw Mu'āwiyāh bān Abī Sāpūn*) *w-Adōnay yə' arēr āt ləbābō wa-yibnāh āt hōmōt ha-Bayit*.

up again only at a mile's distance, all this because all good and bad deeds done in this mosque (*fī hādā l-masğid*) have double weight (B014.6). A zealous Egyptian Muslim wants to go to the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) to make ritual prayer (*li-kay yuṣalliya*) in the mosque of the Muslims which is in the Temple (*masğid al-Muslimīn al-ladī fī Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>1</sup> al-Manṣūr comes, on his way back from the *ḥağğ* of the year 140/757, to Jerusalem (*ilā Bayt al-Maqdis*) [which he obviously reaches only in 141/758] and prays in its mosque (*ṣallā fī masğidihā*) (B014.6). al-Mahdī comes in 163/779 to Jerusalem/to the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and prays in it (*ṣallā fihī*) (B014.6). [The scholar] al-Awzā'ī makes his ritual ablution from the water of a cistern inside the mosque (*fī l-masğid*), even when people oppose him [because he should use a cistern outside the mosque], prays eight *rak'a* putting the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) behind him (*warā' ṣaḥrihi*) [not combining old and new prayer-directions] and prays another five prayers [in the mosque] without visiting any of its [holy] places (*mawāṭin*), he thus shows how people should behave in the mosque and says that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz did so as well (B014.6). There are many people spending their night in prayer (*mutahağğidūn*) while standing [in prayer], but their number diminishes with time (B014.6). Ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) made here has its special weight; is equivalent to 1000 prayers [made elsewhere], but to less than one fourth of a prayer in the mosque of Medina; is equivalent to 500 prayers, but in Medina to 1000 prayers; is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Mecca to 100,000 prayers; is equivalent to 50,000 prayers, but at home to one, in the neighbourhood mosque (*masğid al-qabā'il*) to 25, in the Friday mosque to 500, in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, at Mecca to 100,000, at the coast (*as-sāhil*) [on the *ğihād*] to 2,000,000, with the teeth-stick (*miswāk*) to 400; is equivalent to 50,000 prayers, but at home to one, in the neighbourhood mosque (*masğid al-qabā'il*) to 26, in the Friday mosque to 500, in the mosque of Medina to 50,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Mecca to 100,000; is equivalent to 20,000 prayers, but in the mosque of Mecca to 100,000, in the *Ḥaram* of Medina to 1000; is equivalent to 500 prayers, but in the mosque of Medina to 1000, at the coast (*as-sāhil*) [on the *ğihād*] to 2,000,000 - and each congregational prayer in each of these places to another 25 times (B014.8).

B014.14. ['Abd Allāh] Ibn 'Umar takes upon himself the state of the *umra*-pilgrimage in the Temple/Jerusalem (*ahalla min Bayt al-Maqdis*);<sup>2</sup> \*Yūsuf b. 'Abbās and Mu'ād b. Ğabala take

<sup>1</sup>Leontios, *Vita Stephani Sabaitae* 255,9-11: 52 (*kāna rāhibun āḥaru ... wa-ğinsuhu Iskandarānīyun fa-ḥaddatānī bi-hāda l-ʿağabi l-ʿağibi wa-qāla lī: innahu kāna rağulun ḥasanu l-amānati bi-Llāhi miṣrīyu l-ğinsi. Fa-aḥbarānī ... wa-qāla: kuntu wa-ana fī baladī ... fa-... urītu an aḍhaba ilā Ūruṣalīma li-annī ṣtahaytu an amūta fihā*) *fa-laḥiqānī min bilādī wa-rāfaqānī rağulun kāna MQMŞ bna MQMŞ wa-kāna rāğibun* [sic] *ğiddan fī dīnihi wa-kufrihi wa-lahu fī dālīka ġiratun ḥāyiğatun aḥarru mina n-nāri wa-arāda fī ġīyatihi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi li-kay-mā yuṣalliya fī masğidi l-Muslimīna l-ladī fihā.*

<sup>2</sup>al-Wāsiṭī Nr.91: 59,2 (... *ʿani bni ʿUmara*) *annahū ahalla min Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-ʿumratin.*

upon themselves the state of the 'umra-pilgrimage in the Temple/Jerusalem (*ahalla min Bayt al-Maqdis (bi-'umra)*).<sup>1</sup> Whosoever takes upon himself the state of the pilgrimage in the Temple (*man ahalla min Bayti l-Maqdisi, man aḥrama min Bayt al-Maqdis*), or the state of the major or minor pilgrimage in the Aqṣà Mosque (*man ahalla bi-ḥaḡḡa aw 'umra min al-Masḡid al-Aqṣà*), has all prior and future sins forgiven and will enter Paradise. (B014.8).

B014.15. The mosque has [in the time of 'Abd al-Malik] 5000 lamps (*qanādīl*) suspended on 385 chains (*salāsīl*) with a total length of 40,000 ells (19,920.00 m) and a total weight of 43,000 Syrian pounds (*raṭl šāmī*), 280 chains in the [wider] mosque (*masḡid*) and the [105] others in the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*);<sup>2</sup> there are the lamps of the Temple (*maṣābiḥ Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>3</sup> Whoever is not able to pray here may instead give oil [for its lamps] (B014.8); illuminating it has the same value as praying here (B014.8).

B014.15.a. The number of chains in the Dome of the Rock is given by **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**'s (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrata ...*

---

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.204**: 157,8f. ... *anna bna 'Umara aḥrama min Īliyā'a 'amma l-Ḥakamayni.*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.203**: 157,6 (... *'an Yūsufa bni 'Abbāsa* (read *'an Yūsufa bni Mākāka*) *qāla*) *ahlaltu min Bayti l-Maqdisi ma'a Mu'ādi bni Ḡabalin fa-ahalla ma'anā bi-'umratin.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**: 61,4-7 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf'alu bihā fī ḥilāfati 'Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālika l-waḡta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālika l-waḡti*) ...) *wa-fihi mina l-maḥārībi sab'atun wa-mina s-salāsīli li-l-qanādīli arba'u mi'ati silsilatin illā ḥamsata 'aṣara minhā miyatā silsilatin* (read *mi'atā silsilatin*) *wa-tamānūna silsilatan fī l-masḡidi wa-l-bāqī fī Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-ḍar'u s-salāsīli arba'ūna alfi ḍirā'in waznuhā ṭalātun wa-arba'ūna alfi raṭlin bi-š-ša'mīyi wa-fihi mina l-qanādīli ḥamsatu ālāfi qindīlin* (... *kullu dālika 'umila fī ayyāmi 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna*).

Cf. **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.57**: 41,9 (*ḥaddatanā Abū ṣ-Ṣalti Ṣihābu bnu Ḥirāša l-Ḥawṣabīyu 'an Sa'ida bni Sināna 'an Abī z-Zāhirīyati qāla ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi urīdu ṣ-ṣalāta fa-daḥaltu l-masḡida wa-ḡafalat 'annī sadanatu l-masḡidi*) *ḥattā uṭfi'ati l-qanādīli* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.181**: 143,6 (*anba'anā Abū ṣ-Ṣalti Ṣihābu bnu Ḡirāša* (read *bnu Ḥirāša*) *l-Ḥawṣabīyu 'an Sa'ida bni Sināna 'an Abī z-Zāhirīyati wa-smuhu Ḡadīru* (read *Ḥadīru bnu Kuraybin*) *qāla ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi urīdu ṣ-ṣalāta fa-daḥaltu l-masḡida wa-ḡafalat 'annī bi-sadanati l-masḡidi* (read *sadanatu l-masḡidi*) *ḥattā uṭfi'ati l-qanādīli*).

In the High 'Abbāsid period, lamp pots are exported from Jerusalem, **al-Muqaddasī** 180,14f. (*wa-t-tiḡārātu ... wa-min Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-quḍūrun li-l-qanādīli*.

For the large amount of oil these lamps require, cf. the tradition that giving oil to illuminate the mosque has the same value as praying in it (B014.8).

<sup>3</sup>**Muraḡḡa Nr.370**: 247,13-15 *ḡā'a raḡulun mina l-ḥumsi l-ladīna yusriḡūna maṣābiḥa Bayti l-Maqdisi ilā 'Umara bni 'Abdi l-'Azīzi yas'aluhu an yu'tiqahu fa-qāla lahu: kayfa u'tiquka wa-law ḡahabta la-anzuru lam yakun lī ṣa'ratun min ḡasadika* (but = **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.60**: 44,1f. (*kānati l-Yahūdu tusriḡu Bayta l-Maqdisi falamā waliya 'Umaru bnu 'Abdi l-'Azīzi aḥraḡahum*) *wa-ḡa'ala fihi l-Ḥumsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *fihi mina l-Ḥumsa*) *fa-atāhu raḡulun min ahli l-ḥumsi fa-qāla a'tiqnī qāla kayfa u'tiquka wa-law ḡahabta anzuru mā kāna lī ṣa'ratun min ṣa'ri ḡasadika* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.369**: 247,10f. (*kānati l-Yahūdu tusriḡu Bayta l-Maqdisi falamā waliya 'Umaru bnu 'Abdi l-'Azīzi aḥraḡahum*) *wa-ḡa'ala l-Ḥumsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *fihi mina l-Ḥumsa*) *fa-atāhu raḡulun min ahli l-ḥumsi fa-qāla a'tiqnī qāla kayfa u'tiquka wa-law ḡahabta anzuru mā kāna lī ṣa'ratun min ṣa'rika*

*fa-hādā mā kāna yuf'alu bihā fī ḥilāfati 'Abdi l-Maliki kullihā* wa-kāna fīhi dālīka l-waqta ... mina s-salāsili li-l-qanādīli arba'u mi'ati silsilatin illā ḥamsata 'ašara minhā miyatā silsilatin wa-ṭamānūna silsilatan fī l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī fī Qubbati š-Šaḥrati" ([the Dome of] the Rock ... and this is what was made there during all of 'Abd al-Malik's caliphate), and there were in it at this time ... 385 chains for lamps, 280 chains in the mosque and the rest in the Dome of the Rock." The Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) is here divided into two parts, the mosque [in general, without the Dome of the Rock] (*al-masğid*), and the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aš-Šaḥra*), and the whole has 385 chains, the two parts 280 and 105 chains.

|                        |                                            |              |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Bayt al-Maqdis</i>  | "the Temple"                               | 385 chains   |
| <i>al-masğid</i>       | "the mosque [except the Dome of the Rock]" | 280 chains   |
| <i>Qubbat aš-Šaḥra</i> | "the Dome of the Rock"                     | [105 chains] |

B014.15.b. This remark on the number of chains is part of a list, where each new item is introduced by *wa-(kāna) fīhi* "and there was in it". The whole list has been related to the Aqṣā Mosque, to the Roofed Hall.<sup>1</sup> There is indeed a break in the introducing *aš-Šaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf'alu bihā fī ḥilāfati 'Abdi l-Maliki kullihā / wa-kāna fī hi dālīka l-waqta* "[the Dome of] the Rock ... and this is what was made there during all of 'Abd al-Malik's caliphate / and there were in it [in the whole area] at this time ...", as masculine *fīhi* may not refer to the preceding *aš-Šaḥra*. But the mentioning of the chains which are partly in the Dome of the Rock, the cisterns (B027.3) and the servants responsible for the cisterns (B014.18) show that the list refers to the whole mosque.

B014.16. The lamps (*al-qanādīl*) burn [in the mosque all day long], but are extinguished [in the evening] (*uṭfi'at*) when people stop coming (*inqaṭa'at ar-rağl*), gates are closed (*ğul(l)iqat al-abwāb*) and guardians admonish the visitors (*nabbahūhum*) [to leave] - but if they occasionally neglect them (*ğafalat 'anhum*), visitors stay on.<sup>2</sup>

B014.17. On holidays, there are, in addition to the 5000 lamps (*qanādīl*) (B014.13), another

<sup>1</sup>Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Murağğā* 61 n. 4.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 57:** 41,8f. (*ḥaddaṭanā Abū š-Šalti Šihābu bnu Ḥirāša l-Ḥawšabīyu 'an Sa'ida bni Sināna 'an Abi z-Zāhirīyati qāla*) ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi urīdu š-šalāta fa-daḥaltu l-masğida wa-ğafalat 'annī sadanatu l-masğidi ḥattā uṭfi'ati l-qanādīlu wa-nqaṭa'ati r-rağlu wa-ğuliqati l-abwābu (I read *wa-ğuliqati l-abwābu*; Hasson reads *wa-ğulliqati l-abwābu*) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 181:** 143,5f. (*anba'anā Abū š-Šalti Šihābu bnu Ḥirāša* (read *bnu Ḥirāša*) l-Ḥawšabīyu 'an Sa'ida bni Sināna 'an Abi z-Zāhirīyati wa-smuhu Ğadīru (read *Ḥadīru bnu Kuraybin*) qāla) ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi urīdu š-šalāta fa-daḥaltu l-masğida wa-ğafalat 'annī bi-sadanati l-masğidi (read *sadanatu l-masğidi*) ḥattā uṭfi'ati l-qanādīlu wa-nqaṭa'ati r-rağlu wa-ğuliqati l-abwābu = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 58:** 42,9-12 (*ḥaddaṭanā Šihābu bnu Ḥirāša l-Ḥawšabīyu 'an Abi z-Zāhirīyati qāla*) šallaytu l-'atamata fī Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ṭumma stanadtu ilā 'amūdin min 'umudi l-masğidi fa-nimtu fa-ğafalatnī s-sadanatu ya'nī l-ḥadama ḥadama l-maddi (read *ḥadama l-masğidi*) fa-lam yunabbihūnī wa-ğulliqati l-abwābu fa-lam antabih.

Cf. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 134:** 79,18-80,1 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... qāla lammā kānat laylatu r-Rağfati utītu ... ṭumma ataytu l-masğida fa-wağadtu l-bāba muğlaqan fa-daqaqtuhu fa-ḥarağa ilayya rağulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *fa-fataḥa l-bāba* (wa-qāla lī yā Rustamu) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 140:** 118,3-5 (... *anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... lammā kāna* (read *kānat*, thus al-Wāsiṭī) *laylatu r-Rağfati utītu ...*) *ṭumma ataytu l-masğida fa-wağadtu l-bāba muğlaqan fa-rafa'ahu* (read *fa-daqaqtuhu*, thus al-Wāsiṭī) *fa-ḥarağa ilayya rağulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *fa-fataḥa l-bāba* (fa-qāla lī yā Rustamu ...).

2000 candles (*šamʿ*) burning, i.e., each Friday night (*\*fī kull laylat al-ḡumʿa*) [from Thursday to Friday], in the middle of the months of *Raḡab*, *Šaʿbān* [and *Ramaḍān*] (*\*fī nišf raḡab wa-šaʿbān wa-ramaḍān*) [the Night of the Ascension, the Night of the Creation and the *ʿĀšūrāʿ*-Night] and on the nights of the two feasts (*fī laylatay al-ʿīdayn*).<sup>1</sup>

B014.18. 300 servants bought with the Fifth of the Treasury (*min ḥums Bayt al-māl*) [and therefore owned by the Muslim state], are in charge of the mosque (*ḥadam qawwām bi-l-masḡid*) and apparently do most of the common work (B014.6). Ten male Christian servants (*ḥadam Našārā*) from the people of Jerusalem (*ahl Bayt al-Maqdis*) are responsible for the service of the sanctuary (*ḥidmat al-Bayt*), especially for cleaning the water channels (*qanā*) which lead to the cisterns and the cisterns (*šahārīg*) themselves; they bequeath their function within their family.<sup>2</sup> Formerly ten, but now will their offspring twenty, male Jewish servants (*ḥadam Yahūd*) deal with the garbage the people [the visitors] leave there (*awsāḥ an-nās*) at feasts, in winter and summer (*fī l-mawāsīm wa-š-šitāʿ wa-š-šayf*), and keep the ablution places (*maṭāhir*) clean; they pay no poll-tax (*ḡizya*) and obviously inherit their function within the family.<sup>3</sup> Other Jewish servants (*al-ḥadam al-Yahūd*) produce the lamps' glass, bowls and wicks (*az-zuḡāḡ li-l-qanādīl wa-l-aqdāḥ wa-l-buzuqāt*) and so on, and they pay no poll-tax (*ḡizya*).<sup>4</sup> Other [Jewish or Christian] servants also exempt from the poll-tax (*ḡizya*) are in charge of twisting the lamps' wicks (*as-sarrāqa li-l-fatl li-l-mašābīḥ*);<sup>5</sup> first [a group of] the

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47:** 61,7f. (*aš-Šaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-kāna yusraḡu fihi maʿa l-qanādīli alfay šamʿatin* (read *alfā šamʿatin*) *fī kulli laylati l-ḥymh* (read *fī kulli laylati l-ḡumʿati*) *wa-fī nišfi raḡaba WŠRḠBʿN* (read *wa-šaʿbāna wa-ramaḍāna*) *wa-fī laylatay l-ʿīdayni* (... *kullu dālīka ʿumila fī ayyāmi ʿAbdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna*).

For *Laylat al-barāʿa* "the Night of the Creation", see ; Brunschvig, "Barāʿa" 1059a; Plessner, "Ramaḍān" 432b.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47:** 62,2-4 (*aš-Šaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-lahu mina l-ḥadami n-Našārā mina r-riḡālī ʿašaratun ahlu baytin* (I read *ahlu Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *yatawāraṭūna ḥidmata l-bayti li-ʿamali l-ḡiṣṣi wa-kansi ḥuṣuri l-masḡidi wa-kansi l-qanā l-latī taḡrī ilā šahārīḡi l-māʿi wa-kansi š-šahārīḡi ayḍan*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47:** 61,16-62,2 (*aš-Šaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-kāna lahu mina ḥadami l-Yahūdi lā yuḥadu minhu ḡizyatun* (read *mina l-ḥadami l-Yahūdi l-laḍīna lā yuḥadu minhum ḡizyatun*) *ʿašratu riḡālīn WBWʿLDWʿ* (read *wa-tawāladū*) *fa-šārū ʿišrīna raḡulan li-kansi awsāḥi n-nāsi fī l-mawāsīmi wa-š-šitāʿi wa-š-šayfi wa-li-kansi l-maṭāhiri l-laḍī* (read *l-latī*) *ḥawla l-ḡāmiʿi*.

For the servants and the service in the Marwānid Dome of the Rock, see A085.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47:** 62,4f. (*aš-Šaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-lahu ... wa-ḡayru dālīka mina l-ḥadami l-Yahūdi ḡamāʿatun yaʿmalūna z-zuḡāḡa li-l-qanādīli wa-l-aqdāḥa wa-l-buzuqātī wa-ḡayri dālīka lā yuḥadu minhum ḡizyatun* (*wa-ka-dālīka lā yuḥadu ḡizyatun mina l-laḍīna yaqūmūna bi-s-sarrāqati* ...).

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47:** 62,5-7 (*aš-Šaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-lahu ... wa-ḡayru dālīka*

Jews (*al-Yahūd*) light the Temple (*tusriġ Bayt al-Maqdis*), then since the time of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (Umayyad caliph 99-101/717-720), servants [bought with] with the Fifth (*al-Ḥums*);<sup>1</sup> these light the lamps of the Temple (*yusriġūn maṣābiḥ Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>2</sup>

### B015. The inscription with the dimensions of the area<sup>3</sup>

B015.1. Names (Muslim): None.

B015.2. Physical shape: This inscription has the text, *\*ṭūlu l-masġidi sab‘umi’ati dirā’in wa-arba’un wa-ṭamānūna dirā’an wa-‘arḍuhu arba‘umi’ati dirā’in wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dirā’an bi-dirā’i l-maliki* "the length of the mosque is 784 ells and its width 455 ells by the king's ell."

B015.2.a. Dimensions of the Marwānid mosque are given by **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47**'s *ṭūlu l-masġidi sab‘u mi’ati dirā’in wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna dirā’an bi-dirā’i l-maliki wa-‘arḍuhu arba‘u mi’ati dirā’in wa-ḥamsatun wa-sittūna dirā’an bi-dirā’i l-maliki ayḍan* "the length of the mosque is 755 ells by the king's ell and its width 465 ells by the king's ell too".<sup>4</sup> High ‘Abbāsīd **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** (B052.6) has an almost identical statement about

---

*mina l-ḥadami l-Yahūdi ġamā’atun ... lā yu’ḥaḍu minhum ġizyatun wa-ka-dālika lā yu’ḥaḍu ġizyatun mina l-laḍi na yaqūmūna bi-s-sarrāqati li-l-fatli l-latī li-l-maṣābiḥi ġārī* (read *ġārīyan*) ‘alayhim wa-‘alā awlādihi abadan mā dāmū min ‘ahdi ‘Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna ilā l-āna.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.60**: 43,14-44,2 *kānati l-Yahūdu tusriġu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-lammā waliya ‘Umaru bnu ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi aḥraġahum wa-ġa’ala fīhi l-Ḥumsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *fīhi mina l-Ḥumsī*) *fa-atāhu raġulun min ahli l-ḥumsī fa-qāla a’tiqnī qāla kayfa u’tiquka wa-law dahabta anzuru mā kāna lī ša’ratun min ša’ri ġasadika* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.369**: 247,9-11 *kānati l-Yahūdu tusriġu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-lammā waliya ‘Umaru bnu ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi aḥraġahum wa-ġa’ala l-Ḥumsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *fīhi mina l-Ḥumsī*) *fa-atāhu raġulun min ahli l-ḥumsī fa-qāla a’tiqnī qāla kayfa u’tiquka wa-law dahabta anzuru mā kāna lī ša’ratun min ša’rika* (= but shorter in **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.370**: 247, 13-15 *ġā’a raġulun mina l-ḥumsī l-laḍina yusriġūna maṣābiḥa Bayti l-Maqdisi ilā ‘Umara bni ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi yas’aluhu an yu’tiqahu fa-qāla lahu: kayfa u’tiquka wa-law dahabta la-anzuru lam yakun lī ša’ratun min ġasadika*).

<sup>2</sup>**Muraġġā Nr.370**: 247,13-15 *ġā’a raġulun mina l-ḥumsī l-laḍina yusriġūna maṣābiḥa Bayti l-Maqdisi ilā ‘Umara bni ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi yas’aluhu an yu’tiqahu fa-qāla lahu: kayfa u’tiquka wa-law dahabta la-anzuru lam yakun lī ša’ratun min ġasadika* (but = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.60**: 44,1f. (*kānati l-Yahūdu tusriġu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-lammā waliya ‘Umaru bnu ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi aḥraġahum*) *wa-ġa’ala fīhi l-Ḥumsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *fīhi mina l-Ḥumsī*) *fa-atāhu raġulun min ahli l-ḥumsī fa-qāla a’tiqnī qāla kayfa u’tiquka wa-law dahabta anzuru mā kāna lī ša’ratun min ša’ri ġasadika* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.369**: 247,10f. (*kānati l-Yahūdu tusriġu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-lammā waliya ‘Umaru bnu ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi aḥraġahum wa-ġa’ala l-Ḥumsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *fīhi mina l-Ḥumsī*) *fa-atāhu raġulun min ahli l-ḥumsī fa-qāla a’tiqnī qāla kayfa u’tiquka wa-law dahabta anzuru mā kāna lī ša’ratun min ša’rika*).

<sup>3</sup>For the dimensions of the area and the inscription mentioning them, see B131.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47**: 62,7-9 *wa-ṭūlu l-masġidi sab‘u mi’ati dirā’in wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna dirā’an bi-dirā’i l-maliki wa-‘arḍuhu arba‘u mi’ati dirā’in wa-ḥamsatun wa-sittūna dirā’an* (I read *wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna dirā’an*) *bi-dirā’i l-maliki ayḍan*.

these dimensions and Fāṭimid **Nāṣir** gives this text as the text of an inscription in the north arcade between the two north gates of his time (B131.8); these parallels make one think **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** *wa-ʿarḍuhu arba-ʿu miʿati dīrāʿin wa-ḥamsatun wa-sittūna dīrāʿan* "465 ells" may have been originally *\*arbaʿu miʿati dīrāʿin wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna dīrāʿan* "455 ells". The first to speak of an inscription is Fāṭimid **Nāṣir**, but we may suppose the inscription already exists in the Marwānid and Sunnī periods and as such is copied by Marwānid **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** and High ʿAbbāsīd **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** (B131.8.d). Dimensions roughly fit with the dimensions of today's ḤARAM with its length of 491 and 462 m along the west and east walls, respectively, and its width of 310 and 281 m along the north and the south walls, respectively.<sup>1</sup>

**B015.3. Position:** The place of this inscription is unknown.

### B016. The ablution places<sup>2</sup>

**B016.1. Names (Muslim):** The ablution places which are around the Friday mosque (*\*al-maṭāhir al-latī ḥawl al-ğāmiʿ*) (B016.2).

**B016.2. Position:** These are the ablution places [outside] around the Friday mosque (*\*al-maṭāhir al-latī ḥawl al-ğāmiʿ*)<sup>3</sup> next to the gates. We locate them only generally outside the ḤARAM.

**B016.2.a.** Ablution places are outside the mosque, outside the ḤARAM. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** says ... *li-kansi l-maṭāhiri l-laḍī ḥawla l-ğāmiʿi* (Classical Arabic *\*li-kansi l-maṭāhiri l-latī* ...) "for cleaning the ablution places which are around the mosque" - not inside it. Their location is given also by **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.246** where al-Awzāʿī makes his ablutions from a cistern in the mosque, people raise protest, and he legitimises himself saying that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did so as well (B014.6). al-Awzāʿī obviously does not behave as other people do, but as he thinks one should. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.140** has Rustam al-Fārisī making his ablution before coming to the mosque.

<sup>1</sup>Number given are those of Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 41.

<sup>2</sup>For the Marwānid ablution places, see Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 15.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 61,16-62,2 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālika l-waḡta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālika l-waḡti*) ...) *wa-kāna lahu mina ḥadami l-Yahūdi lā yu ḥaḍu minhu ḡizyatun* (read *mina l-ḥadami l-Yahūdi l-laḍīna lā yu ḥaḍu minhum ḡizyatun*) *ʿaṣaratu riğālīn WBWʹLDWʹ* (read *wa-tawāladū*) *fa-šārū ʿiṣrīna rağulan li-kansi awsāḥi n-nāsi fī l-mawāsīmi wa-š-šitāʿi wa-ṣ-ṣayfi wa-li-kansi l-maṭāhiri l-laḍī* (read *l-latī*) *ḥawla l-ğāmiʿi*.

Ritual ablution is usually made outside the mosque **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134:** 79,18 (... *ḥaddatanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ...*) *fa-tawaḍḍaʿtu tumma ataytu l-masğida* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.140:** 118,3f. (... *anbaʿanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-tawaḍḍaʿtu tumma ataytu l-masğida*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.246:** 174,6-8 (... *anbaʿanā Yazīdu bnu ṣ-Ṣimāfi* (read *Yazīdu bnu ṣ-Ṣimfi*) *qāla ḥarağtu maʿa l-Awzāʿiyi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *tumma ʿNʹ* (read *atā*; Livne-Kafri reads *atā*) *ğubban min dālika l-ğibābi* (read *min tilka l-ğibābi*) *fa-staqā dalwan min māʿin fa-tawaḍḍaʿa qāla fa-ğāʿa nāsun fa-qālū lahu yā ṣayḥu ttaqi Llāha a-tatawaḍḍaʿu fī l-masğidi fa-lam yaltafi ilayhim* (... *fa-qāla ya-Abā ṣ-Ṣimāfi* (read *yā Abā ṣ-Ṣimfi*) *hādā fī ʿlu ʿUmara bni ʿAbdi l-ʿAzizi ḥīna daḡala hādīhi l-baldata lam yaʿti ṣayʿan min tilka l-mawāṭini*).



B016.2.b. Cisterns inside the mosque may have been used to store drinking-water, so that banning all washing inside the mosque may have had a combined religious and sanitary goal and thus kept the area religiously pure and sanitarily clean. Today we have an ablution place outside the ḤARAM (outside BĀB AL-MATĀHIR) which may be entered only from inside the ḤARAM and two more places in the ḤARAM itself (AL-KA'S and the SABĪL QĀYIT BĀY east of AL-AŠRAFĪYA). Because of the modern water supply available in the city, the ḤARAM CISTERNS are definitely less important than before.

B016.2.c. Places of ablution are most probably near the entries, the places where they are needed.

**B016.3. Physical shape:** No details are known.

B016.3.a. A Marwānid ablution place may have been just some water jars or a water basin.<sup>1</sup>

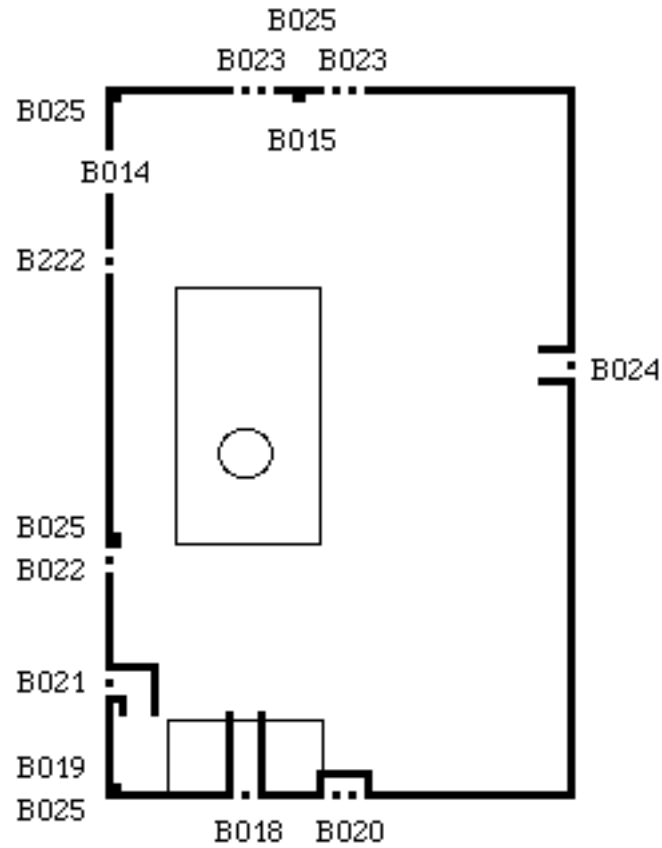
**B016.4. Contemporary events:** [The scholar] **al-Awzā'ī** makes his ritual ablution from the water of a cistern inside the mosque (*fī l-masğid*), even when people oppose him [because he should use a cistern outside the mosque], and says 'Umar b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz did so as well (B014.6).

**B016.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** At the ablution places the Muslims perform ritual ablution before prayer. Ritual ablution from a cistern inside the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) is considered unfitting (B014.6). The mosque (*al-masğid*) has Jewish servants (*ḥadam Yahūd*), formerly ten, but now with their offspring twenty, men responsible for cleaning the garbage which the people [the visitors] leave there (*awsāḥ an-nās*) at the feasts and in winter and summer (*fī l-mawāsim wa-š-šitā' wa-š-ṣayf*), and for cleaning the ablution places (*maṭāhir*). They not no poll-tax (*ğizya*) and obviously also inherit their function (B014.18).

---

<sup>1</sup>Schick, *Christian Communities* 143.

## 2.2. THE WALL AND THE GATES



40

**Figure 40. The Marwānīd wall and gates:** B014 The rebuilt wall. - B015 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B018 The Gate of the Prophet. - B019 The place where al-Burāq was tied up. - B020 The Gate of Repentance with the Chamber of Mary. - B021 The Hittā Gate. - B022 The Gate of David. - B222 The northwest gate. - B023 The Gate(s) of the Tribes and the minaret nearby. - B024 The east wall and the Gate of Mercy. - B025 Four minarets, three in the west wall, one at the Gate of the Tribes.

**B017. The wall and the gates<sup>1</sup>**

**B017.1. Names (Muslim):** The gates (*al-abwāb*,<sup>2</sup> sing. *bāb*)<sup>3</sup> [of the mosque].

**B017.2. Names (Christian):** The wall (τὸ τεῖχος) (B014.10).

**B017.3. Names (Jewish):** The walls of the Temple (*ḥōmōt ha-Bayit*).<sup>4</sup>

**B017.4. Traditions (Jewish):** Mu‘āwiya built the walls of the Temple (*ḥōmōt ha-Bayit*) (B014.12).

**B017.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** When people stop coming (*inqaṭa‘at ar-raġl*) the gates are closed (*ġul(l)iqat al-abwāb*) and guardians admonish the visitors (*nabbahūhum*) [to leave] - but if they occasionally neglect them (*ġafalat ‘anhum*), visitors stay on (B014.16).

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid wall and gates, see Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 39; 43; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount" 90; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; 263; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 34; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 389; 433f.; 3 37-41; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 123; 128; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25; 50; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 483; fig. 31.1.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.57:** 41,9 (*ḥaddaṭanā Abū ṣ-Ṣalti Ṣihābu bnu Ḥirāša l-Ḥawšabiyyu ‘an Sa‘ida bni Sināna ‘an Abī z-Zāhiriyyati qāla*) ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi urīdu ṣ-ṣalāta fa-daḥaltu l-masġida wa-ġafalat ‘annī sadanatu l-masġidi ḥattā uṭfi‘ati l-qanādīlu wa-nqaṭa‘ati r-raġlu wa-‘uliqati l-abwābu (I read wa-ġuliqati l-abwābu; Hasson reads wa-ġulliḡati l-abwābu) = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.181:** 143,6 (*anba’anā Abū ṣ-Ṣalti Ṣihābu bnu Ḥirāša* (read *bnu Ḥirāša*) l-Ḥawšabiyyu ‘an Sa‘ida bni Sināna ‘an Abī z-Zāhiriyyati wa-smuhu Ġadīru (read *Ḥadīru bnu Kuraybin*) qāla ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi urīdu ṣ-ṣalāta fa-daḥaltu l-masġida wa-ġafalat ‘annī bi-sadanati l-masġidi (read *sadanatu l-masġidi*) ḥattā uṭfi‘ati l-qanādīlu wa-nqaṭa‘ati r-raġlu wa-ġuliqati l-abwābu = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.58:** 42,11f. (*ḥaddaṭanā Ṣihābu bnu Ḥirāša l-Ḥawšabiyyu ‘an Abī z-Zāhiriyyati qāla*) ṣallaytu l-‘atamata fī Masġidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ṭumma stanadtu ilā ‘amūdin min ‘umudi l-masġidi fa-nimtu fa-ġfalatnī s-sadanatu ya‘nī l-ḥadama ḥadama l-maddi (read *ḥadama l-masġidi*) fa-lam yunabbihūnī) wa-ġulliḡati l-abwābu (fa-lam antabih).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134:** 79,18-80,1 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyyu* ...) ṭumma ataytu l-masġida fa-waġadtu l-bāba muġlaqan fa-daqaqtuhu fa-ḥaraġa ilayya raġulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] ... fa-fataḥa l-bāba (wa-qāla lī yā Rustamu) = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.140:** 118,3-5 (... *anba’anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyyu* ...) ṭumma ataytu l-masġida fa-waġadtu l-bāba muġlaqan fa-rafa‘ahu (read *fa-daqaqtuhu*, thus al-Wāsiṭī) fa-ḥaraġa ilayya raġulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] ... fa-fataḥa l-bāba (fa-qāla lī yā Rustamu ...).

<sup>4</sup>**Apocalypse Lévi** 2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 24) (*wa-yimlōk taḥtāw Mu‘āwiyāh bān Abī Sāpūn*) w-Adōnay ya‘ ārēr āt ləbāḥō wa-yibnāh āt ḥōmōt ha-Bayit.

### B018. The Gate of the Prophet = the Gate of Muḥammad<sup>1</sup>

**B018.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*),<sup>2</sup> the Gate of Muḥammad (*Bāb Muḥammad*).<sup>3</sup>

**B018.2. Position:** The gate is used as entry to the ḤARAM.<sup>4</sup> The corridor has its place under the Muslim prayer-place (at about the AQṢĀ MOSQUE). We best locate the gate at the DOUBLE GATE,<sup>5</sup> the corridor at the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR.

B018.2.a. In a number of Marwānid traditions, Muḥammad and ʿUmar enter the area by this gate (B018.5) and we deduce that the gate is used as entry at least at the time of these traditions.

B018.2.b. The Umayyad Palaces<sup>6</sup> outside the DOUBLE GATE have been considered as evidence that this

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid Gate of the Prophet, see Corbett, "Observations"; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 16-20; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount" 99; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103f.; Grabar, "Jerusalem" 60a; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 3 fig. 1; 33-45; 70-72; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147f.; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 13; 34; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 110; 122-124; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 97; Wightman, *Walls* 230f. with fig. 73; 245; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 114; 186; 2 389; 3 147f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; 25f.; 46; 50; 68; 97-99; 160; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 66; 104f.; 106 fig. 57; 109 fig. 59; 123f. and fig. 63; 126; 129f.; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 386; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 114 (493) n. 94; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 15.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 119:** 73,15 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98) (... *anna n-Nabīya ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama* ...) *tumma daḥala min Bābi n-Nabīyi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 148:** 123,16 (... *anna n-Nabīya ʿalayhi s-salāmu* ...) *tumma daḥala min Bābi n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 37:** 51,11f. (transl. Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99; see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99-104; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 15) (... *anna ʿUmara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu ... qāla li-biṭriqihā dullinī ʿalā Maṣḡidi Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu* ...) *fa-nṭlaqa ilā Maṣḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā ntahā bihi ilā bābihi l-laḍi yuqālu lahu Bāba Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 104f.; 106 fig. 57.

<sup>5</sup>Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 13 n. 69; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 110; 122-124; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; 97-99; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 66; 106 fig. 57; 123.

<sup>6</sup>For the so-called Umayyad Palaces and the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 168-172; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I*; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III"; Ben-Dov, "Umayyad Structures"; Sharon, "Inscriptions from the Western Wall"; Rosen-Ayalon, "Particular Technique" 234; pl. 51.b; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount"; Mazar, "Herodian Jerusalem"; Busink, *Tempel* 951; 954f. (with fig. 213); 959 n. 125; 967 fig. 220; 969 fig. 221; 983; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103f.; Ben-Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple*, specially 273-341; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 37 and n. 57; 43 n. 8; 77 n. 6; 258-269 (with figures and plates); Rosen-Ayalon, "New Discoveries" 264; 265 fig. 20.5; 269; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 6; 8-11; 33 n. 3; 39-41; 44f.; 64 n. 63; 70f.; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147f.; Küchler, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste"; Burgoyne, "Gates" 105; Busse, "'Umar-Moschee" 75; Wightman, *Walls* pl. 7.1; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 385; 388-394; Elad, *Jerusalem* 26; 42; 160; Avni, "Jerusalem as Textbook" 44f. (with a plate); 65; Reich/Billig, "Robinson's Arch";

is the main entry to the ḤARAM; this may well be the case.<sup>1</sup> We may adduce that, of all ḤARAM GATES, only the DOUBLE GATE and the GOLDEN GATE have a special FRAME; but the frames of other gates may have fallen off. We may point out the fact that this is "the gate" (*al-bāb*) by which Muḥammad entered the area (B018.5); this is correct, but not very strong evidence.

B018.2.c. The location is mainly by the fact that High 'Abbāsīd (B062.3) *Bāb/Bābā/Abwāb an-Nabī* and Fāṭimid *Bāb an-Nabī* (B137.2) may be located at the DOUBLE GATE. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.37's** *Bāb Muḥammad* and the small street in front covered with debris (B018.5) have been located at BARCLAY'S GATE and a LATE BYZANTINE STREET in front along the WEST ḤARAM WALL under the Umayyad PALACES;<sup>2</sup> but the DOUBLE GATE also has a STREET in front along the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL.<sup>3</sup>

**B018.3. Physical shape:** This is a double gate with a richly decorated façade. The gate integrates parts of an older gate.

**B018.4.** An underground corridor with a roof (*saqf*) and stairs (*darağ*) leads from a small street (*zuqāq*) just outside the gate into the area (B018.5). Layout and decoration of the corridor are Marwānīd, and it has been built before the Muslim prayer-place on top.

**B018.4.a. Aqṣā Mosque I** has one of its naves asymmetrically wide; there are no columns on top of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR underneath.<sup>4</sup> When the prayer-place was built, the corridor either already existed or was at least planned, and the architect avoided placing weight on it.<sup>5</sup>

**B018.4.b.** The GOLDEN GATE and the DOUBLE GATE have a similar layout (both are double gates with two parallel series of domes), similar exterior frames and a similar decoration, and we may suppose that they were built or rebuilt in the same period (B002.2.c); the decoration of both is Umayyad (B002.2.c).

**B018.5. Traditions (Muslim):** At the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) **Muḥammad** entered the area while on his Night Journey and Gabriel lit for him [in the corridor] a light [as bright] as the sun.<sup>6</sup> The πατρικίος of Jerusalem (*biṭrīq Bayt al-Maqdis*) and 'Umar

---

Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 169-173 (with fig. 54f.); Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 67; 70-73; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 393-395; 408f.; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 483.

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 129; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 386.

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103.

<sup>3</sup>For the Umayyad STREET outside the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER, along the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, see B019.2.d.

<sup>4</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 54 n. 1 and fig. 31f.

<sup>5</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 58 n. 1; Creswell, *EMA* 1 466.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119:** 73,15f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98) (... *anna n-Nabīya ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama laylata usriya bihi waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-mawqifi l-laḍī kāna yaqifu fīhi l-anbiyā'u qablu*) *tumma daḥala min Bābi n-Nabī yi wa-Ḡibrīlu amāmahu fa-aḍā'a lahu fīhi ḍaw'an ka-mā tuḍī'u š-šamsu* = without Gabriel lighting **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148:** 123, 16f. (... *anna n-Nabīya 'alayhi s-salāmu laylata usriya bihi waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-mawqifi l-laḍī kāna yaqifu fīhi l-anbiyā'u qablu*) *tumma daḥala min Bābi n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-Ḡibrīlu amāmahu fa-aḍā'a lahu fīhi ḍaw'un ka-mā yuḍī (read tuḍī'u) š-šamsu*.

found the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) or the Gate of Muḥammad (*Bāb Muḥammad*) [and the corridor behind] with its stairs (*darağ*) filled with debris almost up to its roof (*saqf*) and also covering the small street (*zuqāq*) in front, but they nevertheless crawled through and got out in front of the Rock;<sup>1</sup> by the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) ‘Umar entered the area after he descended from his camp on the Mount of Olives (*Ṭūr Zaytā*).<sup>2</sup>

B018.5.a. Possible parallels to Gabriel lighting the corridor as bright as the sun: The Pre-Marwānid Tomb of Christ has its place under *solae* "suns".<sup>3</sup> Inside the High ‘Abbāsīd *Mišnāh* is a stone called "the Sundisk" (*aš-Šamsa*) [similar to the sundisk (*šamsa*) worn by women] (B062.6). A shield-like pattern inside Fāṭimid *Bāb an-Nabī* is considered the imprint of the shield of Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (B137.7).

#### B018.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim): None.

B018.6.a. It has been assumed that *Bāb an-Nabī* and *Bāb ar-raḥma* were the two main entries to the area for Muslims from outside the mostly Christian city;<sup>4</sup> this may be, but the sources do not mention it.

---

Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.68**: 80,2 (*Rasūlu Llāhi* (read *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi*) *ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*) *lammā ntahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi laylata usriya bī ḥaraqa Ġibrīlu ‘alayhi s-salāmu ḥağaran bi-iṣba‘ihi ‘inda l-bābi fa-šadda l-Burāqa* (= without the gate **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.161**: 99,8f. (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*) *lammā ntahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla Ġibrīlu ‘alayhi s-salāmu bi-iṣba‘ihi fa-ḥaraqa bihā l-ḥağara wa-šadda l-Burāqa*).

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.37**: 51,11-16 (transl. Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99-104; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 15) (... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu ... qāla li-biṭrīqihā dullinī ‘alā Masğidi Dāwūda ‘alayhi s-salāmu ...*) *fa-nṭlaqa ilā Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā ntahā bihi ilā bābihi l-laḍi yuqālu lahu Bāba Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-qadi nḥadara mā fī l-masğidi mina l-mazbalati ‘alā daraği l-bābi ḥattā ḥarağa ilā z-zuqāqi l-laḍi fihi l-bābu wa-kaṭura ‘alā d-daraği ḥattā kāda an yalzaqa bi-saqfihi fa-qāla lā taqdaru an tadḥulahu illā ḥabwan fa-qāla wa-law ḥabwan fa-ḥabā bayna yaday ‘Umara wa-ḥabā ‘Umaru ḥalfahu wa-ḥabawnā ḥalfahu ḥattā afḍaynā ilā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-stawfatnā fihi qiyāman* (read *wa-stawaynā fihi qiyāman*; Busse reads *wa-stawqafanā fihi qiyāman*) *fa-nağara ‘Umaru wa-ta’ammala maliyan fa-qāla ḥādā wa-l-laḍi nafsi bi-yadihi l-laḍi waṣafa lanā Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.42**: 55,4 (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29) (*lammā qadima ‘Umaru raḥimahu Llāhu ta’ālā li-Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Bayta l-Maqdisi*) *‘askara fī Ṭūri Zaytā tumma nḥadara*) *fa-daḥala min Bābi n-Nabiyyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu* (*fa-lammā stawā fī l-masğidi nağara yamīnan wa-šimālan tumma qāla ḥādā wa-l-laḍi lā ilāha illā huwa Masğidu Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda ‘alayhi s-salāmu*).

<sup>3</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 171,17f.: 18 (see Donner, *Sophronius* 37) *Ipsum monumentum* (G without *ipsum monumentum*) [the Holy Sepulchre] *sic quasi in modum metae coopertus* (R *in modum medae coopertus*, G *in modum metae copertus*) *ex argento sub solas aureos* (R *sub solus aureos*; Gildemeister reads *sub soles aureos*, Geyer reads *sub caelos aureos*) (but not = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 204,3f.: 18 (*Clinantes* (B *inclinantes nos*) *proni in terram ingressi sumus in sanctam civitatem in qua adorantes Domini monumentum* [the Holy Sepulchre] ...) *Et ipsud monumentum* (B *ipsum monumentum*, without *et*) *in modum aedae* (B *medie coopertum ex argento*).

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 124 (speaking of the DOUBLE GATE and the GOLDEN GATE).

### B019. The Stopping-place where Muḥammad stopped al-Burāq<sup>1</sup>

B019.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Stopping-place (*al-Mawqif*), where Muḥammad stopped al-Burāq and where the earlier prophets had stopped (B019.4).

B019.2. **Position:** This place is near a gate of the mosque. If the tradition refers to a particular spot, we best identify it with the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER.<sup>2</sup>

B019.2.a. **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.155 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.142** makes this the place where Muḥammad arrived in Jerusalem, followed by the place where a group of [previous] prophets (*raḥṭ min al-anbiyā'*) were gathered and prayed, led by Muḥammad. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.144** and **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.371** makes it also the place of Muḥammad's arrival.

|                              |                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>al-Wāsiṭi Nr.155</b>      | <i>fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati -&gt; fa-nuṣira lī raḥṭun mina l-anbiyā'i</i><br><i>fa-ṣallaytu bihim -&gt; wa-utītu bi-inā'ayni -&gt; fa-rağā'tu</i> |
| <b>Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.142</b> | <i>fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati -&gt; fa-nuṣira lī raḥṭun mina l-anbiyā'i</i><br><i>fa-ṣallaytu bihim -&gt; wa-utītu bi-inā'ayni -&gt; fa-rufi'tu</i> |
| <b>Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.144</b> | <i>fa-awṭaqtuhā bi-l-ḥalqati -&gt; tumma utītu bi-l-Mi'rāği</i>                                                                                    |
| <b>Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.371</b> | <i>fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati -&gt; (wa-dakara ḥadiṭa l-Isrā'i)</i>                                                                                 |

B019.2.b. **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148** has Muḥammad stopping al-Burāq here, then entering the mosque at *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE). Our place is therefore outside the ḤARAM WALL, not too far from the DOUBLE GATE.

|                              |                                                                                                                                     |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119</b>      | <i>anna n-Nabiya ... waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-Mawqifi l-laḍi kāna yaqifu fīhi l-anbiyā'u qablu -&gt; tumma daḥala min Bābi n-Nabi'i</i> |
| <b>Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148</b> | <i>anna n-Nabiya waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-Mawqifi l-laḍi kāna yaqifu fīhi l-anbiyā'u qablu -&gt; tumma daḥala min Bābi n-Nabi'i</i>     |

B019.2.c. Quite similarly, **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.68** has the place where al-Burāq was tied up next to *al-bāb* "the gate" [of the area ],<sup>3</sup> obviously the gate where Muḥammad then entered. If a particular spot is meant, our place may well be at the same place as High 'Abbāsīd *Marbaṭ al-Burāq* (at the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER) near Marwānīd and High 'Abbāsīd *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE), which in both periods is considered the place where Muḥammad entered the area.

B019.2.d. The location of Marwānīd *Marbat al-Burāq* at this HOLE fits well with the level of the Umayyad

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānīd Stopping-place where Muḥammad stopped al-Burāq, see Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 16f. n. 88; 32; 32f. n. 170; 34; Elad, *Jerusalem* 98-102; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 30.

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 17 n. 88; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 30; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 13 n. 59.

For the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER, see Mazar, "Herodian Jerusalem" pl. 35; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 17 n. 88.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.68:** 80,1f. *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama lammā nṭahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi laylata usriya bi ḥaraqa Ġibrīlu 'alayhi s-salāmu ḥağaran bi-iṣba'ihī 'inda l-bābi fa-ṣadda l-Burāqa.*

STREETS at the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER, about 1.5 m below the HOLE.<sup>1</sup>

**B019.3. Physical shape:** The tradition knows a [stone] ring or a hole in a stone (B019.4). If a particular place is meant, this is a ring-like hole in a stone.

B019.3.a. Both descriptions fit with the HOLE mentioned.

**B019.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Stopping-place (*al-Mawqif*), where **Muḥammad** on his Night Journey stopped al-Burāq (*waqafa l-Burāq*), as the [earlier] prophets had stopped here;<sup>2</sup> he dismounted near a ring (*ḥalqa*)<sup>3</sup> and tied his mount at this ring,<sup>4</sup> as the prophets before used to tie up [their mounts] there;<sup>5</sup> Gabriel made a hole with his finger and tied

<sup>1</sup>For the Umayyad Streets outside the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER, both along the WEST ḤARAM WALL and the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, see Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 5f.; fig. 2; pl. 3; 12; 18 fig. 8; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" 4f. with fig. 5; 8; 34; Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 38 fig. 1; 39; 42; Mazar, "Herodian Jerusalem" 234; 235 fig. 4; pl. 35; Abu Raya, "Hama'araviyim Gate".

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 119:** 73,14f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98) ... *anna n-Nabīya ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama laylata usriya bihi waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-mawqifi l-laḍī kāna yaqifu fīhi l-anbiyā'u qablu* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 148:** 123,15f. ... *anna n-Nabīya 'alayhi s-salāmu laylata usriya bihi waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-mawqifi l-laḍī kāna yaqifu fīhi l-anbiyā'u qablu*.

For Muslim traditions on how al-Burāq was tied up, see A084.b.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 144:** 122,1f. (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ... idā utītu bi-dābbatin ... fa-sirtu ḥattā ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-nazaltu 'an dābbati fa-awṭaqtuhā bi-l-ḥalqati l-lati kānat tūṭiqu bihā l-anbiyā'u* (*qāla tumma utītu bi-l-Mi'rāgi ... wa-dakara ḥadiṭa l-Mi'rāgi*) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 371:** 237,10f. (... *Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ... fa-qālat* (read *fa-qāla*) ... *fa-idā dābbatun* (read *bi-dābbatin*) ...) *ḥattā ntahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-awṭaqtuhā fī l-ḥalqati l-lati kānat yūṭiqu* (read *tūṭiqu*) *bihā ya'nī l-anbiyā'a 'alayhim* (read *'alayhimi s-salāmu*) (*wa-dakara ḥadiṭa l-Mi'rāgi*).

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 155:** 95,7f. (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ... fa-idā ana bi-dābbatin ...*) *ḥattā ntahaytu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati l-lati kāna yūṭiqu bihā l-anbiyā'u* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 142:** 119,13 (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ṣallaytu fī l-masğidi ya'nī fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi ... fa-idā bi-dābbatin ...*) *ḥattā ntahaytu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati l-lati yūṭiqu* (read *kāna yūṭiqu*, with *al-Wāsiṭī*) *bihā l-anbiyā'u* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 144:** 122,1f. (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ... id utītu bi-dābbatin ...*) *fa-sirtu ḥattā ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-nazaltu 'an dābbati fa-awṭaqtuhā bi-l-ḥalqati l-lati kānat tūṭiqu bihā l-anbiyā'u* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 371:** 248,10f. (... *anba'anā Ḍamratu bnu Rabī'ata ... 'an Ummi Hāni'in qālat daḥala 'alayya Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ... fa-qāla ... fa-idā dābbatun* (Hasson reads *bi-dābbatin*) ...) *ḥattā ntahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati l-lati kānat yūṭiqu* (read *tūṭiqu*) *bihā ya'nī l-anbiyā'a 'alayhim* (read *'alayhimi s-salāmu*).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 155:** 95,7f. (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ... fa-idā ana bi-dābbatin ...*) *ḥattā ntahaytu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati l-lati kāna yūṭiqu bihā l-anbiyā'u* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 142:** 119,13 (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ṣallaytu fī l-masğidi ya'nī fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi ... fa-idā bi-dābbatin ...*) *ḥattā ntahaytu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati l-lati yūṭiqu* (read *kāna yūṭiqu*, with *al-Wāsiṭī*) *bihā l-anbiyā'u* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 144:** 122,1f. (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ... id utītu bi-dābbatin ...*) *fa-sirtu ḥattā ataytu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-nazaltu 'an dābbati fa-awṭaqtuhā bi-l-ḥalqati l-lati kānat tūṭiqu bihā l-anbiyā'u* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 371:** 248,10f. (... *anba'anā Ḍamratu bnu Rabī'ata ... 'an Ummi Hāni'in*



up [Muḥammad's mount] al-Burāq there.<sup>1</sup>

## B020. The Gate of Repentance (with the Chamber of Mary)<sup>2</sup>

**B020.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of Repentance (*Bāb at-tawba*) with the Chamber of Mary (*Miḥrāb Maryam*).<sup>3</sup>

**B020.2. Position:** We best identify the gate with the TRIPLE GATE<sup>4</sup> (B020.3.a).

**B020.3. Physical shape:** This is a gate (*bāb*) next to the Chamber of Mary (*ʿind Miḥrāb Maryam*),<sup>5</sup> a gate high above which leads into an otherwise inaccessible room, but not through to the courtyard. This is basically the TRIPLE GATE. The gate integrates elements of an earlier gate.

B020.3.a. The gate has been located in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL next to the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM

*qālat dahala ʿalayya Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama ... fa-qāla ... fa-idā dābbatun* (Hasson reads *bi-dābbatin*) ...) ḥattā ntahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati l-latī kānat yūṭīqu (read *tūṭīqu*) bihā yaʿnī l-anbiyāʾa ʿalayhim (read ʿalayhimi s-salāmu).

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.161:** 99,8f. (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*) lammā ntahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla Ġibrīlu ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-iṣba ʿihi fa-ḥaraqa bihā l-ḥaḡara wa-šadda l-Burāqa = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.68:** 80,2 (*Rasūlu Llāhi* (read *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi*) ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama) lammā ntahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi laylata usriya bī ḥaraqa Ġibrīlu ʿalayhi s-salāmu ḥaḡaran bi-iṣba ʿihi ʿinda l-bābi fa-šadda l-Burāqa.

<sup>2</sup>For the Marwānid Gate of Repentance and the Chamber of Mary, see Corbett, "Observations"; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 28f.; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45 with n. 54; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map 3*; Burgoyne, "Gates" 110f.; 119-124; Wightman, *Walls* 230; 245; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 389; 3 37; 151f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIII-XV; XXII; 50; 93-97; 117-119; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu"; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 104f.; 109 fig. 59; 123f. and fig. 63; 126; 130; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 16.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137:** 85,17f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 94) (*wa-kāna fī zamāni Banī Isrāʾīla idā aḡnaba aḡaduhumu d-danba ...*) fa-yaʿtī ilā Bābi t-tawbati wa-huwa l-bābu l-ladī ʿinda Miḥrābi Maryama l-ladī kāna yaʿtīhā rizquhā minhu = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.168:** 136,13f. (*wa-kāna fī Banī Isrāʾīla idā aḡnaba aḡaduhumu d-danba ...*) fa-yaʿtī ilā Bābi t-tawbati wa-huwa l-bābu l-ladī ʿinda Miḥrābi Maryama l-ladī kāna yaʿtīhā rizquhā minhu.

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.183:** 146,18f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 95 n. 82; see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 79) (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrāʾīla ...*) wa-kāna fihi mimma yalī l-Miḥrāba l-Akbara wa-Qindila l-Ḡannati Bābu t-tawbati.

<sup>4</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf. (in the southeast corner of the area).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137:** 85,17f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 94) (*wa-kāna fī zamāni Banī Isrāʾīla idā aḡnaba aḡaduhumu d-danba ...*) fa-yaʿtī ilā Bābi t-tawbati wa-huwa l-bābu l-ladī ʿinda Miḥrābi Maryama l-ladī kāna yaʿtīhā rizquhā minhu = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.168:** 136,13f. (*wa-kāna fī Banī Isrāʾīla idā aḡnaba aḡaduhumu d-danba ...*) fa-yaʿtī ilā Bābi t-tawbati wa-huwa l-bābu l-ladī ʿinda Miḥrābi Maryama l-ladī kāna yaʿtīhā rizquhā minhu.

CORNER.<sup>1</sup> Marwānid tradition considers *Miḥrāb Maryam* a *ḡurfā* "room" or *miḥrāb* "upper room" in Zechariah's house (*dār*), and this room may be reached with the help of a ladder (the verb is *sallam*) through a specific door (*bāb*) (B020.4). The inaccessibility of the room is central to the whole story. We may locate Marwānid (and High 'Abbāsīd) *Miḥrāb Maryam*, reached only through *Bāb at-tawba*, high above the surrounding region in the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR (or SOLOMON'S STABLES), reached only through the TRIPLE GATE high above; this supposes that there is no corridor from the gate's interior to the surface. The location of *Miḥrāb Maryam* inside the DOME OF THE ROCK, in the CAVE under the ROCK<sup>2</sup> is out of the question.

B020.3.b. The TRIPLE GATE, the double gate BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and the single gates BĀB AN-NĀẒIR, BĀB AL-'ATM (with two additional doors to its east) and BĀB ḤIṬṬA (with an additional door further west and possibly another one further east) have a similar layout: semicircular arches over each opening, distinctive chamfering of the lower outer edge of the voussoirs (BĀB AN-NĀẒIR lacks this feature), above the semicircular arches segmental rear vaults of slightly greater span so that the door leaves may fold back flush with the piers.<sup>3</sup> (Semicircular arches with the same distinctive chamfering also support the southwest corner of the PLATFORM.<sup>4</sup>) *Termini ante quos* for their building are an unpublished Pre-Crusader graffito on BĀB AL-'ATM,<sup>5</sup> the fact that the **Aqṣā Mosque I** has no columns on top of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR (B018.4.a), and the general transition in Palestine at the end of the 8th century from semicircular to pointed arches.<sup>6</sup> The mentioned group of gates, called here for brevity's sake BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP, is thereby Marwānid.<sup>7</sup> This also fits with the location of *Bāb at-tawba* at the TRIPLE GATE.

B020.3.c. It has been assumed that the gate may have been a triple-gate<sup>8</sup> which was reached from outside by a staircase,<sup>9</sup> and a gate from which the courtyard was reached;<sup>10</sup> both assumptions are not backed by sources. The existence of a Marwānid *Mahd Ṭsā*, a room in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER next to [and not identical with] *Miḥrāb Maryam*, has been assumed;<sup>11</sup> this also needs corroboration by sources.

B020.3.d. Marwānid *Bāb at-tawba* has been located in the GOLDEN GATE.<sup>12</sup> Fāṭimid *Bāb at-tawba* is indeed in the GOLDEN GATE, but there is no evidence that we should locate *Bāb at-tawba* at the GOLDEN GATE.

**B020.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The sinners among the **Children of Israel** had their sin written both on their foreheads and on their thresholds and were banished; they used to come

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; 94.

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 29.

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; Burgoyne, "Gates" 110f. with fig. 7; 112f.; 118f.

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 124.

<sup>5</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45 n. 54; 459; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 414; 3 95; 158.

<sup>6</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 125.

<sup>7</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45 n. 54; 459; Burgoyne, "Gates" 122-124; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 414; 3 95; 158.

<sup>8</sup>Wightman, *Walls* 230; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 109 fig. 59; 124 fig. 63.

<sup>9</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 109 fig. 59; 124 fig. 63.

<sup>10</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 104f.

<sup>11</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XIII-XV; XXII f.; 50; 93-95.

<sup>12</sup>Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3 (describing the Pre-Crusader period in general).

here to repent, and if God forgave them, they removed the sign of their sin from their foreheads;<sup>1</sup> in the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb at-tawba*) was next to the Greatest Temple and to the Lamp of Paradise (*mimmā yalī l-Mihrāb al-Akbar wa-Qindīl al-Ġanna*) (B014.7). **Zechariah** ascended this gate high above, to a room (*ġurfā*), an upper room (*mihrāb*) in his own house (*dār*) with the help of a ladder (*sallam*); he and only he used to enter the Chamber of Mary (*Mihrāb Maryam*) through this gate (cf. **Koran** 3.37);<sup>2</sup> **Mary** got her livelihood through this gate<sup>3</sup> and was visited by the angels who brought her her livelihood;<sup>4</sup> when Mary was once molested by lice, the roof opened for her to sit in the sun,

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137**: 85,15-19 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 94) *wa-kāna fī zamāni Banī Isrā'īla idā adnaba aḥaduhumu d-danba kutiba 'alā ḡabīnihi ḥaṭṭun wa-'alā 'atabati bābihi a-lā inna fulānan qad adnaba fī laylati kadā wa-kadā fa-yub'idūnahu wa-yazḡurūnahu fa-ya'tī ilā Bābi t-tawbati wa-huwa l-bābu l-ladī 'inda Mihrābi Maryama l-ladī kāna ya'tihā rizquhā minhu fa-yabkī fīhi wa-yataḍarra'u wa-yuqīmu ḥinan fa-in tāba Llāhu 'alayhi maḥā dālika 'an ḡabīnihi fa-ya'rifuhu Banū Isrā'īla wa-in lam yatub 'alayhi ab'adūhu wa-zaḡarūhu = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.168**: 136,11-15 *wa-kāna fī Banī Isrā'īla idā adnaba aḥaduhumu d-danba kutibat 'alā ḡabīnihi ḥaṭī'atuhu wa-'alā 'atabati bābihi illā anna fulānan qad adnaba fī laylati kadā wa-kadā fa-buyyīqa RWYH (read fa-buyyīqa bihi) wa-yazḡurūnahu fa-ya'tī ilā Bābi t-tawbati wa-huwa l-bābu l-ladī 'inda Mihrābi Maryama l-ladī kāna ya'tihā rizquhā minhu fa-yabkī wa-yataḍarra'u wa-yuqīmu ḥinan fa-in tāba Llāhu 'alayhi maḥā dālika 'an ḡabīnihi fa-yuqarribuhu Banī Isrā'īla (Livne-Kafri reads reluctantly: Banū Isrā'īla) wa-in lam yazal 'anhu ab'adūhu wa-zaḡarūhu.**

Cf. less explicit **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.183**: 146,18-20 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 95 n. 82; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 79) (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā'īla ...*) *wa-kāna fīhi mimma yalī l-Mihrāba l-Akbara wa-Qindīla l-Ġannati Bābu t-tawbati wa-huwa bi-izā'i Bābi Yahūdā (read bi-izā'i Bābi Yahūdā) bni Ya'qūba kānat Banū Isrā'īla idā tābat wa-taṭahharat waqafat 'alā Bābi t-tawbati.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.166**: 134,4-7; 12 *fa-lammā hammat [Mary] an tabluḡa mablaḡa n-nisā'i 'kaffalahā Zakariyā ya' (Koran 3.37) wa-kāna bna 'ammihā wa-zawḡa uḥtiḥā fa-šarat 'indahū lahā ḡurfatun fī dārihi yusallimu lahā (Livne-Kafri reads yaṭla'u ilayhā) min dārihi ilā mihrābin lahā tuṣalli fīhi l-layla wa-n-nahāra ... wa-kāna Zakariyā idā ḥaraḡa aḡlaqa 'alayhā l-bāba l-ladī taskunuhu wa-huwa l-ladī ḡahara bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fa-atā (Livne-Kafri reads fa-atā) Zakariyā fa-fataḡa l-bāba li-yusalimma 'alayhā fa-lam yaḡidhā, **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.167**: 135,14-136,1 (see Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 28f.) (*fa-tanāfasa fihā [Mary] l-aḡbāru awlādu Hārūna ayyuhum yukaffiluhā ... wa-qara'ahum Zakariyā wa-aḡaḡahā wa-kaffalahā fa-lammā balaḡat mablaḡa n-nisā'i*) *btanā lahā mihrāban fī wasaṭi l-masḡidi tumma ḡa'ala ya'tihi wasaṭan lā yaṭla'u ilayhā illā bi-sullamin wa-lā yaṣ'adu ilayhā aḡadun ḡayruhu miṭla bābi l-Ka'bati.**

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.399**: 261,10f.; 263,14f. *wa-kuffila Zakariyā Maryama (cf. Koran 3.37) bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-baššara Llāhu Maryama bi-Īsā (cf. Koran 19.19) fī Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-faḍḍala Llāhu Maryama 'alā nisā'i l-'ālamī fī Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

For Muslim traditions about the Chamber of Mary, see A084.a.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137**: 85,17f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 94) (*... ilā Bābi t-tawbati*) *wa-huwa l-bābu l-ladī 'inda Mihrābi Maryama l-ladī kāna ya'tihā rizquhā minhu = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.168**: 136,13f. (... ilā Bābi t-tawbati) wa-huwa l-bābu l-ladī 'inda Mihrābi Maryama l-ladī kāna ya'tihā rizquhā minhu.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.399**: 260,7f. *wa-ūtiyat Maryamu fākihata š-šitā' fī š-šayfi wa-fākihata š-šayfi fī š-šitā'i fī Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.166**: 134,7-9 (*fa-lammā hammat [Mary] an tabluḡa mablaḡa n-nisā'i ...*) *wa-kulla-mā daḡala 'alayhā Zakariyā l-mihrāba waḡada 'indahā rizqan' (Koran 3.37) yurīdu fākihata š-šayfi fī š-šitā'i wa-fākihata š-šitā'i fī š-šayfi ḡaytu lā fākihata 'qāla yā-Maryamu annā (read annā) laki ḥadā qālat huwa min 'inda*

but the door stayed closed and Zechariah did not find her.<sup>1</sup> The room and its door were as central in the mosque [the Temple] as the **Ka'ba** and its door [are in the *Ḥaram* of Mecca].<sup>2</sup>

B020.4.a. A parallel to the Chamber of Mary (*Miḥrāb Maryam*): The Pre-Marwānid Christian *sedes virginea* "the seat of the Virgin" is a room where Gabriel entered and announced to Mary the birth of Jesus.<sup>3</sup>

## B021. The Ḥiṭṭa Gate<sup>4</sup>

B021.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*).<sup>5</sup>

B021.1.a. The gate has its name from the tradition (B021.4) connected with it.

B021.2. **Position:** The gate is in the south part of the ḤARAM (*qibal al-qibla*). We best

---

*Llāhi'* (**Koran** 3.37) *yurīdu ya'tī bihi l-malā'ikatu ilayhā wa-hiya fī l-miḥrābi wa-laysa min aġinnati d-dunyā; Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.167*: 136,1f. (see Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 28f.) (*fa-tanāfasa fihā* [Mary] *l-aḥbāru awlādu Hārūna ayyuhum yukaffiluhā ... wa-qara'ahum Zakariyā wa-aḥadāhā wa-kaffalahā fa-lammā balaġat mablaġa n-nisā'i* btanā lahā miḥrāban fī wasaṭi l-masġidi tumma ġa'ala ya'tihi wasaṭan ...) ya'tihā bi-ṭa'āmiḥā wa-šarābiḥā fa-kāna idā ġā'ahā waġada 'indahā fākihata š-šayfi fī š-šitā'i wa-fākihata š-šitā'i fī š-šayfi (cf. without summer and winter fruits **Koran** 3.37).

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.399**: 260,7f. *wa-ūtiyat Maryamu fākihata š-šitā' fī š-šayfi wa-fākihata š-šayfi fī š-šitā' fī Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.166**: 134,10-13 *fa-āḍāhā* [Mary] *l-qamlu fī ra'sihā fa-tamannat an taġida ḥalwatan ilā l-ġabali fa-taflī ra'sahā fa-nfaraġa sa-saqfu lahā fa-ḥaraġat wa-l-bābu muġlaqun fī yawmin šadidi l-bardi fa-ġalasat fī mašraqatin fī š-šamsi fa-atā* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-atā*) *Zakariyā fa-fataḥa l-bāba li-yusalimma 'alayhā fa-lam yaġidhā wa-huwa qawluḥu ta'ālā fī sūratī Maryama 'fa-ttaḥadāt min dūnihim ḥiġāban'* (**Koran** 19.17) *wa-l-ḥiġābu l-ġabalu*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.167**: 135,14-136,1 (see Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 28f.) (*fa-tanāfasa fihā* [Mary] *l-aḥbāru awlādu Hārūna ayyuhum yukaffiluhā ... wa-qara'ahum Zakariyā wa-aḥadāhā wa-kaffalahā fa-lammā balaġat mablaġa n-nisā'i*) btanā lahā miḥrāban fī wasaṭi l-masġidi tumma ġa'ala ya'tihi wasaṭan lā yaṭla'u ilayhā illā bi-sullamin wa-lā yaṣ'adu ilayhā aḥadun ġayruḥu miṭla bābi l-Ka'bati.

<sup>3</sup>**Prudentius, dittochaion** 97-100 *adventante Deo descendit nuntius alto / Gabriel Patris ex solio sedemque repente / intrat virgineam: "Sanctus te Spiritus" inquit, / "implebit, Maria; Christum paries, sacra virgo."* (**Luke** 1.26-35; **Isaiah** 7.14).

<sup>4</sup>For the Marwānid Ḥiṭṭa Gate, see Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 68; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; 50; 68; 114-116; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 105; 126; 130; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 1.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.46**: 58,5 *wa-l-bābu l-laḍi yu'rafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun ...; Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.172: 139,13f. *wa-kāna yuqālu man ṣallā 'inda Bābi ḥiṭṭatun rak'atayni kāna lahu mina t-ṭawābi bi-'adadi man qīla lahu min Banī Isrā'īla dhul fa-lam yadhul*.*

<sup>6</sup>**aš-Šawkānī, Faṭḥ al-qadīr** 1 90 *kāna l-bābu qibala l-qiblati huwa aḥadu abwābi Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-huwa yud'ā Bāba ḥiṭṭati*.

locate it at BARCLAY'S GATE.<sup>1</sup>

B021.2.a. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46** has *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* as the second of the two copper gates of the mosque, the first one being *Bāb Dāwūd = Bāb Ṣihyūn*; both are preceded by *al-Bāb an-Nuḥās* "the Copper Gate" of the place of congregational prayer (B021.3.a). This suggests location at BARCLAY'S GATE.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46**

*al-Bāb an-Nuḥās: bāb al-ğamal al-awsaṭ -> bābā n-nuḥās al-laḏī [sic]  
‘alā bābay al-masğid: Bāb Dāwūd = Bāb Ṣihyūn, Bāb ḥiṭṭa*

B021.2.b. It has been assumed that ROBINSON'S ARCH may, in the Marwānid period, have been in use and somehow connected with an underground corridor leading to BARCLAY'S GATE;<sup>2</sup> but ROBINSON'S ARCH and BARCLAY'S GATE are quite a distance apart from each other.

**B021.3. Physical shape:** The Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) and the Gate of David (*Bāb Dāwūd*) are two copper gates (*bābā nuḥās*).<sup>3</sup> The Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) is a reused older gate.<sup>4</sup>

B021.3.a. The text of **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46** is corrupt, but minor conjectures give a clear picture.

|                                         |                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. The Copper Gate<br>of the gable roof | <i>inna l-Bāba n-Nuḥāsa<br/>l-laḏī fī l-masğidi<br/>bāba *l-ğamali (B049.1) l-awsaṭa<br/>huwa min matā'i Kisrā</i> | "The Copper Gate<br>which is in the mosque,<br>the central gate of the gable roof,<br>is from the belongings of [the Sāsānid great<br>king] Chosroes. |
| B. The [other] two<br>copper gates      | <i>wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsi<br/>l-laḏī ‘alā bābayi l-masğidi</i>                                                         | And the two copper gates<br>which are on the two gates of the mosque                                                                                  |
| a. The Gate of David                    | <i>Bābu Dāwūda<br/>l-laḏī *kāna *yaḥruḡu minhu</i>                                                                 | are the Gate of David<br>from which he used to leave                                                                                                  |

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 68; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf. and XXIf. (at BARCLAY'S GATE); 116 ("in the southern part of the western wall of the Ḥaram").

For BARCLAY'S GATE and Bİ'R AL-MAGĀRIBA, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 187-193; Le Strange, *Palestine* 180-182; 185; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 68; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 104; 199-203; Corbett, "Observations" 7 ("a fourth [Herodian] gate near the south end of the wall"); 8 n. 5 ("the West Gate to the Temple"); Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 151 n. 35; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78; 81; Busink, *Tempel* 968-971 (with fig. 221f.); Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 270; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44; Gil, *Palestine* 649; Burgoyne, "Gates" 107 fig. 2; 109; 119-122; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 401f.; 422; 3 39-41; 371; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 59-79; Nr.10f. (with figures); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 126.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 126.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46:** 58,3-7 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 115; see Elad, *Jerusalem* 42 n. 90; 114f.) (*inna l-Bāba n-Nuḥāsa l-laḏī fī l-masğidi bāba l-ğamali l-awsaṭi* (I read *bāba l-ğamali l-awsaṭi*; thus also Elad) *huwa min matā'i Kisrā*) *wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsi l-laḏī* (read *al-laḏayni*) *‘alā bābayi l-masğidi Bābu Dāwūda ... wa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu‘rafu bi-Bābi Ṣihyūna* (I read *huwa l-bābu l-laḏī yu‘rafu bi-Bābi Ṣihyūna*; Livne-Kafri deletes: *wa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu‘rafu bi-Bābi Ṣihyūna*) *wa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu‘rafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun ...*

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 108.

|                   |                                             |                                          |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
|                   | <i>ilā Sūqi Sulaymāna min Šihyūna</i>       | for the Market of Solomon from Zion,     |
|                   | <i>*huwa l-bābu</i>                         | is the gate                              |
|                   | <i>l-laḏī yu'rafu bi-Bābi Šihyūna</i>       | which is known as the Gate of Zion.      |
| b. The Ḥiṭṭa Gate | <i>wa-l-bābu</i>                            | And the gate                             |
|                   | <i>l-laḏī yu'rafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun</i>      | which is known as the Ḥiṭṭa Gate         |
|                   | <i>huwa l-bābu</i>                          | is the gate                              |
|                   | <i>l-laḏī kāna bi-Ariḥā</i>                 | which was in Jericho;                    |
|                   | <i>lammā ḥaribat</i>                        | when it [Jericho] was destroyed          |
|                   | <i>nuqila l-bābu ilā l-masḡidi</i>          | the gate was brought to the mosque.      |
|                   | <i>qāla wa-innamā summiya Bāba ḥiṭṭatun</i> | And he said: It is called the Ḥiṭṭa Gate |
|                   | <i>li-anna ...</i>                          | because ..."                             |

B021.3.b. The tradition mentions the copper gates of the mosque, first *al-Bāb an-Nuḥās* "the Copper Gate" proper in the place of congregational prayer (at AQṢĀ MOSQUE, B049.2) (A), then the two copper gates in the wall of the mosque (in the ḤARAM WALL) (B). But in this second part, introducing (*inna ...*) *bābayi n-nuḥāsi* "the two copper gates" is explained not with two, but with three items: *Bābu Dāwūda* "the Gate of David", *wa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu'rafu bi-Bābi Šihyūna* "and the gate which is known as the Gate of Zion" and *wa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu'rafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun* "and the gate which is known as the Ḥiṭṭa Gate". We may suppose *wa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu'rafu bi-Bābi Šihyūna* was originally *\*huwa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu'rafu bi-Bābi Šihyūna* "it is the gate which is known as the Gate of Zion". Misreading *\*huwa l-bābu* into *wa-l-bābu* is very easy. The meaning would then be that *Bāb Dāwūd* and *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* are the two gates of the mosque which have copper doors. It has been proposed that *wa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu'rafu bi-Bābi Šihyūna* "and the gate which is known as the Gate of Zion" be deleted (Livne-Kafri), but there is no evidence that the whole sentence was added later.

B021.3.c. *Wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsi l-laḏī 'alā bābayi l-masḡidi* has been thought to be, originally, grammatically correct Classical Arabic *\*wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsi l-laḏayni 'alā bābayi l-masḡidi*; but the first version, with invariable *al-laḏī* in all genders and numbers, is good Middle Arabic<sup>1</sup> and may well have been written thus.

**B021.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Koranic gate where God ordered the **Children of Israel**, "Enter this town [and eat comfortably from it wherever ye please; enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions and increase those who do well]" (*Koran* 2.58), but they did not obey him;<sup>2</sup> the gate had been in Jericho,

<sup>1</sup>Blau, *Grammar of Christian Arabic* 549-551: 431.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.46:** 58,6f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 114f.) (*wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsi l-laḏī* (read *al-laḏayni*) *'alā bābayi l-masḡidi Bābu Dāwūda ... wa-l-bābu l-laḏī yu'rafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun ...*) *wa-innamā summiya Bāba ḥiṭṭatun li-anna Llāha ta'ālā amara Banī Isrā'īla an yadhūlū minhu wa-yaqūlū ḥiṭṭatun* (cf. *Koran* 2.58); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.172:** 139,13f. (... *anba'anā 'Abdu r-Razzāqi ... 'an Qutādata fī qawlihi 'dḥulū hādīhi l-qaryata'* (*Koran* 2.58) *qāla Baytu l-Maqdisi tumma qāla 'dḥulū l-bāba suḡḡadan wa-qūlū ḥiṭṭatun'* (*Koran* 2.58) ...) *wa-kāna yuqālu man ṣallā 'inda Bābi ḥiṭṭatun rak'atayni kāna lahu mina t-tawābi bi-'adadi man qīla lahu min Banī Isrā'īla dḥul fa-lam yadhūl.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.195:** 154,3 (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24f. n. 15) (*šakā* (Livne-Kafri reads *šakā*) *hādā l-baytu ilā Llāhi ta'ālā l-ḥarāba fa-awḥā Llāhu innī mubdiluka bi-Tawrātin muḥḍatatin ya'nī l-Qur'āna wa-'ummārin muḥḍatīna ya'nī ummata*

but when the city was destroyed, the gate was brought here.<sup>1</sup>

B021.4.a. Parallels to the prostration upon entering the city at *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*:<sup>2</sup> When the Pre-Marwānid Christian pilgrim from Piacenza enters the city, he and his companions throw themselves on the ground and kiss it;<sup>3</sup> when **Petrus Iberus** sees the city from the Mount of Olives, he and his companions prostrate themselves on the ground and pray in the direction of the city;<sup>4</sup> and for Sophronios entering the city is connected with praising God.<sup>5</sup> A Marwānid Muslim tradition emphasises how ‘Umar prostrates himself at the city gate upon entering the city.<sup>6</sup>

**B021.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** Whosoever makes ritual prayer (*ṣallā*) at the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) has, for each two *rak‘a*, the same merit [i.e., remission of sins] the Children of Israel would have had had they obeyed God and entered the gate.<sup>7</sup>

---

*Muḥammadin ‘alayhi s-salāmu ... wa-yadhulūlaka* (read *yadhulūnaka*) *suḡḡadan* (cf. **Koran** 2.58; 4.154; 7.161) (... *fa-raḍiya*); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.399**: 260,2f.; 261,20-262,1 *wa-ḡafara Llāhu ḥaṭāyā Banī Isrā’īla fī Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-qawluhu li-nabiyyi Isrā’īla ‘dḥulū ḥāḍihi l-qaryata wa-kulū* (read *fa-kulū*) *minhā ḥaytu šī’tum’* (**Koran** 2.58) *hiya Bayu l-Maqdisi*.

For Muslim traditions about the Ḥiṭṭa Gate, see A101.f.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.46**: 58,5f. (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 115; see Elad, *Jerusalem* 114f.; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 4; 4f. n. 27) (*wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsī l-laḍī* (read *al-laḍayni*) *‘alā bābayi l-masḡidi Bābu Dāwūda ... wa-l-bābu l-laḍī yu’rafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun huwa l-bābu l-laḍī kāna bi-Arīḥā lammā ḥaribat nuqila l-bābu ilā l-masḡidi*.

<sup>2</sup>For the prostration upon entering the Temple or the city of Jerusalem, see Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa".

<sup>3</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 171,3f.: 18 *osculantes proni in terram* (G *in terra*) *ingressi sumus in sanctam civitatem* = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 203,16f.: 18 *clinantes* (B *inclinantes nos*) *proni in terram ingressi sumus in sanctam civitatem*.

<sup>4</sup>**Vita Petri Iberi** 27,4-11 (see Wilken, "Christian Pilgrimage" 123 (497) n. 22) (*kaḍ deyn b-qōrbā hwaw d-Ūrišlem mdīntā qaddīštā ḥāy da-rḥīmā hwāt l-hōn wa-hzaw men rawmā d-ūt l-qōblāh ‘al ḥamšā esṭdawātā ... [w-Jrōrābā’īt az’eqw kaḍ meltā [ḥāy] nbīyātā mšammīn* (read *mšallmīn*) *‘hā Ṣehyōn mdīntā d-pōrqānan ‘aynayk neḥzyān l-Ūrišlem w-šōbhā w-qōbāl ṭaybōṭā ayk ḥaylhōn asseq[w] la-Mšīḥā ...)* *kaḍ šḍaw napšhōn ‘al appayhōn lā šlaw [men] d-sāḡdīn men [l-‘al] haw rawmā w-‘al bōrkayhōn rāšpīn wa-sbīsā’īt b-sep̄wāthōn wa-b-‘aynayhōn šā’lī n šlāmā d-ḥāy ar’ā qaddīštā ... ‘damā da-l-gaw men šōrē qaddīšē hwaw Wa-lāh la-bāsīs da-šlibā myaqqarā ‘paqw āmar anā l-Ḡāḡōltā qaddīštā wa-d-Qyāmtā qaddīštā*.

<sup>5</sup>**Sophronios, Anakr.20** 1-4: 1A ἄγιον πόλισμα θεῖον / Ἱεροουσαλήμ, τ’ ἐς νῦν (read βεψαυσε οφ τηε μετρε: τεὰς νῦν ορ τε σοῦ νῦν ορ τ’ ἐς νῦν δὴ) / ἐθέλων (read ἐθέλω) πύλας παρεῖναι / ἵν’ ἀγαλλιῶν εἰσέλθω.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāqidī, Futūḥ** 1 150-152 (quoted in Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 95; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 98; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 14f.) (‘Umaru ...) *tawāḍa’a li-Llāhi wa-ḥarra sāḡidan ‘alā qutbi ba’irihi*.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.172**: 139,13f. (... *anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Razzāqi ... ‘an Qutādata fī qawlihi ‘dḥulū ḥāḍihi l-qaryata’* (**Koran** 2.58) *qāla Baytu l-Maqdisi ṭumma qāla ‘dḥulū l-bāba suḡḡadan wa-qūlū ḥiṭṭatun’* (**Koran** 2.58) ...) *wa-kāna yuqālu man ṣallā ‘inda Bābi ḥiṭṭatun rak‘atayni kāna lahu mina t-tawābi bi-‘adadi man qīla lahu min Banī Isrā’īla dḥul fa-lam yadhul*.

## B022. The Gate of David<sup>1</sup> = the Gate of Zion

**B022.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of David (*Bāb Dāwūd*) or Gate of Zion (*Bāb Ṣihyūn*).<sup>2</sup>

**B022.2. Position:** This is BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.<sup>3</sup>

B022.2.a. Its location is mainly by continuity, as both High ʿAbbāsīd (B072.3) and Fāṭimid (B144.2) *Bāb Dāwūd* are at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.

B022.2.b. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46** has *Bāb Dāwūd* = *Bāb Ṣihyūn* as the first of the two copper gates of the mosque, followed by the other copper gate *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE), preceded by *al-Bāb an-Nuḥās*, the central gate of the place of congregational prayer. This allows location at BĀB AS-SILSILA/ BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46**

*al-Bāb an-Nuḥās: bāb al-ğamal al-awsaṭ -> bābā n-nuḥās al-laḍī [sic]  
ʿalā bābayi l-masğid: Bāb Dāwūd = Bāb Ṣihyūn, Bāb ḥiṭṭa*

B.022.2.c. Identification with the double gate BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA fits with the fact that the double gate is part of the Marwānīd BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP (B020.3.b) and thereby Marwānīd. Additionally, the LARGE PILLAR between the two halves of BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA is, in its lower layer of huge stones, also Pre-Crusader, possibly Umayyad.<sup>4</sup>

**B022.3. Physical shape:** The Gate of David (*Bāb Dāwūd*) and the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) are two copper gates (*bābā nuḥās*) (B021.3). This is basically BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānīd Gate of David, see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45 with n. 54; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 122-124; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 414f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 105; 126-128.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46:** 58,3f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 114f.) *wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsi l-laḍī* (read *al-laḍayni*) ʿalā bābayi l-masğidi *Bābu Dāwūda l-laḍī yuḥrağū* (I read *kāna yaḥruğū*) *minhu ilā Sūqi Sulaymāna* (Gil, *Palestine* 636f. n. 111 reluctantly reads *ilā Sūqi Silwāna*) *min Ṣihyūna wa-l-bābu l-laḍī yuʿrafu bi-Bābi Ṣihyūna* (I read *huwa l-bābu l-laḍī yuʿrafu bi-Bābi Ṣihyūna*; Livne-Kafri deletes: *wa-l-bābu l-laḍī yuʿrafu bi-Bābi Ṣihyūna*) (*wa-l-bābu l-laḍī yuʿrafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun ...*).

<sup>3</sup>For the double gate BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 108f.; 119; 253 fig. 41; 358; 365; 374 n. 2; 2 20f.; 141-156; Grabar, "A New Inscription"; Busink, *Tempel* 968; 972; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* colour plate 12; 46; 48; 115; 193; 223-248 (with figures and plates); 382; 443-456 (with n. 1 and n. 2, figures and plates); 460; 589 and pl. 63.1; 591; 606; fig. 12.2 (on separate sheet); Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 262; 264; fig. 7-8; 17; Wightman, *Walls* 130; 260; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 308; pl. 29.b; Burgoyne, "Gates" 118-122; 122-124 with figures; Gil, *Palestine* 92f. n. 17; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 145; 186; 218; 2 403; 414-417; 3 371; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f..

<sup>4</sup>Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 414.



SAKĪNA (B022.2.c).

B022.4. **Traditions (Muslim):** David left Zion by the Gate of David (*Bāb Dāwūd*) for the Market of Solomon (*Sūq Sulaymān*).<sup>1</sup>

### B222. The northwest gate<sup>2</sup>

B222.1. **Name (Muslim):** Unknown.

B222.2. **Position:** This is basically BĀB AN-NĀẒIR.

B222.2.a. The only evidence for the existence of a Marwānid gate here is the fact that BĀB AN-NĀẒIR itself is part of the Marwānid BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP dating from the Marwānid period (B020.3.b).

B222.3. **Physical shape:** This is basically BĀB AN-NĀẒIR (B221.2.a), possibly a double gate.

B222.3.a. All other gates of the Marwānid BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP are double or even triple gates (B020.3.b) and we may suppose that this is also at least a double gate.

---

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.46:** 58,3f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 114f.) *wa-bābayi n-nuḥāsi l-laḍī* (read *al-laḍayni*) *‘alā bābayi l-masğidi Bābu Dāwūda l-laḍī yuḥrağū* (I read *kāna yaḥruğū*) *minhu ilā Sūqi Sulaymāna* (Gil, *Palestine* 636f. n. 111 reluctantly reads *ilā Sūqi Silwāna*) *min Ṣiḥyūna* (... *wa-l-bābu l-laḍī yu‘rafu bi-Bābi ḥiṭṭatun* ...).

<sup>2</sup>For the Marwānid northwest gate, see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45 and n. 54; 459.

### B023. The Gate(s) of the Tribes<sup>1</sup> and the minaret next to it

B023.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāṭ*,<sup>2</sup> *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*).

B023.2. **Position:** This gate is in the back [north] part of the mosque (*fī mu'ahḥar al-mas-ḡid*),<sup>4</sup> not in line with the west wall.<sup>5</sup> At the Gate of the Tribes (*alā Bāb al-Asbāṭ*) there is one

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid Gate(s) of the Tribes at BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤITṬA, see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45 and n. 54; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Burgoyne, "Gates" 122-124; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 95; 158; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; 50; 68; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 105; 128; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 114 (493) n. 94; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 91 n. 82.

For BĀB AL-‘ATM, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 186; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 216 n. 2; 2 82-96; 202; 209; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; 459; Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 262; 264; fig. 11; fig. 19f.; Gil, *Palestine* 638; Burgoyne, "Gates" 113; 118 fig. 14; 122-124; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 442f.; 3 95; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 105; 128; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 114 (493) n. 94.

For BĀB ḤITṬA, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 270; 2 58; 102-104; 119; 199-203; Burgoyne, "Marwānid Inscription"; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; 459; Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 264; fig. 21; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 310f.; pl. 32; 311; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 2 442f.; 3 158f.; Burgoyne, "Gates" 112f.; 117 fig. 12 and fig. 13; 122-124; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 39f.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.19:** 17,5 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) (... *‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati qāma ‘alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ḥina fariḡa min binā’i l-masḡidi*) *wa-hiya mimmā yalī nāḥiyata Bābi l-Asbāṭi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.158:** 129,7 (... *‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati qāma ‘alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ‘alayhimā s-salāmu yawma fariḡa min binā’i l-masḡidi*) *wa-hiya mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.96:** 61,2f. (... *anna Ka’ba l-Aḥbāra ...*) *ṭumma yadḥulu min Bābi l-Asbāṭi li-yastaqbilu l-Qudsā* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.312:** 214,12 (... *anna Ka’ba l-Aḥbāra ...*) *ṭumma yadḥulu min Bābi l-Asbāṭi yastaqbilu l-Qudsā*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr. 47:** 61,14f. (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf’alu bihā fī ḥilāfati ‘Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-fīhi mina l-manābiri* (I read *mina l-manāyiri*) *arba ‘atun ṭalātun minhā fī ṣinfīn wāḥidin ḡarbiyin* (read *fī ṣaffīn wāḥidin ḡarbiya l-masḡidi*) *wa-wāḥidun ‘alā Bābi l-Asbāṭi*. ; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.175:** 140,9f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri ‘alayhi s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fīmā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati wa-Bābi l-Asbāṭi* (= but the plural *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.148:** 91,4f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fīmā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati ilā Abwābi l-Asbāṭi*); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.162:** 131,7f. (... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu qāla li-Ka’bin fa-ayna tarā lanā an naḡ’ala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masḡidi*) *fa-qāla fī mu’ahḥarihi mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi* (*qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masḡidi qāla fa-maḡā ilā muqaddamihi*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.148:** 91,4f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fīmā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati ilā Abwābi l-Asbāṭi* (= but the singular *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.175:** 140,9f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri ‘alayhi s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fīmā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati wa-Bābi l-Asbāṭi*).

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.183:** 146,13f. (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā’īla ...*) *wa-kāna fīhi Abwābu l-Asbāṭi l-arba’ati Bābu Yūsufa wa-Bābu Rūbila wa-Bābu Šim’ūna wa-Bābu Yahūdā*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.162:** 131,7f. (... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu qāla li-Ka’bin fa-ayna tarā lanā an naḡ’ala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masḡidi*) *fa-qāla fī mu’ahḥarihi mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masḡidi qāla fa-maḡā ilā muqaddamihi*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47:** 61,14f. (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf’alu bihā fī ḥilāfati ‘Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-fīhi mina l-manābiri* (I

of the four minarets (B025.2); next to (the region of) the Gate of the Tribes (*mimmā yalī (nāḥiyat) Bāb al-Asbāt*) is the place where Solomon prayed when he had built the Temple (B029.2); between the Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt = Abwāb al-Asbāt*) and the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb r-raḥma*) is the Dwelling-place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Maskan al-Ḥiḍr*), with no other gate in between (B030.2). The (one) Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) is either the triple gate at BĀB AL-‘ATM or the triple gate at BĀB ḤIṬṬA; the Gates of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāt*) are the triple gate at BĀB AL-‘ATM and the triple gate at BĀB ḤIṬṬA together.

B023.2.a. The location of *Bāb al-Asbāt* leaves us with the choice between BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA, the two places with High ‘Abbāsīd (B080.2, B083.2, B084.2) and Fāṭimid (B150.2) main north gates. High ‘Abbāsīd collective *Abwāb al-Asbāt* are at BĀB ḤIṬṬA and BĀB AL-‘ATM (B080.2), specifically *Bāb al-Asbāt = Abwāb al-Asbāt* at BĀB ḤIṬṬA (B083.2), and Fāṭimid *Bāb al-Asbāt* at BĀB ḤIṬṬA (B150.2).

B023.2.b. For location of *Abwāb al-Asbāt* we may use *Kursī Sulaymān* and *Maskan al-Ḥiḍr* as points of reference. The plain identification of *Kursī Sulaymān* with KURSĪ SULAYMĀN and of *Maskan al-Ḥiḍr* with MAQĀM AL-ḤIḌR has resulted in locating *Abwāb al-Asbāt* at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ;<sup>1</sup> but identity of Marwānīd and modern names is no basis for identification. Locating *Kursī Sulaymān* near BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA, at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŞAḤRA (B094.2), *Maskan al-Ḥiḍr* at KURSĪ SULAYMĀN (B030.2) results rather in *Abwāb al-Asbāt* at BĀB AL-‘ATM or BĀB ḤIṬṬA.

B023.2.c. Identification with BĀB AL-‘ATM or BĀB ḤIṬṬA fits with the fact that both BĀB AL-‘ATM or BĀB ḤIṬṬA are part of the Marwānīd BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP (B020.3.b) and thereby Marwānīd.

**B023.3. Physical shape:** The Gate (singular) of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) is either the triple gate at BĀB AL-‘ATM or the triple gate at BĀB ḤIṬṬA. The Gates (plural) of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāt*) are the triple gates at BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA (B023.2.c). One of the four minarets (*\*manāyir*) is at the Gate of the Tribes (*‘alā Bāb al-Asbāt*) (B025.2).

B023.3.a. It has been claimed that in the Umayyad period, there has been a double gate where today BĀB AL-‘ATM is.<sup>2</sup>

**B023.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt = Abwāb al-Asbāt*) evidently refers to the Koranic **Tribes** (*al-Asbāt*) (*Koran* 2.136; 2.140; 3.84; 4.163; 7.160), but this is not explicit. The name may also be influenced by the eschatological Temple

---

read *mina l-manāyir*) arba‘atun talātātun minhā fī šinfīn wāḥidin ġarbiyin (read fī šaffīn wāḥidin ġarbiya l-masġidi) wa-wāḥidun ‘alā Bābi l-Asbāṭi.

<sup>1</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202; 208.

For the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 14; 198-203; 208; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44 pl. 2; 105; 106 fig. 1.2; Burgoyne, "Gates" 112; 116 fig. 11; Wightman, *Walls* 84f. n. 2; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 192; 2 441-443; 3 204f.

<sup>2</sup>Neuwirth, "Three Names" 91 n. 82.

gates called after the Tribes of Israel (*Šibṭē Yisrā'ēl*) (**Ezekiel** 48.30-35).

B023.4.a. Koranic *al-Asbāt*<sup>1</sup> are either the twelve parts of the Children of Israel, the Twelve Tribes (**Koran** 7.160), or the group of individuals mentioned in the series Abraham - Ismael - Isaac - Jacob - *al-Asbāt* (**Koran** 2.136; 2.140; 3.84; 4.163),<sup>2</sup> i.e., the Sons of Jacob<sup>3</sup> or the later prophets in the Twelve Tribes.<sup>4</sup>

B023.4.b. The name may be influenced by **Ezekiel** 48.30-35, where the city gates of eschatological Jerusalem are called after the Tribes of Israel (*Šibṭē Yisrā'ēl*), i.e., the north gates after Reuben, Judah and Levi, the east gates after Joseph, Benjamin and Dan, the south gates after Simeon, Issachar and Zebulun, and the west gates after Gad, Asher and Naphthali. The location of *Abwāb al-Asbāt* at the north wall may be due to a misunderstanding. **Ezechiel** has for each side - north, east, south and west - separately (a) the direction of the respective wall, (b) its length, (c) the number of its gates and (d) the names of these gates; all four sides together are framed by a heading and a concluding remark. This clear structure is disturbed by an addition in between North b and North c, and a second addition between North c and North d. A careless reading may result in the combination of Addition 1, North c, Addition 2 and North d, i.e., in *wə-ša<sup>a</sup>rē ha-ʿir šəʿarīm šəlōšāh šāpōnāh Šaʿar Rəʿūbēn āḥād Šaʿar Lēwī āḥād* "And the gates of the city shall be named after the tribes of Israel, the three gates, northward, the Gate of Reuben one, the Gate of Judah one, the Gate of Levi one".

|            |                                                                   |                                                                            |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Heading    | <i>wə-ēllāh tōšʾōt hā-ʿir</i>                                     | "These are the exits of the city:                                          |
| North a    | <i>mī-pʾat šāpōn</i>                                              | on the north side,                                                         |
| North b    | <i>ḥ<sup>a</sup>mēš mēʾōt wə-arbaʿat<sup>a</sup> lāpīm middāh</i> | measuring 4500 ells                                                        |
| Addition 1 | <i>wə-ša<sup>a</sup>rē ha-ʿir ʿal šəmōt Šibṭē Yisrāʾēl</i>        | - and the gates of the city shall be named<br>after the tribes of Israel - |
| North c    | <i>šəʿarīm šəlōšāh</i>                                            | the three gates                                                            |
| Addition 2 | <i>šāpōnāh</i>                                                    | northward                                                                  |
| North d    | <i>Šaʿar Rəʿūbēn āḥād Šaʿar Yəhūdāh āḥād<br/>Šaʿar Lēwī āḥād</i>  | the Gate of Reuben one, the Gate of Judah one,<br>the Gate of Levi one;    |
| East a     | <i>wə-āl-pəʾat qādīmāh ...</i>                                    | on the east side                                                           |
| East b     | <i>ḥ<sup>a</sup>mēš mēʾōt wə-arbaʿat<sup>a</sup> lāpīm</i>        | 4500 [ells],                                                               |
| East c     | <i>ū-šəʿarīm šəlōšāh</i>                                          | three gates:                                                               |
| East d     | <i>wə-Šaʿar Yōsēp āḥād Šaʿar Binyāmīn āḥād<br/>Šaʿar Dān āḥād</i> | the Gate of Joseph one, the Gate of Benjamin<br>one, the Gate of Dan one;  |
| South a    | <i>ū-pʾat-nāḡbāh ...</i>                                          | on the south side, ..."                                                    |

B023.4.c. Parallels to the Gate(s) of the Tribes: Marwānid Muslim traditions consider Jerusalem the prayer-

<sup>1</sup>For Koranic *al-Asbāt*, see Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 2.136.

<sup>2</sup>Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 2.136.

<sup>3</sup>Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 2.136.

<sup>4</sup>Khoury, *Koran* 2 144 ad **Koran** 2.136.

direction of Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob and the Tribes (*al-Asbāt*),<sup>1</sup> and know among the gates of the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) the four Gates of the Tribes/the Gates of the four Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāt al-arbaʿa*): the Gate of Joseph (*Bāb Yūsuf*), the Gate of Reuben (*Bāb Rūbīl*), the Gate of Simeon (*Bābū Šimʿūn*) and the Gate of Judah (*Bāb Yahūdā*).<sup>2</sup> Marwānid Christian tradition knows the Church of the Twelve Thrones (**Matthew** 19.28; **Luke** 22.30) at the Lake of Tiberias, with a table where Jesus sat with his disciples.<sup>3</sup> High ʿAbbāsīd Muslim tradition has, in Hebron next to the tombs of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their wives, the tomb of one of the *Asbāt* (*qabr baʿḍ al-Asbāt*), i.e., the tomb of Joseph.<sup>4</sup> Fāṭimid **Nāṣir** describes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as having images of Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob and his sons (*farzandān-i ū*).<sup>5</sup> Fāṭimid Christian tradition has, east of the Church of the Virgin in Gethsemane, a cave where Jesus fled with his disciples, with a throne for him and his twelve disciples, to judge the twelve Tribes of Israel (**Matthew** 19.28; **Luke** 22.30).<sup>6</sup>

**B023.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** When [the scholar] Kaʿb al-Aḥbār arrived from al-Ḥimṣ to pray in the mosque of Jerusalem (*masǧid ʿIlīyāʾ*), he entered by this gate to orient himself towards the Temple (*yastaqbil al-Quds*) (B014.6).

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.100:** 99,6-8 (... ʿani bni ʿAbbāsa fī qawlihi taʿālā ...) ʿmā wallāhum (Livne-Kafri reads *mā wallāhum*) ʿan qiblatihimi l-lati kānū ʿalayhā (**Koran** 2.142) yuridu l-lati kāna Ibrāhīmu wa-Ismāʿīlu wa-Ishāqu wa-Yaʿqūbu wa-l-Asbātu ṣalawātu Llāhi ʿalayhim (I read ʿalayhim ʿalayhā) wa-hiya qiblatu Bayti l-Maqdisi.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.183:** 146,13f. (wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrāʾīla ...) wa-kāna fīhi Abwābu l-Asbāti l-arbaʿati Bābu Yūsufa wa-Bābu Rūbīla wa-Bābu Šimʿūna wa-Bābu Yahūdā.

<sup>3</sup>**Commemoratorium** 304,3-5 (see Schick, *Christian Communities* 292f.) ([... Supra ma]re Tiberiadis monasterium quod vocatur Heptapegon ...) Item iuxta mare ecclesia quam vocant duodecim thronorum et ibi fuit Dominus cum discipulis suis; ibi est mensa ubi cum illis sedit; ibi sunt presbyter I clerici II.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 46,19f. kāna qabru Yūsufa dikkatun yuqālu annahā qabru baʿḍi l-Asbāti.

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.183:** 146,10-13 wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrāʾīla wa-huwa arbaʿuna farsaḥan fī arbaʿina farsaḥan [and thereby encompassing Hebron] Qabru Ibrāhīma wa-Qabru Sārata wa-Qabru Ishāqa wa-Yaʿqūba wa-Qabru Rāḥīla ummi Yūsufa mraʿati Yaʿqūba wa-Qabru Yūsufa sittatu qubūrin wa-hiya zāhiratun ilā l-āni.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 50,13-15 (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 205) wa ṣūrat-i ʿĪsā ʿalayhi s-salām čand (NP dar čand) ḡā sāhtah kih bar ḥar-ī nišastah (NP nišastah ast) wa ṣūrat-i dīgar anbiyā čūn Ibrāhīm wa Ismāʿīl wa Ishāq wa Yaʿqūb wa farzandān-i ū ʿalayhimi s-salām bar ān-ḡā karda.

<sup>6</sup>**Epiphanius V** VIII,12-16 (see Donner, "Epiphanius" 56) (... ἡ ἀγία Γεθσημανὴ ὁ τάφος τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου ...) καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἔστι τὸ ἅγιον σπήλαιον ἐνθα κατέφυγεν ὁ κύριος μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν· καὶ εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἔστιν ὁ θρόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ· ἐνθα μέλλει κατέχεσθαι κρίνων τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ = **Epiphanius M** VIII,12-16 (see Donner, "Epiphanius" 51) (... ἡ ἀγία Γεθσημανὴ ἢ καὶ ὁ τάφος ὑπῆρχε τῆς θεοτόκου ...) πλησίον αὐτῇ τὸ ἅγιον σπήλαιον ἐν ᾧ ἐκατέφυγεν ὁ κύριος μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ· εἰς γὰρ τὸ σπήλαιον ἐκεῖνο ἔστιν ὁ θρόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ· ἐνθα μέλλει κατεῖσαι κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· (cf. the **Nicean Creed**) μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ = **Epiphanius J** VIII,12-16 (see Donner, "Epiphanius" 56) (... ἡ ἀγία Γεθσημανὴ ὁ τάφος ἐκκλησία τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου ...) πλησίον αὐτῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἔστι τὸ σπήλαιον εἰς ὃ κατέφυγεν ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ· ὅπερ μέλλει κρίναι.

## B024. The east wall and the Gate of Mercy<sup>1</sup>

**B024.1. Names (Muslim):** The east wall of (the Mosque of) the Temple (*sūr Masġid Bayt al-Maqdis aš-šarqī*,<sup>2</sup> *sūr Bayt al-Masġid aš-šarqī*<sup>3</sup>) and the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*).<sup>4</sup>

B024.1.a. It has been assumed the name *Bāb ar-raḥma* goes back only to the 9th-10th century (in our terminology, the High ‘Abbāsid period), and may have provided a new religious legitimacy for an already existing

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid Gate of Mercy, see B002.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.159:** 130,1-4 (... *qāla ḥaddaṭanī Abū l-‘Awwāmi mu‘addīnun li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi ‘an Abdi Llāhi bni ‘Amri bni l-‘Āši qāla inna s-sūra l-ladī ḍakara Llāhu ta‘ālā fī l-Qur‘āni ‘fa-qad ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-‘adābu’* (**Koran** 57.13) *sūru Masġidi Bayti l-Maqdisi š-šarqīyu ‘bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-‘adābu’ Wādī Ġahannuma* (= shorter **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.17:** 15,7-16,2 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 103f. n. 128) *ḥaddaṭanā Ṣadaqatu bnu Yazīda ‘an Sa‘īdi bni ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi ‘an ‘Aṭiyata bni Qaysin ‘an ‘Abdi Llāhi bni ‘Amri bni l-‘Āši fī ḥādīhi l-āyati ‘fa-ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-‘adābu’* (**Koran** 57.13) *qāla huwa sūru Bayti l-Maqdisi š-šarqīyu*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.17:** 15,7-16,2 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 103f. n. 128) *ḥaddaṭanā Ṣadaqatu bnu Yazīda ‘an Sa‘īdi bni ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi ‘an ‘Aṭiyata bni Qaysin ‘an ‘Abdi Llāhi bni ‘Amri bni l-‘Āši fī ḥādīhi l-āyati ‘fa-ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-‘adābu’* (**Koran** 57.13) *qāla huwa sūru Bayti l-Maqdisi š-šarqīyu* (= longer **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.159:** 130,1-4 (... *qāla ḥaddaṭanī Abū l-‘Awwāmi mu‘addīnun li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi ‘an Abdi Llāhi bni ‘Amri bni l-‘Āši qāla inna s-sūra l-ladī ḍakara Llāhu ta‘ālā fī l-Qur‘āni ‘fa-qad ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-‘adābu’* (**Koran** 57.13) *sūru Masġidi Bayti l-Maqdisi š-šarqīyu ‘bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-‘adābu’ Wādī Ġahannuma*).

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.47:** 36,16f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 106; see Elad, *Jerusalem* 106-108) *lammā fariġa Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ‘alayhimā s-salāmu min binā’i Bayti l-Maqdisi anbata Llāhu ‘azza wa-ġalla lahu šaġaratayni ‘inda Bābi r-raḥmati iḥdaynhinna* (read *iḥdāhumā*) *tunbitu d-ḡahaba wa-l-uḥrā tunbitu l-fiḍḡata* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.17:** 24,3f. *lammā fariġa Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda min Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *min binā’i Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *anbata Llāhu ‘azza wa-ġalla šaġaratayni ‘inda Bābi r-Raḥmati aḥaduhumā* (read *iḥdāhumā*) *tunbitu d-ḡahaba wa-l-uḥrā tunbitu l-fiḍḡata*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.137:** 85,4 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 107; see Elad, *Jerusalem* 106-108) (*wa-kāna wuldu Ahārūna šallā Llāhu ‘alayhi yaġī’ūna ilā š-Šaḥrati wa-yusammūnahā l-haykala bi-l-‘ibrānīyati ... wa-kānat tanzilu ‘alayhim nārun mina s-samā’i ‘alā š-Šaḥrati ...*) *tumma tamtaddu ḥattā tadḥulu min Bābi r-raḥmati* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.17:** 24,14 *wa-kāna wuldu Hārūna yaġī’ūna ilā š-Šaḥrati wa-yusammūnahā l-haykala bi-l-‘ibrānīyati ... wa-kāna yanzilu nārun mina s-samā’i ...*) *tumma tamtaddu ḥattā tadḥulu min Bābi r-Raḥmati*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.148:** 91,4f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fimā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati ilā Abwābi l-Asbāṭi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.175:** 140,9f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri ‘alayhi s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fimā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati wa-Bābi l-Asbāṭi*; **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.322:** 221, 15f. *fa-yu’tā bi-s-Sufyānīy asīran fa-ya’muru bihi fa-yudḡahu ‘alā Bābi r-raḥmati*.

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.183:** 146,16-18 (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā’īla ...*) *wa-Bābu r-Raḥmati* (Livne-Kafri reads without *wa-Bābu r-Raḥmati*) *wa-fawqa Bābi r-raḥmati s-silsilatu l-lati kānat tud‘ā Silsilata l-iġābati wa-l-waḥyi wa-kāna r-raġulu min Banī Isrā’īla in as’ala* (read *in sa’ala*) *Llāha ta‘ālā ḥaġḡatan daḡala Bāba r-raḥmati wa-ta’allaqa bi-s-silsilati tumma yad’ū fa-yustaġābu lahu*.

gate;<sup>1</sup> this is based on the assumption that *ḥadīṭ* literature goes back not to the Marwānid, but to the High ʿAbbāsīd period.

B024.1.b. It has been claimed that the gate was important because, as in later periods, it was thought to lead to the place of the Last Judgement, or because it signalled that the ḤARAM area was religiously active again;<sup>2</sup> both assumptions are possible, but there is no positive evidence in their favour.

**B024.2. Position:** This gate is in the east wall of (the Mosque of) the Temple (*sūr* (*Masǧid*) *Bayt al-Maqdis aš-šarqī*), facing the Kidron Valley (*Wādī Ǧahannum*).<sup>3</sup> Between this gate and the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāṭ = Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*) is the Dwelling-place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Maskan al-Ḥiḍr*), with no other gate in between (B030.2). We best locate the gate at the GOLDEN GATE.<sup>4</sup>

B024.2.a. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137 = Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.17** mentions *Bāb r-raḥma* between the Mount of Olives and the Rock; this favours location at the GOLDEN GATE.

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137**

*ǧabal Ṭūr Zaytā -> Bāb ar-raḥma -> aš-Šaḥra*

**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.17**

*ǧabal Ṭūr Zaytā -> Bāb ar-raḥma -> aš-Šaḥra*

**B024.3. Physical shape:** The east wall has a double gate with a richly decorated outside façade. Inside the gate are possibly remains of a suspended chain. There is no evidence that the gate is closed<sup>5</sup> nor that it is open. Below the gate are ruins of an older gate.

B024.3.a. **Beda, *Homilia 105***, Beda's homily on Palm Sunday, admonishes the faithful to imitate the entry of Christ to Jerusalem by the *Aureae Portae* - a taking-over of *YĒra NŪraĒa* "the Beautiful Gate", otherwise translated as *Porta Speciosa* - and to enter Jerusalem themselves by these *Aureae Portae*, behaving as God likes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342b.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 126.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.17**: 15,7-16,2 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 103f. n. 128) *ḥaddaṭanā Ṣadaqatu bnu Yazīda ʿan Saʿīdi bni ʿAbdi l-ʿAzīzi ʿan ʿAṭiyata bni Qaysin ʿan ʿAbdi Llāhi bni ʿAmri bni l-ʿĀsi fī ḥādīhi l-āyati ʿfa-ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fīhi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-ʿadābuʿ* (**Koran** 57.13) *qāla huwa sūru Bayti l-Maqdisi š-šarqīyu = Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.159: 130,1-4 (... *qāla ḥaddaṭanī Abū l-ʿAwwāmi muʿaddīnun li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi ʿan Abdi Llāhi bni ʿAmri bni l-ʿĀsi qāla*) *inna s-sūra l-laḍī ḍakara Llāhu taʿālā fī l-Qurʾāni ʿfa-qad ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fīhi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-ʿadābuʿ* (**Koran** 57.13) *sūru Masǧidi Bayti l-Maqdisi š-šarqīyu ʿbāṭinuhu fīhi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-ʿadābuʿ* *Wādī Ǧahannuma*.*

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, "Jerusalem" 60a; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 44; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Wightman, *Walls* 231 fig. 73; 232; 245; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 120 fig. 62; 124-126 with fig. 63 and fig. 65.

<sup>5</sup>The gate has been considered as being closed by Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 200; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 126.

<sup>6</sup>**Beda, *Homilia 105***, 19-42 (*In die palmarum ...*) *Hodie Christus Hierusalem per aureas portas intravit et occurrerunt ei pueri Hebraeorum. Alii ramos jactabant in viam alii vestimenta. Similiter fideles hodie debent*

He identifies the gate where Jesus entered on Palm Sunday (**Matthew** 21.10; **Mark** 11.11; **Luke** 19.45) with the Beautiful Gate (**Acts** 3.2 *prÚw tØn yÊran toĒ fleroĒ tØn legom°nhn ...raĒan*, **Acts** 3.2 **Vulgata** *ad portam Templi quae dicitur Speciosa*). But he refers to the heavenly Jerusalem, not to the real city of his days, and we may not deduce that Jerusalem had, in his time, a gate called *Aureae Portae*.

B024.3.b. In **Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.183**, the Children of Israel used to touch a chain suspended in this gate while praying and God used to grant their wishes (B024.4). There was possibly something in this gate interpreted as the last bit of a former chain suspended here.

B024.3.c. In **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.100 = Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.317**, Jesus will at the end of time call the inhabitants of Jerusalem to open "the door" (*al-bāb*), and they will open it.<sup>1</sup> This may refer to a particular gate closed at the time of the tradition, to be opened only at the end of time.

B024.3.d. The GOLDEN GATE and the DOUBLE GATE have a similar layout (both are double gates with two parallel series of domes), similar exterior frames and a similar decoration, and we may suppose that they were built or rebuilt in the same period (B002.2.c); the decoration of both is Umayyad (B002.2.c).

B024.3.e. It has been assumed that there may have been a monumental staircase outside the Marwānid GOLDEN GATE;<sup>2</sup> this is possible, but positive evidence is lacking.

**B024.4. Traditions (Muslim):** In the time of the **Children of Israel**, the Chain of Granting and Revelation (*Silsilat al-iġāba wa-l-waḥy*) was suspended in the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*), and everyone who wanted to ask God something touched this chain, prayed and had his wish fulfilled.<sup>3</sup> When **Solomon** had built the Temple, God let a tree bearing gold and another one bearing silver grow near this gate, and Solomon picked from each of them every day 200 pounds (*raṭl*) of gold and silver.<sup>4</sup> In the time of the **Sons of Aaron** (*wuld*

---

*venire in Hierusalem per aureas portas et debent ramos portare et vestimenta projicere in viam. Per aureas portas intrant qui corporeos sensus ne pro licitis carpant illicita gladio circumcisionis castigant. ... Ramos debent fideles portare id est bona opera quia per bona opera praevenit misericordia iudicium.*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.100:** 63,10 (*ḥaṭabanā Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama fa-kāna aḳṭaru ḥuṭḫatihi mā yuḥaddiṭunā ‘ani d-Daġġāli wa-yuḥaddiṭunāhu ... fa-qālat Ummu Šarika yā Rasūla Llāhi fa-ayna n-nāsu yamwa’idin qāla bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... nazila ‘Īsā bnu Maryama ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi ...*) *tumma yaqūlu ftaḥū l-bāba fa-yuftaḥu l-bābu = Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.317:* 217,9 (*ḥaṭabanā Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama fa-kāna aḳṭaru ḥuṭḫatihi mā yuḥaddiṭunā ‘ani d-Daġġāli wa-yuḥaddiṭunāhu ... fa-qāla Ummu Šarika yā Rasūla Llāhi fa-ayna n-nāsu yawma’idin qāla bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... nazila ‘Īsā bnu Maryama ...*) *tumma yaqūlu ftaḥū l-bāba fa-taftaḥu l-bāba* (read *fa-yuftaḥu l-bābu*).

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 120 fig. 62; 124f. fig.63 and 65.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.183:** 146,16-18 (*wa-kāna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fī zamāni Banī Isrā’īla ...*) *wa-fawqa Bābi r-raḥmati s-silsilatu l-latī kānat tud’ā Silsilata l-iġābati wa-l-waḥyi wa-kāna r-raġulu min Banī Isrā’īla in as’ala* (read in sa’ala) *Llāha ta’ālā ḥāġatan daḥala Bāba r-raḥmati wa-ta’allaqa bi-s-Silsilati tumma yad’ū fa-yustaġābu lahu.*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.47:** 36,16-37,1 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 106; see Elad, *Jerusalem* 106-108) *lammā fariġa Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ‘alayhimā s-salāmu min binā’i Bayti l-Maqdisi anbata Llāhu ‘azza wa-ġalla lahu ša-ġaratayni ‘inda Bābi r-raḥmati iḥdaynhinna* (read *iḥdāhumā*) *tunbitu d-daḥaba wa-l-uḥrā tunbitu l-fiḍḍata fa-kāna*



*Ahārūn*) [the priests], a fire lion [God] used to enter by this gate, on his way from the Mount of Olives (*ġabal Ṭūr Zaytā*) to the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) called in Hebrew *haykal*.<sup>1</sup>

B024.5. The east wall and its gate are the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (*Koran* 57.13).<sup>2</sup>

B024.6. At the end of time the [eschatological figure] Sufyānī will be taken captive, then be killed here.<sup>3</sup>

---

*kulla yawmin yantazi'ū min kulli wāḥidatin mi'atay raṭli dahabin wa-fiḍḍatin* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr. 17**: 24,3-5 *lammā fariġa Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda min Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *min binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *anbata Llāhu 'azza wa-ġalla šaġaratayni 'inda Bābi r-Raḥmati aḥaduhumā* (read *iḥdāhumā*) *tunbitu d-dahaba wa-l-uḡrā tunbitu l-fiḍḍata fa-kāna fī kulli yawmin yantazi'ū min kulli wāḥidatin mi'atay raṭli dahabin wa-fiḍḍatin*.

For Muslim traditions of the gold tree and silver tree of Solomon, see A084.b.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.137**: 85,1-5 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 107; see Elad, *Jerusalem* 106-108) *kāna wuldu Ahārūna ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi yaġi'ūna ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-yusammūnahā l-haykala bi-l-'ibrānīyati ... wa-kānat tanzilu 'alayhim nārun mina s-samā'i 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-tadūru fī maṭāli sab'in 'alā ḡabali Ṭūri Zaytā tumma tamtaddu ḥattā tadḥulu min Bābi r-raḥmati tumma taṣīru 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.17**: 24,11-14 *kāna wuldu Hārūna yaġi'ūna ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-yusammūnahā l-haykala bi-l-'ibrānīyati ... wa-kāna yanzilu nārun mina s-samā'i fa-tadūru 'alā maṭāli sab'in 'alā ḡabali Ṭūri Zaytā tumma tamtaddu ḥattā tadḥulu min Bābi r-Raḥmati tumma taṣīru 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*.

Cf. **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.138**: 86,2-4 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25) *aṣāra Ka'buni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī t-Tawrāti 'ysrw' 'wmlyl'm* (read *Īrūšālāyim*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu yuqālu lahu l-haykala (ab'aṭu ilayki 'abdī 'Abda l-Maliki yabniki wa-yuzaḥrifuki)* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.50**: 63,13-64,1 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 162f.; partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25; see Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 9 n. 47) *aġāba* (read *aṣāba*) *Ka'buni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī ba'ḍi l-kutubi 'SRWSL'YM* (read *Īrūšālāyim*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu wa-yuqālu lahā l-haykala (ab'aṭu ilayki 'abdī 'Abda l-Maliki yabniki wa-yuzaḥrifuki ...)*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.17**: 15,7-16,2 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 103f. n. 128) *ḥaddaṭanā Ṣadaqatu bnu Yazīda 'an Sa'īdi bni 'Abdi l-'Azīzi 'an 'Aṭīyata bni Qaysin 'an 'Abdi Llāhi bni 'Amri bni l-'Āṣi fī ḥāḍiḥi l-āyati 'fa-ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fīhi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'adābu' (*Koran* 57.13) qāla huwa sūru Bayti l-Maqdisi š-ṣarqīyu* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.159**: 130,1-4 (... *qāla ḥaddaṭanī Abū l-'Awwāmi mu'aḍḍinun li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi 'an Abdi Llāhi bni 'Amri bni l-'Āṣi qāla*) *inna s-sūra l-laḍī ḍakara Llāhu ta'ālā fī l-Qur'āni 'fa-qad ḍuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fīhi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'adābu' (*Koran* 57.13) sūru Masġidi Bayti l-Maqdisi š-ṣarqīyu* *bāṭinuhu fīhi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'adābu'* Wādī Ġahannuma.

For the Muslim conception of the Gate of Mercy, see A101.f.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.322**: 221,15f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 108; see Aguadé, *Nu'aim* 168; Gil, *Palestine* 64f. n. 69; Elad, *Jerusalem* 108 n. 152; 138 n. 312) (... *anna l-Mahdiyya wa-s-Sufyāniya wa-Kalba yaqtatilūna fī Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā yastaqbiluhu l-bay'ata* (read *tastaqbiluhu l-bay'atu*; Elad reads reluctantly: *ḥīna yastaqiluhu l-bay'atu*)) *qāla fa-yu'tā bi-s-Sufyāniyi asīran fa-ya'muru* (Elad reads *fa-yu'maru*) *bihi fa-yuḍbaḥu 'alā Bābi r-raḥmati (tumma tubā'ū ḡanā'imuhum* (Elad reads *nisā'uhum wa-ḡanā'imuhum*) *'alā daraġi Dimašqa*).

**B024.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** None.

B024.5.a. *Bāb an-Nabī* and *Bāb ar-raḥma* have been considered the two main entries of the area for Muslims from outside the mostly Christian city; this may be, but the sources do not mention it (B018.6.a).

**B025. The minarets<sup>1</sup>****B025.1. Names (Muslim):** The minarets (*\*manāyir*) (B025.2).

**B025.2. Position:** There are four minarets (*\*manāyir*), three of them in one west row (*\*fi saff wāḥid ġarbī*), a fourth one at the Gate of the Tribes (*‘alā Bāb al-Asbāṭ*).<sup>2</sup> We best locate the three west minarets on top of the WEST ḤARAM WALL, one of them at BĀB AS-SIL-SILA MINARET, the fourth one at BĀB al-‘ATM or BĀB ḤITṬA.

B025.2.a. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47**'s *wa-fihi mina l-manābiri arba‘atun ṭalāṭatun fī šinfin wāḥidin ġarbīyin wa-wāḥidun ‘alā Bābi l-Asbāṭi* - referring to the whole area - has been corrected into *\*... fī saffin wāḥidin ...* "and in it are four pulpits, three of them in one west row and one on the Gate of the Tribes" (van Berchem,<sup>3</sup> Livne-Kafri). But why should there be three pulpits in the west part of the mosque and one in its north part, but none south of the Dome of the Rock or inside the Roofed Hall? Rather, *manābir* "pulpits" was originally *\*manāyir* "minarets". The conjecture is very easy, *\*manāyir* needs only to lose one dot and becomes *manābir*; *manāyir* is found in the same context in Crusader **al-Harawī K** as well as in post-Crusader **Muġir ad-dīn, Suyūṭi, Ithāf** and the **Muṭir al-ġirām**, and High ‘Abbāsīd **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** even has explicitly (*al-masġidu ...*) *fīhi arba‘u manāwira li-l-mu‘addīnina* "(the mosque ...) in it are four minarets for the muezzins".<sup>4</sup> Clearly this meaning is much better.

B025.2.b. The three west minarets are built as part of the ḤARAM WALL. The STRIPE immediately west of the WEST ḤARAM WALL is today filled with earth and with the garbage of centuries. In the period under consideration, there may have been some garbage and earth, but not as much as today - we just have to take into account the increase in level between the ROMAN STREET near the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER and the

---

For the Sufyānī, see Lammens, "Sofiānī"; Hartmann, "Sufyānī"; Aguadé, *Nu‘aim* 148-172; Madelung, "Sufyānī"; Elad, *Jerusalem* 108; 108f. n. 153; 138 n. 312; ‘Athamina, "Eschatological Literature" 122 n. 9; 124f.

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānīd minarets in Jerusalem, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 125; Creswell, *EMA* 1 60; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 178; 244; 415; 598; Bloom, *Minaret* 184; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 418; 447; 3 160; Elad, *Jerusalem* 101 n. 119; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 26.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47**: 61,14f. (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf‘alu bihā fī ḥilāfatī ‘Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-fihi mina l-manābiri* (I read *mina l-manāyiri*) *arba‘atun ṭalāṭatun minhā fī šinfin wāḥidin ġarbīyin* (read *fī saffin wāḥidin ġarbiya l-masġidi*) *wa-wāḥidun ‘alā Bābi l-Asbāṭi*.

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 255,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163) (*al-masġidu ...*) *fīhi arba‘u manāwira li-l-mu‘addīnina wa-ġamī‘u suṭūḥi l-masġidi wa-l-qibābi wa-l-manārāti mulabbasatun ṣafā‘iḥa muḍahhabatan*.

UMAYYAD PALACES, from the Roman destruction of the Temple to the Marwānid period.<sup>1</sup> Minarets were built high above on the firm ground of the wall, rather than at a low level on ground loosely filled in with earth. The three west minarets have been located at the northwest corner, on the west side and in the southwest corner;<sup>2</sup> this needs further corroboration.

B025.2.c. BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET on top of the WEST ARCADE north of BĀB AS-SILSILA, built in 730/1329, has its first storey partly concealed behind adjacent structures and is entered today at a certain height from the staircase of DĀR AL-FITYĀN (Mamlūk al-Ašrafiya) to its north; the south wall of this staircase has a vertical joint so that the first storey of BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET has an earlier east and a later west half.<sup>3</sup>

B025.2.d. **Muğīr ad-dīn** first mentions the four Umayyad minarets, then later the four Umayyad minarets and the four minarets of his own time (at AL-FAḤRĪYA MINARET, BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET, BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA MINARET, BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ MINARET) and suggests they possibly were built on old foundations;<sup>4</sup> but the remains of an earlier structure at BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET (B025.2.c) need not date from a Marwānid minaret.<sup>5</sup>

B025.2.e. The existence of four minarets in Marwānid Jerusalem does not fit with Bloom's conception of the Umayyad minarets. He states that the only Umayyad mosque with four, after 97/716 three, towers was the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, once Muḥammad's house and prayer-place, because Syrian architectural language wanted to mark it as a kind of palace-temple, but that the religiously more important mosques of Mecca and Jerusalem had no towers at all.<sup>6</sup> In any case the Marwānid *\*manāyir* were, both in shape and function, very different from later minarets.

B025.2.f. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 139** mentions a *manāra*, a kind of candlestick or lamp, in or near the Dome of the Rock, as the fifth-servant Ḥulayd al-Ḥumsī describes his night adventure with a fire lion inside the Dome of the Rock *\*fa-idā bi-sab'in min nārin wāqifin 'alā ḥāḡizi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati yatawaqqadu nāran ... wa-huwa yadūru ma'ī bi-ḥidā'i 'alā l-ḥāḡizi ḥattā ḡi'tu ilā l-Bābi l-Qibliyi fa-lamma aḡlaqtuhu waṭaba fa-ḡariqa 'inda l-manāratī* "and suddenly, there was a lion of fire standing on the fence of the Rock burning in fire ... and he was turning with me opposite me on the fence until I arrived at the South Gate and when I closed it [the gate], he jumped and

<sup>1</sup>For the difference in level between the ROMAN STREET near the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER and the Umayyad Palaces, see Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* fig. 2-3; 10 fig. 4; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" 4 fig. 5; 6 fig. 7; pl. III.b; Mazar, "Excavations Near the Temple Mount" 26f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 40; 79; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Avni, "Jerusalem as Textbook" 44 (with a plate); 65.

<sup>2</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 60 n. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 244; 245 fig. 20.2; 595 pl. 63.10; 598; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 418.

For BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 352 fig. 61: M; 354 fig. 62: M; 2 123-127; pl. LXXXII top; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* colour plate 3; colour plate 28; 77; 105; 106 fig. 1.2; 193; 244-248; 451-453 and 589-605 (with figures and plates); fig. 12.2 (on separate sheet); Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 418.

<sup>4</sup>**Muğīr ad-dīn** 249; 379 (transl. Sauvaire, *Moudjir-ed-dyn* 56; 125f.; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 125; Creswell, *EMA* 1 60; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 178; 244; 415; Bloom, *Minaret* 184; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 418; 447; 3 160).

<sup>5</sup>Bloom, *Minaret* 184.

<sup>6</sup>Bloom, *Minaret* 39-44; 47.

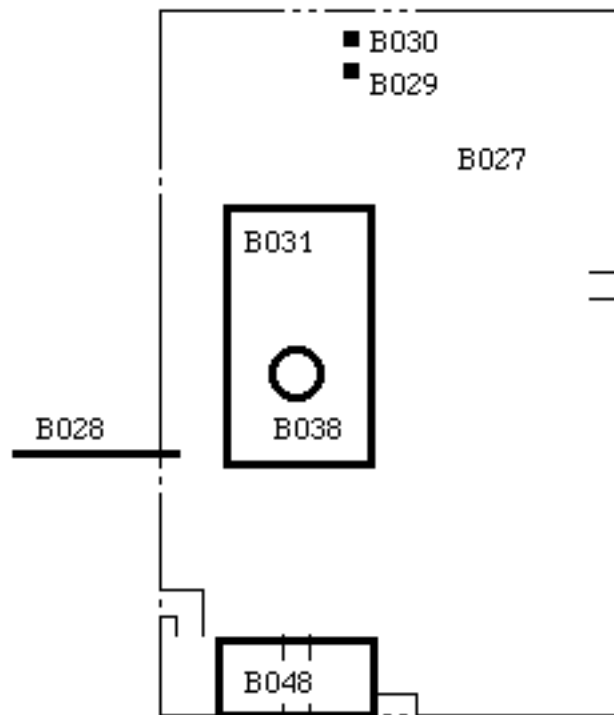
disappeared at the *manāra*" (B044.5). As *ḥidāʾi* "opposite me" may mean the side of Ḥulayd or the other side, the *manāra* may have been in the dome's north or in its south part. Instead of supposing the existence of a kind of minaret, *manāra* is rather *mənōrāh* "lamp".

**B025.3. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** We may suppose that muezzins called from these minarets to ritual prayer.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>For the prayer call, cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.263**: 185,8 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118) (*kāna ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ḡālisan fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati yaʿnī Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-Ummu d-Dardāʾi maʿahu ḡālisatun*) ḥattā *idā nūdiya l-maḡribu qāma ʿAbdu l-Maliki (qāma ʿAbdu l-Maliki wa-qāmat Ummu d-Dardāʾi yatawakkaʾu* (read *tatawakkaʾu*) ʿalā ʿAbdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna ḥattā *yadhulu bihā l-masḡida fa-idā daḥalat wa-ḡalasat maʿan n-nāsi maḍā ʿAbdu l-Maliki ilā l-maqāmi fa-ṣallā bi-n-nāsi*).

## 2.3. THE COURTYARD



## 41

**Figure 41. The Marwānid courtyard:** B027 Cisterns (in the courtyard). - B028 The aqueduct coming from the Pool of ar-Raġī'. - B029 The rock where Solomon prayed [later the Throne of Solomon]. - B030 The Dwelling-place of al-Ḥiḍr. - B031 The platform. - B038 The Dome of the Rock. - B048 The place of congregational prayer.

### B026. The courtyard<sup>1</sup>

B026.1. **Names (Muslim):** The courtyard of the Mosque of the Temple (*ṣaḥn Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B034.4).

B026.2. **Position:** In the courtyard of the Jerusalem mosque (*fī ṣaḥn Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis*), next to [the Dome of] the Rock (*mimmā yalī ṣ-Ṣaḥra*), is the dome (*qubba*) (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) where Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (Umayyad caliph 96-99/715-717) sits while the people show him allegiance (B034.4). The courtyard embraces at least the area around the DOME OF THE ROCK, QUBBAT AS-SILSILA and the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

B026.2.a. Both the Dome of the Rock and the place for congregational prayer (the latter roughly at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE) were in Muslim use; the courtyard therefore included at least the south half of the COURTYARD.<sup>2</sup>

B026.3. **Physical shape:** The courtyard has a kind of platform around the Dome of the Rock (B031.2) and has in its south the place of congregational prayer (B048.3).

B026.4. **Traditions (Muslim):** In the time of **David** the Rock of the Temple (*Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*) was here and the plain where he then built the Temple (*aṣ-ṣaʿīd al-laḏī banā ʿalayhi Bayt al-Maqdis*); during the pestilence David ordered the Children of Israel to come here to pray, and after the pestilence he told them that this plain (*hādā ṣ-ṣaʿīd*) where God had shown mercy upon them would be the best place to build a mosque (*masğid*) (B014.7). The Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) was paved with gold and silver by **Solomon** (B014.7).

B026.5. On every inch an **angel** stood or a **prophet** prayed (B014.8).

### B027. The cisterns<sup>3</sup>

B027.1. **Names (Muslim):** The cisterns (*ṣaḥārīg<sup>4</sup>* sing. *ṣihrīg<sup>1</sup>*, *ğibāb* sing. *ğubb<sup>2</sup>*), water

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid courtyard, see Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 34 (translating *ṣarḥa* as "entrance-hall"); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 122f.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 122f.

For the COURTYARD of today, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 120-123; Busink, *Tempel* 70f.; 75; 993-995; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 33; pl. XVI.

<sup>3</sup>For the cisterns of the area, see B010.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 62,2-4 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-lahu mina l-ḥadami n-Naṣārā mina r-riğāli ʿaṣaratun ahlu baytin* (I read *ahlu Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ... *li-ʿamali l-ğišši wa-kansi ḥuṣuri l-masğidi wa-kansi l-qanā l-lati tağrī ilā ṣaḥārīgi l-māʿi wa-kansi ṣ-ṣaḥārīgi ayḏan*.

cisterns (*ṣahārīg al-mā*<sup>3</sup>, *ṣahārīg li-l-mā*<sup>4</sup>) in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*).

**B027.2. Position:** These cisterns are in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*),<sup>5</sup> but no details are given. We locate them only generally in the ḤARAM.

**B027.3. Physical shape:** These are twenty-four large cisterns (*arbaʿa wa-ʿiṣrūna ṣihriğ kibār*).<sup>6</sup> These cisterns get their water from water channels (*qanā*).<sup>7</sup> To the dew of the mosque is attributed the power to heal (B027.5); the cisterns of the mosque are fed not only by rain (*maṭar*) but also by dew (*ṭall*).<sup>8</sup> Water is drawn out of the cisterns by a bucket (*dalw*),

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 61,14 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-fīhi man RYḤ li-ṣahārī ġa li-l-māʿi* (read *wa-fīhi mina ṣ-ṣahārīği li-l-māʿi*) *arbaʿatun wa-ʿiṣrūna ṣihriğ kibārun* (Livne-Kafri reads *kibāran*).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.246:** 174,6-8 (... *anbaʿanā Yazīdu bnu ṣ-Ṣimāṭi* (read *Yazīdu bnu ṣ-Ṣimṭi*) *qāla ḥarağtu maʿa l-Awzāʿiyi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi* ...) *ṭumma ʿN* (read *atā*; Livne-Kafri reads *atā*) *ğubban min dālīka l-ğibābi* (read *min tilka l-ğibābi*) *fa-staqā dalwan min māʿin fa-tawaḍḍaʿa qāla fa-ğāʿa nāsun fa-qālū lahu yā ṣayḥu ttaqi Llāha a-tatawaḍḍaʿu fī l-masğidi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 62,2-4 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-lahu mina l-ḥadami n-Naṣārā mina r-riğāli ʿaṣaratun aḥlu baytin* (I read *aḥlu Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ... *li-ʿamali l-ğışşı wa-kansi ḥuṣuri l-masğidi wa-kansi l-qanā l-latī tağri ilā ṣahārīği l-māʿi wa-kansi ṣ-ṣahārīği ayḍan*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 61,14 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-fīhi man RYḤ li-ṣahārī ġa li-l-māʿi* (read *wa-fīhi mina ṣ-ṣahārīği li-l-māʿi*) *arbaʿatun wa-ʿiṣrūna ṣihriğ kibārun* (Livne-Kafri reads *kibāran*).

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 61,14 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-fīhi man RYḤ li-ṣahārī ġa li-l-māʿi* (read *wa-fīhi mina ṣ-ṣahārīği li-l-māʿi*) *arbaʿatun wa-ʿiṣrūna ṣihriğ kibārun* (Livne-Kafri reads *kibāran*).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 61,14 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-fīhi man RYḤ li-ṣahārī ġa li-l-māʿi* (read *wa-fīhi mina ṣ-ṣahārīği li-l-māʿi*) *arbaʿatun wa-ʿiṣrūna ṣihriğ kibārun* (Livne-Kafri reads *kibāran*).

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 62,2-4 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrāta ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfati ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ...) *wa-lahu mina l-ḥadami n-Naṣārā mina r-riğāli ʿaṣaratun aḥlu baytin* (I read *aḥlu Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ... *li-ʿamali l-ğışşı wa-kansi ḥuṣuri l-masğidi wa-kansi l-qanā l-latī tağri ilā ṣahārīği l-māʿi wa-kansi ṣ-ṣahārīği ayḍan*.

<sup>8</sup>Rain and dew in Palestine are mentioned together in **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.87:** 57,11f. (*fa-awḥā Llāhu ʿazza wa-ğalla ilayhi: yā ġabala Bayti l-Maqdisi* ...) *ʿaynī ʿalayka bi-ṭ-ṭalli wa-l-maṭari* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.196:** 154,13 (*fa-awḥā Llāhu taʿālā ilayhi yā ġabala Bayti l-Maqdisi* ...) *ʿaynī ʿalayka bi-ṭ-ṭalli wa-l-maṭari*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.520:** 316,14f. (... *ʿani bni ʿAbbāsa fī qawlihi taʿālā ʿal-laḍi bāraknā ḥawlahu*) (**Koran** 17.1) *qāla hiya Filastīnu wa-l-Urdunnu qāla bnu ʿAbbāsa ʿalayhā z-ḡillu* (read *ʿalayhā ṭ-ṭallu*) *wa-l-maṭaru munḍu ḥalaqa Llāhu taʿālā s-*

and if the bucket happens to fall into the cistern, one climbs after it to bring it back (B014.7).

B027.3.a. The water drawn out of the cisterns of the mosque may not be used for ritual ablution. This may be deduced from the Marwānīd tradition about al-Awzā'ī's washing [directly] from one of these cisterns, where his behaviour is clearly marked as very unusual, but formally correct (B014.6).

**B027.4. Traditions (Muslim): Solomon** built the mosque (*masǧid*) on water (B014.7). A pit (*ǧubb*) of the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) leads to Paradise; when the bucket of **Šarīk b. Ḥubāša/Ḥubāša** an-Numayrī fell into it, he climbed after it and brought a leaf back from Paradise (B014.7).

**B027.5.** The dew of the mosque comes from the gardens of **Paradise** and has the **power to heal**.<sup>1</sup>

B027.5.a. A parallel to the healing power of the dew of the mosque: Dew (*ros*) from the roofs of the Pre-Marwānīd Church of Mount Zion and the Church over the *Praetorium*, possibly also of the Basilica of Constantine, is considered a precious special blessing of God; it is used in the *xenodochia* for the preparation of medicines.<sup>2</sup>

---

*sinīna wa-l-ayyāma; Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.531*: 320,14f. *wa-‘alayhā ‘aynun mina Llāhi min awwali yawmin mina d-dahri ilā āhiri yawmin mina d-dahri bi-ṭ-ṭalli wa-l-maṭari.*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.190**: 149,15-18 *bābun maftūḥun mina s-samā’i min abwābi l-Ġannati yanzilu minhu l-ḥanānu wa-r-raḥmatu ‘alā Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri add *kulla šabāḥin ḥattā taqūmu s-sā‘atu wa-ṭ-ṭallu l-laḍi yanzilu ‘alā Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *šifā’an min kulli dā’in li-annahu min ǧināni l-Ġannati; Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.399*: 264,1f. *wa-ṭ-ṭallu l-laḍi yanzilu ‘alā Bayti l-Maqdisi šifā’un min kulli dā’in li-annahu min ǧināni l-Ġannati.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.520**: 316,13-15 ... *‘ani bni ‘Abbāsa fī qawlihi ta‘ālā ‘al-laḍi bāraknā ḥawlahu’ (Koran 17.1) qāla hiya Filastīnu wa-l-Urdunnu qāla bnu ‘Abbāsa ‘alayhā z-zillu* (read *‘alayhā ṭ-ṭallu*) *wa-l-maṭaru mundu ḥalaqa Llāhu ta‘ālā s-sinīna wa-l-ayyāma; Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.531*: 320,12; 14f. *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama ‘uqru Dāri l-Islāmi bi-š-Ša’mi raddadahā ṭalāṭan ... wa-‘alayhā ‘aynun mina Llāhi min awwali yawmin mina d-dahri ilā āhiri yawmin mina d-dahri bi-ṭ-ṭalli wa-l-maṭari.*

<sup>2</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 165,8-18: 9 *In ipso loco est mons Hermon modicus qui legitur in psalmo (Psalm 133.3). A pede montis ipsius de fluvio ascendit nubes hora prima et exeunte sole (R hora prima exeunte sole, G hora prima et exeunte sol) venit super Hierusolimam (G Ierusalimam, R Hierosolimam) super basilicam (G basilica) quae est in Sion et super basilicam (R super basilicam super basilicam, G super basilica) ad monumentum Domini [the Holy Sepulchre] et super basilicam sanctae Mariae et sanctae Sofiae (G super basilica sanctae Mariae et sanctae Suffie, R super basilicam sanctae Mariae et ad sanctam Sofiam) quae fuit praetorium (G pretorius) ubi auditus est Dominus (G without Dominus). Super his locis descendit ros sicut pluvia et colligent (G colligent) eum medici (Wilkinson erroneously speaks of sick people) et in ipso cocuntur (R et ipso coguntur) omnes confectiones per xenodocia (G exenodotia) nam multi (G multos) languores sanantur in ipsis locis ubi cadit (G cadet) ipse ros. Ipse est enim ros (R without ipse ... ros) qui cantatur (R cantantur) in psalmo: ‘sicut ros ab Hermon qui (G quod) descendit in montem Sion (read in monte Sion)’ (Psalm 133.3) = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 199,9-18: 9 *ibique mons Hermon modicus (B mons est Hermon) qui legitur in psalmo (Psalm 133.3). Ad pedes montis ipsius ascendit in fluvio nubes; ora prima oriente sole Hierusolimam venit (B**



**B027.6. Contemporary events:** [The scholar] **al-Awzā'ī** makes his ritual ablution from the water of a cistern inside the mosque (*fī l-masğid*), even when people oppose him [because he should use a cistern outside the mosque], and says 'Umar b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz did so as well (B014.6).

**B027.7. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** There are Christian servants (*ḥadam Naṣārā*), ten men responsible for the service of the sanctuary (*ḥidmat al-Bayt*), especially for cleaning the water channels (*qanā*) leading to the cisterns and the cisterns (*ṣahārīḡ*) themselves; these are from among the people of Jerusalem (*ahl Bayt al-Maqdis*) and they inherit their function (B014.18). Ritual ablution from a cistern inside the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) is considered unfitting (B014.6).

### B028. The Pool of ar-Raḡīʿ and the aqueduct<sup>1</sup>

**B028.1. Names (Muslim):** The Pool of ar-Raḡīʿ (*Birkat ar-Raḡīʿ*) (B028.4). There is no name mentioned for the aqueduct.

**B028.1.a. Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.48's** *Birkat ar-Raḡīʿ* "the Pool of ar-Raḡīʿ" obviously has to do with *Qanāt al-Marḡīʿ* "the Channel of al-Marḡīʿ" in High ʿAbbāsīd **Gil Nr.2** (B053.2) and with post-Crusader *Birak al-Marḡīʿ* "the Pools of al-Marḡīʿ". *ar-Raḡīʿ* is either a mistake for original *\*al-Marḡīʿ* or its earlier version.

**B028.1.b.** The existence of an aqueduct may be deduced from **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.48's** remark that Hezekiah built the pools inside and outside the city *ḥazāʾina li-l-māʾi li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi* "water reservoirs for the people of Jerusalem" (B028.3); this presupposes that the pools outside the city are connected with the city by an aqueduct.

---

*et Ierosolimam veniet) super basilicam quae est in Syon et super basilicam sanctae Mariae ad sancta Soffia (B ad sanctam Sophiam) quae fuit praetorium ubi auditus est Dominus. Super his locis (B super haec loca) descendit ros sicut pluvia et colligunt eam (B ea) medici et in ipso quocuntur (B ex ipso coquuntur) omnes confectiones per synodochia. Nam multi languores sanantur ibi ubi cadit ipse ros; ipse est enim ros (B without ipse ... ros) de quo propheta canit David: 'Sicut ros Hermon qui descendit in Syon' (Psalm 133.3).*

<sup>1</sup>For SOLOMON'S POOLS and the AQUEDUCT today and in the periods we deal with, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 197-202; 274; de Goeje, *al-Moqaddasi* 168 n. c; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 103-108; 117; 240-248; 253 fig. 41; 255; 303f. n. 4; 338-343; 365; 412-427; Milik, "Topographie" 152; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasi* 190 n. 180; Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 39; Mazar, "Aqueducts"; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 357 n. 81; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Haram" 15 n. 55; ; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 11; 41; 78; 184f.; 236 fig. 18.8; 286 with n. 52 and n. 54; Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 262-264; fig. 15-23; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 73; Abu Raya, "Street of the Chain (A)"; Gershuny, "Street of the Chain (B)"; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 118; Abells, *Water Supply* 20-25; 28f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 117f.; 122; 153; 2 58; 67; 79; 110; 115; 160; 333; 350f.; 353; 399f.; 409f.; 423; 426; 3 64; 94; 158; 372; Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 65-67; Natsheh, "Ottoman Jerusalem" 599.

**B028.2. Position:** The Pool of ar-Raġī' (*Birkat ar-Raġī'*) is among the three pools (*ṭalāt birak*) outside the city (*ḥārīg al-madīna*).<sup>1</sup> We best identify the Pool of ar-Raġī' (*Birkat ar-Raġī'*) with the two older SOLOMON'S POOLS near Bethlehem, the aqueduct with the AQUEDUCT.

B028.2.a. We may locate Marwānid *Birkat ar-Raġī'* at SOLOMON'S POOLS, if we locate High 'Abbāsīd *Qanāt al-Marġī'* at the AQUEDUCT (B053.3) and if we identify Marwānid *Birkat ar-Raġī'* with High 'Abbāsīd *Qanāt al-Marġī'*. Marwānid *Birkat ar-Raġī'* has two bassins (B028.3.b), probably the two older pools of the three SOLOMON'S POOLS (B028.3.b).

**B028.3. Physical shape:** The Pool of ar-Raġī' (*Birkat ar-Raġī'*) most probably has two bassins and is connected with the city by an aqueduct.

B028.3.a. The pool's physical shape may be deduced from **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.48**:

|                                    |                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. Hezekiah's<br>six pools         | <i>kāna malikun min mulūki Banī Isrā'īla</i><br><i>*yuqālu lahu *Ḥizqiyā</i><br><i>fī Bayti l-Maqdisi</i><br><i>‘amala sitta birakin</i> | "There was a king of the Children of Israel<br>who was called Hezekiah<br>in Jerusalem,<br>who made six pools.                 |
| B. Three pools<br>inside the city  | <i>minhā fī l-madīnati ṭalātu birakin</i><br><i>birkatun li-Banī Isrā'īla</i><br><i>wa-Birkatu Sulaymāna</i><br><i>wa-Birkatu 'Iyāda</i> | Of these are three pools inside the city<br>a pool of the Children of Israel,<br>the Pool of Solomon<br>and the Pool of 'Iyād, |
| C. Three pools<br>outside the city | <i>wa-ḥārīga l-madīnati ṭalātu birakin</i><br><i>Birkatu Māmilla</i><br><i>wa-Birkatu r-Raġī'i</i>                                       | and three pools outside the city,<br>the Pool of Māmilla<br>and the Pool of ar-Raġī'.                                          |
| D. Conclusion                      | <i>ġa'ala dālika ḥazā'ina li-l-mā'i</i><br><i>li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi</i>                                                                | He made those water reservoirs<br>for the people of Jerusalem."                                                                |

B028.3.b. A and D mention Hezekiah's building of six pools, identified by B and C with three pools inside and another two pools outside the city in the time of **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.48**. We expect the name of a third pool outside the city, but none is mentioned in Pre-Crusader literature. We should suppose *Birkat ar-Raġī'* is a double pool with two bassins. This fits with the situation at SOLOMON'S POOLS, where at the end of the 15th century a third pool is added to two older pools.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.48:** 62,14 (*kāna malikun min mulūki Banī Isrā'īla QY'L* (read *yuqālu*) *lahu Ḥizqiyala* (read *Ḥizqiyā*) *fī Bayti l-Maqdisi* 'amala sitta birakin minhā fī l-madīnati ...) *wa-ḥārīga l-madīnati ṭalātu birakin Birkatu Māmilla* (Livne-Kafri reads *Birkatu Māmilla*) *wa-Birkatu r-Raġī'i* (Livne-Kafri reads *wa-Birkatayi l-Marġī'i*) (*ġa'ala dālika ḥazā'ina li-l-mā'i li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi*).

B028.3.c. The text may have been originally *\*wa-Birkatā r-Raġī'* and the two Pools of ar-Raġī', but the duality of the pools is not necessarily mirrored in the name. The proposed *\*wa-Birkatay ar-Raġī'i* (Livne-Kafri) does not fit syntactically.

**B028.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The Pool of ar-Raġī' (*Birkat ar-Raġī'*) is one of the six pools, three inside the city and three outside, which **Hezekiah** (*\*Ḥizqiyā*) built as water reservoirs (*ḥazā'in li-l-mā'*) for the people of Jerusalem [and which he connected by an aqueduct with the city] (cf. **2 Kings** 20.20; **2 Chronicles** 32.30).<sup>1</sup>

B028.4.a. A parallel to the attribution of the Pool of ar-Raġī' (*Birkat ar-Raġī'*) [and its aqueduct] to Hezekiah: A High 'Abbāsid Jewish tradition attributes the Channel of al-Marġī' (*Qanāt al-Marġī'*) to Hezekiah (B053.5).

## **B029. The rock where Solomon prayed [later the Throne of Solomon]**<sup>2</sup>

**B029.1. Names (Muslim):** The rock where Solomon prayed (B029.4).

**B029.2. Position:** This rock is next to (the region of) the Gate of the Tribes (*mimmā yalī (nāḥiyat) Bāb al-Asbāt*).<sup>3</sup> We best locate it at a distinct rock in the north part of the ḤARAM.

B029.2.a. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.19 = Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.158** locates this rock next to *Bāb al-Asbāt* by *mimmā yalī nāḥiyat Bāb al-Asbāt* "next to the region of the Gate of the Tribes" and *mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāt* "next to the Gate of the Tribes". All of the area north of the Dome of the Rock is a favourite place to stress continuity, as there, both Jews and Muslims pray towards the south; the region south of the Dome of the Rock, for example, at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, is a favourite place to stress discontinuity, as there, Jews pray towards the north, Muslims towards the south. This is best expressed in the proposal of [the scholar] Ka'b al-Aḥbār to build the mosque (*al-masġid*) behind [north of] the Rock to combine prayer-directions of Moses and Muḥammad, and its rejection by 'Umar, who favoured building it in front [south] to make a clear distinction between Jews and Muslims (B048.7). The theme of **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.19 = Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr. 158** obviously is continuity.

B029.2.b. This distinct rock (B029.3) has been identified with the ROCK inside QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AṢ-ŠAḤRA, the only rock visible today in the north part of the ḤARAM.<sup>4</sup> Fātimid **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.52-67**

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.48:** 62,12-15 *kāna malikun min mulūki Banī Isrā'īla QY'L* (read yuqālu) *lahu Ḥizqiyala* (read Ḥizqiyā) *fī Bayti l-Maqdisi 'amala sitta birakin minhā fī l-madīnati ... wa-ḥārīġa l-madīnati ṭalātu birakin Birkatu Māmilla* (Livne-Kafri reads *Birkatu Māmilla*) *wa-Birkatu r-Raġī'i* (Livne-Kafri reads *wa-Birkatayi l-Marġī'i*) *ġa'ala dālīka ḥazā'ina li-l-mā' li-ahli Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>2</sup>For the Marwānid rock of Solomon's prayer, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202; 205-211; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXIII.; 82-85; 90f.; 165.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.19:** 17,5 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) (... *'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ḥīna fariġa min binā'i l-masġidi*) *wa-hiya mimmā yalī nāḥiyata Bābi l-Asbāti* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.158:** 129,7 (... *'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alayhimā s-salāmu yawma fariġa min binā'i l-masġidi*) *wa-hiya mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāti*.

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 209f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.

speaks of a number of rocks (*ṣuḥūr*) in the area's back [north] (B163.2), and the rock where Solomon prayed may have been any of these rocks, possibly, like High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid *Kursī Sulaymān* (B094.2, B163.2), QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŠ-ŠAḤRA.

**B029.3. Physical shape:** This is a [distinct] piece of rock.<sup>1</sup>

**B029.4. Traditions (Muslim):** When **Solomon** had built the Temple, he stood on this rock, oriented himself towards all of the Temple (*istaqbal al-Quds kullahu*) (**1 Kings** 8.54, cf. **1 Kings** 8.22; **2 Chronicles** 6.12) and asked God to grant him three things (*Koran* 38.35; **1 Kings** 8.22-53; **2 Chronicles** 6.12-42), and God granted him everything he asked for.<sup>2</sup> When [the scholar] **Ka'b al-Aḥbār** came to Jerusalem, he bribed a Jewish scholar (*ḥabr*) to lead him to the rock where Solomon had prayed.<sup>3</sup>

**B029.4.a.** A parallel to Solomon orienting himself towards all of the Temple (*istaqbal al-Quds kullahu*): In a Marwānīd tradition Ka'b al-Aḥbār comes to Jerusalem, orients himself towards the Temple (*li-kay yastabila l-*

---

For QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŠ-ŠAḤRA or QUBBAT AL-ARWĀḤ, see Schick, "Reports" 84; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 208 n. 1; 209-211; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 18; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 44; 90f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 91f. n. 65; 92 n. 67; Myres, "Overview" 336; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 888-892.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.19:** 17,5f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) (... *anna Ka'ban qadima Īliyā'a marratan mina l-mirāri fa-rašā ḥabran min aḥbārin Yahūdīn biḍ'ata 'ašara dīnāran 'alā an dallahu 'alā š-Šaḥrati l-lati qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ḥīna fariḡa min binā'i l-masḡidi wa-hiya mimma yalī nāḥiyata Bābi l-Asbāṭi ...*) *fa-qāla Ka'bun qāma Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alā ḥādihi š-Šaḥrati* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.158:** 129,8 (... *anna Ka'ban qadima Īliyā'a marratan mina l-mirāri fa-rašā* (read *fa-rašā*) *ḥabran min aḥbārin Yahūdīn biḍ'ata 'ašara dīnār* (read *dīnāran*) 'alā an dallahu 'alā š-Šaḥrati l-lati qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alayhimā s-salāmu yawma fariḡa min binā'i l-masḡidi wa-hiya mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi ...) *fa-qāla Ka'bun qāma Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alā ḥādihi š-Šaḥrati*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.19:** 17,5-12 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 82f.) (... *anna Ka'ban qadima Īliyā'a marratan mina l-mirāri fa-rašā ḥabran min aḥbārin Yahūdīn biḍ'ata 'ašara dīnāran 'alā an dallahu 'alā š-Šaḥrati l-lati qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ḥīna fariḡa min binā'i l-masḡidi ...*) *fa-qāla Ka'bun qāma Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alā ḥādihi š-Šaḥrati tumma staqbala l-Qudsa kullahu wa-da'ā Llāha 'azza wa-ḡalla bi-ṭalāṭin ...* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.158:** 129,8-13 (... *anna Ka'ban qadima Īliyā'a marratan mina l-mirāri fa-rašā* (read *fa-rašā*) *ḥabran min aḥbārin Yahūdīn biḍ'ata 'ašara dīnār* (read *dīnāran*) 'alā an dallahu 'alā š-Šaḥrati l-lati qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alayhimā s-salāmu yawma fariḡa min binā'i l-masḡidi wa-hiya mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi ...) *fa-qāla Ka'bun qāma Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alā ḥādihi š-Šaḥrati tumma staqbala l-Qudsa kullahu wa-da'ā Llāha ta'ālā bi-ṭalāṭatin ....*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.19:** 17,3-5 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) ... *anna Ka'ban qadima Īliyā'a marratan mina l-mirāri fa-rašā ḥabran min aḥbārin Yahūdīn biḍ'ata 'ašara dīnāran 'alā an dallahu 'alā š-Šaḥrati l-lati qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ḥīna fariḡa min binā'i l-masḡidi ...* *fa-qāla Ka'bun qāma Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alā ḥādihi š-Šaḥrati* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.158:** 129,5-7 (... *anna Ka'ban qadima Īliyā'a marratan mina l-mirāri fa-rašā* (read *fa-rašā*) *ḥabran min aḥbārin Yahūdīn biḍ'ata 'ašara dīnār* (read *dīnāran*) 'alā an dallahu 'alā š-Šaḥrati l-lati qāma 'alayhā Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alayhimā s-salāmu yawma fariḡa min binā'i l-masḡidi) *wa-hiya mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi ...* *fa-qāla Ka'bun qāma Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda 'alā ḥādihi š-Šaḥrati*).

For Muslim traditions about the Throne of Solomon, see A084.

*Quds*) and enters by the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) (B014.6).

B029.4.b. Parallels to Solomon's prayer after he had built the Temple: A Pre-Marwānid Christian tradition does not emphasise the place where Solomon prayed, but rather the day that he prayed and consecrated the altar of the Temple, the Feast of the Tabernacles (**1 Kings** 8.2; 8.65f.; **2 Chronicles** 5.3; 7.8f.); quite programmatically<sup>1</sup> the same day is used for the consecration of the Martyrium on top of Golgotha and the Anastasis.<sup>2</sup> In one Marwānid Muslim tradition, David ascended the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) after the pestilence and thanked God (B045.5); in another tradition, David prayed on top of the Rock of Jerusalem( *ʿalā Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*) until God ended the pestilence (B045.5).

B029.4.c. The text's *wa-staqbala l-Qudsa kullahu* "and he oriented himself towards all of the Temple" is **1 Kings** 8.22 *wa-yaʿmod Ṣəlōmōh li-ḥnē mizbah YHWH nāgād kāl qəhal Yisrāʿēl* "and Solomon put himself in front of the altar of God in front of the whole community of Israel".

### B030. The Dwelling-place of al-Ḥiḍr <sup>3</sup>

B030.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Dwelling-place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Maskan al-Ḥiḍr*).<sup>4</sup>

B030.2. **Position:** This place is between the Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt* = *Abwāb al-Asbāt*) and the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb r-raḥma*),<sup>5</sup> with no other gate in between. We best locate it at KURSĪ SULAYMĀN.

B030.2.a. *Maskan al-Ḥiḍr* is between *Bāb ar-raḥma* and *Abwāb al-Asbāt*<sup>6</sup> (between the GOLDEN GATE and BĀB ALʿATM or BĀB ḤIṬṬA, respectively); it may be at KURSĪ SULAYMĀN, but there is no special

<sup>1</sup>For the Christian transfer of traditions from the Temple to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see A057.

<sup>2</sup>*Etheria* 48,10-14: 48.2 (see Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 298f.) (*Item dies enceniarum (1 Maccabeans* 4.59; *John* 10.22) *appellantur quando sancta ecclesia quae in Golgotha est quam Martyrium vocant consecrata est Deo; sed et sancta ecclesia quae est ad Anastase id est in eo loco ubi Dominus resurrexit post passionem ea die et ipsa consecrata est Deo. Harum ergo ecclesiarum sanctarum encenia cum summo honore celebrantur quoniam crux Domini inventa est ipsa die ...)* Et hoc per Scripturas sanctas invenitur quod ea dies sit enceniarum qua et sanctus Salomon consummata domo Dei quam edificaverat steterit ante altarium Dei et oraverit sicut scriptum est in libris Paralipomenon (**2 Chronicles** 6.12-42; cf. **1 Kings** 8.22-54).

<sup>3</sup>For the Marwānid Dwelling-place of al-Ḥiḍr, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202 (putting it in the Fāṭimid period); Elad, *Jerusalem* 117.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī** Nr.148: 91,4f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fīmā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati ilā Abwābi l-Asbāti* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.175: 140,9f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fīmā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati wa-Bābi l-Asbāti*.

Cf. the Fāṭimid (B030.2.b) headings **al-Wāsiṭī** 91,1 *Bābu Maskani l-Ḥiḍri ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 140,6 *Bābu Maskani l-Ḥiḍri n-Nabiyyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī** Nr.148: 91,4f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fīmā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati ilā Abwābi l-Asbāti* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.175: 140,9f. *Maskanu l-Ḥiḍri ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fīmā bayna Bābi r-raḥmati wa-Bābi l-Asbāti*.

<sup>6</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 117 n. 205.

evidence for location there. *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr* has been located at today's MAQĀM AL-ḤIḌR (just north of the GOLDEN GATE), as both names relate to al-Ḥiḍr;<sup>1</sup> but the identity of the Pre-Crusader and the modern names carries no weight.

B030.2.b. The name *Maskan al-Ḥiḍr* is also found in Fāṭimid headings, **al-Wāsiṭī**'s *Bāb Maskan al-Ḥiḍr ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam* "the Chapter on the Dwelling-place of al-Ḥiḍr - God bless him and grant him salvation" and **Ibn al-Muraġġā**'s *Bāb Maskan al-Ḥiḍr an-Nabī 'alayhi s-salām* "the Chapter on the Dwelling-place of the prophet al-Ḥiḍr - upon him be peace". But the respective chapters give just Marwānid traditions, one on *Maskan al-Ḥiḍr* and how often al-Ḥiḍr visits Jerusalem, one on Elias and al-Ḥiḍr visiting Jerusalem, among other places. There are no remarks on Fāṭimid *Maskan al-Ḥiḍr (an-Nabī)*, whereas for almost all other places similar remarks are given. Clearly, these heading are nothing more than frames for Marwānid traditions and are no evidence for Fāṭimid *Maskan al-Ḥiḍr*.

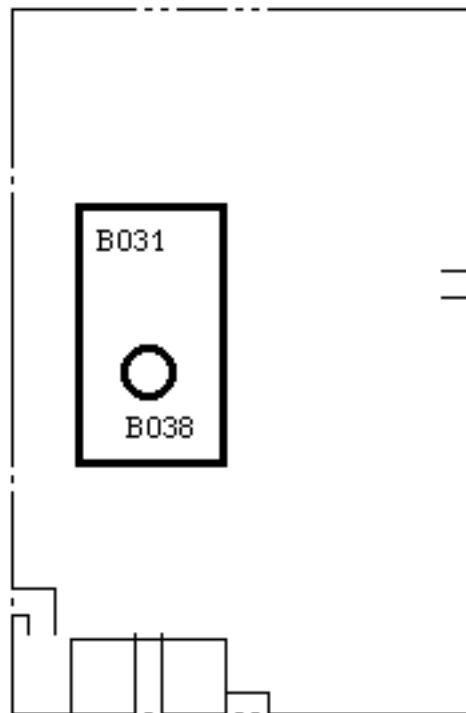
**B030.3. Traditions (Muslim):** The Dwelling-place of **al-Ḥiḍr** (*Maskan al-Ḥiḍr*) is obviously place where [the popular saint] al-Ḥiḍr dwelled or dwells, but no details are given.

---

<sup>1</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202.

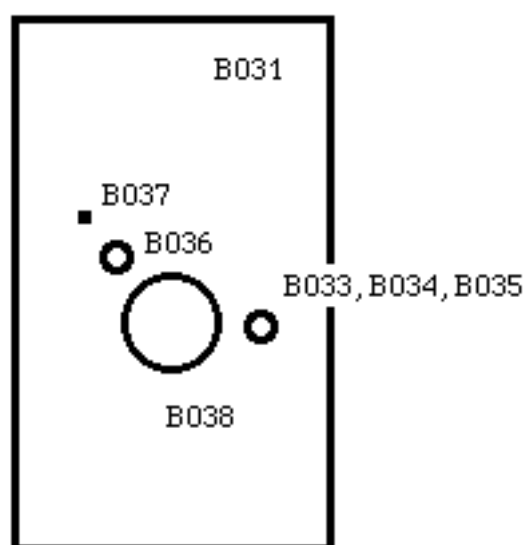
For today's MAQĀM AL-ḤIḌR or MASKAN AL-ḤIḌR, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202.

## 2.4. THE PLATFORM



**42**

**Figure 42.** The position of the Marwānid platform: B031 The platform. - B038 The Dome of the Rock.



43

**Figure 43. The Marwānīd platform:** B031 The platform. - B033 The Dome of the Chain or Place of the Chain. - B034 The dome where Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance. - B035 The Treasury. - B036 The Dome of the Ascension. - B037 The place where Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the angels and the former prophets [later the Dome of the Prophet]. - B038 The Dome of the Rock.



### B031. The platform<sup>1</sup>

B031.1. **Names (Muslim):** None.

B031.2. **Position:** There is a kind of platform around the Dome of the Rock. It encompasses the southwest corner of today's PLATFORM.

B031.2.a. The southwest corner of the PLATFORM of today is supported by semicircular arches with the same distinctive chamfering as the Marwānid BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP (B020.3.b); the platform of the Marwānid, High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid periods therefore necessarily encompasses this southwest corner. The further extent of the platform is unknown and need not be that of today's PLATFORM.<sup>2</sup>

B031.2.b. It has been assumed that the PLATFORM's place, irregular shape and the places of the small domes on it may have served to conceal what was difficult to remove and ideologically dangerous to preserve;<sup>3</sup> this may well be, but there is no evidence for it.

B031.3. **Physical shape:** The platform has about the same height as today's PLATFORM. Under the platform is evidently, in part, a rock hill. The peak of this hill is shown inside the Dome of the Rock (B045.3).

B031.3.a. The level of the Marwānid platform is given with the level of the Marwānid Dome of the Rock and the smaller domes<sup>4</sup> and with the height of the semicircular arches having the same chamfering of the Marwānid BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP (B020.3.b). The Marwānid Dome of the Rock is mostly identical with the DOME OF THE ROCK of today and we may deduce that the Marwānid platform is on the same level as the PLATFORM of today. The Marwānid smaller domes are not identical with the MINOR DOMES of today and their level is, strictly speaking, unknown.

B031.3.b. The means of access to the platform are unknown.<sup>5</sup> It has been suggested that the four staircases

---

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid platform, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 11; 77f.; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342a; Grabar, "Jerusalem" 60a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 2; 3 fig. 1; 11 fig. 3; 30-32; 70f.; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147; Burgoyne, "Gates" 107; 124; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 66; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental Stairway" 166-168; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52; 104; 106; 122f.; 124f. fig. 63 and 65; 128.

<sup>2</sup>Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 66; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52; 122f.; 128.

For the PLATFORM of today and its STAIRCASES, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 1; 7-9; 74-80; 122f.; 159 n. 2; 191; 223; 311-316; Grabar, "al-Ḥaram al-sharīf" 178b; Busink, *Tempe* 992-997; Grabar, "Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra" 297b; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 41; 77; 117; 219; 221; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 30-32; 70f.; Burgoyne, "Gates" 124; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 66; 157; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 123; Hillenbrand, "Monuments" 9; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 46-48; Myres, "Overview" 332f.; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 604-606.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 128.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 122.

<sup>5</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 128.

opposite the gates of the Dome of the Rock, towards the south (at the SOUTH STAIRCASE), the west (at the WEST STAIRCASE), the north (at the NORTH STAIRCASE) and the east (at the EAST STAIRCASE) may have been built at the same time as the Dome of the Rock,<sup>1</sup> that the south staircase (at the SOUTH STAIRCASE) may have been a real access to the Dome of the Rock<sup>2</sup> and that there were staircases with isolated arcades;<sup>3</sup> all this may be, but the sources do not mention it.

B031.3.c. It has been assumed that the Marwānid platform may have had first the function of making the Dome of the Rock higher;<sup>4</sup> this may well be, but evidence is lacking.

### B032. The minor domes

**B032.1. Names (Muslim):** The minor domes on the platform have no collective name. These are three domes (*talāt qibāb mutağāwirāt*): the Dome of the Rock, the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*), identical with the dome where Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance and with the Treasury (*Bayt al-māl*), and the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Miʿrāğ*).<sup>5</sup> On the platform is also the place where Muḥammad prayed, a place of unknown shape (B037.2).

B032.1.a. The three domes on the platform are mostly mentioned together and perceived as a distinct group of buildings. The Marwānid mosque has no other domes.

**B032.2. Position:** These are three domes next to each other (*talāt qibāb mutağāwirāt*) (B032.1). We locate them on the PLATFORM: the Dome of the Rock at the DOME OF THE ROCK (B038.2), the Dome of the Chain at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA (B033.2), the Dome of the Ascension at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ (B036.2).

**B032.3. Physical shape:** These are three domes (*talāt qibāb*) (B032.1).

<sup>1</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 11; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186f.; 3 70 (south staircase); 71 (west staircase); 91 (north staircase); 156 (east staircase); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 124f. fig. 63 and 65; 128.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 128.

<sup>3</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 30.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 106.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Taʾrīḥ** 133,3: 387 (*qāla š-Šaʿbīyu ... qāla wa-banà ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-banà l-qubbata l-latī ʿalà š-Šaḥrati ...*) *wa-hiya talātu qibābin mutağāwirātun Qubbatu š-Šaḥrati wa-Qubbatu l-Miʿrāği wa-Qubbatu s-Silsilati.*

### B033. The Dome of the Chain = the Place of the Chain<sup>1</sup>

B033.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*),<sup>2</sup> the Place (of the Chain) (*Mawḍiʿ as-Silsila*).<sup>3</sup> It is identical with the dome where Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance (B033.3.b), possibly identical with the Treasury (*Bayt al-māl*).

B033.1.a. *Qubbat as-Silsila* and *Bayt al-māl* (B035.2) have been considered identical<sup>4</sup> because both are east of the Dome of the Rock, because no source mentions them together - this would exclude their identity - and because the few architectural details described do not contradict each other. Against their identity, there has been adduced that High ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid *Qubbat as-Silsila* was open on all or almost all sides, whereas the Marwānid *Bayt al-māl* had a closed upper room to store money;<sup>5</sup> but the High ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid building may have had a closed upper room<sup>6</sup> and we should not assume that the building did not change its appearance. It has been argued that **al-Wāsiṭī** mentions *Qubbat as-Silsila* and *Bayt al-māl* together and that this excludes their identity,<sup>7</sup> but the two places are not mentioned together.

B033.1.b. It has further been suggested that *Qubbat as-Silsila* may have been the model ʿAbd al-Malik ordered to

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid Dome of the Chain, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174-180; Creswell, *EMA* 1 80-82; 202; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Rosen-Ayalon, "Māqūr Qādūm"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 3 fig. 1; 25-29; 70; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals* II 7; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 17f.; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Gil, *Palestine* 92f. n. 17; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 127f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 185f.; 3 154-156; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; 47f.; 63; 68; 73; 160; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 24-27; 51; 130-132; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 112-114; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 30.

Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 131 fig. 68 ("schematic reconstruction of the Marwānid Dome of the Chain"); 106 fig. 57; 109 fig. 59; 121 fig. 62; 124f. fig. 63 and 65 are all plainly today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Taʾrīḥ** 133,3: 387 (*qāla š-Šaʿbīyu ... qāla wa-banā ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī ʿalā š-Šaḥrati ... wa-hiya ṭalātu qibābin mutaḡāwirātun*) *Qubbatu š-Šaḥrati wa-Qubbatu l-Miʿrāḡi wa-Qubbatu s-Silsilati*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 119**: 75,1 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98 n. 100) *fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 151**: 126,2 *fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati*.

For the relation between prose and verse in a single text, see Lichtenstadter, Ilse, "Geschichte in dichterischem Gewand in der alten arabischen Literatur", *ZDMG* 133 (1983) 30-42.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 29**: 23,10f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 63) (*man atā Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-šallā ʿan yamīni š-Šaḥrati wa-šimālihā*) *wa-daʿā ʿinda Mawḍiʿi s-Silsilati ...* = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 120**: 75,6 (*man atā Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-šallā ʿan yamīni š-Šaḥrati wa-šimālihā*) *wa-daʿā ʿinda Mawḍiʿi s-Silsilati ...* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 89**: 93,11 (*man atā Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-sallā ʿan yamīni š-Šaḥrati wa-šimālihā*) *wa-daʿā ʿinda Mawḍiʿi s-Silsilati ...* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 154**: 127,3 *man daʿā Llāha taʿālā ʿinda Mawḍiʿi s-Silsilati ...*

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174f.; 180; 327; Creswell, *EMA* 1 202; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals* II 7; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 127f.; Gil, *Palestine* 92f. n. 17.

<sup>5</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 202; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 26; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 131.

<sup>6</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 175.

<sup>7</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27.

be constructed when he wanted to know the shape and height of the dome to be built (*ṣifat al-qubba wa-simatuhā*), i.e., of the Dome of the Rock.<sup>1</sup> Sources do not identify *Qubbat as-Silsila* with this model. What we know from Marwānid *Qubbat as-Silsila* and the Marwānid Dome of the Rock suggests no special relation in shape (*ṣifa*) or height (*simā*). We may additionally ask if a model should really have been built so close to its full-sized counterpart and if it should not have been destroyed after this counterpart had been built.<sup>2</sup>

**B033.2. Position:** The Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) is one of the three domes next to each other (*talāt qibāb mutağāwirāt*) on the platform (B032.1). Its place is east of [the Dome of] the Rock (*ṣarqī ṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>3</sup> This is clearly the place of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.<sup>4</sup>

B033.2.a. *Qubbat as-Silsila* is east of the Dome of the Rock. This would fit with QUBBAT AS-SILSILA, today the only dome east of the DOME OF THE ROCK, although *Qubbat as-Silsila* does not have to be exactly at the same place.

B033.2.b. It has been suggested that today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA stands in the centre of the ḤARAM, at the intersection of the two lines bisecting the opposite sides,<sup>5</sup> and therefore, Marwānid *Qubbat as-Silsila* may have marked the navel of the area.<sup>6</sup> The central position is true only if we add MĪDĀN AL-ĠAZĀLĪ and the CAR-PARK to its west, both on top of the former BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀ'ĪL, and AL-'UMARĪYA to the ḤARAM.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the conception that the Dome of the Chain was the model of the Dome of the Rock, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 80-82; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 26 (with further references).

<sup>2</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 26.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 119:** 74,3f.; 75,1 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98 n. 100) *wa-l-qubbatu l-lati ṣarqīya ṣ-Ṣaḥrati innahu kāna fī zamāni Dāwūda ... (wa-l-qubbatu ... fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati) wa-hiya ṣarqīya ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 151:** 126,2 (*wa-l-qubbatu ... fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati) wa-hiya ṣarqīya ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock].

<sup>4</sup>For QUBBAT AS-SILSILA, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 251; Le Strange, *Palestine* 151-153; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 37 n. 1; 105 n. 2; 173-183; pl. CIVf.; CXIIf.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 152 n. 43; 193 n. 192; Creswell, *EMA* 1 202; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 221; fig. 359f.; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" 169 n. 2; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 29; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45 and n. 41; 47; 48 and n. 120; 77 and n. 4; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I* 17f.; 127; 171f.; 186-189; 193; 214; 219f.; 223-228; Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 260; fig. 3; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 25 fig. 14; 27; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur* 2 14f.; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 125; 127f.; 138 n. 45; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 233; 3 154-156; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 130-132; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 142 (plates); Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 392; 397f.; Weiss, "Hec Est Domus Domini" 211 fig. 2; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 44; Myres, "Overview" 329; 336.

Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 131 fig. 68 ("schematic reconstruction of the Marwānid Dome of the Chain"); 106 fig. 57; 109 fig. 59; 121 fig. 62; 124f. fig. 63 and 65 are all plainly today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

<sup>5</sup>Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 29; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 24; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27; 70; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 131.

<sup>6</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27-29 with fig. 15; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 131f.; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 112.

For traditions about the navel of the earth, see A092.

<sup>7</sup>Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 154.

Both the intersection of the two lines bisecting the opposite sides as well as the intersection of the diagonals are further south, south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA. The sources never call *Qubbat as-Silsila* the navel of the earth, and High 'Abbāsīd **Ibn al-Faqīh** states explicitly that the [geometrical] centre of the mosque (*wasat al-masgid*) is *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr*, in front [south] of *Qubbat as-Silsila* (B105.2).

B033.2.c. It has further been suggested that MIḤRĀB 'UMAR, which is directly south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA in the middle of the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, may continue an earlier, Pre-Marwānīd or Marwānīd prayer-niche, and that the line connecting QUBBAT AS-SILSILA and MIḤRĀB 'UMAR may have been the first main axis of the Marwānīd ḤARAM, replaced later, but still in the Marwānīd period, by the line connecting the DOME OF THE ROCK with the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.<sup>1</sup> But there are neither Marwānīd, High 'Abbāsīd nor Fāṭimid features in MIḤRĀB 'UMAR, nor do the Marwānīd written sources locate a prayer-niche at this place.

B033.2.d. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119** identifies *Qubbat as-Silsila* as the dome east of the Dome of the Rock, then gives the dome north of the Dome of the Rock. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.29** = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.120** = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.89** mentions first ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) right and left [west and east] of the Rock (but **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.29** only right of the Rock), then personal prayer (*du'a*) at *Mawḍi' as-Silsila*, then almsgiving, whereas the short version **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.154** has just *Mawḍi' as-Silsila* (B033.6). **Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīḥ** names *Qubbat as-Silsila* as one of the three domes, after the Dome of the Rock and *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*. All this allows a location at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119**

*al-qubba l-latī šarqī š-Ṣaḥra* = *Qubbat as-Silsila* -> *al-qubba l-latī ša'mī š-Ṣaḥra*

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.29**

*yamīn aš-Ṣaḥra* -> [*šimāl aš-Ṣaḥra* ->] **Mawḍi' as-Silsila**

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.120**

*yamīn aš-Ṣaḥra* -> *šimāl aš-Ṣaḥra* -> **Mawḍi' as-Silsila**

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.89**

*yamīn aš-Ṣaḥra* -> *šimāl aš-Ṣaḥra* -> **Mawḍi' as-Silsila**

**Ibn Ḥabīb, ta'rīḥ**

*Qubbat aš-Ṣaḥra* -> *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* -> **Qubbat as-Silsila**

**B033.3. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*),<sup>2</sup> one of the three domes next to each

<sup>1</sup>Busse, "Sanctity" 442 (a first version of the suggestion); Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 15-17; 24 (Pre-Marwānīd prayer-niche); Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27-29 with fig. 15; 70 (Marwānīd prayer-niche); Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 148 (Pre-Marwānīd prayer-niche); Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 154; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 131; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 387; 395 (Pre-Marwānīd mosque).

For MIḤRĀB 'UMAR, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 374 n. 3; Busse, "Sanctity" 442; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 15; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27-29 (with fig. 16); Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 154. For the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 15-18; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" fig. 1; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 43; 45; 77; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 37f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 13f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 29f.

For the asymmetric position of the prayer-niche opposite the Rock and the relation between prayer-niche and Rock, see A121.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119**: 74,3f.; 74,20-75,2 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98 n. 100) *wa-l-qubbatu l-latī šarqīya š-Ṣaḥrati innahu kāna fī zamāni Dāwūda ... wa-l-qubbatu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi buniyat min ba'du banāhā 'Abdu l-Maliki 'alā l-Mawḍi' i fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-hiya šarqīya š-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-hiya l-qubbatu l-latī laqīya fihā n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ḥūra l-'ayni laylata usriya bihi (wa-l-qubbatu l-latī ša'mī ya š-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *buniyat aydan ba'du) = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.151*: 126,1-3 *wa-l-qubbatu buniyat min ba'du banāhā 'Abdu l-Maliki 'alā l-Mawḍi' i fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-hiya šarqīya š-*

other (*talāt qibāb mutağāwirāt*) on the platform (B032.1). Inside the dome a [stone] chain is possibly suspended.

B033.3.a. *Mawḍiʿ as-Silsila* = *Qubbat as-Silsila* is a dome; no details are given. It has been assumed that the substance of today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA is basically the Marwānid dome,<sup>1</sup> but there is no evidence for this.

B033.3.b. The existence of a chain is uncertain. Sources are unanimous that a chain used to hang, but they disagree on what kind of chain this was (B033.5). This is either evidence for the old age of the name *Qubbat as-Silsila* = *Mawḍiʿ as-Silsila*, of forgotten origin, or for some remains of a real chain with a function no longer understood. There are no other domes in the Islamic World with stone chains suspended. The remains of a **stone chain** found in APSE V in Ḥirbat al-Maḡḡar, now in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, hung down from a half-dome;<sup>2</sup> its endpiece has been considered a kind of *qalansūwa* above the head of the sitting ruler.<sup>3</sup> This reminds us of the dome where Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance,<sup>4</sup> and this similarity may be used as evidence in favour of the identity of *Qubbat as-Silsila* and the dome of the hailing of Sulaymān.

#### B033.4. Contemporary events: ʿAbd al-Malik builds this dome on the Place (ʿalā l-Mawḍiʿ).<sup>5</sup>

B033.4.a. **Ibn Ḥabīb, Taʾrīḥ**<sup>6</sup> has *qāla š-Šaʿbiyu ... qāla wa-banā ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī ʿalā š-Šaḥrati ... wa-hiya talātu qibābin mutağāwirātun Qubbatu š-Šaḥrati wa-Qubbatu l-Miʿrāḡi wa-Qubbatu s-Silsilati* "aš-Šaʿbī said ... he said: And ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān - God may have mercy upon him - built the mosque of the Temple ... and he built the dome which is over the Rock ... And these are three domes next to each other, the Dome of the Rock, the Dome of the Ascension and the Dome of the Chain". It has been claimed that *wa-hiya talātu qibābin ... wa-Qubbatu s-Silsilati* also refers to ʿAbd al-Malik;<sup>7</sup> but this is obviously an explanation of the current state of affairs and does not imply any particular action by ʿAbd al-Malik.

---

*Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-hiya l-qubbata l-latī laqiya n-Nabīyu ʿalayhi s-salāmu fihā ḥūra l-ʿayni laylata usriya bihi*.

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 131 fig. 68 ("schematic reconstruction of the Marwānid Dome of the Chain"); 106 fig. 57; 109 fig. 59; 121 fig. 62; 124f. fig. 63 and 65 are all plainly today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

<sup>2</sup>For the stone chain of Ḥirbat al-Maḡḡar, see Hamilton, *Khirbat al Maḡḡar* 90 fig. 49.a; 91; pl. XII.6; XIV.8; Creswell, *EMA* 1 565 (with fig. 618); pl. 103.f.

<sup>3</sup>Hamilton, *Khirbat al Maḡḡar* 90 fig. 49.a; 91.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 132, considers a number of possibilities, among them that QUBBAT AS-SILSILA may originally have had a secular function.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119**: 74,20-75,1 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98 n. 100) (*wa-l-qubbata l-latī šarqīya š-Šaḥrati innahu kāna fī zamāni Dāwūda ...*) *wa-l-qubbata bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi buniyat min baʿdu banāhā ʿAbdu l-Maliki ʿalā l-Mawḍiʿi (fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati) = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.151: 126,2 *wa-l-qubbata buniyat min baʿdu banāhā ʿAbdu l-Maliki ʿalā l-Mawḍiʿi (fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati)*.*

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Taʾrīḥ** 132,22-133,3: 387 *qāla š-Šaʿbiyu ... qāla wa-banā ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī ʿalā š-Šaḥrati wa-ḡaʿala ʿalā l-ḥābiʿati l-latī fī aʿlā l-qubbati ... wa-hiya talātu qibābin mutağāwirātun Qubbatu š-Šaḥrati wa-Qubbatu l-Miʿrāḡi wa-Qubbatu s-Silsilati*.

<sup>7</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27.

**B033.5. Traditions (Muslim):** In the time of **David** a chain (*silsila*) made of light or gold was suspended between heaven and earth in front [east] of the Rock (*bi-ḥiyāl aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), at the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) - a chain which [in a lawsuit] only the party in the right was able to touch, but not the party in the wrong; one day the party in the wrong tricked the chain and the chain was drawn back into heaven, and David knew this by a revelation (*waḥy*).<sup>1</sup> In the time

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr. 119:** 74,3-75,1 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98 n. 100) *wa-l-qubbatu l-lati šarqīya š-Ṣahrati innahu kāna fī zamāni Dāwūda idā ḥakama bayna Banī Isrāʾīla bi-l-ḥukmi saʿala Llāha min qablu an yaḡʿala burhānan yaʿrifu bihi š-šādiqa mina l-kāḍibi fa-anzala Llāhu ʿazza wa-ḡalla ʿalayhi silsilatan min nūrin mina s-samāʾi muʿallaqatan fī l-Mawḍiʿi* (Hasson reads *fī mawḍiʿin*) *bayna s-samāʾi wa-l-arḍi fa-idā ḥakama bayna Banī Isrāʾīla bi-ḥukmin baʿata maʿahum unāsan min ʿindihi ilā l-Mawḍiʿi fa-man kāna šādiqan fī maqālatihi mimman ḥakama ʿalayhi nāla s-silsilata wa-man kāna kāḍiban fī maqālatihi lam yanali s-silsilata ḥattā waqaʿa l-makru bayna n-nāsi wa-inna raḡulani stawdaʿa raḡulan mālan tumma ḡāba ʿanhu ḥinan tumma ḡāʿa yaṭlubu wadiʿatahu fa-ankarahu ḡālika fa-atā ilā Dāwūda ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-qāṣṣa ʿalayhi l-qīṣṣata fa-ḥakama ʿalayhi Dāwūdu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama bi-l-ḥukmi wa-baʿata maʿahu l-umanāʿa li-yaḥlifā fa-ḡāʿa l-umanāʾu ilā l-Mawḍiʿi wa-aḡaḍa r-raḡulu l-laḍi ūdiʿa l-māla qanātan fa-šaqqahā wa-ṣabba l-māla fihā wa-aṭbaqahā tumma aḡaḍahā yatawakkaʿu ʿalayhā šābihan bi-l-ʿalili ḥattā atā ilā l-Mawḍiʿi fa-lammā waṣalū ilā l-Mawḍiʿi qāla li-r-raḡuli ḥuḍ ʿaṣāya ḥāḍihi ḥattā amudda yadi ilā s-silsilati wa-anālahā fa-aḡaḍa r-raḡulu šāhibu l-māli l-ʿaṣā minhu tumma qāla Llāhumma innaka taʿlamu anna ḥāḍā r-raḡula qad awdaʿanī mālan wa-annī qad radadtu ʿalayhi mālahu wa-l-mālu fī yadi r-raḡuli wa-lā yaʿlamu Llāhumma in kuntu šādiqan fī maqālati fa-anilnī s-Silsilata bi-quḍratika fa-nāla s-Silsilata tumma qāla ruddi ʿalayya ʿaṣāya fa-radda ʿalayhi ʿaṣāhu fa-ḡāʿa l-makru wa-rtafaʿati s-silsilatu min ḡālika l-yawmi wa-nazala l-waḥyu ʿalā Dāwūda ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama fa-aḡbarahu bi-l-makri wa-l-qubbatu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi buniyat min baʿdu banāhā ʿAbdu l-Maliki ʿalā l-Mawḍiʿi fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 151:** 125,9-126,2 ... *anna Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu saʿala Llāha taʿālā an yaḡʿala lahu burhānan yaʿrifu bihi š-šādiqa mina l-kāḍibi fa-anzala Llāhu taʿālā ʿalayhi silsilatan min nūrin mina s-samāʾi muʿallaqatan fī l-Mawḍiʿi* (Hasson reads *fī mawḍiʿin*) *mina s-samāʾi wa-l-arḍi* (Livne-Kafri reads *bayna s-samāʾi wa-l-arḍi*, with al-Wāsiṭi) *fa-idā ḥakama bayna Banī Isrāʾīla bi-ḥukmin baʿata maʿahum unāsan min ʿindihi ilā l-Mawḍiʿi fa-man kāna šādiqan fī maqālatihi mimman ḥakama ʿalayhi nāla s-silsilata wa-man kāna kāḍiban fī maqālatihi* (read *fī maqālatihi*) *lam yanali s-silsilata ḥattā waqaʿa l-makru bayna n-nāsi wa-inna raḡulani stawdaʿa raḡulan mālan tumma ḡāba ʿanhu ḥinan tumma ḡāʿa yaṭlubu wadiʿatahu fa-ankarahu ḡālika fa-atā* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-atā*) *ilā Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu fa-qāṣṣa ʿalayhi l-qīṣṣata fa-ḥakama ʿalayhi Dāwūdu bi-l-ḥukmi wa-baʿata maʿahum l-umanāʿa ilā l-Mawḍiʿi li-yaḥlifā fa-ḡāʿa l-umanāʾu ilā l-Mawḍiʿi fa-aḡaḍa r-raḡulu l-laḍi awdaʿa l-māla qanātan fa-šaqqahā wa-ṣabba l-māla fihā wa-aṭbaqahā tumma aḡaḍahā yatawakkaʿu ʿalayhā šābihan bi-l-ʿalili ḥattā atā* (Livne-Kafri reads *atā*) *ilā l-Mawḍiʿi fa-lammā šāra ilā l-Mawḍiʿi qāla li-ḥaṣmihi šiddi ʿaṣāya ḥāḍihi ḥattā amudda yadi wa-anāla s-silsilata fa-aḡaḍa r-raḡulu šāhibu l-māli l-ʿaṣā minhu wa-qāla* (I read *fa-qāla*) *Llāhumma innaka taʿlamu anna ḥāḍā r-raḡula qad awdaʿanī mālan wa-annī qad radadtu mālahu ilayhi wa-l-mālu fī yadi r-raḡuli wa-lā yaʿlamu Llāhumma in kuntu šādiqan fī maqālati fa-anilnī s-silsilati bi-quḍratika fa-nāla s-silsilata bi-quḍratika fa-nāla s-silsilata* (read only once: *bi-quḍratika fa-nāla s-silsilata*) *tumma qāla rudda ʿalayya ʿaṣāya ḥāḍihi fa-radda ʿalayhi ʿaṣāhu fa-ḡāʿa l-makru fa-rtafaʿati s-silsilatu min ḡālika l-yawmi wa-nazala l-waḥyu ʿalā Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-uḡbira bi-l-makri wa-l-qubbatu buniyat min baʿdu banāhā ʿAbdu l-Maliki ʿalā l-Mawḍiʿi fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 150:** 124,16-125,7 *lammā kaṭura š-šarru fī Banī Isrāʾīla šāḥadātu z-zūri aʿtā Llāhu taʿālā Dāwūda s-Silsilata wa-kānat min ḡahabin muʿallaqatan mina s-samāʾi bi-ḥiyāli š-Ṣaḥrati ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-idā tašāḡara tṭnāni fī šayʾin qāla lahumā Dāwūdu ḡhabū ilā s-Silsilati fa-kāna awlāhumā bi-l-ʿadli yanāluhā wa-in kāna qaṣīran fa-stawdaʿa raḡulun raḡulan luʿluʿatan fihā ḡaṭarun tumma btaḡāhā minhu fa-***

of **Solomon**, there was a chain (*silsila*) suspended between heaven and earth, which [in a lawsuit] only the party in the right was able to touch, but not the party in the wrong; when one day a Jew was able to trick his adversary and the chain, the chain was raised [back to heaven].<sup>1</sup> On his Night Journey, **Muḥammad** met the virgins of Paradise (*ḥūr al-ʿayn*) here.<sup>2</sup>

B033.5.a. A parallel to the chain which distinguishes between good and bad people: A Marwānid tradition says that one of the wonders Alexander met in Jerusalem was a door made by aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, which did not allow bad people to enter the city.<sup>3</sup>

*qāla lahu qad radadtuhā ʿalayka fa-staʿdā ʿalayhi fa-nṭalaqa l-mustadʿā ʿalayhi fa-naqaba ʿaṣan fa-ḡaʿala fihā l-luʿluʿata tumma qabaḍa ʿalā l-ʿaṣāh (read ʿalā l-ʿaṣā) wa-ʿadā (read wa-ʿada) maʿahu ilā Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu fa-qāla Dāwūdu dhabā ilā s-Silsilati fa-dahabā fa-qāla ṣāhibu l-luʿluʿati Llāhumma in kunta taʿlamu annī stawdaʿtu ḥādīhi l-luʿluʿata wa-lam yaruddahā ʿalayya fa-asʿaluka an anālahā fa-nāla s-Silsilata wa-qāla l-āḥaru msuk ʿaṣāya ḥādīhi fa-dafaʿahā ilayhi fa-qāla Llāhumma in kunta taʿlamu annī dafaʿtu ilayhi luʿluʿatahu fa-asʿaluka an anālahā fa-nālahā fa-qāla Dāwūdu mā ḥādā? yanāluhā ṣ-ṣālimu wa-l-maḥlūma fa-awḥā Llāhu taʿālā ilayhi anna l-luʿluʿata fī l-ʿaṣā fa-rtafaʿati s-Silsilatu.*

Cf. **Ibn Ḥabīb, Taʾrīḥ** 133,3-5: 387 (*qāla ṣ-Ṣaʿbīyu ...*) *wa-hiya ṭalātu qibābin mutaḡāwirātun Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-Qubbatu l-Miʿrāḡi wa-Qubbatu s-Silsilati l-lati kānat fī zamāni Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-fihā qāla baʿdu ṣ-ṣuʿarāʾi (as-sarīʾ): maḍa maʿa l-waḥyi zamānu l-ʿulā / wa-rtafaʿa l-ḡūdu maʿa s-Silsilati; Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.399: 260, 17f. wa-habaṭati s-Silsilatu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-rufiʿati s-Silsilatu min Bayti l-Maqdisi; Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.183: 146,5f. wa-kāna fī zamāni Dāwūda s-Silsilatu muʿallaqatan mina s-samāʾi ilā l-arḍi yanāluhā ṣ-ṣādiq wa-tamtaniʿu mina l-kāḍibi.*

For the chain of David or Solomon, for David as judge (**Koran** 38.22; 38.26) and for Solomon as judge, see A084.b.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.44:** 33,11-34,8 *wa-ḡaʿala Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu silsilatan muʿallaqatan mina s-samāʾi ilā l-arḍi wa-inna raḡulan Yahūdīyan kāna qadi stawdaʿahu raḡulun miʿata dīnārin fa-lammā ṭalaba r-raḡulu wadīʿatahu ḡahadahu ḍālika l-Yahūdīyu fa-rtafaʿū ilā ḍālika l-maqāmi ʿinda s-Silsilati fa-ʿamada l-Yahūdī yu bi-makrihi wa-dahāʾihi fa-sabaka tilka d-danānīra wa-ḡafara lahā fī ʿaṣāhu fa-ḡaʿalahā fihā fa-lammā atā ḍālika l-maqāma dafaʿa l-ʿaṣā ilā ṣāhibi d-danānīri wa-qabaḍa ʿalā s-Silsilati tumma ḡalafa bi-Llāhi la-qad aʿṭahu danānī rahu tumma dafaʿa ilayhi ṣāhibu d-danānīri l-ʿaṣā wa-aqbala ḡattā aḡaḍa s-Silsilata fa-ḡalafa annahu lam yaʿḥudhā minhu wa-massā kilāhumā s-Silsilata fa-ʿaḡiba n-nāsu min ḍālika wa-rtafaʿati s-Silsilatu min ḍālika l-yawmi wa-kāna n-nāsu qabla ḍālika man kāna muḥiqqan massa s-silsata wa-man kāna muḥṭilani rtafaʿat fa-lam yanalhā.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119:** 75,1f. (see Elad, Jerusalem 98 n. 100) (*wa-l-qubbatu ... fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati ...*) *wa-hiya l-qubbatu l-lati laqiya fihā n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama ḡūra l-ʿayni laylata usriya bihi = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.151: 126,2f. (wa-l-qubbatu ... fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati ...) wa-hiya l-qubbatu l-lati laqiya n-Nabīyu ʿalayhi s-salāmu fihā ḡūra l-ʿayni laylata usriya bihi.*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.44:** 33,6f. (*fa-lammā tawaḡḡaha Dū l-qarnayni ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fa-lammā ṣāra ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi raʾa tilka l-ʿaḡāʾiba l-lati ṣanaʿahā ḍ-Ḍaḥḥāku bnu Qaysin ... fī z-zamāni l-awwali ...*) *wa-r-rābiʿatu waḍaʿa bāban fa-man daḡala min ḍālika l-bābi idā kāna ṣāliman mina l-Yahūdī wa-n-Naṣārā ḍaḡatahu ḍālika l-bābu ḡattā yuʿrafā bi-ṣulmihi = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.183: 145,17f. (... tawaḡḡaha ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-lammā tawaḡḡaha ilayhā raʾa tilka l-ʿaḡāʾiba l-lati ṣanaʿahā Llāhu taʿālā fī zamāni ḍ-Ḍaḥḥāki bni Qaysin fī z-zamāni l-awwali ...) wa-r-rābiʿatu waḍaʿa bāban fa-man daḡala min ḍālika l-bābi idā kāna ṣāliman mina l-Yahūdī wa-n-Naṣārā ḍaḡatahu ḍālika l-bābu ḡattā yuʿrafā bi-ṣulmihi.*



B033.5.b. The traditions of the chain have been considered to be of Jewish origin and the tradition of the virgins of Paradise of Muslim origin.<sup>1</sup> This may well be.

B033.6. God **answers one's personal prayer** (*du'ā'*) and washes all sins away back to the day one was born, if one makes ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) right and left [west and east] of the Rock (*'an yamīn aṣ-Ṣaḥra wa-šimālihā*), says a personal prayer (*du'ā'*) at the Place of the Chain (*'ind Mawḍi' as-Silsila*) and gives many or a few alms (*taṣaddaqa bi-mā qalla aw kaṭura*) or, in a shorter way, if one says a personal prayer (*du'ā'*) at the Place of the Chain (*'ind Mawḍi' as-Silsila*) and gives many or a few alms (*taṣaddaqa bi-mā qalla aw kaṭura*).<sup>2</sup>

### B034. The dome where Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance<sup>3</sup>

B034.1. **Names (Muslim):** The dome where [the new Umayyad caliph] Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik sits [in 96/715] while the people show him allegiance (B034.4). It is identical with the Place/Dome of the Chain (*Mawḍi' as-silsila* = *Qubbat as-silsila*) (B033.3.b) and with the Treasury (*Bayt al-māl*) (B033.1.a).

B034.2. **Position:** The dome has its place in the courtyard of the Jerusalem mosque (*fi ṣaḥn Maṣḡid Bayt al-Maqdis*) next to [the Dome of] the Rock (*mimmā yalī ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B034.4). If it is identical with the Dome of the Chain, we may locate it at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

B034.3. **Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*) (B034.4). Inside the dome are possibly

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 48.

<sup>2</sup>All four elements are mentioned in **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.120**: 75,5-8 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 182) *man atā Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-šimālihā wa-da'ā 'inda Mawḍi' i s-Silsilati wa-taṣaddaqa bimā qalla aw kaṭura staḡiba du'ā'uhu wa-kaṣafa Llāhu ḥuznahu wa-ḥaraḡa min dunūbihi miṭla yawmi waldatihi ummuhu wa-in sa'ala Llāhu š-šahādata a'ṭāhu iyyāhā* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.89**: 93,10-12 *man atā* (Livne-Kafri reads *atā*) *Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-sallā 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-šimālihā wa-da'ā 'inda Mawḍi' i s-Silsilati wa-taṣaddaqa bi-mā qalla aw kaṭura staḡiba du'ā'uhu wa-kaṣafa Llāhu ḥuznahu wa-ḥaraḡa min dunūbihi miṭla yawmi waldatihi ummuhu wa-in sa'ala Llāhu ta'ālā š-šahādata a'ṭāhu iyyāhā*.

Prayer left [east]- of the Rock is omitted in **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.29**: 23,10-12 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 63) *man atā Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-šimālihā wa-da'ā 'inda Mawḍi' i s-Silsilati wa-taṣaddaqa bimā qalla wa-kaṭura* (read *aw kaṭura*) *staḡiba du'ā'uhu wa-kaṣafa Llāhu ḥuznahu wa-ḥaraḡa min dunūbihi miṭla yawmi waldatihi ummuhu wa-in sa'ala Llāhu š-šahādata a'ṭāhu iyyāhā*.

Prayer right and left [west and east] of the Rock is omitted in **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.154**: 127,3-5 *man da'ā Llāha ta'ālā 'inda Mawḍi' i s-Silsilati wa-taṣaddaqa bimā qalla aw kaṭura staḡiba du'ā'uhu wa-kaṣafa Llāhu ḥuznahu wa-ḥaraḡa min dunūbihi miṭla yawmi waldatihi ummuhu wa-in sa'ala Llāhu ta'ālā š-šahādata a'ṭāhu iyyāhā*.

<sup>3</sup>For the Marwānid dome where Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance, see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 117; Gil, *Palestine* 104f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 27; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 111; 129.

remains of a suspended [stone] chain (B033.3.b).

**B034.4. Contemporary events:** When the people show allegiance to the new Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik [in 96/715], he sits in a dome (*fī qubba*) in the courtyard of the mosque of Jerusalem (*fī ṣaḥn Masǧid Bayt al-Maqdis*) next to [the Dome of] the Rock (*mimmā yalī ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and generously distributes gifts to the people greeting him; in front of his dome (*\*bayn yaday qubbat Sulaymān*) mats are spread with cushions (*namāriq*), chairs (*karāsī*), money (*amwāl*) and honorary robes (*kisāʾ*).<sup>1</sup>

**B034.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** In this dome Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance (B034.4).

### B035. The Treasury<sup>2</sup>

**B035.1. Names (Muslim):** The Treasury (*Bayt al-māl*).<sup>3</sup> It is possibly identical with the Place/Dome of the Chain (*Mawḍiʿ as-silsila = Qubbat as-silsila*) (B033.1.a) and therefore with the dome where Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik sits while the people show him allegiance.

**B035.2. Position:** The Treasury (*Bayt al-māl*) is east of [the Dome of] the Rock (*ṣarqī ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) next to the [Dome of the] Rock (*ʿalā ḥarfī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*).<sup>4</sup> If it is identical with the Dome of the Chain (B033.1.a), we may locate it at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.333:** 226,3-7 ... *anna l-Walīda lammā māta wa-būyiʿa li-Sulaymāna atathu bayʿatu l-aǧnādi wa-huwa bi-mašāriqi l-Balqāʾi fa-atā* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-atā*) *Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-atathu l-wufūdu bi-l-bayʿati wa-lam tara wifādatan kānat ahnaʾa minhā kāna yaǧlisu fī qubbatin fī ṣaḥni Masǧidi Bayti l-Maqdisi mimmā yalī ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *qad busiṭati l-busuṭu bayna yaday FBTH* (read *qubbatihī*) *ʿalayhā n-namāriqu wa-l-karās wa-ilā ǧānibihi l-amwālu wa-l-kisāʾu fa-kullu man saʿalahu šayʾan kataba lahu an yabraḥa*. For the importance of cushions, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 109; 111-113.

<sup>2</sup>For the Marwānid Treasury, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174-176; 178f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 100; 202; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I* 17; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 26f.; Gil, *Palestine* 92f. n. 17; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 127f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 154-156; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; 47; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54; 111; 131.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 81,15 (transl. Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ...*) *wa-amara an yubnā Baytu l-māli fī ṣarqīyi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] (... *fa-ušḥina bi-l-amwāli*) = **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.47:** 59,6f. (... *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ...*) *wa-amara bi-bināʾi Bayti l-māli fī ṣarqīyi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] (... *fa-ušḥiqā* (read *fa-ušḥina*, with al-Wāsiṭī) *bi-l-amwāli*).

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 81,15f. (transl. Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 47; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ...*) *wa-amara an yubnā Baytu l-māli fī ṣarqīyi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-huwa l-ladī fawqa ḥarfī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-ušḥina bi-l-amwāli* = **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.47:** 59,6f. (... *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ...*) *wa-amara bi-bināʾi Bayti l-māli fī ṣarqīyi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-huwa l-ladī fawqu ʿalā ḥarfī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-ušḥiqā* (read *fa-ušḥina*, with al-Wāsiṭī) *bi-l-amwāli*.

B035.2.a. Each city (*qaṣaba*) of High 'Abbāsid Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*) has its treasury (*bayt māl*) in the Friday mosque,<sup>1</sup> High 'Abbāsid Barḍa'a has its Syro-Palestinian style treasury (*bayt māl*) also in the Friday mosque.<sup>2</sup>

B035.2.b. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136** says about the treasury *wa-huwa l-laḍī fawqa ḥarfī š-Šaḥrati* "and it is the one on the edge of [the Dome of] the Rock", the same tradition as **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** *wa-huwa l-laḍī fawqu 'alā ḥarfī š-Šaḥrati* "and it is the one above, on the edge of [the Dome of] the Rock". We must definitely read *aš-Šaḥra* "[the Dome of] the Rock", not *aš-Šaḥra* "the Rock", as all treasuries we know of are buildings on their own, not part of other buildings,<sup>3</sup> and as there is no structure known inside the Marwānid Dome of the Rock that we may identify with a treasury. But the choice is between *fawqa ḥarfī š-Šaḥrati* and *fawqu 'alā ḥarfī š-Šaḥrati*. The first may not be translated as "above the edge of the Rock", as we are not allowed to relate it to the Rock itself, whereas the translation "above the edge of [the Dome of] the Rock" does not really make sense. In the second version, *fawqu* "above" may refer to a position "suspended on columns", not on the ground; *'alā ḥarfī š-Šaḥrati* is either "on the edge of [the Dome of] the Rock", as both buildings are near each other, or "in the shape of [the Dome of] the Rock", referring to a special similarity between the two buildings.

B035.2.c. The location of the Treasury northeast of the Dome of the Rock<sup>4</sup> has no support in the sources.

**B035.3. Physical shape:** The Treasury (*Bayt al-māl*) is possibly a dome with columns, a closed upper store-room with a lead roof.

B035.3.a. A treasury (*bayt al-māl*) obviously has a closed part to store money.<sup>5</sup> High 'Abbāsid Barḍa'a has its *bayt māl* built by the Umayyads<sup>6</sup> with an iron gate;<sup>7</sup> this treasury is considered to be the type common in Syria-

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 182,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 21; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174f. n. 5; Creswell, *EMA* 1 201) (*iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ... wa-rusūmuhum ...*) *wa-fī kullī qaṣabatīn baytu mālin bi-l-ğāmi'i* (C *wa-fī ḡāmi'i kullī qaṣabatīn baytu mālin*) *mu'allaqun 'alā a'midatin*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 184, 1-3 (transl. van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174f. n. 5; Creswell, *EMA* 1 201) *fa-ammā Āḍarbayḡānu ... wa-'alā bābi Barḍa'ata ...* *wa-baytu mālihīm fī maṣḡidi l-ğāmi'i 'alā rasmi š-Ša'mi fa-inna buyūta amwālī š-Ša'mi fī maṣāḡidihā wa-huwa baytu mālin muraṣṣaṣu s-saḥḥi wa-'alayhi bābun ḥadīdun wa-huwa 'alā tis'ati asāṭī na; Ibn Ḥawqal* 338,11-329,1 (*wa-madīnatu Barḍa'ata ... wa-min abwābi Barḍa'ata bābun ...*) *wa-lahum maṣḡidun ḡāmi'un ḥasanun faṣiḥun wa-fīhi baytu mālini n-nāḥiyata ka-laḍī ttaḥaḍahu Banū Umayyata bi-Miṣra wa-ḡayrihā wa-huwa min 'amalihīm*.

<sup>3</sup>On Umayyad treasuries, in general, see A075.

<sup>4</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.

<sup>5</sup>Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 128.

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 338,11-329,1 (*wa-madīnatu Barḍa'ata ... wa-min abwābi Barḍa'ata bābun ...*) *wa-lahum maṣḡidun ḡāmi'un ḥasanun faṣiḥun wa-fīhi baytu mālini n-nāḥiyata ka-laḍī ttaḥaḍahu Banū Umayyata bi-Miṣra wa-ḡayrihā wa-huwa min 'amalihīm*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 184, 1-3 (transl. van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174f. n. 5) (*fa-ammā Āḍarbayḡānu ... wa-'alā bābi Barḍa'ata ...*) *wa-baytu mālihīm fī maṣḡidi l-ğāmi'i 'alā rasmi š-Ša'mi fa-inna buyūta amwālī š-Ša'mi fī ma-ṣāḡidihā wa-huwa baytu mālin muraṣṣaṣu s-saḥḥi wa-'alayhi bābun ḥadīdun wa-huwa 'alā tis'ati asāṭīna*.

Palestine,<sup>1</sup> the type built by the Umayyads in Egypt and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

B035.3.b. This treasury stands on columns and has a lead roof. Each city (*qaṣaba*) of High 'Abbāsid Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*) has its treasury suspended on columns (*mu'allaq 'alā a'mida*);<sup>3</sup> the High 'Abbāsid treasury (*bayt māl*) of Barḍa'a has a lead roof (*muraṣṣaṣ as-saḥḥ*) and stands on nine columns (*asāṭīn*).<sup>4</sup>

B035.4. **Contemporary events:** The Treasury is built here by 'Abd al-Malik, when all Muslim treasuries are consolidated into this one central treasury in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup>

### B036. The Dome of the Ascension<sup>6</sup> = the dome which is north of [the Dome of] the Rock

B036.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*),<sup>7</sup> "the dome which is north of [the Dome of] the Rock" (*al-qubba l-latī ša'mī š-Šaḥra*) (B036.2).

B036.1.a. The identity of **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119**'s *al-qubba l-latī ša'mī š-Šaḥra* "the dome which is north of [the Dome of] the Rock" with the other sources' *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* may be taken for granted; there are just two minor domes, and the other one east of the Dome of the Rock is, by the same tradition, identified as *Qubbat as-Silsila*. Hesitation between identifying *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* with the mentioned dome of **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119** and with the

<sup>1</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 184, 1-3 (transl. van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174f. n. 5) (*fa-ammā Āḍarbayğānu ... wa-'alā bābi Barḍa'ata ...*) *wa-baytu mālihim fī masğidi l-ğāmi'i 'alā rasmi š-Ša'mi fa-inna buyūta amwālī š-Ša'mi fī masğidihi wa-huwa baytu mālin muraṣṣaṣu s-saḥḥi wa-'alayhi bābun ḥadīdun wa-huwa 'alā tis'ati asāṭīna*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 338,11-329,1 (*wa-madīnatu Barḍa'ata ... wa-min abwābi Barḍa'ata bābun ...*) *wa-lahum masğidun ġāmi'un ḥasanun fasīhun wa-fīhi baytu mālini n-nāḥiyata ka-ladī ttaḥaḍahu Banū Umayyata bi-Miṣra wa-ğayriḥa wa-huwa min 'amalihim*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 182,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 21; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174f. n. 5) (*iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ... wa-rusūmuhum ...*) *wa-fī kulli qaṣabatin baytu mālin bi-l-ğāmi'i (C wa-fī ġāmi'i kulli qaṣabatin baytu mālin) mu'allaqun 'alā a'midatin*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 184, 1-3 (transl. van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 174f. n. 5) (*fa-ammā Āḍarbayğānu ... wa-'alā bābi Barḍa'ata ...*) *wa-baytu mālihim fī masğidi l-ğāmi'i 'alā rasmi š-Ša'mi fa-inna buyūta amwālī š-Ša'mi fī masğidihi wa-huwa baytu mālin muraṣṣaṣu s-saḥḥi wa-'alayhi bābun ḥadīdun wa-huwa 'alā tis'ati asāṭīna*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 81,15f. (transl. Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 47; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*... anna 'Abda l-Maliki ...*) *wa-amara an yubnā Baytu l-mālī fī šarqīyi š-Šaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] wa-huwa l-ladī fawqa ḥarfi š-Šaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] fa-uṣḥina bi-l-amwālī = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47: 59,6f. (*... anna 'Abda l-Maliki ...*) *wa-amara bi-binā'i Bayti l-mālī fī šarqīyi š-Šaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] wa-huwa l-ladī fawqu 'alā ḥarfi š-Šaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] fa-uṣḥiqā (read fa-uṣḥina, with al-Wāsiṭī) bi-l-amwālī*.*

<sup>6</sup>For the Marwānid Dome of the Ascension, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 47; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 308; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 44; 48; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXIf.; 48-50; 68; 73; 160.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīḥ** 133,3; 387 (*qāla š-Ša'bīyu ... qāla wa-banā 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī 'alā š-Šaḥrati ...*) *wa-hiya ṭalātu qibābin mutağāwirātun Qubbata š-Šaḥrati wa-Qubbata l-Mi'rāği wa-Qubbata s-Silsilati*.

place later called *Qubbat an-Nabī*<sup>1</sup> is not necessary.

**B036.2. Position:** The Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*) is one of the three domes next to each other (*talāt qibāb mutağāwirāt*) on the platform (B032.1). It is the dome north of the Dome of the Rock (*ša'mī š-Şaḥra*).<sup>2</sup> We best locate it at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ.<sup>3</sup>

B036.2.a. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119** has first *al-qubba l-latī šarqī š-Şaḥra Qubbat as-Silsila*, then *al-qubba l-latī ša'mī š-Şaḥra*; they are parallel to each other and the term *ša'mī* is obviously "northern". **Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīḥ** has *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* as one of the two minor domes of the platform, followed by *Qubbat as-Silsila* as the other one.

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119**

*al-qubba l-latī šarqī š-Şaḥra* = *Qubbat as-Silsila* -> **al-qubba l-latī ša'mī š-Şaḥra**

**Ibn Ḥabīb, ta'rīḥ**

*Qubbat aš-Şaḥra* -> **Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ** -> *Qubbat as-Silsila*

B036.2.b. Both *al-qubba l-latī ša'mī š-Şaḥra* and *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* refer to a dome (*qubba*), but the MINOR DOMES northwest of the DOME OF THE ROCK have no Marwānid features.

B036.2.c. *al-Qubba l-latī ša'mī š-Şaḥra* is north of the Dome of the Rock (*ša'mī š-Şaḥra*), parallel to *Qubbat as-Silsila* east of the Dome of the Rock (*šarqī š-Şaḥra*). Today, there is no dome north of the Dome of the Rock, but to its west-northwest, near the Dome of the Rock, are QUBBAT AN-NABĪ, QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ and QUBBAT AL-ḤALĪLĪ; as High 'Abbāsid *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* is at today's QUBBAT AN-NABĪ (B106.2), Marwānid *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* may also be at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ.

**B036.3. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*),<sup>4</sup> one of the three domes next to each other (*talāt qibāb mutağāwirāt*) on the platform (B032.1).

**B036.4. Contemporary events:** The dome north of the Dome of the Rock was not built in the time of David, but later [by 'Abd al-Malik], together with the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 49f.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119:** 75,2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98 n. 100) *wa-l-qubbatu l-latī ša'mīya š-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *buniyat ayḍan ba'du* (but not = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.151:** 126,3).

<sup>3</sup>For QUBBAT AN-NABĪ, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 47; 169-173; pl. XXXII left (in the background); Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* colour plate 4 (in the background next to the Dome of the Rock); Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 262; fig. 6; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 87f.; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 77 pl. 66; 88 pl. 83-88; 90; colour pl. XXIV.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119:** 75,2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98 n. 100) *wa-l-qubbatu l-latī ša'mīya š-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *buniyat ayḍan ba'du* (but not = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.151:** 126,3).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119:** 75,2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98 n. 100) (*wa-l-qubbatu l-latī šarqīya š-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *innahu kāna fī zamāni Dāwūda ... wa-l-qubbatu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi buniyat min ba'du banāhā 'Abdu l-Maliki 'alā l-Mawqī'i fa-summiyat Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-hiya šarqīya š-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-l-qubbatu l-latī ša'mīya š-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *buniyat ayḍan ba'du* (but not = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.151:** 126,3).

**B037. The place where Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of (the angels and) the [former] prophets [later the Dome of the Prophet]<sup>1</sup>**

**B037.1. Names (Muslim):** The place where Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets (B037.3).

B037.1.a. There is no need to waver between identifying *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* with **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119**'s *al-qubba l-lati ša'mī š-Šaḥra* and with the place later called *Qubbat an-Nabī* (B036.1.a).

**B037.2. Position:** This place is both north of the Rock (*min ša'mī š-Šaḥra*)<sup>2</sup> and west of the Rock (*\*ğarbī š-Šaḥra*). We locate it best northwest of the DOME OF THE ROCK at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ.<sup>3</sup>

B037.2.a. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.143**'s remark that the prayer of Muḥammad was *'azbī š-Šaḥra* makes no sense<sup>4</sup> and we should read instead *\*ğarbī š-Šaḥra* "west of the Rock" (Livne-Kafri). The conjecture is very easy, as the diacritical dot of the ġayn may have slipped onto the neighbouring rā'.

B037.2.b. In **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**, Gabriel comes to the region north of the Rock (*min ša'mī š-Šaḥra*); the previous prophets rise here from the dead; Muḥammad leads their prayer here (this is the tradition connected with High 'Abbāsīd *Qubbat an-Nabī*); and Muḥammad and Gabriel rise from here to heaven (this is the tradition connected with High 'Abbāsīd *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*).

B037.2.c. We therefore locate the place best northwest of the Dome of the Rock. High 'Abbāsīd *Qubbat an-Nabī*, connected with the same tradition, is also northwest of the Dome of the Rock (at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ) (B106.2). Locating it further north next to the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE<sup>5</sup> is possible.

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānīd place where Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the prophets, see Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 10; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; 48-50; 63; 68; 160.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119**: 73,16f.; 73,21-74,1 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 98) (... *ḥaddaṭanā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣūri bni Tābiti bni Istanībiyāda l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu qāla ... 'an Ka'bin anna n-Nabīya ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ...*) *tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu amāmahu ḥattā kāna min ša'mīyi š-Šaḥrati ... fa-qāla 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā l-lati 'an yamīni š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**: 123,17; 124,3f. (... *anba'anā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣūri bni Tābitini l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu qāla ... 'an Ka'bin anna n-Nabīya 'alayhi s-salāmu ...*) *tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu amāmahu ḥattā daḥala min ša'mīyi š-Šaḥrati ... fa-qāla 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā* (Livne-Kafri adds *l-lati 'an yamīni š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]).

<sup>3</sup>For QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 36-56; 59; 105 n. 2; 171f.; 210; 327 n. 3; pl. XXXII left; XXXIII top; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47 with pl. 5; 48 with pl. 7; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 308; pl. 30.a; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 205; 3 88f.; 92f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 73f.; Myres, "Overview" 333; 336f. (calling it *Qubbat an-Nabī*); Natsheh, "Catalogue" 701-708 (calling it *Qubbat an-Nabī*).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.143**: 121,3f. *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ṣallaytu laylata usriya bī ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi 'azbīya* (read *ğarbīya*) *š-Šaḥrati*.

<sup>5</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.

B037.2.d. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148** has the place where Muḥammad led the prayer (the tradition connected with High ‘Abbāsīd *Qubbat an-Nabī*) as one of three places north of the Rock, preceded by the place where the previous prophets risen from the dead were gathered (at QUBBAT AL-MI‘RĀĠ), and followed by the Ascension (*al-Mi‘rāğ*) (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ); all three places are preceded by the place where al-Burāq was tied up (possibly at the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER) and the place where Muḥammad entered the area (*Bāb an-Nabī*) (at the DOUBLE GATE). All this would fit with a place at QUBBAT AL-MI‘RĀĠ. Gabriel moves, while leading Muḥammad from *Bāb an-Nabī* to the Ascension, forward (*taqaddama*); from *Bāb an-Nabī* to the prayer of the prophets, he moves towards the north, but from the prayer of the prophets to the Ascension, towards the south, with the usual south-orientation of the prayer-direction.

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119**

*waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-Mawqifi -> Bāb an-Nabī -> tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu ḥattā daḥala min ša`mīyi š-Šaḥrati ... wa-ḥašara [Llāhu] ... l-mursalina -> tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu ... fa-šallā n-Nabīyu ... bi-l-malā`ikati wa-l-mursalina -> tumma taqaddama quddāma dālīka ilā l-mawqī`i fa-wuqī`at lahu mirqātun ... wa-mirqātun ... wa-huwa l-Mi`rāḡu ... ḥattā `araḡa Ġibrīlu ... wa-n-Nabīyu ... ilā s-samā`i*  
*waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-Mawqifi ... -> Bāb an-Nabī -> tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu ḥattā daḥala min ša`mīyi š-Šaḥrati ... wa-ḥašara [Llāhu] lahu l-mursalina -> tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu ... fa-šallā n-Nabīyu ... bi-l-malā`ikati wa-l-mursalina -> tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu quddāmahu ilā l-mawqī`i fa-waḡa`a lahu mirqātan ... wa-mirqātan ... wa-huwa l-Mi`rāḡu ḥattā `araḡa Ġibrīlu ... wa-n-Nabīyu ... ilā s-samā`i*

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**

B037.2.e. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.155 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.142** has the prayer led by Muḥammad preceded by the place where he left al-Burāq (possibly at the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER), and followed by his choice between milk and wine (at an unknown place) and his ascension (*mi`rāğ*) [to heaven] (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ). This also allows location of the place where Muḥammad prayed at QUBBAT AL-MI‘RĀĠ.

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.155**

*fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati ... -> fa-nušira lī raḥṭun mina l-anbiyā`i fa-šallaytu bihim -> wa-utītu bi-inā`ayni -> fa-raḡa`tu*  
*fa-awṭaqtuhu fī l-ḥalqati ... -> fa-nušira lī raḥṭun mina l-anbiyā`i fa-šallaytu bihim -> wa-utītu bi-inā`ayni -> fa-rufī`tu*

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.142**

B037.3. **Traditions (Muslim):** At this place Gabriel gathered the [former] prophets for Muḥammad (*ḡama`a lahu l-anbiyā`*) and he led them in ritual prayer;<sup>1</sup> here a group of the [former] prophets (*raḥṭ min al-anbiyā`*) was gathered for Muḥammad (*nuširū lahu*) and he

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.162:** 100,8f. (... *anna Rasūla Llāhi šallā l-Lāhu `alayhi wa-sallama qāla utītu bi-dābbatin ... wa-ma`i Ġibrīlu ...*) *tumma daḥaltu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-ḡama`a lī l-anbiyā`a šallā Llāhu `alayhim qāla fa-qaddamanī Ġibrīlu šallā Llāhu `alayhi wa-sallama ḥattā šallaytu bihim* (but not = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.378:** 251,12).

Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.143:** 121,3f. *qāla Rasūla Llāhi `alayhi s-salāmu šallaytu laylata usriya bi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi `azbīya* (read *ḡarbiya*) *š-Šaḥrati*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.399:** 261,2; 262,15 (*wa-rakiba n-Nabīyu `alayhi s-salāmu l-Burāqa ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-šallā bi-n-nabīyina bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-yanšuru Llāhu l-anbiyā`a lī-Rasūlihi wa-šallā bihim bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

For the Muslims traditions about Muḥammad leading the former prophets in ritual prayer, see A075.d.

led them in ritual prayer;<sup>1</sup> here Gabriel called to prayer, the angels (*al-malāʾika*) descended from heaven, God gathered the prophets (*ḥašar Allāh al-mursalīn*), he [Gabriel] made the second prayer-call (*iqāma*), and Muḥammad led the angels and the [former] prophets (*al-malāʾika wa-l-mursalūn*) in prayer.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.155:** 95,8 (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama ... ḥattā ntahaytu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *fa-nušira lī raḥṭun minā l-anbiyāʾi fa-ṣallaytu bihim* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.142:** 119,13f. (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ʿalayhi s-salāmu ... ḥattā ntahaytu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *fa-nušira lī raḥṭun minā l-anbiyāʾi fa-ṣallaytu bihim* (but not = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.144:** 122,2 = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.371:** 248,11).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119:** 73,16-19; 74,3 (see Elad, Jerusalem 98) (... *ḥaddaṭanā ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Tābiti bni Istanībiyāda l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu qāla ...*) *ṭumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu amāmahu ḥattā kāna min šaʾmīyi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-aḍḍana Ġibrīlu ṣalla Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-nazalati l-malāʾikatu minā s-samāʾi wa-ḥašara Llāhu ġalla ṭanāʾuhu l-mursalīna fa-aqāma ṣ-ṣalāta* ṭumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu fa-ṣallā n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama bi-l-malāʾikati wa-l-mursalīna (... *fa-qāla ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā l-lati ʿan yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]...) *wa-n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama ṣallā fihā* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148:** 123,17-124,1; 124,5f. (... *anbaʾanā ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Tābitini l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu qāla ...*) *ṭumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu amāmahu ḥattā daḥala min šaʾmīyi*



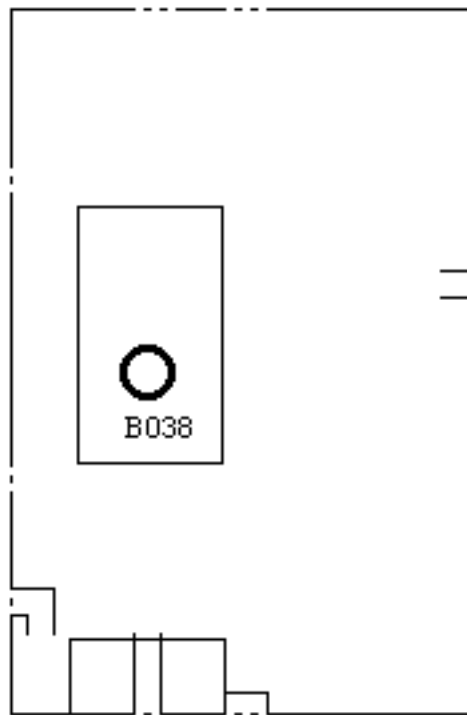
---

*ş-Şaḥrati fa-aḍḍana Ġibrīlu wa-nazalati l-malā'ikatu minna s-samā'i wa-ḥašara* (read *ḥašara Llāhu*) *ta'ālā lahu l-mursalina fa-aqāma ş-şalāta* *tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu 'alayhi s-salāmu fa-şallā n-Nabīyu 'alayhi s-salāmu bi-l-malā'ikati wa-l-mursalina* (... *fa-qāla 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā* (Livne-Kafri adds *l-lati*) *'an yamīni ş-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-Rasūlu Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu şallā fihā*.

Cf. **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.140**: 86,18-87,2 (*qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-şallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ş-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-Qibliyi ... fa-aqbala a'rābiyun ... fa-samī'a Muqātilun nağmata ḡālika fa-qāla ... wa-yazburuhu bi-şawtihi* ...) *wa-mā ḥāḍā l-laḍi 'alayhi l-ḥaytu wa-lahu mudīran wa-qāla s-sūru ḥadīran* (I read *l-ḥaytu* kulluhu mudīrun aw *qāla as-sūra* mudīran; Hasson reads *l-ḥā'itu* madda yadan aw *qāla s-sūru*) *mā fihi mawḍi'u šibrin illā wa-qad şallā 'alayhi nabīyun mursulun fa-aqāma 'alayhi malakun muqarrabun* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.338**: 229,13f. (*qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātili bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-şallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ş-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *fa-aqbala a'rābiyun ... fa-samī'a Muqātilun fa-mana'ahu ḡālika fa-qāla ... wa-yazburuhu bi-şawtihi* ...) *wa-mā ḥāḍā l-laḍi 'alayhi l-ḥintu kulluhu MDBR' W'LMSRR MDBR* (I read *l-ḥaytu* kulluhu mudīrun aw *qāla as-sūra* mudīran; Livne-Kafri reads *l-ḥā'itu* kulluhum madda yadan aw *qāla s-sūru*) *mā fihi mawḍi'u šibrin illā wa-qad şallā 'alayhi nabīyun mursulun aw qāma 'alayhi malakun muqarrabun*.



## 2.5. THE DOME OF THE ROCK



**44**

Figure 44. The position of the Marwānid Dome of the Rock (B038).

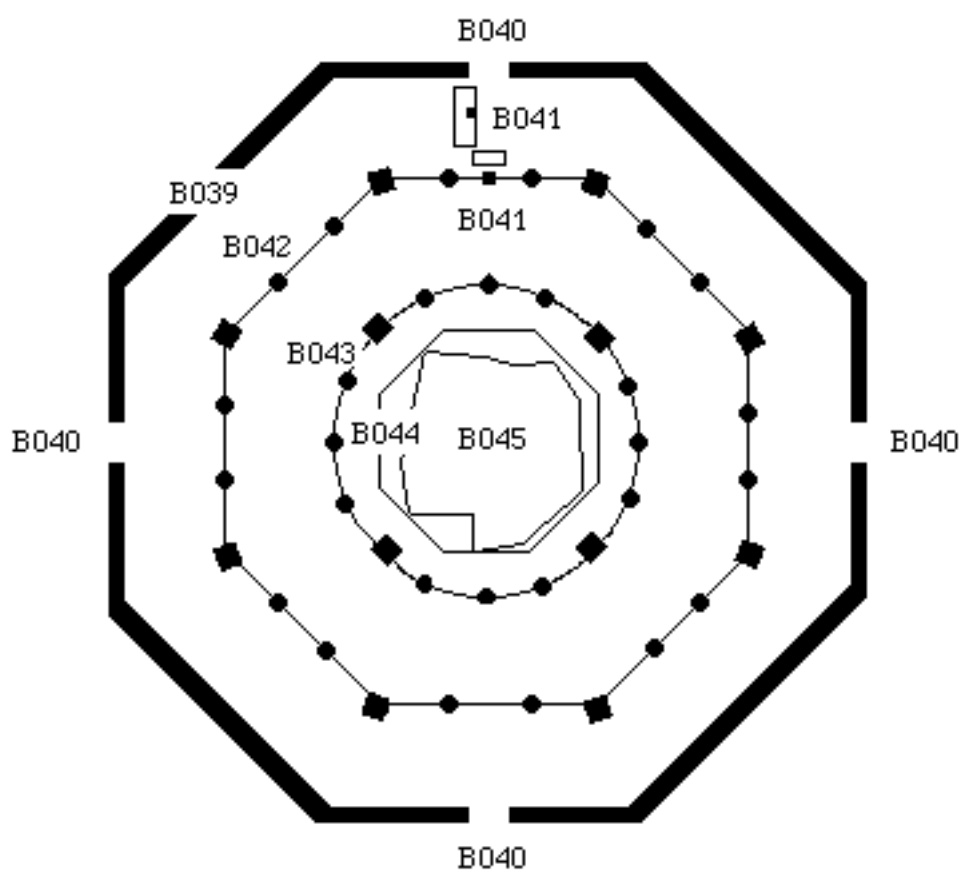


**Figure 45. The Marwānīd Dome of the Rock (layout):** B039 The wall. - B040 The gates. - B041 The Black Paving-stone, the bench, the underground corridor and the Tomb of Solomon. - B042 The octagonal arcade. - B043 The columns next to the Rock. - B044 The fence around the Rock. - B045 The Rock.

### B038. The Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>

#### B038.1. Names (Muslim): The Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>2</sup> [the Dome of] the

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid Dome of the Rock (and today's DOME OF THE ROCK), see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 246-250; 307-317; Mauss, "Méthode" 14-31; Le Strange, *Palestine* 114-137; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 179-227; Herzfeld, "Qubbat al-Ṣakhra"; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* fig. 51f.; fig. 55f.; fig. 59f.; fig. 63f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 11; 223-376; pl. XXX; LXXVIII; XIII-XXVII; CX-CXVII; Hirschberg, "Sources" 333-335; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock"; Caskel, *Felsendom*; Grabar, "Commemorative Structures" 14; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling"; Goitein, "Sanctity"; Busse, "Sanctity" 441f.; 454f.; 458-460; Creswell, *EMA* 1 50; 64-131 (with figures and bibliography); 137; 185; 561; 570; 572; 650f.; 653; 658-660 (with fig. 690); colour plate in front of the title page; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 213-322; 370f.; Busink, *Tempel* pl. 2 fig. 3; 18; 18f. n. 71; 905 fig. 201; pl. 13f. fig. 202f.; 918-921; Kessler, "Reconsideration"; Sivan, "Beginnings" 266; Ecochard, "Dôme du Rocher"; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 93-99; Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom"; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 29-31; Sharon, "Inscription from 65 n. H."; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie"; Busse, "Kultstätten" 123f.; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg* 227-231; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 21; Peters, "Dome of the Rock"; Chen, "Design of the Dome of the Rock"; Chen, "Golden Gate"; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118f.; Chen, "Setting Out Reconsidered"; Grabar, "Qubbat al-Ṣakhra"; Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 259f.; 262; fig. 2; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 35-39; 45; 48; 77f.; 219; 249; Sharon, "Birth of Islam"; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Haram"; Rabbat, "Meaning of the Dome of the Rock"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* (with colour plates I-XVI and further illustrations); Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung"; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 1 10f.; Hillenbrand, "Vermächtnis des Felsendoms"; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 36-38; Gil, *Palestine* 92-95; 101-104; 397 n. 52; Blair, "Date"; Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 29-31; Elad, "Dome of the Rock"; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock"; Burgoyne, "Gates" 107; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 125; 127f.; Khoury, "Arab Myths and Umayyad Monuments"; Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 185f.; 192f.; 216; 232; 3 50f.; 72-87; Schick, *Christian Communities* 338-340; Elad, *Jerusalem* 44-46; 51-61; 68; 160; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 40-42; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 14; 18 n. 64 (bibliography); 52-116; 172; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 388-392; 397-406; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 107-112; Peters, "Holy Places" 47-49; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 382-384; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25f.; Weiss, "Hec Est Domus Domini" 211 fig. 2; Grabar, "Space and Holiness" 283; 286; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 15-18; 41-46; colour pl. V-XII; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 88-91; Myres, "Overview" 329; St. Laurent "Dome of the Rock"; Carswell, "Deconstruction"; Natsheh, "Ottoman Jerusalem" 592f.; Hillenbrand, "Monuments" 2; 8f.; colour pl. XVII-XXXV; Shoemaker, "Christmas" 36-38.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Taʿrīḥ** 133,3: 387 (*qāla ṣ-Ṣaʿbiyu ... qāla wa-banā ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-ḡaʿala ʿalā l-ḥābiʿati l-latī fī ʿalā l-qubbati ... wa-hiya ʿalātu qibābin mutaḡāwirātun Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-Qubbatu l-Miʿrāḡi wa-Qubbatu s-Silsilati*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.5**: 13,6f. (*lammā tāba Llāhu ʿalā Dāwūda ... aḥabba an yabniya Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-ʿalā Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (read *wa-ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan*) *fī l-Mawḡiʿi l-ladī qaddasahu Llāhu taʿālā fī ʿIlīyāʿa*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**: 58,13 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) ... *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ḥayyarahum* (read *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ḥīna hamma bi-bināʿi Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] (Livne-Kafri reads *bi-bināʿi Qubbati Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-l-masḡidi* ...) (but not = **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136**: 81,6f. ... *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ḥīna hamma bi-bināʿi Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Hasson reads *bi-bināʿi Qubbati Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-l-masḡidi* ...); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**: 61,4-6 (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yufʿalu bihā fī ḥilāfatī ʿAbdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihī* [in the whole area] *dālika l-waḡta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālika l-waḡti*) ... *wa-fihī* ...)

Rock (of the Temple) (*Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*,<sup>1</sup> *aṣ-Ṣaḥra*<sup>2</sup>), [the Dome of] the Rock of God

*wa-mina s-salāsili li-l-qanādili arba'u mi'ati silsilatin illā ḥamsata 'ašara minhā miyatā silsilatin* (read *mi'atā silsilatin*) *wa-tamānūna silsilatan fi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī fi Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.118**: 72,17-73,1; 73,7 (see Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 235) (*qāla Llāhu 'azza wa-ḡalla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *man ṣallā fiki rak'atayni aḥraḡtuhu mina l-ḥaṭāyā ka-mā aḥraḡtuhu min baṭni ummihi illā an ya'ūda fi ḥaṭāyā musta'nifatin fa-kutiba 'alayhi lā taḍhabu l-ayyāmu wa-l-layālī ḥattā yuḥṣaru ilayki kullu masğidin yuḍkaru fihi smu Llāhi yaḥuffūna biki ḥafifa r-rakbi bi-l-'arūsi idā uhdiyat ilā bayti ahlihā ... ḍamantu li-man sakanaki lā ya'ūzuhu ayyāma ḥayātihi ḥubzu l-burri wa-z-zaytu* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.123**: 110, 13-16; 111,2 (*qāla Llāhu ta'ālā li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *man ṣallā fiki rak'atayni aḥraḡtuhu mina l-ḥaṭāyā ka-mā aḥraḡtuhu min baṭni ummihi illā an ya'ūda fi ḥaṭāyā musta'nifatin tuktabu 'alayki* (read *'alayhi*) *lā taḍhabu l-ayyāmu wa-lā li-layālī* (read *wa-lā li-layālī*) *ḥattā yuḥṣaru ilayki kullu masğidin yuḍkaru fihi smu Llāhi yaḥuffūna biki ḥafifa r-rakbi bi-l-'arūsi idā htudiyat ilā bayti ahlihā ... ḍamantu li-man sakanaki an lā yafūtahu ayyāma ḥayātihi ḥubzu l-burri wa-z-zaytu*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136**: 81,6f. (transl. Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) ... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ḥina hamma bi-binā'i Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Hasson reads *bi-binā'i Qubbati Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-l-masğidi ...* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**: 58, 13 ... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ḥayyarahum* (read *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ḥina hamma*) *bi-binā'i Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] (Livne-Kafri reads *bi-binā'i Qubbati Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-l-masğidi ...*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.399**: 261,14f. *wa-man sarrahu an yamši fi rawḍatin min riyādi l-Ḡannati fa-l-yamši fi Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock].

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136**: 81,15f. (transl. Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 47; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ...*) *wa-amara an yubnā Baytu l-māli fi šarqīyi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-huwa l-ladi fawqa ḥarfi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**: 59,6f. ... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ...*) *wa-amara bi-binā'i Bayti l-māli fi šarqīyi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-huwa l-ladi fawqu 'alā ḥarfi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136**: 83,4-7 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) *ṭumma yunādī munādīn fi ṣaffi l-bazzāzīna wa-ḡayrihi a-lā inna ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *qad futiḥat li-n-nāsi fa-man arāda ṣ-ṣalāta fa-l-ya'ti fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *ṭumma yaḥruḡu n-nāsu fa-man šumma rā'iḥatuhu qālū hādā mimman daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**: 60,10-13 *ṭumma yunādī munādī* (read *munādīn*) *fi ṣaffi l-bazzāzīna wa-ḡayrihi a-lā inna ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *qad futiḥat li-n-nāsi fa-man arāda ṣ-ṣalāta fa-l-ya'ti FYQNL n-nāsu munādirīna* (read *fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna*) *ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *ṭumma yaḥruḡu n-nāsu fa-man yattaqū* (read *šammū*) *rā'iḥatahu qālū hādā mimman daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock]; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.140**: 86,13f. *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-Qibliyi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.338**: 229,8f. *qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.146**: 89,11; 90,4 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) ... *ḥaddaṭanā Baḡīlatu wa-kānat mulāzimata ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi* (*qālat ... raḡulun ... qāla laḥā ... fa-marartu bi-Wahbi bni Munabbihin ... qāla*) *fa-idā daḥalta fa-dḥuli ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *mina l-Bābi š-Ša'mīyi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.128**: 112,7f. 12 ... *ḥaddaṭanā Baḡīlatu* (read *Baḡīlatu*) *wa-kānat mulāzimata ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi* (*qālat ... raḡulun ... qāla laḥā ... fa-marartu bi-Wahbi bni Munabbihin ... qāla*) *fa-idā daḥalta l-masğida fa-dḥuli ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *mina l-Bābi š-Ša'mīyi*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.150**: 92,4f. *lā taqūmu s-sā'atu ḥattā turaddu l-Ka'batu ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-yata'allaqu bihā ḡamī'u man ḥaḡḡa wa-'tamara fa-idā ra'athā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *qālat laḥā marḥaban bi-z-zā'irati wa-l-mazūratu ilayhā*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.153**: 93,4-6 (see Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 235) *inna l-Ka'batu tuḥṣaru yawma l-qiyāmati ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi tuzaffu zaffā l-'arūsi yata'allaqu bihā man ḥaḡḡa ilayhā fa-taqūlu ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *marḥaban bi-z-*

(*Ṣaḥrat Allāh*),<sup>1</sup> the Place (of the Rock) (*Mawḍi 'aṣ-Ṣaḥra*,<sup>2</sup> *al-Mawḍi*<sup>3</sup>), the dome (*al-qubba*).<sup>4</sup>

B038.1.a. *aṣ-Ṣaḥra* is the Rock (B045.1) and the Dome of the Rock. The distinction is a constant challenge.

B038.1.b. Similarly ambiguous is the term *qubba*, originally a tent, then both the dome of a building and, *pars pro toto*, a building with a dome.<sup>5</sup>

*zā'irati wa-l-mazūratī ilayhā*, **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.137**: 115,18-116,3 (*anba'anā Abī Salamata* (I read *Abū Salamata*) 'an *abihi* 'an ḡaddihī 'Abdī s-Salāmi 'qāla) *amarani l-Mahdiyyu an azīda l-maṣṭabata l-lati 'inda l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā'i fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.185**: 148,4f. (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 83) *aḥabbu ṣ-Ṣa'mi ilā Llāhi ta'ālā Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-aḥabbu l-Qudsi ilā Llāhi ta'ālā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu wa-ṭ-Ṭūru*, **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.263**: 185,7f. (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118) *kāna 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ḡālisān fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ya'nī Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-Ummu d-Dardā'i ma'ahu ḡālisatun*.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136**: 81,11f.; 82,2f. (transl. Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ...*) *fa-waradati l-kutubu 'alayhi yarā amīru l-mu'minīna ra'yahu muwaffāqan sadīdan nas'alu Llāha an yutimma lahu mā nawā min binā baytihi wa-masḡidihi* (read *min binā'i baytihi wa-Ṣaḥratihi wa-masḡidihi*) ... *wa-kutiba ilayhi bi-Dimaṣqa qad atamma Llāhu mā amara bihi amīru l-mu'minīna min binā'i Ṣaḥratihi wa-l-Masḡidi l-Aqṣā* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 59,3f.10f. (... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ... fa-waradati l-kutubu 'alayhi*) *yarā amīru l-mu'minīna ra'yahu muwaffāqan raṣīdan sadīdan as'alu* (read *nas'alu*) *Llāha ta'ālā an yutimma lahu mā nawā min binā'i baytihi wa-Ṣaḥratihi* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-masḡidihi ... wa-kutiba ilayhi bi-Dimaṣqa qad atamma Llāhu mā amara bihi amīru l-mu'minīna min binā'i Ṣaḥratihi wa-l-Masḡidi l-Aqṣā*).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.39**: 52,14 (... *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *ṭumma atāhā 'Umaru wa-ma'ahu Ka'bun fa-qāla ya-Abā Ishāqa* (Livne-Kafri reads *yā Abā Ishāqa*) *ṣ-Ṣaḥratu a-ta'rifu Mawḍi'ahā (qāla dra' minā l-ḥā'iṭi l-ladī yalī Wādī Ḡahannuma ka-dā wa-ka-dā* (Livne-Kafri reads *ka-dā wa-ka-dā*) *dirā'an wa-hiya mazbalatun ...*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119**: 73,19-21 (see Elad, Jerusalem 98) (*ṭumma taqaddama Ḡibrilu fa-ṣallā n-Nabiyyu ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama bi-l-malā'ikati wa-l-mursalīna*) *ṭumma taqaddama quddāma dālīka ilā l-Mawḍi'i fa-wuḍi'at lahu mirqātun min ḡahabin wa-mirqātun min fiḍḍatin wa-huwa l-Mi'rāḡu ḥattā 'araḡa Ḡibrilu wa-n-Nabī yu ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhimā ilā s-samā'i* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.148**: 124,1-3 (*ṭumma taqaddama Ḡibrilu 'alayhi s-salāmu fa-ṣallā n-Nabiyyu 'alayhi s-salāmu bi-l-malā'ikati wa-l-mursalīna*) *ṭumma taqaddama quddāmahu ilā l-Mawḍi'i fa-waḍa'a lahu mirqātan min ḡahabin wa-mirqātan min fiḍḍatin wa-huwa l-Mi'rāḡu ḥattā 'araḡa Ḡibrilu 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-n-Nabiyyu 'alayhi s-salāmu ilā s-samā'i*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.139**: 86,6f. (... *ḥaddatanā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadin qāla sami'tu man yaḥki 'an Ḥulaydi l-Ḥumsīyi*) *annahu ḡalaba 'alayhi n-nawmu dāta laylatin 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*) *wa-n-nāsu qadī nṣarafū wa-l-Mawḍi'u ḥālīn laysa fīhi aḥadun*.

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.5**: 13,6f. (*lammā tāba Llāhu 'alā Dāwūda ...*) *aḥabba an yabniya Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-'alā Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (read *wa-'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan*) *fī l-Mawḍi'i l-ladī qaddasahu Llāhu ta'ālā fī Ḳilyā'a*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.56**: 41,2-4 (transl. van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 89; see Busse, "Sanctity" 456f.) *qudsu l-arḍi ṣ-Ṣa'mu wa-qudsu ṣ-Ṣa'mi Filasṭīnu wa-qudsu Filasṭīna Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-qudsu Bayti l-Maqdisi l-ḡābalu wa-qudsu l-ḡābali l-masḡidu wa-qudsu l-masḡidi* (I read *wa-qudsu l-ḡābali l-qubbatu*, thus also Ibn al-Muraḡḡā; Hasson, Busse and van Ess read *wa-qudsu l-ḡābali l-masḡidu wa-qudsu l-masḡidi l-qubbatu*) = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.136**: 115,14f. *qudsu l-arḍi ṣ-Ṣa'mu wa-qudsu ṣ-Ṣa'mi Filasṭīnu wa-qudsu Filasṭīna Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-qudsu Bayti l-Maqdisi l-ḡābalu wa-qudsu l-ḡābali l-qubbatu*.

<sup>5</sup>For the term *qubba*, see Pavón Maldonado, "En torno a la Qubba real" ("lugar que sirve de centro de otros logares y que ejerce especie de soberanía o supremacía"); van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 102f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 64.

**B038.2. Position:** The Dome of the Rock has its place over the Rock in its interior.<sup>1</sup> This is the DOME OF THE ROCK.

B038.2.a. The place of the building over the Rock (today's ROCK) and the Marwānid character of both the OCTAGONAL ARCADE and the CIRCULAR ARCADE (B042.3.c) leave no doubt that the Marwānid Dome of the Rock is on the same spot as today's DOME OF THE ROCK and has the layout of today's DOME OF THE ROCK.

**B038.3. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*),<sup>2</sup> one of the three domes next to each other (*talāt qibāb mutagāwirāt*) on the platform (B032.1). The outside and inside of the exterior wall, the octagonal arcade, the circular arcade and the drum are in the upper part richly covered with mosaic,<sup>3</sup> in the lower part with white marble.<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence as to how

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīḥ** 132,23: 387 (*qāla š-Ša'bīyu ... qāla wa-banā 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Mašğida Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī 'alā š-Šaḥrati*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.122**: 75,16-76,2 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Bashear, "Abraham's Sacrifice" 275; Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 71) *kāna fī s-silsilati l-latī fī wasaṭi l-qubbati 'alā š-Šaḥrati durratu l-Yatīmati wa-Qarnā Kabši Ibrāhī ma šallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-Taḡu Kisrā mu 'allaqatan fihā ayyāma 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.156*: 127,13-15 *kāna fī s-silsilati l-latī kānat fī wasaṭi l-qubbati 'alā š-Šaḥrati durratu l-Yatī mati wa-Qarnā Kabši Ibrāhīma 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-Taḡu Kisrā mu 'allaqatan fihā ayyāma 'Abdi l-Maliki*.

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.5**: 13,6f. (*lammā tāba Llāhu 'alā Dāwūda ...*) *aḥabba an yabniya Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-'alā Qubbati š-Šaḥrati* (read *wa-'alā š-Šaḥrati qubbatan*) *fī l-Mawḏi'i l-laḏi qaddasahu Llāhu ta'ālā fī Ḥilyā'a*.

<sup>2</sup>**van Berchem Nr.215** ... *banā hādīhi l-qubbata 'abdu Llāhi 'Abdu Llāhi l-imāmu l-Ma'mūnu amīru l-mu'minīna fī sanati tnatayni wa-sab'ina*; **Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīḥ** 132,23: 387 (*qāla š-Ša'bīyu ... qāla wa-banā 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Mašğida Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī 'alā š-Šaḥrati*.

Cf. the eschatological dome **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.118**: 73,2f.5f. (*qāla Llāhu 'azza wa-ḡalla li-Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi [the Dome of the Rock] ...*) *tumma unzilu 'alayki qubbatan min nūrin ḡabaltuhā bi-yadī tuḏī'u fī s-samā' wa-fī l-hawā'i ... yanzuru n-nāsu ḏaw'a qubbatiki min ba'īdin fa-yaqūlu l-qā'ilu tūbā li-man šallā fiki li-Llāhi rak'atayni = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.123: 110,16f.; 111,1 (*qāla Llāhu ta'ālā li-Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi [the Dome of the Rock] ...*) *unzilu 'alayki qubbatan min nūrin ḡabaltuhā bi-yadī tuḏī'u fī s-samā'i wa-fī l-hawā'i ... yanzuru n-nāsu ḏaw'a qubbatiki min ba'īdin fa-yaqūlūna tūbā li-man šallā fiki rak'atayni*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.247**: 175,7f. (... *Abū Sa'īdin raḡulun min ahli l-Iskandarīyati qāla kuntu ataytu (Livne-Kafri reads abaytu) fī mašğidi baytin* (read *fī mašğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ...) *qāla fa-wa-Llāhi innī la-aḏkuru ḏālika fī nafsī id samī'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu min naḥwi l-qubbati l-latī 'alā š-Šaḥrati kalimātin*.*

<sup>3</sup>For the MOSAICS outside and inside the DOME OF THE ROCK, see Herzfeld, "Qubbat al-Šakhra" 240f.; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 82-87; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 223f.; 242-246; 274-288; 333-338; 349; pl. XIV-XVIII; XX-XXVI; XXVII bottom; Diez, "Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock"; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock"; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 80; 82-85; 97-100; 122f.; 137; 622; 638; 640; 651; pl. 2.a; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 213-322 (with figures); 334; 338; 340; 346; 356; 370f.; pl. 6-26; pl. 31.b-37 (the location of the plates is partly wrong, see Blair, "Date" 73 n. 40; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 71 n. 62); Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 94-99; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 47-52; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 242; 245; 247f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 77; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* (with colour plates I-XVI and further illustrations); Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 146; 148-151; Blair, "Date" 62



the ceiling may have looked.

B038.3.a. It has been assumed that the ceiling [of the ambulatories] of the Dome of the Rock may have been made of worked wood similar to the ceiling (B115.4) of the High 'Abbāsid Dome of the Rock,<sup>2</sup> but, at least in the outer ambulatory, the beams of the High 'Abbāsid Dome of the Rock are not covered (B115.4). There is no evidence, as to how the Marwānid ceiling may have looked.

B038.4. **Contemporary events:** 'Abd al-Malik builds the dome in 72/691 (B042.3); thus he builds the mosque of the Temple (*Masǧid Bayt al-Maqdis*) in the 70s/689-699, spends on it the tax of Egypt (*ḥarāǧ Miṣr*) of seven years, covers the dome with 8000 copper sheets (*ṣaḥīfa min nuḥās maṭliya bi-d-dahab*) each carrying 7.5 *mitqāl* (31.86 g) of gold, and pays 100,000 *mitqāl* (425 kg) of gold [i.e., 100,000 *dīnār*] for the embellishment of the top of its columns [for the arcade] (B014.6).

B038.5. **Traditions (Muslim):** David wanted to build the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) on the Place which God had sanctified in Jerusalem (*al-Mawḍi' al-ladī qaddasahu Llāhu ta'ālā fī Īlīyā*) [but was not allowed to do so] (B014.7).

B038.6. In the last days the Ka'ba will visit the Dome of the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) together with all the people who have made *ḥaǧǧ* or 'umra to it, as one visits a bride, and the Dome of the Rock will welcome the Ka'ba.<sup>3</sup> God will put a **dome of light** over the Rock with his own hand, a dome which nobody may enter, but at which people will look from far away and consider blessed everyone who has prayed [even just] two *rak'a* in it [in the Dome of the

---

fig. 4; 70-85 (with figures); Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 73f.; 78; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 41f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 55f.; 60; 71-104; 115 and fig. 23-55; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, especially the splendid plates 56-58; 64f.; 72f.; 76f.; 82-105; 110-133; 160; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 403-405; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 108; 111f.; Shalem, "al-Yatima"; 142f. fig. 32f.; 144; Carswell, "Deconstruction" 428

<sup>1</sup>For the MARBLE of the walls outside and inside the DOME OF THE ROCK, see Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 75f.; 84; fig. 16-42; Creswell, *EMA* 1 78 n. 6; 83-86; 97 n. 11; 99; fig. 189; pl. 10.a-c; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 215; fig. 189f.; pl. 13; pl. 16; pl. 22; Rosen-Ayalon, "Particular Technique" 234-236; pl. 51.c; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 290f.; pl. 3; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 22-24 (with fig. 12 and fig. 13); 46-69; 71f.; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 148-151; Myres, "Overview" 329.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 79.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.150:** 92,4f. *lā taqūmu s-sā'atu ḥattā turaddu l-Ka'batu ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fā-yata'allaqu bihā ḡamī'u man ḥaǧǧa wa-tamara fa-idā ra'athā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *qālat lahā marḥaban bi-z-zā'irati wa-l-mazūrati ilayhā*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.153:** 93,4-6 (see Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 235) *inna l-Ka'bata tuḥṣaru yawma l-qiyāmati ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi tuzaffu zaffā l-'arūsi yata'allaqu bihā man ḥaǧǧa ilayhā fā-taqūlu ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *marḥaban bi-z-zā'irati wa-l-mazūrati ilayhā*.

Rock].<sup>1</sup>

B038.6.a. For a parallel to the Ka'ba visiting the Dome of the Rock, see B014.9.b.

B038.7. The **holy part** of the earth is Syria-Palestine (*quds al-arḍ aš-Ša'm*); the holy part of Syria-Palestine, Palestine (*quds aš-Ša'm Filastīn*); the holy part of Syria-Palestine, Jerusalem (*quds Filastīn Bayt al-Maqdis*); the holy part of Jerusalem, the mountain [the whole mosque] (*quds Bayt al-Maqdis al-ğabal*); the holy part of the mountain, the dome [the Dome of the Rock] (*quds al-ğabal al-qubba*) (B014.8); the **most favourite place** of Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*) for God is the Temple [or Jerusalem] (*Bayt al-Maqdis*); the most favourite place of the Temple [or Jerusalem] (*al-Quds*), the Dome of the Rock (*aš-Šaḥra*) and the Mount (*aṭ-Ṭūr*) [the Mount of Olives] (B014.8). Walking in the Dome of the Rock is like walking in one of the gardens of **Paradise**.<sup>2</sup>

B038.8. **Traditions (Jewish):** None.

B038.8.a. It has been assumed that the Marwānid Jewish tradition that 'Abd al-Malik builds the Temple refers to the Dome of the Rock, but it rather refers to the whole area (B014.12.a).

B038.9. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Rock is the focus of the Marwānid ser-

---

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.116:** 71,14-16 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu* [God] *yaqūlu li-Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *ağ'alu 'alayki qubbatan ġabaltuhā bi-yadī wa-unzilu fiki rūḥī wa-malā'ikatī yusabbihūna fiki lā yadhūluki aḥadun min wuldi Ādama ilā yawmi l-qiyāmati fa-man yarā ḍaw'a tilka l-qubbatī min ba'īdin yaqūlu ṭubā li-wağhin yaḥirru fī ki li-Llāhi sāğidan* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.122:** 110,5-7 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti yaqūlu Llāhu ta'ālā li-š-Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *li-Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ...) *wa-ağ'alu 'alayki qubbatan ġabaltuhā bi-yadī wa-unzilu fiki rūḥī wa-malā'ikatī yusabbihūna fiki lā yadhūlu* (read *lā yadhūluki*, with *al-Wāsiṭī*) *aḥadun min wuldi Ādama ilā yawmi l-qiyāmati fa-man* (read *fa-man yarā*, with *al-Wāsiṭī*) *ḍaw'a tilka l-qubbatī min ba'īdin yaqūlu ṭubā li-wağhin yaḥirru fiki li-Llāhi sāğidan* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.300:** 208,13-16 (*yaqūlu Llāhu li-Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *lā taḍhabu l-ayyāmu wa-l-layālī ḥattā unzilu 'alayki qubbatan mina s-samā'i ana bānīhā bi-yadī taḥmiluhā l-malā'ikatu taḍī'u 'alayki fī s-samā'i ka-ḍaw'i š-šamsi lā yadhūluhā aḥadun min wuldi Ādama yanzuru n-nāziru ilā l-qubbatī min ba'īdin tumma yaqūlu ṭubā li-man kāna waḍa'a ġabhatahu fiki sāğidan* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.301:** 209,7-9 (*yaqūlu Llāhu ta'ālā fī t-Tawrāti li-Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *ağ'alu 'alayki qubbatan ġabaltuhā bi-yadī wa-unzilu fiki rūḥī wa-malā'ikatī yusabbihūna fiki lā yadhūlu fiki aḥadun min wuldi Ādama ilā yawmi l-qiyāmati yanzurūna ilā ḍaw'i l-qubbatī min ba'īdin yaqūlūna ṭubā li-wağhin ḥarra fiki li-Llāhi sāğidan*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.118:** 73,2f.5f. (*qāla Llāhu 'azza wa-ğalla li-Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *tumma unzilu 'alayki qubbatan min nūrin ġabaltuhā bi-yadī tuḍī'u fī s-samā' wa-fī l-hawā'i ... yanzuru n-nāsu ḍaw'a qubbatiki min ba'īdin fa-yaqūlu l-qā'ilu ṭubā li-man šallā fiki li-Llāhi rak'atayni* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.123:** 110,16f.; 111,1 (*qāla Llāhu ta'ālā li-Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *unzilu 'alayki qubbatan min nūrin ġabaltuhā bi-yadī tuḍī'u fī s-samā'i wa-fī l-hawā'i ... yanzuru n-nāsu ḍaw'a qubbatiki min ba'īdin fa-yaqūlūna ṭubā li-man šallā fiki rak'atayni*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.399:** 261,14f. *wa-man sarrahu an yamšiya fī rawḍatin min riyāḍi l-Ğannati fa-l-yamši fī Šaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock].

vice<sup>1</sup> held every Tuesday and Thursday.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136:** 82,12-83,8 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*wa-kāna Raġā'u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffā l-Ḥaġara bi-darābazīna sāsamīn ...*) *wa-kāna fī kulli ṭnayni wa-ḥamīsīn ya'murūna bi-z-za'farāni yudaqqu wa-yuṭṭhanu ṭumma yu'malu minna l-layli bi-l-miski wa-l-'anbari wa-l-māwardi l-ġawriyi wa-yuḥmaru* (Hasson reads *wa-yuḥammaru*) *minna l-layli ṭumma ya'muru* (read *yu'maru*) *l-ḥadamu bi-l-ġadāti fa-yadḥulūna Ḥammāma Sulaymāna bni 'Abdi l-Maliki yaġtasilūna ya-yataṭahharūna ṭumma ya'tūna ilā l-ḥizānati l-lati fihā l-ḥulūqu fa-yulqā* (read *fa-tulqā*) *aṭwābuhum 'anhum ṭumma yaḥruġūna bi-aṭwābin ġududin minna l-ḥizānati marawīyin wa-qūhiyin wa-šay'in yuqālu lahu l-'ašbu* (read *l-'ašba*) *wa-yuḥriġūna minhā manāṭiqa miḥlātan yašuddūna bihā awsāṭahum ṭumma ya'ḥudūna sufūla l-ḥulūqi* (Hasson hesitantly reads *sufūta l-ḥulūqi*) *ṭumma ya'tūna l-Ḥaġara Ḥaġara š-Šaḥrati fa-yalṭaḥūna mā qadarū an tanālahu aydihim ḥattā yaġmurūhu kullahu wa-mā lam yanalhu* (Hasson reads *tanalhu*) *aydihim ġasalū aqdāmahum ṭumma yaš'adūna 'alā l-Ḥaġari yaṭṭaḥūna mā baqiya ṭumma turfa'u āniyatu l-ḥulūqi wa-yu'tā bi-maġāmīri d-ḍahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati wa-n-naddi wa-l-'ūdi l-qamāriyi l-maṭarriyi bi-l-miski wa-l-'anbari fa-yuraḥḥā* (read *fa-turaḥḥā*) *s-sutūru ḥawla l-'umudi kullihā ṭumma ya'ḥudūna fī l-baḥūri ḥawlahā yadūrūna ḥawlahā ḥattā yaḥūlu l-baḥūru baynahum wa-bayna l-qubbati ṭumma tušammaru s-sutūru fa-yāḥruġu l-baḥūru yafūhu min kaṭratihī ḥattā yabluġu ra'sa s-sūqi bi-nasīmi r-rīhi fa-min ṭamma yanqati'u l-baḥūru min 'indihim ṭumma yunādī munādin fī šaffi l-bazzāzīna wa-ġayrihi a-lā inna š-Šaḥrata [the Dome of the Rock] qad futiḥat li-n-nāsi fa-man arāda š-šalāta fa-l-ya'ti fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna ilā š-šalāti fī š-Šaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] fa-aḳtara* (Hasson reads *aḳtara n-nāsi*) *man yudriku an yuṣalliya rak'atayni wa-aḳtaruhu* (Hasson reads *wa-aqalluhum* [sic]) *arba'an ṭumma yaḥruġu n-nāsu fa-man šumma rā'iḥatuhu qālū ḥādā mimman daḥala š-Šaḥrata [the Dome of the Rock] wa-yuġsalu ātaru aqdāmihim bi-l-mā'i wa-yumsaḥu bi-l-āsi l-aḥḍari wa-yunaššafu BLS'NY* (read *bi-š-šamālī*) *wa-l-manādīli wa-tuġlaqu l-abwābu = Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.47:* 59,19-60,15 (*wa-kāna Raġā'u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffū* (Livne-Kafri reads *ḥaffā*) *l-Ḥaġara bi-darābazīna sāsamīn ...*) *fa-kāna fī kulli ṭnayni* (read *fī kulli ṭnayni wa-ḥamīsīn*, with al-Wāsiṭi) *ya'murāna bi-z-za'farāni yudaqqu wa-yuṣṣhanu ṭumma yu'malu minna l-layli bi-l-miski wa-l-'anbari wa-l-māwardi l-ġawriyi wa-yuḥmaru* (read *wa-yuḥmaru*, with al-Wāsiṭi) *minna l-layli ṭumma ya'muru* (I read *yu'maru*) *l-ḥadamu bi-l-ġadāti fa-yadḥulūna Ḥammāma Sulaymāna bni 'Abdi l-Maliki yaġtasilūna ya-yataṭahharūna ṭumma ya'tūna ilā l-ḥizānati l-lati fihā l-ḥulūqu fa-yulqā* (read *fa-tulqā*) *aṭwābuhum ṭumma yaḥruġūna bi-aṭwābin ġududin minna l-ḥizānati marawīyin WFWMYN* (read *wa-qūhiyin*) *wa-wašyin yuqālu lahu l-'ašbu* (read *l-'ašba*) *wa-yuḥriġūna minhā manāṭiqa miḥlātan yašuddūna bihā awsāṭahum ṭumma ya'ḥudūna sufūliya l-ḥulūqi* (read *sufūla l-ḥulūqi*) *ṭumma ya'tūna l-Ḥaġara Ḥaġara š-Šaḥrati fa-yalṭaḥūna mā qadarū an tanālahu aydihim ṭumma* (Livne-Kafri reads *ḥattā*) *yaġmurūhu kullahu wa-mā lam tanalhu aydihim ġasalū aqdāmahum ṭumma yaš'adūna 'alā l-Ḥaġari yaṭṭaḥūna mā baqiya ṭumma yurfa'u* (read *turfa'u*) *āniyatu l-baḥūri wa-yu'tā bi-maġāmīri d-ḍahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati wa-n-naddi wa-l-'ūdi l-qamāriyi l-mustawā* (read *l-maṭarriyi*) *bi-l-'anbari wa-l-miski fa-turaḥḥā s-sutūru ḥawla l-'umudi kullihā ṭumma ya'ḥudūna fī l-baḥūri ḥawlahā yadūrūna ḥattā yaḥūlu l-baḥūru baynahum wa-bayna l-qubbati ṭumma yušammaru* (I read *tušammaru*; Livne-Kafri reads *tusammaru*) *s-sutūru fa-yāḥruġu l-baḥūru tafūhu* (read *yafūhu*) *min kaṭratihī ḥattā yabluġu ra'sa s-sūqi fa-šumma* (I read *fa-tušammu*; Livne-Kafri reads *fa-yušammu*) *r-rīhu min ṭamma fa-yuqta'u l-baḥūru min 'indihim ṭumma yunādī munādī* (read *munādin*) *fī šaffi l-bazzāzīna wa-ġayrihi a-lā inna š-Šaḥrata [the Dome of the Rock] qad futiḥat li-n-nāsi fa-man arāda š-šalāta fa-l-ya'ti FYQNL n-nāsu munādirīna* (read *fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna*) *ilā š-šalāti fī š-Šaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] fa-aḳtara man ydrk* (read *fa-aḳtara man yudriku*; Livne-Kafri reads *fa-aḳtara n-nāsi man yudriku*) *an yuṣalliya rak'atayni wa-aḳtara* (Livne-Kafri reads *wa-aqalluhum*) *arba'an ṭumma yaḥruġu n-nāsu fa-man yattaqū* (read *šammū*) *rā'iḥatuhu qālū ḥādā mimman daḥala š-Šaḥrata [the Dome of the Rock] wa-tuġsalu ātaru aqdāmihim bi-l-mā'i wa-yumsaḥu bi-l-āsi l-aḥḍari wa-yunaššafu BLS'NY* (read *bi-š-šamālī*) *wa-l-manādīli wa-yuġlaqu* (read *wa-tuġlaqu*) *l-abwābu*.

- a) The preparation has three parts: preparation of the servants, anointing the Rock and incensing the building. The servants (*al-ḥadam*) (B038.10) eat, wash and purify themselves in the Bath of [the Umayyad caliph] Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik (*Ḥammām Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik*), get special clothes from the Treasury (*al-ḥizāna*) and dress up. They an-

For perfume used in the Dome of the Rock, see **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136**: 83,10-12 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *qāla* (Hasson reads *qāla Abū Bakri bnu l-Ḥārīṭi*) *fa-kuntu usriḡuhā ḥilāfata ‘Abdi l-Maliki kullahā bi-l-bāni l-madinīyi wa-z-zanbaqi r-raṣāṣīyi fa-kāna l-ḥaḡabatu taqūlu lahu yā Abā Bakrin mur lanā bi-qindilin nudahhinu bihi wa-nataṭayyabu bihi wa-kāna yuḡibuhum ilā ḍālīka* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 60,16-61,1 (*FYQNL n-nāsu munādirīna* (read *fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna*) *ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *Ḥārīṭun qāla* (read *qāla Abū Bakri bnu l-Ḥārīṭi*) *kuntu usriḡuhā ḥilāfata ‘Abdi l-Maliki kullahā bi-l-bāni l-madinīyi wa-z-zaybaqi r-raṣāṣīyi* (read *bi-l-bāni l-madinīyi wa-z-zanbaqi r-raṣāṣīyi*, with al-Wāsiṭī; Livne-Kafri adds *fa-kāna l-ḥaḡabatu taqūlu lahu yā Abā Bakrin mur lanā bi-qindilin nudahhinu bihi wa-nataṭayyabu bihi wa-kāna yuḡibuhum ilā ḍālīka*, with al-Wāsiṭī).

Cf. the eschatological dome here **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.116**: 71,15f. (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu* [God] *yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ... aḡ‘alu ‘alayki qubbatan ḡabaltuhā bi-yadī ...*) *fa-man yarā ḍaw’a tilka l-qubbatī min ba‘idin yaqūlu tūbā li-waḡhin yaḡirru fiki li-Llāhi sāḡidan* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.122**: 110,6f. (*inna fī t-Tawrāti yaqūlu Llāhu ta‘ālā li-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ... *wa-aḡ‘alu ‘alayki qubbatan ḡabaltuhā bi-yadī ...*) *fa-man* (read *fa-man yarā*, with al-Wāsiṭī) *ḍaw’a tilka l-qubbatī min ba‘idin yaqūlu tūbā li-waḡhin yaḡirru fiki li-Llāhi sāḡidan* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.300**: 208,15f. (*yaqūlu Llāhu li-Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *lā taḡhabu l-ayyāmu wa-l-layālī ḡattā unzilu ‘alayki qubbatan mina s-samā’i ana bānīhā bi-yadī ...*) *yanzuru n-nāziru ilā l-qubbatī min ba‘idin tumma yaqūlu tūbā li-man kāna waḍa’a ḡabhatahu fiki sāḡidan* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.301**: 209,9 (*yaqūlu Llāhu ta‘ālā fī t-Tawrāti li-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... aḡ‘alu ‘alayki qubbatan ḡabaltuhā bi-yadī ...*) *yanzurūna ilā ḍaw’i l-qubbatī min ba‘idin yaqūlūna tūbā li-waḡhin ḡarra fiki li-Llāhi sāḡidan*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.118**: 72,17-19 (*qāla Llāhu ‘azza wa-ḡalla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *man ṣallā fiki rak‘atayni aḡraḡtuhu mina l-ḡaṭāyā ka-mā aḡraḡtuhu min baṭni ummihi illā an ya‘ūda fī ḡaṭāyā musta’nifatin fakutiba ‘alayhi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.123**: 110,13-15 (*qāla Llāhu ta‘ālā li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *man ṣallā fiki rak‘atayni aḡraḡtuhu mina l-ḡaṭāyā ka-mā aḡraḡtuhu min baṭni ummihi illā an ya‘ūda fī ḡaṭāyā musta’nifatin tuktabu ‘alayki* (read *‘alayhi*); **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.118**: 73,2f. (*qāla Llāhu ‘azza wa-ḡalla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *tumma unzilu ‘alayki qubbatan ...*) *yanzuru n-nāsu ḍaw’a qubbatiki min ba‘idin fa-yaqūlu l-qā’ilu tūbā li-man ṣallā fiki li-Llāhi rak‘atayni* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.123**: 111,1 (*qāla Llāhu ta‘ālā li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *unzilu ‘alayki qubbatan ...*) *yanzuru n-nāsu ḍaw’a qubbatiki min ba‘idin fa-yaqūlūna tūbā li-man ṣallā fiki rak‘atayni*.

For the servants and the service in the Marwānid Dome of the Rock, see A085.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136**: 82,12f.; 83,9f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*wa-kāna Raḡā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḡaffā l-Ḥaḡara bi-darābazīna sāsamīn ...*) *wa-kāna fī kulli ṭnayni wa-ḡamīsin ya’murūna bi-z-za’farāni yudaqqu wa-yuṭṡhanu ...* (*fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]...) *wa-lā yudḡalu illā yawma li-ṭnayni wa-l-ḡamīsi wa-lā yadḡuluhā* (Hasson reads *wa-lā yadḡuluhā fī ḡayrihimā*) *illā l-ḡādimu* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 59,19f.; 60,15f. (*wa-kāna Raḡā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḡaffū* (Livne-Kafri reads *ḡaffā*) *l-Ḥaḡara bi-darābazīna sāsamīn ...*) *fa-kāna fī kulli ṭnayni* (read *fī kulli ṭnayni wa-ḡamīsin*, with al-Wāsiṭī) *ya’murāna bi-z-za’farāni yudaqqu wa-yuṣṡhanu ...* (*FYQNL n-nāsu munādirīna* (read *fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna*) *ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-lā yudḡalu illā yawma li-ṭnayni wa-l-ḡamīsi wa-lā yadḡuluhā* (Livne-Kafri reads *wa-lā yadḡuluhā fī ḡayrihimā*) *illā l-ḡādimu*. For Muslim tradition dealing not with the Bath of Sulaymān (Solomon) b. ‘Abd al-Malik, but with the Bath of the Biblical Solomon, see Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath" 115-117.

oint all the parts of the Rock as far as their hands can reach, then wash their feet, ascend the Rock and anoint the remaining parts with their feet. They close the curtains which are between the columns, circumambulate the Rock inside the curtains [but not on the Rock (B044.2.a)] in a procession with incense, until the dome fills with incense, then open the curtains, and the incense spreads to the market.

- b) The service proper is unspectacular. Upon invitation by a town-crier (*munādī*) in the market, the faithful come to pray [individually or together] mostly two, some four, *rak'a*, and leave again; as they take the perfume of the incense with them, all the people they meet know they have been to the service.
- c) In the end the servants clean and dry the Rock and close the gates.

B038.9.a. A parallel to the anointing of the Rock: The Pre-Marwānid Jews anoint a pierced stone (*lapis pertusus*) in Jerusalem and weep there (B001.6).

B038.9.b. The service proper may be an unstructured conglomerate of individual prayers, similar to the canonical standing in prayer (*wuqūf*) on the plain of 'Arafāt. The invitation and the prayer of two *rak'a* remind us of the canonical congregational prayer on Friday (*ṣalāt al-ḡum'a*), on the two feasts (*ṣalāt al-ʿidayn*), during drought (*ṣalāt al-istisqā'*) and during an eclipse (*ṣalāt al-kusūf*),<sup>1</sup> and the service in the Dome of the Rock may have been this kind of structured congregational prayer. (The prayer at burial (*ṣalāt al-ḡanāza*), with no invitation, no sermon and no *rak'a*, has a different character.<sup>2</sup>)

|                          | invitation                     | individual prayer | congregational prayer with sermon |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Friday prayer            | <i>adān</i> -> <i>iqāma</i> -> | 2 <i>rak'a</i> -> | <i>ḥuṭba</i> -> 2 <i>rak'a</i>    |
| Prayer of the two feasts | -                              | -                 | 2 <i>rak'a</i> -> <i>ḥuṭba</i>    |
| Prayer during drought    | <i>adān</i> -> <i>iqāma</i> -> | -                 | 2 <i>rak'a</i> -> <i>ḥuṭba</i>    |
| Prayer of the eclipse    | -                              | -                 | 2 <i>rak'a</i>                    |

B038.9.c. It has been assumed that the building's layout was intended to let the visitors circumambulate the Rock, as the visitors circumambulate the Black Stone in Mecca;<sup>3</sup> the sources do not mention this.

B038.9.d. It has further been claimed that 'Abd al-Malik's inscription (= **van Berchem, Jérusalem Nr. 215**) on the OCTAGONAL ARCADE with its sequence of Koranic passages and exclamations may be regarded as a kind of litany,<sup>4</sup> that it was meant to guide pilgrims visiting the building,<sup>5</sup> and that the intercession for Muḥammad, the confession of God's unity and the *basmala* formula - the invocation of God -, which may all be found here, are important elements of the ritual prayer.<sup>6</sup> This fits with the Marwānid service held here, but there

<sup>1</sup>For the prayers on Friday, on the two feasts, during drought and during an eclipse, see Monnot, "Ṣalāt" 961b-963a.

<sup>2</sup>For the prayer at a burial, see Monnot, G., "Ṣalāt" 963ab.

<sup>3</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 69; 80f.

<sup>4</sup>Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom" 22f.; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147f.; 151; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 67.

<sup>5</sup>Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 6 n. 22; Blair, "Date" 76f.; 85.

<sup>6</sup>Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom" 21f.; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 112.

is no need to assume the inscription gives precisely the formulas used in the service.

B038.9.e. It has been claimed that the public was only on Mondays and Thursdays open to the public, and on all other days entered by the attendants only.<sup>1</sup> This might be, but the sources do not stress the point.

B038.10. The guardians of [the Dome of] the Rock (*ḥaras aṣ-Ṣaḥra*, *ḥurrās aṣ-Ṣaḥra* sing. *ḥāris* [aṣ-Ṣaḥra]),<sup>2</sup> the servants (*ḥadam*<sup>3</sup> sing. *ḥādīn*<sup>4</sup>), the servants staying in the mosque (*ḥadam qawwām bi-l-masgid*),<sup>5</sup> or chamberlains (*ḥaḡaba*),<sup>6</sup> are forty men,<sup>7</sup> ten assigned to

<sup>1</sup>Elad, "Pilgrims and Pilgrimage" 301.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.133**: 79,11f. (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ḍamratu 'an Rustama l-Fārisīyi qāla ... fa-ataytu l-masğida* ...) *qāla fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya ba'ḍu ḥarasi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.139**: 117,14f. (... *anba'anā Ḍamratu 'an Rustama l-Fārisīyi wa-qāla* (read *qāla*) ... *fa-ataytu l-masğida* ...) *qāla fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya ba'ḍu ḥarasi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]; ; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134**: 79,19-80,1 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣāri*) *wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan 'alā bābin* (read *'alā kulli bābin*) *'aṣaratun* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.140**: 118,4f. (... *anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣāri*) *wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan 'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun*.

Servants are also mentioned in High 'Abbāsid **al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīḥ** 2 311,14 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.) (*fa-banā* ['Abd al-Malik] *'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan*) *wa-aqāma laḥā sadanatan*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136**: 82,14 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) *ṭumma ya'muru* (read *yu'maru*) *l-ḥadamu bi-l-ḡadāti* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 60,1 *ṭumma ya'muru* (I read *yu'maru*) *l-ḥadamu bi-l-ḡadāti*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136**: 83,9f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]... *wa-lā yudḡalu illā yawma li-ṭnayni wa-l-ḡamīsi*) *wa-lā yadḡuluhā* (Hasson reads *wa-lā yadḡuluhā fī ḡayrihimā*) *illā l-ḡādīmu* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 60,16 (*FYQNL n-nāsu munādirīna* (read *fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna*) *ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *wa-lā yudḡalu illā yawma li-ṭnayni wa-l-ḡamīsi*) *wa-lā yadḡuluhā* (Livne-Kafri reads *wa-lā yadḡuluhā fī ḡayrihimā*) *illā l-ḡādīmu*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 61,11f. (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrata ... fa-ḥādā mā kāna yuf'alu biḥā fī ḡilāfati* 'Abdi l-Maliki *kullihā wa-kāna fīhi* [in the whole area] *ḡālīka l-waḡta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī ḡālīka l-waḡti*) ... *kullu ḡālīka 'umila fī ayyāmi* 'Abdi l-Maliki *bni Marwāna*) *wa-rattaba lahu mina l-ḡadami l-quwwāmi bihi ṭalāta mi'ati ḡādīmini ṣtarā lahu min ḡumsi Bayti l-mālī*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136**: 83,8f.11f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun mina l-ḡaḡabati* ... (*qāla* (Hasson reads *qāla Abū Bakri bnu l-Ḥārīṭi*) ...) *fa-kāna l-ḡaḡabatu taqūlu lahu yā Abā Bakrin mur lanā bi-qindīlin nudahhinu bihi wa-nataṭayyabu bihi wa-kāna yuḡibuhum ilā ḡālīka* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 60,15 (*FYQNL n-nāsu munādirīna* (read *fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna*) *ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun mina l-ḡaḡabati*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134**: 80,1 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]) *wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan 'alā bābin* (read *'alā kulli bābin*) *'aṣaratun* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.140**: 118,5 (... *anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]) *wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan 'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun*.

each of four gates.<sup>1</sup> These are local people from Palestine (*Anbāt Filastīn*) (B014.7), but at least one is an *Anṣārī*.<sup>2</sup> Their work is in shifts; while on duty, they close the doors of the Dome of the Rock in the evening and extinguish the lamps;<sup>3</sup> they are responsible for the lamps (B038.12) and apparently for all other maintenance as well. They have their families (*ahl*) in houses (sing. *manzil*) outside the mosque - of these houses at least one is destroyed by the First Earthquake (*ar-Rağfa l-Ūlā*) (in about 746) - and when on duty stay inside the mosque and leave it under no circumstances.<sup>4</sup> They are in charge of the service held here

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134:** 80,1 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥarağa ilayya rağulun mina l-Anṣārī wa-kāna min ḥurrāsī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan*) 'alā bābin (read 'alā kullī bābin) 'aṣaratun = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.140:** 118,5 (... *anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥarağa ilayya rağulun mina l-Anṣārī wa-kāna min ḥurrāsī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan*) 'alā kullī bābin 'aṣaratun; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 83,8f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-'alā kullī bābin 'aṣaratun mina l-ḥağabati* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 60,15 (*FYQNL n-nāsu munādirīna* (read *fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādirīna*) *ilā ṣ-ṣalāti fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-'alā kullī bābin 'aṣaratun mina l-ḥağabati*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134:** 79,19 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥarağa ilayya rağulun mina l-Anṣārī wa-kāna min ḥurrāsī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.140:** 118,4f. (... *anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥarağa ilayya rağulun mina l-Anṣārī*) *wa-kāna min ḥurrāsī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.135:** 80,9f. (see Elad, Jerusalem 78f.) ... *anna Abā 'Uṭmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyī l-layla* (... *fa-qāla lahu Rustamu* (I read *li-Rustama*) *lammā fataḥa l-bāba 'alayhi* ...) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.141:** 118,12f. ... *anna Abā 'Uṭmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyī l-layla* (... *fa-qāla lahu Rustamu* (I read *fa-qāla li-Rustama*) *lammā fataḥa l-bāba 'alayhi*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:** 86,5-11 (... *ḥaddaṭanā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadin qāla*) *sami'tu man yaḥkī 'an Ḥulaydi l-Ḥumsīyi annahu ḡalaba 'alayhi n-nawmu dāta laylatin 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-n-nāsu qadi nṣarafū wa-l-Mawḍi'u ḥālin laysa fīhi aḥadun fa-qāma yuṭfi'u l-qanādila wa-l-abwābu mufattaḥatun fa-idā bi-sab'in min nārin wāqifan* (read *wāqifin*) 'alā ḥāğizi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati *yatawaqqadu nāran qāla fa-tāša 'aqlī wa-qāma šī'ru badanī wa-hibtu tumma ḥamaltu nafsī 'alā ṣ-ṣabri wa-ğā'altu uṭfi'u l-qanādila wa-huwa yadūru ma'ī bi-ḥidā'i 'alā l-ḥāğizi ḥattā ḡi'tu ilā l-Bābi l-Qibliyi fa-lammā aḡlaqtuhu waṭaba fa-ğariqa 'inda l-manārati wa-lā lī bihi 'ahdun fa-aqamtū sanatan mā hada'a rū'i.*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.133:** 79,11-13 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ḍamratu 'an Rustama l-Fārisīyi ...*) *fa-ataytu l-masğida fa-idā d-dūru qad tahaddamat qāla fa-ḥarağa ilayya ba'ḍu ḥarasi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-qāla lī dḥab fa-a'tinī bi-ḥabari ahlī wa-ta'ālī ḥattā uḥbiraka bi-l-'ağabi qāla fa-ataytu manzilahu fa-idā qad tahaddama fa-rağa'tu fa-a'lamtuhu* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.139:** 117,14-16 (... *anba'anā Ḍamratu 'an Rustama l-Fārisīyi ...*) *fa-ataytu l-masğida fa-idā d-dūru qad tahaddamat qāla fa-ḥarağa ilayya ba'ḍu ḥarasi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-qāla lī: dḥab fa-ātini bi-ḥabari ahlī wa-ta'ālī* (read *wa-ta'ālī*) *ḥattā uḥbiraka bi-l-'ağabi qāla fa-ataytu manzilahu fa-idā qad tahaddama fa-a'lamtuhu*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134:** 79,18-80,4 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ...*) *tumma ataytu l-masğida fa-wağadtu l-bāba muğlaqan fa-daqaqtuhu fa-ḥarağa ilayya rağulun mina l-Anṣārī wa-kāna min ḥurrāsī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *fa-fataḥa l-bāba wa-qāla lī yā Rustamu dḥab ilā manzilī fa-'atini bi-ḥabari ahlī wa-rğī' ilayya ḥattā uḥbiraka bi-l-'ağabi qāla fa-rağa'tu ilā manzilīhi fa-wāfaytuhu qad saqaṭa wa-ahluhu qad mātū fa-rağa'tu ilayhi fa-aḥbartuhu* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.140:** 118,3-7 (... *anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ...*) *tumma ataytu l-masğida fa-wağadtu l-bāba muğlaqan fa-rafa'ahu* (read *fa-daqaqtuhu*, thus *al-Wāsiṭī*) *fa-ḥarağa ilayya rağulun mina l-Anṣārī wa-kāna min ḥurrāsī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan 'alā kullī bābin 'aṣaratun fī l-'atā'i s-sanīyi fa-fataḥa l-bāba fa-qāla lī yā Rustamu dḥab ilā manzilī fa-ātini bi-ḥabari ahlī wa-rğī' ilayya ḥattā uḥbiraka bi-l-'ağabi qāla fa-rağa'tu ilā ahlihi* (Livne-Kafri reads *ilā manzilīhi*) *fa-*

(B038.9). They are paid an allowance (‘aṭā’).<sup>1</sup>

B038.10.a. For parallels to the servants constantly present in the mosque, see B038.11.a.

B038.11. A woman called Baḡīla/Baḡīla, an adherent of [the Dome of] the Rock in the Temple (*mulāzimāt aṣ-Ṣaḡra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*) [staying there], for several days sees a man entering by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣa’mī*) and praying at a black paving-stone (*ruḡāma sawdā*); she asks him why he is doing so and he tells her that Wahb b. al-Munabbih advised him to enter [the Dome of] the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḡra*) by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣa’mī*), to proceed southwards until he had, both right and left [west and east] of the Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā*), a pillar and a column (‘*amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna*), and to pray there.<sup>2</sup> Muqātil b.

---

*wāfaytuhu wa-qad saqaṭat* (read *wa-qad saqaṭa*) *wa-ahluhu qad mātū fa-raḡa’tu ilayhi fa-aḡbartuhu*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.135**: 80,9f.16-18 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 78f.) ... *anna Abā ‘Utmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḡyī l-layla ba’da nṣirāfihi mina l-qiyāmi fī ṣaḡri ramaḡāna ‘alā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā’i qāla fa-baynamā huwa qā’imun fī ṣ-ṣalāti ... fa-qāla lahu Rustamu* (I read *li-Rustama*) *lammā fataḡa l-bāba ‘alayhi dḡhab fa-ḡi’nī bi-ḡabari aḡlī ḡattā ātiyaka* (read *unbi’aka*) *bi-‘aḡabin fa-ḡā’ahu bi-ḡabari aḡlihi an qad uṣība qawmun wa-sullima qawmun fa-aḡbaranī* (I read *fa-aḡbarahu*) = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.141**: 118,12-14.19f. ... *anna Abā ‘Utmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḡyī l-layla ba’da nṣirāfihi mina l-qiyāmi fī ṣaḡri ramaḡāna ‘alā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā’i qāla fa-baynamā huwa qā’imun fī ṣ-ṣalāti ... fa-qāla lahu Rustamu* (I read *fa-qāla li-Rustama*) *lammā fataḡa l-bāba ‘alayhi dḡhab fa-ḡi’nī bi-ḡabari aḡlī ḡattā ātaytuka* (read *unbi’aka*) *bi-‘aḡabin fa-ḡā’ahu bi-ḡabari aḡlihi annahu qad uṣībat qawmun wa-sullima qawmun fa-aḡbaranī* (I read *fa-aḡbarahu*); .

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134**: 79,19-80,1 (... *ḡaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḡaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣārī*) *wa-kāna min ḡurrāsī ṣ-Ṣaḡrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-kāna laḡa arba’ūna ḡārisan ‘alā bābin* (read ‘*alā kullī bābin*) ‘*aṣaratun fī l-‘aṭā’i* LSY (I read *fī l-‘aṭā’i s-sanīyī*; Hasson reads *wa-lahum ‘aṭā’un sanīyun*) = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.140**: 118,4f. (... *anba’anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ...*) *fa-ḡaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣārī*) *wa-kāna min ḡurrāsī ṣ-Ṣaḡrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-kāna laḡa arba’ūna ḡārisan ‘alā kullī bābin ‘aṣaratun fī l-‘aṭā’i s-sanīyī*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146**: 89,11-90,7 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) ... *ḡaddaṭanā Baḡīlatu wa-kānat mulāzimata ṣ-Ṣaḡrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi qālat lam a’lam yawman illā wa-qad daḡala ‘alayya mina l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa’mīyi raḡulun ‘alayhi ḡay’atu s-saḡari fa-daḡala fa-qultu l-ḡiḡru* (Hasson reads *fa-qalaba l-ḡuṣura*) *ṭumma ṣallā rak’atayni aw arba’an ṭumma ḡaraḡa fa-ta’allaqtu bi-ṭarafī ṭawbihi fa-qultu yā ḡadā ra’aytuka qad fa’alta ṣay’an lam adri li-ayyi ṣay’in fa’altahu qāla laḡa ana raḡulun min aḡlī l-Yamani wa-innī ḡaraḡtu uridu ḡadā l-bayta fa-marartu bi-Waḡbi bni Munabbihin fa-qāla lī ayna turidu? fa-qultu Bayta l-Maqdisi qāla fa-idā daḡalta fa-dḡuli ṣ-Ṣaḡrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *mina l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa’mīyi ṭumma taqaddam ilā l-qiblati fa-inna ‘alā yamī nika ‘amūdan wa-uṣṭuwānatan wa-‘alā yasārika ‘amūdan wa-uṣṭuwānatan fa-nṣur bayna l-‘amūdayni wa-l-uṣṭuwānatayni ruḡāmatan sawdā’a ... fa-ṣalli ‘alayḡa wa-d’u Llāḡa ‘azza wa-ḡalla fa-inna d-du’ā’a ‘alayḡa mustaḡābun* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.128**: 112,7-15 ... *ḡaddaṭanā Baḡīlatu* (read *Baḡīlatu*) *wa-kānat mulāzimata ṣ-Ṣaḡrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi qālat lam a’lam yawman illā wa-qad daḡala ‘alayya bihi mina l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa’mīyi raḡulun ‘alayhi ḡay’atu s-saḡari fa-daḡala fa-qultu l-ḡiḡru ṭumma ṣallā rak’atayni aw arba’an ṭumma ḡaraḡa fa-ta’allaqtu bi-ṭarafī ṭawbihi fa-qultu yā ḡadā ra’aytuka qad fa’alta ṣay’an lam adri li-ayyi ṣay’in fa’altahu qāla laḡa ana raḡulun mina aḡlī l-Yamani wa-innī ḡaraḡtu uridu ḡadā l-bayta fa-marartu bi-Waḡbi bni Munabbihin fa-qāla lī ayna turidu? fa-qultu Bayta l-Maqdisi qāla fa-idā daḡalta l-maḡḡida fa-dḡuli ṣ-Ṣaḡrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *mina l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa’mīyi ṭumma taqaddam ilā l-qiblati fa-inna ‘alā yamīnika ‘amūdan wa-*



Sulaymān prays and teaches inside the South Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Qiblī*).<sup>1</sup>

B038.11.a. Parallels to this adherent of [the Dome of] the Rock in the Temple (*mulāzimat aṣ-Ṣaḥra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*): The Marwānīd [Dome of the] Rock has servants staying in the mosque (B038.10). The Marwānīd Christian Holy Sepulchre has thirteen guardians called *fragelites* (*custodes quos fragelites vocant*) and an unknown number of guardians eagerly looking after the Tomb of the Lord (*custodes qui assidue praevident sepulchrum Domini*).<sup>2</sup> In the Fāṭimid period, the Muslim Dome of the Rock always has people staying there, adherents [of the Dome of the Rock] and [other] faithful (*muḡāwirān wa ʿābidān*) (B184.16); at the two Ṣūfī convents there are a number of Ṣūfis living as adherents [of the Ṣūfī convents] (*muḡāwir bāšand*) and doing all their prayers there except on Fridays (B152.5); the mosque (*masǧid*) in the monumental east gate, the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Penitence, has its [own] servants (*ḥuddām*) apart (*ǧudāḡāna*) [from the servants of the other minor mosques] (B154.9); adherents [of the Aqṣā Mosque] (*muḡāwirān*) sit on or next to the boxes along the four sides of the building (B206.4); possibly at the west staircase, one of the faithful prays every day before noon (B174.3).

B038.11.b. In **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.128**, Baǧīla/Baḥīla sees the visitor and says *fa-qultu l-Ḥiḍru* "I said: '[This is] al-Ḥiḍr'", but in **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146**, the same tradition, *fa-qultu ʿLḤḌR* (with only one diacritical dot over the letter *ḥā*). **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.128**'s version is formally in order and its meaning is perfect - Baǧīla/Baḥīla identifies the enigmatic visitor with [the popular saint] al-Ḥiḍr who is said to visit Jerusalem from time to time. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146** has most of the dots missing, but nevertheless, it has been assumed it may have had originally *\*fa-qalaba l-ḥuṣura* "and he turned the mats" (Hasson). The conjecture is easy for **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146**, *\*fa-qalaba* would have simply lost all dots and *\*ḥuṣur* would have by mistake received one dot over the *ṣād*; it is more complicated for **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.128**, where, in *\*qalaba*, the *bā* would have mistakenly received two dots above the line instead of one dot below, and *\*al-ḥuṣur* would have received a dot over both *ḥā* and *ṣād*. But the conjecture is not necessary; rather, the Marwānīd Dome of the Rock has no mats (B047.2.a), and turning the mats before prayer is elsewhere not mentioned.

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146**

*illā qad daḥala ʿalayya ... raǧulun -> fa-daḥala -> \*fa-qultu l-Ḥiḍru -> tumma ṣallā rakʿatayni aw arbaʿan -> tumma ḥaraǧa*

*uṣṭuwānatan wa-ʿalā yasārika ʿamūdan wa-uṣṭuwānatan fa-nzur bayna l-ʿamūdayni awi l-uṣṭuwānatayni* (read *wa-l-uṣṭuwānatayni*) *ruḥāmātan sawdāʾa*) ... *fa-ṣalli ʿalayhā wa-dʿu Llāha taʿālā fa-inna d-duʿāʾa ʿalayhā mustaǧābun*.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140**: 86,13-16 (*ḥaddaṭanā ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūrīn qāla samiʿtu abī qāla*) *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ǧalasa ʿinda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-Qibliyi fa-ǧtamaʿnā ilayhi ḥalqun mina n-nāsi naktubu ʿanhu wa-nasmaʿu minhu fa-aqbala aʿrābiyun ... fa-samiʿa Muqātilun naǧmata dālika fa-qāla li-man kāna ḥawlahu nfariǧū ʿanni fa-nfaraǧa n-nāsu ʿanhu = Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.338: 229,8-11 (*anbaʿanā ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūrīn qāla samiʿtu abī qāla*) *qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātili bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ǧalasa ʿinda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-ǧtamaʿnā ilayhi ḥalqun mina n-nāsi yaktubu* (read *naktubu*) *ʿanhu wa-nasmaʿu minhu fa-aqbala aʿrābiyun ... fa-samiʿa Muqātilun fa-manaʿahu dālika fa-qāla li-man kāna ḥawlahu nfariǧū ʿanni fa-nfaraǧa n-nāsu ʿanhu*.*

<sup>2</sup>**Commemoratorium** 301,10f.13f. (*primum in Sancto Sepulchro Domini ...*) *custodes quos fragelites vocant XIII ... custodes qui assidu[e] prevident Sepulchrum Domini ...*

Cf. **Photios, Amph.316** 59f. "Α μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ τέως παρὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶς τὸν μακάριον ἐκεῖνον τόπον μελέτην βίου ποιησαμένων ἀνεμάθομεν ταῦτά ἐστιν.

**Ibn al-Murrağğā Nr.128**

*illā wa-qad dahala ‘alayya ... rağulun ‘alayhi -> fa-dahala -> \*fa-qultu l-Ḥiḍru -> tumma šallā rak'atayni aw arba'an -> tumma ḥarağa*

B038.12. In the Dome of the Rock are lamps (*qanādīl* sing. *qindīl*)<sup>1</sup> suspended on [105] chains (*salāsil*) (B014.15). These lamps are [burning all day long, but] extinguished in the evening when all the people have gone.<sup>2</sup> The lamps spread a pleasant scent, the servants [of the Dome of the Rock] (*ḥağaba*) are responsible for them, and the lamps are filled, during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik, with [oil from the] *madanī* ben tree and [the] lead lily (*al-bān al-madanī wa-z-zanbaq ar-rašāšī*) donated by Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārīt.<sup>3</sup>

B038.13. The Dome of the Rock may be entered in sandals (*naʿl*) (B047.3).

### B039. The wall of the Dome of the Rock<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 83,11f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādīrī na ilā š-šalāti fī š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *qāla* (Hasson reads *qāla Abū Bakri bnu l-Ḥārītī*) ...) *fa-kāna l-ḥağabatu taqūlu lahu yā Abā Bakrin mur lanā bi-qindīlin nudahhinu bihi wa-nataṭayyabu bihi wa-kāna yuğī buhum ilā dālīka* (but not = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 60,17-61,1); **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:** 86,7.9 (... *ḥaddatanā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmānī bnu Muḥammadīn qāla sami’tu man yaḥkī ‘an Ḥulaydī l-Ḥumsīyi annahu ...*) *fa-qāma yuṭfī’u l-qanādīla ... tumma ḥamaltu nafsī ‘alā š-šabri wa-ğā’altu uṭfī’u l-qanādīla ...*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 61,7f. (*aṣ-Šaḥrata ... fa-ḥādā mā kāna yuf’alu bihā fī ḥilāfati ‘Abdī l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fihi* [in the whole area] *dālīka l-waḡta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waḡti*) ...) *wa-fihi mina l-qanādīli ḥamsatu ālāfi qindīlin wa-kāna yusraḡu fihi ma’a l-qanādīli alfay šam’atin* (read *alfā šam’atin*) *fī kulli laylati l-ḥymh* (read *fī kulli laylati l-ğum’ati*) *wa-fī nişfi rağaba WŠRĞB’N* (read *wa-ša’bāna wa-ramaḡāna*) *wa-fī laylatay l-’idayni*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:** 86,5-11 (... *ḥaddatanā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmānī bnu Muḥammadīn qāla*) *sami’tu man yaḥkī ‘an Ḥulaydī l-Ḥumsīyi annahu ḡalaba ‘alayhi n-nawmu dāta laylatin ‘an yamīni š-Šaḥrati wa-n-nāsu qadī nšarafū wa-l-Mawḡī’u ḥālīn laysa fihi aḡadun fa-qāma yuṭfī’u l-qanādīla wa-l-abwābu mufattaḡatun fa-idā bi-sab’in min nārīn wāqīfan* (read *wāqīfin*) *‘alā ḥāğizi š-Šaḥrati yatawaqqadu nārān qāla fa-tāša ‘aqlī wa-qāma šī’ru badanī wa-ḥibtu tumma ḥamaltu nafsī ‘alā š-šabri wa-ğā’altu uṭfī’u l-qanādīla wa-huwa yadūru ma’ī bi-ḥiḡā’ī ‘alā l-ḥāğizi ḡattā ḡī’tu ilā l-Bābi l-Qibliyi fa-lammā aḡlaqtuhu waṭaba fa-ğariqa ‘inda l-manārati wa-lā lī bihi ‘aḡdun fa-aqamtu sanatan mā hada’a rū’ī*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 83,10-12 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādīrī na ilā š-šalāti fī š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *qāla* (Hasson reads *qāla Abū Bakri bnu l-Ḥārītī*) *fa-kuntu usriḡuhā ḥilāfata ‘Abdī l-Maliki kullahā bi-l-bāni l-madanīyi wa-z-zanbaqī r-rašāšīyi fa-kāna l-ḥağabatu taqūlu lahu yā Abā Bakrin mur lanā bi-qindīlin nudahhinu bihi wa-nataṭayyabu bihi wa-kāna yuğībuhum ilā dālīka* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 60,16-61,1 (*FYQNL n-nāsu munādīrīna* (read *fa-yuqbilu n-nāsu mubādīrīna*) *ilā š-šalāti fī š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *Ḥārītun qāla* (read *qāla Abū Bakri bnu l-Ḥārītī*) *kuntu usriḡuhā ḥilāfata ‘Abdī l-Maliki kullahā bi-l-bābi l-madinīyi wa-z-zaybaqī r-rašāšīyi* (read *bi-l-bāni l-madinīyi wa-z-zanbaqī r-rašāšīyi*, with al-Wāsiṭī; Livne-Kafri adds *fa-kāna l-ḥağabatu taqūlu lahu yā Abā Bakrin mur lanā bi-qindīlin nudahhinu bihi wa-nataṭayyabu bihi wa-kāna yuğībuhum ilā dālīka*, with al-Wāsiṭī).

<sup>4</sup>For the wall of the Marwānid Dome of the Rock, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 285; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 16f.; 20; 55; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 399f.

B039.1. **Names (Muslim):** The wall [of the Dome of the Rock] (*\*al-ḥayṭ*, *\*as-sūr*).

B039.2. **Position:** The wall (*\*al-ḥayṭ*, *\*as-sūr*) is round about (*mudīr*).<sup>1</sup> This is the WALL of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

B039.2.a. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140 = Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.338** has a remark as to how much every span of the Dome of the Rock's floor is holy, as prophets and angels prayed there. The core of the sentence is in **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140** *hādā l-ladī 'alayhi l-ḥayṭu wa-lahu mudīrun aw qāla s-sūra hadīran ...*, in **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.338** *hādā l-ladī 'alayhi l-ḥinṭu MDBR' wa-l-MSRR MDBR' ...*. We may assume an original *\*hādā l-ladī 'alayhi al-ḥayṭu mudīrun aw qāla s-sūra mudīran*; the person transmitting quotes from his authority first *\*al-ḥayṭu mudīrun* "the wall (*ḥā'īṭ*) is surrounding", but then asks himself *aw qāla s-sūra mudīran* "or did he say that the wall (*sūr*) is surrounding?". The two terms *ḥayṭ* "wall" and *sūr* "wall" are synonyms, but *ḥayṭ*, well known in Middle Arabic, is rarely used in Classical Arabic and may therefore have been misunderstood in **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.338**.

B039.2.b. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140's** additional *wa-lahu* has been interpreted as original *\*madda yadan* "and he stretched a hand out [and pointed there]" (Hasson); but this leaves the subsequent part of the sentence unrelated to the previous part. It is better to assume *wa-lahu* originally was *\*kulluhu*, and the full text *\*hādā l-ladī 'alayhi l-ḥā'īṭu kulluhu mudīrun aw qāla s-sūra mudīran* "this on which all of the wall is surrounding (or did he say: the wall is surrounding?)".

B039.3. **Physical shape:** The wall is richly covered with mosaic outside and inside (B038.3).

---

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140:** 86,18-87,2 (... *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-Qibliyi ... fa-aqbala a'rābiyun badawīyun ... fa-qāla ... wa-yazburuhu bi-ṣawtihi ...*) *wa-mā hādā l-ladī 'alayhi l-ḥayṭu wa-lahu mudīran aw qāla s-sūra hadīran* (I read *l-ḥayṭu kulluhu mudīrun aw qāla s-sūra mudīran*; Hasson reads *l-ḥā'īṭu madda yadan aw qāla s-sūra*) *mā fihi mawḍi'ū šibrin illā wa-qad ṣallā 'alayhi nabīyun mursulun fa-aqāma 'alayhi malakun muqarrabun* = **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.338:** 229,13f. (*qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātili bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *fa-aqbala a'rābiyun ... fa-qāla ... wa-yazburuhu bi-ṣawtihi ...*) *wa-mā hādā l-ladī 'alayhi l-ḥinṭu kulluhu MDBR' W'LSRR MDBR* (I read *l-ḥayṭu kulluhu mudīrun aw qāla s-sūra mudīran*; Livne-Kafri reads *l-ḥā'īṭu kulluhum madda yadan aw qāla s-sūra*) *mā fihi mawḍi'ū šibrin illā wa-qad ṣallā 'alayhi nabīyun mursulun aw qāma 'alayhi malakun muqarrabun*.

### B040. The gates of the Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>

**B040.1. Names (Muslim):** The four gates [of the Dome of the Rock] (B040.3); among these gates are the South Gate (of [the Dome of] the Rock) (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Qiblī*,<sup>2</sup> *al-Bāb al-Qiblī*<sup>3</sup>) or simply the Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>4</sup> and the North Gate (*al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣa'mī*).<sup>5</sup>

**B040.2. Position:** These four gates are at the four GATES of the DOME OF THE ROCK, the South Gate at the SOUTH GATE, the North Gate at the NORTH GATE.

**B040.3. Physical shape:** The Dome of the Rock has four gates (*abwāb*<sup>6</sup> sing. *bāb*<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>For the gates of the Marwānīd Dome of the Rock (and of today's DOME OF THE ROCK), see Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 85-87; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 224; 246-255; 270; 344f.; Marçais, "Panels" 131 n. 1; Creswell, *EMA* 1 68f.; 71 fig. 21; 79; 82-85 with fig. 27; 99; 114f.; 570; fig. 24; pl. 1-4; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 215; 227f.; 247; 296; pl. 2a; pl. 2.d; Busse, "Innschriften im und am Felsendom" 22; 24; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 5; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 67; Gil, *Palestine* 95; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; 52; 81f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 56 fig. 21; 73-75 and fig. 25f.; 104; 106f.; 114f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 26.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140:** 86,13f. *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-Qiblīyi* (= but *Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.338:* 229,8f. *qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:** 86,10 (... *ḥaddaṭanā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadin qāla*) *sami'tu man yaḥkī 'an Ḥulaydi l-Ḥumsīyi ... fa-idā bi-sab'in ... qāla ...*) *ḥattā ḡi'tu ilā l-Bābi l-Qiblīyi fa-lammā aḡlaqtuhu waṭaba*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.338:** 229,8f. *qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] (= but *Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Qiblī al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140:* 86,13f. *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-Qiblīyi*)

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146:** 89,11f.; 90,4 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) (... *ḥaddaṭanā Baḡīlatu wa-kānat mulāzimata ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi qālat*) *lam a'lam yawman illā wa-qad daḡala 'alayya mina l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa'mīyi raḡulun (... qāla laḥā: ... marartu bi-Waḥbi bni Munabbihin ... qāla) fa-idā daḡalta fa-dḡuli ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *mina l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa'mīyi (tumma taqaddam ilā l-qiblīti) = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.128:* 112,8.12 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Baḡīlatu* (read *Baḡīlatu*) *wa-kānat mulāzimata ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi qālat*) *lam a'lam yawman illā wa-qad daḡala 'alayya bihi mina l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa'mīyi raḡulun (... qāla laḥā: ... marartu bi-Waḥbi bni Munabbihin ... qāla) fa-idā daḡalta l-masḡida fa-dḡuli ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *mina l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa'mīyi (tumma taqaddam ilā l-qiblīti); Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.137:* 115,20 (*anba'anā Abī Salamata* (I read *Abū Salamata*) *'an abihi 'an ḡaddihi 'Abdi s-Salāmi 'qāla ...*) *wa-idā riqāqun* (I read *zuqāqun*) *muḏī'un fa-nazaltu wa-maṣaytu fihi ilā naḡwi l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣa'mīyi*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 83,8 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*tumma yaḡruḡu n-nāsu fa-man ṣumma rā'ihātuḥu qālū ḥāḏā mimman daḡala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-tuḡlaqu l-abwābu (wa-'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun mina l-ḡaḡabati) = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47:* 60,15 (*tumma yaḡruḡu n-nāsu fa-man yattaqū* (read *šammū*) *rā'ihātuḥu qālū ḥāḏā mimman daḡala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-yuḡlaqu* (read *wa-tuḡlaqu*) *l-abwābu (wa-'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun mina l-ḡaḡabati); al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:* 86,7 (... *'an Ḥulaydi l-*

Umayyad inscriptions (= **van Berchem Nr.216-217**) are above the east and north [and above the west and south] gates.<sup>2</sup> If one enters by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aš-Ša'mī*), one has, both right and left [west and east], a pillar and a column (*'amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna*), and between them a black paving-stone (*ruḥāma sawdā'*) (B038.11). The North Gate (*al-Bāb aš-Ša'mī*) has an opening (*kūwa*) in its south side (*mimmā yalī l-qibla*) (B041.3).

B040.3.a. Parallels to the Umayyad inscriptions above the gates: The Marwānid Dome of the Rock mentions the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik in the mosaic inscription on the octagonal and circular arcades (B042.3). The High 'Abbāsīd Dome of the Rock has the same inscription on the outer arcade, adapted to the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn (B115.3); it adds the name of al-Ma'mūn to the Umayyad inscriptions above the gates (B112.3). The High 'Abbāsīd Roofed Hall mentions al-Ma'mūn in an inscription on its Great Copper Gate (B125.3). The (High) Fāṭimid *Bāb-i Dāwūd* mentions the name of the Fāṭimid ruler of Egypt in a mosaic inscription (B144.4). The Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock still has the Umayyad inscriptions with the name of al-Ma'mūn (B188.3), above its east gate an inscription with the name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Qā'im, and above the other three gates similar inscriptions (B186.3). The High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque mentions al-Ma'mūn in an inscription on its central copper gate (B203.3), and the Fāṭimid caliph aḏ-Zāhir and his ancestors and progeny, in a mosaic inscription on the arch in front of the *Maqṣūra* (B207.4).

B040.3.b. The number of four gates is deduced from the forty servants of the Dome of the Rock divided into groups of ten, each group serving a different gate (B038.10), as well as from the basically Marwānid LAYOUT of the DOME OF THE ROCK (B038.2.a).

---

*Ḥumsīyi annahu ḡalaba 'alayhi n-nawmu dāta laylatin 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ... fa-qāma yuṭfi'u l-qanādila wa-l-abwābu mufattaḥatun (... qāla ... ḥattā ḡi'tu ilā l-Bābi l-Qibliyi fa-lammā aḡlaqtuhu ...).*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.134:** 80,1 (... ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock]) wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan 'alā bābin (read 'alā kulli bābin) 'aṣaratun = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.140:** 118,5 (... anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock]) wa-kāna laḥā arba'ūna ḥārisan 'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136:** 83,8f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (*tumma yaḥruḡu n-nāsu fa-man ṣumma rā'iḥatuhu qālū ḥādā mimman daḡala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] ... wa-tuḡlaqu l-abwābu) wa-'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun mina l-ḥaḡabati = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47:** 60,15 (*tumma yaḥruḡu n-nāsu fa-man yattaqū* (read ṣammū) *rā'iḥatuhu qālū ḥādā mimman daḡala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] ... wa-yuḡlaqu (read wa-tuḡlaqu) l-abwābu) wa-'alā kulli bābin 'aṣaratun mina l-ḥaḡabati.

<sup>2</sup>For the inscriptions **van Berchem Nr.216-217**, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 118-120; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 246-255; pl. XI; *RCEA* Nr.10-11; Sourdel-Thomine, *al-Harawī (texte)* 63 n. 4; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 52-55; Creswell, *EMA* 1 72; 81f.; Busse, "Inchriften im und am Felsendom" 10-12; 20-23; Busink, *Tempel* 918f.; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie"; Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 228f.; 229 (235) n. 17; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 80; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 60f.; 65f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 46; Soucek, "Maryam bint 'Imrān and Her Miḥrāb" 38.

Cf. Crusader **al-Harawī** 25,8; 11-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 132f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 254; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 253-255; Sourdel-Thomine, *al-Harawī (texte)* 63 n. 4; Creswell, *EMA* 1 81 n. 8) *wa-ḥādīhi l-qubbatu laḥā arba'atu abwābin ... al-bābu ṣ-ṣarqīyu ilā ḡānibi Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-'alayhi 'aqdun 'alayhi maktūbuni smu l-Qā'imi bi-amri Llāhi amīri l-mu'minīna wa-sūratu l-iḥlāṣi (Koran 112) wa-taḥmīdun wa-tamḡīdun wa-'alā ṣā'iri l-abwābi ka-dālika wa-lam tuḡayyirhu l-Firaḡu.*

B040.3.c. In relation to the building the gates are rather small, and it has been claimed that access to the building may have been less important than the building's visibility (B046.3.c), and that it may have been, like the Ka'ba, more important through what it is than through what happens in it (B046.3.c). All this sounds convincing, but needs further support by the sources.

B040.3.d. Similarly, it has been stated that the gates may have served as "fixed places" from which to look at the mosaics<sup>1</sup> and the building's central space (B043.3.c).

B040.3.e. The inscriptions were, at the beginning of the 20th century, above the insides of the north and east gates, but they may have been at another place in Marwānid times.<sup>2</sup> We may assume that similar inscriptions were placed above the south and west gates.<sup>3</sup>

B040.3.f. The south gate has been regarded as the main gate, because the SOUTH GATE has a baldachin and a porticus both left and right but all other gates just a baldachin, and because the inscription **van Berchem Nr.215** start next to the SOUTH GATE.<sup>4</sup> The first argument is insofar not valid, as we do not know what the Marwānid south gate looked like, and the second argument is not strong enough on its own.

**B040.4. Contemporary events:** A woman called **Bağīla/Baḥīla**, an adherent of [the Dome of] the Rock in the Temple (*mulāzimat aṣ-Ṣaḥra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*) [staying there], for several days sees a man enter by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣa'mī*) and pray at a black paving-stone (*ruḥāma sawdā'*); he tells her that Wahb b. al-Munabbih told him to do so (B038.11).

**B040.5. Traditions (Muslim):** None.

B040.5.a. It has been assumed that the eight walls,<sup>5</sup> the seven niches in each wall<sup>6</sup> and the four gates at the four points of the compass symbolise Paradise;<sup>7</sup> this may well be.

**B040.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** At each of the four gates ten servants are in charge (B038.10). A man enters for several days by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣa'mī*), prays

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 73-75 and fig. 25f.; 107; 114f.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 66.

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 253-255; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 61.

<sup>4</sup>Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 5f.; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 28.

<sup>5</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 66; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147; Gil, *Palestine* 95; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 104 n. 104.

<sup>6</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 66; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 104 n. 104.

<sup>7</sup>Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 149.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:** 86,6-10 ... 'an Ḥulaydi l-Ḥumsīyi annahu ḡalaba 'alayhi n-nawmu dāta laylatin 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-n-nāsu qadi nṣarafū wa-l-Mawḍi'u ḥālin laysa fihi aḥadun fa-qāma yuṭfi'u l-qanādila wa-l-abwābu mufattaḥatun ...) ṭumma ḥamaltu nafsī 'alā ṣ-ṣabri wa-ḡa'altu uṭfi'u l-qanādila wa-huwa yadūru ma'ī bi-ḥidā'i 'alā l-ḥāḡizi ḥattā ḡi'tu ilā l-Bābi l-Qibliyi fa-lammā aḡlaqtuhu ...

at a black paving-stone (*ruḥāma sawdāʾ*) and leaves, as he was advised by Wahb b. al-Munabbih, but his behaviour is extraordinary enough that a woman called Baḡīla/Baḡīla, an adherent of [the Dome of] the Rock in the Temple (*mulāzimat aṣ-Ṣaḥra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*) asks him what he is doing (B038.11). Muqātil b. Sulaymān prays and teaches inside the South Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Qiblī*) (B038.11). In the evening when the visitors have all left, the South Gate (*al-Bāb al-Qiblī*) is closed, and probably the other gates of the Dome of the Rock as well.<sup>8</sup>

### B041. The Black Paving-stone, the bench next to it, the underground corridor, and the Tomb of Solomon<sup>1</sup>

**B041.1. Names (Muslim):** The Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ*),<sup>2</sup> a bench (*maṣṭaba*), an underground corridor (*\*zuqāq*) and the Tomb of Solomon (*Qabr Sulaymān*) (B041.2).

**B041.2. Position:** The Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ*) is next to a bench (*maṣṭaba*) which al-Mahdī (ʿAbbāsīd caliph 158-169/775-785) orders enlarged, in the midst of more pavement (*balāṭa*); one paving-stone (*balāṭa*) has been opened and there is an underground corridor (*zuqāq*) leading to an opening (*kūwa*) next to the North Gate (*al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣaʿmī*), on its south side (*mimmā yalī l-qibla*); the Tomb of Solomon (*Qabr Sulaymān*) is inside this corridor;<sup>3</sup> if one enters by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aṣ-Ṣaʿmī*), there are, both right and left [west

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānīd Black Paving-stone, see Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXIIIf.; 52; 78-81; 160.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.135:** 80,9f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 78f.) ... *anna Abā ʿUṭmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyī l-layla baʿda nṣirāfihi mina l-qiyaṃī fī ṣaḥri ramaḍāna ʿalā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi (qāla fa-baynamā huwa qāʾimun fī ṣ-ṣalāti ...)* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.141:** 118,12f. ... *anna Abā ʿUṭmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyī l-layla baʿda nṣirāfihi mina l-qiyaṃī fī ṣaḥri ramaḍāna ʿalā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi (qāla fa-baynamā huwa qāʾimun fī ṣ-ṣalāti ...)*; ; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.137:** 115,18f. (*anbaʾanā Abī Salamata* (I read *Abū Salamata*) ʿan abīhi ʿan ḡaddihi ʿAbdi s-Salāmi ʿqāla) *amaranī l-Mahdiyyu an azīda l-maṣṭabata l-latī ʿinda l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-faʿaltu wa-qalaʿtu balāṭatan mina l-balāṭati l-latī ʿinda l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.137:** 115,18-116,3 (*anbaʾanā Abī Salamata* (I read *Abū Salamata*) ʿan abīhi ʿan ḡaddihi ʿAbdi s-Salāmi ʿqāla) *amaranī l-Mahdiyyu an azīda l-maṣṭabata l-latī ʿinda l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-faʿaltu wa-qalaʿtu balāṭatan mina l-balāṭati l-latī ʿinda l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi wa-idā riqāqun* (I read *zuqāqun*) *muḍīʿun fa-nazaltu wa-maṣaytu fīhi ilā naḥwi l-Bābi ṣ-Ṣaʿmīyi wa-idā ṭamma kūwatun mimmā yalī l-qiblata fa-qultu dullūnī fa-dallūnī fa-maṣaytu fa-idā Qabru Sulaymāna ʿalayhi s-salāmu fa-sallamtū ʿalayhi fa-samīʿūnī wa-ana aqūlu s-salāmu ʿalayka yā nabīya Llāhi s-salāmu ʿalayka wa-raḥmatu Llāhi wa-barakātuḥu fa-qālū lī lammā ḥaraḡtu samīʿnāka wa-anta tusallimu ʿalā nabīyi Llāhi fa-qultu Sulaymānu ʿalayhi s-salāmu raʾaytuḥu wa-hādā qabruḥu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*.

For the destruction of the Roofed Hall and its rebuilding under al-Mahdī, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 374f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 189; 3 51; Elad, *Jerusalem* 41; 58.

and east] of the Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā'*), a pillar and a column (*‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna*) (B038.11). We best locate the Black Paving-stone in the OCTAGONAL ARCADE next to the NORTH GATE,<sup>1</sup> the bench mentioned, in its immediate vicinity; the underground corridor, in the NORTH PASSAGE under the DOME OF THE ROCK;<sup>2</sup> and the Tomb of Solomon, inside the NORTH PASSAGE.

B041.2.a. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.137** has the sober report of how ‘Abd as-Salām, grandfather of Abū Salama, explored an underground corridor under the Dome of the Rock. Ordered by al-Mahdī to enlarge the bench near the Black Paving-stone, he removes a paving-stone (*balāṭa*) from the paving (*balāṭa*) next to the Black Paving-stone, finds a corridor (5 on the subsequent diagram), enters it and goes straight to an opening (*kūwa*) he sees (6). He then asks the workmen outside to speak to him and thus help him find the way back. Getting to the opening (*kūwa*) is obviously easier than getting back, and we may deduce that this is a rather spacious corridor which is lit from the opening (*kūwa*) mentioned. ‘Abd as-Salām on his way back sees a place he interprets as the Tomb of Solomon (*Qabr Sulaymān*) (7 on the following diagram) and then leaves the corridor. Therefore, the corridor runs roughly from the Black Paving-stone (between the two northernmost COLUMNS of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE) to the North Gate (at the NORTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK), but may extend further on both sides.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.137**

entering the corridor from near *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā'* -> *naḥwa l-Bāb aš-Ša'mī: kūwa mimmā yalī l-qibla* -> *Qabr Sulaymān* - > leaving the corridor, from near *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā'*

B041.2.b. In **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.128**, a visitor entering by *al-Bāb aš-Ša'mī* and proceeding further south sees, both left and right [east and west], a column and a pillar, and in between them this paving-stone. If we enter today by the NORTH GATE, we find ourselves between the two northernmost COLUMNS of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE.<sup>3</sup>

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146**

*al-Bāb aš-Ša'mī* -> *taqaddam ilā l-qiblati: ... ‘alā yamīnika ‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna ‘alā yasārika ‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna* -> *bayn al-‘amūdayn wa-l-uṣṭuwānatayn: ruḥāma sawdā'a*

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.128**

*al-Bāb aš-Ša'mī* -> *taqaddam ilā l-qiblati: ... ‘alā yamīnika ‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna ‘alā yasārika ‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna* -> *bayn al-‘amūdayn awi l-uṣṭuwānatayn: ruḥāma sawdā'a*

B041.2.c. The modern lists of the ḤARAM CISTERNS (see B010.2) mention neither the corridor under the DOME OF THE ROCK nor the opening next to the NORTH GATE.

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf. locates the Black Paving-stone in the north part of the Dome of the Rock.

<sup>2</sup>For the NORTH PASSAGE under the DOME OF THE ROCK, reaching from the ROCK to the height of the CIRCULAR ARCADE, see Warren, *Plans, Elevations, Sections* pl. XXXIX; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 217f. (with figure); Busink, *Tempel* 998 fig. 227 (at C); 1000; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 220: Nr.33.

<sup>3</sup>When in 1996 a new carpet was spread, I unfortunately missed the opportunity to have a look at the PAVEMENT.



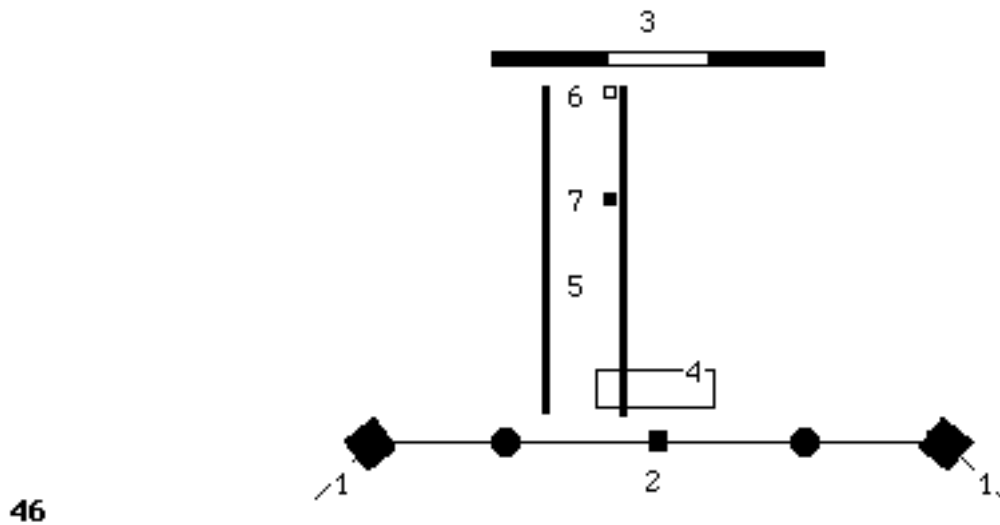


**Figure 46. The Marwānid underground corridor under the Dome of the Rock:** 1 Pillars and columns of the octagonal arcade. - 2 The Black Paving-stone. - 3 The North Gate. - 4 Bench enlarged by al-Mahdī. - 5 Underground corridor. - 6 Opening next to the North Gate. - 7 The Tomb of Solomon.

**B041.3. Physical shape:** The Black Paving-stone is indeed a black paving-stone (*ruḥāma sawdā*).<sup>1</sup> The underground corridor (*\*zuqāq*) has an opening (*kūwa*) at the North Gate (*al-Bāb aš-Ša'mī*) from the south side (*mimmā yalī l-qibla*); this corridor is rather spacious and full of light (*muḍī*) and gets its light from the opening mentioned (B041.2). There is a kind of tomb, the Tomb of Solomon (*Qabr Sulaymān*), but we are not told how it may have looked.

B041.3.a. The Black Paving-stone is one among many paving-stones, different from them apparently by its black colour.

**B041.4. Contemporary events:** A woman called **Baḡīla/Baḥīla**, an adherent of [the Dome of] the Rock in the Temple (*mulāzimat aš-Šaḥra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*) [staying there], for several days sees a man enter by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aš-Ša'mī*) and pray at a black paving-stone (*ruḥāma sawdā*); he tells her that Wahb b. al-Munabbih advised him to do so (B038.11). Abū 'Uṭmān al-Anṣārī, on the night of the First Earthquake (*ar-Raġfa l-Ūlā*) (in about 746), has just finished the standing in prayer [usual] in the month of *Ramaḍān*, on the

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146:** 90,6 (transl. Elad, Jerusalem 79) (... *raġulun ... qāla ... fa-marartu bi-Wahbi bni Munabbihin ... qāla ...*) *fa-nzur bayna l-'amūdayni wa-l-uṣṭuwānatayni ruḥāmatan sawdā'a* = **Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.128:** 112,13f. (... *raġulun ... qāla ... fa-marartu bi-Wahbi bni Munabbihin ... qāla ...*) *fa-nzur bayna l-'amūdayni awi l-uṣṭuwānatayni* (read *wa-l-uṣṭuwānatayni*) *ruḥāmatan sawdā'a*.

Black Paving-stone (*al-qiyām fī šahr ramadān ‘alā l-Balāṭa s-Sawdā’*) when he hears all the crying in the city.<sup>1</sup> ‘Abd as-Salām is ordered by **al-Mahdī** to enlarge the bench (*maṣṭaba*) next to the Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā’*); he removes a paving-stone (*balāṭa*) of the paving (*balāṭa*) next to the Black Paving-stone, finds there a channel (*\*zuqāq*) and explores the corridor below (B041.2).

B041.4.a. ‘Abd as-Salām, grandfather of Abū Salama, mentioned in **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.137** has been identified<sup>2</sup> with ‘Abd as-Salām b. ‘Abd Allāh from Ḥaḍramawt, judge (*qāḍī*) in *Ġund Filastīn* at about the same time, mentioned in **al-Kindī, Quḍāt**,<sup>3</sup> but the names are quite different and the identification is improbable.

**B041.5. Traditions (Muslim):** God answers all prayer said on this black paving-stone (*balāṭa sawdā’*).<sup>4</sup>

**B041.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** A man enters for several days by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aš-Ša’imī*), prays at a black paving-stone (*ruḥāma sawdā’*) and leaves, as he was advised by Wahb b. al-Munabbih, but his behaviour is so extraordinary that Baḡīla/Baḥīla, a female adherent of [the Dome of] the Rock in the Temple (*mulāzimat aš-Šaḥra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*), asks him what he is doing (B038.11). Abū ‘Uṭmān al-Anṣārī, on the night of the First Earthquake (*ar-Rağfa l-Ūlā*) (in about 746), has just finished the standing in prayer

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.135:** 80,9-11 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 78f.) ... *anna Abā ‘Uṭmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyī l-layla ba‘da nṣirāfihi mina l-qiyāmi fī šahri ramadāna ‘alā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā’i qāla fa-baynamā huwa qā’imun fī ṣ-ṣalāti ḥattā sami‘a ṣawta l-haddati fī l-madīnati wa-ṣurāḥa n-nāsi wa-stiğātatahum* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 141:** 118,12-14 ... *anna Abā ‘Uṭmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyī l-layla ba‘da nṣirāfihi mina l-qiyāmi fī šahri ramadāna ‘alā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā’i qāla fa-baynamā huwa qā’imun fī ṣ-ṣalāti ḥattā yasma‘u ṣawta l-hadmi fī l-madīnati wa-ṣurāḥa n-nāsi wa-stiğātatahum*.

For *ar-Rağfa l-Ūlā* "the First Earthquake" of about 746, see Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 188; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 71-83; Amiran, "Revised Earthquake Catalogue"; Milik, "Topographie" 146 n. 1; Creswell, *EMA* 1 182; 374; 657; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City* 120; Ben-Dov, "Umayyad Structures" 41; 44; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount" 101; Russell, "Earthquake Chronology" 39; 47-49; Wightman, *Walls* 233; 235; Küchler, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste" 122; Burgoyne, "Gates" 124; Amiran/Arieh/Turcote, "Earthquakes" 266f.; 290; Gil, *Palestine* 89f.; 178f.; Tsafirir/Foerster, "Earthquake of 749"; Amiran, "Location Index" 125; Elad, *Jerusalem* 40; 78f.; Schick, *Christian Communities* 126; 209; 239; 258; 270; 271; 318; 374; 376; 415; 425f.; 432; 466; 476.

<sup>2</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 291 n. 21 referring to **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.128**.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Kindī, Quḍāt** 425,12f. (*ḥaddatānī Muḥammadu bnu Yūsufa qāla ḥaddatānī Yaḥyā bnu Abī Mu‘āwiyata qāla ḥaddatānī Ḥalafu bnu Rabī‘ata ‘an abihi qāla waliya qaḍā’a Miṣra tis‘u riğālin min Ḥaḍramawta ... qāla Yaḥyā ... wa-waliya ‘alā l-Andalusi ...*) *wa-‘alā Filastīna ... wa-‘Abdu s-Salāmi bnu ‘Abdi l-Lāhi wa-...*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146:** 90,7 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) (... *rağulun ... qāla ... fa-marartu bi-Wahbi bni Munabbihin ... qāla ... fa-nzur bayna l-‘amūdayni wa-l-uṣṭuwānatayni ruḥāmatan sawdā’a ...*) *fa-ṣalli ‘alayhā wa-d‘u Llāha ‘azza wa-ğalla fa-inna d-du‘ā’a ‘alayhā mustağābun* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.128:** 112,14f. (... *rağulun ... qāla ... fa-marartu bi-Wahbi bni Munabbihin ... qāla ... fa-nzur bayna l-‘amūdayni awi l-uṣṭuwānatayni* (read *wa-l-uṣṭuwānatayni*) *ruḥāmatan sawdā’a ...*) *fa-ṣalli ‘alayhā wa-d‘u Llāha ta‘ālā fa-inna d-du‘ā’a ‘alayhā mustağābun*.

[usual] in the month of *Ramaḍān* on the Black Paving-stone (*al-qiyām fī šahr ramaḍān ‘alā l-Balāṭa s-Sawdā’*), when he hears all the crying in the city (B041.4). Prayer here is said to be answered by God (B041.5).

## B042. The octagonal arcade<sup>1</sup>

B042.1. **Names (Muslim):** None.

B042.2. **Position:** This is basically the OCTAGONAL ARCADE.

B042.3. **Physical shape:** This is an octagonal arcade. Its north side has, both right and left, a pillar and a column (*‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna*) (B038.11) and this is the disposition of all other sides as well. The insides and outsides of the arcade are covered by mosaic (B038.3). The long inscription of ‘Abd al-Malik (= **van Berchem Nr.215**) dating the building of the Dome of the Rock to 72/691 runs high under the CEILING.<sup>2</sup> The Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā’*) is under the north side of the arcade (B041.2). The top of the columns (*ra’s al-a‘mida*) [the arcade] is very splendidly decorated, as ‘Abd al-Malik spent 100,000 *miṭqāl*

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid octagonal arcade and the OCTAGONAL ARCADE of today, see Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 211-214; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 14-22; fig. 4; fig. 6f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 223f.; 228-246; 277-279; 283f.; 335-338; 348-352; 361-368; Caskel, *Felsendom* 11f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 50; 68f.; 70 fig. 20; 71 fig. 21; 73f.; 76-78; 82; 85-92 (with figures); 99; 108; 112-114; 121f.; 185; 547; 596; 622; 638-640; fig. 191f.; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 213-322 (with figures); pl. 5.a; pl. 6-31.a; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 94-99; Rosen-Ayalon, "Particular Technique" 234-236; pl. 51.c; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 245; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 17; 18 fig. 7 and fig. 8; 20; 59-61; 63f.; Blair, "Date" 70-83 (with figures); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 86-104 and fig. 38-55; 107; Nuseibeh/ Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 72-105; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 404-406; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 113; Myres, "Overview" 529.

<sup>2</sup>The inscription **van Berchem Nr.215** has been commented upon, often with a translation, by Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 14; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 228-246; pl. XIII; *RCEA* Nr.9; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 52-55; Busse, "Sanctity" 460; Creswell, *EMA* 1 69-73; 77; 81f.; 637; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" fig. 191f.; Kessler, "Reconsideration"; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 94f.; Sharon, "Inscription from 65 A.H."; Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom" 12-14; 20-23; Busink, *Tempel* 907f.; 917f.; Gaube, "Epigraphik" 214; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg* 227-230; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie"; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118f.; Hillenbrand, "Qur’anic Epigraphy" 175 n. 4; 178 n. 9; 181; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 5f.; 16f.; 19f.; Sharon, "Birth of Islam" 228f.; 229 (235) n. 17; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 6; 12f.; 16; 67f.; 72; Reinink, "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History" 182f.; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 1 10f.; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 147-151; 154; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 36-38; Gil, *Palestine* 92; 92f. n. 17; 298f.; Blair, "Date" (with figures); van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 97f.; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 138; Busse, "Kaaba" 185; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 80; Elad, *Jerusalem* 44-46; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 55-71; 92-99; 101; 115; 184f.; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 109-112; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 58f. fig. 23f.; 92-99 fig. 42-49; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 78-105; 161; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 28f.; 33; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 102; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 88-91; Nagel, "Inschriften im Felsendom".

(426 kg) of gold [i.e., 100,000 *dīnār*] on this (B014.6).

B042.3.a. For parallels to the inscription with the name of ‘Abd al-Malik, see B040.3.a.

B042.3.b. The two pillars and two columns of the north side are mentioned by **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146** = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.128**, where Wahb b. Munabbih describes how to find the best place to pray in the mosque, i.e., this black paving-stone (*ruḥāma sawdā*) - one enters by the North Gate (*al-Bāb aš-Ša’mī*) and goes south, both right and left are a pillar and a column, and there, between them, is the paving-stone. This fits with the layout of one side of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, with a pillar in each corner and two columns in between.

**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146**

*al-Bāb aš-Ša’mī* -> *taqaddam ilā l-qiblati*: ... ‘*alā yamīnika ‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna ‘alā yasārika ‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna* -> *bayn al-‘amūdayn wa-l-uṣṭuwānatayn*: *ruḥāma sawdā’a*

**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.128**

*al-Bāb aš-Ša’mī* -> *taqaddam ilā l-qiblati*: ... ‘*alā yamīnika ‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna ‘alā yasārika ‘amūd wa-uṣṭuwāna* -> *bayn al-‘amūdayn awi l-uṣṭuwānatayn*: *ruḥāma sawdā’a*

B042.3.c. Each of the eight pillars and sixteen columns (two columns in between each two pillars) as well as the layout of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE is definitely Marwānid. This is given by the basically Umayyad character of the MOSAICS inside and outside the OCTAGONAL ARCADE and outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE and on the DRUM - the replacement of even a single column would have badly damaged the mosaics and the inscription **van Berchem Nr.215**.<sup>1</sup> Some parts of the mosaics and a part of the inscription (B115.3) were later redone.

B042.3.d. COLUMNS of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE are set slightly aside to guarantee that the building's central space may be seen from the gates (B043.3.c).

B042.3.e. **van Berchem Nr.215** quotes the beginning of the Throne verse (**Koran** 2.255) twice. It has been assumed that this emphasises the Marwānid conception that the Rock is God's Throne in this world (B045.6.b).

**B042.4. Contemporary events:** ‘Abd al-Malik spends 100,000 *miṭqāl* (425 kg) of gold [i.e., 100,000 *dīnār*] for the embellishment of the tops of the columns (*ra’s al-a’mida*) [for the arcade] (B014.6).

### B043. The columns next to the Rock<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 77; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 14 (less detailed).

For the MOSAICS, see B038.3.

<sup>2</sup>For the Marwānid inner arcade and the CIRCULAR ARCADE of today, see Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 211-214; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 8-13; fig. 3f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 223f.; 278f.; 283f.; Caskel, *Felsendom* 12-14; Creswell, *EMA* 1 68f.; 70 fig. 20; 71 fig. 21; 73f.; 76-78; 85-92f.; 99; 105-108; 122; 185; 572; fig. 363; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 213-322 (with figures); 334; pl. 5.a-b; pl. 31.b-36 (the location of the plates is partly wrong; see Blair, "Date" 73 n. 40; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 71 n. 62); Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 94-99; Rosen-Ayalon, "Particular Technique" 234-236; pl. 51.c; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 17; 19 fig. 9 and fig. 10; 20 n. 22; 63f.; Blair, "Date" 72 fig. 10; 73-83 (with figures); Elad, *Jerusalem*

**B043.1. Names (Muslim):** Columns (‘*umud*’) (B043.3) next to the Rock.

**B043.2. Position:** These columns are behind the fence (*ḥalf ad-darābazīn*) around the Rock.<sup>1</sup> This is basically the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

B043.2.a. The fence is immediately around the Rock. In **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136** = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47**, Rağā’ b. Ḥaywāt and Yazīd b. Sallām surround the Rock with a *sāsām* wood fence (B044.4). The columns with curtains are [immediately] behind the fence.

**B043.3. Physical shape:** These are columns (‘*umud*’) with brocade curtains (*sutūr dībāğ*, *sutūr ad-dībāğ*) hung.<sup>2</sup> Both the outside of the arcade and the drum [with the inside of the

51; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 84-87 and fig. 33-37; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 72-105; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 404f.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 82,11f.; 83,1-3 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) *wa-kāna Rağā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffā l-Ḥağara bi-darābazīna sāsamin wa-ḥalfa d-darābazīni sutūru dībāğin muraḥḥātun bayna l-‘umudi ... (tumma ya’muru (read yu’maru) l-ḥadamu bi-l-ğadāti ...) fa-yuraḥḥā (read fa-turaḥḥā) s-sutūru ḥawla l-‘umudi kullihā tumma ya’ḥudūna fī l-baḥūri ḥawlahā yadūrūna ḥawlahā ḥattā yaḥūlu l-baḥūru baynahum wa-bayna l-qubbati tumma tušammaru s-sutūru fa-yāḥruḡu l-baḥūru yafūḥu min kaṭratihi =* **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 59,18f.; 60,7-9 *wa-kāna Rağā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffū (Livne-Kafri reads ḥaffā) l-Ḥağara bi-darābazīna sāsamin wa-ḥalfa d-darābazīni sutūrun dībāğun muraḥḥātun bayna l-‘umudi ... (tumma ya’muru (I read yu’maru) l-ḥadamu bi-l-ğadāti ...) fa-turaḥḥā s-sutūru ḥawla l-‘umudi kullihā tumma ya’ḥudūna fī l-baḥūri ḥawlahā yadūrūna ḥattā yaḥūlu l-baḥūru baynahum wa-bayna l-qubbati tumma yušammaru (I read tušammaru; Livne-Kafri reads tusammaru) s-sutūru fa-yāḥruḡu l-baḥūru tafūḥu (read yafūḥu) min kaṭratihi.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 82,11f.; 83,1-3 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) *wa-kāna Rağā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffā l-Ḥağara bi-darābazīna sāsamin wa-ḥalfa d-darābazīni sutūru dībāğin muraḥḥātun bayna l-‘umudi ... (tumma ya’muru (read yu’maru) l-ḥadamu bi-l-ğadāti ...) fa-yuraḥḥā (read fa-turaḥḥā) s-sutūru ḥawla l-‘umudi kullihā tumma ya’ḥudūna fī l-baḥūri ḥawlahā yadūrūna ḥawlahā ḥattā yaḥūlu l-baḥūru baynahum wa-bayna l-qubbati tumma tušammaru s-sutūru fa-yāḥruḡu l-baḥūru yafūḥu min kaṭratihi =* **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 59,18f.; 60,7-9 *wa-kāna Rağā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffū (Livne-Kafri reads ḥaffā) l-Ḥağara bi-darābazīna sāsamin wa-ḥalfa d-darābazīni sutūrun dībāğun muraḥḥātun bayna l-‘umudi ... (tumma ya’muru (I read yu’maru) l-ḥadamu bi-l-ğadāti ...) fa-turaḥḥā s-sutūru ḥawla l-‘umudi kullihā tumma ya’ḥudūna fī l-baḥūri ḥawlahā yadūrūna ḥattā yaḥūlu l-baḥūru baynahum wa-bayna l-qubbati tumma yušammaru (I read tušammaru; Livne-Kafri reads tusammaru) s-sutūru fa-yāḥruḡu l-baḥūru tafūḥu (read yafūḥu) min kaṭratihi.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47:** 61,3f. (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrata ... fa-hādā mā kāna yuf’alu bihā fī ḥilāfati ‘Abdi l-Maliki kullihā wa-kāna fīhi [in the whole area] dālīka l-waqta* (Livne-Kafri reads *fī dālīka l-waqti*) ... *wa-fīhi ...*) *wa-mīna l-‘umudi sittumi’ati ‘āmūdīn ruḥāmīn siwā l-ābāṭi* (I read *siwā l-asāfīna*).

Curtains in the dome over the Rock are mentioned in High ‘Abbāsid **al-Ya’qūbī**, **Ta’rīḡ** 2 311,14 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.; see Hirschberg, "Sources" 317f.; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 35f.; Caskel,

arcade] are covered by mosaics (B038.3). The top of the columns (*ra's al-a'mida*) [the arcade] is very splendidly decorated, as 'Abd al-Malik spent on its embellishment 100,000 *miṭqāl* (425 kg) of gold [i.e., 100,000 *dīnār*] (B014.6).

B043.3.a. Each one of the four pillars and twelve columns (three columns in between each two pillars) as well as the layout of the CIRCULAR ARCADE is definitely Marwānid. This is given by the basically Umayyad character of the MOSAICS and of the inscription **van Berchem Nr.215**, which is outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE (and inside and outside the OCTAGONAL ARCADE) - the replacement of even a single column would have badly damaged the mosaics and the inscription (B042.3.c). Some parts of the mosaics were later redone.

B043.3.b. The curtains at this arcade create an opposition between the zone reserved for the service and the zone outside, between the higher dome and the lower surrounding building, separated by the CIRCULAR ARCADE. The MOSAICS have been compared to a rich silk cover which seems to drape the upper part of the interior.<sup>1</sup>

B043.3.c. Light in these two zones is quite different. There is a forceful luminosity, a shaft of brilliant light at the building's core, and a mysterious shadowy ring around it - a person standing in the building outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE sees neither the DOME,<sup>2</sup> too high and therefore hidden by the CIRCULAR ARCADE, nor the Rock, hidden by the FENCE, but the shaft of brilliant light, the building's focus of attention, may be seen from everywhere<sup>3</sup> and creates the impression of a light column hovering over the Rock. COLUMNS are set slightly aside<sup>4</sup> to guarantee that this shaft is also seen from the gates, the "fixed places" (B043.3.c) from which to look at the interior.

B043.3.d. It has been claimed that 'Abd al-Malik's **inscription** (= **van Berchem Nr.215**) on the OCTAGONAL ARCADE may have had a continuation on the CIRCULAR ARCADE;<sup>5</sup> but the inscription as we have it on the OCTAGONAL ARCADE makes perfect sense<sup>6</sup> and there are no traces of an inscription on the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

---

*Felsendom* 23; 25-27; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 250) (*fā-banā* ['Abd al-Malik] *'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan*) *wa-'allaqa 'alayhā sutūra d-dībāḡi wa-aqāma lahā sadanatan*.

For the curtains in the Dome of the Rock, see Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 250; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 36; 55; Elad, *Jerusalem* 55; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 26. For the importance of curtains, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 117-123.

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 76.

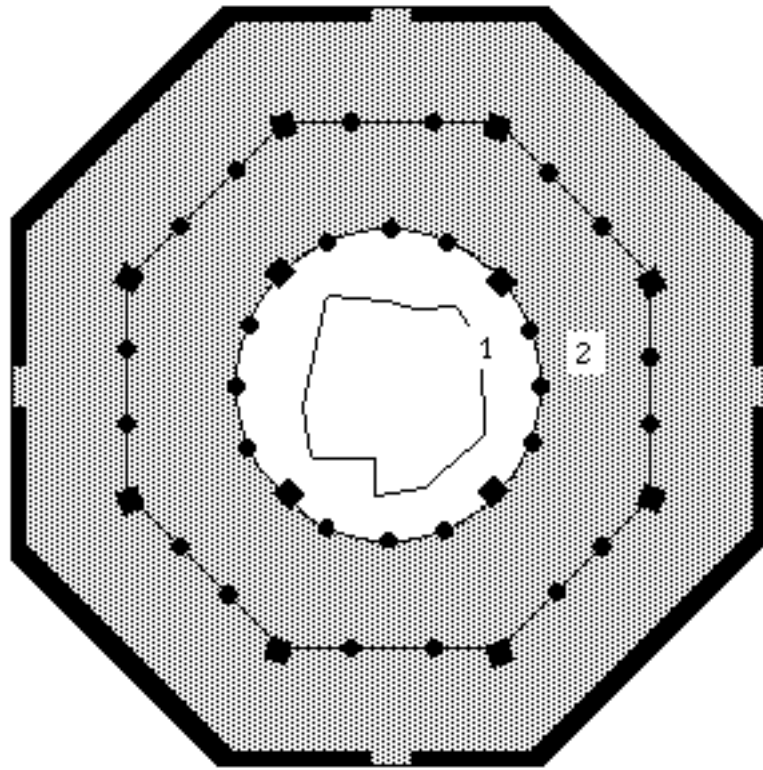
<sup>2</sup>The invisibility of the dome from inside the building has been emphasised by Blair, "Date" 77.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 73-79 and fig. 25f.; 107; 110.

<sup>4</sup>Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 9; 14f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 69.

<sup>5</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 56f.

<sup>6</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 57.



47

**Figure 47. The two zones inside the Marwānid Dome of the Rock (layout):** 1 The column of bright light hovering over the Rock. - 2 The zone of shadow outside the circular arcade.

**B043.4. Contemporary events:** ‘Abd al-Malik spends 100,000 *miṭqāl* (425 kg) of gold [i.e., 100,000 *dīnār*] for the embellishment of the top of the columns (*ra’s al-a‘mida*) [for the arcade] (B014.6). He hangs the curtains.<sup>1</sup>

**B043.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** In preparation for the service, the curtains are closed and the servants go round the Rock with incense until the dome fills with incense, then they lift the curtains and the

<sup>1</sup>**al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta’rīḥ** 2 311,14 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.) (‘Abdu l-Maliki ... *fa-banā ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan*) *wa-‘allaqa ‘alayhā sutūra d-dībāḡi*.

The curtains are attributed to Raḡā’ b. Ḥaywa and Yazīd b. Sallām, the two architects of ‘Abd al-Malik, **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136**: 82,11f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) *wa-kāna Raḡā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffā l-Ḥaḡara bi-darābazīna sāsamin wa-ḥalfā d-darābazīni sutūru dībāḡin muraḥḥātun bayna l-‘umudi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 59,18f. *wa-kāna Raḡā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffū* (Livne-Kafri reads *ḥaffā*) *l-Ḥaḡara bi-darābazīna sāsamin wa-ḥalfā d-darābazīni sutūrun dībāḡun muraḥḥātun bayna l-‘umudi*.

incense spreads to the market (B038.9).

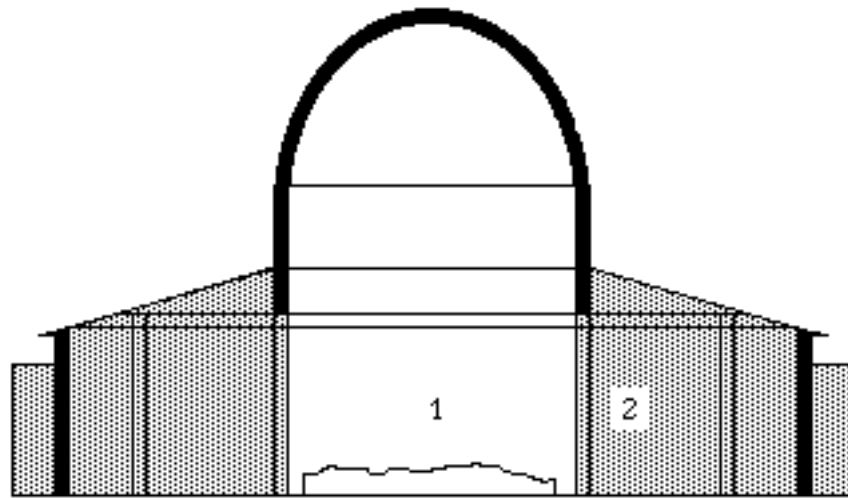


**Figure 48. The two zones inside the Marwānid Dome of the Rock (cross-section):** 1 The column of bright light hovering over the Rock. - 2 The zone of shadow outside the circular arcade.

#### B044. The fence around the Rock<sup>1</sup>

**B044.1. Names (Muslim):** The fence (of the Rock) (*ḥāḡiz aṣ-Ṣaḥra*,<sup>2</sup> *ḥāḡiz*,<sup>3</sup> *darābazīn*<sup>4</sup>).

B044.1.a. A parallel to the term *darābazīn*: Fāṭimid **Nāṣir** calls the fence around the platform *darāfazīn-i dukkān* (B169.1).

**B044.2. Position:** The fence is immediately around the Rock (*al-Ḥaḡar*); the columns with brocade curtains are behind [further outside than] the fence (*ḥalf ad-darābazīn*) (B043.2). We best locate the fence inside the CIRCULAR ARCADE, but outside the Rock, possibly in an

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānid fence around the Rock, see Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 35; 55; Elad, *Jerusalem* 51.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:** 86,8 *fa-idā bi-sab'in min nārin wāqifan* (read *wāqifin*) *‘alā ḥāḡizi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati yatawaqqadu nāran*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:** 86,10 (... *‘an Ḥulaydi l-Ḥumsīyi ... fa-idā bi-sab'in ... qāla ... tumma ḥamaltu nafsī ‘alā ṣ-ṣabri wa-ḡa‘altu uṭfi’u l-qanādila*) *wa-huwa yadūru ma‘ī bi-ḥidā’ī ‘alā l-ḥāḡizi*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 82,11f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) *wa-kāna Raḡā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffā l-Ḥaḡara bi-darābazīna sāsamin wa-ḥalfa d-darābazīni sutūru dībāḡin muraḥḥātun bayna l-‘umudi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47:** 59,18f. *wa-kāna Raḡā’u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffū* (Livne-Kafri reads *ḥaffā*) *l-Ḥaḡara bi-darābazīna sāsamin wa-ḥalfa d-darābazīni sutūrun dī bāḡun muraḥḥātun bayna l-‘umudi*.



octagon made of two squares, a first square drawn between the four PILLARS of the CIRCULAR ARCADE and a second square drawn between its MIDDLE COLUMNS.

B044.2.a. During the service held in the Dome of the Rock, the servants circumambulate the Rock inside the closed curtains in a procession with incense (at the CIRCULAR ARCADE) (B038.9) and anoint the Rock. They ascend it only after careful preparations. We may therefore suppose the procession does not happen on the Rock itself, but rather outside the fence. This means that there is an uninterrupted way around the Rock between the inner arcade (at the CIRCULAR ARCADE) and this fence, uninterrupted by any descent to a cave; the existence of the cave in the Marwānid period<sup>1</sup> is not supported by the sources. The Fāṭimid fence is probably octagonal (B190.2); today's FENCE is irregular, so the Marwānid fence is not at the place of today's FENCE.

B044.2.b. We may use the geometrical principles of the layout of the EXTERIOR WALL of the DOME OF THE ROCK, the OCTAGONAL ARCADE and the CIRCULAR ARCADE<sup>2</sup> to locate the Marwānid fence. If we suppose the octagonal (B190.2) Fāṭimid fence goes back to an octagonal Marwānid fence, and if we suppose the relation between the EXTERIOR WALL and the OCTAGONAL ARCADE is the same as between the CIRCULAR ARCADE and the fence, we get a suitable octagon by drawing a first square between the four PILLARS of the CIRCULAR ARCADE and a second one between its four MIDDLE COLUMNS. The layout of the Marwānid Rock is unknown, but today's ROCK fits into this octagon.

B044.2.c. The massive fence thus not only hinders visitors from touching the Rock, but also hides it from their view as long as they are standing outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE - they see a shaft of brilliant light hanging in the building's centre above an invisible holy rock (B043.3.c).

B044.2.d. Parallels to the fence around the Rock: Around the Pre-Marwānid Christian Tomb of Jesus are two fences (*cancelli* = *cancellae*);<sup>3</sup> around the Rock of Golgotha is a fence (*cancellae*) made of silver and much

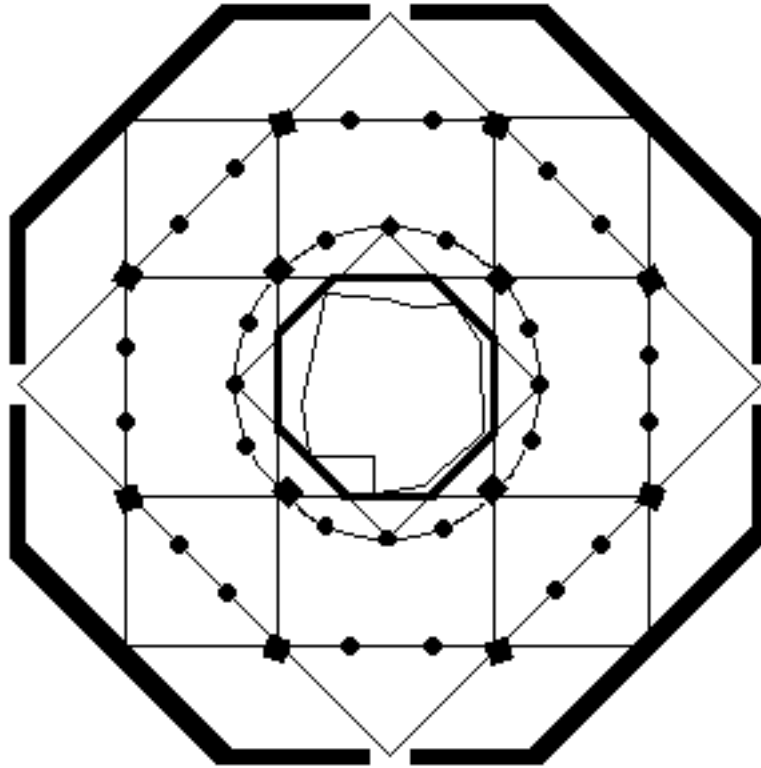
---

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.

<sup>2</sup>For the layout of the DOME OF THE ROCK, see Mauss, "Méthode" 14-23; Herzfeld, "Qubbat al-Ṣakhra" 237-239; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* fig. 1; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 223f.; 232-235; Creswell, *EMA* 1 68-82 and 101-109 (with figures); 651; 658-660 (with fig. 690); Ecohard, "Dôme du Rocher"; Busink, *Tempel* 919-921; Chen, "Design of the Dome of the Rock"; Chen, "Golden Gate"; Jacobson, "Golden Section"; Chen, "Setting Out Reconsidered"; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 7; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 63-67; Hillenbrand, "Vermächtnis des Felsendoms" 67; Gil, *Palestine* 95; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 102f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 79; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 50f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 104 n. 104.

<sup>3</sup>*Etheria* 24,31f.: 24.4 (*hora autem decima* [every day except on sunday] *quod appellant hic licinicon nam nos dicimus lucernare similiter se omnis multitudo colliget ad Anastasim incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei et fit lumen infinitum. Lumen autem de foris non affertur sed de spelunca interiori eicitur*) *ubi noctu ac die semper lucerna lucet id est de intro cancellos; Iacintus* 323: 9 (*super sepulcrum sex dinumerabimus candelabros: quisque unus illorum tres abentur ordines ramorum:*) *hic prope Il.o cancella abentur tugurium sepulcri in sex continentur colonne super qua est tugurium ereum.*

For the fence around the Holy Sepulchre, see Donner, *Sophronius* 39.



49

Figure 49. The assumed position of the Marwānīd fence around the Rock

decorated with gold and silver.<sup>1</sup> The Marwānīd Christian Church of the Ascension has, around the traces of Jesus' feet in the sand, a copper wheel (*rota*) high as a [standing man's] neck (*usque ad cervicem*), with an opening to enter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Breviarius A** 34-46: 2 (*Et inde intrans in Golgotha est ibi atrium grande ubi crucifixus est Dominus.*) *In circuitu in ipso monte sunt cancellae argenteae et in ipso monte genus silicis ibi admortatur* (read *admoratur*). *Habet ostia argentea ubi fuit crux Domini exposita de auro et gemmis ornata tota caelum desuper patente. Auro et argentoq.* (read *et argento*) *multum ornatae cancellae* = **Breviarius B** 35-46: 2 (*Et deinde in Golgotha intrans et est ibi altarius grandis* (read *atrium grande*).) *Et in circuitu montis sunt cancellae de argento. Et ibi est esca* (read *exedra*) *ubi fuit persuscitatus per quem fuit crux Christi declarata et ipsa crux est de auro et gemmas ornata et celum desuper aureum. Et de foras habet cancellum.*

<sup>2</sup>**Adomnanus I** 23,25-28: I.23.6 *in eodem igitur loco* [in the Church of the Ascension] *ut sanctus refert Arculfus sedulus eiusdem frequentator aerea grandis per circuitum* (B *per circuitum grandis*) *rota desuper explanata* (cf. **Adomnanus I** 5,4-6: I.5.1) *collocata est cuius altitudo usque ad cervicem haberi monstratur mensurata* = **Beda, De locis sanctis** 6,15-17: 6.1 (*ultima Domini vestigia ...*) *haec circa aerea* (L *haec circa hanc erea*) *rota iacet* (M *vacet*) *usque ad cervicem* (PVB *ad verticem*) *alta ob occasu habens introitum pendente desuper in trocleis magna lampade totaque* (M *tota*) *die et nocte lucente*; **Adomnanus I** 23,87-90: I.23.19 *cuius videlicet rotundae ecclesiae* [the Church of the Ascension] *figura vili quamvis pictura sic depicta declaratur aereae* (B *aere*) *nec non in eius*

B044.3. **Physical shape:** This is a *sāsam* wood fence (*darābazīn sāsam*) (B044.4).

B044.4. **Contemporary events:** Raġā' b. Ḥaywa and Yazīd b. Sallām, 'Abd al-Malik's two architects of the Dome of the Rock, surround the Rock with this *sāsam* wood fence (*darābazīn sāsam*).<sup>1</sup>

B044.5. **Visions and dreams (Muslim):** One night Ḥulayd al-Ḥumsī, a guard, falls asleep in the Dome of the Rock on the right [west] side of the Rock; when he awakens he sees a fire lion [God] standing on the fence around the Rock; Ḥulayd goes around the Rock and extinguishes the lamps (*qanādīl*) and the lion turns opposite him on the fence; Ḥulayd closes the South Gate and then the fire lion jumps and disappears next to the candlestick/lamp (*al-manāra*); then Ḥulayd faints.<sup>2</sup>

---

*medietate collocatae formula rotae* (B *formule rote*, YPZ *rotae formula*) *hac discriptiuncula demonstratur subiecta*; on the plan of the Church of the Ascension in both **Adomnanus** (Wilkinson, "Arculf's Plans" pl. 2; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 364 pl. 3) and **Beda, De locis sanctis** (Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 194 with pl. 2), the most central circle; on the plan of the Church of the Ascension **Adomnanus Z** the legend, *rota aerea*. The parallelism of the copper wheel in the Church of the Ascension and the fence in the Dome of the Rock has been pointed out by Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 366 n. 70.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 82,11f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) *wa-kāna Raġā'u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffā l-Ḥaġara bi-darābazīna sāsamin (wa-ḥalfā d-darābazīni sutūru dībāġīn muraḥḥātun bayna l-'umudi) = Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47: 59,18f. *wa-kāna Raġā'u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḥaffū* (Livne-Kafri reads *ḥaffā*) *l-Ḥaġara bi-darābazīna sāsamin (wa-ḥalfā d-darābazīni sutūrun dī bāġun muraḥḥātun bayna l-'umudi)*.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.139:** 86,5-11 (... *ḥaddaṭanā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadin qāla*) *sami'tu man yaḥkī 'an Ḥulaydi l-Ḥumsīyi annahu ġalaba 'alayhi n-nawmu dāta laylatin 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-n-nāsu qadi nṣarafū wa-l-Mawḍi'u ḥālin laysa fihi aḥadun fa-qāma yuṭfi'u l-qanādīla wa-l-abwābu mufattaḥatun fa-idā bi-sab'in min nārin wāqifan (read wāqifin) 'alā ḥāġizi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati yatawaqqadu nāran qāla fa-ṭāša 'aqlī wa-qāma šī'ru badanī wa-hibtu tumma ḥamaltu nafsī 'alā ṣ-ṣabri wa-ġa'altu uṭfi'u l-qanādīla wa-huwa yadūru ma'ī bi-ḥidā'i 'alā l-ḥāġizi ḥattā ġi'tu ilā l-Bābi l-Qibliyi fa-lammā aġlaqtuhu waṭaba fa-ġariqa 'inda l-manārati wa-lā lī bihi 'aḥdun fa-aqamtu sanatan mā hada'a rū'i.*

For this manāra, see B025.2.f.

B045. The Rock<sup>1</sup>B045.1. Names (Muslim): The Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>2</sup> the Stone (*al-Ḥaḡar*),<sup>1</sup> the Stone, the

<sup>1</sup>For the ROCK today and in the Marwānīd period, see Kittel, "Heiliger Fels" 12-24 (with fig. 2-5); 31-33; Jeremias, *Golgotha* 65; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* fig. 6f.; fig. 15; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 224; 234f.; pl. XXV left; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 38-42; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 197 n. 205; Caskel, *Felsendom* 10-12; Creswell, *EMA* 1 65-67; 70 fig. 20; 71 fig. 21; 108f.; pl. 5; Busink, *Tempel* 6 n. 22; 10-20; 219; pl. 13 with fig. 202; 997--1003 with fig. 227; Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel"; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 36; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 26-31; pl. VII; pl. XIVf.; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" 169f.; 176f.; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 17f.; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 2 81-111; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 242; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 71f.; Busse, "Jerusalem and Mecca" 242 fig. 2; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 34; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 44; 72f.; 76; 78; 374; Elad, *Jerusalem* 51; 80f.; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" pl. 4; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 47-49; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 109; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99-101; Raby, "In Vitro Veritas" 175f.; Neuwirth, "Three Names" 88-91.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīḥ** 132,23: 387 (*qāla š-Ṣa'bīyu ... qāla wa-banā 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Maṣḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-banā l-qubbata l-lati 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.88**: 58,2f. (... *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*) *inna Llāha awḥā ilā l-arḍi inni wāṭi'un 'alā ba'diki fa-sta'alat ilayhi l-ḡibālu wa-tawāda'ati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu fa-ṣakara Llāhu laḥā fa-waḍa'a qadamahu 'alayhā*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr. 114**: 70,12 *fa-kāna Mi'rāḡuhu ilā s-samā'i 'ani ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.117**: 72,9 (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama lammā usriya bi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi marra bi Ḡabrā'il ... fa-qāla ...*) *tumma utiya bi ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati (fa-qāla min hāhunā 'araḡa rabbuka ilā s-samā'i)*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.121**: 75,11f. (*innamā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-lati kānat bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi āyatan* (I read *l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kānat āyatan li-Banī Isrā'ila kāna lahum taṣṭun fihi silsilatun*) *wa-kāna fi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati naqbun ...* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.155**: 127,9f. (*innamā kānati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi āyatan li-Banī Isrā'ila kānat* (read *kāna*) *lahum taṣṭun fihi silsilatun*) *wa-kāna fi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati taqbun*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.122**: 75,16-76,2 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Bashear, "Abraham's Sacrifice" 275; Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 71) *kāna fi s-silsilati l-lati fi wasaṭi l-qubbati 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati durratu l-Yatīmati wa-Qarnā Kabši Ibrāhīma ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-Tāḡu Kisrā mu'allaqatan fihā ayyāma 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.156**: 127,13-15 *kāna fi s-silsilati l-lati kānat fi wasaṭi l-qubbati 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati durratu l-Yatīmati wa-Qarnā Kabši Ibrāhīma 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-Tāḡu Kisrā mu'allaqatan fihā ayyāma 'Abdi l-Maliki*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.129**: 78,6-8 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ismā'īlu bnu 'Ayyāša ... 'an 'Abdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ḡubayri bni Nufayrin 'an abihi qāla*) *lammā ḡalā 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu 'an Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi l-mazbalata l-lati kānat 'alayhā qāla lanā lā tuṣallū 'alayhā ḥattā tuṣibuhā talātu maṭarātin aw aḡtaru* = **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.132**: 79,4-6 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ṣafwānu bnu 'Abdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ḡubayrin qāla*) *lammā ḡalā 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi riḍwānu Llāhi 'alayhi 'an Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi t-turāba wa-z-zibla l-laḍi kāna 'alayhā amara n-nāsa an lā yuṣallā fihā ḥattā tuṣibuhā talātu maṭarātin* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.41**: 54,12f. (*anba'anā Ismā'īlu ... 'an 'Abdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ḡubayri bni Nufayrin 'an abihi qāla*) *lammā ḡalā* (Hasson reads *ḡalā*) *'Umaru l-mazbalata 'ani ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qāla lā tuṣallū fihā ḥattā yuṣibuhu* (read *tuṣibuhā*, with *al-Wāsiṭi*) *talātu maṭarātin*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.131**: 78,16-79,1 *lammā fataḥa 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu Bayta l-Maqdisi waḡada 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ziblan kaṭīran mimma ṭarahahu r-Rūmu ḡayṣan li-Banī Isrā'ila*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.137**: 84,11f.; 85,1-5 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 107; see Elad, *Jerusalem* 106-108) *wa-kānati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu ayyāma Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda irtifā'uhā tñā 'ašara ḍirā'an wa-kāna ḍ-ḍirā'u ḍirā'a l-amāni ḍirā'un wa-šibrun wa-qabḍatun ... wa-kāna wuldu Ahārūna ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi yaḡi'ūna ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ... wa-kānat tanzilu 'alayhim nārun mina s-samā'i 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-tadūru fi maṭāli sab'in 'alā ḡabali Ṭūri Zaytā tumma tamtaddu ḥattā tadḥulu min Bābi r-raḥmati tumma taṣīru 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.17**: 24,6-8.11-14 *wa-kāna rtifā'u ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*

Stone of the Rock (*al-Ḥaḡar Ḥaḡar aṣ-Ṣaḡra*),<sup>2</sup> the Rock of the Temple (*Ṣaḡrat Bayt al-Maq-*

zamana Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda tṇay 'ašara dīrā'an wa-kāna d-dīrā'u dīrā'a l-amāni wa-šibrun (read dīrā'un wa-šibrun, with al-Wāsiṭi) wa-qabḍatun ... wa-kāna wuldu Hārūna yaḡī'ūna ilā ṣ-Ṣaḡrati ... wa-kāna yanzilu nārūn mina s-samā'i fa-tadūru 'alā maṭāli sab'in 'alā ḡabali Ṭūri Zaytā) tumma tamtaddu ḡattā tadḡulu min Bābi r-Raḡmati tumma tašīru 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḡrati; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.138**: 86,2-4 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25) ašara Ka'buni l-Aḡbāru maktūban fī t-Tawrāti 'YSRW' 'WMLYL'M (read Īrūšālāyim) wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḡratu yuqālu lahu l-haykala (ab'aṭu ilayki 'abdi 'Abda l-Maliki yabniki wa-yuzaḡrifuki) = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.50**: 63,13-64,3 (transl. Elad, Jerusalem 162f.; partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25; see Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 9 n. 47) aḡāba (read ašāba) Ka'buni l-Aḡbāru maktūban fī ba'ḍi l-kutubi 'SRWSL'YM (read Īrūšālāyim) wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḡratu wa-yuqālu laḡa l-haykala (ab'aṭu ilayki 'abdi 'Abda l-Maliki yabniki wa-yuzaḡrifuki ... wa-la-aḡa'anna (Elad reads wa-la-aṣna'anna) 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḡrati 'Aršī; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.139**: 86,6 ... 'an Ḥulaydi l-Ḥumsīyi annahu ḡalaba 'alayhi n-nawmu dāta laylatin 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḡrati ...; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.5**: 14,9 (fa-rafa'a Llāhu 'anhumu ṭ-ṭā'ūna) tumma 'amada Dāwūdu wa-rtaḡa ṣ-Ṣaḡrata (wa-ṭalaba nawmahu ilā l-layli rāfi'an yadayhi yuḡḍi (read yuḡaddiṭu) li-Llāhi šukran); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.39**: 52,13-53,4 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 91) (... ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ...) tumma atāhā 'Umaru wa-ma'ahu Ka'bun fa-qāla ya-Abā Ishāqa (Livne-Kafri reads yā Abā Ishāqa) ṣ-Ṣaḡratu a-ta'rifu Mawḍi'ahā (qāla dīrā' min l-ḡā'iti l-ladī yalī Wādī Ḡahannuma ka-dā wa-ka-dā (Livne-Kafri reads ka-dā wa-ka-dā) dīrā'an wa-hiya mazbalatun ...); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.192**: 150,15f.19 (see Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 63-66) anba'anā l-Walīdu bnu Muḡammadin 'an Tawrin qāla sa'altuhu mā yaqūluhu n-nāsu fī ḡaḍiḡi ṣ-Ṣaḡrati inna Llāha ta'ālā qāma 'alayhā qāla (... qāla š-šayḡu [Ibn al-Muraḡḡa] ...) lā wa-l-ladī kānati ṣ-Ṣaḡratu maqāman lahu arba'ina sanatan wa-iskāluhu; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 216**: 161,11-13 tukrahu ṣ-ṣalātu fī sab'i mawāṭina 'alā l-Ka'bati wa-'alā ṣ-Ṣaḡrati Ṣaḡrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-'alā Ṭūri Zaytā wa-'alā Ṭūri Sīnā'a wa-'alā ṣ-Ṣafā wa-l-Marwati wa-'alā l-Ḡamrati wa-Ḡabali 'Arafata; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.247**: 175,7f. (... Abū Sa'idin raḡulun min ahli l-Iskandarī yati qāla kuntu ataytu (Livne-Kafri reads abaytu) fī masḡidi baytin (read fī masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi) ...) qāla fa-wa-Llāhi inni la-aḡkuru dālika fī nafsī id sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu min naḡwi l-qubbati l-lati 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḡrati kalimātin.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136**: 82,11f.18-20 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) wa-kāna Raḡā'u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḡaffā l-Ḥaḡara bi-darābazina sāsamin ... (al-ḡadamu ...) tumma ya'tūna l-Ḥaḡara Ḥaḡara ṣ-Ṣaḡrati fa-yalṭaḡūna mā qadarū an tanālu aydihim ḡattā yaḡmurūhu kullahu wa-mā lam yanalhu (Hasson reads tanalhu) aydihim ḡasalū aqdāmahum tumma yaṣ'adūna 'alā l-Ḥaḡari yalṭaḡūna mā baqiya = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**: 59, 18f.; 60,4-6 wa-kāna Raḡā'u bnu Ḥaywata wa-Yazīdu bnu Sallāma qad ḡaffū (Livne-Kafri reads ḡaffā) l-Ḥaḡara bi-darābazina sāsamin ... (al-ḡadamu ...) tumma ya'tūna l-Ḥaḡara Ḥaḡara ṣ-Ṣaḡrati fa-yalṭaḡūna mā qadarū an tanālu aydihim tumma (Livne-Kafri reads ḡattā) yaḡmurūhu kullahu wa-mā lam tanalhu aydihim ḡasalū aqdāmahum tumma yaṣ'adūna 'alā l-Ḥaḡari yalṭaḡūna mā baqiya.

Not the Rock, but the place where Muḡammad tied up al-Burāq (B019.4), is meant in **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.161**: 99,8f. (qāla Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama) lammā nṭahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla Ḡibrīlu 'alayhi s-salāmu bi-iṣba'īhi fa-ḡaraqa bihā l-ḡaḡara wa-šadda l-Burāqa = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.68**: 80,2 (Rasūlu Llāhi (read qāla Rasūlu Llāhi) šallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama) lammā nṭahaynā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi laylata usriya bi ḡaraqa Ḡibrīlu 'alayhi s-salāmu ḡaḡaran bi-iṣba'īhi 'inda l-bābi fa-šadda l-Burāqa.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136**: 82,18f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (al-ḡadamu ...) tumma ya'tūna l-Ḥaḡara Ḥaḡara ṣ-Ṣaḡrati fa-yalṭaḡūna mā qadarū an tanālu aydihim ḡattā yaḡmurūhu kullahu = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.47**: 60,4f. (al-ḡadamu ...) tumma ya'tūna l-Ḥaḡara Ḥaḡara ṣ-Ṣaḡrati fa-yalṭaḡūna mā qadarū an tanālu aydihim tumma (Livne-Kafri reads ḡattā) yaḡmurūhu kullahu wa-mā lam tanalhu aydihim ḡasalū aqdāmahum tumma yaṣ'adūna 'alā l-Ḥaḡari yalṭaḡūna mā baqiya.

*dis*)<sup>1</sup>, the Rock which is in the Temple (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-latī bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.78:** 51,9f. *lam yab'ati Llāhu 'azza wa-ḡalla muḍ habaṭa Ādamu ilā d-dunyā ya'nī nabīyan illā ḡa'ala qiblatahu Ṣaḥrata Bayti l-Maqdisi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.99:** 98,9f. *lam yab'ati Llāhu ta'ālā mundu habaṭa Ādamu ilā d-dunyā nabīyan illā ḡa'ala qiblatahu Ṣaḥrata Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 109:** 68,3-5 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 181; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 92f.) (*'an Abī l-Āliyati*) *fī qawlihi ta'ālā 'ilā l-arḍi l-latī bāraknā fihā li-l-'ālamīna'* (**Koran** 21.71) *qāla barakatuhā anna kulla mā'in 'adibin yaḥruḡu min aṣli Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.111:** 105,7f. (*'an Abī l-Āliyati*) *fī qawlihi 'ilā l-arḍi l-latī bāraknā fihā li-l-'ālamīna'* (**Koran** 21.71) *qāla min barakatihā anna kulla mā'in 'adibin yaḥruḡu min aṣli Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.111:** 69,2f. *inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi (anti 'Arṣi l-Adnā ...)* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr. 113:** 106,6f. *inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi (anti 'Arṣi l-Adnā ...)*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.113:** 70,1f. (*fa-qāla 'Ubādatu bnu ṣ-Ṣāmīti*) *lā wa-l-laḍi kānat Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi lahu maqāman arba'ina sanatan mā kāna kaḍā wa-kaḍā* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.132:** 114,4f. (transl. partly Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 64) (*fa-qāla 'Ubādatu bnu ṣ-Ṣāmīti*) *lā wa-l-laḍi kānat Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi maqāman lahu arba'ina sanatan mā kāna kaḍā* (Livne-Kafri reads *kaḍā wa-kaḍā*, with al-Wāsiṭī); **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.114:** 70,8f. *wa-ḡaṣa'at Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi tawāḍu'an li-'aḡamati Llāhi 'azza wa-ḡalla (fa-ṣakara Llāhu laḡa ḍālika wa-ḡa'ala l-Mi'rāḡa 'anhā)* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.120:** 109,1f. *wa-ḡaṣa'at Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi tawāḍu'an li-'aḡamati Llāhi ta'ālā (fa-ṣakara Llāhu laḡa ḍālika wa-ḡa'ala li-stiwā'a 'anhā)*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.115:** 71,2f. *inna Llāha 'azza wa-ḡalla lammā 'stawā ilā s-samā'i'* (**Koran** 2.29; 41.11) *qāla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.121:** 109,9f. *inna Llāha ta'ālā lammā 'stawā ilā s-samā'i'* (**Koran** 2.29; 41.11) *qāla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.116:** 71,7f. *inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.122:** 109,14f. *inna fī t-Tawrāti yaqūlu Llāhu ta'ālā li-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi (read li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi) ... (= but Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.300: 208,13 yaqūlu Llāhu li-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.301: 209,3 yaqūlu Llāhu ta'ālā fī t-Tawrāti li-Bayti l-Maqdisi ...)*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 128:** 78,3 *Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi min ṣuḥūri l-Ġannati* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.105:** 102,8f. *Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi min ṣuḥūri l-Ġannati*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.129:** 78,6-8 (... *ḡaddaṭanā Ismā'īlu bnu 'Ayyāsa ... 'an 'Abdi r-Raḡmāni bni Ġubayri bni Nufayrin 'an abihi qāla*) *lammā ḡalā 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu 'an Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi l-mazbalata l-latī kānat 'alayhā qāla lanā lā tuṣallū 'alayhā ḡattā tuṣibuhā ṭalātu maṭarātīn aw aḡtaru* = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.132:** 79,4-6 (... *ḡaddaṭanā Ṣafwānu bnu 'Abdi r-Raḡmāni bni Ġubayrin qāla*) *lammā ḡalā 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi riḍwānu Llāhi 'alayhi 'an Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi t-turāba wa-z-zibla l-laḍi kāna 'alayhā amara n-nāsa an lā yuṣallā fihā ḡattā tuṣibuhā ṭalātu maṭarātīn* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.41:** 54,12f. (*anba'anā Ismā'īlu ... 'an 'Abdi r-Raḡmāni bni Ġubayri bni Nufayrin 'an abihi qāla*) *lammā ḡalā* (Hasson reads *ḡalā*) *'Umaru l-mazbalata 'ani ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qāla lā tuṣallū fihā ḡattā yuṣibuhū* (read *tuṣibuhā*, with al-Wāsiṭī) *ṭalātu maṭarātīn*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.142:** 88,6f. *wa-yanzilu malaku LṢWH (read malaku ṣ-ṣūri) fa-yaqūmu 'alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaḡṣuru n-nāsa 'urātan ḡufātan ḡurlan* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.347:** 235,2f. *wa-yanzilu malaku ṣ-ṣūri fa-yaqūmu 'alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaḡṣuru n-nāsa ḡufātan 'urātan 'uzlan* (read *ḡurlan*); **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.143:** 88,14f. (*ḡaddaṭanā 'Umaru ... 'ani bni 'Abbāsa*) *'yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin'* (**Koran** 50.41) *qāla min Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* = **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.144:** 89, 2f. (*ḡaddaṭanā 'Umaru ... 'an Qutādata*) *fī qawlihi ta'ālā 'yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin'* (**Koran** 50.41) *qāla min Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.124:** 111,8f. (... *'ani bni 'Abbāsa*) *fī qawli Llāhi ta'ālā 'yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin'* (**Koran** 50.41) *qāla min Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.145:** 89,6f. (... *ḡaddaṭanā 'Abdu r-Raḡmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ġābirin 'an abihi fī qawlihi ta'ālā 'wa-stami' yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin'* (**Koran** 50.41)) *qāla yaqifu Isrāfilu 'alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.126:** 111,15f. (... *anba'anā 'Abdu r-Raḡmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ġābirin 'an abihi fī qawlihi 'wa-stami' yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin'* (**Koran** 50.41)) *qāla yaqifu Isrāfilu 'alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.5:** 13,15-14,1 (*lammā*

B045.1. The suggestion that in some instances *Mihrāb Dāwūd* refers to the ROCK<sup>2</sup> is not supported by the sources (B131.1.a).

**B045.2. Position:** The Rock is under the dome of the Dome of the Rock (B038.2). Over the Rock (‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra) in the centre of the dome (*fī wasaṭ al-qubba*) a chain (*silsila*) is suspended and on this chain, from the time of ‘Abd al-Malik on, were the pearl called "the Unique" (*durrat al-Yatīma*), the Two Horns of the Ram of Abraham (*Qarnā Kabš Ibrāhīm*) and the Crown of [the Sāsānid great king] Chosroes (*Tāḡ Kisrā*), until the ‘Abbāsids transferred these items to the Ka‘ba.<sup>3</sup> The Rock is inside a fence (*darābazīn*) (B044.2), which possibly

*tāba Llāhu ‘alā Dāwūda ... wa-ṣalaḥat umūru Banī Isrā’īla ...)* *fa-ḥtāra lahumu t-tā’ūna wa-amarahum an yataḡahhazū wa-yalbasū* (Livne-Kafri reads *tumma yalbasū*) *aktānahum wa-yaḥruḡū bi-nisā’ihim wa-imā’ihim wa-awlādihim amāmahum wa-hum ḥalfahum ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-ṣa’idi l-ladī banā ‘alayhi Bayta l-Maqdisi* (read *buniya ‘alayhi Baytu l-Maqdisi*) *wa-huwa yawma’idīn Ṣ’YH* (read *ṣa’idun*); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.37**: 51,15 (transl. Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 99-104; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 15) (... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu ... qāla li-biṭrīqihā dullinī ‘alā Masḡidi Dāwūda ‘alayhi s-salāmu ... fa-ḥabā bayna yaday ‘Umara wa-ḥabā ‘Umaru ḥalfahu wa-ḥabawnā ḥalfahu*) *ḥattā afḍaynā ilā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-stawfatnā fihi qiyāman* (read *wa-stawaynā fihi qiyāman*; Busse reads *wa-stawqafanā fihi qiyāman*); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.38**: 51,19 (see Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) (*ḡā’a kitābu Rasūli Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama* (add *ilā qayṣara*) *wa-huwa bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi mazbalatun*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.55**: 68,4f. *wa-hādā d-du‘ā’u* (**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.55**: 68,2-5) *da‘ā bihi Dāwūdu ‘alayhi s-salāmu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā kaṣafa Llāhu ta‘ālā t-tā’ūna ‘an Banī Isrā’īla*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.134**: 114,18 *uhbiṭa* (read *habaṭa*) *Ādamu ‘alayhi s-salāmu bi-l-Hindī fa-ḥarra sāḡidan ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.216**: 161,11-13 *tukrahu ṣ-ṣalātu fī sab‘i mawāṭina ‘alā l-Ka‘bati wa-‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-‘alā Ṭūri Zaytā wa-‘alā Ṭūri Sīnā’a wa-‘alā ṣ-Ṣafā wa-l-Marwati wa-‘alā l-Ḡamrati wa-Ḡabali ‘Arafata*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.399**: 259,20; 261,7; 261,16; 262,4f.; 262,16; 264,11-13 *wa-Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi hiya wasaṭu l-arḍina kullihā ... wa-yanfuḥu Isrā’īlu* (read *Isrā’īlu*) *fī ṣ-ṣūri ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi yunādī ... wa-‘yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’* (**Koran** 50.41) *min Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-naẓara Ya‘qūbu ilā l-malā’ikati ta‘ruḡu wa-tahbuṭu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-‘yunādī l-munādī’* (**Koran** 50.41) *‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-yaqūlu Llāhu ta‘ālā li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-‘izzatī la-aḍa’anna ‘alayki ‘Arṣī wa-la-aḡṣuranna ilayki ḥalqī wa-la-uḡriyanna anḥāraki nahran min labanin wa-nahran min ‘asalin wa-nahran min ḥamrin* (cf. **Koran** 47.15);.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.121**: 75,10f. *innamā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-lati kānat bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi āyatan* (I read *l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kānat āyatan*) *li-Banī Isrā’īla* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.155**: 127,8f. *innamā kānati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi āyatan li-Banī Isrā’īla*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.125**: 111,11f. (*anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Razzāqa ‘an Mu‘ammarin*) *fī qawlihi ‘yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’* (**Koran** 50.41) *qāla balaḡanā annahu yunādī mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.359**: 240,14 (*bayna-mā Bnu ‘Abbāsa ‘inda Zamzama ... qāla* [Wahb b. Munabbih?] *aḥbirnī ‘an qawli Llāhi ta‘ālā ‘yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’* (**Koran** 50.41) *mā hādā qāla*) *yawma ya’muru Llāhu Isrā’īla wa-huwa wāqifun ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi (... fa-hādā ‘min makānin qarībin’* (**Koran** 50.41)).

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99-101.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.122**: 75,16-76,3 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Bashear, "Abraham's Sacrifice" 275; Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 71) *kāna fī s-silsilati l-lati fī wasaṭi l-qubbati ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati durratu l-Yatimati wa-Qarnā Kabšī Ibrāhīma ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-Tāḡu Kisrā mu‘allaqatan fihā ayyāma*

runs in an octagon made of two squares, a first square drawn between the four PILLARS of the CIRCULAR ARCADE and a second square drawn between its MIDDLE COLUMNS (B044.2). The Rock is more or less the ROCK.

B045.2.a. There must be some space in between the columns around the Rock (at the CENTRAL ARCADE) and the fence (B044.2.a). Bedrock stays as it is or gets - especially at a venerated place - smaller, but does not become larger. We may therefore assume that the Marwānīd Rock has at least the dimensions of the High 'Abbāsīd Rock (B118.4).

**B045.3. Physical shape:** This is obviously bedrock, but we know no details. The CAVE under the ROCK is not mentioned. The Rock has its place under the brilliant light of the dome, but is, behind its fence, invisible to anybody standing outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE. The centre of the whole building is therefore a column of brilliant light hanging over the invisible Rock (B043.3.c).

B045.3.a. Neither the entry to the CAVE under the ROCK nor the CAVE proper are mentioned. The procession around the Rock inside the inner arcade may be used as evidence that there was no entry to a cave to cross (B044.2.a). There may nevertheless have been a cave, perhaps smaller than today and later enlarged, but evidently with no entry. (It may be worth recalling that Golgotha has a cave underneath,<sup>1</sup> but the Tomb of Christ is a cave itself.<sup>2</sup>)

B045.3.b. There is an unusual FLAT PRAYER-NICHE of marble in today's CAVE, east of the STAIRCASE leading down.<sup>3</sup> Some have assumed that this is the oldest prayer-niche we know of, but others prefer a later date;

---

*'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna fa-lammā šārati l-ḥilāfatu ilā Banī Hāšimin ḥawwalūhā ilā l-Ka'batī = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.156: 127, 13-15 kāna fī s-silsilati l-lati kānat fī wasaṭi l-qubbati 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati durratu l-Yatīmati wa-Qarnā Kabši Ibrāhīma 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-Taḡu Kisrā mu'allaqatan fihā ayyāma 'Abdi l-Maliki fa-lammā šārati l-ḥilāfatu l-lati (read ilā) Banī Hāšimin ḥawwalūhā ilā l-Ka'batī.*

For the tradition of the pearl *al-Yatīma* "the Unique", the Horns of the Ram of Abraham and the Crown of Chosroes, see A104.

The pearl "al-Yatīma" is mentioned in Fāṭimid **al-Bīrūnī**, *Ġamāhir* 152,10-14 (see Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 71; Shalem, "al-Yatīma" 78) *fa-ammā d-durratu l-Yatīmatu fa-qad atā bihā Hišāmu bnu 'Abdi l-Maliki wa-ḥindahū mra'atuhu 'Abdatu bintu 'Abdi Llāhi bni Yazīda bni Mu'āwiyata wa-kānat mufriṭata s-simani ... fa-qāla lahā Hišāmu - in qumti bi-nafsiki min ḡayri sti'ānatin bi-aḥadin fa-laki ḥāḍihi d-durratu ... fa-ḡasalahā Hišāmu wa-a'ṭahā d-durrata ...; al-Bīrūnī, Ġamāhir* 152,16-20 (see Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 72; Shalem, "al-Yatīma" 78) *fa-lammā ntaqadāt dawlatu Banī Umayyata wa-ntudiba 'Abdu Llāhi bnu 'Alīyin li-yabī'a wadā'i'a Marwāna bni Muḥammadin ḡumiza ilayhi bi-anna 'inda 'Abdata d-durrata l-Yatīmata wa-qurṭāni bi-qiyālihā fa-aḡdarahā wa-ṭalabahā bi-dālika ilayhi ... fa-sallamat dālika ilayhi wa-kānat ḥamalathu ma'a nafsihā.*

For the pearl *al-Yatīma* and for the suspending of items at holy places, see A104.

<sup>1</sup>Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel" 10.

<sup>2</sup>Busink, *Tempel* 1002 erroneously speaks of a cave under the Anastasis.

<sup>3</sup>For the FLAT PRAYER-NICHE in the CAVE under the ROCK, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 100; fig. 374; ; Baer, "Miḥrāb"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 74; 79f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 72 n. 93; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 135; 140; Myres, "Overview" 339; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 644 n. 73.



without parallels, we should not attribute too much importance to it.

**B045.4. Contemporary events:** ‘Abd al-Malik built the dome over the Rock (B014.6). From the time of ‘Abd al-Malik on, on the chain (*silsila*) over the Rock (‘*alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) in the centre of the dome (*fī wasaṭ al-qubba*), the pearl called "the Unique" (*durrat al-Yatīma*), the Two Horns of the Ram of Abraham (*Qarnā Kabš Ibrāhīm*) and the Crown of Chosroes (*Tāğ Kisrā*) were suspended, until the ‘Abbāsids transferred these items to the Ka‘ba (B045.1).

**B045.5. Traditions (Muslim):** Prior to creation<sup>1</sup> God stood for forty years<sup>2</sup> on the Rock as on his ascent (*maqām*,<sup>3</sup> *mawḍi‘ maqām*); after the creation<sup>2</sup> God rose from the Rock

---

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.132:** 114,4-11 (transl. partly Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 64) (*fa-qāla ‘Ubādatu bnu ṣ-Ṣāmīti lā wa-l-ladī kānati Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi maqāman lahu arba‘īna sanatan mā kāna ka-dī* (read *kaḍā wa-kaḍā*) *wa-hāḍā aḥaḍathu ṣ-ṣaḥābatu min kutubi Llāhi ta‘ālā l-munzalati ya’nī dālika wa-Llāhu a‘lamu anna Llāha ta‘ālā šarrafahā wa-‘azzamahā qabla an yazhara li-l-ḥalqi fa-yu‘azzimūnahā arba‘īna sanatan wa-yuwaḍḍi‘u* (possibly read *wa-yuwaḍḍiḥu*) *dālika anna l-Buḥārīya rawā ‘an Rasūli Llāhi ‘alayhi s-salāmu anna l-Ka‘bata buniyat qabla Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-arba‘īna sanatan tumma banā Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *buniya Masğidu Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *ba‘da dālika wa-‘azzamahu l-ḥalqu wa-kāna Llāhu ta‘ālā qabla an yazhara li-l-ḥalqi qad qaddasahu wa-bāraka fīhi wa-šarrafahu wa-‘azzamahu arba‘īna sanatan fa-li-dālika muğāzun hāḍā l-ḥadiṭu wa-Llāhu a‘lamu wa-qad fassarnā dālika fī kitābinā hāḍā wa-šarahnāhu bi-šarḥin atamma min hāḍā wa-huwa ya’tī fī mā ba‘du in šā’a Llāhu ta‘ālā; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.192: 153,3f. (see Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 63-66) (*anba’anā l-Walīdu bnu Muḥammadin ‘an Tawrin qāla sa’altuhu mā yaqūluhu n-nāsu fī hāḍihi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati inna Llāha ta‘ālā qāma ‘alayhā ... qāla š-šayḥu* [Ibn al-Murağğā] ...) *fa-qawluhu mā wa-kānat* (read *fa-qawluhu wa-kānat*) *maqāman lahu ay šarrafahā bi-dālika qabla an yanšura fihā l-ḥalqa*.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.113:** 70,1f. (*fa-qāla ‘Ubādatu bnu ṣ-Ṣāmīti lā wa-l-ladī kānat Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi lahu maqāman arba‘īna sanatan mā kāna kaḍā wa-kaḍā* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.132:** 114,4-11 (transl. partly Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 64) (*fa-qāla ‘Ubādatu bnu ṣ-Ṣāmīti lā wa-l-ladī kānati Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi maqāman lahu arba‘īna sanatan mā kāna ka-dī* (read *kaḍā wa-kaḍā*) *wa-hāḍā aḥaḍathu ṣ-ṣaḥābatu min kutubi Llāhi ta‘ālā l-munzalati ya’nī dālika wa-Llāhu a‘lamu anna Llāha ta‘ālā šarrafahā wa-‘azzamahā qabla an yazhara li-l-ḥalqi fa-yu‘azzimūnahā arba‘īna sanatan wa-yuwaḍḍi‘u* (possibly read *wa-yuwaḍḍiḥu*) *dālika anna l-Buḥārīya rawā ‘an Rasūli Llāhi ‘alayhi s-salāmu anna l-Ka‘bata buniyat qabla Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-arba‘īna sanatan tumma banā Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *buniya Masğidu Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *ba‘da dālika wa-‘azzamahu l-ḥalqu wa-kāna Llāhu ta‘ālā qabla an yazhara li-l-ḥalqi qad qaddasahu wa-bāraka fīhi wa-šarrafahu wa-‘azzamahu arba‘īna sanatan fa-li-dālika muğāzun hāḍā l-ḥadiṭu wa-Llāhu a‘lamu wa-qad fassarnā dālika fī kitābinā hāḍā wa-šarahnāhu bi-šarḥin atamma min hāḍā wa-huwa ya’tī fīmā ba‘du in šā’a Llāhu ta‘ālā; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.192: 150,19 (see Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 63-66) (*anba’anā l-Walīdu bnu Muḥammadin ‘an Tawrin qāla sa’altuhu mā yaqūluhu n-nāsu fī hāḍihi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati inna Llāha ta‘ālā qāma ‘alayhā ... qāla š-šayḥu* [Ibn al-Murağğā] ...) *lā wa-l-ladī kānati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu maqāman lahu arba‘īna sanatan wa-iškāluhu*.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.192:** 150,19; 153,3f. (see Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 63-66) (*anba’anā l-Walīdu bnu Muḥammadin ‘an Tawrin qāla sa’altuhu mā yaqūluhu n-nāsu fī hāḍihi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati inna Llāha ta‘ālā qāma ‘alayhā ... qāla š-šayḥu ...*) *lā wa-l-ladī kānati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu maqāman lahu arba‘īna sanatan wa-iškāluhu ... fa-qawluhu mā wa-kānat* (read *fa-qawluhu wa-kānat*) *maqāman lahu ay šarrafahā bi-dālika qabla an yanšura fihā l-ḥalqa*.

to heaven<sup>3</sup> and put his foot (*qadam*) on the Rock;<sup>4</sup> God chose this Rock because the Rock humbled itself down when all other mountains stretched out and [proudly] offered their service;<sup>5</sup> God spread all land from beneath this Rock.<sup>1</sup> **Adam** made ritual prayer on it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.192:** 150,17 (see Livne-Kafri, "Two Additional Notes" 63-66) (*anba'anā l-Walīdu bnu Muḥammadin 'an Tawrin qāla sa'altuhu mā yaqūluhu n-nāsu fī hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati inna Llāha ta'ālā qāma 'alayhā qāla ayi l-laḍī lā ilāha illā huwa la-qad qāma 'alayhā tumma kānat ḥaytu šā'a*) *tumma qāla hādā mawḍi'u maqāmī.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.114:** 70,6-10.12 (*ḥaddaṭanā Sawādatu bnu 'Aṭā'a l-Ḥaḍramīyu qāla*) *nağidu fī l-kitābi maktūban anna Llāha 'azza wa-ğalla lammā ḥalaqa l-arḍa wa-šā'a an ya'ruğā 'ilā s-samā'i wa-hiya duḥānuni* (cf. **Koran** 41.11) *stašrafa li-dālika l-ğibālī annahā* (read *ayyuhā*) *yakūnu dālika 'alayhi wa-ḥaša'at Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi tawāḍu'an li-'aẓamati Llāhi 'azza wa-ğalla fa-šakara Llāhu lahā dālika wa-ğā'ala l-Mi'rāğā 'anhā wa-kāna 'alayhā mā šā'a Llāhu an yakūna ... fa-kāna Mi'rāğuhu ilā s-samā'i 'ani ṣ-Ṣaḥrati = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.120: 108,17-109,3 (*anba'anā Sawādatu bnu 'Aṭā'a l-Ḥaḍramīyu qāla*) *nağidu fī l-kitābi maktūban anna Llāha ta'ālā lammā ḥalaqa l-arḍa wa-šā'a an ya'ruğā 'ilā s-samā'i wa-hiya duḥānuni* (cf. **Koran** 41.11) *stašrafa li-dālika l-ğibālī annahā takūnu* (read *ayyuhā yakūnu*) *dālika 'alayhi wa-ḥaša'at Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi tawāḍu'an li-'aẓamati Llāhi ta'ālā fa-šakara Llāhu lahā dālika wa-ğā'ala li-stiwā'a 'anhā qāla fa-kāna 'alayhā mā šā'a an yakūna.**

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.111:** 69,3 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu* [God] *yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-minki rtafa'tu ilā s-samā'i ilā s-samā'i = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.113: 106,7 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu* [God] *yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-minki rtafa'tu ilā s-samā'i; al-Wāsiṭī Nr.114: 70,6-10.12 (*ḥaddaṭanā Sawādatu bnu 'Aṭā'a l-Ḥaḍramīyu qāla*) *nağidu fī l-kitābi maktūban anna Llāha 'azza wa-ğalla lammā ḥalaqa l-arḍa wa-šā'a an ya'ruğā 'ilā s-samā'i wa-hiya duḥānuni* (cf. **Koran** 41.11) *stašrafa li-dālika l-ğibālī annahā* (read *ayyuhā*) *yakūnu dālika 'alayhi wa-ḥaša'at Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi tawāḍu'an li-'aẓamati Llāhi 'azza wa-ğalla fa-šakara Llāhu lahā dālika wa-ğā'ala l-Mi'rāğā 'anhā wa-kāna 'alayhā mā šā'a Llāhu an yakūna ... fa-kāna Mi'rāğuhu ilā s-samā'i 'ani ṣ-Ṣaḥrati = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.120: 108,17-109,3 (*anba'anā Sawādatu bnu 'Aṭā'a l-Ḥaḍramīyu qāla*) *nağidu fī l-kitābi maktūban anna Llāha ta'ālā lammā ḥalaqa l-arḍa wa-šā'a an ya'ruğā 'ilā s-samā'i wa-hiya duḥānuni* (cf. **Koran** 41.11) *stašrafa li-dālika l-ğibālī annahā takūnu* (read *ayyuhā yakūnu*) *dālika 'alayhi wa-ḥaša'at Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi tawāḍu'an li-'aẓamati Llāhi ta'ālā fa-šakara Llāhu lahā dālika wa-ğā'ala li-stiwā'a 'anhā qāla fa-kāna 'alayhā mā šā'a an yakūna; al-Wāsiṭī Nr.116: 71,8 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu* [God] *yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *anti 'Aršī l-Adnā wa-minki rtafa'tu ilā s-samā'i = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.122: 109,15 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti yaqūlu Llāhu ta'ālā li-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) (read *li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *anti 'Aršī l-Adnā wa-minki rtafa'tu ilā s-samā'i; al-Wāsiṭī Nr.117: 72,9f. (see van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 92f.) (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama lammā usriya bī ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi marra bī Ġabrā'il ... fa-qāla ...*) *tumma utiya bī ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-qāla min hāhunā 'arağā rabbuka ilā s-samā'i fa-alhamanī Llāhu 'azza wa-ğalla an qultu naḥnu bi-mawḍi'in 'arağā minhu rabbi ilā s-samā'i; al-Wāsiṭī Nr.118: 72,14f. (*qāla Llāhu 'azza wa-ğalla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-minki rtafa'tu ilā s-samā'i.********

For the Muslim tradition that God rose from the Rock to heaven, see A084.b.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.88:** 58,2f. (... *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*) *inna Llāha awḥā ilā l-arḍi innī wāṭi'un 'alā ba'ḍiki fa-sta'alat ilayhi l-ğibālu wa-tawāḍa'ati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu fa-šakara Llāhu lahā fa-waḍa'a qadamahu 'alayhā.*

For God's foot on the Rock, for his feet and their imprints in Jerusalem, in general, see B045.5.a.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.88:** 58,2f. (... *qāla Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*) *inna Llāha awḥā ilā l-arḍi innī wāṭi'un 'alā ba'ḍiki fa-sta'alat ilayhi l-ğibālu wa-tawāḍa'ati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu fa-šakara Llāhu lahā fa-waḍa'a qadamahu 'alayhā; al-Wāsiṭī Nr.114: 70,6-9 (*ḥaddaṭanā Sawādatu bnu 'Aṭā'a l-Ḥaḍramīyu qāla*) *nağidu fī l-kitābi maktūban anna Llāha 'azza wa-ğalla lammā ḥalaqa l-arḍa wa-šā'a an ya'ruğā 'ilā s-samā'i wa-hiya duḥānuni* (cf. **Koran** 41.11) *stašrafa li-dālika l-ğibālī annahā* (read *ayyuhā*) *yakūnu dālika 'alayhi wa-ḥaša'at Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi tawāḍu'an li-'aẓamati Llāhi 'azza wa-ğalla fa-šakara Llāhu lahā dālika wa-ğā'ala l-Mi'rāğā 'anhā ... fa-kāna**

**Abraham** put his foot on the Rock when he set it up as the prayer-direction for mankind.<sup>3</sup> **Jacob** saw the angels ascending to heaven from the Rock and descending onto the Rock.<sup>4</sup> This is the Prayer-direction of **Moses** (*Qiblat Mūsā*) [the First Prayer-Direction], not the Prayer-direction of Muḥammad (*Qiblat Muḥammad*) [the Second Prayer-Direction].<sup>5</sup> In the time of **David** the Rock of the Temple (*Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*) was here and the plain where he then built the Temple (*aṣ-ṣaʿīd al-ladī banā ʿalayhi Bayt al-Maqdis*); during the pestilence David ordered the Children of Israel to come here to pray, and after the pestilence he told them that here, where God had had mercy upon them, would be the best place to build a mosque (*masǧid*) (B014.7); he himself prayed on top of the Rock of Jerusalem (*ʿalā Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*) until God stopped the pestilence;<sup>6</sup> after the pestilence, he ascended the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and thanked God;<sup>7</sup> in the time of David, the Chain which [in a lawsuit] only the party in the right was able to touch, but not the party in the wrong, was suspended in front [east] of the Rock (*bi-ḥiyāl aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B033.5). In the time of **Solomon** the Rock had a height of 12 *dirāʿ al-amān* (7.98 m).<sup>8</sup> In the time of the **Children of Israel** the Rock had a

---

*Miʿrāǧuhu ilā s-samāʾi ʿani ṣ-Ṣaḥrati = Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.120: 108,17-109,2 (anbaʾanā Sawādatu bnu ʿAṭāʾa l-Ḥaḍramīyu qāla) naǧidu fī l-kitābi maktūban anna Llāha taʿālā lammā ḥalaqa l-arḍa wa-šāʾa an yaʿruǧa ʿilā s-samāʾi wa-ḥiya duḥānuniʾ (cf. **Koran** 41.11) stašrafa li-dālīka l-ǧībālī annahā takūnu (read ayyuhā yakūnu) dālīka ʿalayhi wa-ḥašaʾat Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi tawāḍuʿan li-ʿaẓamati Llāhi taʿālā fa-šakara Llāhu lahā dālīka wa-ǧaʿala li-stiwāʾa ʿanhā.*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.111: 69,4 (inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...) wa-min taḥṭiki basaṭtu l-arḍa = Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.113: 106,8 (inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...) wa-min taḥṭiki basaṭtu l-arḍa.**

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.134: 114,18 uḥbiṭa** (Livne-Kafri reads *habaṭa*) *Ādamu ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-l-Hindi fa-ḥarra sāǧidan ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

<sup>3</sup>**Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb 3 35,16-18** (transl. van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 93f.; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 113).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.399: 262,4f. wa-naẓara Yaʿqūbu ilā l-malāʾikati taʿruǧu wa-taḥbuṭu ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi.**

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.39: 53,2f. fa-qāla ʿUmaru li-Kaʿbin ayna tarā an taǧʿala** (read *naǧʿala*) *l-masǧida qāla ǧʿalhu ḥalfa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-taǧmaʿi l-qiblatayni Qiblata Mūsā wa-Qiblata Muḥammadin ṣalawātu Llāhi ʿalayhim* (read *ʿalayhimā*).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.55: 68,4f. wa-ḥadā d-duʿāʾu (Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.55: 68,2-5) daʿā bihi Dāwūdu ʿalayhi s-salāmu ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā kašafa Llāhu taʿālā t-ṭāʿūna ʿan Banī Isrāʾīla.**

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.5: 14,9f. (fa-rafaʿa Llāhu ʿanhumu t-ṭāʿūna) ṭumma ʿamada Dāwūdu wa-rtaqā ṣ-Ṣaḥrata wa-ṭalaba nawmahu ilā l-layli rāfiʿan yadayhi yuǧdī** (read *yuḥaddīṭu*) *li-Llāhi šukran.*

<sup>8</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137: 84,11f. (see Elad, Jerusalem 106-108) wa-kānati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu ayyāma Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda irtifaʿuhā tñā ʿašara dirāʿan wa-kāna d-dirāʿu dirāʿa l-amāni dirāʿun wa-šibrun wa-qabḍatun = Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.17: 24,6-8 wa-kāna rtifaʿu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati zamana Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda tñay ʿašara dirāʿan wa-kāna d-dirāʿu dirāʿa l-amāni wa-šibrun** (read *dirāʿun wa-šibrun*, with al-Wāsiṭī) *wa-qabḍatun.*

<sup>9</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.121: 75,10-13 innamā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-lati kānat bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi āyatun** (I read *l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kānat āyatan*) *li-Banī Isrāʾīla kāna lahum ṭastun fīhi silsilatun wa-kāna fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati naqḥun wa-kānū yuʿalliqūna bihi s-silsilata wa-s-silsilatu fī wasaṭi t-ṭaṣṭi ṭumma yuqarribūna* (Hasson reads *yuqarribūna qur-bānahum*, allegedly with **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā**) *fa-mā tuqubbila minhum uḥida wa-mā lam yutaqabbal minhum*

hole (*naqb*, *taqb*), with a plate (*ṭast*, *ṭašt*) suspended by a chain (*silsila*) for their offerings; all offerings accepted were taken away [by God], all offerings refused poured down on the ground;<sup>9</sup> the Torah calls the altar *haykal* (B024.4), the Sons of Aaron (*wuld Hārūn*) [the priests] used to call the Rock in Hebrew *haykal*; a fire [God] used to come in the shape of a lion from the Mount of Olives through the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) to the Rock, and the Sons of Aaron (*wuld Hārūn*) [the priests] used to greet it (B024.4). **All prophets from Adam up to Muḥammad** prayed in the direction of the Rock [as the First Prayer-Direction].<sup>1</sup> On his Night Journey **Muḥammad** was brought here;<sup>2</sup> he led the ritual prayer of the prophets at the Rock and then ascended to heaven from here.<sup>3</sup> **Before the Muslim conquest** of the city the Rock was covered with garbage,<sup>4</sup> the area of the former Temple

---

*ulṣiqa ilā l-arḍi (wa-labisū l-musūḥa ilā miṭliḥā [?]) = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.155: 127,8-11 innamā kānati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi āyatan li-Banī Isrāʾīla kānat (read kāna) lahum ṭaštun fiḥi silsilatun wa-kāna fi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati taqbun wa-kānū yuʿalliqūna bihi s-silsilata fi wasaṭi ṭ-ṭašti tumma yuqarribūna fa-mā tuqubbila minhum uḥida wa-mā lam yutaqabbal minhum ulṣiqa ilā l-arḍi (wa-labisū l-masmūḥa ilā miṭliḥā [?]).*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.78:** 51,9f. *lam yabʿaṭi Llāhu ʿazza wa-ḡalla muḍ habaṭa Ādamu ilā d-dunyā yaʿnī nabīyan illā ḡaʿala qiblatahu Ṣaḥrata Bayti l-Maqdisi = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.99:* 98,9f. *lam yabʿaṭi Llāhu taʿālā mundu habaṭa Ādamu ilā d-dunyā nabīyan illā ḡaʿala qiblatahu Ṣaḥrata Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.21:** 32,10-12 (... *li-l-bādiyati ... wa-n-Nabīyu ʿalayhi s-salāmu qāla*) *wa-yuftaḥu abwābu abwābiki (read wa-yuftaḥu abwābuki) dāʾimani l-layla wa-n-nahāra lā yuḡlaqu (read lā tuḡlaqu) wa-yattaḥidūnaki qiblatan wa-tudʾayna baʿdu madīnata r-rabbi ay Bayta Llāhi taʿālā wa-hādā mā yusabbihu Llāhu mina ṣ-ṣalāti ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-taḥwili l-qiblati ilā l-Kaʿbati.*

For the Jewish prayer-direction towards Jerusalem, the two Muslim prayer-directions and the change from the first towards Jerusalem to the second towards Mecca, see A076.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.29:** 39,20 (see Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 14; 25f.; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 279f.; 286) (... *ṣayḥun kabīrun ... fa-qāla yā maʿšara n-Naṣārā ... wa-qāla lahum fīmā yaqūlu idā fariḡtum min ḥādihi fa-aḥrabūhu wa-ttaḥidūhu mazbalatan LʾDR (read li-ʿadārātikum) fa-faʿalū dālīka ḥattā kānati l-marʾatu taṭruḥu ḥayḍatahā (read ḥiraqa ḥayḍatihā) ʿalayhi mina l-Qusṭanṭīnah (read mina l-Qusṭanṭīni yati) taʿbaṭu bihi fa-yakṭruḥu (read bihā fa-taṭruḥu) ʿalayhā fa-makaṭa ka-dālīka) ḥattā baʿaṭa Llāhu Muḥammadun (read Muḥammadan) ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-asrā bihi ilayhā.*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.117:** 72,10f. (see van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 92f.) (*qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama lammā usriya bi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi marra bi Ḡabrāʾil ... fa-qāla ... tumma utiya bi ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-qāla min ḥāhunā ʿaraḡa rabbuka ilā s-samāʾi ...*) *fa-ṣallaytu bi-n-nabīyīna tumma ʿuriḡa bi ilā s-samāʾi.*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.129:** 78,6-8 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ismāʾīlu bnu ʿAyyāša ... ʿan ʿAbdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ḡubayri bni Nufayrin ʿan abīhi qāla*) *lammā ḡalā ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu ʿan Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi l-mazbalata l-lati kānat ʿalayhā qāla lanā lā tuṣallū ʿalayhā ḥattā tuṣibuhā ṭalātu maṭarātin aw akṭaru = al-Wāsiṭi Nr.132:* 79,4-6 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ṣafwānu bnu ʿAbdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ḡubayrin qāla*) *lammā ḡalā ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi riḍwānu Llāhi ʿalayhi ʿan Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi t-turāba wa-z-zibla l-ladī kāna ʿalayhā amara n-nāsa an lā yuṣallā fiḥā ḥattā tuṣibuhā ṭalātu maṭarātin = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.41:* 54,12f. (*anbaʿanā Ismāʾīlu ... ʿan ʿAbdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ḡubayri bni Nufayrin ʿan abīhi qāla*) *lammā ḡalā (Hasson reads ḡalā) ʿUmaru l-mazbalata ʿanī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qāla lā tuṣallū fiḥā ḥattā yuṣibuhu (read tuṣibuhā, with al-Wāsiṭi) ṭalātu maṭarātin; al-Wāsiṭi Nr.131:* 78,16-79,1 *lammā fataḥa ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu Bayta l-Maqdisi waḡada ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ziblan kaṭīran mimma ṭaraḡahu r-Rūmu ḡayzan li-Banī Isrāʾīla (fa-basaṭa ʿUmaru riḍāʾahu fa-ḡaʿala yaknusu dālīka z-zibla wa-ḡaʿala l-Muslimūna yaknusūna maʿahu); Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.39:* 52,13-53,2 (see Busse, "Omar b.

was a garbage dump (*mazbala*) where the women sent their menstruation wraps from Constantinople (*al-Qusṭanṭīniya*) until God sent Muḥammad and brought him here on his Night Journey;<sup>1</sup> on top of the Rock there was a garbage dump [so high] that it was opposite the Chamber of David [the CITADEL, which is on much higher ground] (*mazbala qad ḥādat Miḥrāb Dāwūd*) and [ritually unclean] menstruation wraps were sent here from Rome (*Rūmiya*), so when the Byzantine emperor (*qayṣar*) received a letter from Muḥammad, he told his people (*ar-Rūm*) that because of their desecration of the holiness (*ḥurma*) of this mosque [the Temple], they deserved to be killed like the Children of Israel who were killed [by Nebukadnezar] because of their murder of John, the son of Zechariah (*Yaḥyā b. Zakarīyā*), [the Biblical prophet Zechariah]; he ordered them to clean the mosque, but when the Muslims arrived only one-third had been cleaned;<sup>2</sup> the garbage dump was there because the Byzantines (*ar-Rūm*)/the Christians (*an-Naṣārā*) wanted to make the Jews (*Banū Isrāʾīl*, *al-Yahūd*) angry.<sup>3</sup> When ʿUmar came to Jerusalem, the πατρικίος of Jerusalem (*biṭriq Bayt al-Maqdis*)

---

al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 91; Busse, "'Omar's Image" 168) (... ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ...) *ṭumma atāhā ʿUmaru wa-maʿahu Kaʿbun fa-qāla ya-Abā Ishāqa* (Livne-Kafri reads *yā Abā Ishāqa*) *ṣ-Ṣaḥratu a-taʿrifu Mawḍiʿahā qāla draʿ mina l-ḥāʾiṭi l-laḍi yalī Wādī Ḡahannuma ka-dā wa-ka-dā* (Livne-Kafri reads *ka-dā wa-ka-dā*) *dirāʿan wa-hiya mazbalatun ṭumma ḥfir fa-innaka sa-taḡiduhā fa-ḥafarūhā fa-zaharat lahum*.

Cf. **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.130**: 78,10-12 (see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) *fa-taqaddama raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu* (Hasson reads *fa-taqaddama ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu yaʿnī ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ḥīna arāda kaṣfahā wa-izālata l-mazbalati ʿanhā*) *ḥattā malaʿa asfala ṭawbihi mina l-mazbalati l-latī kānat fī Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.29**: 39,17-20 (see Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 14; 25f.; Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 279f.; 286) (... ṣayḥun kabīrun ... fa-qāla yā maʿsara n-Naṣārā ...) *wa-qāla lahum fīmā yaqūlu idā farigtum min ḥādīhi fa-aḥrabūhu wa-tṭahidūhu mazbalatan LʿDR* (read *li-ʿaḍārātikum*) *fa-faʿalū dālīka ḥattā kānati l-marʿatu taṭruḥu ḥaydatahā* (read *ḥiraqa ḥayḍatihā*) *ʿalayhi mina l-Qusṭanṭīnah* (read *mina l-Qusṭanṭī niyati*) *taʿbatu bihi fa-yakṭruḥu* (read *bihā fa-taṭruḥu*) *ʿalayhā fa-makāta ka-dālīka ḥattā baʿaṭa Llāhu Muḥammadun* (read *Muḥammadan*) *ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-asrā bihi ilayhā*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.38**: 51,18-52,6 (see Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 26 n. 87; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99; Livne-Kafri, "Early Šiʿa" 116) *ḡāʾa kitābu Rasūli Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama* (add *ilā qayṣara*) *wa-huwa bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi mazbalatun qad ḥādat Miḥrāba Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu mimmā alqati n-Naṣārā ʿalayhā muṣāddatan* (read *muḍāddatan*) *li-l-Yahūdi ḥattā an kānati l-marʿatu tabʿatu bi-ḥiraqi ḥayḍihā min Rūmiyata fa-tulqā ʿalayhā qāla qayṣaru ḥīna qaraʿa kitāba Rasūli Llāhi ʿalayhi wa-sallama* (read *ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*) *innakum yā maʿsara r-Rūmi la-ḥalīqan an yuytalū* (read *la-ḥalīqun an tuqtalū*) *ʿalā ḥādīhi l-mazbalati mimmā nta-haktum min ḥurmati ḥādā l-masḡidi ka-mā qutilat Banū Isrāʾīla ʿalā dami Yaḥyā bni Zakarīyā ʿalayhimā s-salāmu fa-amara bi-kansihā fa-aḥaḍū fī dālīka fa-qadima l-Muslimūna ṣ-Ṣaʿma wa-lam yakṣifū minhā illā tulṭahā fa-lammā qadima ʿUmaru ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-fataḥahā wa-raʾā mā ʿalayhā mina l-mazbalati aʿzama dālīka fa-amara bi-kaṣfihā wa-saḥḥara lahā Anbāṭa Filastīna*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.131**: 78,16-79,1 *lammā fataḥa ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu Bayta l-Maqdisi waḡada ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ziblan kaṭīran mimmā ṭarahahu r-Rūmu ḡayṣan li-Banī Isrāʾīla* (*fa-basaṭa ʿUmaru ridāʾahu fa-ḡāʾa yaknusu dālīka z-zibla wa-ḡāʾa l-Muslimūna yaknusu mā ʿahu*); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.38**: 51,19-52 (see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99) *wa-ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*

and ʿUmar found the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) or the Gate of Muḥammad (*Bāb Muḥammad*) [and the corridor behind] with its stairs (*darag̃*) filled with debris, but they nevertheless crawled through and got out in front of the Rock (B018.5). ʿUmar found the Rock with the help of [the scholar] Kaʿb who told him how far away it was from the east wall and that the place was a garbage dump;<sup>1</sup> ʿUmar cleaned the garbage from the Rock;<sup>2</sup> he and the Muslims carried the garbage from the Temple and the Rock away in their own clothes and threw it into the Kidron Valley nearby;<sup>3</sup> he told the Muslims not to pray on the Rock before (at least) three rainfalls had reached it;<sup>4</sup> Kaʿb suggested establishing the prayer-place

---

*mazbalatun qad ḥādat Mihrāba Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu mimma alqati n-Našāra ʿalayhā mušāddatan* (read *mušāddatan*) *li-l-Yahūdī*.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.39:** 52,13-53,2 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 91; Busse, "Omar's Image" 168) (... *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi* ...) *tumma atāhā ʿUmaru wa-maʿahu Kaʿbun fa-qāla ya-Abā Ishāqa* (Livne-Kafri reads *yā Abā Ishāqa*) *ṣ-Ṣaḥratu a-taʿrifu Mawḍiʿahā qāla draʿ mina l-ḥaʿīṭi l-laḍi yalī Wādī Ġahannuma ka-dā wa-ka-dā* (Livne-Kafri reads *ka-dā wa-ka-dā*) *dirāʿan wa-hiya mazbalatun tumma ḥfir fa-innaka sa-taḡiduhā fa-ḥafarūhā fa-ḡaharat lahum*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.129:** 78,6f. *lammā ḡalā ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu ʿan Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi l-mazbalata l-lati kānat ʿalayhā ... = al-Wāsiṭī Nr.132: 79,4f. *lammā ḡalā ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi riḍwānu Llāhi ʿalayhi ʿan Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi t-turāba wa-z-zibla l-laḍi kāna ʿalayhā ... = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.41: 54,12 (*anbaʿanā Ismāʿīlu ... ʿan ʿAbdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ġubayri bni Nufayrin ʿan abihi qāla*) *lammā ḡalā* (Hasson reads *ḡalā*) *ʿUmaru l-mazbalata ʿani ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ...; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.38: 52,6 (see Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) (... *wa-ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi mazbalatun ... fa-qadima l-Muslimūna ṣ-Ṣaʿma wa-lam yakšifū minhā illā tulṭahā fa-lammā qadima ʿUmaru ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-fataḥahā wa-raʿa mā ʿalayhā mina l-mazbalati a-ḡama ḡālīka*) *fa-amara bi-kašfihā*.***

For traditions about ʿUmar cleaning the Rock, see A084.b.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.130:** 78,10-14 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) (... *ḥaddaṭanī šayḥun min wuldi Šaddāda bni Awsin ʿan abihi ʿan ḡaddihi qāla*) *fa-taqaddama raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu* (Hasson reads *fa-taqaddama ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu yaʿnī ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ḥīna arāda kašfahā wa-izālata l-mazbalati ʿanhā*) *ḥattā malaʿa asfala ṭawbihi mina l-mazbalati l-lati kānat fī Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ḡamala wa-ḡamalnā fī ṭiyābinā miṭla mā ḡamala ḥattā alqaynāhu fī l-Wādī ḥattā ḡalā ʿan mušallā ḡamāʿatin mina l-Muslimīna fa-tṭaḥadahu mušallan; al-Wāsiṭī Nr.131: 79,1f. (*lammā fataḥa ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu Bayta l-Maqdisi waḡada ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ziblan kaṭīran mimma ṭarahahu r-Rūmu ḡayḡan li-Banī Isrāʿīla*) *fa-basaṭa ʿUmaru riḍāʿahu fa-ḡaʿala yaknusu ḡālīka z-zibla wa-ḡaʿala l-Muslimūna yaknusūna maʿahu; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 163: 131,10-13 (*ḥaddaṭanā bnu Šaddāda anna ʿUmara maḡā* (Livne-Kafri reads *maḡā*) *ilā muqaddamihi mimma yalī l-ḡarba fa-ḡaṭā fī ṭawbihi mina z-zibli l-laḍi ʿalayhi wa-ḡaṭawnā maʿahu fī ṭiyābinā wa-maḡawnā bi-muḡīyihī ḥattā alqaynāhu fī l-wādī l-laḍi yaqālu lahu Wādī Ġahannuma tumma ʿāda wa-ʿudnā bi-miṭlihi ḥattā šallaynā maʿahu fī mawḍiʿi mašḡidin yuṣallā fīhi ḡamāʿatan fa-ṣallā ʿUmaru raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu binā fīhi* (wa-lam yaqul *ḥaddaṭanī bnu Šaddāda wa-ṣ-ṣawābu ʿani bni Šaddāda ʿan abihi*).**

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.129:** 78,6-8 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ismāʿīlu bnu ʿAyyāša ... ʿan ʿAbdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ġubayri bni Nufayrin ʿan abihi qāla*) *lammā ḡalā ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu ʿan Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi l-mazbalata l-lati kānat ʿalayhā qāla lanā lā tuṣallū ʿalayhā ḥattā tuṣibuhā ṭalātu maṭarātin aw akṭaru = al-Wāsiṭī Nr. 132: 79,4-6 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ṣafwānu bnu ʿAbdi r-Raḥmāni bni Ġubayrin qāla*) *lammā ḡalā ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi riḍwānu Llāhi ʿalayhi ʿan Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi t-turāba wa-z-zibla l-laḍi kāna ʿalayhā amara n-nāsa an lā yuṣallā fīhā ḥattā tuṣibuhā ṭalātu maṭarātin = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.41: 54,12f. (*anbaʿanā Ismāʿīlu ... ʿan ʿAbdi r-***

of the Muslims behind [north of] the Rock to combine the Jewish and the Muslim prayer-directions, but 'Umar preferred a place in front [south of] the Rock because the Muslims are entitled to the mosques' [more noble] front parts (B048.7).

B045.5.a. Parallels to the feet of God and Abraham on the Rock:<sup>1</sup> The Pre-Marwānid Christian place Ancona on the Mount of Olives has a stone with the imprints of the two shoulders of Jesus;<sup>2</sup> the Praetorium and Church of the Hagia Sophia has a stone with the imprints of the feet of Jesus in front of Pilate;<sup>3</sup> the Church of the Ascension has the imprints of the feet of Jesus before he rose to heaven.<sup>4</sup> The Marwānid Christian Church of Mary in the Kidron Valley has a stone with the imprints of the knees of Jesus praying before he was betrayed;<sup>5</sup> the Church of the Ascension has the feet of Jesus before he rose to heaven imprinted in sand.<sup>6</sup> On the 'Āšūrā<sup>7</sup>-Night 335/10-11

---

*Raḥmāni bni Ġubayri bni Nufayrin 'an abihi qāla) lammā ġalā* (Hasson reads *ġalā*) *'Umaru l-mazbalata 'ani ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qāla lā tuṣallū fīhā ḥattā yuṣībuhu* (read *tuṣībuhā*, with al-Wāsiṭi) *ṭalātu maṭarātin*.

<sup>1</sup>For traditions about the feet of God in Jerusalem and their imprints, see Horowitz, "Muhammeds Himmelfahrt" 167f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 49-53; Hirschberg, "Sources" 327 n. 1; Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten" 1 183; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* 365f. n. 69; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 23; 30; Kuchler, "Füsse des Herrn"; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock".

<sup>2</sup>**Theodosius** 146,14-16: 21 *in montem Oliveti* (B *item in monte Oliveti ubi*) *Domnus super lapidem humeros inposuit in qua petra ambo humeri eius descenderunt sicut in cera molle* (G *in cera*) *qui locus Ancona* [égk≈n] *dicitur*.

<sup>3</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 175,7-11.15-17: 23 *Petra autem quadrangulis quae* (G *quadrangolis qui*) *stabat in medio praeturio* (G *preturio*) *in quam* (G *in qua*) *levabatur* (read *levabatur*) *reus qui audiebatur ut ab omni populo audiretur et videretur in qua* (R *in quam*) *levatus est Dominus quando auditus est a Pilato ubi etiam vestigia illius remanserunt. ... Nam petra illa* (read *de petra illa*) *ubi stetit fiunt virtutes multae; tollentes de ipsa vestigia* (R *de ipsis vestigiis*) *pedum mensuram ligantes* (G *mensura legantes*) *pro singulis languoribus et sanantur* = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 206,22-25; 207,1-3: 23 *In qua petra quadrangula in quam reus levabatur ut ab omnibus audiretur et videretur in eam levatus est Dominus quando auditus est a Pilato. Ibique remansit illius imago ... Nam de ipsa petra multae fiunt virtutes; tollentes mensuram de ipsa vestigia* (B *de ipso vestigio*) *et ligant per singulos languores et sanantur*.

For the imprints in the Hagia Sophia, see Milik, "Topographie" 153f.

<sup>4</sup>**Prudentius, Dittochaeon** 169-172 (see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 166) *montis oliviferi Christus de vertice sursum / ad Patrem rediit signans vestigia pacis; / frondibus aeternis praepinguis liquitur umor / qui probat infusum terris de chrismate donum* (**Acts** 1.9-12).

For the imprints of Jesus' feet in the Church of the Ascension, see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 166f.; Pillinger, *Dittochaeon des Prudentius* 107.

<sup>5</sup>**Adomnanus** I 12,13-19: I.12.4 *Hanc inferiorem rotundam sanctae Mariae ecclesiam intrantes illam vident petram ad dexteram parieti* (B *parietis*) *insertam supra* (YZ *super*) *quam Dominus in agro Getsamani* (Z *Gethsamani*, B *Gezamani*) *illa nocte qua tradebatur in Iuda in manus hominum peccatorum flexis oravit genibus* (B *flexis genibus oravit sanctis*) *ante horam traditionis eius* (**Mark** 14.41); *in qua videlicet petra duorum vestigia genuum eius* (B *vestigia duorum genuum*) *quasi in caera mollissima profundius inpresa cernuntur* = **Beda, De locis sanctis** 5,27-29: 5.3 (... *sanctae Mariae rotunda ... ecclesia ...*) *Hanc intrantes vident ad dexteram insertam pariet* (read *insertam parietis*; M *inserta in parietis*) *petram in qua Dominus nocte qua tradebatur oravit vestigiis genuum quasi cera molli inpressis*.

<sup>6</sup>**Adomnanus** I 23,14-41: I.23.4-10 *Nam cum haec de qua nunc pauca commemorantur* (B<sup>2</sup> *commemoravi*) *basilica fabricaretur idem locus vestigiorum Domini ut alibi scriptum repertum est* (B *repertum*, without *est*) *contenuari* (P *contenuam*, YZB *continuari*) *pavimente cum reliqua stratorum parte non potuit siquidem*

August 946, the High 'Abbāsīd Muslim 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees, in a dream, trees of light standing between the [south] Door of the Dome of the Rock and the Copper Gate [of the Roofed Hall], like a path of light white as snow; this is explained to him as the footprints of Muḥammad on the night of the Night Journey (B090.4). A High 'Abbāsīd Jewish tradition has God's glory leaving the city and standing on the mountain east of the city, and his feet standing on that time's Mount of Olives (B014.7.d). The Fāṭimid Muslim Dome of the Rock has, on its Rock, the imprints of little Isaac walking over it (B192.6). The Fāṭimid Jewish Ascent of God's Presence and the Stool of his Feet is on the Mount of Olives (B135.3.a).

B045.5.b. Parallels to the height of the Rock of 12 *dirā' al-amān* in the time of Solomon: In a Marwānīd tradition God will, in the last days, let rain from underneath his [heavenly] Throne until the Temple is covered with water 12 ells deep (B014.9). In a High 'Abbāsīd tradition, the Rock of the Tempel (*Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*) had a height of 12 miles [in the earlier times] (B118.5).

B045.5.c. A parallel to 'Umar and the Muslims carrying garbage in their own clothes from the Rock to the Kidron Valley: In a Marwānīd Muslim tradition, David carried, on his own shoulder, the blocks of the Temple to be built, and put them in place with his own hand (B014.7).

B045.5.d. Marwānīd **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.17** says that in the time of Solomon the

---

*quaecumque adplicabantur insolens humana suscipere terra respueret in ora adponentium excussis marmoribus. Quin etiam calcati Deo (YZB a Deo) pulveris adeo perenne est documentum (YPZ documentum est) ut vestigia cernantur inpressa et cum cotidie confluentium fides a Domino calcata diripiat damnum tamen arena (B harena, YPZ area) non sentit et eandem adhuc sui speciem (B speciem sui) veluti inpraesis (YPZ inpressis, B hinc pressis) signata vestigiis terra custodit. In eodem igitur loco [in the Church of the Ascension] ut sanctus refert Arculfus sedulus eiusdem frequentator aerea grandis per circuitum (B per circuitum grandis) rota desuper explanata (cf. **Adomnanus** I 5,4-6: I.5.1) collocta est cuius altitudo usque ad cervicem haberi monstratur mensurata. In cuius medietate non parva patet pertussura per quam desuper apertam (ZB aperta) vestigia pedum Domini plane et lucide inpressa in pulvere demonstrantur. Illa quoque in rota (B quoque rotunda) ab occidentali parte quasi quaedam semper patet porta ut per eam intrantes facile adire locum sacrati pulveris possint et per apertum desuper eiusdem rotae foramen de sacro pulvere porrectis manibus particulas sumant. Igitur nostri Arculfī de loco vestigiorum Domini narratio cum aliorum scribtis recte concordat quod (Y quia, B que) nec culmine domus nec aliquo speciali inferiore et viciniore tegmine ullo quoquo modo (Y quo/quomodo, PB quoque modo, Z modo) protegi potuerit ut semper manifeste ab universis eius frequentatoribus conspiciatur et Dominicorum vestigia pedum in eiusdem loci pulvere depicta clare demonstrantur. Haec enim eadem Dominica vestigia (Y without in eiusdem ... vestigia) ingentis claritudine lampadis supra eandem rotam in trocleis pendentes die et nocte flammantis inluminantur (Y adds Haec enim eadem dominica vestigia in eiusdem loci pulvere depicta clare demonstrantur) = **Beda, De locis sanctis** 6,11-17: 6.1 (in cuius medio [in the centre of the Church of the Ascension] ultima Domini vestigia caelo desuper patente ubi ascendit visuntur. Quae cum cotidie a credentibus terra tollatur nihilominus manet (L remaneat, B manent) eandemque (P eademque) adhuc sui speciem (B speciem sui) veluti inpressis signata vestigiis servat (B servant). Haec circa aerea (L haec circa hanc erea) rota iacet (M vacet) usque ad cervicem (PVB ad verticem) alta ob occasu habens introitum pendente desuper in trocleis magna lampade totaque (M tota) die et nocte lucente; **Adomnanus** I 23,77-81: I.23.16 Huius terrifici flatus causa facit ut illa pars domus habere camaram non possit quae supra locum inpresorum Domini vestigiorum qui intra supra dictae rotae medium foramen aperte (B aperte foramen) monstratur ad caelum semper patefacta appareat; on the plan of the Church of the Ascension **Beda, De locis sanctis** (Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 194 with pl. 2), the imprints of two feet.*



Rock had a height of 12 *dirāʿ al-amān* "protection ells" - possibly just a misspelling of the well-known (B131.8.f) *dirāʿ al-imām* "imām's ell" - and explains this unity as 1 [usual] ell (*dirāʿ*) (0.498 m) plus 1 inch (*šibr*) plus 1 fist (*qabḍa*) (0.09 m).

B045.6. The Rock is one of the rocks of **Paradise**,<sup>1</sup> it is the centre of all countries (*wasat al-arḍin kullihā*),<sup>2</sup> and the Nearest Throne of God (*ʿArš Allāh al-Adnā*);<sup>3</sup> from beneath the Rock come [the four rivers of Paradise and] all waters of the world (cf. **Psalm** 46.5; **Ezekiel** 47.1-12);<sup>4</sup> all sweet water originates from beneath the Rock of the Temple (*min aṣl Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>5</sup> **Ritual prayer** on the Rock (*ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) is reprehensible (*makrūh*).<sup>6</sup> God answers one's personal prayer (*duʿāʾ*) and washes all sins away back to the day one was born, if one makes ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) right and left [west and east] of the Rock (*ʿan yamīn aṣ-Ṣaḥra wa-šimālīhā*), says a personal prayer (*duʿāʾ*) at the Place of the Chain (*ʿind Mawḍiʿ as-Silsila*) and gives many or a few alms (*taṣaddaqa bi-mā qalla aw kaṭura*) (B033.6).

B045.6.a. Parallels to the origin of all waters from beneath the Rock:<sup>7</sup> A Marwānid tradition has a river with milk, one with honey and a third with wine coming from the Rock (B045.7). The water of High ʿAbbāsīd

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.128**: 78,3 *Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi min ṣuḥūri l-Ġannati* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.105**: 102,8f. *Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi min ṣuḥūri l-Ġannati*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.106**: 103,2 (see Gil, *Palestine* 95 n. 20) *al-ağwatu wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu mina l-Ġannati*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.399**: 259,20 *wa-Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi hiya wasaṭu l-arḍina kullihā*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.111**: 69,3 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *anti ʿArš l-Adnā* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.113**: 106,7 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *anti ʿArš l-Adnā*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.116**: 71,8 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *anti ʿArš l-Adnā wa-minki rtafaʿtu ilā s-samāʾi* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.122**: 109,15 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti yaqūlu Llāhu taʿālā li-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (read *li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *anti ʿArš l-Adnā wa-minki rtafaʿtu ilā s-samāʾi*).

For the Throne of God, see A084.b.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.111**: 69,4 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-kullu māʾin yasīlu min ḍurwati l-ğibālī* (read *min ḍarwati l-ğibālī min taḥṭiki*) = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.113**: 106,8 (*inna fī t-Tawrāti annahu [God] yaqūlu li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-kullu māʾin yasīlu min ḍurwati l-ğibālī min taḥṭika* (I read *min taḥṭiki*).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.109**: 68,3-5 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 181; see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 92f.) (*ʿan Abī l-ʿĀliyati fī qawlihi taʿālā ʾilā l-arḍi l-lati bāraknā fihā li-l-ʿālamīna*) (**Koran** 21.71) *qāla barakatuhā anna kulla māʾin ʿadibin yaḥruḡu min aṣli Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 111**: 105,7f. (*ʿan Abī l-ʿĀliyati fī qawlihi ʾilā l-arḍi l-lati bāraknā fihā li-l-ʿālamīna*) (**Koran** 21.71) *qāla min barakatihā anna kulla māʾin ʿadibin yaḥruḡu min aṣli Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.216**: 161,11-13 *tukrahu ṣ-ṣalātu fī sabʿi mawāṭina ʿalā l-Kaʿbati wa-ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ʿalā Ṭūri Zaytā wa-ʿalā Ṭūri Sīnāʾa wa-ʿalā ṣ-Ṣafā wa-l-Marwati wa-ʿalā l-Ġamrati wa-Ġabali ʿArafata*.

Cf. the Fāṭimid heading **Ibn al-Murağğā** 161,5f. *Bābu faḍli man ḡamaʿa ṣ-ṣalāta fī l-masāğidi t-talāṭati wa-mā yukrahu mina ṣ-ṣalāti ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*.

<sup>7</sup>For all water originating beneath the Rock in the Dome the Rock, see A084.b.

Damascus and Jerusalem have the least harshness (*hušūna*);<sup>1</sup> on the ‘*Āšūrā*’-Night 335/10-11 August 946, the Muslim ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees, in his dream, a light shining from the four sides of it [the Rock] and four rivers coming from beneath it and it is explained to him that these are the rivers of Paradise (B113.5). The water of Fāṭimid Jerusalem is, in general, considered the best and purest water.<sup>2</sup> The water of the Fāṭimid cistern under the platform is considered the purest and best of all water in the mosque (B168.4).

B045.6.b. The inscription of ‘Abd al-Malik on the outside and inside of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE and on the outside of the CIRCULAR ARCADE (= **van Berchem Nr.215**) quotes the beginning of the Throne verse (*Koran* 2.255) twice.

B045.7. In the last days,<sup>3</sup> Isrāfīl,<sup>4</sup> the angel with the trumpet (*malak aṣ-ṣūr*),<sup>5</sup> will stand on the Rock and **gather mankind**,<sup>6</sup> and "the day when the herald [Isrāfīl] will make proclamation

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 184,13 *wa-fī mā’i Dimašqa wa-Īliyā adnā hušūnatan wa-fī l-hawā’i adnā buyūsatan* (C *wa-yaḥtāḡu mā’u Dimašqa wa-Īliyā ilā d-dasamī*).

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,22f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 196) (*Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *Bayt al-Maqdis*) ...) *wa āb-i ān šahr az hama-i ābhā ḥūstar ast wa paktar*.

<sup>3</sup>For eschatological Muslim traditions of the Marwānid period connected with the Rock, see A084.a.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.145**: 89,5-7 ... *ḥaddaṭanā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ġābirin ‘an abihi fī qawlihi ta’ālā ‘wa-stami’ yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41) qāla yaqifu Isrāfīlu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ... = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.126: 111,14-16 ... *anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ġābirin ‘an abihi fī qawlihi ‘wa-stami’ yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41) qāla yaqifu Isrāfīlu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.359: 240,14-16 (*bayna-mā Bnu ‘Abbāsa ‘inda Zamzama ... qāla [Wahb b. Munabbih?] aḥbirnī ‘an qawli Llāhi ta’ālā ‘yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41) mā ḥādā qāla*) *yawma ya’muru Llāhu Isrāfīlu wa-huwa wāqifun ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi (... fa-ḥādā ‘min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41)); Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.399: 261,7 *wa-yanfuḡu Isrā’īlu* (read *Isrāfīlu*) *fī ṣ-ṣūri ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi yunādī*.***

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.142**: 88,6f. *wa-yanzilu malaku LSWH* (read *malaku ṣ-ṣūri*) *fa-yaqūmu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaḥšuru n-nāsa ‘urātan ḥufātan ġurlan = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.347: 235,2f. *wa-yanzilu malaku ṣ-ṣūri fa-yaqūmu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaḥšuru n-nāsa ḥufātan ‘urātan ‘uzlan* (read *ġurlan*).*

Cf. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.145**: 89,5-7 ... *ḥaddaṭanā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ġābirin ‘an abihi fī qawlihi ta’ālā ‘wa-stami’ yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41) qāla yaqifu Isrāfīlu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ... = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.126: 111,14-16 ... *anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ġābirin ‘an abihi fī qawlihi ‘wa-stami’ yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41) qāla yaqifu Isrāfīlu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.359: 240,14f. (*bayna-mā Bnu ‘Abbāsa ‘inda Zamzama ... qāla [Wahb b. Munabbih?] aḥbirnī ‘an qawli Llāhi ta’ālā ‘yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41) mā ḥādā qāla*) *yawma ya’muru Llāhu Isrāfīlu wa-huwa wāqifun ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaqūlu lahu nfuḡ fī ṣ-ṣūri (... fa-ḥādā ‘min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41))*.**

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.142**: 88,6f. *wa-yanzilu malaku LSWH* (read *malaku ṣ-ṣūri*) *fa-yaqūmu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaḥšuru n-nāsa ‘urātan ḥufātan ġurlan = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.347: 235,2f. *wa-yanzilu malaku ṣ-ṣūri fa-yaqūmu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaḥšuru n-nāsa ḥufātan ‘urātan ‘uzlan* (read *ġurlan*); **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.145**: 89,5-8 ... *ḥaddaṭanā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ġābirin ‘an abihi fī qawlihi ta’ālā ‘wa-stami’ yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41) qāla yaqifu Isrāfīlu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yanfuḡu fī ṣ-ṣūri fa-yaqūlu yā ayyatuhā l-‘izāmu n-naḥiratu wa-l-ġulūdu l-mutamazziqatu wa-l-aš‘āru l-mutaqatti’atu inna Llāha ya’muruki an taḡtami’ l-l-ḥisābi = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.126: 111,14-17 ... *anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ġābirin ‘an abihi fī qawlihi ‘wa-stami’ yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin’ (Koran 50.41) qāla yaqifu Isrāfīlu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yanfuḡu fī ṣ-ṣūri fa-yaqūlu ya-***

from a place near at hand" (**Koran** 50.41) refers to the Rock;<sup>1</sup> God will gather mankind here;<sup>2</sup> he will send here his servant 'Abd al-Malik who will build and embellish it,<sup>3</sup> God will restore it to its first king, to David, and crown him with gold, silver and corals (*aḍ-ḍahab wa-l-fiḍḍa wa-l-marḡān*), bring his [God's] people back to it and put his [God's] throne on the Rock.<sup>4</sup> God will make a dome of light over the Rock with his own hand, a dome

*ayyatuḥā* (read *yā ayyatuḥā*) *l-ʿizāmu n-naḥiratu wa-l-ḡulūdu l-mutamazziqatu wa-l-ašʿāru l-mutaqaṭṭiʿatu inna Llāha yaʿmuruki an taḡtamiʿi li-l-ḥisābi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.359**: 240,14-19 (*bayna-mā Bnu ʿAbbāsa ʿinda Zamzama ... qāla [Wahb b. Munabbih?] aḥbirnī ʿan qawli Llāhi taʿālā ʿyawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarī binʿ (Koran 50.41) mā ḥādā qāla*) *yawma yaʿmuru Llāhu Isrāfīla wa-huwa wāqifun ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaqūlu lahu nfuḥ fi ṣ-ṣūri fa-yaʿmuruhu fa-yuṭīluḥu wa-yamudduhā bi-dālikā l-latī yunādī fa-yusmaʿu ṣ-ṣawtu masīrata alfī sanatīn fa-ḥādā ʿmin makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) ... fa-yunādī ayyatuḥā l-ḡulūdu l-mutafarriqatu wa-l-luḥūmu l-mutamazziqatu wa-l-ʿizāmu l-bāliyatū qūmī ilā rabbiki yuḡẓikum rabbukum bi-aʿmālikum.*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.143**: 88,14f. (*ḥaddaṭanā ʿUmaru ... ʿani bni ʿAbbāsa*) *ʿyawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarī binʿ (Koran 50.41) qāla min Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi = al-Wāsiṭī Nr.144: 89,2f. (*ḥaddaṭanā ʿUmaru ... ʿan Qutādata*) *fī qawlihi taʿālā ʿyawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) qāla min Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.124: 111,8f. (... *ʿani bni ʿAbbāsa*) *fī qawli Llāhi taʿālā ʿyawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) qāla min Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.145**: 89,5-7 ... *ḥaddaṭanā ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ḡābirin ʿan abīhi fī qawlihi taʿālā ʿwa-stamiʿ yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) qāla yaqīfu Isrāfīlu ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ... = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.126: 111,14-16 ... *anbaʿanā ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Yazīda bni Ḡābirin ʿan abīhi fī qawlihi ʿwa-stamiʿ yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) qāla yaqīfu Isrāfīlu ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.399**: 261,16; 262,16 *wa-ʿyawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) min Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-ʿyunādī l-munādīʿ (Koran 50.41) ʿalā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.125**: 111,11f. (*anbaʿanā ʿAbdu r-Razzāqa ʿan Mu ʿammarin*) *fī qawlihi ʿyawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) qāla balaḡanā annahu yunādī mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.359**: 240,14-16 (*bayna-mā Bnu ʿAbbāsa ʿinda Zamzama ... qāla [Wahb b. Munabbih?] aḥbirnī ʿan qawli Llāhi taʿālā ʿyawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) mā ḥādā qāla*) *yawma yaʿmuru Llāhu Isrāfī la wa-huwa wāqifun ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-yaqūlu lahu nfuḥ fi ṣ-ṣūri fa-yaʿmuruhu fa-yuṭīluḥu wa-yamudduhā bi-dālikā l-latī yunādī fa-yusmaʿu ṣ-ṣawtu masīrata alfī sanatīn fa-ḥādā ʿmin makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41).****

Cf. the Fātimid heading **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 111,6 *Bābu qawli Llāhi taʿālā ʿyawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībinʿ (Koran 50.41) wa-annahu ṣ-Ṣaḥratu.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.399**: 264,12 (*wa-yaqūlu Llāhu taʿālā li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ʿizzatī ...*) *wa-la-aḥṣuranna ilayki ḥalqī.*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.138**: 86,4 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25) (*aṣāra Kaʿbuni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī t-Tawrātī ʿYSRWʿ ʿWMLYLʿM* (read *Īrūšālāyim*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu yuqālu lahu l-haykala*) *abʿātu ilayki ʿabdī ʿAbda l-Maliki yabnīki wa-yuzaḥrifuki = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.50: 64,1 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 162f.; partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25) (*aḡāba* (read *aṣāba*) *Kaʿbuni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī baʿḍi l-kutubi ʿSRWSLʿYM* (read *Īrūšālāyim*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu wa-yuqālu lahā l-haykala*) *abʿātu ilayki ʿabdī ʿAbda l-Maliki yabnīki wa-yuzaḥrifuki.**

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.50**: 64,1-4 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 162f.; partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25; see Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 9 n. 47) (*aḡāba* (read *aṣāba*) *Kaʿbuni l-Aḥbāru*

which will shine in heaven and in the air and will be seen from far away, and everyone who has prayed [just] two *rak'a* in it [in the Dome of the Rock] will be considered blessed (B038.6). From the Rock God will let flow a river with milk, one with honey and a third with wine [i.e., the **rivers of Paradise**] (cf. *Koran* 47.15).<sup>1</sup> This will be the place of God's **ascent** (*maqām*).<sup>2</sup> God will **bring back his people** bring to it [for resurrection]<sup>3</sup> and put here his **Throne** (*ʿArš Allāh*) [for judgement];<sup>4</sup> this is the place of the Throne of God (*mawḍiʿ ʿArš Allāh*).<sup>5</sup>

B045.7.a. A parallel to Isrāfīl blowing the trumpet: Two figures in the Marwānid mosaic of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE next to the NORTH GATE have been considered two trumpets of the Last Judgement, and this has been connected with the name *Bāb aṣ-ṣūr* "the Gate of the Trumpet" of the High ʿAbbāsid north gate;<sup>6</sup> this may be, but neither the trumpets as such nor their connection with the name of the gate are clear.

B045.7.b. For parallels to the rivers of milk, honey and wine which will flow from the Rock, see B045.6.a.

---

*maktūban fī baʿḍi l-kutubi ʾSRWSLʾYM* (read *Īrūṣalāyīm*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-yuqālu lahā l-haykala abʿaṭu ilayki ʿabdi ʿAbda l-Maliki yabniḳi wa-yuzaḥrifuki*) *wa-la-aruddanna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi malikahā l-awwala* (Elad and Busse read *mulkahā l-awwala*) *wa-la-ukallilannahu* (Elad and Busse read *wa-la-ukallilannahā*) *bi-d-dahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati wa-l-marḡāni ... wa-ana Llāhu r-rabbu wa-Dāwūdu maliku Banī Isrāʾīla*) (but not = **al-Wāsiṭī** Nr.138: 86,4).

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.399: 264,12f. (*wa-yaqūlu Llāhu taʿālā li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ʿizzatī ...*) *wa-la-uḡriyanna anḥāraki nahran min labanin wa-nahran min ʿasalin wa-nahran min ḥamrin* (cf. *Koran* 47.15).

For all water originating beneath the Rock in the Dome the Rock, see A084.b.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī** Nr.115: 71,2f. *inna Llāha ʿazza wa-ḡalla lammā ʿstawā ilā s-samāʾi* (*Koran* 2.29; 41.11) *qāla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi hādā maqāmī wa-mawḍiʿu ʿArṣī yawma l-qiyāmati (... tumma stawā ilā ʾIliyāna)* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.121: 109,9-11 *inna Llāha taʿālā lammā ʿstawā ilā s-samāʾi* (*Koran* 2.29; 41.11) *qāla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi hādā maqāmī wa-mawḍiʿu ʿArṣī yawma l-qiyāmati (... tumma stawā ilā s-samāʾi)*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.399: 259, 14f. *yaḡʿalu r-rabbu ḡalla ḡalāluhu maqāmahu yawma l-qiyāmati fī arḍi Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.50: 64,2f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 162f.; partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49) (*aḡāba* (read *aṣāba*) *Kaʿbuni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī baʿḍi l-kutubi ʾSRWSLʾYM* (read *Īrūṣalāyīm*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-yuqālu lahā l-haykala ...*) *wa-la-abʿaṭanna ilayki ḡalqī* (but not = **al-Wāsiṭī** Nr.138: 86,4).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.50: 64,3 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 162f.; partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 49) (*aḡāba* (read *aṣāba*) *Kaʿbuni l-Aḥbāru maktūban fī baʿḍi l-kutubi ʾSRWSLʾYM* (read *Īrūṣalāyīm*) *wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-yuqālu lahā l-haykala ...*) *wa-la-aḡaʿanna* (Elad reads *wa-la-aṣnaʿanna*) *ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿArṣī* (but not = **al-Wāsiṭī** Nr.138: 86,4); **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.399: 264,11f. *wa-yaqūlu Llāhu taʿālā li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ʿizzatī la-aḡaʿanna ʿalayki ʿArṣī*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī** Nr.115: 71,2f. *inna Llāha ʿazza wa-ḡalla lammā ʿstawā ilā s-samāʾi* (*Koran* 2.29; 41.11) *qāla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi hādā maqāmī wa-mawḍiʿu ʿArṣī yawma l-qiyāmati (... tumma stawā ilā ʾIliyāna)* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.121: 109,9-11 *inna Llāha taʿālā lammā ʿstawā ilā s-samāʾi* (*Koran* 2.29; 41.11) *qāla li-Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi hādā maqāmī wa-mawḍiʿu ʿArṣī yawma l-qiyāmati (... tumma stawā ilā s-samāʾi)*.

<sup>6</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 68f. with fig. 50; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 113.

**B045.8. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Rock is the focus of the Marwānid service held every Tuesday and Thursday: preparation of the service includes the anointing of the Rock and the procession surrounding it with incense; the service proper, a ritual prayer in the Dome of the Rock; and the conclusion of the service, the cleaning and drying of the Rock (B038.9). Ritual prayer on the Rock (*‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) is reprehensible (*\*makrūh*) (B045.6), but obviously nevertheless a theme. Inside the building the Rock and the dome may be seen only from inside the inner circular arcade; further outside under the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, the space above the Rock appears as a shaft of brilliant light hovering over the Rock, and both the Rock and the dome are hidden from view (B043.3.c).

B045.8.a. It has been suggested that visitors perform a ceremonial circumambulation of the Rock, but the sources do not mention this (B038.9.c).

### B046. The dome of the Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>

**B046.1. Names (Muslim):** The dome (*al-qubba*),<sup>2</sup> the dome [proper] which is at the top of

<sup>1</sup>For the dome and the drum of the Marwānid Dome of the Rock (and of today's DOME OF THE ROCK), see Mauss, "Méthode" 27-31 (with fig. 10); Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; 128 n. ; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 205-211; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 10-13; 77f.; 82f.; fig. 8f.; fig. 13; fig. 43-50; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 224; 261-298; 333-335; 368-371; Hirschberg, "Sources" 334f.; Caskel, *Felsendom* 12f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 68; 70 fig. 20; 73f.; 92-100 (with fig. 33); 105-108; 115-121; 376; fig. 364f.; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" (with figures), especially 308 n. 2; pl. 5.b; pl. 37; Sharon, "Inscriptions from the Western Wall" 215 n. 7; Chen, "Design of the Dome of the Rock"; Chen, "Golden Gate" 171f.; Grabar, "Qubbat al-Ṣakhra" 297b; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments*, colour plates I-XVI; Blair, "Date" 73-75 (with fig. 11 and fig. 12); Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 74f.; 79; Elad, *Jerusalem* 51; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 22; 104-110 and fig. 57-59; 115; 172; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 109 (491) n. 77; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25f..

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.122:** 75,16-76,2 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 179; Bashear, "Abraham's Sacrifice" 275; Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 71) *kāna fī s-silsilati l-lati fī wasaṭi l-qubbati ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati durratu l-Yatimati wa-Qarnā Kabši Ibrāhīma ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-Tāḡu Kisrā mu‘allaqatan fihā ayyāma ‘Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.156:* 127,13-15 *kāna fī s-silsilati l-lati kānat fī wasaṭi l-qubbati ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati durratu l-Yatimati wa-Qarnā Kabši Ibrāhīma ‘alayhi s-salāmu wa-Tāḡu Kisrā mu‘allaqatan fihā ayyāma ‘Abdi l-Maliki fa-lammā ṣārati l-ḥilāfatu l-lati (read ilā) Banī Hāsimin ḥawwalūhā ilā l-Ka‘batī; al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134:* 80,4f. (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣārī ... fa-qāla lam na‘lam fī awwali l-layli illā wa-qad qulī‘ati l-qubbatu min mawḍi‘ihā ḥattā badat lanā l-kawākibu (... fa-u‘īdat ‘alā ḥālihā) = Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.140:* 118,8f. (... *anba’anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... fa-ḥaraḡa ilayya raḡulun mina l-Anṣārī ... qāla lam yu‘lam min awwali l-layli illā wa-qad qulī‘ati l-qubbatu min mawḍi‘ihā ḥattā badat lanā l-kawākibu (... fa-u‘īdat ‘alā ḥālihā); al-Wāsiṭī Nr.135:* 80,12-81,1 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 78f.) (... *anna Abā ‘Uṭmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyi l-layla ...) qāla sami‘tu qā‘ilan yaqūlu asma‘u ṣ-ṣawta wa-lā arā ṣ-ṣaḡṣa rfa‘ūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi fa-qulī‘ati l-qubbatu qal‘an ḥattā tabaddā lanā bayāḍu s-samā‘i wa-n-nuḡūmi wa-aṣāba waḡḡahu raṣṣu l-maṭari ḥattā aḡḡana Rustamu s-sāḡinu (read s-sāḡinu) l-Fārisīyu fa-sami‘a qā‘ilan yaqūlu ruddūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi sawwūhā ‘addilūhā sawwūhā ‘addilūhā fa-ruddati l-qubbatu ‘alā ḥikāyati mā kānat fa-qāla lahu Rustamu (I read li-Rustama) lammā fataḡa l-bāba ‘alayhi ḡḡab fa-ḡi‘nī bi-ḡabari ahli ḥattā*

the dome (*al-ḥābi'a l-latī fī a'lā l-qubba*).<sup>1</sup>

B046.1.a. The term *qubba*, originally a tent, means both the dome of a building and a building with a dome (B038.2).

B046.1.b. **Ibn Ḥabīb's** (*ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ...*) *wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī ʿalā š-Šaḥrati wa-ḡaʿala ʿalā l-ḥābi'ati l-latī fī a'lā l-qubbati tamāniyata ālāfi ṣaḥīfatin min nuḥāsin maṭliyatīn bi-d-dahabi* ("ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān ...) he built the dome which is over the Rock and he put on the dome [proper] which is at the top of the dome 8000 gilded sheets" distinguishes carefully between the whole building - this is *al-qubba l-latī ʿalā š-Šaḥra* "the dome which is over the Rock" - and the dome proper - this is *al-ḥābi'a l-latī fī a'lā l-qubba* "the dome which is at the top of the dome [the building]".

**B046.2. Position:** The dome has its place on top of the Rock (B038.2). A chain (*silsila*) is suspended over the Rock (*ʿalā š-Šaḥra*) in the centre of the dome (*fī wasaṭ al-qubba*); on this chain, from the time of ʿAbd al-Malik until the ʿAbbāsids, the pearl called "the Unique" (*durrat al-Yatīma*), the Two Horns of the Ram of Abraham (*Qarnā Kabš Ibrāhīm*) and the

---

*ātiyaka* (read *unbi'aka*) *bi-ʿaḡabin fa-ḡā'ahu bi-ḥabari ahlihi an qad uṣība qawmun wa-sullima qawmun fa-aḡbarani* (I read *fa-aḡbarahu*) *fa-qāla lahu sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu rfa'ūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi fa-quli'ati l-qubbatu qal'an ḥattā badā lanā bayāḍu s-samā'i wa-n-nuḡūmi wa-aṣāba waḡhī raššu l-maṭari ḥattā addanta fa-lammā addanta sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu ḥina addanta ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi sawwūhā ʿaddilūhā ḥattā u'īdat ʿalā ḥālīhā fī r-Raḡfati l-Ūlā = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.141**: 118,15-119,4 (... *anna Abā ʿUtmāna l-Anṣāriya kāna yuḥyi l-layla ...*) *qāla fa-sami'tu qā'ilan qāla fa-sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu asma'u š-ṣawta wa-lā arā š-ṣaḥṣa rfa'ūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi* (I add *fa-quli'ati l-qubbatu qal'an ḥattā tabaddā lanā bayāḍu s-samā'i wa-n-nuḡūmi wa-aṣāba waḡhī raššu l-maṭari ḥattā addana Rustamu s-sādīnu l-Fārisīyu fa-sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu ruddūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi*, with *al-Wāsiṭi*; this follows *Livne-Kafri* except for his *fa-samī'a qā'ilan yaqūlu ...*) *sawwūhā ʿaddilūhā sawwūhā ʿaddilūhā fa-ruddati l-qubbatu ʿalā ḥikāyati mā kānat fa-qāla lahu Rustamu* (I read *fa-qāla li-Rustama*) *lammā fataḥa l-bāba ʿalayhi dhab fa-ḡi'nī bi-ḥabari ahli ḥattā ātaytuka* (read *unbi'aka*) *bi-ʿaḡabin fa-ḡā'ahu bi-ḥabari ahlihi annahu qad uṣibat qawmun wa-sullima qawmun fa-aḡbarani* (I read *fa-aḡbarahu*) *fa-qāla lahu sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu rfa'ūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi fa-quli'ati l-qubbatu qal'an ḥattā badā lanā bayāḍu s-samā'i wa-n-nuḡūmi wa-aṣāba waḡhī raššu l-maṭari ḥattā addanta fa-lammā* (read *lammā addanta*) *sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu ḥina addanta ruddūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi sawwūhā ʿaddilūhā sawwūhā ʿaddilūhā ḥattā u'īdat ʿalā ḥālīhā wa-dālika fī r-Raḡfati l-Ūlā; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.136**: 81,14f.; 82,8f. (transl. *Rabbat*, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; see *Busse*, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ...*) *fa-ḡama'a š-ṣunnā'a min ḡamī'i ʿamalihi kullīhi wa-amarahum an yaṣifū lahu ṣifata l-qubbati wa-simatahā min qabla an yabniyahā (... fa-kataba ilayhimā) tusbak wa-tufrag ʿalā l-qubbati = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.47**: 59,5f.15f. (... *anna ʿAbda l-Maliki ... fa-ḡama'a š-ṣunnā'a min ḡamī'i ʿamalihi kullīhi*) *wa-amarahum an yaṣifū* (*Livne-Kafri* reads *an yaṣifū lahu*, with *al-Wāsiṭi*) *ṣifata l-qubbati wa-simatahā min qabla an yabniyahā ... wa-kataba ilayhimā) tusbak wa-tufrag ʿalā l-qubbati; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.247**: 175,7f. (... *Abū Sa'īdin raḡulun min ahli l-Iskandarīyati qāla kuntu ataytu* (*Livne-Kafri* reads *abaytu*) *fī maṣḡidi baytin* (read *fī maṣḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ...) *qāla fa-wa-Llāhi innī la-aḡkuru dālika fī nafsī id sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu min naḥwi l-qubbati l-latī ʿalā š-Šaḥrati kalimātin*.****

For the evolution of the term *qubba* from "tent" to "dome", see B038.1.b.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīḥ** 132,23-133,1: 387 (*qāla š-Ša'bīyu ... qāla wa-banā ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna raḥimahu Llāhu Maṣḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-banā l-qubbata l-latī ʿalā š-Šaḥrati*) *wa-ḡaʿala ʿalā l-ḥābi'ati l-latī fī a'lā l-qubbati tamāniyata ālāfi ṣaḥīfatin min nuḥāsin maṭliyatīn bi-d-dahabi*.

Crown of Chosroes (*Tāġ Kistrà*) are suspended (B045.2). This is the DOME of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

**B046.3. Physical shape:** The dome is covered with gold (*dahab*) and becomes so bright that nobody is able to look at it;<sup>1</sup> there are 8000 copper sheets (*ṣaḥīfa min nuḥās maṭliya bi-d-dahab*), each carrying 7.5 *miṭqāl* (31.86 g) of gold (B014.6). In wintertime, two additional covers (*ġalālān*) protect the dome against rain, wind and ice, one made of felt mats (*lubūd*) and another made of skin mats (*udum*) on top of this.<sup>2</sup>

B046.3.a. Parallels to the glittering of the dome in the sunshine: The dome of the Pre-Marwānid Christian Basilica of Constantine glitters in the sunshine;<sup>3</sup> the high roofs of the city's churches (*taṭlilē rāmē d-bātē qaddiṣē wa-sġidē*), i.e., the Church of the Cross (*haw da-Ṣlibā*) [the Basilica of Constantine], of the Anastasis (*sġidā da-Qyāmtā qaddiṣtā*) and of the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives (*Sōlāqā sġidā da-b-tōrā da-l-qōblāh*) glitter in the sunshine when Petrus Iberus sees the city for the first time from the Mount of Olives;<sup>4</sup> the Basilica of Constantine has a cross made out of the lance with which Christ was pierced and this cross shines at nighttime

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 82,8f. (transl. Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ... wa-wakala 'alā dālīka Raġā'a bna Ḥaywata wa-Yazīda bna Sallāma 'alā n-naḥaqati 'alayhā wa-l-qiyāmi 'alayhā ... wa-kutiba ilayhi bi-Dimaṣqa ... wa-qad tabaqqa mimma amara bihi amīru l-mu'minīna mina n-naḥaqati ba'da an furīga mina l-binā'i wa-uḥkima mi'atu alfi dīnārīn ... fa-kataba ilayhimā*) *tusbak wa-tufraq 'alā l-qubbati fa-mā kāna aḥadun yaqdiru an yata'ammalahā mimma 'alayhā mina d-dahabi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47:** 59,15f. (... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ... fa-wakala 'alā dālīka Raġā'a bna Ḥaywata wa-Yazīda bna Sallāma 'alā n-naḥaqati 'alayhā wa-l-qiyāmi bi-amrihā ... wa-kutiba ilayhi bi-Dimaṣqa: ... qad yabqa* (Livne-Kafri reads *tabaqqa*) *mimma amara bihi amīru l-mu'minīna mina n-naḥaqati ba'da an furīga mina l-binā'i wa-uḥkima mi'atu alfi dīnārīn ... wa-kataba ilayhimā*) *tusbak wa-tufraq 'alā l-qubbati fa-fa'alā dālīka fa-mā kāna aḥadun yaqdiru an yata'ammalahā mimma 'alayhā mina d-dahabi*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 82,9-11 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *'alā l-qubbati ...*) *wa-huyyi'a lahā ḡalālāni ḡalālān* (read *ḡalālun*) *min lubūdīn wa-ḡalālān* (read *ḡalālun*) *min udumin min fawqihī fa-idā kāna š-šitā'u ulbisat li-yakunnahā mina l-amṭāri wa-r-riyāḥi wa-t-tulūġi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47:** 59,16-18 (... *'alā l-qubbati ...*) *wa-huyyi'a lahā ḡalālāni lubūdun* (read *ḡalālāni ḡalālun min lubūdīn*) *wa-ḡalālun min udumin min fawqihī fa-idā kāna š-šitā'u ulbisathu* (read *ulbisat*) *li-yakunnahā mina l-amṭāri wa-r-riyāḥi wa-t-tulūġi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Eusebios, Vita Constantini** 100,11-16: 3.36,2 "Ἀνω δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὀρόφοις τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς δώματα μολίβου (JA μολύβου, N μολίβδου) περιέφραττεν ὕλη ὀμβρων ἀσφαλὲς ἔρυμα χειμερίων τὰ δὲ τῆς εἰσῶς στέγης γλυφαῖς φατνωμάτων ἀπηρτισμένα καὶ ὥσπερ τι μέγα πέλαγος καθ' ὅλου τοῦ βασιλείου οἴκου συνεχέει ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας (VJN ἀλλήλαις) συμπλοκαῖς ἀνευρυνόμενα (N ἀνερευνώμενα) χρυσῷ τε διαυγεῖ δι' ὅλου κεκαλλυμένα (V κεκαλλυμένα, JNA κεκαλυμένα, B κεκαλυμένοι) φωτὸς οἷα μαρμαρυγαῖς τὸν πάντα νεῶν (A ναόν) ἐξαστράπτειν ἐποίει.

<sup>4</sup>**Vita Petri Iberi** 26,16-27,1 (see Wilken, "Christian Pilgrimage" 123 (497) n. 22) *kaḍ deyn b-qōrbā hwaw d-Ūrišlem mdīntā qaddiṣtā ḥāy da-rḥīmā hwāt l-hōn wa-hzaw men rawmā d-īt l-qōblāh 'al ḥamšā eṣṭdawātā ayk* (read *d-ayk*) *denḥēh d-šemšā mabreq taṭlilē rāmē* (read *taṭlilā rāmā*) *d-bātē qaddiṣē wa-sġidē: haw da-Ṣlibā pāroqayā w-sġidā da-Qyāmtā qaddiṣtā tōb deyn wa-d-Sōlāqā sġidā da-b-tōrā da-l-qōblāh: [w-]rōrābā'īt az'eqw: kaḍ meltā [hāy] nbīyātā mšammlīn* (read *mšallmīn*) *'hā Ṣehyōn mdīntā d-pōrqānan'.* 'aynayk neḥzyān l-Ūrišlem' (**Isaiah** 33.20).

as the sun does in daytime;<sup>1</sup> the Jews, once a year at the area of the former Temple, mourn its destruction, "while the cross of the Lord sparkles and shines for his Anastasis and from the Mount of Olives the banner of the cross glitters" (*patibulo Domini coruscante ac radiante ĒAnastāsei eius de Oliveti monte quoque crucis fulgente vexillo*).<sup>2</sup> The High 'Abbāsīd open garden (*paradisus*), which is in between the Basilica of Constantine with Golgotha, the Anastasis and two more churches, and which is considered the centre of the world (*medius mundus*), has walls sparkling with gold [mosaic] (*cuius parietes auro radiant*), probably in the light of lamps and candles.<sup>3</sup> The High 'Abbāsīd Dome of the Rock has its gold mosaic drum (B120.3) and gold-covered dome (B121.4) sparkling in the sunshine. The Fāṭimid Muslim *Bāb-i Dāwūd* has a mosaic inscription, with the title of the [Fāṭimid] ruler of Egypt, glittering in the sunshine (B144.4).

B046.3.b. It has been claimed that the Marwānīd dome may have been extraordinarily high, as the High 'Abbāsīd dome (B121.3) and today's DOME are; this may be.

B046.3.c. Correctly, it has been claimed that one of the main features of the building and especially of the dome is visibility from far away, at least from the east and south, not accessibility.<sup>4</sup> It has also been assumed that its importance is, like the Ka'ba's, through what it is rather than through what happens inside it.<sup>5</sup>

B046.3.d. Today's INSCRIPTION in the DOME (= **van Berchem Nr.215**) mentions **Koran** 2.255f. It has been assumed that this inscription continues a Marwānīd inscription with the same verse, so that the same verse would have been on the arcades and the dome;<sup>6</sup> this is possible, but evidence is lacking.

B046.3.e. The two additional covers are quite unusual, their physical shape is unknown and there are no parallels known. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136** = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** describes them, nevertheless, quite clearly, and their use against rain, wind and ice does make sense.

**B046.4. Contemporary events:** 'Abd al-Malik built the dome over the Rock; he put on the dome 8000 gilded copper sheets (*ṣaḥīfa min nuḥās maṭliya bi-d-dahab*), each carrying 7.5 *miṭqāl* (31.86 g) of gold (B014.6); he smelt the 100,000 *dīnār* remaining after the construc-

<sup>1</sup>**Breviarius A** 24-30: 1 *et est in medio civitatis basilica illa ubi est lancea* (read *et est in media basilica lancea*) *unde percussus est Dominus et de ipsa facta est lux* (read *crux*) *et lucet in nocte sicut sol in virtute diei* = **Breviarius B** 24-30: 1 *et est in media basilica lancea unde percussus fuit Dominus Jesus Christus in latu suum et de ipsa lancea facta est crux et sic lucet per noctem sicut sol per diem*.

<sup>2</sup>**Hieronymus, Comm. in Sophoniam** I,678-681: I.15-16 (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 69) *congregatur turba miserorum et patibulo Domini coruscante ac radiante ĒAnastāsei (N anastassi) eius de Oliveti monte quoque crucis fulgente vexillo plangere ruinas Templi sui populum miserum et tamen non esse miserabilem*.

<sup>3</sup>**Bernardus** 315,18-23: 11 (*Intra hanc civitatem (M infra hanc civitatem) exceptis aliis ecclesiis quatuor eminent ecclesie mutuis sibimet parietibus coherentes (L choherentes) una videlicet ad orientem que habet montem Calvarie et locum in quo reperta fuit crux Domini et vocatur basilica Constantini alia ad meridiem tertia ad occidentem in cuius medio est sepulcrum Domini ...*) *Inter (V intra) praedictas igitur IV ecclesias est paradisus sine tecto cuius parietes auro radiant; pavimentum vero lapide struitur (LVM sternitur) preciosissimo habens in medio sui confinium IV catenarum que (L qui) veniunt a predictis quatuor ecclesiis. In quo dicitur medius esse mundus*.

<sup>4</sup>Hillenbrand, "Vermächtnis des Felsendoms" 67; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 22; 104-110 and fig. 57-59; 172.

<sup>5</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 106; 109f.

<sup>6</sup>Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 109 (491) n. 77.



tion of the building to gild the dome, so that nobody was able to look at it.<sup>1</sup> He provided the dome with two additional covers.<sup>2</sup>

B046.5. On (the Night of) the First Earthquake (*ar-Raġfa l-Ūlā, laylat ar-Raġfa*) (in about 746), the dome moves and opens, so that the stars may be seen from inside the building, but then moves back and the opening disappears.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 82,8f. (transl. Rabbat, "al-Wasiti's Account" 68; see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ... wa-wakala 'alā dālīka Raġā'a bna Ḥaywata wa-Yazīda bna Sallāma 'alā n-naḥaqati 'alayhā wa-l-qiyāmi 'alayhā ... wa-kutiba ilayhi bi-Dimašqa ... wa-qad tabaqqā mimma amara bihi amīru l-mu'minīna mina n-naḥaqati ba'da an furīga mina l-binā'i wa-uḥkima mi'atu alfi dīnārīn ... fa-kataba ilayhimā*) *tusbak wa-tufraġ 'alā l-qubbati fa-mā kāna aḥadun yaqdiru an yata'ammalahā mimma 'alayhā mina d-dahabi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47:** 59,15f. (... *anna 'Abda l-Malika ... fa-wakala 'alā dālīka Raġā'a bna Ḥaywata wa-Yazīda bna Sallāma 'alā n-naḥaqati 'alayhā wa-l-qiyāmi bi-amrihā ... wa-kutiba ilayhi bi-Dimašqa: ... qad yabqā* (Livne-Kafri reads *tabaqqā*) *mimma amara bihi amīru l-mu'minīna mina n-naḥaqati ba'da an furīga mina l-binā'i wa-uḥkima mi'atu alfi dīnārīn ... wa-kataba ilayhimā*) *tusbak wa-tufraġ 'alā l-qubbati fa-fa'alā dālīka fa-mā kāna aḥadun yaqdiru an yata'ammalahā mimma 'alayhā mina d-dahabi*).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136:** 82,9-11 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 25-27) (... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ḥīna hamma bi-binā'i Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Hasson reads *bi-binā'i Qubbati Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-l-masġidi ... 'alā l-qubbati ...*) *wa-huyyi'a lahā ḡalālāni ḡalālān* (read *ḡalālun*) *min lubūdin wa-ḡalālān* (read *ḡalālun*) *min udumin min fawqihī fa-idā kāna š-šitā'u ulbisat li-yakunnahā mina l-amṭāri wa-r-riyāḥi wa-t-tulūġi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.47:** 59,16-18 (... *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ḥayyarahum* (read *anna 'Abda l-Maliki ḥīna hamma*) *bi-binā'i Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi* [the Dome of the Rock] (Livne-Kafri reads *bi-binā'i Qubbati Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-l-masġidi ...*) *wa-huyyi'a lahā ḡalālāni lubūdun* (read *ḡalālāni ḡalālun min lubūdin*) *wa-ḡalālun min udumin min fawqihī fa-idā kāna š-šitā'u ulbisathu* (read *ulbisat*) *li-yakunnahā mina l-amṭāri wa-r-riyāḥi wa-t-tulūġi*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.133:** 79,13-15 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Ḍamratu 'an Rustama l-Fārisīyi qāla utītu laylata r-Raġfati ... qāla fa-ḥaraġa ilayya ba'du ḥarasi š-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-qāla lī ... ḥattā uḥbiraka bi-l-'aġabi ...*) *fa-qāla lammā kāna mina l-amri mā kāna utiya ilayhā* [to the dome of the Dome of the Rock] *fa-ḥumilat ḥattā naẓarnā ilā s-samā'i wa-n-nuġūmi tumma u'idat fa-samī'nāhum yaqūlūna sawwūhā 'addilūhā ḥattā u'idat 'alā ḥālīhā* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.139:** 117,16-18 (... *anba'anā Ḍamratu 'an Rustama l-Fārisīyi wa-qāla* (read *qāla*) *utītu laylata r-Raġfati ... qāla fa-ḥaraġa ilayya ba'du ḥarasi š-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-qāla lī ... ḥattā uḥbiraka bi-l-'aġabi ...*) *qāla fa-lammā kāna mina l-amri mā kāna atā* (read *utiya*) *ilayhā fa-ḥumiltu* (I read *fa-ḥumilat*) *ḥattā naẓartu ilā s-samā'i wa-n-nuġūmi fa-samī'nāhum yaqūlūna sawwūhā 'addilūhā ḥattā u'idat 'alā ḥālīhā*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134:** 80,4-7 (... *ḥaddaṭanā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... qāla lammā kānat laylatu r-Raġfati utītu ... fa-ḥaraġa ilayya raġulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi š-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-fataḥa l-bāba wa-qāla lī ... ḥattā uḥbiraka bi-l-'aġabi ... fa-qultu aḥbirnī bi-mā qulta*) *fa-qāla lam na'lam fī awwali l-layli illā wa-qad qulī'ati l-qubbatu min mawḍi'ihā ḥattā badat lanā l-kawākibu fa-lammā kāna qabla maġi'ika samī'nā ḥafīfan wa-ḡalabatan tumma samī'nā qā'ilan yaqūlu sawwūhā 'addilūhā ṭalāta marrātin fa-u'idat 'alā ḥālīhā* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.140:** 118,8-10 (... *anba'anā Rustamu l-Fārisīyu ... qāla lammā kāna* (read *kānat*, with *al-Wāsiṭī*) *laylatu r-Raġfati utītu ... fa-ḥaraġa ilayya raġulun mina l-Anṣāri wa-kāna min ḥurrāsi š-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-qāla lī ... ḥattā uḥbiraka ... fa-aḥbartuhu fa-qultu aḥbirnī bi-mā qulta*) *qāla lam yu'lam min awwali l-layli illā wa-qad qulī'ati l-qubbatu min mawḍi'ihā ḥattā badat lanā l-kawākibu fa-lammā kāna qabla maġi'ika samī'nā ḥafīfan* Y GLYH (read *ḥafīfan wa-ḡalabatan*) *tumma samī'nā qā'ilun* (I read *qā'ilan*) *yaqūlu sawwūhā 'addilūhā ṭalāta marrātin fa-u'idat 'alā ḥālīhā*; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.135:** 80,12-81,1 (see Elad, Jerusalem 78f.) (... *anna Abā 'Uṭmāna l-*

B046.5.a. A parallel to the dome's opening and closing during the earthquake: The Fāṭimid dome of the Dome of the Rock opens during an earthquake, then closes again (B194.4).

B046.5.b. The opening and closing are two separate movements. The three versions of one and the same account found in **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.133 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.139**, **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.134 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.140** and **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.135 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.141** make clear that the opening of the dome is an upwards movement so that the people inside see the sky and the stars, and that the closing of the dome is introduced by a sound interpreted as voices before the dome moves back. All three call the movement back 'ağab "marvelous". **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.135 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.141** adds that the opening is also introduced by a sound interpreted as voices and that the people inside are reached by the rain of the night.

**B046.6. Traditions (Muslim):** In the last days God will put a **dome of light** over the Rock with his own hand, a dome shining in heaven and in the air, which will be seen from far away (B038.6).

**B046.7. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** Inside the building the dome may be seen only from inside the CIRCULAR ARCADE, not from further outside under the OCTAGONAL ARCADE (B043.3.c).

---

*Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyī l-layla ...)* qāla sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu asma'u ṣ-ṣawta wa-lā arā ṣ-ṣaḥṣa rfa'ūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi fa-quli'ati l-qubbatu qal'an ḥattā tabaddā lanā bayāḍu s-samā'i wa-n-nuğūmi wa-aṣāba wağḥahu raššu l-maṭari ḥattā addana Rustamu s-sādinu (read s-sādinu) l-Fārisīyu fa-sami'a qā'ilan yaqūlu ruddūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi sawwūhā 'addilūhā sawwūhā 'addilūhā fa-ruddati l-qubbatu 'alā ḥikāyati mā kānat fa-qāla lahu Rustamu (I read li-Rustama) lammā fataḥa l-bāba 'alayhi dḥab fa-ğ'i'nī bi-ḥabari ahli ḥattā ātiyaka (read unbi'aka) bi-'ağabin fa-ğā'ahu bi-ḥabari ahlihi an qad uṣība qawmun wa-sullima qawmun fa-aḥbarani (I read fa-aḥbarahu) fa-qāla lahu sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu rfa'ūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi fa-quli'ati l-qubbatu qal'an ḥattā badā lanā bayāḍu s-samā'i wa-n-nuğūmi wa-aṣāba wağḥi raššu l-maṭari ḥattā addanta fa-lammā addanta sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu ḥina addanta ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi sawwūhā 'addilūhā ḥattā u'īdat 'alā ḥālihā fī r-Rağfati l-Ūlā = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.141**: 118,15-119,4 (... anna Abā 'Uṭmāna l-Anṣārīya kāna yuḥyī l-layla ...) qāla fa-sami'tu qā'ilan qāla fa-sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu asma'u ṣ-ṣawta wa-lā arā ṣ-ṣaḥṣa rfa'ūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi (I add fa-quli'ati l-qubbatu qal'an ḥattā tabaddā lanā bayāḍu s-samā'i wa-n-nuğūmi wa-aṣāba wağḥi raššu l-maṭari ḥattā addana Rustamu s-sādinu l-Fārisīyu fa-sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu ruddūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi, with al-Wāsiṭī; this follows Livne-Kafri except for his fa-sami'a qā'ilan yaqūlu ...) sawwūhā 'addilūhā sawwūhā 'addilūhā fa-ruddati l-qubbatu 'alā ḥikāyati mā kānat fa-qāla lahu Rustamu (I read fa-qāla li-Rustama) lammā fataḥa l-bāba 'alayhi dḥab fa-ğ'i'nī bi-ḥabari ahli ḥattā ātayuka (read unbi'aka) bi-'ağabin fa-ğā'ahu bi-ḥabari ahlihi annahu qad uṣibat qawmun wa-sullima qawmun fa-aḥbarani (I read fa-aḥbarahu) fa-qāla lahu sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu rfa'ūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi fa-quli'ati l-qubbatu qal'an ḥattā badā lanā bayāḍu s-samā'i wa-n-nuğūmi wa-aṣāba wağḥi raššu l-maṭari ḥattā addanta fa-lammā (read lammā addanta) sami'tu qā'ilan yaqūlu ḥina addanta ruddūhā ruwaydan bi-smi Llāhi sawwūhā 'addilūhā sawwūhā 'addilūhā ḥattā u'īdat 'alā ḥālihā wa-dālika fī r-Rağfati l-Ūlā.

### B047. The pavement of the Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>

B047.1. **Names (Muslim):** The pavement [of the Dome of the Rock] (*balāṭ*,<sup>2</sup> *balāṭa*<sup>3</sup>).

B047.2. **Position:** The pavement covers the floor next to the Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā*) not far from the North Gate (*al-Bāb aš-Ša'mī*) next to the South Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (*Bāb aš-Šaḥra l-Qiblī*) (B041.2), and most probably all over the building.

B047.2.a. It has been assumed that the Dome of the Rock had carpets or floor mosaics;<sup>4</sup> but there is no positive evidence in favour of this. It has been assumed that **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.146**'s *fa-qultu 'LḤḌR*, i.e., *fa-qultu l-Ḥiḍru* "and I said 'al-Ḥiḍr'" was originally *\*fa-qalaba l-ḥuṣura* "and he turned the mats", so that we would have some evidence in favour of mats in the building; but in **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.128**, the same tradition, *fa-qultu l-Ḥiḍru* makes perfect sense and is preferable (B038.11.b).

B047.3. **Contemporary events: Muqātil b. Sulaymān** sits and teaches near the South Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (*Bāb aš-Šaḥra l-Qiblī*), sees a Beduin (*a'rābī*) heavily treading in his sandals on the pavement (*waṭī'a 'alā l-balāṭi waṭ'an šadīdan*), and admonishes him not to tread so heavily because the pavement in the Dome of the Rock is the roofs of Paradise (*aḡāḡir al-Ġanna*), and because on every inch a prophet sent [by God] (*nabī mursal*) prayed and an angel close [to God] (*malak muqarrab*) stood.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the pavement of the Marwānid Dome of the Rock (and of the DOME OF THE ROCK of today), see Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 17f.; fig. 11; Milik, "Topographie" 147; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 27; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 76 and n. 79.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140:** 86,14f. (*qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-šallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-Qiblīyi ...*) *fa-aqbala a'rābīyun badawīyun yaṭa'u bi-na'layni fa-waṭī'a 'alā l-balāṭi waṭ'an šadīdan* = **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.338:** 229,9f. (*qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātili bnu Sulaymāna* (read *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna*) *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-šallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *fa-aqbala a'rābīyun badawīyun yaṭa'u bi-na'layni fa-waṭī'a 'alā l-bilādi* (read *'alā l-balāṭi*, with *al-Wāsiṭī*) *waṭ'an šadīdan*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.137:** 115,18f. (*anba'anā Abī Salamata* (I read *Abū Salamata*) *'an abihi 'an ḡaddihi 'Abdi s-Salāmi 'qāla*) *amaranī l-Mahdīyu an azīda l-maṣṭabata l-latī 'inda l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā'i fī š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-fa'altu wa-qala'tu balāṭatan mina l-balāṭati l-latī 'inda l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā'i* (*wa-idā riqāqun* (I read *zuqāqun*) *muḍī'un fa-nazaltu ...*)

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 76 and n. 79.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.140:** 86,13-87,2 (*ḥaddaṭanā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūrīn qāla sami'tu abi qāla*) *qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-šallā wa-ḡalasa 'inda Bābi š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-Qiblīyi fa-ḡtama'nā ilayhi ḡalqun mina n-nāsi naktubu 'anhu wa-nasma'u minhu fa-aqbala a'rābīyun badawīyun yaṭa'u bi-na'layni fa-waṭī'a 'alā l-balāṭi waṭ'an šadīdan fa-sami'a Muqātilun naḡmata dālika fa-qāla li-man kāna ḡawlahu nfariḡū 'anni fa-nfaraḡa n-nāsu 'anhu wa-ahwā bi-yadihi ilayhi yuṣīru ilayhi wa-yazburuhu bi-ṣawtihi ayyuhā l-wāṭī'u rfuq bi-waṭī'ika fa-wa-l-laḍī nafsū Muqātilin bi-yadihi mā taṭa'u illā 'alā aḡāḡiri l-Ġannati wa-mā ḡadā l-laḍī 'alayhi l-ḡayṭu wa-lahu mudīran wa-qāla s-sūru ḡadīran* (I read *l-ḡayṭu kulluhu mudīrun aw qāla s-sūra mudīran*; Hasson reads *l-ḡā'ītu madda yadan aw qāla s-sūru*) *mā fīhi mawḍī'u šibrin illā wa-qad šallā*

B047.3.a. A parallel to the identification of the pavement of the Dome of the Rock with the roofs of Paradise (*ağāğīr al-Ġanna*): A Marwānid tradition has Paradise on the roofs of the Temple (*‘alā ağāğīr Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B014.8).

**B047.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The pavement in the Dome of the Rock is the roofs of Pa-

---

*‘alayhi nabīyun mursulun fa-aqāma ‘alayhi malakun muqarrabun = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.338: 229,8-14 (anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūrīn qāla sami’tu abī qāla) qadima Sulaymānu bnu Muqātili bnu Sulaymāna (read qadima Muqātilu bnu Sulaymāna) ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ṣallā wa-ḡalasa ‘inda Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] wa-ḡtama’nā ilayhi ḥalqun mina n-nāsi yaktubu (read naktubu) ‘anhu wa-nasma’u minhu fa-aqbala a r-rābīyun badawīyun yaṭa’u bi-na’layni fa-waṭī’a ‘alā l-bilādi (read ‘alā l-balāṭi, with al-Wāsiṭi) waṭ’an šadīdan fa-sami’a Muqātilun fa-mana’ahu ḡālīka fa-qāla li-man kāna ḥawlahu nfariḡū ‘annī fa-nfaraḡa n-nāsu ‘anhu wa-ahwā bi-yadihi ilayhi yuṣīru ilayhi wa-yazburuhu bi-ṣawtihi ayyuhā l-wāṭi’u rāfiq bi-waṭ’ika fa-wa-l-laḡi nafsū Muqātilin mā taṭa’u illā ‘alā ağāğīri l-Ġannati wa-mā hādā l-laḡi ‘alayhi l-ḥinṭu kulluhu MDBR’ W’LMSRR MDBR (I read l-ḥayṭu kulluhu mudīrun aw qāla s-sūra mudīran; Livne-Kafri reads l-ḥā’iṭu kulluhum madda yadan aw qāla s-sūru) mā fihi mawḡi’u šibrin illā wa-qad ṣallā ‘alayhi nabīyun mursulun aw qāma ‘alayhi malakun muqarrabun.*

For entering the mosque in sandals, see A077.a.

**radise** (*ağāğīr al-Ğanna*) and on every inch a **prophet** sent [by God] (*nabī mursal*) prayed and an **angel** close [to God] (*malak muqarrab*) stood (B047.3); walking in the Dome of the Rock is like walking in one of the gardens of Paradise (B038.7).

**B047.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Dome of the Rock may be entered in sandals (*naʿl*) (B038.13).

## 2.6. THE PLACE OF CONGREGATIONAL PRAYER

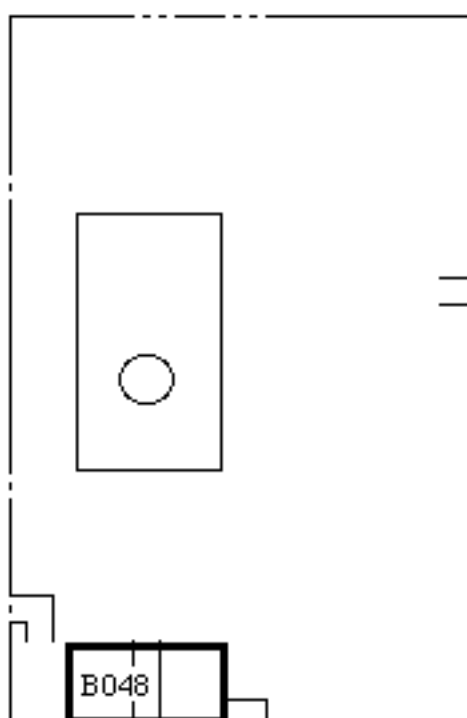
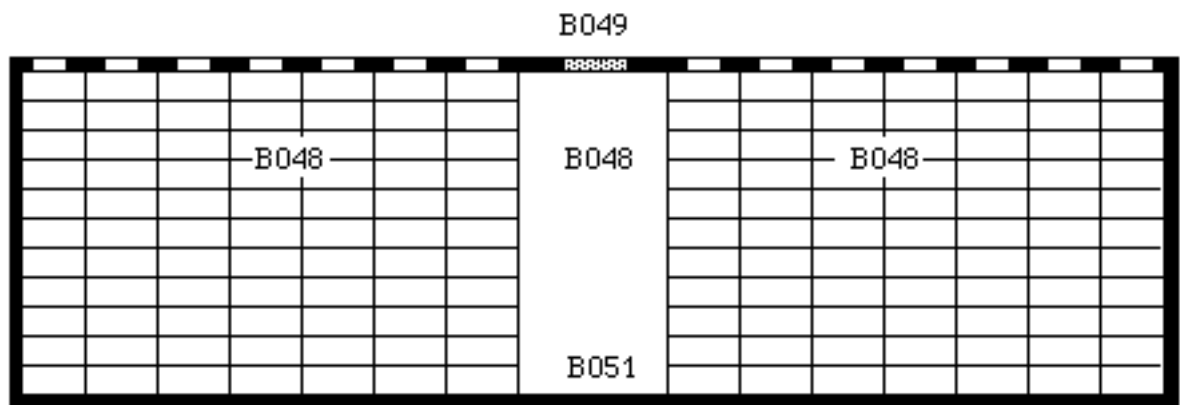
**50**

Figure 50. The position of the Marwānid place of congregational prayer (B048).



**51**

**Figure 51. The Marwānid place of congregational prayer (layout):** B048 The central gable roof, naves and vertical naves of unknown number. - B049 The Copper Gate, the gate of the central gable roof. - B051 The pulpit (inside or outside the place of congregational prayer).

B048. The place of congregational prayer<sup>1</sup>

B048.1. **Names (Muslim):** The prayer-place<sup>2</sup> of the Muslims (*masġid al-Muslimīn*,<sup>3</sup> *muṣallā l-Muslimīn*),<sup>4</sup> a prayer-place where the Muslims pray (*masġid yuṣallūna l-Muslimūn fī-hi*),<sup>5</sup> the prayer-place for congregational prayer (*muṣallā ġamā'a*),<sup>6</sup> the prayer-place where one prays congregational prayer (*masġid yuṣallā fīhi ġamā'atan*),<sup>7</sup> the prayer-place (*al-mas-*

<sup>1</sup>For the Marwānīd place of congregational prayer (often erroneously called the Aqṣā Mosque), see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 375 n. 3; Marçais, "Panels" (with figures and plates 25-27); Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100f.; 188; 189 fig. 37; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 27-38; Creswell, *EMA* 1 17; 197; 205; 373-380 (with fig. 445f.); pl. 63; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 266f.; 274; 334; fig. 181-183; Busink, *Tempel* 921-926; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 97f.; 116-118; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 3 fig. 1; 5-7; 33 n. 3; 70-72; Grabar, "al-Masjdīd al-Aqṣā" 695b-696a; Gil, *Palestine* 92; 95f.; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Burgoyne, "Gates" 110; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II"; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 144; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 183; 186; 3 50-53; 74; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 13; 117f.; 122; 124f. fig. 63 and 65; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; 35-44; 68; 160; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 381f.; 384f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 23; Johns, "House of the Prophet" 59-69.

<sup>2</sup>Here, I translate *masġid*, because of its parallelism to *muṣallā* "prayer-place", as "prayer-place", not as the usual "mosque".

<sup>3</sup>**Leontios, Vita Stephani Sabaitae** 255,9-11: 52 (*kāna rāhibun aḥaru ... wa-ġinsuhu Iskandarānīyun fa-ḥaddatānī bi-hāda l-ʿaġabi l-ʿaġibi wa-qāla lī: innahu kāna raġulun ḥasanu l-amānati bi-Llāhi miṣriyu l-ġinsi. Fa-aḥbarānī ... wa-qāla: kuntu wa-ana fī baladī ... fa-... urītu an aḍhaba ilā Ūruṣalīma li-annī ṣṭahaytu an amūta fihā*) *fa-laḥiqanī min bilādī wa-rāfaqanī raġulun kāna MQMṢ bna MQMṢ wa-kāna rāġibun* [sic] *ġiddan fī dīnihi wa-kufrihi wa-lahu fī dālīka ġīratun ḥāyīġatun aḥarru min a-nārī wa-arāda fī ġiyatihi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi li-kay-mā yuṣalliya fī masġidi l-Muslimīna l-laḍī fihā; al-Wāsiṭī Nr.63: 45,11-46,1 ... anna ʿUmara qāla ayna naḍaʿu masġida l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masġidi qāla fa-qāla Kaʿbun fī muʿaḥḥarihi qāla kallā lanā muqaddamu l-masāġidi (= but **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.162: 131,6-8 ... anna ʿUmara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu qāla li-Kaʿbin fa-ayna tarā lanā an naġʿala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masġidi fa-qāla fī muʿaḥḥarihi mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masġidi qāla fa-maḍā ilā muqaddamihi***).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.162: 131,6-8 ... anna ʿUmara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu qāla li-Kaʿbin fa-ayna tarā lanā an naġʿala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masġidi fa-qāla fī muʿaḥḥarihi mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masġidi qāla fa-maḍā ilā muqaddamihi (= but **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.63: 45,11-46,1 ... anna ʿUmara qāla ayna naḍaʿu masġida l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masġidi qāla fa-qāla Kaʿbun fī muʿaḥḥarihi qāla kallā lanā muqaddamu l-masāġidi).****

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.42: 55,6f.** (*lammā qadima ʿUmaru raḥimahu Llāhu taʿālā li-Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Bayta l-Maqdisi*) ...) *tumma anā* (read *atā*) *ġarbīya l-masġidi qāla ttaḥīdū li-l-Muslimīna hāhunā masġidan yuṣallūna fīhi*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.130: 78,13** (see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) (*fa-taqaddama ʿUmaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu yaʿnī ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ḥīna arāda kaṣfahā wa-izālata l-mazbalati ʿanhā*) ...) *ḥattā ġalā ʿan muṣallā ġamāʿatin min a-l-Muslimīna (fa-ttaḥadahu muṣallan)*.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.163: 131,10-13** (*ḥaddatānā bnu Ṣaddāda anna ʿUmara maḍā* (Livne-Kafri reads *maḍā*) *ilā muqaddamihi mimma yalī l-ġarba fa-ḥaṭā fī tawbihi mina z-zibli l-laḍī ʿalayhi wa-ḥatawnā maʿahu fī ṭiyābinā wa-maḍawnā bi-muḍiyihi ḥattā alqaynāhu fī l-wādī l-laḍī yaqālu lahu Wādiya Ġahannuma tumma ʿāda wa-ʿudnā*



*ǧīd*,<sup>1</sup> *al-muṣallā*<sup>2</sup>).

B048.1.a. Terminology makes clear that this is, first of all, the place of congregational prayer. This becomes most evident in *muṣallā ǧamā'a* "prayer-place for congregational prayer" and *masǧid yuṣallā fihi ǧamā'atan* "prayer-place where the congregational prayer is done", but is inherent also in *al-masǧid* "the prayer-place, the mosque", *al-muṣallā* "prayer-place", *masǧid al-Muslimīn* "the prayer-place of the Muslims, the mosque of the Muslims", *muṣallā l-Muslimīn* "the prayer-place of the Muslims", *masǧid yuṣallūna l-Muslimūn fihi* "the prayer-place where the Muslims pray".

B048.1.b. The stress is on the point that this is the prayer-place of the Muslims and of nobody else.<sup>3</sup> This makes one think that the area had had [in the Pre-Marwānid period] two places of congregational prayer, distinguished mainly by their affiliation with the respective groups, the Muslims and a non-Muslim group - and we best think of the Jews, as the Christians have no interest in the place. This is also the theme of the tradition that 'Umar claims the front [south] part of the mosque (*muqaddam al-masǧid*) for the Muslims "because the front part(s) of the mosque(s) belong(s) to us", but evidently does not claim the remaining part. The joint use of churches in Syria-Palestine by Christians and Muslims after the Muslim conquest is a well-known fact, and the different prayer-directions lead to the partition of churches so that the Christians turn eastwards, the Muslims southwards. The Jerusalem ḤARAM may also have been partitioned, between Muslims and Jews, with the Muslim prayer-place in the south and the Jewish prayer-place somewhere else, the Rock being accessible to both.

---

*bi-miṭlihi ḥattā ṣallaynā ma'ahu fī mawḍi'i masǧidin yuṣallā fihi ǧamā'atan fa-ṣallā 'Umaru raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu binā fihi (wa-lam yaqul ḥaddatāni bnu Ṣaddāda wa-ṣ-ṣawābu 'ani bni Ṣaddāda 'an abīhi).*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.39** 53,2-4 *fa-qāla 'Umaru li-Ka'bin ayna tarā an taǧ'ala (read naǧ'ala) l-masǧida qāla ǧ'alhu ḥalfa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-taǧma'i l-qiblatayni Qiblata Mūsā wa-Qiblata Muḥammadin ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhim (read 'alayhimā) fa-qāla dāḥayta l-Yahūdīyata wa-Llāhi yā Abā Ishāqa ḥayru l-masǧidi muqaddamuhā fa-banāhu muqaddama l-masǧidi; al-Wāsiṭi Nr.137: 83,17-84,1.6f. (see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 374; Busink, *Tempel* 922; 926; Gil, *Palestine* 298 n. 33; Elad, *Jerusalem* 39 n. 77; 40f.; 46) fa-lammā qadima Abū Ġā'fara wa-kāna ṣarqīyu l-masǧidi wa-ǧarbuḥu qad waqa'a fa-rufi'a ilayhi yā amīra l-mu'minīna qad waqa'a ṣarqu l-masǧidi wa-ǧarbuḥu (... fa-qālū lahu law amarta bi-binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-īmāratihī ... tumma qadima l-Mahdiyyu ...) fa-qāla daqqa ḥādā l-masǧidu wa-ṭāla wa-ḥalā minā r-riǧālī nquṣū min ṭūlihi wa-zidū min 'arḍihī fa-tamma l-binā'u fī ḥilāfatihī = **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.49: 63,3-6.9f. fa-lammā qadima Abū Ġā'fara wa-kāna ṣarqī yu l-masǧidi wa-ǧarbīyuhu qad waqa'a fa-rufi'a ilayhi yā amīra l-mu'minīna qad waqa'a ṣarqīyu l-masǧidi wa-ǧarbīyuhu ... fa-qālū lahu law amarta bi-binā'i ḥādā l-masǧidi wa-īmāratihī ... (... tumma qadima l-Mahdiyyu ...) fa-qāla daqqa ḥādā l-masǧidu wa-ṭāla wa-ḥalā minā r-riǧālī nquṣū min ṭūlihi wa-zidū min 'arḍihī; Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.263: 185,9f. (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118) (kāna 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ǧālisān fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ya'nī Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-Ummu d-Dardā'i ma'ahu ǧālisatun ḥattā idā nūdiya l-maǧribu qāma 'Abdu l-Maliki wa-qāmat Ummu d-Dardā'i yatawakka'u (read tatawakka'u) 'alā 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna) ḥattā yadḥulu bihā l-masǧida fa-idā daḥalat wa-ǧalasat ma'an n-nāsi maḍā 'Abdu l-Maliki ilā l-maqāmi fa-ṣallā bi-n-nāsi.***

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.130: 78,13f. (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) (fa-taqaddama 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu ya'nī ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ḥīna arāda kaṣfahā wa-izālata l-mazbalati 'anhā) ... ḥattā ǧalā 'an muṣallā ǧamā'atin minā l-Muslimīna) fa-ttaḥaḍahu muṣallan).**

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 122.

For the strong connection between political authority and mosque in the **Koran**, see Johns, "House of the Prophet" 88-93.

B048.1.c. The terminology is confusing insofar, as *al-masğid* is both the whole ḤARAM (B014.2) and this place in its south. The two meanings are even used together (B014.5.a). Marwānid *al-Masğid al-Aqṣā* has erroneously been referred to as the south building, but aims always at the whole area (B202.6.b).

**B048.2. Names (Christian):** None.

B048.2.a. *Masğid al-Muslimīn al-ladī fī Bayt al-Maqdis* "the mosque of the Muslims which is on the Temple" in **Leontios, Vita Stephani Sabaitae** refers to the whole ḤARAM, not to the building in its south (B014.10.a).

**B048.3. Position:** This building is in the west part of the mosque (*ġarbī l-masğid*), in its west side (*mimmā yalī l-ġarb*), in the front [south] part of the mosque (*muqaddam al-masğid*), not behind [north of] the Rock (*half aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B048.7). Under it is the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) and its corridor (B018.2). We best locate it at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.<sup>1</sup>

**B048.4. Physical shape:** This is a building with a central gable roof, gates (B049.3) and a pulpit (B051.5). Inside the Mosque (*al-Masğid*) [the Roofed Hall] is the Standing-place (*al-Maqām*).<sup>2</sup> The building reaches from the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL to about 18 m south of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE'S CENTRAL NORTH GATE (B049.2); it has [horizontal] naves [from north to south] and vertical naves [from east to west]. Neither dome<sup>3</sup> nor prayer-niche<sup>4</sup> are mentioned.

B048.4.a. The building may have been a kind of basilica, as the High 'Abbāsid Roofed Hall is. The opposition of this place of congregational prayer to the octagonal Dome of the Rock is similar to the opposition of the Basilica of Constantine to the round Anastasis<sup>5</sup> and of the basilica of the Bethlehem Church of Nativity to the place of the cradle.<sup>6</sup> But there is a major difference. The Basilica of Constantine is behind the Anastasis, the basilica of the

<sup>1</sup>For the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, see B124.4.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.263:** 185,7-10 (see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118) *kāna 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ġālisān fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ya'nī Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-Ummu d-Dardā'i ma'ahu ġālisatun ḥattā idā nūdiya l-mağribu qāma 'Abdu l-Maliki wa-qāmat Ummu d-Dardā'i yatawakka'u* (read *tatawakka'u*) *'alā 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna ḥattā yadhulu bihā l-masğida fa-idā daḥalat wa-ġalasat ma'an n-nāsi maḍā 'Abdu l-Maliki ilā l-maqāmi fa-ṣallā bi-n-nāsi*.

<sup>3</sup>Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 38. A dome has been assumed by Johns, "House of the Prophet" 59-61 (with fig. 2).

<sup>4</sup>A prayer-niche has been suggested by Johns, "House of the Prophet" 59-61 (with fig. 2).

<sup>5</sup>Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 101; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 31-33; 38; 47; Busink, *Tempel* 923; Busse, "Monotheismus und Christologie" 177; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 117f.; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342a; Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charīf" (remark of Papadopoulos); Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 3-6; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 7; 71; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 145; 153; van Ess, "Dome of the Rock" 101 n. 73; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" 39; 42-44; 51; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 24; 27-30; 33.

<sup>6</sup>Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 71.

Church of the Nativity behind the place of the cradle, but the Roofed Hall is in front of the Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup> - possibly due to the existence of a Pre-Marwānid mosque south and therewith in front of the place of the later Dome of the Rock.<sup>2</sup>

B048.4.b. It has been assumed that the Marwānid building may have had gates towards the north and the east<sup>3</sup> as the High 'Abbāsīd Roofed Hall has north and east gates (B125.3), that it may have had five naves, as the Basilica of Constantine had five naves,<sup>4</sup> and a dome;<sup>5</sup> this may well be so, but evidence is lacking.

B048.4.c. It has also been assumed that **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47**'s long list of items in the whole area refers to the Roofed Hall; this is out of the question (B014.15.b).

B048.4.d. The lack of a Marwānid dome - if the dome is really absent and not only not mentioned - fits with Hamilton's **Aqṣā Mosque I**, with no dome or with a small dome, and with the High 'Abbāsīd dome (B130.2), his **Aqṣā Mosque II** with a dome.<sup>6</sup>

B048.5. In the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, all gates are covered with sheets (*ṣafā'ih*) of gold and silver (*ad-dahab wa-l-fiḍḍa*); the First Earthquake (*ar-Rağfa l-Ūlā*) (in about 746) damages the west and east parts of the mosque (*šarq al-masğid wa-ğarbuhu*, *šarqī l-masğid wa-ğarbīhi*); **al-Manṣūr** rebuilds the building and covers the expenses by stripping the gates of their gold and silver covering; the Second Earthquake (*ar-Rağfa t-Tāniya*) damages the whole building (*al-binā'*) of al-Manṣūr; **al-Mahdī** rebuilds the mosque on a smaller scale, reducing its length but adding to its width.<sup>7</sup> **al-Mahdī** rebuilds the [central] nave da-

<sup>1</sup>Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 6; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 28.

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 28.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 124f. fig. 63 and 65.

<sup>4</sup>Busink, *Tempe* 923.

<sup>5</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 379; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 4f.

<sup>6</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 379.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137**: 83,15-84,7 (see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 374; Busink, *Tempe* 922; 926; Gil, *Palestine* 298 n. 33; Elad, *Jerusalem* 39 n. 77; 40f.; 46) ... *anna l-abwāba kānat mulabbasatan dahaban wa-fiḍḍatan ṣafā'ihu l-abwābi kulluhā kānat ḥilāfata 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna kullahā* (read *kullahā dahaban wa-fiḍḍatan*) *fa-lammā qadima Abū Ğā'fara wa-kāna šarqīyu l-masğidi wa-ğarbuhu qad waqa'a fa-rufi'a ilayhi yā amīra l-mu'minīna qad waqa'a šarqu l-masğidi wa-ğarbuhu wa-kānati r-Rağfatu sanata ṭalātina wa-mi'atin fa-qālū lahu law amarta bi-binā'i Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-īmāratihī fa-qāla mā 'andī šay'un minā l-mālī fa-amara bi-qal'i š-ṣafā'ihī l-fiḍḍati* (read *l-fiḍḍati wa-d-dahabi*) *l-latī 'alā l-abwābi fa-ḍuribat danānīra wa-darāhima wa-unfiqa 'alayhā fa-lammā fariḡa minhu kānati r-Rağfatu t-Tāniyatu fa-waqa'a l-binā'u l-laḍī amara bihi Abū Ğā'fara tumma qadima l-Mahdīyu min ba'du wa-huwa ḥarābun fa-amara bi-bunyānihi fa-rufi'a dālīka ilayhi fa-qāla daqqa hādā l-masğidu wa-ṭāla wa-ḥalā minā r-riḡālī nquṣū min ṭūlihi wa-zidū min 'arḍihī fa-tamma l-binā'u fī ḥilāfatihī = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.49**: 63,2-10 ... *anna l-abwāba kānat mulabbasatan dahaban wa-fiḍḍatan ṣafā'ihu l-abwābi kulluhā fī ḥilāfati 'Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna kullihā fa-lammā qadima Abū Ğā'fara wa-kāna šarqīyu l-masğidi wa-ğarbīyuhu qad waqa'a fa-rufi'a ilayhi yā amīra l-mu'minīna qad waqa'a šarqīyu l-masğidi wa-ğarbīyuhu wa-kānati r-Rağfatu sanata ṭalātina wa-mi'atin fī šahri ramaḍāna fa-qālū lahu law amarta bi-binā'i hādā l-masğidi wa-īmāratihī fa-qāla mā 'andī šay'un minā l-mālī fa-amara bi-qal'i š-ṣafā'ihī d-dahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati l-latī kānat 'alā l-abwābi fa-ḍuribat danānīra wa-darāhima wa-unfiqa 'alayhi fa-lammā fariḡa minhu wa-kānati r-**

maged [by the Second Earthquake (*ar-Raġfa t-Tāniya*)].<sup>1</sup>

**B048.6. Contemporary events:** One day, ‘**Abd al-Malik** sits with Umm ad-Dardā’ in the Dome of the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), when the evening prayer is called (*idā nūdiya l-maġrib*), he goes with Umm ad-Dardā’ leaning on him to the mosque (*al-masġid*), she sits down with the people, he goes to the Standing-place (*al-Maqām*) and leads the ritual prayer of the people (*ṣallā bi-n-nās*) (B014.6). The First Earthquake (*ar-Raġfa l-Ūlā*) (in about 746) damages the west and east part of the mosque (*šarq al-masġid wa-ġarbuḥu, šarqī l-masġid wa-ġarbiḥi*) and **al-Manṣūr** rebuilds the building and covers the expenses by stripping the gates of their gold and silver covering, the Second Earthquake (*ar-Raġfa t-Tāniya*) damages all the building (*al-binā*) of al-Manṣūr, **al-Mahdī** rebuilds the mosque on a smaller scale, while reducing its length but adding to its width (B048.5). **al-Mahdī** rebuilds the [central] nave damaged [by the Second Earthquake (*ar-Raġfa t-Tāniya*)] (B048.6).

**B048.7. Traditions (Muslim):** ‘**Umar** ordered [the Muslims], "take for the Muslims here a prayer-place where they may pray" (*ittahidū li-l-Muslimīna hāhunā masġidan yuṣallūna fī-hi*),<sup>2</sup> not behind [north of] the Rock (*ḥalf aṣ-Ṣaḥra*);<sup>3</sup> he established the prayer-place (*mawḍi‘ masġid*) in its west side (*mimmā yalī l-ġarb*) and led them there in congregational prayer;<sup>4</sup> upon ‘Umar's enquiry, [the scholar] Ka‘b suggested establishing the prayer-place of the Muslims north of the Rock in the back [north] part of the mosque (*mu‘aḥḥar al-masġid*), but ‘Umar preferred to build it in the front [south] part of the mosque (*muqaddam al-masġid*)<sup>5</sup>

---

*Raġfatu t-Tāniyatu waq‘a l-binā’u l-laḍī banāhu Abū Ġa‘fara tumma qadima l-Mahdiyyu min ba‘du wa-huwa ḥarābun fa-rufi‘a ilayhi dālika fa-qāla lahu (read fa-qāla) fa-qāla daqqa hādā l-masġidu wa-tāla wa-ḥalā mina r-riġāli nquṣu min tūlihi wa-zidū min ‘arḍihi fa-tamma l-binā’u fī ḥilāfatihī.*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137:** 84,7f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 298 n. 33) ... *anna l-kanīsata tahaddamat fa-amara bi-binā’ihī l-Faḍlu bnu Šālihi bni ‘Alīyi bni ‘Abdi Llāhi bni ‘Abbāsa bi-amri l-Mahdiyyi.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.42:** 55,6f. (*lammā qadima ‘Umaru raḥimahu Llāhu ta‘ālā li-Bayti l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Bayta l-Maqdisi*) ...) *tumma anā (read atā) ġarbiya l-masġidi qāla ttaḥidū li-l-Muslimīna hāhunā masġidan yuṣallūna fīhi.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.39:** 53,2-4 *fa-qāla ‘Umaru li-Ka‘bin ayna tarā an taġ‘ala (read naġ‘ala) l-masġida qāla ġ‘alhu ḥalfa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-taġma‘i l-qiblatayni Qiblata Mūsā wa-Qiblata Muḥammadin ṣalawātu Llāhi ‘alayhim (read ‘alayhimā) fa-qāla dāhayta l-Yahūdīyata wa-Llāhi yā Abā Ishāqa ḥayru l-masġidi muqaddamuhā fa-banāhu muqaddama l-masġidi.*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.163:** 131,10-13 (*ḥaddaṭanā bnu Šaddāda anna ‘Umara maḍā* (Livne-Kafri reads *maḍā*) *ilā muqaddamihi mimmā yalī l-ġarba fa-ḥaṭā fī ṭawbihi mina z-zibli l-laḍī ‘alayhi wa-ḥatawnā ma‘ahu fī ṭiyābinā wa-maḍawnā bi-muḍīyihī ḥattā alqaynāhu fī l-wādī l-laḍī yaqālu lahu Wādiya Ġahannuma tumma ‘āda wa-‘udnā bi-miṭlihi ḥattā ṣallaynā ma‘ahu fī mawḍi‘i masġidin yuṣallā fīhi ġamā‘atan fa-ṣallā ‘Umaru raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu binā fīhi (wa-lam yaqul ḥaddaṭanī bnu Šaddāda wa-ṣ-ṣawābu ‘ani bni Šaddāda ‘an abīhi).*

<sup>5</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ta’rīḥ I 2408** (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 28); **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.63:** 45,11-46,1 ... *anna ‘Umara qāla ayna naḍa‘u masġida l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masġidi qāla fa-qāla Ka‘bun fī mu‘aḥḥarihi qāla kallā lanā muqaddamu l-masāġidi = Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.162: 131,6-8 ... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya**

next to the Gate of the Tribes (*mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ*),<sup>1</sup> because the Muslims are entitled to the [more noble] front parts of the mosques,<sup>2</sup> or because, north of the Rock, the [Jewish] Prayer-direction of Moses (*Qiblat Mūsā*) and the [Muslim] Prayer-direction of Muḥammad (*Qiblat Muḥammad*) are the same, but south of it, opposite;<sup>3</sup> Umar and the Muslims cleaned garbage from the prayer-place of the Muslims, carrying the garbage away in their own clothes and throwing it into the Kidron Valley (B045.5).

**B048.8. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** This is the place of Muslim congregational prayer [in Jerusalem] (B048.1). At the evening-prayer (*al-maḡrib*), the people sit down at the Mosque (*al-Masḡid*) [the Roofed Hall] and the *imām* leads the ritual prayer of the people (*ṣallā bi-n-nās*) at the Standing-place (*al-Maqām*) (B014.6).

---

*Llāhu ‘anhu qāla li-Ka’bin fa-ayna tarā lanā an naḡ‘ala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masḡidi fa-qāla fī mu’ahharihi mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masḡidi qāla fa-maḡdā ilā muqaddamihi; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.39: 53,2-4 fa-qāla ‘Umaru li-Ka’bin ayna tarā an taḡ‘ala (read naḡ‘ala) l-masḡida qāla ḡ‘alhu ḥalfa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-taḡma‘i l-qiblatayni Qiblata Mūsā wa-Qiblata Muḥammadin ṣalawātu Llāhi ‘alayhim (read ‘alayhimā) fa-qāla ḏāhayta l-Yahūdīyata wa-Llāhi yā Abā Ishāqa ḥayru l-masḡidi muqaddamuhā fa-banāhu muqaddama l-masḡidi.*

For traditions about Umar in Jerusalem, see A074.a.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.63:** 45,11-46,1 ... *anna ‘Umara qāla ayna naḡa‘u masḡida l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masḡidi qāla fa-qāla Ka’bun fī mu’ahharihi qāla kallā lanā muqaddamu l-masḡidi = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.162:* 131,6-8 ... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu qāla li-Ka’bin fa-ayna tarā lanā an naḡ‘ala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masḡidi fa-qāla fī mu’ahharihi mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masḡidi qāla fa-maḡdā ilā muqaddamihi.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.63:** 45,11-46,1 ... *anna ‘Umara qāla ayna naḡa‘u masḡida l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masḡidi qāla fa-qāla Ka’bun fī mu’ahharihi qāla kallā lanā muqaddamu l-masḡidi = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.162:* 131,6-8 ... *anna ‘Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu qāla li-Ka’bin fa-ayna tarā lanā an naḡ‘ala muṣallā l-Muslimīna min hādā l-masḡidi fa-qāla fī mu’ahharihi mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi qāla kallā inna lanā muqaddama l-masḡidi qāla fa-maḡdā ilā muqaddamihi; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.39: 53,2-4 fa-qāla ‘Umaru li-Ka’bin ayna tarā an taḡ‘ala (read naḡ‘ala) l-masḡida qāla ḡ‘alhu ḥalfa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-taḡma‘i l-qiblatayni Qiblata Mūsā wa-Qiblata Muḥammadin ṣalawātu Llāhi ‘alayhim (read ‘alayhimā) fa-qāla ḏāhayta l-Yahūdīyata wa-Llāhi yā Abā Ishāqa ḥayru l-masḡidi muqaddamuhā fa-banāhu muqaddama l-masḡidi.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.39:** 53,2f. *fa-qāla ‘Umaru li-Ka’bin ayna tarā an taḡ‘ala (read naḡ‘ala) l-masḡida qāla ḡ‘alhu ḥalfa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-taḡma‘i l-qiblatayni Qiblata Mūsā wa-Qiblata Muḥammadin ṣalawātu Llāhi ‘alayhim (read ‘alayhimā).*

### B049. The gates of the place of congregational prayer<sup>1</sup>

B049.1. **Names (Muslim):** The gates (*al-abwāb*) [of the Roofed Hall]<sup>2</sup> with the Copper Gate (*al-Bāb an-Nuḥās*),<sup>3</sup> the gate of the central gable roof (*\*bāb al-ġamal al-awsaṭ*) (B049.2).

B049.2. **Position:** The copper gate is the gate of the central gable roof (*\*bāb al-ġamal al-awsaṭ*) [towards the courtyard].<sup>4</sup> We best locate it at the same east-west width as the CENTRAL NORTH GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, but about 18 m further south.

B049.2.a. Parallels to the Copper Gate opening onto the courtyard:<sup>5</sup> The Pre-Marwānid Christian Basilica of Constantine has large doors opening onto the courtyard,<sup>6</sup> the Nea Church has similar large doors to the courtyard.<sup>7</sup> Probably much smaller, and therefore no parallel, are the two copper doors (*duo ostea erea*) in the High ‘Abbāsīd Christian cave under the Church of the Nativity, between the place where Jesus was born and his cradle (*praesepe*).<sup>8</sup> Both the High ‘Abbāsīd (B125.3) and the Fāṭimid (B203.3) roofed halls keep this copper gate.

B049.2.b. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.46** has *al-Bāb an-Nuḥās* preceded by the two copper gates of the mosque, *Bāb Dāwūd* = *Bāb Šihyūn* and *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (B021.3.a); the sequence does not help here in location.

**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.46**

*al-Bāb an-Nuḥās*: *bāb al-ġamal al-awsaṭ* -> *bābā n-nuḥās al-ladī* [sic] ‘*alā bābayi l-masġid*: *Bāb Dāwūd* = *Bāb Šihyūn*, *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*

<sup>1</sup>For the gates of the Marwānid Roofed Hall, see Elad, *Jerusalem* 42.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137**: 83,15-17; 84,3 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 39 n. 77; 40f.; 46) ... *anna l-abwāba kānat mulabbasatan dahaban wa-fiḍḍatan šafā’iḥu l-abwābi kulluhā kānat ḥilāfata* ‘*Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna kullahā* (read *kullahā dahaban wa-fiḍḍatan*) (*fa-lammā qadima Abū Ġa’fara* ...) *fa-amara bi-qal’i š-šafā’iḥi l-fiḍḍati* (read *l-fiḍḍati wa-ḍ-dahabi*) *l-latī ‘alā l-abwābi* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.49**: 63,2f.6f. ... *anna l-abwāba kānat mulabbasatan dahaban wa-fiḍḍatan šafā’iḥu l-abwābi kulluhā fī ḥilāfati* ‘*Abdi l-Maliki bni Marwāna kullihā* (*fa-lammā qadima Abū Ġa’fara* ...) *fa-amara bi-qal’i š-šafā’iḥi ḍ-dahabi wa-l-fiḍḍati l-latī kānat ‘alā l-abwābi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.46**: 58,2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 114f.) *inna l-Bāba n-Nuḥāsa l-ladī fī l-masġidi* ....

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.46**: 58,2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 42 n. 90; 114f.) *inna l-Bāba n-Nuḥāsa l-ladī fī l-masġidi bāba l-ḥamali l-awsaṭi* (I read *bāba l-ġamali l-awsaṭi*; thus also Elad) *huwa min matā’i Kisrā*.

<sup>5</sup>For the copper gates, in general, see A119.

<sup>6</sup>**Eusebios, Vita Constantini** 100,17-22: 3.37 Ἀμφὶ δ’ ἐκάτερα τὰ πλευρὰ διττῶν στοῶν ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων δίδυμοι παραστάδες τῷ μήκει τοῦ νεῶ συνεξτείνοντο χρυσῷ καὶ ἀστὰι τοὺς ὀρόφους πεποικιλμέναι· ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ οἴκου κίοσι παμμεγέθεσιν ἐπηρείδοντο (VB ἐπερείδοντο) αἱ δ’ εἴσω τῶν ἔμπροσθεν (A ἔσωθεν) ὑπὸ πεσσοῖς ἀνηγείροντο πολὺν τὸν ἕξωθεν περιβεβλημένοις κόσμον. Πύλαι δὲ τρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον εὖ διακείμεναι τὰ πλήθη (V τὰ πλήθει, τῷ πλήθει) τῶν εἴσω φερομένων ὑπεδέχοντο.

<sup>7</sup>**Prokopios, Aedificia** V.6.24 (αὐλὴ μετὰ ταύτην κίοσιν ὁμοίοις ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ ἀνεχομένη) θύραι μέταυλοι ἱεροπρεπεῖς οὕτως ὥστε μηνύουσι τοῖς ἕξω ἰοῦσιν ὁποῖω ποτὲ θεάματι ἐντυχεῖν μέλλουσι.

<sup>8</sup>**Iacintus** 323: 5 (*Item ab illo loco ubi dignatus nasci dominus noster usque ad presepem tres passos habentur; grados vero per quos descendimus ad praesepe XII.m sunt.*) *Duo ostea erea ibi sunt.*

B049.2.c. The place of *al-Bāb an-Nuḥās* is given by **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.46**'s *inna l-Bāba n-Nuḥāsa l-ladī fī l-masǧidi bāba l-ḥamali l-awsaṭi* "the Copper Door which is in the mosque, the door of the central lamb", which most probably should be read *\*... bāba l-ǧamali l-awsaṭi* "... the door of the central gable roof". *\*al-ǧamal* "the gable roof"<sup>1</sup> becomes, by dropping just one dot, *al-ḥamal* "the lamb". *Bāb al-ḥamal al-awsaṭ* (or similar) makes no sense, but both the High ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid periods have a central gable roof (*ǧamal*) and a central copper gate. The expression *fī l-masǧidi* "in the mosque" may refer to the place of congregational prayer or to the whole ḤARAM.

B049.2.d. The central north gate is further located by the **threshold of Aqṣā Mosque I** being about 18 m south of the CENTRAL NORTH GATE of the AQṢA MOSQUE, and the pavement between this threshold and the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, not being continued further north.<sup>2</sup>

B049.3. **Physical shape:** In the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik and up to that of al-Manṣūr, all gates are covered with sheets (*ṣafāʾih*) of gold and silver (*aḍ-ḍahab wa-l-fidḍa*) (B048.5).

B049.4. **Contemporary events:** In the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik, all gates are covered with sheets (*ṣafāʾih*) of gold and silver (*aḍ-ḍahab wa-l-fidḍa*); **al-Manṣūr** strips the gates of the covering to rebuild the building's west and east parts damaged by the First Earthquake (*ar-Raǧfa l-Ūlā*) (in about 746) (B048.5). The copper gate becomes associated with **al-Maʾmūn**.

B049.5. **Traditions (Muslim):** The Copper Gate (*al-Bāb an-Nuḥās*) belonged to Chosroes (*Kisrā*) [and was brought here as part of the Muslim booty].<sup>3</sup>

## B050. The [central] nave and the gable roof<sup>4</sup>

B050.1. **Names (Muslim):** The [central] nave (*al-kanīsa*)<sup>5</sup> and the central gable roof (*\*al-ǧamal al-awsaṭ*) (B049.2).

B050.2. **Position:** The gable roof is the middle part of the roof and sits on top of [the central nave and] the Copper Gate (*al-Bāb an-Nuḥās*) (B049.2).

<sup>1</sup>For *ǧamal*, *ǧamalūn* "gable roof", see Lane, *Lexicon* 460 s.v. "ǧamalūn"; de Goeje, *BGA* 4 208 s.v. "ǧamal"; Le Strange, *Palestine* 21; 111 n.; Dozy, *Supplément* 1 219 s.v. "ǧamalūn"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 11 n. 5; 650; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 2 145; 4 74 (369) n. 156; Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary* 33 s.v. "ǧamalūn".

<sup>2</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 56f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 380.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.46**: 58,2f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 42 n. 90; 114f.) *inna l-Bāba n-Nuḥāsa l-ladī fī l-masǧidi bāba l-ḥamali l-awsaṭi* (I read *bāba l-ǧamali l-awsaṭi*; thus also Elad) *huwa min matāʾi Kisrā*.

<sup>4</sup>For the roof of the Marwānid Roofed Hall, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 650; Johns, "House of the Prophet" 59-61 (with fig. 2).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.137**: 84,7f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 298 n. 33) ... *anna l-kanīsata tahaddamat fa-amara bi-bināʾihi l-Faḍlu bnu Ṣālihi bni ʿAlīyi bni ʿAbdi Llāhi bni ʿAbbāsa bi-amri l-Mahdiyyi*.

B050.3. **Contemporary events:** al-Mahdī rebuilds the [central] nave, damaged [by the Second Earthquake (*ar-Raġfa t-Tāniya*)].<sup>1</sup>

### B051. The Pulpit of the Temple = the Standing-place<sup>2</sup>

B051.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Pulpit of the Temple (*Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>3</sup> the Standing-place (*al-Maqām*).<sup>4</sup>

B051.2. **Position:** The Standing-place (*al-Maqām*) is inside the Mosque (*al-Masġid*) [the Roofed Hall] (B048.4); the Pulpit of the Temple (*Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*) is between the two side walls of the mosque (*bayn ḥa'itay ḥaḍa l-masġid*) (B051.3). We locate the Pulpit best inside the Roofed Hall.

B051.3. **Physical shaple:** This is most probably a real pulpit.

B051.4. **Contemporary events:** One day, 'Abd al-Malik sits with Umm ad-Dardā' in the Dome of the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), when the evening prayer is called (*idā nūdiya l-maġrib*), he goes with Umm ad-Dardā' leaning on him to the mosque (*al-masġid*), she sits down with the people and he goes to the Standing-place (*al-Maqām*) and leads the ritual prayer of the people (*ṣallā bi-n-nās*) (B014.6)

B051.5. **Traditions (Muslim):** Mu'āwiya stood on the Pulpit of the Temple (*Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*) and said, "what is between the two side walls of this mosque is more dear to God than the rest of the earth" (*mā bayna ḥa'itay ḥaḍa l-masġidi aḥabbu ilā Llāhi ta'ālā min sā'iri l-arḍi*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.137:** 84,7f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 298 n. 33) ... *anna l-kanīsata tahaddamat fa-amara bi-binā'ihī l-Faḍlu bnu Ṣāliḥi bni 'Alīyi bni 'Abdi Llāhi bni 'Abbāsa bi-amri l-Mahdiyyi*.

<sup>2</sup>For the Marwānid pulpit here, see Elad, *Jerusalem* 33f.

For *maqām* "standing-place", an old term for the pulpit, see Busse, "Kanzel des Propheten".

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.186:** 148,7 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 33; 33f. n. 50) *qāma Mu'āwiyatu bnu Abī Sufyāna 'alā Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.263:** 185,10 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 118) (*kāna 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ġālisān fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ya'nī Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-Ummu d-Dardā'i ma'ahu ġālisatun ... ḥattā yadhulu bihā l-masġida fa-idā daḥalat wa-ġalasat ma'an n-nāsi*) *maḍa 'Abdu l-Maliki ilā l-maqāmi fa-ṣallā bi-n-nāsi*.

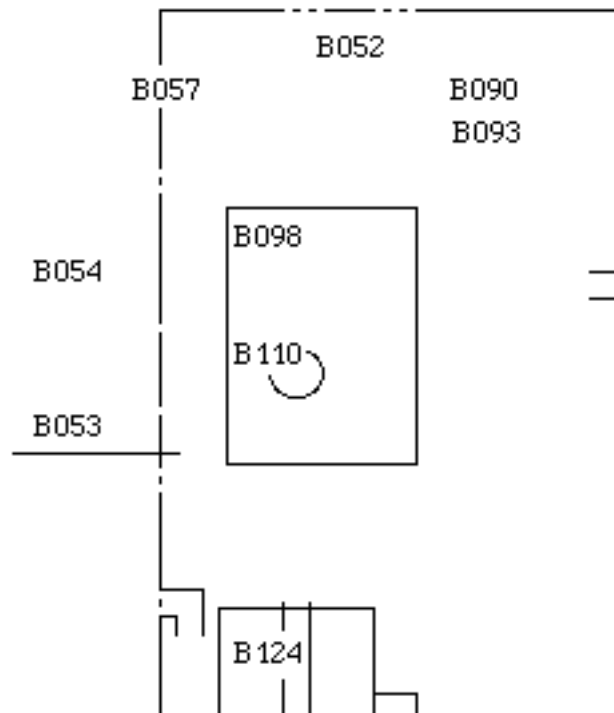
<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.186:** 148,7f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 33; 33f. n. 50) *qāma Mu'āwiyatu bnu Abī Sufyāna 'alā Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-huwa yaqūlu mā bayna ḥa'itay ḥaḍa l-masġidi aḥabbu ilā Llāhi ta'ālā min sā'iri l-arḍi*.



**B051.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** At the evening-prayer (*al-mağrib*), the people sit down at the Mosque (*al-Masğid*) [the Roofed Hall] and the *imām* leads the ritual prayer of the people (*ṣallà bi-n-nās*) at the Standing-place (*al-Maqām*) (B014.6).

### 3. THE HIGH ʿABBĀSID PHASE (813-969)

#### 3.1. THE WHOLE AREA



52

**Figure 52. The High ʿAbbāsid area:** B052 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B053 The aqueduct or Channel of al-Marǧīʿ with the ablution place it feeds (just outside the area). - B054 The ablution places (outside the area). - B057 The wall. - B090 The courtyard. - B093 The cisterns (in the courtyard). - B098 The platform. - B110 The Dome of the Rock. - B124 The Roofed Hall.

**B052. (The Mosque of) the Temple = the Furthest Mosque  
= the (Friday) mosque of Jerusalem  
= the mosque on the Temple  
and the inscription with the dimensions of the area<sup>1</sup>**

B052.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Mosque of the Temple (*Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>2</sup> the Mosque in the Temple [or in Jerusalem?] (*al-masğid bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>3</sup> the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>4</sup> *al-Quds*<sup>1</sup> [?] the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*) (B052.8), the Holy

<sup>1</sup> For the dimensions of the area and the inscription mentioning them, see B131.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 254,19f. *ṣifatu Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-mā fihi min ātāri l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu; al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīḥ* 2 311,6-16 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.; partly Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Busink, *Tempel* 908; Gil, *Palestine* 102) *wa-mana'a 'Abdu l-Maliki ahla ṣ-Ṣa'mi mina l-ḥağği wa-dālika anna bna z-Zubayri kāna ya'ḥduhum idā ḥağğū bi-l-bay'ati fa-lammā ra'ā 'Abdu l-Maliki dālika mana'ahum mina l-ḥurūği ilā Makkata fa-ḍağğa n-nāsu wa-qālū tamna'unā min ḥağği Bayti Llāhi l-Ḥarāmi wa-huwa farḍun mina Llāhi 'alaynā fa-qāla lahum hādā bnu Šihāba z-Zuhriyu yuḥadditukum anna Rasūla Llāhi qāla 'lā tuṣaddu r-riḥālu illā ilā ṭalātati masāğida l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-masğidi wa-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi' [wa-huwa] yaqūmu lakum maqāma l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi; **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,1-3 (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 316; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 33) *wa-qāla (B qāla) Rasūla Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama lā tuṣaddu r-riḥālu ilā afḍala min ṭalātati masāğida Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-masğidi wa-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi; Ibn al-Faqīh* 100, 2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) *wa-yuqālu inna ṭula Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi alfu dirā'in wa-arḍuhu sab'u mi'ati dirā'in; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407*: 268,2f. (... ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīn l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla) *ra'aytu laylata 'āšūrā'a min sanati ḥamsin wa-ṭalātina wa-ṭalātini'atin fimā yarā n-nā'imū ka-annī fī Ṣaḥrati Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi (I read fī Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi) ...; al-Muqaddasī* 166,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 85) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-lā akbara min masğidihā.**

The area is compared to the mosque of Damascus **al-Muqaddasī** 168,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 292; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25) (*wa-ammā l-Masğidu l-Aqṣā ...*) *wa-kāna aḥsana min ḡāmi'i Dimašqa (C adds li-annahu qūbila bihi kanisatu n-Naṣārā l-uzmā l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ḡū'ila aḥsana minhā).*

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 269,7f. (... ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīn l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ... ṭumma kallamanī arba'atun ... wa-hum yaqūlūna lī ...) *wa-fī hādā l-waḡti sab'atun mina l-mu'minīna awtādu l-masğidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

<sup>4</sup> **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.124**: 76,9 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 178; Elad, *Jerusalem* 67) (*ḥaddaṭanā l-Walidu qāla*) *sami'tu Ḡa'fara bna Musāfirin yaqūlu ra'aytu Mu'ammala bna Ismā'ila bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi a'ṭa qawman ṣay'an wa-dārū bihi fī tilka l-mawāḍi'i fa-qāla lahu bnuhu yā abati qad daḥāla Wakī'u bnu l-Ḡarrāhi fa-lam yadur qāla kullu insānin yaf'alu mā arāda= Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.363,87v,2 (anba'anā l-Walidu qāla) sami'tu Ḡa'fara bna Musāfirin yaqūlu ra'aytu Mu'ammala bna Ismā'ila bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi a'ṭa qawman ṣay'an wa-dawwarū bihi fī tilka l-mawāḍi'i fa-qāla lahu bnuhu yā abbaḥ qad daḥāla Wakī'u bnu l-Ḡarrāhi fa-lam yadūr (read fa-lam yadur) qāla kullu insānin yaf'alu mā arāda; **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,3f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 316; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 33) (*wa-qāla (B qāla) Rasūla Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama lā tuṣaddu r-riḥālu ilā afḍala min ṭalātati masāğida Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-masğidi wa-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-ṣalātun fī Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥayrun min alfi ṣalātīn fī siwāhu; **Ibn al-Faqīh** 96,8f. wa-qālat Maymūnatu mawlātu Rasūli Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama qultu li-Rasūli Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu aftinā 'an**

Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Muqaddas*),<sup>2</sup> the Holy Friday Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Ġāmi‘ al-Muqaddas*),<sup>3</sup> the mosque of Jerusalem (*masğid Īliyā*),<sup>4</sup> a mosque (*masğid*),<sup>5</sup> a Friday mosque

*Bayti l-Maqdisi* (qāla ... itūhu fa-šallū fihi fa-inna š-šalāta fihi ka-alfi šalātin); **Ibn al-Faqīh** 98,1 (wa-‘an Wahbi bni Munabbihin qāla ... Ya‘qūbu ... wa-awḥā Llāhu ‘azza wa-ğalla ilayhi ... tumma ana ma‘aka ḥattā arudduka (Yāqūt tudrika) ilā ḥādā l-makāni fa-ğ‘alhu baytan ta‘buduni fihi wa-ḍurriyatuka) fa-yuqālu inna ḍālika Baytu l-Maqdisi; **al-Mas‘ūdī**, **Murūğ** 1 64,4f.: 106 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 203) wa-btada’a Sulaymānu binā’a Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-huwa l-Masğidu l-Aqṣā l-ladī bāraka Llāhu ḥawlahu (cf. **Koran** 17.1) wa-lammā statamma binā’ahu btanā li-nafsihi baytan; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 5 170,3f. ‘Abdu Llāhi bnu l-Mubāraki ‘an rağulin aḥbarahu qāla kuntu ma‘ā Ḥālidi bni Yazīda bni Mu‘āwiyata fī ṣaḥni Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-laqinā ‘Umara bna ‘Abdi l-‘Azīzi wa-lā a‘rifuhu ...; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 229,5f. (wa-fī munāğāti ‘Uzayrini Llāhumma innaka ḥtarta mina l-an‘ami ḍ-ḍā’inata ...) wa-mina l-buyūti Makkata wa-Īliyā’a wa-min Īliyā’a Bayta l-Maqdisi; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163f.) (ātāru l-anbiyā’i ‘alayhimi š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...) Babu r-raḥmati l-lati ḍakaraha Llāhu ta‘ālā fī kitābihi ‘lahu bābun bātinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-ḏāhiruhu min qibalihi l-‘adābu’ (**Koran** 57.13) ya’nī Wādi (read Wādiya) Ġahannuma l-ladī bi-šarqīyi Bayti l-Maqdisi; **al-Maqdisi**, **Bad’** 4 87,2 (ḍikru l-masāğidi wa-l-biqā’i l-fāḍilati wa-t-ṭuğūri Makkatu ... masğidu l-Madīnati ...) Baytu l-Maqdisi (... Ṭūru Sīnā ... masğidu l-Kūfati ... masğidu l-Baṣrati ... masğidu Dimašqa ... masğidu r-Ramlati ...).

Cf. the Samaritans using the term *Bayt al-Maqdis* for Nābulus **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 58,2f. wa-Nābulusu madīnatu s-Sāmīrati yaz‘umūna (C wa-yaz‘umūna) anna Bayta l-Muqaddasi (I read Bayta l-Maqdisi) huwa Nābulusu.

Cf. the Fāṭimid title **Ibn al-Murağğā** 243,7 Bābu man ra’ā an yadūra yuṣallī fī sā’iri l-mawāḍi’i l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi.

<sup>1</sup> al-Quds refers to the Temple or to the city **al-Maqdisi**, **Bad’** 6 91,9 (see Goitein, "al-Quds" 322ab) (Abū Ġa‘fara l-Manṣūru ...) wa-ḥağğā ḡayra marratin wa-zāra l-Qudsa.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.249**: 177,17f. (... Aḥmadu bnu Yaḥyā l-bazzāru l-Bağḍādīyu ... qāla ... qultu) šalātun fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi bi-mi’ati alfi šalātin wa-šalātun fī l-Masğidi l-Muqaddasi bi-ḥamsin wa-‘iṣrīna alfi šalātin.

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 269,3f. (... ḥaddatani Abū Muḥammadin ‘Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawli yu ... qāla ... tumma kallamanī arba‘atun ...) wa-hum yaqūlūna li qra’ yā Muhammadu (I read ‘alā Muḥammadini) s-salāma ya’nūna imāma l-Masğidi l-Ġāmi’i l-Muqaddasi (wa-qul lahu yağ‘ali l-ḥuṭaba l-lati yaḥtubu li-Llāhi ta‘ālā wa-ka-ḍālika sā’ira ‘amalihi).

<sup>4</sup> **al-Maqdisi**, **Bad’** 5 235,2 (ḥilāfatu l-Ḥasani bni ‘Alīyin raḍīya Llāhu ‘anhumā tumma būyi’a l-Ḥasanu bnu ‘Alīyin raḍīya Llāhu ‘anhumā bi-l-Kūfati) wa-būyi’a Mu‘āwiyatu bi-š-Ša’mi fī masğidi Īliyā.

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 254,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 89f.) ṭūlu l-masğidi sab‘umi’ati ḍirā’in wa-arba’un wa-ṭamānūna ḍirā’an wa-‘arḍuhu arba‘umi’ati ḍirā’in wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā’an bi-ḍirā’i l-imāmi; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 254,22f. wa-yusraḡu fī l-masğidi alfun wa-ḥamsu-mi’ati qindilin; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 255,11 wa-fī l-masğidi ṭalātu maqāṣira li-n-nisā’i (... wa-fīhi arba‘atun wa-‘iṣrūna ḡubban li-l-mā’i ...); **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 255,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 60 and n. 3; Bloom, *Minaret* 183f.) ḡamī‘u suṭūḥi l-masğidi wa-l-qibābi wa-l-manārāti mulabbasatun ṣafā’iḥa muḍahhabatan; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 255,22f. (wa-fī l-masğidi ... wa-waḏifatuḥu ...) wa-li-ṣunnā’in ya‘malūna fī suṭūḥi l-masğidi fī kulli ‘āmin ḥamsata ‘ašara dīnārin; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; see Matthews, "Wailing Wall" 336-338) (ātāru l-anbiyā’i ‘alayhimi š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi) Marbaṭu l-Burāqi l-ladī rakibahu n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama taḥta rukni l-masğidi wa-fī l-masğidi Bābu Dāwūda ‘alayhi š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu wa-Bābu Sulaymān bni Dāwūda ‘alayhimā š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu wa-...; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,21 (ātāru l-anbiyā’i ‘alayhimi š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...) wa-Mawlidu ‘Isā bni Maryama ‘alā ṭalāṭati amyālin mina l-masğidi; **Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; 157) wa-waṣaṭu l-masğidi dukkānun ṭūluḥu ṭalātumi’ati ḍirā’in fī ḥamsīna wa-mi’ati ḍirā’in wa-rtifā’uḥu tis’atu aḍru’in; **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,8 (wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḥrati fī

(*ḡāmi*).<sup>1</sup>

B052.1.a. Terminology is problematic insofar as *masḡid* may refer both to the Roofed Hall (B124.1) and the whole area.

B052.2. **Names (Christian):** The Temple in Jerusalem (ὁ ναός ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ), the Temple of the Jews which Solomon built had (ὁ ναός τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν ᾠκοδόμησε Σολομών), the Temple of Solomon where now the synagogue of the Muslims is (*Templum Salomonis habens sinagogam Sarracenorum*), the mosque of the Muslims (τὸ μασιγίδην/μαγίσοδην τῶν Σαρακηνῶν) in the place of the Solomonic Temple of the Jews (ὁ Σολωμωνιακὸς ναός τῶν Ἰουδαίων) (B052.10), a mosque (*masḡid*),<sup>2</sup> the

*hi s-silsilatu* (read *wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḥrati Qubbatu s-Silsilati* ...) *wa-amāmahā Muṣallā l-Ḥidri* 'alayhi *s-salāmu* *wa-huwa wasaṭu l-masḡidi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**: 268,20-22 (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma sa'altu 'an Bābi r-raḥmati fa-idā bābun min nūrin mimma yalī l-masḡida wa-bābun min ḥadīdin mimma yalī l-Wādī tumma qīla lī anna li-kulli nabīyin mina l-anbiyā'i ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhim aḡma'ina saḥman min ḥadā l-masḡidi wa-ka-dālika li-kulli mu'minin*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**: 269,7f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma kallamanī arba'atun ... wa-hum yaqūlūna lī ...* *wa-fī ḥadā l-waḡti sab'atun mina l-mu'minīna awtādu l-masḡidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Maqdisi, Bad'** 4 87,4.7 (*Baytu l-Maqdisi za'amu Wahbun anna Ya'qūba n-nabī ya 'alayhi s-salāmu ...*) *fa-adrakahu n-nawmu fī mawḍi'i l-masḡidi (... wa-awḥā Llāhu 'azza wa-ḡalla innī qad warraṭtuka ...)* *fa-bni lī fihā masḡidan (fa-ḥtaṭṭa 'alayhi Ya'qūbu)*; **al-Muqaddasī** 171,13f. *Wādī Ḡahannuma 'alā Qurnati l-masḡidi ilā āḥirihi qibala š-šarqi* (C *min nawḥwi š-šarqi*); **al-Muqaddasī** 171,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 196f. n. 204) *wa-ṭūlu l-masḡidi alfu dīrā'in bi-dīrā'i l-maliki l-išbānīyi* (C *bi-dīrā'i l-maliki*, Yāqūt *bi-dīrā'i l-Hāšimīyi/bi-dīrā' al-maliki l-išbānīyi/bi-dar'in/bi-d-dīrā'*) *wa-'arḍuhu sab'umi'atin*; **al-Muqaddasī** 172,1f. (*Wādī Ḡahannuma ...*) *wa-Ḡābalu Zaytā muṭillun 'alā l-masḡidi* (C *'alā ḥadā l-masḡidi*) *šarqīya ḥadā l-wādī*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 171,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 7; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) (*wa-laysa 'alā l-maysarati arwiqatun wa-l-Muḡaṭṭā lā yattaṣilu bi-l-ḥā'iṭi š-šarqīyi wa-min aḡli ḥadā yuqālu lā yatimmu fihī ṣaffun abadan* (Yāqūt without *wa-min aḡli ḥadā ... abadan*) *wa-innamā turika ḥadā l-ba'ḍu* (I read *ḥadā l-bu'ḍu*) *li-sababayni*) *aḥaduhumā qawlu 'Umara ttaḥadū fī ḡarbīyi ḥadā l-masḡidi muṣallan li-l-Muslimīna fa-turikat ḥadīhi l-qī'atu li-allā yuḥālafa*.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 200; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245 n. 4) (... *qanātun ...*) *fa-tamlā'u ṣahārīḡa l-ḡāmi'i wa-ḡayrahā* (B *fa-tumli'u ṣahārīḡa l-ḡāmi'i wa-ḡayrahā*, C *fa-tamtali'u ḡibābu l-ḡāmi'i wa-ḡayruhā*).

<sup>2</sup>**Sa'id b. Biṭriq, Ta'rīḡ** 2 18,1-3 (see Creswell, *EMA* 1 32; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110) (*fa-qāla lahu [to 'Umar] l-biṭriku ana u'ṭī amīra l-mu'minīna mawḍi'an yabnī fihī masḡidan ... wa-ḥiya š-Šaḥratu l-lati kallama Llāhu Ya'qūba 'alayhā ... wa-kānat haykalan li-Banī Isrā'īla wa-kānū Banū Isrā'īla yu'azzimūnahā wa-ḥaytamā kānū idā ṣallū takūnu wuḡūhuhum ilayhā*; **Sa'id b. Biṭriq, Ta'rīḡ** 2 39,17f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 65) (*'Abdu l-Maliki ...*) *wa-ba'āta ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-zāda fī l-masḡidi ḥattā adḡala š-Šaḥrata dāḡila l-masḡidi wa-aḡaḡa n-nāsa bi-l-ḡaḡḡi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-mana'ahum mina l-ḡaḡḡi ilā Makkata min aḡli 'Abdi Llāhi bni z-Zubayr*; **Sa'id b. Biṭriq, Ta'rīḡ** 2 42,2-5 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 109; Gil, *Palestine* 92; Schick, *Christian Communities* 339; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54) (*al-Walidu ...*) *fa-ba'āta ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-banā Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ṣayyadahū wa-ṣayyara š-Šaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masḡidi wa-banā ḥawlahā wa-raḡḡamahū wa-qala'a qubbatan kānat*

synagogue of the Muslims (*sinagoga Sarracenorum*).<sup>1</sup>

**B052.3. Names (Jewish):** The Temple (*al-Quds*), the Temple of God (*Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm*) (B052.11).

**B052.4. Position:** The Valley of Hell (*Wādī Ġahannum*) is east of the Temple (*bi-šarqī Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B086.3), at the Pinnacle of the Mosque, [from there] to the other end [of the mosque along its east side] (*‘alā Qurnat al-masğid ilā āḥirihi*), and to its east (*qibal aš-šarq*).<sup>2</sup> The Mount of Olives (*Ġabal Zaytā*) overlooks the mosque (*muṭill ‘alā l-masğid*), east of the Valley of Silwān, i.e., the Valley of Hell (*šarqī Wādī Sulwān wa-huwa Wādī Ġahannum*).<sup>3</sup> The Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) or mosque (*al-masğid*) is basically the ḤARAM.

**B052.5. Physical shape:** This is a mosque (*masğid*), a Friday mosque (*ğāmi‘*) (B052.1). The [spiritual] centre of the mosque (*wasat al-masğid*) is the platform (*dukkān*) (B098.2) and the Rock (*aš-Šaḥra*) (B118.3), the [geometrical] centre the Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr*) (B105.2). The mosque (*al-masğid*) is empty (*fāriğ*) apart from the building (*al-binā‘*) [the Roofed Hall] and the Place of the Rock [the Dome of the Rock] (*Mawḍi‘ aš-Šaḥra*)<sup>4</sup> - these are the only proper buildings the mosque has. All the roofs of the mosque, the domes and the minarets (*ğamī‘ suṭūḥ al-masğid wa-l-qibāb wa-l-manārāt*) are covered with gilded sheets [of lead] (*šafā’ih mudahhaba*).<sup>5</sup>

**B052.6.** The mosque measures [from north to south and from east to west] 784 by 455

*li-n-Našārā fī kanisati madīnati Ba‘labakka wa-kānati l-qubbatu min nuḥāsīn maṭlī-yatun bi-ḍ-ḍahabi fa-naṣabahā ‘alā š-Šaḥrati wa-amara n-nāsa bi-l-ḥağğī ila š-Šaḥrati.*

<sup>1</sup>**Bernardus** 316,3f.: 12 (*Est (L ea) preterea in ipsa civitate alia ecclesia ad meridiem in monte Syon que dicitur Sancti Symeonis ...*) *Ad aquilonem est Templum Salomonis habens sinagogam Sarracenorum.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 171,13f. *Wādī Ġahannuma ‘alā Qurnati l-masğidi ilā āḥirihi qibala š-šarqī (C min nawḥwi š-šarqī).*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 172,1f. (*Wādī Ġahannuma ...*) *wa-Ġabalu Zaytā muṭillun ‘alā l-masğidi (C ‘alā hādā l-masğidi) šarqīya hādā l-wādī.*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 56,18-57,1 (*wa-Baytu l-Muqaddasi (I read wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi) ... wa-bihā masğidun ...*) *wa-l-binā‘u (C wa-l-binā‘u minhu) fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi yamtaddu ‘alā naḥwi niṣfi ‘arḍi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi fāriğun illā Mawḍi‘a š-Šaḥrati (C ‘alā naḥwi niṣfi ‘arḍi l-masğidi ilā Mawḍi‘i š-Šaḥrati); Ibn Ḥawqal* 171,6-8 (*wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi masğidun ...*) *wa-lahu binā‘un fī qiblatihi musaqqafun fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi wa-yamtaddu hādā t-tasqīfu ‘alā niṣfi ‘arḍi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi ḥālin lā binā‘a fī hi illā Mawḍi‘a š-Šaḥrati.*

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 255,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 60 and n. 3; Bloom, *Minaret* 183f.) *ğamī‘u suṭūḥi l-masğidi wa-l-qibābi wa-l-manārāti mulabbasatun šafā’iḥa mudahhabatan.*

king's ells (*dirā' al-malik*) (521.36 by 302.58 m),<sup>1</sup> or 1000 by 700 ells (*dirā'*) (498.00 by 348.60 m);<sup>2</sup> there is no larger mosque than this.<sup>3</sup> An inscription gives the dimensions, apparently officially: \**ṭūlu l-masğidi sab'umi'ati dirā'in wa-arba'un wa-ṭamānūna dirā'an wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'ati dirā'in wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dirā'an bi-dirā'i l-maliki* "the length of the mosque is 784 ells and its width 455 ells by the king's ell."

B052.6.a. Dimensions of the High 'Abbāsid mosque are given by **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih**'s *ṭūlu l-masğidi sab'umi'ati dirā'in wa-arba'un wa-ṭamānūna dirā'an wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'ati dirā'in wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dirā'an bi-dirā'i l-imāmi* "the length of the mosque is 784 ells and its width 455 ells by the *imām*'s ell", **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s *wa-yuqālu inna ṭūla Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi alfu dirā'in wa-ʿarḍuhu sab'u mi'ati dirā'in* "and one says that the length of the Mosque of the Temple is 1000 ells and its width 700 ells" and **al-Muqaddasī**'s *wa-ṭūlu l-masğidi alfu dirā'in bi-dirā'i l-maliki l-išbāniyi* (C *bi-dirā'i l-maliki*) *wa-ʿarḍuhu sab'umi'atin* "and the length of the mosque is 1000 ells by the ell of the king of the Išbān (C by the king's ell) and its width 700". These are roughly the dimensions of today's ḤARAM (B015.2.a).

|                        | subject                      | length | width | basic unit                                     |
|------------------------|------------------------------|--------|-------|------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn 'Abd Rabbih</b> | <i>al-masğid</i>             | 784    | 455   | <i>dirā' al-imām</i>                           |
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | <i>Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis</i> | 1000   | 700   | <i>dirā'</i>                                   |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>    | <i>al-masğid</i>             | 1000   | 700   | <i>dirā' al-malik al-išbāni/dirā' al-malik</i> |

B052.6.b. Marwānid **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** (B015.2) gives almost the same dimensions as **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** and Fāṭimid **Nāṣir** has a Persian translation of almost the same text as the text of the inscription (B131.8). We best assume that **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** copies an inscription existing in both Marwānid and High 'Abbāsid times, but mentioned as such only in the Fāṭimid period. The comparison strengthens the numbers given by **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** (B131.8.d).

B052.6.c. **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s and **al-Muqaddasī**'s figures are independent of this inscription, but dependent on each other. Their *dirā'* is probably the official *dirā' šar'iya* "legal ell", about 0.498 m long; **al-Muqaddasī**'s *dirā' al-malik al-išbāni* remains unexplained.<sup>4</sup>

**B052.7. Contemporary events:** In the mosque (*ḥi l-masğid*) in the year 321/933, a student reads a certain tradition in a course given by **Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn**,

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 254,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 89f.) *ṭūlu l-masğidi sab'umi'ati dirā'in wa-arba'un wa-ṭamānūna dirā'an wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'ati dirā'in wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dirā'an bi-dirā'i l-imāmi*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) *wa-yuqālu inna ṭūla Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi alfu dirā'in wa-ʿarḍuhu sab'u mi'ati dirā'in*; **al-Muqaddasī** 171,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 196f. n. 204) *wa-ṭūlu l-masğidi alfu dirā'in bi-dirā'i l-maliki l-išbāniyi* (C *bi-dirā'i l-maliki*, Yāqūt *bi-dirā'i l-Hāšimīyi/bi-dirā' al-maliki l-išbāniyi/bi-ḍar'in/bi-d-dirā'*) *wa-ʿarḍuhu sab'umi'atin*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 166,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 85) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-lā akbara min masğidihā*.

<sup>4</sup>For the ell **al-Muqaddasī** normally uses, see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 196f. n. 204.

For *dirā' al-imām*, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 162 n. 1; 192f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 89f. For *dirā' al-malik al-išbāni*, see de Goeje, *BGA* 4 241 s.v. "dirā'"; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 196f. n. 204.

muezzin and preacher in the Temple (*mu'addin ḥaṭīb bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>1</sup>

**B052.8. Traditions (Muslim):** In [the area of] the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), **Jacob** had his dream of a ladder reaching up to heaven with angels ascending and descending and was told by God that he and his progeny would inherit this holy land (*hādīhi l-arḍ al-muqaddasa*) and that he should build him a mosque (*masġid*) in it,<sup>2</sup> and Jacob made the layout [of the mosque] (*iḥtaṭṭa 'alayhi*).<sup>3</sup> After Jacob, **David** built and **Solomon** finished it;<sup>4</sup> David built the foundation (*asās*) of the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masġid al-Aqṣā*) with stones decorated, lined up and well-fitting (*manqūṣa muwaġġaha mu'allafa*) up to 10 ells (4.98 m) long;<sup>5</sup> Solomon built the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*);<sup>6</sup> David built the foundation (*asās*) of [the wall of] the Fur-

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.59:** 80,8-10 *wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi š-šayḥu Abū l-Faraġi qāla anba'anā 'Isā qāla anba'anā 'Aliyun qāla anba'anā Abū Muḥammadini l-Ḥasanu bnu l-Ḥusayni l-mu'addinu l-ḥaṭību bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi QRLH* (read *qurī'a*) *'alayhi fī l-masġidi sanata iḥdā wa-īšrīna wa-ṭalāṭimi'atin qāla ...*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 97,17-98,1 (*wa-'an Wahbi bni Munabbihin qāla amara Ishāqu bnahu Ya'qūba allā yankiḥa mra'atan mina l-Kan'āniyīna wa-an yankiḥa min banāti ḥ'ālihi Lāyāna* (read *Lābāna*) ...) *fa-tawaġġaha ilayhi Ya'qūbu fa-adrakahu fī ba'ḍi ṭ-ṭarīqi ta'abun fa-bāta mutawassidan ḥaġaran fa-ra'ā fī-mā yarā n-nā'imu anna sullaman manšūban ilā bābi s-samā'i 'inda ra'sihi wa-l-malā'ikatu tanzilu minhu wa-ta'ruġu fīhi wa-ta'ruġu minhu wa-awḥā Llāhu 'azza wa-ġalla ilayhi ... wa-qad warraṭtuka hādīhi l-arḍa l-muqaddasata wa-ḍurriyataka min ba'dika ... tumma ana ma'aka ḥattā arudduka (Yāqūt tudrika) ilā hādā l-makāni fa-ġ'ālu baytan ta'budunī fīhi wa-ḍurriyatuka fa-yuqālu inna dālika Baytu l-Maqdisi; al-Maqdisi, **Bad'** 4 87,2-7 Baytu l-Maqdisi za'amu Wahbun anna Ya'qūba n-nabiya 'alayhi s-salāmu kāna yamurru fī ba'ḍi ḥāġātihi fa-adrakahu n-nawmu fī mawḍi'i l-masġidi fa-ra'ā fī l-manāmi ka-anna sullaman manšūban ilā s-samā'i wa-l-malā'ikatu ta'ruġu fīhi wa-tanzilu wa-awḥā Llāhu 'azza wa-ġalla inni qad warraṭtuka hādīhi l-arḍa l-muqaddasata wa-li-ḍurriyātika min ba'dika fa-bni lī fihā masġidan fa-ḥtaṭṭa 'alayhi Ya'qūbu (tumma ba'dahu qubbata 'Īliyā[?]).*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Maqdisi, **Bad'** 4 87,2-7 Baytu l-Maqdisi za'amu Wahbun anna Ya'qūba n-nabiya 'alayhi s-salāmu kāna yamurru fī ba'ḍi ḥāġātihi fa-adrakahu n-nawmu fī mawḍi'i l-masġidi fa-ra'ā fī l-manāmi ka-anna sullaman manšūban ilā s-samā'i wa-l-malā'ikatu ta'ruġu fīhi wa-tanzilu wa-awḥā Llāhu 'azza wa-ġalla inni qad warraṭtuka hādīhi l-arḍa l-muqaddasata wa-li-ḍurriyātika min ba'dika fa-bni lī fihā masġidan (fa-ḥtaṭṭa 'alayhi Ya'qūbu tumma ba'dahu qubbata 'Īliyā[?]).**

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 98,2 (*fa-yuqālu inna dālika Baytu l-Maqdisi*) *wa-māta 'anhu Dāwūdu 'alayhi s-salāmu fa-lam yatimma binā'ahu wa-atammahu Sulaymānu; al-Maqdisi, **Bad'** 4 87,8 (Baytu l-Maqdisi za'amu Wahbun anna Ya'qūba n-nabiya 'alayhi s-salāmu ... wa-awḥā Llāhu 'azza wa-ġalla inni ... fa-bni lī fihā masġidan) fa-ḥtaṭṭa 'alayhi Ya'qūbu tumma ba'dahu qubbata 'Īliyā wa-huwa l-ḤDR) tumma banā ba'dahu Dāwūdu wa-atammahu Sulaymānu.*

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; partly Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25) (*wa-ammā l-Masġidu l-Aqṣā ...*) *asāsuhu min 'amali Dāwūda ṭūlu l-ḥaġari 'ašaratu adru 'in* (de Goeje reads *'ašaru adru 'in*) *wa-aqallu manqūṣatun muwaġġahatun mu'allafatun ṣulbatun* (*wa-qad banā 'alayhi 'Abdu l-Maliki ...*); **al-Muqaddasī** 183,9 (*wa-'lam anna ḥamsan fī ḥamsati mawāḍi'a mina l-Islāmi (fī ḥamsatin mina l-mawāḍi'i) ḥasanun ...*) *wa-Laylatu l-Ḥatmati bi-l-Masġidi l-Aqṣā (... wa-ayḍan laylatu n-niṣfi min ša'bāna bi-'Īliyā ... ḥasanun* (C without *wa-ayḍan laylatu n-niṣfi min ša'bāna bi-'Īliyā ... ḥasanun*)).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 94,17 (*Baytu l-Masġidi ...*) *wa-qāla [God] li-Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda ḥīna farīġa min binā'ihā ...; al-Mas'ūdī, **Murūġ** 1 64,4f.: 106 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 203) wa-btada'a Sulaymānu binā'a Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-huwa l-Masġidu l-Aqṣā l-ladī bāraka Llāhu ḥawlahu (cf. **Koran** 17.1) wa-lammā statamma binā'ahu btanā li-nafsihi baytan.*



the Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*) with stones up to 10 ells (4.98 m) long, 'Abd al-Malik put on top of this the upper layer with beautiful small stones (*ḥiğār ṣiğār ḥisān*), and someone [later, but still in the Marwānid period] put the crenellations on it (*šarrafūhu*) (see below in this paragraph). This is "the Furthest Mosque" (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣā*) (**Koran** 17.1) [where **Muḥammad** was brought on his Night Journey].<sup>1</sup> It was destroyed by **Titus** and stayed in ruins until first 'Umar, then Mu'āwiya [not 'Abd al-Malik], rebuilt it.<sup>2</sup> This is the mosque concerning which 'Umar ordered [the Muslims], "Take in the west part of this mosque a prayer-place for the Muslims!" (*ittahidū fī ġarbiyi ḥadā l-masğidi mušallan li-l-Muslimīna*), and therefore occupied the west of the mosque [south of the Rock], leaving its left [east] part (*al-maysara*) up to the east wall (*al-ḥā'it aš-šarqī*) empty, without any building.<sup>3</sup> First 'Umar, then Mu'āwiya [not 'Abd al-Malik], rebuilt it;<sup>4</sup> the people showed allegiance to Mu'āwiya as caliph in the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>5</sup> in the mosque of Jerusalem (*masğid Īliya*).<sup>6</sup> David

---

Cf. **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95, 21-96,3 (*qāla Ka'bun kāna li-Sulaymāna ...*) *wa-inna Llāha 'azza wa-ğalla awḥā ilayhi an yabniya Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-kāna ya'maluhu bi-l-ğinni wa-l-insi*.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Mas'ūdī**, **Murūğ** 1 64,4f.: 106 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 203) *wa-btada'a Sulaymānu binā'a Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-huwa l-Masğidu l-Aqṣā l-laḍi bāraka Llāhu ḥawlahu* (cf. **Koran** 17.1) *wa-lammā statamma binā'ahu btanā li-nafsihi baytan*; **al-Muqaddasī** 147,4f. (*wa-kāna yuqālu 'ağā'ibu d-dunyā ṭālātun manāratu l-Iskandari yati wa-qanṭaratu Saṅgata wa-kanisatu r-Ruhā* (B *wa-kilisatu r-Ruhā*) *fa-lammā buniya l-Masğidu l-Aqṣā ḡu'ila badala l-kanisati fa-lammā hadamathu z-zilzilatu ḡu'ila mawḍi'ahu* (C *makānahu*) *ğāmi'u Dimašqa*; **al-Muqaddasī** 151,11 (*iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *l-Masğidu l-Aqṣā*; **al-Muqaddasī** 168,5 *wa-ammā l-Masğidu l-Aqṣā*; **al-Muqaddasī** 182,12-14 *yušallūna bi-Īliya sitta tarwiḥātīn wa-l-muḍakkirūna bihi quṣṣāṣun wa-li-aṣḥābi Abi Ḥanīfata bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā mağlisu ḍikrin* (C instead of *wa-li-aṣḥābi ... mağlisu ḍikrin*: *illā aṣḥāba Abi Ḥanīfata fa-inna lahum mağlisun* (read *mağlisun*) *bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā ḥasanun*) *yaqra'ūna fī daftarin wa-kadālika l-Karrāmīyatu fī ḥawāniqihim*; **al-Muqaddasī** 186,1f. *yanzilu 'alā Filastīna* (B *ilā Filastīna*, C *'alā Īliya*) *fī kulli laylatini n-nadā* (B *n-nadā*, C *n-nadā'u*) *fī š-ṣayfi idā habbatu l-ğanūbu ḥattā yağrī minhu mazāribu l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā* (C *fī š-ṣayfi ... ḥattā yağrī marāzibu l-masğidi*, B without *fī š-ṣayfi ... ḥattā*).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Maqdisī**, **Bad'** 4 87,10-12 (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 24; 33; Busse, "Destruction of the Temple" 17) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ... tumma ḥarrabahā* (I read *ḥarrabahu*) *Ṭiṭusu r-Rūmīyu l-mal'ūnu fa-lam yazal ḥarāban ilā an qāma l-Islāmu wa-'amarahu 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu tumma Mu'āwiyatu bnu Sufyāna*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 171,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charīf"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 7; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) (*wa-laysa 'alā l-maysarati arwiqatun wa-l-Muğattā lā yattaṣilu bi-l-ḥā'iti š-šarqīyi wa-min aḡli ḥadā yuqālu lā yatimmu fīhi ṣaffun abadan* (Yāqūt without *wa-min aḡli ḥadā ... abadan*) *wa-innamā turika ḥadā l-ba'ḍu* (I read *ḥadā l-bu'ḍu*) *li-sababayni*) *aḥaduhumā qawlu 'Umaru ttaḥadū fī ġarbiyi ḥadā l-masğidi mušallan li-l-Muslimīna fa-turikat ḥadīhi l-qit'atu li-allā yuḥālafa ...*

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,13 (see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 150 n. 28) (*iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *masāğidu 'Umaru*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Maqdisī**, **Bad'** 4 87,11f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 24; 33) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ... tumma ḥarrabahā* (I read *ḥarrabahu*) *Ṭiṭusu r-Rūmīyu l-mal'ūnu fa-lam yazal ḥarāban ilā an qāma l-Islāmu wa-'amarahu 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu tumma Mu'āwiyatu bnu Sufyāna* (*wa-bihi bāya'ūhu li-l-ḥilāfati*).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Maqdisī**, **Bad'** 4 87,11f. (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 24; 33) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ... tumma ḥarrabahā* (I read *ḥarrabahu*) *Ṭiṭusu r-Rūmīyu l-mal'ūnu fa-lam yazal ḥarāban ilā an qāma l-Islāmu wa-'amarahu 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu tumma Mu'āwiyatu bnu Sufyāna*) *wa-bihi bāya'ūhu li-l-ḥilāfati*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Maqdisī**, **Bad'** 5 235,2 (*ḥilāfatu l-Ḥasani bni 'Alīyin raḍiya Llāhu 'anhumā tumma būyi'a l-Ḥasanu bnu 'Alīyin raḍiya Llāhu 'anhumā bi-l-Kūfati*) *wa-būyi'a Mu'āwiyatu bi-š-Ša'mi fī masğidi Īliya*.

built the foundation (*asās*) of [the wall of] the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣà*) with stones up to 10 ells (4.98 m) long, ‘Abd al-Malik put on top of this the upper layer with beautiful small stones (*ḥiğār ṣiğār ḥisān*), and someone [later, but still in the Marwānid period] put the crenellations on it (*šarrafūhu*), and the mosque was [in Marwānid times] more beautiful than the mosque of Damascus (*ğāmi‘ Dimašq*);<sup>1</sup> it was made more beautiful than the Greatest Church of the Christians in Jerusalem [the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] (*kanīsat an-Naṣārà l-‘uẓmà l-latī bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*);<sup>2</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik built over the Rock a dome to counterbalance the impression the dimensions of the dome of the Anastasis [the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] (*qubbat al-Qumāma*) made on the Muslims;<sup>3</sup> Ibn az-Zubayr asked for the oath of loyalty from the people of Syria-Palestine (*ahl aš-Ša’m*) coming for pilgrimage (*ḥağğ*) to Mecca, but ‘Abd al-Malik ordered them not to go to Mecca but rather to consider the Mosque of the Temple (*Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis*) [in Jerusalem] as equal to the Holy House of God (*al-Masğid al-Ḥarām*) in Mecca, and this Rock [of Jerusalem] (*hādihi ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) as equal to the Ka‘ba, saying that one may [equally] visit the three mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem and that Muḥammad, ascending to heaven, had put his foot on the Rock of Jerusalem; ‘Abd al-Malik then built a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock and hung brocade curtains (*sutūr ad-dībāğ*) over it; people circumambulated the Rock of Jerusalem until the end of the Umayyad reign, as they had before circumambulated the Ka‘ba;<sup>4</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik introduced

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; partly Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣà" 30f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25) (*wa-ammā l-Masğidu l-Aqṣà ... asāsuhu min ‘amali Dāwūda ...*) *wa-qad banà ‘alayhi ‘Abdu l-Maliki bi-ḥiğāratin ṣiğārin ḥisānin (C bi-ḥiğāratin ṣiğārin, without ḥisānin) wa-šarrafūhu (B šarrafūhu) wa-kāna aḥsana min ġāmi‘i Dimašqa.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** C 168,8 (*wa-ammā l-Masğidu l-Aqṣà ...*) *wa-kāna aḥsana min ġāmi‘i Dimašqa li-annahu qūbila bihi kanīsatu n-Naṣārà l-‘uẓmà l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ğū‘la aḥsana minhā.*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 159,10f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 55; Caskel, *Felsendom* 24; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 291f.; Gil, *Palestine* 93; see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 174 n. 122; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 325a; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 2f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52-54) (*qultu yawman li-‘ammī ... qāla ...*) *a-lā tarà anna ‘Abdu l-Maliki lammā ra’ à ‘uẓma qubbatī l-Qumāmāti wa-hay’atahā ḥaṣiya an ta’zuma fī qulūbi l-Muslimīna fa-naṣaba ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan ‘alā mā tarà (not in C).*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta’rīḥ** 2 311,6-16 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.; partly Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Busink, *Tempel* 908; Gil, *Palestine* 102) *wa-mana’a ‘Abdu l-Maliki ahla š-Ša’mi mina l-ḥağği wa-dālika anna bna z-Zubayri kāna ya’ḥuḍuhum idā ḥağğū bi-l-bay’ati fa-lammā ra’ à ‘Abdu l-Maliki dālika mana’ahum mina l-ḥurūği ilā Makkata fa-ḍağğa n-nāsu wa-qālū tamna’unā min ḥağği Bayti Llāhi l-Ḥarāmi wa-huwa farḍun mina Llāhi ‘alaynā fa-qāla lahum hādā bnu Šihāba z-Zuhriyu yuḥadditukum anna Rasūla Llāhi qāla ‘lā tušaddu r-riḥālu illā ilā ṭalātati masāğida l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-masğidi wa-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi’ [wa-huwa] yaqūmu lakum maqāma l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi wa-hādihi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu [l-latī] yurwā anna Rasūla Llāhi waḍa’a qadamahu ‘alayhā lammā ṣa’ida ilā s-samā’i taqūmu lakum maqāma l-Ka’bati fa-banà ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan wa-‘allaqa ‘alayhā sutūra d-dībāği wa-aqāma lahā sadanatan wa-aḥaḍa n-nāsu bi-an yaṭūfū ḥawlahā ka-mā taṭawwafa ḥawla l-Ka’bati wa-aqāma bi-dālika ayyāma Banī Umayyata.*

the system of the Fifth-Servants (*al-Aḥmās*), of the Fifth of the captives (*min ḥums al-asārā*), the slaves (*mamālīk*) the Temple/the mosque (*Bayt al-Maqdis/al-masğid*) owned.<sup>1</sup>

B052.9. **God chose** of the whole earth Mecca and Jerusalem (*Īliyā*'), of Jerusalem (*Īliyā*'), the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>2</sup> This is **one of the three mosques** [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] one may [equally] visit.<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad said that the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) is a favourite prayer-place (*ni'm al-muṣallā*); people should come here and perform ritual prayer on it, because ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) made here is **equivalent** to 1000 prayers [elsewhere];<sup>4</sup> is better than 1000 prayers;<sup>5</sup> is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in Mecca to 100,000 prayers - but whereas in Mecca one mercy (*raḥma*) is equivalent to 120 mercies for all people who circumambulate the Ka'ba, perform ritual prayer and take part in discussions there, in Jerusalem mercy pours down in the Temple [without being counted, onto all people staying there] - the Temple has a special place (*maḥall*), and, because of this, Muḥammad was brought here for his Night Journey (B052.17). Whoever is not able to pray in the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) may instead give **oil** [for its lamps]; illuminating it has the same value as praying

---

For 'Abd al-Malik building the Dome of the Rock, see B110.5. For the alleged diversion of the annual pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem, see A137. For the three mosques one should visit, see A101.

<sup>1</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 171,8f. (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ... wa-ṭūlu l-masğidi ...*) *wa-huddāmuḥu mamālīku lahu* (C without *lahu*) *aqāmahum 'Abdu l-Maliki min ḥumsi l-asārā* (C *min ḥumsi l-ḡanā'imī*) *wa-li-dālika yusammūna l-Aḥmāsa* (*lā yaḥdimuḥu ḡayruhum wa-lahum nuwabun yaḥfaẓūnahā* (C *lā yaḥdimuḥu ḡayruhum ka-Banī Šaybata fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmī*)).

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 229,5f. (*wa-fī munāḡāti 'Uzayrini Llāhumma innaka ḥtarta mina l-an'ami d-dā'inata ...*) *wa-mina l-buyūti Makkata wa-Īliyā'a wa-min Īliyā'a Bayta l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,1-3 (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 316; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 33) *wa-qāla* (B *qāla*) *Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama lā tušaddu r-riḥālu ilā afḍala min tālātati masāğida Masğidi l-Ḥarāmī wa-masğidi wa-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **al-Ya'qūbī**, **Ta'rīḥ** 2 311,6-16 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.; partly Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Busink, *Tempel* 908; Gil, *Palestine* 102) *wa-mana'a 'Abdu l-Maliki ahla š-Ša'mi mina l-ḡağgi wa-dālika anna bna z-Zubayri kāna ya'ḥduhum idā ḡağgi bi-l-bay'ati fa-lammā ra'a 'Abdu l-Maliki dālika mana'ahum mina l-ḡurūgi ilā Makkata fa-dāğga n-nāsu wa-qālū tamna'unā min ḡağgi Bayti Llāhi l-Ḥarāmī wa-huwa farḡun mina Llāhi 'alaynā fa-qāla lahum ḡadā bnu Šihāba z-Zuhriyu yuḡadditukum anna Rasūla Llāhi qāla 'lā tušaddu r-riḥālu illā ilā tālātati masāğida l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmī wa-masğidi wa-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi' [wa-huwa] *yaqūmu lakum maqāma l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmī wa-hāḡihi š-ṣāḡratu [l-latī] yurwā anna Rasūla Llāhi waḡa'a qadamahu 'alayhā lammā ṣa'ida ilā s-samā'i taqūmu lakum maqāma l-Ka'bati fa-banā 'alā š-Šaḡrati qubbatan wa-'allaqa 'alayhā sutūra d-dībāgi wa-aqāma lahā sadanatan wa-aḡaḡa n-nāsu bi-an yaṭūfū ḡawlahā ka-mā taṭawwafa ḡawla l-Ka'bati wa-aqāma bi-dālika ayyāma Banī Umayyata**

For the special value of prayer in Jerusalem, see A101.

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 96,8-12 (transl. partly Busse, "Sanctity" 465) *wa-qālat Maymūnatu mawlātu Rasūli Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama qultu li-Rasūli Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu aftinā 'an Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla ni'ma l-muṣallā ... itūhu fa-ṣallū fīhi fa-inna š-ṣalāta fīhi ka-alfi ṣalātin qālat bi-abī wa-ummī anta man lam yuṭiq an ya'tiyahu qāla fa-l-yuhdi ilayhi zaytan yusraḡu* (B *yusarraḡu*) *fīhi fa-innahu man aḡdā ilayhi kāna ka-man ṣallā fīhi*.

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,3f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 316; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 33) *wa-ṣalātun fī Bayti l-Maqdisi ḡayrun min alfi ṣalātin fī siwāhu*.

here.<sup>1</sup> The Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) has a **talisman** (*tilasm*) which prevents snakes from biting (B129.4). The **gate of Paradise** will be opened over the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>2</sup>

**B052.10. Traditions (Christian):** This is the Temple of the Jews which **Solomon** built (ὁ ναός τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν ἀκοδόμησε Σολομών),<sup>3</sup> the Temple of Solomon where now the synagogue of the Muslims is (*Templum Salomonis habens sinagogam Sarracenorum*);<sup>4</sup> at the place of the Jews' Temple of Solomon (ὁ Σολωμωνιακός ναός τῶν Ἰουδαίων) is the mosque of the Muslims (τὸ μασγίδην/μαγίσδην τῶν Σαρακηνῶν).<sup>5</sup> In 6127/634-635, **ʿUmar** came to Jerusalem and searched for the Temple;<sup>6</sup> the patrĕkiow (*al-biṭriq*) of Jerusalem showed him a place to build a mosque (*masġid*) and guided him to the Rock;<sup>7</sup> the peace treaty between the Muslims and the people of Jerusalem assigned the area of the former Temple to the Muslims;<sup>8</sup> **ʿUmar** rebuilt the Temple of the Jews built by Solomon (ὁ ναός τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν ἀκοδόμησε Σολομών);<sup>9</sup> in 6135/642-643, he began the building of the Temple in Jerusalem (ὁ ναός ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ),<sup>10</sup> the mosque of the

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 96,10-12 (*wa-qālat Maymūnātu mawlātu Rasūli Llāhi šallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama qultu li-Rasūli Llāhi ʿalayhi s-salāmu aftinā ʿan Bayti l-Maqdisi qāla niʿma l-muṣallā ... itūhu fa-šallū fihi fa-inna š-šalāta fihi ka-alfi šalātin*) qālat bi-abī wa-ummī anta man lam yuṭiq an yaʿtiyahu qāla fa-l-yuhdi ilayhi zaytan yusraġu (B yusarraġu) fihi fa-innahu man ahdā ilayhi kāna ka-man šallā fihi.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 94,9f. *wa-bābu s-samāʾi maftūhun ʿalā Bayti l-Maqdisi* (see Hirschberg, "Sources" 325).

<sup>3</sup>**Theophanes** 339,20f.: AM 6127 (transl. partly Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 28; see Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110; Mango, "Temple Mount" 1f.) (εἰσελθὼν δὲ Οὐμαρος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ...) τὸν ναὸν ἐζήτησε τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν ἀκοδόμησε Σολομών.

<sup>4</sup>**Bernardus** 316,3f.: 12 (*Est (L ea) pretereā in ipsa civitate alia ecclesia ad meridiem in monte Syon que dicitur Sancti Symeonis ...*) *Ad aquilonem est Templum Salomonis habens sinagogam Sarracenorum.*

<sup>5</sup>**Theophanes** 342,22f.: AM 6135 (transl. Le Strange 91 n. ; see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 13; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 40 n. 46; Creswell, *EMA* 1 33; Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 102; 107-110; Gil, *Palestine* 72-74; Mango, "Temple Mount" 1f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 31f.) Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἤρξατο Οὐμαρ οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν ναὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ (Var. οἰκοδομεῖν τὸ μασγίδην/μαγίσδην τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐν ἡ πρώην ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Σολωμωνιακός ναός τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

<sup>6</sup>**Theophanes** 339,20f.: AM 6127 (transl. partly Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 28; see Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110; Mango, "Temple Mount" 1f.) (εἰσελθὼν δὲ Οὐμαρος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ...) τὸν ναὸν ἐζήτησε τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν ἀκοδόμησε Σολομών.

<sup>7</sup>**Saʿīd b. Biṭriq, Taʿrīḥ** 2 18,1-3 (see Creswell, *EMA* 1 32; Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110) (*fa-qāla lahu* [to ʿUmar] *l-biṭriku ana uʿṭi amīra l-muʾminīna mawḍiʿan yabnī fihi masġidan ... wa-hiya š-šahratu l-latī kallama Llāhu Yaʿqūba ʿalayhā ... wa-kānat haykalan li-Banī Isrāʾīla wa-kānū Banū Isrāʾīla yuʿazzimūnahā wa-hayṭamā kānū idā šallū takūnu wuġūhuhum ilayhā.*

<sup>8</sup>**Saʿīd b. Biṭriq, Taʿrīḥ** 17f. (see Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 25; Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110; 114).

<sup>9</sup>**Theophanes** 339,20f.: AM 6127 (transl. partly Flusin, "L' esplanade du Temple" 28; see Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110; Mango, "Temple Mount" 1f.) (εἰσελθὼν δὲ Οὐμαρος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ...) τὸν ναὸν ἐζήτησε τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν ἀκοδόμησε Σολομών.

<sup>10</sup>**Theophanes** 342,22f.: AM 6135 (transl. Le Strange 91 n. ; see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 13; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 40 n. 46; Creswell, *EMA* 1 33; Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110; Gil,

Muslims (τὸ μασγίδην/τὸ μαγίσδην τῶν Σαρακηνῶν), where formerly the Solomonic Temple of the Jews (ὁ Σολωμωνιακὸς ναὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων) had been;<sup>1</sup> this building was constantly collapsing, so ʿUmar followed the advice of the Jews and removed the cross opposite the Temple on the Mount of Olives, and his building stayed standing.<sup>2</sup> ʿAbd al-Malik enlarged the mosque (*al-masğid*) and integrated the Rock into it because of Ibn az-Zubayr, he ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥağğ*) to Jerusalem, not to Mecca.<sup>3</sup> al-Walid built the mosque (*al-masğid*), set up the Rock in its centre (*ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥra fī wasaṭ al-masğid*), built over it (*banà ḥawl aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), put the gilded copper dome of the church of Baʿlabakk over the Rock, and ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥağğ*) to this Rock.<sup>4</sup>

B052.10.a. **Saʿid b. Biṭriq** describes al-Walid's building as follows *wa-ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masğidi ... wa-qala ʿa qubbatan kānat li-n-Naṣārā fī kanīsati madīnati Baʿlabakka wa-kānati l-qubbatu min nuḥāsīn maṭliyatun bi-d-dahabi fa-naṣabahā ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-amara n-nāsa bi-l-ḥağği ila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* "and he let the Rock be in the centre of the mosque ... and took off a dome which the Christians had in the church of the city of Baʿlabakk, a dome covered with gilded copper, and put it on the Rock, and ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥağğ*) to the Rock". This has been attributed to the Aqṣā Mosque, i.e., the Roofed Hall,<sup>5</sup> but obviously means the Dome of the Rock.

---

*Palestine 72-74; Mango, "Temple Mount" 1f.; Elad, Jerusalem 31f.)* Τούτω τῷ ἔτει ἤρξατο Οὔμαρ οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν ναὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ (Var. οἰκοδομεῖν τὸ μασγίδην/μαγίσδην τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐν ἡ πρώην ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Σολωμωνιακὸς ναὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).;

<sup>1</sup>**Theophanes** Var.342,22f.: AM 6135 Τούτω τῷ ἔτει ἤρξατο Οὔμαρ οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν ναὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ (Var. οἰκοδομεῖν τὸ μασγίδην/μαγίσδην τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐν ἡ πρώην ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Σολωμωνιακὸς ναὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

<sup>2</sup>**Theophanes** 342,22f.: AM 6135 (transl. Le Strange 91 n. ; see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 13; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 40 n. 46; Creswell, *EMA* 1 33; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110; Gil, *Palestine 72-74; Mango, "Temple Mount" 1f.; Elad, Jerusalem 31f.)* Τούτω τῷ ἔτει ἤρξατο Οὔμαρ οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν ναὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ (Var. οἰκοδομεῖν τὸ μασγίδην/μαγίσδην τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐν ἡ πρώην ὑπῆρχεν ὁ Σολωμωνιακὸς ναὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

<sup>3</sup>**Saʿid b. Biṭriq, Taʿrīḥ** 2 39,17f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 65) (*wa-būyiʿa ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ... fī sanati ḥamsin wa-sittina*) *wa-baʿaṭa ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-zāda fī l-masğidi ḥattā adḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata dāḥila l-masğidi wa-aḥaḍa n-nāsa bi-l-ḥağği ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-manaʿahum mina l-ḥağği ilā Makkata min aḡli ʿAbdi Llāhi bni z-Zubayri.*

<sup>4</sup>**Saʿid b. Biṭriq, Taʿrīḥ** 2 42,2-5 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 109; Gil, *Palestine 92; Schick, Christian Communities 339; Grabar, Shape of the Holy 54*) (*al-Walidu ...*) *fa-baʿaṭa ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-banà Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ṣayyadahu wa-ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masğidi wa-banà ḥawlahā wa-raḥḥamahu wa-qala ʿa qubbatan kānat li-n-Naṣārā fī kanīsati madīnati Baʿlabakka wa-kānati l-qubbatu min nuḥāsīn maṭliyatun bi-d-dahabi fa-naṣabahā ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-amara n-nāsa bi-l-ḥağği ila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati.*

For the Marwānid caliphs robbing the churches of Syria-Palestine while building the great mosques, see A149.

<sup>5</sup>Gil, *Palestine 92.*

**B052.11. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the **Temple** (*al-Quds*),<sup>1</sup> the Temple of God (*Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm*) with its gates;<sup>2</sup> the people used to enter the Temple (*al-Quds*) with their offerings (*qarābīn*) by the [west gate with the] *Parbār* (**1 Chronicles** 26.18) (B079.3). During the **Roman period**, women sent their menstrual cloths to be put on the site of the Temple.<sup>3</sup> The second king of Ishmael [the second caliph of the Muslims, i.e., ‘Umar] restored the breaches in the walls, he made Mount Moriah even and built a prayer-place to bow down on the Foundation-stone.<sup>4</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik rebuilt the Temple.<sup>5</sup>

**B052.12. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** This is one of the three mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] one may [equally] visit (B052.9). Ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) made here is equivalent to 1000 prayers [made elsewhere]; is better than 1000 prayers (B052.9); is equivalent to 25,000 prayers and mercy pours down here, but in Mecca to 100,000 prayers, but whereas in Mecca one mercy (*rahma*) is equivalent to 120 mercies for all people who circumambulate the Ka‘ba, perform ritual prayer and take part in discussions there, in Jerusalem mercy pours down in the Temple [without being counted, onto all people staying there] - the Temple has a special place (*maḥall*), and, because of this, Muḥammad was brought here for his Night Journey (B052.17). Mu‘ammal b. Ismā‘īl pays some people (*qawm*) in the Temple (*bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*) and they guide him round these [holy] places (*tilka l-mawāḍi‘*), while Wakī‘ b. al-Ġarrāh enters [the area], but does not go round the places.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Sulaymān, Šarḥ Ēyḵāh** XVII,29-XVIII,2 (see Gil, *Palestine* 643 n. 115) (*ka-qawluh 'la-Parbār la-ma<sup>a</sup>rāb arbā‘āh la-msillāh šenayim la-Parbār'* (**1 Chronicles** 26.18) *qawluh 'arbā‘āh la-msillāh' ya'nī ḥārīg as-saṭ wa-qawluh 'šenayim la-Parbār' ya'nī s-saṭ nafsuh ka-qawluh fī ḡayruh 'wə-sippīm šenayim šenayim'* (**1 Chronicles** 26.18)) *wa-ma'nā li-Parbār yurīd Bāb al-baqar wa-ka-ḡāk ismuh al-ān yuštaqq min par bān bāqar wa-huwa ilā l-ān ma'rūf bi-hāḡā l-ism min ḡihat al-ḡarb min al-Quds wa-minhu kānū yadḥulū ilā l-Quds bi-l-qarābīn fa-hāḡā bayān maḥlāqōt ha-šō<sup>a</sup>rīm.*

<sup>2</sup>**Bān Mē'ir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpīllōtēnū 'alaykām tədīrāh wə-‘al ziqnē yəqār šā-lāḡām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Hādōm riglē Ālōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-‘al Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wə-‘al ša<sup>a</sup>rē Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yīsrā'ēl la-ḡag ḡag ha-Ālōhīm ḡag ha-sūkkōt.*

<sup>3</sup>**Sulaymān, šarḥ Ēyḵāh** LXIV (see Gil, *Palestine* 67; 67f. n. 70).

<sup>4</sup>**Prayers of Šim'on b. Yoḡay (Secrets)** (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 70; 91; see Gil, *Palestine* 91; Elad, *Jerusalem* 161f.); **Prayers of Šim'on b. Yoḡay (Ten Kings)** (see Gil, *Palestine* 91; Elad, *Jerusalem* 161f.).

<sup>5</sup>**Apocalypse Lévi** (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 161f.).

<sup>6</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.124:** 76,9 (transl. Hasson, "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" 178; Elad, *Jerusalem* 67) (*ḡaddatanā l-Walīdu qāla*) *samī'tu Ḡa'fara bna Musāfirin yaqūlu ra'aytu Mu'ammala bna Ismā'īla bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi a'ṭa qawman šay'an wa-dārū bihi fī tilka l-mawāḍi' fī fa-qāla lahu bnuhu yā abati qad daḡala Wakī'u bnu l-Ġarrāḡi fa-lam yadur qāla kullu insānin ya'alu mā arāda= Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.363,87v,2 (anba'anā l-Walīdu qāla) samī'tu Ḡa'fara bna Musāfirin yaqūlu ra'aytu Mu'ammala bna Ismā'īla bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi a'ṭa qawman šay'an wa-dawwarū bihi fī tilka l-mawāḍi' fī fa-qāla lahu bnuhu yā abbah qad daḡala Wakī'u bnu l-Ġarrāḡi fa-lam yadūr (read fa-lam yadur) qāla kullu insānin ya'alu mā arāda.*

Cf. the Fāṭimid title **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 243,7 *Bābu man ra'ā an yadūra yuṣallī fī sā'iri l-mawāḍi' fī l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

B052.13. The Night of the Ending (*Laylat al-Ḥatma*) is celebrated in the Aqṣà Mosque (*bi-l-Masğid al-Aqṣà*), as well as the Night of the middle of the month of Šaʿbān (*laylat an-niṣf min šaʿbān*).<sup>1</sup>

B052.14. There are 1500 lamps (sing. *qindīl*) lit in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*).<sup>2</sup>

B052.15. The mosque (*al-masğid*) has a number of servants (*ḥadam*), with their families 230 slaves, sustained by the means of the treasury of the Muslims [the state treasury] (*bayt māl al-Muslimīn*);<sup>3</sup> the mosque (*al-masğid*) has as servants (*ḥuddām*) slaves, called the Fifth-Servants (*al-Aḥmās*) because they were bought out of the Fifth of the Captives (*min ḥums al-asārā*); these servants have their work in shifts (*lahum nuwab yaḥfaẓūnahā*).<sup>4</sup> The mosque has a yearly allowance (*wazīfa*) of 15 *dīnār* for specialised workmen working on the roofs of the mosque (*ṣunnāʿ yaʿmalūn fī suṭūḥ al-masğid*).<sup>5</sup>

B052.16. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, muezzin and preacher in the Temple (*muʿaddin ḥaṭīb bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*), teaches and transmits a certain tradition in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) in 321/933 (B052.7).

B052.17. **Visions and dreams (Muslim):** When Aḥmad b. Yahyà l-Bazzār al-Bağdādī comes from Mecca to Jerusalem, after a while he regrets having left Mecca, where each prayer is worth 100,000 [ordinary] prayers and one mercy (*raḥma*) worth 120 [ordinary] mercies for all people who circumambulate the Kaʿba, perform ritual prayer and take part in discussions there, for Jerusalem, where each prayer is only worth 25,000 prayers; the night before he goes back to Mecca, in the month of *Rağab* 341/22 November-21 December 952,

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 183,8-11 *wa-ʿlam anna ḥamsan fī ḥamsati mawāḍiʿa min l-Islāmi (fī ḥamsatin min l-mawāḍiʿi) ḥasanun ... wa-Laylatu l-Ḥatmati bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà ... wa-ayḍan laylatu n-niṣfi min šaʿbāna bi-ʾIlīyā ... ḥasanun* (C without *wa-ayḍan laylatu n-niṣfi min šaʿbāna bi-ʾIlīyā ... ḥasanun*).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 254,22f. *wa-yusraḡu fī l-masğidi alfun wa-ḥamsumiʿati qindīlin*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 255,18f. (*wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *wa-lahu min l-ḥadami bi-ʿiyālātihim miʿatā mamlūkin wa-ṭalātūna mamlūkan yaqbiḍūna r-rizqa min bayti māli l-Muslimīna*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 171,8-10 (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ... wa-ṭūlu l-masğidi ...*) *wa-ḥuddāmuḥu mamālīku lahu* (C without *lahu*) *aqāmahum ʿAbdu l-Maliki min ḥumsi l-asārā* (C *min ḥumsi l-ḡanāʿimi*) *wa-li-ḡālīka yusammūna l-Aḥmāsa lā yaḥdimuḥu ḡayruhum wa-lahum nuwabun yaḥfaẓūnahā* (C *lā yaḥdimuḥu ḡayruhum ka-Banī Šaybata fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmī*).

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 255,19-23 (*wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *wa-wazīfatuḥu fī kulli šahrin min z-zayti sabʿumiʿati qišṭin bi-l-ibrāhīmīyi waznu l-qišṭi raṭlun wa-niṣfun bi-l-kabīri wa-wazīfatuḥu fī kulli ʿāmin min l-ḥuṣuri ṭamāniyatu ālāfin wa-wazīfatuḥu fī kulli ʿāmin min s-surāfati li-fatāʾili l-qanādili ṭnā ʿašara dīnāran wa-li-zuḡāḡi l-qanādili ṭalātun wa-ṭalātūna dīnāran wa-li-ṣunnāʿin yaʿmalūna fī suṭūḥi l-masğidi fī kulli ʿāmin ḥamsata ʿašara dīnārin*.

he has the following dream: he sees Muḥammad leave [the Dome of] the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) with a group of his companions (*ḡamā'a min aṣḥābihi*), approach the South Staircase (*al-Ma-qām al-Qiblī*) and its central column (*al-ʿamūd al-waṣṭānī*) and pray there with raised hands; he then calls Aḥmad who was ascending the staircase (*ad-darağ*) to approach; Aḥmad mentions his uneasiness with the place, and Muḥammad points out that ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) made here [in Jerusalem] is equivalent to 25,000 prayers and mercy pours down [without being counted, onto all people staying here], in Mecca to 100,000 prayers but only 120 mercies for all people who circumambulate the Ka'ba, perform ritual prayer and take part in discussions there, and that the place has an important position (*maḥall*), for otherwise, he would not have been brought here on his Night Journey; Aḥmad is so impressed by this that he stays here until his death.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.249:** 177,10-22 (*anba'anā Abū l-Ḥasani 'Alīyu bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḡallā'*) *l-Bağdādī yu qāla aḥbaranī Aḥmadu bnu Yaḥyā l-bazzāru l-Bağdādīyu wa-kāna qadima min Makkata ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi tumma innahu nadima 'alā mağī'ihī wa-qāla taraka* (read *taraktu*) *ṣ-ṣalāta bi-Makkata bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣ-ṣalātu hā hunā bi-ḥamsin wa-ʿiṣrīna alfi ṣalātin wa-bi-Makkata tanzilu 'iṣrūna wa-mi'atu raḥmatin li-ṭ-ṭā'ifina wa-l-muṣallīna wa-n-nāzirīna qāla l-Ḡallā fa-lammā kāna min ḡadi l-laḍī* (Livne-Kafri reads *min ḡadi l-yawmi l-laḍī*) *arāda l-ḥurāğā* (Livne-Kafri reads *l-ḥurāğā fihi*) *ra'aytuhu yabkī qultu lahu mā yubkīka qāla ra'aytu l-bāriḥata Rasūla Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ḥārīḡan mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ma'a ḡamā'atin min aṣḥābihi ḥattā aqbala ilā l-Maqāmi l-Qiblīyi ilā l-ʿamūdi l-waṣṭānīyi wa-rafa'a yadayhi yad'ū fa-lammā ra'ānī ṭāli'a d-darağā qāla itūnī bi-hāḡā r-raḡuli l-laḍī nadima 'alā mağī'ihī ilayya* (Livne-Kafri reads *ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *qultu ṣalātun fī l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi bi-mi'ati alfi ṣalātin wa-ṣalātun fī l-Masğidi l-Muqaddasi bi-ḥamsin wa-ʿiṣrīna alfi ṣalātin wa-ruwiya 'anka annaka qulta innahu tanzilu bi-Makkata 'iṣrūna wa-mi'atu raḥmatin fa-qāla na'am tanzilu* (Livne-Kafri reads *hāhunā tanzilu*) *r-raḥmatu nuzūlan hā hunā yaṣubbu* (read *taṣubbu*) *r-raḥmatu ṣabban wa-law lam yakun lam yakun* (read *ṣabban wa-law lam yakun*; Livne-Kafri reads *ṣabban wa-lam yakun*) *li-hāḡā l-mawḡi'i maḥallun* (Livne-Kafri reads *maḥallun 'azīmun*) *lammā usriya bihi ilayhi* (I read *bī ilayhi*) *wa-ašāra bi-yadihi ilā Mawḡi'i l-isrā* (Livne-Kafri reads *ilā Mawḡi'i l-isrā'*) *'inda Qubbati l-Mi'rāğī tumma inna r-raḡula aqāma bi-l-Qudsi ilā an māta wa-kānat hādihi r-ru'yatu sanata iḥdā wa-arba'īna wa-ṭalāṭimi'atin fī rağaba.*



### B053. The aqueduct or Channel of al-Marǧī<sup>c</sup> and the two pools at its beginning<sup>1</sup>

B053.1. **Names (Muslim):** An aqueduct (*qanāt*) and two pools (*birkatān*) (B053.4).

B053.2. **Names (Jewish):** The Channel of al-Marǧī<sup>c</sup> (*Qanāt al-Marǧī<sup>c</sup>*),<sup>2</sup> an aqueduct (*qanāt*) (B053.4).

B053.3. **Position:** The two pools which feed the aqueduct are in a valley,<sup>3</sup> 1 *barīd* (12 km)<sup>4</sup> or 7 miles (*\*mīl*) (14 km)<sup>5</sup> from the city. We best identify the two pools with the two older (B028.3.b) SOLOMON'S POOLS,<sup>6</sup> and the aqueduct with the AQUEDUCT.

B053.3.a. The distance is given by **al-Muqaddasī C**'s *wa-qad 'umida ilā wādin ilā barīdin mina l-baladī fa-ǧu'ila birkatāni* "and one fell back on a valley one *barīd* from the city and made two pools" - he uses the Persian *barīd* of 12 km<sup>7</sup> - and **Gil Nr.2**'s *wa-amr hādihī l-qanāt 'aǧīb tašīr aktar min alf mīl wa-ṭ-ṭarīq min aṣl al-mā ilā bayt aṭ-ṭuhra 7 [amyāl]* "and the matter of this channel is marvellous as it goes more than a thousand miles, and the [direct] way from the aqueduct's beginning to the ablution place is [only] 7 [miles]"; in **Gil Nr.2**, the unit is missing, but 7 [amyāl] "7 [miles]" (14 km) fits the actual distance, as opposed to the aqueduct's marvellous length of *alf mīl* "a thousand miles".

B053.3.b. **Gil Nr.2** has the aqueduct preceded by *Ēn Rōgēl* and *Dayr as-Sanīya* in the direction of Mount Zion, and followed by Bethlehem; this would fit with the part of the aqueduct which crosses the slopes south of Mount Zion immediately before it enters the city (at about today's ENTRY of the AQUEDUCT into the city), and this also fits with the description (*Qanāt al-Marǧī<sup>c</sup> ...*) *wa-<sup>a</sup>šār 'āsāh āt ha-bērēkāh wə-āt ha-tə'ālāh wa-yābē' āt ha-*

<sup>1</sup> For the aqueduct, see B028.

<sup>2</sup> **Gil Nr.2** 2v, 10-15 *wa-taš'ad šā'id fī zahr al-ǧabal ilā Šiyyōn titnāhēm bi-mhērāh fa-tamma* [Classical Arabic *ṭamma*] *ṭarīq al-mā al-ladī adḥal Yəḥizqiyyāhū ilā l-balad Qanāt al-Marǧī<sup>c</sup> 'alā mā qālū 'wa-<sup>a</sup>šār 'āsāh āt ha-bērēkāh wə-āt ha-tə'ālāh wa-yābē' āt ha-mayim hā-'irāh' (2 Kings 20.20; cf. 2 Chronicles 32.30) wa-amr hādihī l-qanāt 'aǧīb tašīr aktar min alf mīl wa-ṭ-ṭarīq min aṣl al-mā ilā bayt aṭ-ṭuhra 7 [amyāl]...*

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 168,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 200; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245 n. 4) *wa-qad 'umida ilā wādin* (C adds *ilā barīdin mina l-baladī*) *fa-ǧu'ila birkatāni yaǧtami'u ilayhimā s-suyūlu* (B *ilayhā s-suyūlu*, C *Yāqūt ilayhā s-suyūlu wa-l-'uyūnu*) *fī š-šitā'i wa-šuqqa minhumā qanātun ilā l-baladī tudḥalu waqta r-rabī'i fa-tamlā'u šahārīǧa l-ǧāmi'i wa-ǧayrahā* (B *fa-tumli'u šahārīǧa l-ǧāmi'i wa-ǧayrahā*, C *fa-tamtali'u ǧibābu l-ǧāmi'i wa-ǧayruhā*).

<sup>4</sup> **al-Muqaddasī C** 168,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 200) *wa-qad 'umida ilā wādin* (C adds *ilā barīdin mina l-baladī*) *fa-ǧu'ila birkatāni yaǧtami'u ilayhā s-suyūlu wa-l-'uyūnu fī š-šitā'i wa-šuqqa minhumā qanātun ilā l-baladī tudḥalu waqta r-rabī'i fa-tamtali'u ǧibābu l-ǧāmi'i wa-ǧayruhā*.

<sup>5</sup> **Gil Nr.2** 2v, 10-15 *wa-taš'ad šā'id fī zahr al-ǧabal ilā Šiyyōn titnāhēm bi-mhērāh fa-tamma* [Classical Arabic *ṭamma*] *ṭarīq al-mā al-ladī adḥal Yəḥizqiyyāhū ilā l-balad Qanāt al-Marǧī<sup>c</sup> 'alā mā qālū 'wa-<sup>a</sup>šār 'āsāh āt ha-bērēkāh wə-āt ha-tə'ālāh wa-yābē' āt ha-mayim hā-'irāh' (2 Kings 20.20; cf. 2 Chronicles 32.30) wa-amr hādihī l-qanāt 'aǧīb tašīr aktar min alf mīl wa-ṭ-ṭarīq min aṣl al-mā ilā bayt aṭ-ṭuhra 7 [amyāl]...*

<sup>6</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine* 197; 202; de Goeje, *al-Moqaddasi* 168 n. c; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 190 n. 180.

<sup>7</sup> Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 144 n. 20; 190 n. 180.

*mayim hā-ʿirāh* "(the Channel of al-Marǧī' ...) and that he [Hezekiah] built the pool and the aqueduct and that he brought the water into the city" (2 **Kings** 20.20).

### Gil Nr.2

ʿĒn Rōgēl - Dayr as-saniya - on the way to Šiyyōn: **Qanāt al-Marǧī'**  
 ʿ - Bēt Lāhām

B053.3.c. **Gil Nr.2's** *bayt aṭ-ṭuhra* "the ablution place" has been identified with the POOL OF SILWĀN,<sup>1</sup> which implies identifying *Qanāt al-Marǧī'* with HEZEKIAH'S CHANNEL. But this is improbable; the POOL OF SILWĀN is, at this time, not necessarily inside the city, and HEZEKIAH'S CHANNEL is much shorter than seven miles.

**B053.4. Physical shape:** This is an aqueduct (*qanāt*).<sup>2</sup> Its leads from the aqueduct's beginning (*aṣl al-mā'*) to the ablution place (*bayt aṭ-ṭuhra*) [outside the mosque],<sup>3</sup> from two pools (*birkatān*) to cisterns in the city (*al-balad*), most importantly to the cisterns of the Friday mosque (*ṣahārīg al-ǧāmi'*).<sup>4</sup> The aqueduct is very long [as it winds around the hillside]. The pools are filled during the winter by the water which comes down from creeks and sources, but only in springtime is the water allowed to flow to the city.<sup>5</sup>

B053.4.a. **al-Muqaddasī's** *birkatān* "two pools" may be identified<sup>6</sup> with the two older pools of the three SOLOMON'S POOLS; the third dates one from the end of the 15th century (B028.3.b).

B053.4.b. The aqueduct's extraordinary length is described by **Gil Nr.2's** *wa-amr hādihi l-qanāt ʿaǧīb taṣīr aktar min alf mil* "and the matter of this channel is wonderful, it goes more than a thousand miles". This may refer to how the aqueduct clings to the hillside; today's AQUEDUCT would have a length of about 21 km, but only parts

<sup>1</sup>Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 73.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 200; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245 n. 4) *wa-qad ʿumida ilā wādin* (C adds *ilā barīdin minā l-baladī*) *fā-ǧu ʿila birkatāni yaǧtamiʿu ilayhimā s-suyūlu* (B *ilayhā s-suyūlu*, C *ilayhā s-suyūlu wa-l-ʿuyūnu*) *fī š-šitāʿi wa-šuqqa minhumā qanātun ilā l-baladī ...*; **Gil Nr.2** 2v, 10-15 *wa-amr hādihi l-qanāt ʿaǧīb*.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 2v, 10-15 *wa-taṣʿad šāʿid fī zahr al-ǧabal ilā Šiyyōn titnāhēm bi-mhērāh fa-tamma* [Classical Arabic *tamma*] *ṭariq al-mā al-ladī adḥal Yəḥizqiyyāhū ilā l-balad Qanāt al-Marǧī'* *ʿalā mā qālū 'wa-ʿšār ʿāsāh āt ha-bērēkāh wə-āt ha-təʿālāh wa-yābē' āt ha-mayim hā-ʿirāh' (2 Kings 20.20; cf. 2 Chronicles 32.30) wa-amr hādihi l-qanāt ʿaǧīb taṣīr aktar min alf mil wa-ṭ-ṭariq min aṣl al-mā ilā bayt aṭ-ṭuhra 7 [amyāl] ...*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 200; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245 n. 4) *wa-qad ʿumida ilā wādin* (C adds *ilā barīdin minā l-baladī*) *fā-ǧu ʿila birkatāni yaǧtamiʿu ilayhimā s-suyūlu* (B *ilayhā s-suyūlu*, C *ilayhā s-suyūlu wa-l-ʿuyūnu*) *fī š-šitāʿi wa-šuqqa minhumā qanātun ilā l-baladī tudḥalu waqta r-rabīʿi fa-tamlaʿu ṣahārīgā l-ǧāmiʿi wa-ǧayrahā* (B *fa-tumliʿu ṣahārīgā l-ǧāmiʿi wa-ǧayrahā*, C *Yāqūt fa-tamtaliʿu ǧibābu l-ǧāmiʿi wa-ǧayruhā*).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 200; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245 n. 4) *wa-qad ʿumida ilā wādin* (C adds *ilā barīdin minā l-baladī*) *fā-ǧu ʿila birkatāni yaǧtamiʿu ilayhimā s-suyūlu* (B *ilayhā s-suyūlu*, C *ilayhā s-suyūlu wa-l-ʿuyūnu*) *fī š-šitāʿi wa-šuqqa minhumā qanātun ilā l-baladī tudḥalu waqta r-rabīʿi fa-tamlaʿu ṣahārīgā l-ǧāmiʿi wa-ǧayrahā* (B *fa-tumliʿu ṣahārīgā l-ǧāmiʿi wa-ǧayrahā*, C *fa-tamtaliʿu ǧibābu l-ǧāmiʿi wa-ǧayruhā*).

<sup>6</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 190 n. 180; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 117.

exist now.

B053.4.c. To collect water in winter in open cisterns and to transfer it to another place only in spring is quite usual in Palestine.<sup>1</sup>

B053.4.d. **al-Muqaddasī** says explicitly that the aqueduct fills cisterns inside and outside the mosque. This seems to be contradicted by **Gil Nr.2**, where the aqueduct's length is measured from its beginning (*aṣl al-māʾ*) to the ablution place (*bayt aṭ-ṭuhra*); but given the preciousness of water, there is no doubt that water is not spilled, but rather brought to a kind of cistern at the aqueduct's end.

**B053.5. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the channel by which **Hezekiah** brought the water to the city, "and that he [Hezekiah] built the pool (*ha-bərēkāh*) and the aqueduct (*ha-təʿālāh*) and that he brought the water into the city" (**2 Kings** 20.20; cf. **2 Chronicles** 32.30).<sup>2</sup>

B053.5.a. A parallel to the attribution of the aqueduct to Hezekiah: A Marwānid Muslim tradition attributes the building of *Birkat ar-Raġīʿ* outside the city [and the aqueduct connecting it with the city] to Hezekiah (B028.4).

### B054. The ablution places<sup>3</sup>

**B054.1. Names (Muslim):** Ablution places (*\*mayādiʾ*).<sup>4</sup>

**B054.2. Names (Jewish):** The ablution place (*bayt aṭ-ṭuhra*).<sup>5</sup>

**B054.3. Position:** There are four<sup>6</sup> ablution places outside the area, next to the gates to the mosque. One of them is fed by the aqueduct (B053.4). We best locate the ablution places near the gates, outside the ḤARAM but in its immediate vicinity; the one fed by the aqueduct may be at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.

<sup>1</sup> For the fullness of the aqueduct in winter - i.e., spring - and its emptiness in July, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 247f. n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> **Gil Nr.2** 2v, 10-15 *wa-taṣʿad ṣāʿid fī ḡabāl ilā Ṣiyyōn titnāḥēm bi-mhērāh fa-tamma* [Classical Arabic *tamma*] *ṭarīq al-mā al-ladī adḥal Yəḥizqiyyāhū ilā l-balad Qanāt al-Marġīʿ ʿalā mā qālū ʿwa-<sup>a</sup>šār ʿāsāh āt ha-bərēkāh wə-āt ha-təʿālāh wa-yābēʾ āt ha-mayim hhā-ʿirāhʾ* (**2 Kings** 20.20; cf. **2 Chronicles** 32.30) *wa-amr hādihi l-qanāt ʿaġīb taṣīr aktar min alf mīl wa-ṭ-ṭarīq min aṣl al-mā ilā bayt aṭ-ṭuhra* 7 [amyāl] ...

<sup>3</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsid ablution places, see Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 15.

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Masġidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *lahu arbaʿatu manāṣī* (read *arbaʿatu mayādiʾa*).

<sup>5</sup> **Gil Nr.2** 2v, 10-15 (*wa-amr hādihi l-qanāt ʿaġīb taṣīr aktar min alf mīl*) *wa-ṭ-ṭarīq min aṣl al-mā ilā bayt aṭ-ṭuhra* 7 [amyāl] ...

<sup>6</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Masġidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ...*) *lahu arbaʿatu manāṣī* (read *arbaʿatu mayādiʾa*).

B054.3.a. The place of the ablution places near the gates of the mosque<sup>1</sup> may be deduced somehow from **al-Muqaddasī**'s general remark that in Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*), ablution places (*maṭāhir*) are usually at the gates of the mosques and in the markets (‘*alā abwāb al-ğawāmi‘ wa-fī l-aswāq*).<sup>2</sup>

B054.3.b. It has been assumed that **Gil Nr.2** has *wa-kān fī l-qadīm tamma bāb yusammā Ša‘ar ha-Mizrahī wa-bə-rūb hā-‘āwōnōt šār al-yawm mīdā li-l... wa-l-qadar* "and there was in old times a gate called the East Gate, but because of the great number of [our] sins, it has become today an ablution place for the ... and the pollution" may refer to an otherwise unattested ablution place, but due to the scarcity of information, no certain conclusions may be drawn (B086.3.d).

**B054.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** These are the places for ritual ablution.

### B055. The meeting room of the Ḥanafīya

**B055.1. Names (Muslim):** The meeting room for contemplating [God] (*mağlis dīkr*) of the disciples of [the scholar] Abū Ḥanīfa (*aṣḥāb Abū Ḥanīfa*) (B055.4).

**B055.2. Position:** This place is in the Aqṣà-Mosque (*bi-l-Masğid al-Aqṣà*),<sup>3</sup> but no details are given. We best locate it just in the ḤARAM.

**B055.3. Physical shape:** This is a beautiful meeting room for contemplating [God] (*mağlis dīkr ḥasan*), of the disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa (*aṣḥāb Abū Ḥanīfa*) (B055.4).

**B055.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa (*aṣḥāb Abū Ḥanīfa*), in their beautiful meeting room for contemplating [God] (*mağlis dīkr ḥasan*), read in a booklet (*fī daftar*), as the Karrāmīya do in their convents (*fī ḥawāniqihim*).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 21.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 182,9 (*iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ... wa-rusūmuhum ...*) ‘*alā abwābi l-ğawāmi‘i wa-fī l-aswāqi* (B ‘*alā abwābi l-ğawāmi‘i wa-l-aswāqi*, C ‘*alā abwābi l-ğāmi‘i wa-fī l-aswāqi*) *maṭāhiru*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 182,12-14 *yušallūna bi-Īliyā sitta tarwihātīn wa-l-muḍakkirūna bihi quṣṣāṣun wa-li-aṣḥābi Abī Ḥanīfata bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà mağlisu dīkrin* (C instead of *wa-li-aṣḥābi ... mağlisu dīkrin: illā aṣḥāba Abī Ḥanīfata fa-inna lahum mağlisun* (read *mağlisun*) *bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà ḥasanun*) *yaqra'ūna fī daftarin wa-ka-dālika l-Karrāmīyatu fī ḥawāniqihim*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 182,12-14 *yušallūna bi-Īliyā sitta tarwihātīn wa-l-muḍakkirūna bihi quṣṣāṣun wa-li-aṣḥābi Abī Ḥanīfata bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà mağlisu dīkrin* (C instead of *wa-li-aṣḥābi ... mağlisu dīkrin: illā aṣḥāba Abī Ḥanīfata fa-inna lahum mağlisun* (read *mağlisun*) *bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà ḥasanun*) *yaqra'ūna fī daftarin wa-ka-dālika l-Karrāmīyatu fī ḥawāniqihim*.

**B056. The *Ḥānqāh*, a prayer-place of the Karrāmīya  
= the convents and meeting rooms of the Karrāmīya<sup>1</sup>**

**B056.1. Names (Muslim):** The *Ḥānqah* (*al-Ḥānqāh*), which is a [certain] prayer-place of the Karrāmīya in Jerusalem (*mutaʿabbad li-l-Karrāmīya bi-Īliyā*),<sup>2</sup> the convents and meeting rooms (*ḥawāniq wa-mağālis*) of the Karrāmites (*al-Karrāmīya*), the convents of the [scholar] Karrāmīya (*ḥawāniq al-Karrāmīya*) (B056.2).

B056.1.a. The relationship between the one *Ḥānqāh* and the many convents and prayer-places is unknown.

**B056.2. Position:** The *Ḥānqāh* is in Jerusalem (*bi-Īliyā*);<sup>3</sup> the convents and meeting rooms (*ḥawāniq wa-mağālis*) of the Karrāmites (*al-Karrāmīya*) are in the Temple (*bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>4</sup> the convents of the Karrāmīya (*ḥawāniq al-Karrāmīya*) in the Aqṣā-Mosque (*bi-l-Masğid al-Aqṣā*).<sup>5</sup> There are no details given and we best locate them just in the ḤARAM.

B056.2.a. The Karrāmī convents have been located in AL-ḤANTANĪYA south of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE;<sup>6</sup> this is based on the assumed identity of the Pre-Crusader and the post-Crusader Tomb of Zechariah, and on the assumption that there was an otherwise unmentioned building at the place of AL-ḤANTANĪYA.

B056.2.b. The two Fāṭimid convents of the Ṣūfis (*\*dū duwayra-i Ṣūfiyān*) (immediately north of the NORTH ḤARAM WALL, between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER) (B152.2) possibly continue these High ʿAbbāsīd convents of the Karrāmīya; but this is far from certain.

<sup>1</sup> For the convents of the Karrāmīya in Jerusalem, and for Ibn Karrām and the Karrāmīya, in general, see A121.

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 25,14 (*iʿlam anna fī l-Islāmi buldānan wa-kuwaran wa-quran tattaqifu asmāʾuhā wa-tatabāyanu mawāḍiʾuhā wa-yaṣkalu ʿalā n-nāsi amruhā wa-l-mansūbūna ilayhā* (C without *wa-l-mansūbūna ilayhā*) ... *Ḥāniqī na madīnatun bi-Ḥulwāni l-ʿIrāqī* (C *bi-Ḥulwāna*) *wa-l-Ḥāniqīna bi-l-Kūfati wa-Ḥānūqatu bi-Aṭūra* (C *wa-Ḥānūqatu madīnatun ʿalā l-Furātī*) *wa-l-Ḥānqah mutaʿabbadun li-l-Karrāmīyati bi-Īliyā* (C without *wa-l-Ḥānqah mutaʿabbadun li-l-Karrāmīyati bi-Īliyā*).

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 25,14 (*iʿlam anna fī l-Islāmi buldānan wa-kuwaran wa-quran tattaqifu asmāʾuhā wa-tatabāyanu mawāḍiʾuhā wa-yaṣkalu ʿalā n-nāsi amruhā wa-l-mansūbūna ilayhā* (C without *wa-l-mansūbūna ilayhā*) ... *Ḥāniqī na madīnatun bi-Ḥulwāni l-ʿIrāqī* (C *bi-Ḥulwāna*) *wa-l-Ḥāniqīna bi-l-Kūfati wa-Ḥānūqatu bi-Aṭūra* (C *wa-Ḥānūqatu madīnatun ʿalā l-Furātī*) *wa-l-Ḥānqah mutaʿabbadun li-l-Karrāmīyati bi-Īliyā* (C without *wa-l-Ḥānqah mutaʿabbadun li-l-Karrāmīyati bi-Īliyā*).

<sup>4</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 179,19 *wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥalqun mina l-Karrāmīyati lahum ḥawāniq wa-mağālisu* (C adds *wa-hum qawmun yaddaʿūna l-kalāma wa-l-fiḡha wa-z-zuhda wa-fihim ṣağabun wa-li-taqarrihim* (read *li-taqarruʾihim*) *ḥaqīqatun*).

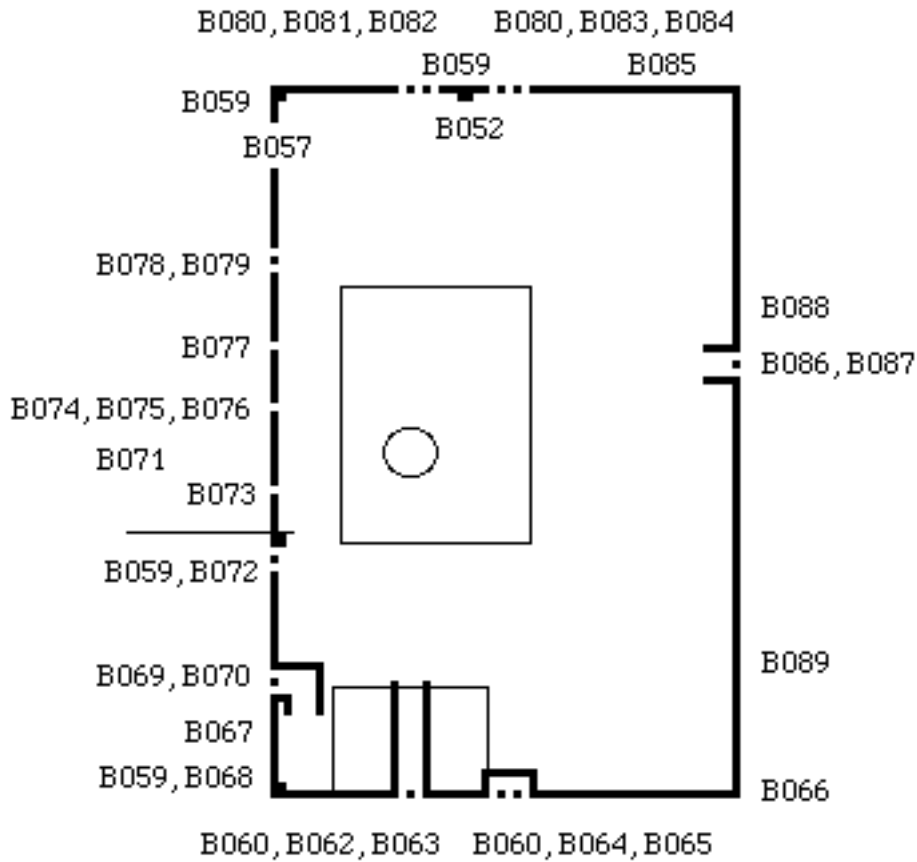
<sup>5</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 182,12-14 *yusallūna bi-Īliyā sitta tarwihātīn wa-l-muḍakkirūna bihi quṣṣāṣun wa-li-aṣḥābi Abi Ḥanīfata bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā mağlisu dīkrin* (C instead of *wa-li-aṣḥābi ... mağlisu dīkrin: illā aṣḥāba Abi Ḥanīfata fa-inna lahum mağlisun* (read *mağlisun*) *bi-l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā ḥasanun*) *yaqraʿūna fī daftarin wa-ka-dālika l-Karrāmīyatu fī ḥawāniqihim*.

<sup>6</sup> Massignon, *Lexique technique* 262 n. 1.

B056.3. **Physical shape:** These are convents and meeting rooms (*ḥawāniq wa-mağālis*) of the Karrāmites (*al-Karrāmiya*), the convents of the Karrāmiya (*ḥawāniq al-Karrāmiya*) (B056.2), but no details concerning their appearance are known.

B056.4. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Karrāmiya read in their convents (*fī ḥawāniqihim*) in a booklet (*daftar*), as the disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa do in their meeting room for contemplating [God] (*mağlis dīkr*) (B055.4).

## 3.2. THE WALL AND THE GATES



53

**Figure 53. The High ʿAbbāsid wall and gates:** B052 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B057 The wall. - B059 The four minarets. - B060 The [collective] Gates of the Fifth-Servants. - B062 The Gate(s) of the Prophet or Gate of Muḥammad or Gate(s) of Ḥuldāh (with the *Mišnāh*). - B063 The Gates of the Five. - B064 The Gate of Repentance (with the Chamber of Mary or Birth-place of Jesus) or Gates of the Chamber of Mary or Gates of the Lady. - B065 The triple gate Water Gate/Song Gate/Women Gate. - B066 The Pinnacle (of the Mosque). - B067 The Gate of the Palace or Gate of al-Ḥiḍr (in the southwest corner). - B068 The South Minaret (with the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq). - B069 The Ḥiṭṭa Gate. - B070 The Gate of the Priest. - B071 The Gate of Solomon. - B072 The Gate(s) of [the prophet] David and the minaret nearby. - B073 The Gate of God's Presence or Place of God's Presence. - B074 The Gate of the House of Umm Ḥālīd. - B075 The Gate of the Hashemite. - B076 The Gate of the Family of Judah. - B077 The Gate of Abraham. - B078 The Gate of al-Walī d. - B079 The Gate of the Cattle or *Parbār*. - B080 The [collective] Gates of the Tribes and the north minaret. - B081 The Gates of the Hashemite. - B082 The Gate of Isaac. - B083 The [particular] Gate(s) of the Tribes and the bath and the burial places nearby. - B084 The Gate of Ḥannā. - B085 The Pool of the Children of Israel and the Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel. - B086 The east wall and the Gate(s) of Mercy or Gate of Nikanor (with the [former] East Gate). - B087 The gate where Jesus entered the city. - B088 The Chamber of Zechariah (near the east gate). - B089 The Gate of the Valley (in the southeast corner).

**B057. The wall<sup>1</sup>**

**B057.1. Names (Muslim):** None.

**B057.2. Physical shape:** The building [‘s wall] has a foundation (*asās*) with stones up to 10 ells (4.98 m) long, on top of this an upper layer with beautiful small stones (*ḥiḡār ṣiḡār ḥi-sān*), and on top of this the crenellations (B052.8). This is the ḤARAM WALL.

**B057.3. Traditions (Muslim):** David built the foundation (*asās*) of [the wall of] the Furhest Mosque (*al-Masḡid al-Aqṣà*) with stones up to 10 ells (4.98 m) long, ‘Abd al-Malik put on top of this the upper layer with beautiful small stones (*ḥiḡār ṣiḡār ḥi-sān*), and someone [later, but still in the Marwānid period] put the crenellations on it (*šarrafūhu*) (B052.8).

B057.3.a. Parallels to the attribution of [the wall of] the building with its large stones to David: A High ‘Abbāsīd Jewish tradition attributes the building of the [east] wall to Solomon (B086.8), a Fāṭimid Muslim tradition the corridor of *Bāb an-Nabī* with its [large] blocks to Solomon (B137.7).

**B057.4. Traditions (Jewish):** After the Muslim conquest the Children of Ishmael fenced the broken walls of the Temple and built in the sanctuary (B052.11).

**B058. The gates<sup>2</sup>**

**B058.1. Names (Muslim):** Each of these is a gate (*bāb*) by which one enters the mosque.<sup>3</sup>

**B058.2. Names (Jewish):** The gates (*al-abwāb*),<sup>4</sup> the gates of the Temple of God (*ša<sup>a</sup>rē Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm*).<sup>5</sup>

**B058.3. Physical shape:** The mosque is entered from [about] thirteen places [gates] (*maw-*

<sup>1</sup>For the ‘Abbāsīd wall, see Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 39-41; 196; 198f.; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 483; fig. 31.1.

<sup>2</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd gates, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 189; Gil, *Palestine* 643f.; Burgoyne, "Gates".

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) *wa-yudḡalu ilā l-masḡidi min talātata ‘ašara mawḡi’an bi-‘iṣrīna bāban*.

<sup>4</sup>**Šalawāt al-abwāb** 2v,1-7 *šalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds ... fa-dālik ‘iṣrīn bāb*.

<sup>5</sup>**Bān Mē’ir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpillōtēnū ‘alaykām tədirāh wə-‘al ziqnē yəqār šā-lāḡām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Hādōm riglē Ālōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-‘al Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn wə-‘al ša<sup>a</sup>rē Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yisrā’ēl la-ḡag ḡag ha-Ālōhīm ḡag ha-sūkkōt*.



*ḍiʿ*) with, all in all, [about] twenty doors (*bāb*).<sup>1</sup>

B058.3.a. **Muqaddasī**'s list of the gates of the mosque<sup>2</sup> has the heading *yudḥalu ilā l-masġidi min ṭalātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban* "the mosque is entered by thirteen places with twenty doors"; the "places" obviously refer to the gates, the "doors" to the doors.

B058.3.b. In this list, **al-Muqaddasī** distinguishes carefully, by *Bāb ...* "the Gate of ...", *Bābā ...* "the two Gates of ..." and *Abwāb ...* "the [three or more] Gates of ...", between single gates with one door, double gates with two doors and triple gates with three doors.<sup>3</sup> This way of using everyday words as technical terms fits with the method he explains in his methodological introduction, although *mawḍiʿ yudḥal minhu* and *bāb* are missing from the list of technical terms there. His list of the gates is as follows:

|     |                                     |                                                     |             |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------|
|     | <i>yudḥalu ilā l-masġidi</i>        | "And one enters the mosque                          |             |
|     | <i>min ṭalātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan</i> | from thirteen places                                |             |
|     | <i>bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban</i>             | with twenty doors,                                  |             |
| 1.  | <i>Bābi ḥiṭṭatun</i>                | the one Ḥiṭṭa Gate,                                 | single gate |
| 2.  | <i>Bābayi n-Nabīyi</i>              | the two Gates of the Prophet,                       | double gate |
| 3.  | <i>Abwābi Miḥrābi Maryama</i>       | the [three] Gates of the Chamber of Mary,           | triple gate |
| 4.  | <i>Bābayi r-raḥmati</i>             | the two Gates of Mercy,                             | double gate |
| 5.  | <i>Bābi Birkati Banī Isrāʾīla</i>   | the one Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel, | single gate |
| 6.  | <i>Abwābi l-Asbāʾi</i>              | the [three] Gates of the Tribes,                    | triple gate |
| 7.  | <i>Abwābi l-Hāšimīyīna</i>          | the [three] Gates of the Hashemites,                | triple gate |
| 8.  | <i>Bābi l-Walidi</i>                | the one Gate of al-Walid,                           | single gate |
| 9.  | <i>Bābi Ibrāhīma</i>                | the one Gate of Abraham,                            | single gate |
| 10. | <i>Bābi Ummi Ḥālidi</i>             | the one Gate of Umm Ḥālidi and                      | single gate |
| 11. | <i>Bābi Dāwūda</i>                  | the one Gate of David."                             | single gate |

**al-Muqaddasī C** has instead the following end:

|     |                        |                                     |             |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| 11. | <i>Bābay Dāwūda</i>    | "the two Gates of David,            | double gate |
| 12. | <i>Bābi s-Sakīnati</i> | the one Gate of God's Presence, and | single gate |
| 13. | <i>Bābi l-Ḥaḍrāʾi</i>  | the one Gate of the Palace."        | single gate |

B058.3.c. It may be worth emphasising that neither the eleven gates and nineteen doors of **al-Muqaddasī** nor the thirteen gates and twenty-two doors of **al-Muqaddasī C** fit with the thirteen gates and twenty doors of the heading in both. The easiest solution may be to accept **al-Muqaddasī C** as nearer to the original and to correct his *bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban* "with twenty doors" to *\*bi-ṭnayni wa-ʿiṣrīna bāban* "with twenty-two doors", but this is mere speculation.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) *wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masġidi min ṭalātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,9-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174).

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 122.

**B058.4. Position:** The Mount of Olives (*Har ha-zētīm*) is opposite the gates.<sup>1</sup> Near some gates of the mosque are [Muslim] burial places (*battē qəbārōt*),<sup>2</sup> among them the family burial place of the Iḥšīdids at the Gate of the Tribes (*bi-Bāb al-Asbāt*) (B083.4). Near some of the gates are ablution places (B054.3). For locations see below under the individual gates.

**B058.5. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** The Gate of the Priest (*Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*), the [other] gates and the Mount of Olives are places of Jewish [collective] prayers (*təpīllōt*), when a procession, on "the Feast, the Feast of God, the Feast of the Tabernacles" (*ha-ḥag ḥag ha-(Ālōhīm) ḥag ha-sūkkōt*), representing the community of all Jews, circumambulates the gates from the Gate of Ḥuldāh (*Ša'ar Ḥuldāh*) to the Gate of the Priest (*Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*) [and then ascends the Mount of Olives].<sup>3</sup>

### B059. The minarets<sup>4</sup>

**B059.1. Names (Muslim):** The four minarets (*manāwir, manārāt*),<sup>5</sup> among them the South Minaret (*Manārat al-qibla*) (B068.1).

**B059.2. Position:** The South Minaret (*Manārat al-qibla*) has its place at the SOUTHWEST

<sup>1</sup>**Bān Mē'ir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpīllōtēnū 'alaykām tədīrāh wə-'al ziqnē yəqār šā-lāḳām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Hādōm riglē Ālōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-'al Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wə-'al ša'arē Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yisrā'el la-ḥag ḥag ha-Ālōhīm ḥag ha-sūkkōt*.

<sup>2</sup>**Sulaymān, Šarḥ Ēyḳāh** XXIII,31-XXIV,2 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 635; see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 283 n. 22) (*ōy nā lānū kī ḥaṭānū taḥat hayōt bēyt YHWH adōnay bi-ḳbōdō hinnāh hū' bāmāh li-Bnē Hagar ... taḥat qədūštō wa-ḥartō hinnāh maknīsīm miṭṭōt wə-māṭīm āl tōḳō wə-mitpalləlīm 'alāyhām bə-kāl yōm wə-yōm*) *taḥat Bənē Lēwī ha-šō'arīm hinnāh bi-mqōmām battē qəbārōt 'al ha-šō'arīm (taḥat 'la-mizraḥ halwīyim šiššāh' (1 Chronicles 26.17) hinnāh hū' bēyt šō'āh*).

<sup>3</sup>**Bān Mē'ir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpīllōtēnū 'alaykām tədīrāh wə-'al ziqnē yəqār šā-lāḳām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Hādōm riglē Ālōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-'al Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wə-'al ša'arē Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yisrā'el la-ḥag ḥag ha-Ālōhīm ḥag ha-sūkkōt*; **Bān Mē'ir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *ū-b-ḥāzīratēnū āl aršēnū tinnēnū šəbāḥḳām wə-bēraknū ātkām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-(Ālōhīm) ū-b-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*; **Midraš Qōhālāt Rabbāh Additions** 20-25 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 640f. n. 113; see Grossman, "Ālīyāh lə-rägāl" 275-277) *kə-šā-āmadnū bə-Har ha-zētīm bə-hōša'nā rabbā āpīlū šə-bā'ū mē-kāl ha-qəhillōt šā-b-ōlām lō' hāyū nir'in āllā kə-māṭayim* (Grossman reads *bə-māṭayim*) *wə-hēn hāyū 12 ālāp mē-Ša'ar Ḥuldāh 'ad Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*.

For the High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimīd Jewish prayer in Jerusalem, see A154.

<sup>4</sup>For the High 'Abbāsīd minarets in Jerusalem, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; Creswell, *EMA* 1 60; 177-179; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46 and n. 65; Bloom, *Minaret* 183f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 101 n. 119.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 60 and n. 3; Bloom, *Minaret* 183f.) (*wa-fi l-masḡidi ...*) *fīhi arba'ū manāwira li-l-mu'addīnīna wa-ḡamī'ū suṭūḥi l-masḡidi wa-l-qibābi wa-l-manārāti mulabbasatun šafā'iḥa muḍahhabatan*.

ḤARAM CORNER (B068.2), one of the west minarets at BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET (B072.6), and a north minaret between BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤITṬA (B080.3).

**B059.3. Physical shape:** The four minarets are covered with gilded sheets [of lead] (*ṣafā-ʾih mudahhaba*) (B052.5).

**B059.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The muezzins proclaim from the minarets [in the prayer-call], five times a day, the uniqueness of God and the prophethood [of Muḥammad].<sup>1</sup> Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, who in 321/933 transmits a certain tradition in the mosque (*fī l-masǧid*), is muezzin and preacher in the Temple (*muʾaddin ḥaṭīb bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B052.7).

### B060. The [collective] Gates of the Fifth-Servants<sup>2</sup>

**B060.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gates of the Fifth-Servants (*Abwāb al-Aḥmās*).

B060.1.a. The name is known from Jewish **Gil Nr. 2** (B060.2), but clearly belongs to a Muslim context.

B060.1.b. *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* have been identified with *Abwāb al-ḥamsa*, but this is out of the question (B060.1.b).

**B060.2. Names (Jewish):** The Gates of the Fifth-Servants (*Abwāb al-Aḥmās*).<sup>3</sup>

B060.2.a. *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* in **Gil Nr. 2** and *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* in **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** (B063.1) are closely related. We may assume *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* is the older name, but was no longer understood and so was replaced by the more easily, but incorrectly spelled *Abwāb al-ḥamsa*.<sup>4</sup> We have to be careful not to confuse the two - *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* is the collective name of all south gates, *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* the name of one particular gate (B063.2).

B060.2.b. A parallel to this double use of collective *Abwāb al-Aḥmās*, covering all south gates, and *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* meaning one gate: High ʿAbbāsid *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* is both the collective name of all north gates and the name of one specific gate (B080.1.a).

<sup>1</sup> **Sulaymān, Šarḥ ʿEyḳāh** XXIII,28-30 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 635) (*ōy nā lānū kī ḥaṭānū taḥat hayōt bēyt (YHWH adōnay) bi-ḵbōdō hinnāh hūʾ bāmāh li-Bnē Hagar ... taḥat māsōrērīm wə-mənaggənīm hinnāh bə-tōḵō maḵrīzīm ḥamšāh pəʿamīm bə-ḵāl yōm bə-šēm pāsāl wə-nāḥīʾ šāqār.*

The prayer-call is also mentioned in **al-Muqaddasī** 167,12f. (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-l-māʾu biḥā wāsiʿun wa-yuqālu laysa bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi amkana mina l-māʾi wa-l-aḍāni.*

<sup>2</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsid Gates of the Fifth-Servants as a group of gates, see Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 266f. n. 25; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287f.; 290; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 58-60; Gil, *Palestine* 642 n. 114; 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>3</sup> **Gil Nr. 2** 1r,6-8 *wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblī 5* (Braslavi/Küchler read *fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qibliya*) *yuqāl lahum Abwāb al-Aḥmās wa-Dār al-Aḥmās bayn yadayhum wa-hiya tusammā Ḥāšēr Bāṭ[-Šābaʿ].*

<sup>4</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 642 n. 114.

B060.2.c. *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* "the Gate of the Fifth-Servants" is the short version of a supposed *\*Abwāb Dār al-Aḥmās* "the Gate of the House of the Fifth-Servants", called after *Dār al-Aḥmās* "the House of the Fifth-Servants" (B061.3) in front. Similar are **al-Muqaddasī**'s short *Bāb Umm Ḥālid* "the Gate of Umm Ḥālid" and **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s long *Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālid* "the Gate of the House of Umm Ḥālid", named after the elsewhere unmentioned *Dār Umm Ḥālid* "the House of Umm Ḥālid" (B074.1), and **al-Muqaddasī** C's short *Abwāb Maryam* "the Gates of Mary", *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb*'s short *\*Abwāb as-Sitt* "the Gates of the Lady" and **al-Muqaddasī**'s long *Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam* "the Gates of the Chamber of Mary", named after the well-known *Miḥrāb Maryam* "the Chamber of Mary" (B064.1). In all cases, the long version has the *regens* and the *rectum* of the place nearby, the short version only the *rectum*. Gates called after places nearby are **al-Muqaddasī** C's *Bāb al-Ḥaḍrā'* "the Gate of the Palace", from the otherwise unknown *al-Ḥaḍrā'* "the Palace" (B067.1); **al-Muqaddasī**'s *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrā'īl* "the Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel", from *Birkat Banī Isrā'īl* "the Pool of the Children of Israel" (B085.1); **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s *Bāb al-Wādī* "the Gate of the Valley", from *al-Wādī* "the Valley", i.e., the Kidron Valley (B089.1); and **Nāṣir**'s *Bāb al-ʿayn* "the Gate of the Spring", called after *Čašma-i Sulwān* [Arabic ʿAyn Sulwān] "the Spring of Sulwān" (B140.1).

| Long name                      | Short name                                  | Place nearby                        |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| [ <i>Abwāb Dār al-Aḥmās</i> ]  | <i>Abwāb al-Aḥmās</i>                       | <i>Dār al-Aḥmās</i>                 |
| <i>Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālid</i>       | <i>Bāb Umm Ḥālid</i>                        | [ <i>Dār Umm Ḥālid</i> ]            |
| <i>Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam</i>     | <i>Abwāb Maryam</i> = <i>*Abwāb as-Sitt</i> | <i>Miḥrāb Maryam</i>                |
| <i>Bāb al-Ḥaḍrā'</i>           | -                                           | [ <i>al-Ḥaḍrā'</i> ]                |
| <i>Bāb Birkat Banī Isrā'īl</i> | -                                           | <i>Birkat Banī Isrā'īl</i>          |
| <i>Bāb al-Wādī</i>             | -                                           | <i>al-Wādī</i>                      |
| <i>Bāb al-ʿayn</i>             | -                                           | <i>Čašma-i Sulwān</i> = ʿAyn Sulwān |

B060.3. **Position:** The Gates of the Fifth-Servants (*Abwāb al-Aḥmās*) are the five doors of the south wall (*al-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblī*),<sup>1</sup> i.e., the two doors at the Gates of the Prophet (*Abwāb an-Nabī*) or Gates of Ḥuldāh (*Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh*) (B062.3) and three doors at the triple gate Water Gate/Song Gate/Women Gate (*Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šīr/Šaʿar ha-nāšīm*) (B065.2). We best locate them at the DOUBLE GATE and the TRIPLE GATE.

B060.3.a. **Gil Nr.2** has been read *wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblīyah* (Braslavi/Küchler), but feminine *al-qiblīyah* does not fit with masculine *al-ḥāʾiṭ* and feminine *al-abwāb* is quite far away; it is better to read *wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblī h* "and the doors in the south wall are 5" (Gil, Reiner<sup>2</sup>).

B060.3.b. *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* have been identified with the SINGLE GATE<sup>3</sup> and with the TRIPLE GATE.<sup>4</sup> Today we have three SOUTH GATES, from west to east, the DOUBLE GATE, the TRIPLE GATE and the SINGLE GATE. The SINGLE GATE goes back to the time of the Crusaders (B064.2.a) and plays no role in our context. This leaves us with the DOUBLE GATE and the TRIPLE GATE. We best locate the double gate *Abwāb an-Nabī*

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,6-8 *wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblī 5* (Braslavi/Küchler read *fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblīya*) *yuqāl lahum Abwāb al-Aḥmās wa-Dār al-Aḥmās bayn yadayhum wa-hiya tusammā Ḥašēr Bāṭ[-Šāba]*.

<sup>2</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287.

<sup>3</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287; 290.

<sup>4</sup>Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 59.

= *Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh* at the DOUBLE GATE with its two doors (B062.3.c), and the triple gate *Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šir/Šaʿar ha-nāšim* at the TRIPLE GATE with its three doors (B064.2.c).

B060.3.c. **Gil Nr. 2** gives the first south gate *Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh* = \**Abwāb an-Nabī*, mentions that the south wall has [two gates with] five doors, and then gives the other south gate *Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šir/Šaʿar ha-nāšim*.

|                          |                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) One south gate       | <i>Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh</i><br><i>wa-l-ʿArab yusammūnhā Abwāb</i><br><i>*an-Nabī</i>                                             | The Ḥuldāh Gates<br>and the Muslims call them the Gates<br>of the Prophet                                 |
| (b) Inside this gate     | <i>*wa-fī dāḥilhā ...</i><br><i>wa-dālik al-mawḍiʿ yusammūnuh</i><br><i>al-ābā *bi-l-Mišnāh</i>                           | and in its interior ...<br>and that place the fathers call<br>the <i>Mišnāh</i>                           |
| (c) All south gates      | <i>wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥaʾiṭ al-qiblī 5</i><br><i>yuqāl lahum Abwāb al-Aḥmās ...</i>                                          | And the gates in the south wall are five,<br>they are called the Gates of the Fifth-Servants ...          |
| (d) Origin of the name   | <i>wa-Dār al-Aḥmās ...</i>                                                                                                | and the House of the Fifth-Servants ...                                                                   |
| (e) The other south gate | <i>wa-l-āḥar</i><br><i>yuqāl luh bi-lisān al-ābā</i><br><i>Šaʿar ha-mayim wa-Šaʿar ha-šir</i><br><i>wa-Šaʿar ha-nāšim</i> | And the other [gate]<br>is called in the tongue of the fathers<br>Water Gate, Song Gate<br>and Women Gate |

B060.3.d. The gates of the south wall have the collective [Muslim] Arabic name *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* "the Gates of the Fifth-Servants" and are five doors in total (b). The name is somehow related to *Dār al-Aḥmās* "the House of the Fifth-Servants" (b) (B060.2.c). One of the south gates has the Arabic name *Bāb an-Nabī* and the Hebrew name *Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh* (a); the number of doors is *in lacuna* and the Hebrew plural is no evidence for three items (a). Inside this gate is the room *ha-Mišnāh* (b). Its Hebrew name, literally "the Double, the Twofold", may also point out the gate's two doors. The other south gate has a Muslim Arabic name *in lacuna*, and a triple Hebrew name *Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šir/Šaʿar ha-nāšim* "Water Gate/Song Gate/Women Gate" (e). The triple name makes us think of a triple gate.<sup>1</sup> This leaves us, for *Bāb an-Nabī* = *Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh*, with two doors, i.e., five doors less three.<sup>2</sup>

|                    | Arabic name           | Hebrew name                                       | number of doors |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| all south gates    | <i>Abwāb al-Aḥmās</i> | ?                                                 | 5               |
| south gate to west | <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i>    | <i>Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh</i> , behind it <i>ha-Mišnāh</i> | ?               |
| south gate to east | ?                     | <i>Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šir/Šaʿar ha-nāšim</i> | 3?              |

B060.3.e. Let us now consider sequence. **Gil Nr. 2** has, on his counterclockwise tour, *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* as his first item, followed by *Bābayn ar-raḥma* = \**Šaʿar Nīqānōr* (at the GOLDEN GATE); this is also in favour of a place in the south wall.

**Gil Nr. 2** *Abwāb al-Aḥmās*: *Abwāb an-Nabī* = *Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh*, *Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šir/Šaʿar ha-nāšim*  
*m* -> *Bābayn ar-raḥma* = \**Šaʿar Nīqānōr*

<sup>1</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287f.

<sup>2</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287.

B060.3.f. **Gil Nr.2**'s *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* are the south gates *in corpore*, i.e., the DOUBLE GATE and the TRIPLE GATE, but **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb**'s *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* mean only the DOUBLE GATE (B063.2). This seems quite unnecessary, but we have a straight parallel in High 'Abbāsīd *Abwāb al-Asbāt*; *Abwāb al-Asbāt* of **Ibn al-Faḳīh** and **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** are all the north gates together, i.e., BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤITṬA (B080.2), but **al-Muqaddasī**'s *Abwāb al-Asbāt* mean only BĀB ḤITṬA (B083.2). It has been assumed that *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* of **Gil Nr.2** at the SINGLE GATE may have become *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* of **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** at the TRIPLE GATE, although changes of place are rather rare,<sup>1</sup> moreso in one period; but there are indeed changes, as we have High 'Abbāsīd *Bāb at-tawba* in the TRIPLE GATE, but Fāṭimid *Bāb at-tawba* in the SOUTH HALF of the GOLDEN GATE.

## B061. The House of the Fifth-Servants<sup>2</sup>

**B061.1. Names (Muslim):** The House of the Fifth-Servants (*Dār al-Aḥmās*).

B061.1.a. The name is known from a Jewish source (B061.2), but clearly belongs into a Muslim context.

**B061.2. Names (Jewish):** The House of the Fifth-Servants (*Dār al-Aḥmās*) or House of Bat ... (*Ḥāṣēr BT...*).<sup>3</sup>

B061.2.a. These are obviously the current Arabic and the religious Hebrew names of one and the same place, as we have many of them in **Gil Nr.2**.

B061.2.b. It has been proposed that *Ḥāṣēr BT...* be read *\*Ḥāṣēr Bat-Šāba* "the Compound of Bathseba" (Braslavi/Küchler). This fits with the location of the bath of Bathseba in Marwānid **Wahb** *wa-fī aṣli l-Miḥrābi ḥawḍun taḡtasilu fihi ḥuyyaḍu nisā[ʾi] Banī Isrāʾīla* "and there was under the Temple a bath, where the menstruating women of the Children of Israel used to wash themselves".<sup>4</sup>

**B061.3. Position:** The House of the Fifth-Servants has its place in front [south] of the Gates of the Fifth-Servants (*bayn yaday Abwāb al-Aḥmās*).<sup>5</sup> We best locate it in the immediate vicinity of the DOUBLE GATE and the TRIPLE GATE, outside the ḤARAM.

B061.3.a. Identification with a specific BUILDING south of the ḤARAM is impossible due to the lack of information.

<sup>1</sup>Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 288, is himself not very happy with this consequence, but sees no other solution.

<sup>2</sup>For the High 'Abbāsīd House of the Fifth-Servants, see Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 20 (suggestion of Ben-Dov); Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 43; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 59f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 389f.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,6-8 *wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblī 5* (Braslavi/Küchler read *fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qibliya*) *yuqāl lahum Abwāb al-Aḥmās wa-Dār al-Aḥmās bayn yadayhum wa-hiya tusammā Ḥāṣēr Bāt[-Šāba]*.

<sup>4</sup>**Wahb b. Munabbih** GD 15.4f. *wa-fī aṣli l-Miḥrābi ḥawḍun taḡtasilu fihi ḥuyyaḍu nisā[ʾi] Banī Isrāʾīla*.

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,6-8 *wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblī 5* (Braslavi/Küchler read *fī l-ḥāʾiṭ al-qibliya*) *yuqāl lahum Abwāb al-Aḥmās wa-Dār al-Aḥmās bayn yadayhum wa-hiya tusammā Ḥāṣēr Bāt[-Šāba]*.

**B061.4. Physical shape:** This is a large building, but no details are known.

B061.4.a. Both *Dār al-Aḥmās* and *Ḥāṣēr BT...* refer to a large building.<sup>1</sup>

**B061.5. Traditions (Muslim):** The Arabic [Muslim] name "the House of the **Fifth-Servants**" (*Dār al-Aḥmās*) obviously refers to the Fifth-servants (*al-Aḥmās*), i.e., the servants of the mosque of the Marwānid period (B014.18), but no details are given.

**B061.6. Traditions (Jewish):** The Hebrew name "the House of **Bat ...**" (*Ḥāṣēr BT...*) obviously refers to something specific, but the information we have is too scarce.

### **B062. The Gate(s) of the Prophet = the Gate of Muḥammad = the Gate(s) of Ḥuldāh (with the *Mišnāh*)<sup>2</sup>**

**B062.1. Names (Muslim):** The (two) Gate(s) of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*,<sup>3</sup> *Bābā n-Nabī*,<sup>4</sup> *Abwāb an-Nabī*<sup>5</sup>), the Gate of Muḥammad (*Bāb Muḥammad*).<sup>6</sup> The Gates of the Prophet

<sup>1</sup>For Arabic *dār* "house, compound", see Lane, *Lexicon* 931 s.v. "dār"; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 56f. and n. 35 (362); 6 28 s.v. "dār". For Hebrew *ḥāṣēr* "house, compound", see Koehler/Baumgartner, *Lexikon* 331 s.v. "ḥāṣēr"; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 56 and n. 35 (362); 6 43 s.v. "ḥāṣēr"; Olszowy-Schlanger, *Karaite Marriage Documents* 49 n. 50.

<sup>2</sup>For the High 'Abbāsid Gate(s) of the Prophet, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 180; 182; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 67f.; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 20f.; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 289; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 13; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 110; 120-124; Gil, *Palestine* 640-644; 643-645 n. 115; 647 n. 117. For the High 'Abbāsid Gate(s) of Ḥuldāh, see Grossmān, "lī yāh lə-rägāl 273 n. 2; Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 221f.; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 285-290; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56-60; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 45; Gil, *Palestine* 642; 644f.; 645-647 n. 116; 647 n. 117; Wightman, *Walls* 230; 244f.; 264; Elad, *Jerusalem XXIII* 94; 97-99.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faḳīh** 101,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Maṣḡidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fihi mina l-abwābi ...*) *Bābu n-Nabīyi*; **al-Muqaddasī** C 170,10 (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-maṣḡidi min talātata 'ašara mawḍi'an bi-'iš-rīna bāban*) ... *Bābi n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ...*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-maṣḡidi min talātata 'ašara mawḍi'an bi-'iš-rīna bāban*) ... *Bābayi n-Nabīyi* (C Yāqūt *Bābi n-Nabīyi*) *ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ...*

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,2-6 ... *Ša'arē Ḥuldāh wa-l-'Arab yusammūnhā Abwāb an-nab[i] wa-fī dāḥil[...]* (I read *wa-fī dāḥil[hā]*; Gil, Braslavi/Küchler read *wa-fī dāḥiluh*) *ḥaḡar yusammūnuh aš-Šamsa wa-ṭamma 'amūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā l-latī taḥmi[l] fī wasaṭ al-maṣḡid al-ladī yarḡizū fih Yišmā'el dawruh 52 šibrān wa-dālik al-mawḍi' yusammūnuh al-ābā [bi]-l-Mišnāh* (Braslavi/Küchler read *al-ab[wāb al]-Mišnāh*) 'wə-hi' yōšābāt b-Īrūšalayīm ba-Mišnāh' (**2 Kings** 22.14; **2 Chronicles** 34.22).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163) (*āṭāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-maṣḡidi ...*) *Bābu Muḥammadin ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,9 (*iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Qubbatu Muḥammadin wa-bābuhu*.

(*Abwāb an-Nabī*) are identical with the Gates of Ḥuldāh (*Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh*)<sup>1</sup> and most probably with the Gate of the Five (*Bāb al-ḥamsa*). This gate is part of the Gates of the Fifth-Servants (*Abwāb al-Aḥmās*) [the south gates] (B060.3).

B062.1.a. Identification with *Bāb al-ḥamsa* is only by the location of both at the DOUBLE GATE.

**B062.2. Names (Jewish):** The Gate(s) of Ḥuldāh (*Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh*,<sup>2</sup> *Ša<sup>a</sup>ar Ḥuldāh*<sup>3</sup>) with the *Mišnāh* (*al-Mišnāh*, *ha-Mišnāh*) (**2 Kings** 22.14; **2 Chronicles** 34.22) inside.<sup>4</sup> The Gates of Ḥuldāh (*Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh*) are identical with the Gates of the Prophet (*Abwāb an-Nabī*) (B062.1).

B062.2.a. It has been claimed that Hebrew *ḥuldāh* and Arabic *ḥiṭṭa* may have to do with each other and therefore *Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh* may be identical with *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*.<sup>5</sup> There is some evidence to adduce against this identification. The etymologies of both *ḥuldāh* and *ḥiṭṭa* are unclear, but similar etymologies would be of no help in identifying the two places. **Gil Nr.2** identifies *Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh* with *Abwāb an-Nabī*, not with *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*. *Ša<sup>a</sup>ar Ḥuldāh* = *Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh* are firmly located at the DOUBLE GATE (B062.3), and *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*, as firmly, at BARCLAY'S GATE

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,2-6 ... *Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh wa-l-ʿArab yusammūnhā Abwāb an-nab[i] wa-fī dāḥil[...]* (I read *wa-fī dāḥil[hā]*; Gil, Braslavi/Küchler read *wa-fī dāḥiluh*) *ḥaḡar yusammūnuh aš-Šamsa wa-ṭamma ʿamūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā l-lati taḥmi[l] fī wasaṭ al-masḡid al-ladi yarḡizū fih Yišmāʿel dawruh 52 šibran wa-dālik al-mawḡiʿ yusammūnuh al-ābā [bi]-l-Mišnāh* (Braslavi/Küchler read *al-ab[wāb al]-Mišnāh*) 'wə-hī' yōšābāt b-Īrūšalayim ba-Mišnāh' (**2 Kings** 22.14; **2 Chronicles** 34.22).

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,2-6 ... *Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh wa-l-ʿArab yusammūnhā Abwāb an-nab[i] wa-fī dāḥil[...]* (I read *wa-fī dāḥil[hā]*; Gil, Braslavi/Küchler read *wa-fī dāḥiluh*) *ḥaḡar yusammūnuh aš-Šamsa wa-ṭamma ʿamūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā l-lati taḥmi[l] fī wasaṭ al-masḡid al-ladi yarḡizū fih Yišmāʿel dawruh 52 šibran wa-dālik al-mawḡiʿ yusammūnuh al-ābā [bi]-l-Mišnāh* (Braslavi/Küchler read *al-ab[wāb al]-Mišnāh*) 'wə-hī' yōšābāt b-Īrūšalayim ba-Mišnāh' (**2 Kings** 22.14; **2 Chronicles** 34.22).

<sup>3</sup>**Midraš Qōhālāt Rabbāh Additions** 20-25 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 640f. n. 113; partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; see Grossman, "ʿAlīyāh lə-rāḡāl" 275-277) *kə-šā-ʿāmadnū bə-Har ha-zētīm bə-hōšāʿnā rabbā apīlū šə-bāʿū mē-kāl ha-qəhillōt šə-b-ʿōlām lōʾ hāyū nirʾin āllā kə-māṭayim* (Grossman reads *bə-māṭayim*) *wə-hēn hāyū 12 ālāp mē-Ša<sup>a</sup>ar Ḥuldāh ʿad Ša<sup>a</sup>ar ha-kōhēn*.

Cf. **Bān Mēʿir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša<sup>a</sup>ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpillōtēnū ʿalaykām tədirāh wə-ʿal ziqnē yəqār šā-lākām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Hādōm riglē Ālōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-ʿal Ša<sup>a</sup>ar ha-kōhēn wə-ʿal ša<sup>a</sup>rē Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yišrāʿel la-ḥaḡ ḥaḡ ha-Ālōhīm ḥaḡ ha-sūkkōt mē-Ša<sup>a</sup>ar Ḥuldāh ʿad Ša<sup>a</sup>ar ha-kōhēn* (Grossman, "ʿAlīyāh lə-rāḡāl" 273 n. 2: *dətaninan ʿōmdin šāpūpīn wə-mišṭahawīn*) ... *wə-hišṭahawū lə-ha-Ālōhīm bə-Har ha-qodāš ū-b-Īrūšalayim*) (hinnēh zāh ʿōmēd aḥar kotālnū aḥar kōtāl maʿarabī šāl Bēyt ha-Miqdāš lāmāh sā-nišbaʿ lō ha-Qaddūš bārūk ha-šēm šā-āynū ḥarab lə-ʿōlām) *wə-Ša<sup>a</sup>ar ha-kōhēn wə-Ša<sup>a</sup>ar Ḥuldāh lō ḥarbū lə-ʿōlām ʿad šā-yəḥaddēšām ha-Qaddūš bārūk ha-šēm*.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,2-6 ... *Ša<sup>a</sup>rē Ḥuldāh wa-l-ʿArab yusammūnhā Abwāb an-nab[i] wa-fī dāḥil[...]* (I read *wa-fī dāḥil[hā]*; Gil, Braslavi/Küchler read *wa-fī dāḥiluh*) *ḥaḡar yusammūnuh aš-Šamsa wa-ṭamma ʿamūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā l-lati taḥmi[l] fī wasaṭ al-masḡid al-ladi yarḡizū fih Yišmāʿel dawruh 52 šibran wa-dālik al-mawḡiʿ yusammūnuh al-ābā [bi]-l-Mišnāh* (Braslavi/Küchler read *al-ab[wāb al]-Mišnāh*) 'wə-hī' yōšābāt b-Īrūšalayim ba-Mišnāh' (**2 Kings** 22.14; **2 Chronicles** 34.22).

<sup>5</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 645-647 n. 116.



(B069.2).

**B062.3. Position:** This is one of the Gates of the Fifth-Servants (*Abwāb al-Aḥmās*) [the south gates] (B060.3). We best locate it at the DOUBLE GATE.<sup>1</sup>

B062.3.a. In the *Midraš Qōhālāt Rabbāh Additions*, Mənāḥēm b. ʿĒliyyāhū describes, from the Mount of Olives, how a Jewish procession moves from *Šaʿar Ḥuldāh* to *Šaʿar ha-kōhēn*.<sup>2</sup> It has been deduced that both gates are seen from the Mount of Olives and should therefore be in the EAST ḤARAM WALL or the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL - but seeing the procession does not necessarily mean that one sees both ends of it.<sup>3</sup> The crowdedness of the same procession from *Šaʿar Ḥuldāh* to *Šaʿar ha-kōhēn* has been regarded as evidence that the gates are near each other,<sup>4</sup> but this inference is not strictly necessary, and the crowdedness might also be part of the description of an ideal, not a real, procession.

B062.3.b. **Ibn al-Faqīh, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, al-Muqaddasī** (and **al-Muqaddasī C**) have *Bāb an-Nabī* or *Bāb Muḥammad* preceded by *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** has next *Bāb at-tawba*, **Ibn al-Faqīh** *Bāb at-tawba* with *Miḥrāb Maryam* inside, **al-Muqaddasī** *Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam*, **al-Muqaddasī C** *Abwāb Maryam* (all at the TRIPLE GATE). This strongly suggests locating *Bāb an-Nabī* = *Bāb Muḥammad* at the DOUBLE GATE.

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <b><i>Bāb an-Nabī</i></b> -> <i>Bāb at-tawba</i> : inside it <i>Miḥrāb Maryam</i> -> <i>Bāb al-Wādī</i> -> <i>Bāb ar-raḥma</i> : <i>Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ</i> |
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b> | <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <b><i>Bāb Muḥammad</i></b> -> <i>Bāb at-tawba</i> -> <i>Bāb ar-raḥma</i>                                                                                 |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>    | <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <b><i>Bābā n-Nabī</i></b> -> <i>Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam</i> -> <i>Bābā r-raḥma</i>                                                                           |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī C</b>  | <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <b><i>Bāb an-Nabī</i></b> -> <i>Abwāb Maryam</i> -> <i>Bābā r-raḥma</i>                                                                                  |

B062.3.c. **Gil Nr.2** mentions *Abwāb an-Nabī* = *Šaʿar Huldāh* as the first group of *Abwāb al-Aḥmās*, the south gates, then *Šaʿar ha-mayim*/*Šaʿar ha-šīr*/*Šaʿar ha-nāšīm* (at the TRIPLE GATE) as the second group; the south gates - the first item on his list surviving - are followed by *Bābayn ar-raḥma* = *\*Šaʿar Nīqānōr* (at the GOLDEN GATE). This also suggests location immediately west of the TRIPLE GATE, best at the DOUBLE GATE.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine* 180; 182; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 67f.; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 13 n. 69; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 121f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIf.; 97-99.

<sup>2</sup> *Midraš Qōhālāt Rabbāh Additions* 20-25 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 640f. n. 113; partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; see Grossman, "ʿAlīyāh lə-rägāl" 275-277) *kə-šā-ʿāmadnū bə-Har ha-zētīm bə-hōšaʿnā rabbā apīlū šə-bāʾū mē-kāl ha-qəhillōt šā-b-ʿolām lōʾ hāyū nirʾin ʾallā kə-māṭayīm* (Grossman reads *bə-māṭayīm*) *wə-hēn hāyū 12 ʾālāp mē-Šaʿar Ḥuldāh ʿad Šaʿar ha-kōhēn*.

Cf. **Bān Mēʾir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpīllōtēnū ʿalaykām tədīrāh wə-ʿal ziqnē yəqār šā-lāqām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-ʾĀlōhīm Məqōm Hādōm riglē ʾĀlōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-ʿal Šaʿar ha-kōhēn wə-ʿal šāʿar Mīqdaš ha-ʾĀlōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yīsrāʾēl la-ḥag ḥag ha-ʾĀlōhīm ḥag ha-sūkkōt mē-Šaʿar Ḥuldāh ʿad Šaʿar ha-kōhēn* (Grossman, "ʿAlīyāh lə-rägāl" 273 n. 2: *dəṭānīnan ʾōmdīn šāpūpīn wə-mišṭahawīn*) ... *wə-hišṭahawū lə-ha-ʾĀlōhīm bə-Har ha-qodāš ū-b-ʾIrūšālayīm*.

<sup>3</sup> Hirshman, *Šaʿar ha-kohēn* 221.

<sup>4</sup> Grossman, "ʿAlīyāh lə-rägāl" 273 n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287-290, locates the Gates of *Ḥuldāh* at the DOUBLE GATE.

location in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL<sup>1</sup> is correct, but can be made more precise. A location in the south part of the WEST ḤARAM WALL<sup>2</sup> or at BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA<sup>3</sup> is not supported by the sources.

**Gil Nr.2** *Abwāb al-Aḥmās: Abwāb an-Nabī = Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh, Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šīr/Šaʿar ha-nāšīm -> Bābayn ar-raḥma = \*Šaʿar Niqānōr*

B062.4. The *Mišnāh* (*al-Mišnāh, ha-Mišnāh*) is inside the Gates of the Prophet (*dāḥil Abwāb an-Nabī*); its vaults (*al-aqbā*) carry the middle part of the mosque where the Muslims pray (*fī wasaṭ al-masgid al-ladī yarǧizū fih Yišmāʿēl*) [the Roofed Hall].<sup>4</sup> This fits with the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR under the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

**B062.5. Physical shape:** This is a double gate which is entered from outside the wall and leads into a corridor (B062.4). The gate integrates elements of an older gate (B018.3).

B062.5.a. The existence of two doors is given by **al-Muqaddasī**'s *Bābā n-Nabī* "the two Gates of the Prophet" (B058.3.b), is deducible from the structure of the account in **Gil Nr.2** (B060.3.d), and is perhaps hinted at by **Gil Nr.2** *al-Mišnāh* "the Double, the Twofold", the name of the room behind the gate (B060.3.d).

B062.5.b. *Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh* (plural) have been located in both halves of the DOUBLE GATE, *Šaʿar Ḥuldāh* (singular) has been located in one half, and it has been assumed that the other half is *Bāb al-kōhēn = Šaʿar ha-kōhēn* which is always in the singular;<sup>5</sup> but *Bāb al-kōhēn = Šaʿar ha-kōhēn* is located in BARCLAY'S GATE (B070.2). There is no parallel of a High ʿAbbāsīd gate with separate names for its different parts.

B062.5.c. **al-Muqaddasī**'s heading *yudḥalu ilā l-masǧidi min talātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿišrīna bāban ... Bābayi n-Nabīyi ...* "and one enters the mosque at thirteen places by twenty doors ... at the two Gates of the Prophet ..." does not imply that the gate leads through to the courtyard.

B062.5.d. The gate has been regarded as one of the main entrances to the mosque;<sup>6</sup> this may well be, but clear evidence is lacking.

B062.6. Inside the corridor is a stone called "the Sundisk" (*aš-Šamsa*) [with an exterior simi-

<sup>1</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 644f.

<sup>2</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 647 n. 117 (referring to the Mishna).

<sup>3</sup>Gildemeister, "Beiträge zur Palästinakunde" 191 n. 20.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,2-6 ... *Šaʿarē Ḥuldāh wa-l-ʿArab yusammūnhā Abwāb an-nab[i] wa-fī dāḥil[...]* (I read *wa-fī dāḥil[hā]*; Gil, Braslavi/Küchler read *wa-fī dāḥiluh*) *ḥaǧar yusammūnuh aš-Šamsa wa-tamma ʿamūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā l-lati taḥmi[l] fī wasaṭ al-masǧid al-ladī yarǧizū fih Yišmāʿēl dawruh 52 šibran wa-dālik al-mawḍiʿ yusammūnuh al-ābā [bi]-l-Mišnāh* (Braslavi/Küchler read *al-ab[wāb al]-Mišnāh*) *ʿwə-hīʾ yōšāḥāt b-Īrūšalayim ba-Mišnāh*' (**2 Kings** 22.14; **2 Chronicles** 34.22).

<sup>5</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 289.

<sup>6</sup>Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab.

lar to a sundisk (*šamsa*), a piece of jewelry which women wear on their foreheads<sup>1</sup>]; the corridor has the vaults (*al-aqbā*) which carry the middle part of the mosque where the Muslims pray (*fī wasaṭ al-masğid al-ladī yarğizū fih Yišmā'el*); a column (*'amūd*) in their midst has a circumference of 52 inches (sing. *šibr*).<sup>2</sup>

B062.6.a. For parallels to *aš-Šamsa* "the Sundisk" in this corridor, see B018.5.a.

B062.6.b. **Gil Nr.2** mentions *aš-Šamsa* inside the corridor, preceded by the gate proper and followed by the central column; the place is obviously between the gate proper and the central column.

**Gil Nr.2**                      *Ša'arē Ḥuldā = \*Abwāb an-Nabī: al-Mišnāh, aš-Šamsa, 'amūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā*

B062.6.c. Today's DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR has a now almost invisible rosette on the ceiling, but there is no stone which may have been interpreted as a kind of *šamsa*. Outside the TRIPLE GATE many stone fragments have been found,<sup>3</sup> and the stone we are looking for is possibly a stone of this kind.

**B062.7. Traditions (Muslim): Muḥammad** entered the mosque by this gate [on his Night Journey].

B062.7.a. The attribution of the tradition is only by the fact that both the Marwānid and Fāṭimid Gates of the Prophet (B018.5, B137.7) are connected with Muḥammad's entry into the mosque.

**B062.8. Traditions (Jewish):** This corridor is the Gate of *Ḥuldāh*, where the prophetess *Ḥuldāh* sat in the *Mišnāh* where she was visited by the officers of King Josiah (**2 Chronicles** 34. 22; **2 Kings** 22.14).<sup>4</sup> Both the Gate of the Priest (B070.1) and the Gate of *Ḥuldāh*

<sup>1</sup>For *šamsa*, see Lane, *Lexicon* 1597 s.v. "šams"; de Goeje, *Ibn al-Fakīh* XXXIII s.v. "šamsa"; de Goeje et al., *at-Tabarī*, Introductio, Glossarium, etc. CCCXVI s.v. "šamsa"; Dozy, *Supplément* 1 786 s.v. "šamsa"; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 210f. and n. 435 (423); 214; Gil, *Ārāš-Yiśrā'el* 4 n. ; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 48; 51; 57f.; Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary* 117 s.v. "šamsa"; Elad, *Jerusalem* 99 n. 107; Halm, "Šamsa".

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,2-6 ... *Ša'arē Ḥuldāh wa-l-'Arab yusammūnhā Abwāb an-nab[ī] wa-fī dāḥil[...]* (I read *wa-fī dāḥil[hā]*; Gil, Braslavi/Küchler read *wa-fī dāḥiluh*) *ḥağar yusammūnuh aš-Šamsa wa-ṭamma 'amūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā l-latī taḥmi[l] fī wasaṭ al-masğid al-ladī yarğizū fih Yišmā'el dawruh 52 šibran wa-dālik al-mawqī' yusammūnuh al-ābā [bi]-l-Mišnāh* (Braslavi/Küchler read *al-ab[wāb al]-Mišnāh*) *'wə-hī' yōšābāt b-Īrūšalayīm ba-Mišnāh'* (**2 Kings** 22.14; **2 Chronicles** 34.22).

<sup>3</sup>Ben-Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple* 136-139; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 114f..

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,2-6 ... *Ša'arē Ḥuldāh wa-l-'Arab yusammūnhā Abwāb an-nab[ī] wa-fī dāḥil[...]* (I read *wa-fī dāḥil[hā]*; Gil, Braslavi/Küchler read *wa-fī dāḥiluh*) *ḥağar yusammūnuh aš-Šamsa wa-ṭamma 'amūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā l-latī taḥmi[l] fī wasaṭ al-masğid al-ladī yarğizū fih Yišmā'el dawruh 52 šibran wa-dālik al-mawqī' yusammūnuh al-ābā [bi]-l-Mišnāh* (Braslavi/Küchler read *al-ab[wāb al]-Mišnāh*) *'wə-hī' yōšābāt b-Īrūšalayīm ba-Mišnāh'* (**2 Kings** 22.14; **2 Chronicles** 34.22).

For the prophetess *Ḥuldāh*, see A153.a.

are parts of the **Temple** which have not been destroyed and will not be destroyed until God rebuilds them [as parts of the eschatological Temple].<sup>1</sup>

**B062.9. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** The Gate of the Priest (*Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*), the [other] gates and the Mount of Olives are places of Jewish [collective] prayers (*təpīllōt*) when a procession, on "the Feast, the Feast of God, the Feast of the Tabernacles" (*ha-ḥag ḥag ha-(Ālōhīm) ḥag ha-sūkkōt*), representing the community of all Jews, first circumambulates the gates from the Gate of *Ḥuldāh* (*Ša'ar Ḥuldāh*) to the Gate of the Priest (*Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*) [and then ascends the Mount of Olives] (B058.5).

### B063. The Gates of the Five<sup>2</sup>

**B063.1. Names (Jewish):** The Gates of the Five (*Abwāb al-ḥamsa*).<sup>3</sup> They are most probably identical with the Gate(s) of *Ḥuldāh* (*Ša'ar Ḥuldāh*, *Ša'ar Ḥuldāh*) (B062.1.a).

B063.1.a. We may assume that the original *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* was no longer understood and therefore replaced by the easier, but meaningless, *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* (B060.2.a). *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* and *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* have been identified with each other;<sup>4</sup> but *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* is the collective name of all the south gates (B060.3), *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* the name of one specific gate (B063.2).

B063.1.b. For parallels to the opposition between the collective *Abwāb al-Aḥmās*, covering all south gates, and *Abwāb al-ḥamsa*, meaning one gate, see B060.2.b.

**B063.2. Position:** We locate the gate best at the DOUBLE GATE.

B063.2.a. This location is only by sequence. *Šalawāt al-Abwāb* have *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* preceded by *Bāb al-kōhēn* (at BARCLAY'S GATE) and followed by *\*Abwāb as-Sitt* (at the TRIPLE GATE) and *Abwāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE). This is in favour of location at the DOUBLE GATE.

**Šalawāt al-Abwāb**

*Bāb al-kōhēn* -> **Abwāb al-ḥamsa** -> *\*Abwāb as-Sitt* -> *Abwāb ar-raḥma*

B063.2.b. *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* of **Gil Nr. 2** are all south gates, i.e., the DOUBLE GATE and the TRIPLE GATE (B060.3), but *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* of **Šalawāt al-Abwāb** should be located at the DOUBLE GATE. For a parallel

<sup>1</sup> *Midraš Šir ha-Širīm Rabbāh* 2.9 (quoted Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 221f.; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 285f.; Gil, *Palestine* 642) (*hinnēh zāh ʿōmēd aḥar kotālnū aḥar kōtāl ma<sup>a</sup>raḥī šāl Bēyt ha-Miqdāš lāmāh sā-nišba' lō ha-Qaddūš bārūk ha-šēm šā-āynū ḥarab lə-ʿōlām*) *wə-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wə-Ša'ar Ḥuldāh lō ḥarbū lə-ʿōlām ʿad šā-yəḥaddēšām ha-Qaddūš bārūk ha-šēm*.

For Jewish traditions considering the Temple undestructible, see Busink, *Tempel* 680-683.

<sup>2</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsīd Gates of the Five, see Gil, *Palestine* 642.

<sup>3</sup> **Šalawāt al-abwāb** 2v,3 (*šalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds ...*) *Abwāb al-ḥamsa (... wa-dālik ʿišrīn bāb)*.

<sup>4</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 624 n. 114.

to this use of a name in both wider and restrict senses, see B060.3.f.

B063.2.c. It has been assumed that *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* of **Gil Nr.2**, at the SINGLE GATE, may have become *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* of **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb**, at the TRIPLE GATE, but this is improbable (B060.3.f).

**B064. The Gate of Repentance**  
**(with the Chamber of Mary = the Birth-place of Jesus)**  
**= the Gates of (the Chamber of) Mary**  
**= the Gates of the Lady<sup>1</sup>**

**B064.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of Repentance (*Bāb at-tawba*),<sup>2</sup> the Gates of (the Chamber of) Mary (*Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam*<sup>3</sup> *Abwāb Maryam*<sup>4</sup>), the Gates of the Lady (*\*Abwāb as-Sitt*)<sup>5</sup> with the Chamber of Mary (*Miḥrāb Maryam*),<sup>6</sup> the Birth-place of Jesus (*Mawlid ʿĪsā*) (B064.4). The gate is identical with the triple gate Water Gate/Song Gate/Wo-

<sup>1</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsid Gate of Repentance, etc., and the Chamber of Mary, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; 170; 180; 182; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 200 n. 3; 447; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40; Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn" 287; 290; Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf" 66 fig. ; 67f.; Grabar, "al-Masjd al-Aḫṣā" 696a; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120-124; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Wightman, *Walls* 230; 243 fig. 76: 10; 244f.; 264; Bieberstein/ Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 200; Elad, *Jerusalem XIII; XXII*.; 70; 94-97; 109; 128; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 120; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu" 125f.; Myres, "Masjid Mahd ʿĪsa" 526.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Masğidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fihi mina al-abwābi ...*) *Bābu t-tawbati wa-fihi Miḥrābu Maryama*, **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163) (*ātāru l-anbiyā’i ‘alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *Bābu t-tawbati*.

Cf. **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,12f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 325f.) (*Baytu l-Masğidi ...*) *tāba Llāhu ḡalla wa-‘azza ‘alā Dāwūda bihā*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masğidi min talātata ‘ašara mawḍi‘an bi-‘iṣrīna bāban*) ... *Abwābi Miḥrābi Maryama* (C *Abwābi Maryama*, Yāqūt *wa-Bābi Miḥrābi Maryama*) ...

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** C 170,10f. (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masğidi min talātata ‘ašara mawḍi‘an bi-‘iṣrīna bāban*) ... *Abwābi Maryama* ...

<sup>5</sup>**Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** 2v,3f. (*ṣalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds ...*) *Abwāb as-sitta* (I read *Abwāb as-Sitt*) (... *wa-dālik ‘iṣrīn bāb*).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Masğidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fihi mina al-abwābi ...*) *Bābu t-tawbati wa-fihi Miḥrābu Maryama*; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40) (*ātāru l-anbiyā’i ‘alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ... wa-fihi*) *Miḥrābu Maryama bnati ʿImrāna raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhā*, **al-Muqaddasī** 170,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165) (*ilā l-masğidi ... wa-fihi mina l-mašāhidi*) *Miḥrābu Maryama ... (mutafarriqatan fihi)*.

Cf. **Ibn al-Faqīh** 94,2f. (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ...*) *iṣṭafā Llāhu ‘azza wa-ḡalla Maryama bihā ‘alā nisā’i l-‘ālamīna*’ (cf. **Koran** 3.42); **al-Muqaddasī** 170,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masğidi min talātata ‘ašara mawḍi‘an bi-‘iṣrīna bāban*) ... *Abwābi Miḥrābi Maryama* (C *Abwābi Maryama*, Yāqūt *wa-Bābi Miḥrābi Maryama*) ...; **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** 2v,3f. (*ṣalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds ...*) *Abwāb as-sitta* (I read *Abwāb as-Sitt*) (... *wa-dālik ‘iṣrīn bāb*).

men Gate (*Ša'ar ha-mayim/Ša'ar ha-šir/Ša'ar ha-nāšim*).

B064.1.a. It has been assumed that *Bāb at-tawba* and *Bāb al-Wādī* are one and the same gate;<sup>1</sup> but **Ibn al-Faqīh** mentions both side by side on his list of the gates (B064.2.a), and they are definitely not the same gate.

B064.1.b. **al-Muqaddasī**'s *Abwāb Mihrāb Maryam*, in **al-Muqaddasī C** shortened to *Abwāb Maryam*, obviously refers to *Mihrāb Maryam* inside the gate. For parallel names in longer and shorter versions derived from places nearby, see B060.2.c.

B064.1.c. *Abwāb as-sitta* "the Gate of the Six" of **Šalawāt al-Abwāb** is originally *\*Abwāb as-Sitt* "the Gate of the Lady". The term *as-sitt* "the lady" is, in High 'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid Jerusalem, well known; Classical Arabic *sayyida* "lady" is both a name<sup>2</sup> and a title,<sup>3</sup> and Middle Arabic *sitt* is also both a name<sup>4</sup> and a title.<sup>5</sup> The way from *\*sitt* to *sitta* is very easy, as *\*sitt* may have been influenced by the preceding *Bāb al-ḥamsa* and as Middle Arabic feminine nouns without *tā' marbūṭa* may have *tā' marbūṭa* added.<sup>6</sup> *\*Abwāb as-Sitt* seems, in a Jewish context, rather strange, but is perfectly parallel to all the Arabic [Muslim] gate names in **Šalawāt al-Abwāb** and in **Gil Nr.2**.

B064.1.d. The identity of this gate with triple gate *Ša'ar ha-mayim/Ša'ar ha-šir/Ša'ar ha-nāšim* is given by the fact that both are triple gates and both are best located at today's TRIPLE GATE.

B064.2. **Position:** The gate is one of the south gates, the Gates of the Fifth-Servants (*Abwāb al-Aḥmās*).<sup>7</sup> The Chamber of Mary (*Mihrāb Maryam*) is inside the gate (*fī l-bāb*)

<sup>1</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115.

<sup>2</sup>E.g., **Gil Nr.304** 1 7.13.20.21; 2 13.15 *Sayyida* [bat Wahb].

<sup>3</sup>**van Berchem Nr.144**,3 (see *RCEA* Nr.962; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling" 93f.; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 487) *mimmā amara bihi s-sayyidatu*; the long inscription of **van Berchem Nr.219** (see *RCEA* Nr.961; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling" 85-94; pl. Vf.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 81; 89; 91f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 80) *mimmā amarat bihi s-sayyidatu ayyadahā Llāhu wa-ḡarā dālīka 'alā yaday Labība mawlā s-sayyidati akramahā Llāhu*; the related, ten short inscriptions, all identical, **van Berchem Nr.219** (see Kessler, "Above the Ceiling" 85-94; pl. Vf.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 81; 89; 91f.) *li-Llāhi s-sayyidatu ummu l-Muqtadiri bi-Llāhi*; **Gil Nr.460v**, 5.7 *sayyidatī l-uḥt*; **Gil Nr.500b** right margin, 4 [Umm Abū Imrān] *sayyidatī*.

For the title *as-sayyida*, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 8; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling" 89-91; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 3 20f. with n. 29 (431); Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary* 108 s.v. "sayyidatī".

Cf. *sīd*, possibly meaning, as in modern Palestinian-Arabic, "grandfather of ...", **Gil Nr.247r**,23 *Sīd Wahb*; **Gil Nr.247r**,28 *Sīd Wahb wa-Wahb*.

<sup>4</sup>E.g., **Gil Nr.428**,2.7.10.12.21 *Sitt al-bayt*; **Gil Nr.488v**,2 *Sitt al-ḥilm*; **Gil Nr.490v**,10 *Sitt al-ahl*. There is even a name *Sittāt*, **Gil Nr.500a** r,4 *Sittāt*.

<sup>5</sup>E.g., **Gil Nr.471r**,11 *as-sitt*. Name or title is in **Gil Nr.247r**,19 *Sitt ad-dār/sitt ad-dār*.

For the title *as-sitt*, see Lane, *Lexicon* 1304 s.v. "sitt"; Dozy, *Supplément* 1 631 s.v. "sitt"; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 3 20f. n. 29 (431); 353 with n. 196 (506); 6 108 s.v. "sitt"; Diem, *ABPP* 223; Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary* 96 s.v. "sitt".

<sup>6</sup>Blau, *Grammar of Christian Arabic* 205f.: 104.

<sup>7</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,6-8 *wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥā'it al-qibli 5* (Braslavi/Küchler read *fī l-ḥā'it al-qibliya*) *yuqāl lahum Abwāb al-Aḥmās wa-Dār al-Aḥmās bayn yadayhum wa-hiya tusammā Ḥaṣṣer Bāt[-Šāba]*.

(B064.3). We locate the gate best at the TRIPLE GATE,<sup>1</sup> and the Chamber of Mary at the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR.<sup>2</sup>

B064.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** and **al-Muqaddasī** (as well as **al-Muqaddasī C**) have *Bāb at-tawba* or *Abwāb (Miḥrāb) Maryam* preceded by *Bāb(ā) n-Nabī* or *Bāb Muḥammad* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and followed by *Bāb(ā) r-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE), **Ibn al-Faqīh** with an additional *Bāb al-Wādī* (between the GOLDEN GATE and the TRIPLE GATE) between *Bāb an-Nabī* and *Bāb ar-raḥma*. Therefore, the gate is between the DOUBLE GATE and the GOLDEN GATE, which gives us either the TRIPLE GATE or the SINGLE GATE.<sup>3</sup> But the SINGLE GATE dates from the Crusader period,<sup>4</sup> so, our gate should be located at the TRIPLE GATE.

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i> -> <b><i>Bāb at-tawba</i></b> : inside it <i>Miḥrāb Maryam</i> -> <i>Bāb al-Wādī</i> -> <i>Bāb ar-raḥma</i> : <i>Miḥrāb Zakarīyā</i> <sup>5</sup> |
| <b>Ibn 'Abd Rabbih</b> | <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <i>Bāb Muḥammad</i> -> <b><i>Bāb at-tawba</i></b> -> <i>Bāb ar-raḥma</i>                                                                                             |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>    | <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <i>Bābā n-Nabī</i> -> <b><i>Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam</i></b> -> <i>Bābā r-raḥma</i>                                                                                       |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī C</b>  | <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i> -> <b><i>Abwāb Maryam</i></b> -> <i>Bābā r-raḥma</i>                                                                                              |

B064.2.b. **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** have *\*Abwāb as-Sitt* preceded by *Bāb al-kōhēn* (at BARCLAY'S GATE) and *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* (at the DOUBLE GATE), and followed by *Abwāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE). This is also in favour of a location at the TRIPLE GATE.

**Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** *Bāb al-kōhēn* -> *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* -> ***\*Abwāb as-Sitt*** -> *Abwāb ar-raḥma*

B064.2.c. The three doors of this gate (B064.3) fit best with the TRIPLE GATE. The TRIPLE GATE has two stages, a three-door stage seen in its three gates, and a two-door stage seen in the two-door width of the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR; evidently, either an original double gate has been enlarged into a triple gate<sup>5</sup> or a triple gate reduced to a double gate. The three doors have the same shape as the other gates of the Marwānid BURGGOYNE'S GATES GROUP (B020.3.b), whereas the double corridor fits with the Fāṭimid double gate *Bāb al-ʿAyn* (B140.3); we therefore best assume that a Marwānid [and High 'Abbāsīd] triple gate has been reduced into a Fāṭimid double gate. This may have happened as part of the great reshaping of the southeast corner. There is no evidence that the SINGLE GATE ever had more than one door. The location of *Bāb Miḥrāb Maryam* in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL,<sup>6</sup> of *Miḥrāb Maryam* in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER and *Bāb at-tawba*

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map 3* (*Bāb Miḥrāb Maryam*, reluctantly); Burgoyne, "Gates" 121f.; Wightman, *Walls* 230; 245; 264; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.

<sup>2</sup>Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; Wightman, *Walls* 230; 245; 264.

<sup>3</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 182; 189.

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47; Burgoyne, "Gates" 111; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 193; Wightman, *Walls* 263f. (reluctantly).

For the SINGLE GATE, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 161; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 161; Busink, *Tempel* 953 fig. 212; 957f.; 962; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47; Burgoyne, "Gates" 111; Wightman, *Walls of Jerusalem* 260 fig. 81: 5; 263f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 193-195; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 148; 153; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 205-207 fig. 92-94; 261 fig. 120; 274 fig. 126; Hillenbrand, "Monuments" 3; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 31.

<sup>5</sup>Corbett, "Observations" 9.

<sup>6</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

nearby in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL<sup>1</sup> are right, but may be made more precise; the location of *Miḥrāb Maryam* at MASĠID MAHD ʿĪSĀ<sup>2</sup> is improbable. *Mawlid ʿĪsā*, *Miḥrāb Maryam* and *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* have been located in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER [at MASĠID MAHD ʿĪSĀ];<sup>3</sup> the three places are indeed there in High Fāṭimid times (B165.2, B165.4), but not in High ʿAbbāsīd times.

B064.2.d. High ʿAbbāsīd *Bāb at-tawba* has been located in the EAST ḤARAM WALL,<sup>4</sup> in the GOLDEN GATE.<sup>5</sup> Fāṭimid *Bāb at-tawba* is indeed in the GOLDEN GATE, but as for High ʿAbbāsīd *Bāb at-tawba*, there is no evidence that we should locate it at the GOLDEN GATE.

B064.2.e. \**Abwāb as-Sitt* and *Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam* have been located in the SINGLE GATE; it has been assumed that the SINGLE GATE may have been a double gate and that *Bāb Miḥrāb Maryam* and *Bāb at-tawba* may have been the respective names of its two doors.<sup>6</sup> But the SINGLE GATE dates only from the Crusader period (B064.2.a); there is no evidence that it ever had more than one door, and no case is known where the parts of a High ʿAbbāsīd gate have names of their own. Locating *Miḥrāb Maryam* in the northwest corner of the ḤARAM<sup>7</sup> is excluded.

**B064.3. Physical shape:** This is a triple gate. Inside the gate (*fī l-bāb*) is the Chamber of Mary (*Miḥrāb Maryam*).<sup>8</sup> There is no corridor to the courtyard. The gate integrates elements of an older gate (B020.3).

B064.3.a. This is a triple gate, as the use of the plural in both **al-Muqaddasī's** *Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam* "the Gates of the Chamber of Mary" and **al-Muqaddasī C's** *Abwāb Maryam* "the Gates of Mary" (B058.3.b) shows. To interpret this as referring to two doors<sup>9</sup> is out of the question.

B064.3.b. *Miḥrāb Maryam* is definitely inside *Bāb at-tawba*,<sup>10</sup> not just somewhere nearby; location in today's MASĠID MAHD ʿĪSĀ<sup>11</sup> is therefore impossible. The existence of a separate High ʿAbbāsīd *Mahd ʿĪsā* "Cradle of Jesus" has been assumed,<sup>12</sup> but is not supported by the sources.

B064.3.c. It has been assumed that a corridor like the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR led into the courtyard.<sup>13</sup> This is not supported by any source. **al-Muqaddasī's** heading *yudḥalu ilā l-masġidi min talātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban* "the mosque is entered by thirteen places with twenty doors" does not imply that all gates on his

---

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 94.

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; 170.

<sup>3</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 128.

<sup>4</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>5</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 200 n. 3; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 200.

<sup>6</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287; 290.

<sup>7</sup>Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf" 66 fig.; 67.

<sup>8</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Masġidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fīhi mina al-abwābi ...*) *Bābu t-tawbati wa-fīhi Miḥrābu Maryama*.

<sup>9</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287.

<sup>10</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 94f. also stresses the close relation between this period's *Bāb at-tawba* and *Miḥrāb Maryam*.

<sup>11</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 166; 180; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40.

<sup>12</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XIII; XXII f.; 70.

<sup>13</sup>Grabar, "al-Masjd al-Aḳṣā" 696a; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 120.



list lead through to the courtyard. *Miḥrāb Maryam* is considered the chamber where Mary lived [a lonely life far from the world] (B064.4), and this also works against a real door where one may get into the courtyard. We best assume that the gate did not lead into the courtyard and did not have any corridor like the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR. The making of a real corridor may have been part of the Fāṭimid rebuilding of the ḤARAM's south (B140.4.a).

**B064.4. Traditions (Muslim):** In the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb at-tawba*) God changed his mind about **David** [and forgave him] (*tāba ʿalā Dāwūd*) (cf. *Koran* 38.25).<sup>1</sup> The room behind (B064.3) is the Chamber of **Mary** (*Miḥrāb Maryam*), where the angels brought Mary winter fruits in summer and summer fruits in winter,<sup>2</sup> and where God chose Mary "above the women of the worlds" [by making her pregnant with Jesus] (cf. *Koran* 3.42).<sup>3</sup> This is the Birth-place of **Jesus** (*Mawlid ʿĪsā*) (cf. *Koran* 19.23-26).<sup>4</sup>

B064.4.a. For parallels to the High ʿAbbāsid Birth-place of Jesus in Jerusalem, see B165.6.a.

B064.4.b. *Bāb at-tawba* "the Gate of Repentance" may also be translated "the Gate of Forgiving"; as Arabic *tāba* means "reconsider, change one's mind", *tāba* said about men is "repent", but said about God "forgive".

**B064.5. Ritual prayer at the Birth-place of Jesus** is like entering Paradise, and entering the Birth-place of Jesus is like looking at Jesus and Mary [in Paradise] (B064.7).

**B064.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** Ritual prayer at the Birth-place of Jesus is like entering Paradise, and entering the Birth-place of Jesus is like looking at Jesus and Mary [in Paradise] (B064.7).

**B064.7. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the ʿĀšūrāʾ-Night 335/10-11 August 946, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī asks about the Birth-place of Jesus and is told that ritual prayer at the Birth-place of Jesus is like entering Para-

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,7-9 (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ...*) *Bābu t-tawbati l-laḍi tāba Llāhu fīhi ʿalā Dāwūda* (cf. *Koran* 38.25).

Cf. **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,12f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 325f.) (*Baytu l-Masġidi ...*) *tāba Llāhu ġalla wa-ʿazza ʿalā Dāwūda* (cf. *Koran* 38.25) *bihā*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40) (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ... wa-fīhi*) *Miḥrābu Maryama bnati ʿImrāna raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhā l-laḍi kānati l-malāʾikatu taʾtiḥā fīhi bi-fākihāti ṣ-ṣayfi fī ṣ-ṣayfi wa-fākihāti ṣ-ṣayfi fī ṣ-ṣitāʾi* (cf. without summer and winter fruits *Koran* 3.37).

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 94,2f. (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ...*) *iṣṭafā Llāhu ʿazza wa-ġalla Maryama bihā ʿalā nisāʾi l-ʿālamīna* (cf. *Koran* 3.42).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407**: 268,18f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 128 n. 259) (... *ḥaddaṭānī Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma saʿaltu ʿan Mawliḍi ʿĪsā ʿalayhi s-salāmu* (cf. *Koran* 19.23-26) *fa-qīla lī man ṣallā fīhā* (I read *fīhi*) *daḥala l-Ġannata wa-man daḥala ilayhā* (I read *ilayhi*) *fa-ka-annamā naẓara ilā ʿĪsā wa-Maryama* (wa-ka-dālika *Miḥrābu Zakariyā ʿalayhi s-salāmu*).

dise, and entering the Birth-place of Jesus is like looking at Jesus and Mary [in Paradise] - and the same is true for the Chamber of Zechariah [i.e., ritual prayer there is like entering Paradise, and entering the Chamber of Zechariah is like looking at Zechariah and Mary in Paradise].<sup>1</sup>

### B065. The triple gate Water Gate/Song Gate/Women Gate<sup>2</sup>

**B065.1. Names (Jewish):** The three gates Water Gate, Song Gate and Women Gate (*Ša'ar ha-mayim/Ša'ar ha-šir/Ša'ar ha-nāšim*).<sup>3</sup> They are identical with the triple gate Gate of Repentance (*Bāb at-tawba*) and the triple Gates of (the Chamber of) Mary (*Abwāb (Mihrāb) Maryam*) (B064.1.d).

**B065.2. Position:** The gate is located at the TRIPLE GATE.<sup>4</sup>

B065.2.a. **Gil Nr.2** has *Ša'ar ha-mayim/Ša'ar ha-šir/Ša'ar ha-nāšim* as the second group of *Abwāb al-Aḥmās*, the south gates, after the first group, *Abwāb an-Nabī = Ša'arē Ḥuldāh* (at the DOUBLE GATE). All *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* are then followed by *Bābayn ar-raḥma = \*Ša'ar Niqānōr* (at the GOLDEN GATE). This allows location either at the TRIPLE GATE or at the SINGLE GATE, but the SINGLE GATE is from the Crusader period (B064.2.a), so only the TRIPLE GATE remains.

**Gil Nr.2**                      *Abwāb al-Aḥmās: Abwāb an-Nabī = Ša'arē Ḥuldāh, Ša'ar ha-mayim/Ša'ar ha-šir/Ša'ar ha-nāšim* -> *Bābayn ar-raḥma = \*Ša'ar Niqānōr*

B065.2.b. The three doors of this gate (B065.3) fit best with the three gates (B064.2.c) of the TRIPLE GATE.

**B065.3. Physical shape:** This is a gate with three doors.

B065.3.a. The structure of the account in **Gil Nr.2** and the triple name *Ša'ar ha-mayim/Ša'ar ha-šir/Ša'ar ha-nāšim* are both in favour of three gates (B060.3.d).

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407:** 268,18-20 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 128 n. 259) (... *ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīnī l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma sa'altu 'an Mawlidī 'Īsā 'alayhi s-salāmu* (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *fa-qīla lī man ṣallā fīhā* (I read *fīhī*) *daḥala l-Ġannata wa-man daḥala ilayhā* (I read *ilayhi*) *fa-ka-annamā naẓara ilā 'Īsā wa-Maryama wa-ka-dālika Mihrābu Zakariyā 'alayhi s-salāmu*.

For the dream of al-Ḥawli, see A144.a.

<sup>2</sup>For the High 'Abbāsid triple gate Water Gate/Song Gate/Women Gate, see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 287f.; 290; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 60.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,2f.6-9 *Ša'arē Ḥuldā wa-l-'Arab yusammūnahā Abwāb an-nabī ... wa-l-abwāb fī l-ḥā'it al-qiblī 5* (Braslavi/Küchler read *fī l-ḥā'it al-qiblīya*) *yuqāl lahum Abwāb al-Aḥmās wa-Dār al-Aḥmās bayn yadayhum wa-hiya tusammā Ḥašēr Bāt[-Šāba'] wa-l-āḥar yuqāl luh bi-lisān al-ābā Ša'ar ha-mayim wa-Ša'ar ha-šir wa-Ša'ar ha-nāšim*.

For the Water Gate, the Song Gate and the Women Gate, see Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 60.

<sup>4</sup>Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 287f.; 290.

**B065.4. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the Water Gate (*Šaʿar ha-mayim*) [where **Ezra** read the Torah to the people (**Nehemiah** 8.1-3), where he re-established the Feast of the Tabernacles (**Nehemiah** 8.13-18) and where the people then constructed tabernacles (**Nehemiah** 8.16)], the Song Gate (*Šaʿar ha-šir*) and the Women Gate (*Šaʿar ha-nāšim*) (B065.1).

B065.4.a. Biblical *Šaʿar ha-mayim* "Water Gate" has three features which may have supported its location in one of the doors of the TRIPLE GATE. Biblical *Šaʿar ha-mayim* is not far from *ha-ʿŌpāl* "the Pinnacle" (**Nehemiah** 3.26); High ʿAbbāsid *Šaʿar ha-mayim* at the TRIPLE GATE is not far from High ʿAbbāsid *ha-ʿŌpāl* in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER (B066.3). Biblical *Šaʿar ha-mayim* is towards the east (**Nehemiah** 3.26; 12.37); High ʿAbbāsid *Šaʿar ha-mayim* in the TRIPLE GATE is the easternmost gate in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL. Ezra is said to have read the Torah standing high on a wooden tower (*migdāl-ʿēš*) made for that day, while the people were listening at the square in front of *Šaʿar ha-mayim* (**Nehemiah** 8.1-4); High ʿAbbāsid *Šaʿar ha-mayim* has no wooden structure and no square in front, but the gate and the place in front are impressively high above the ground.

### B066. The Pinnacle (of the Mosque)<sup>1</sup>

**B066.1. Names (Muslim):** The Pinnacle of the Mosque (*Qurnat al-masǧid*).<sup>2</sup>

**B066.2. Names (Jewish):** The Pinnacle [of the Temple] (*Qārān ha-ʿŌpāl*) (B066.3).

**B066.3. Position:** The Valley of Hell (*Wādī Ǧahannum*) (the KIDRON VALLEY) is at the Pinnacle of the Mosque, [from there] to the other end [of the mosque along its east side] (*ʿalā Qurnat al-masǧid ilā āḥirihi*), and to its east (*qibal aš-šarq*) (B052.4). The Pinnacle (*Qārān ha-ʿŌpāl*) is the [area's southeast] corner which overlooks the Kidron Valley (*\*ar-rukn al-muṭill ʿalā Naḥal Qidrōn*); under it is the Valley of Hell or East Spring (*\*taḥtuh Wād Ǧahannum wa-huwa ʿAyn aš-šarq*).<sup>3</sup> This is the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER<sup>4</sup> which overlooks the KIDRON VALLEY and the GIHON SPRING.

**B066.4. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the Pinnacle [of the Temple] (*Qārān ha-ʿŌpāl*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsid Pinnacle, see Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 60f.

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 171,13f. *Wādī Ǧahannuma ʿalā Qurnati l-masǧidi ilā āḥirihi qibala š-šarqi* (C *min nawḥi š-šarqi*).

<sup>3</sup> **Gil Nr.2** 1r,9f. *wa-r-rukn al-muṭill* (read *al-muṭill*) *ʿalā Naḥal Qidrōn huwa Qārān ha-ʿŌpāl wa-taḥtu[h] Wād Ǧahannum wa-huwa* (I read *wa-hunā*) *ʿAyn aš-šarq*.

For the Jewish tradition of the Pinnacle of the Temple, see A056.a.

<sup>4</sup> Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 61.

<sup>5</sup> **Gil Nr.2** 1r,9f. *wa-r-rukn al-muṭill* (read *al-muṭill*) *ʿalā Naḥal Qidrōn huwa Qārān ha-ʿŌpāl wa-taḥtu[h] Wād Ǧahannum wa-huwa* (I read *wa-hunā*) *ʿAyn aš-šarq*.

### B067. The Gate of the Palace = the Gate of al-Ḥiḍr <sup>1</sup>

B067.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Gate of the Palace (*Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ*),<sup>2</sup> the Gate of [the popular saint] al-Ḥiḍr (*Bāb al-Ḥiḍr*).<sup>3</sup>

B067.1.a. *al-ḥaḍrāʾ* is the palace of the caliph or his lieutenant.<sup>4</sup> In Damascus, *al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* is the palace of Muʿāwīya next to the main mosque, with direct access to it;<sup>5</sup> this is later misunderstood as *al-Qubba l-Ḥaḍrāʾ* "the Green Dome".<sup>6</sup> In Wāsiṭ, *al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* is the palace of al-Ḥaḡḡāg b. Yūsuf.<sup>7</sup> Both Sulaymān (Umayyad caliph 96-99/715-717)<sup>8</sup> and Yazīd (Umayyad caliph 101-105/720-724)<sup>9</sup> have a jail *al-Ḥaḍrāʾ*. In the time of al-Manṣūr, the Rāwandīya climb - possibly in Baḡdād - *al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* and throw themselves down from there.<sup>10</sup> The term *ḥaḍrāʾ* "palace" is unknown in the dictionaries.

B067.1.b. **al-Muqaddasī C's** *Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* would then be called after *al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* "the Palace" nearby, as other gates have their names from buildings nearby (B060.2.c). The rare term *al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* - *lectio difficilior* - would then have been distorted by **Ibn al-Faqīh** into the very current *al-Ḥiḍr*.

B067.2. **Position:** The gate is in the region of BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN, BĀB AS-SILSILA/ BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and BARCLAY'S GATE.<sup>11</sup>

B067.2.a. In **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**, *Bāb al-Ḥiḍr* and *Bāb as-Sakīna* are the last two gates on his list; they are preceded by *Bāb al-Walīd* (at BĀB AL-ḤADĪD) and *Bāb al-Hāšimī* (at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN), and followed by his first gate *Bāb Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA) and then *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). In **al-Muqaddasī C**, *Bāb as-Sakīna* and *Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* - in the reverse order - are also the last two gates on his list; they are preceded by *Bāb al-Walīd* (at BĀB AN-NĀZIR), *Bāb Ibrāhīm* (at BĀB AL-ḤADĪD), *Bāb Umm Ḥālid* (at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN) and *Bāb Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA), and

<sup>1</sup>For the High Fāṭimid Gate of the Palace or Gate of al-Ḥiḍr, see Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; Elad, *Jerusalem* 117.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī C** 170,12 (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masḡidi min ṭalātata ʿasara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban*) ... *Bābi l-Ḥaḍrāʾi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,10 (*ātāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masḡidi ...*) *Bābu l-Ḥiḍri*.

<sup>4</sup>For *ḥaḍrāʾ* "palace of the caliph or his lieutenant", see Elad, "History and Topography" 59 n. 67; Küchler, "Moschee und Kalifenpaläste" 125f. n. 34 (remark by Kaplony); Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 35.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 108,23-109,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 234); **Ibn al-Faqīh** 156,8; **al-Muqaddasī** 159,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 229) *wa-mina l-Ḥaḍrāʾi wa-hiya dāru s-sulṭāni abwābun ilā l-maqṣūratī muṣaffaḥatun maṭliyatun* = **al-Muqaddasī C** 159,10 *wa-ḥalfā l-ḡāmiʿi dāru s-sulṭāni tusammā l-Ḥaḍrāʾa minhā abwābun ilā l-maqṣūri* (read *ilā l-maqṣūratī*) *wa-l-abwābu kulluhā muṣaffaḥatun bi-ṣ-ṣufri l-muḍahhabi*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Idrisī** 367,16: III.5.86 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 238).

<sup>7</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 82,6.

<sup>8</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī**, *Taʾrīḥ* II 1830,16-18: AH 126.

<sup>9</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī**, *Taʾrīḥ* II 1843,2: AH 126.

<sup>10</sup>**aṭ-Ṭabarī**, *Taʾrīḥ* III 418,16-18: AH 158; III 419,2-4: AH 158.

<sup>11</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644, locates the gate in the west.

followed by *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). (**al-Muqaddasī** closes his list with *Bābā Dāwūd*.) *Bāb al-Ḥiḍr* = *Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* and *Bāb as-Sakīna* may have been visited between *Bāb al-Hāšimī* (at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN) and *Bāb Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA), or between *Bābā Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA) and *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE), or left out completely. We may locate them in the region of BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN, BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and BARCLAY'S GATE.<sup>1</sup> We may assume that they may be visited only from outside the wall, as Fāṭimid *Bāb as-Sakīna* (at WARREN'S GATE) (B146.3) may be entered from outside the wall but has the access to the courtyard blocked.

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b> | <i>Bāb al-Walīd</i> -> <i>Bāb al-Hāšimī</i> -> <b><i>Bāb al-Ḥiḍr</i></b> -> <b><i>Bāb as-Sakīna</i></b>   <i>Bāb Dāwūd</i> -> <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i>                          |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī C</b>  | <i>Bāb al-Walīd</i> -> <i>Bāb Ibrāhīm</i> -> <i>Bāb Umm Ḥalīd</i> -> <i>Bābā Dāwūd</i> -> <b><i>Bāb as-Sakīna</i></b> -> <b><i>Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ</i></b>   <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> |
| <b>(al-Muqaddasī</b>   | <i>Bāb al-Walīd</i> -> <i>Bāb Ibrāhīm</i> -> <i>Bāb Umm Ḥalīd</i> -> * <i>Bābā Dāwūd</i>   <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i>                                                             |

B067.2.b. TWO PARTICULAR STONES in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL have been considered as the first voussoirs of two small arches, part of a bridge from the so-called Umayyad Palaces outside the Southwest Ḥaram Corner to the Ḥaram;<sup>2</sup> this obviously would necessitate a gate at the Ḥaram side of the bridge. We may be tempted to locate *al-Ḥaḍrāʾ* "the Palace" in these Umayyad Palaces, in parallel to the Damascus *ḥaḍrāʾ* (B067.1.a) with its direct access to the main mosque. During my stay in Jerusalem, I was not able to see these TWO PARTICULAR STONES and it may be wiser not to place too much weight on them.

B067.2.c. It has been assumed that the assumed gate at these TWO PARTICULAR STONES may have been **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's** and **al-Muqaddasī's** *Bāb al-Walīd*, but the sources at our disposal do not support this (B078.2.b).

**B067.3. Physical shape:** This is a single gate (B058.3.b). It is entered from outside the wall and does not lead through to the courtyard (B067.2.b).

**B067.4. Contemporary events:** The gate is opened after 902/903 and may have been closed in the 960s.

B067.4.a. The gate is unknown to **Ibn al-Faqīh** (902/03), known to **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** (died 940) and **al-Muqaddasī C**, but unknown to **al-Muqaddasī** (describing the High ʿAbbāsīd city, see A018).

## B068. The South Minaret

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 67-71; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map 3* (at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN); Elad, *Jerusalem* 113; 117.

<sup>2</sup>For the interpretation of these TWO PARTICULAR STONES as part of a bridge, see Ben-Dov, "Umayyad Structures" 38 fig. 1; 41; 43; Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount" 97 fig. ; 99; Rosen-Ayalon, "New Discoveries" 264; 265 fig. 20.5; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 9; 33 n. 3; Busse, "Geschichte und Deutung" 148; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem 2* 389; Elad, *Jerusalem* 42; 160; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 130; al-Asad, "CAD Programs" 177 fig. 3f. (with the wrong legend "Aqsa Mosque, Umayyad period").

(with the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq<sup>1</sup>)

B068.1. **Names (Muslim):** The South Minaret (*Manārat al-qibla*)<sup>2</sup> with the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq (*Marbaṭ al-Burāq*) (B068.4).

B068.2. **Position:** The South Minaret is in the [southwest] corner of the area. The Tying-up-place of al-Burāq (*Marbaṭ al-Burāq*) is in the [outside] corner of the South Minaret (*fī rukn Manārat al-qibla*)<sup>3</sup> under the corner of the mosque (*taḥt rukn al-masğid*)<sup>4</sup>. We best locate the South Minaret at the southwest corner of the ḤARAM, and the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq at the same corner,<sup>5</sup> possibly at the HOLE there.<sup>6</sup>

B068.2.a. The South Minaret is certainly in the south part of the mosque, but this gives no precise location. More precise is that *Marbaṭ al-Burāq* is both *fī rukn Manārat al-qibla* "in the corner of the South Minaret" and *taḥt rukn al-masğid* "under the corner of the mosque". Obviously one and the same place is meant, and the South Minaret is somehow at the corner of the mosque. This works in favour of the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER or the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, possibly the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER.

B068.2.b. **Ibn al-Faqīh** mentions *Marbaṭ al-Burāq* in his paragraph *wa-min ḥarīğ al-masğid ...* "and outside the mosque ...", not in the preceding paragraph *wa-dāḥil al-masğid ...* "and inside the mosque ..."; *Marbaṭ al-Burāq* is preceded by *Miḥrāb Dāwūd* at the west city gate (the CITADEL at JAFFA GATE) and followed by *ʿAyn Sulwān* (ʿAYN SILWĀN), *Ṭūr Zaytā* (the MOUNT OF OLIVES) and *Wādī Ġahannum* (the KIDRON VALLEY). **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** has *Marbaṭ al-Burāq* as the very first item of his chapter on Jerusalem and locates it *taḥt rukn al-masğid* "under the corner of the mosque", followed by his main list of places which begins *wa-fī l-masğid ...* "and in the mosque ...". This allows us to locate *Marbaṭ al-Burāq* outside the ḤARAM WALL, roughly on the road from the CITADEL to ʿAYN SILWĀN.

**Ibn al-Faqīh**

*Miḥrāb Dāwūd -> Marbaṭ al-Burāq -> ʿAyn Sulwān -> Ṭūr Zaytā -> Wādī Ġahannum*

**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**

*Marbaṭ al-Burāq ... taḥt rukn al-masğid -> wa-fī l-masğid Bāb Dāwūd ... wa-Bāb Sulaymān ... wa-Bāb ḥiṭṭa ...*

B068.3. **Physical shape:** All four minarets, among them the South Minaret, are covered

<sup>1</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsīd Tying-up-place of al-Burāq, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 171; Matthews, "Wailing Wall" 336-338; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 17 n. 88; Elad, *Jerusalem* 101f.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 171) *Marbaṭu l-Burāqi fī rukni Manārat al-qiblati*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 171) *Marbaṭu l-Burāqi fī rukni Manārat al-qiblati*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; see Matthews, "Wailing Wall" 336-338) (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *Marbaṭu l-Burāqi l-ladī rakibahu n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama taḥta rukni l-masğidi*.

<sup>5</sup>Matthews, "Wailing Wall" 337; Elad, *Jerusalem* 102.

<sup>6</sup>Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 17 n. 88.

with gilded sheets [of lead] (*ṣafā'ih muḍahhaba*) (B052.5). In the [outside] corner of the South Minaret (*fī rukn Manārat al-qibla*), under the corner of the mosque (*taḥt rukn al-masğid*) is the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq (*Marbaṭ al-Burāq*) (B068.2). This is possibly a kind of hole (B068.2.a).

**B068.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Tying-up-place of al-Burāq (*Marbaṭ al-Burāq*) [where **Muḥammad** tied up al-Burāq on his Night Journey].<sup>1</sup>

### B069. The Ḥiṭṭa Gate<sup>2</sup>

**B069.1. Names (Muslim):** The Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*).<sup>3</sup> It is identical with the Gate of the Priest (*Bāb al-kōhēn*, *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*).

B069.1.a. The identity of *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* and *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*<sup>4</sup> is given by locating both at BARCLAY'S GATE. An identification of *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* with *Ša'ar Huldāh* has been attempted, but is not convincing (B062.2.a).

**B069.2. Position:** We best locate the gate at BARCLAY'S GATE.<sup>5</sup>

B069.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh**, **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** and **al-Muqaddasī** (as well as **al-Muqaddasī C**) have *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* preceded by *Bābā Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA) and followed by *Bāb(ā) n-Nabī* or *Bāb*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 171) *Marbaṭu l-Burāqi fī rukni Manārat al-qiblati*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; see Matthews, "Wailing Wall" 336-338) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *Marbaṭu l-Burāqi l-laḍi rakibahu n-Nabiyyu ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama taḥta rukni l-masğidi*.

<sup>2</sup>For the High 'Abbāsid Ḥiṭṭa Gate, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 180-182; 189; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 103f.; 199-203; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 156 n. 30; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78; 81; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 268-270; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644f.; 645-647 n. 116; 647 n. 117; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 70; 94; 116f.; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 76; Gil, "Jewish Community" 176f. n. 16; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 1.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Masğidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fihi mina l-abwābi ...*) *Bābu ḥiṭṭatun*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *Bābu ḥiṭṭatuni l-lati dakarahā Llāhu ta'ālā fī qawlihi ta'ālā 'wa-qūlū ḥiṭṭatun' (Koran 2.58) ...*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,16 (... *ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīn l-Ḥawliyyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma sa'altu 'an Bābi ḥiṭṭatun*; **al-Muqaddasī** 151,15f. (*iqlimu ṣ-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Bābu ḥiṭṭatun dū l-qadri wa-š-ša'ni* (C *ḍawī l-qadri wa-š-ša'ni*); **al-Muqaddasī** 170, 10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masğidi min talāṭata 'ašara mawḍi'an bi-širīna bāban*) *Bābi ḥiṭṭatun ...*

<sup>4</sup>Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 270.

<sup>5</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 180-182; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 68; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 104 n. 3 (reluctantly); Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 151 n. 35; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 81; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 268-270; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 121; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f. (at BARCLAY'S GATE); 94 ("in the west"); 116 ("in the southern part of the western wall of the Ḥaram"); 117 ("at the southern corner of the western wall of the Ḥaram"); Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 76.

*Muḥammad* (at the DOUBLE GATE); **Ibn al-Faqīh** adds, before *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*, one gate *Bāb Sulaymān*; **al-Muqaddasī C** adds, in a kind of annex (B067.2.a), *Bāb as-Sakīna* and *Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ*.<sup>2</sup> All this makes location at BARCLAY'S GATE probable.

|                        |                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | <i>Bāb Dāwūd</i> -> <b>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</b> -> <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i> -> <i>Bāb at-tawba</i> : inside it <i>Miḥrāb Maryam</i>                |
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b> | <i>Bāb Dāwūd</i> -> <i>Bāb Sulaymān</i> -> <b>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</b> -> <i>Bāb Muḥammad</i> -> <i>Bāb at-tawba</i>                         |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>    | * <i>Bābā Dāwūd</i>   <b>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</b> -> <i>Bābā n-Nabī</i> -> <i>Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam</i>                                        |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī C</b>  | <i>Bābā Dāwūd</i> -> <i>Bāb as-Sakīna</i> -> <i>Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ</i>   <b>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</b> -> <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i> -> <i>Abwāb Maryam</i> |

B069.2.b. The gate has been located in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL or the ḤARAM WALL's southwest<sup>1</sup> and in the WEST ḤARAM WALL;<sup>2</sup> the latter two are correct, but may be made more precise.

B069.3. **Physical shape**: This is a single gate (B058.3.b).

B069.4. **Visions and dreams (Muslim)**: While dreaming on the ʿĀṣūrā<sup>2</sup>-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī asks about this gate and is told that whoever enters this gate or descends to it (*man daḥala ḥādā l-bāba aw nazala ilayhi*) becomes as free of sins as he was the day of his birth, because [this is the gate of which] God ordered [the Children of Israel], "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions" (**Koran** 2.58).<sup>3</sup>

B069.5. **Traditions (Muslim)**: This is the Koranic gate where God ordered [the Children of Israel], "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions" (**Koran** 2.58), but they laughed at him and God cursed them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78.

<sup>2</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 644f.; 647 n. 117.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**: 268,16-18 (... ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīnī l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...) tumma saʿaltu ʿan Bābi ḥiṭṭatun fa-qīla lī man daḥala ḥādā l-bāba aw nazala ilayhi yaḥruḡu min dunūbihi ka-hayʿatihi yawma walḍatīhi ummuhu yaqūlu Llāhu taʿālā ʿdhulū (read *dhulū l-bāba*) suḡḡadan wa-qūlu ḥiṭṭatun naḡfiru lakum ḥaṭāyākum' (**Koran** 2.58).

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,15f. (*iqḷimu š-Šaʿmi ... bihi ...*) Bābu ḥiṭṭatun dū l-qadri wa-š-šaʿni (C *ḍawī l-qadri wa-š-šaʿni*).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,5f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 163) (ātāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi š-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masḡidi ...) Bābu ḥiṭṭatunī l-latī ḍakarāhā Llāhu taʿālā fī qawlihi taʿālā ʿwa-qūlu ḥiṭṭatun' (**Koran** 2.58) wa-hiya qawlu lā ilāha illā Llāhu fa-qālū ḥiṭṭatun wa-hum yaṣḥarūna fa-laʿanahumu Llāhu bi-kufrihim; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**: 268,16-18 (... ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīnī l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...) tumma saʿaltu ʿan Bābi ḥiṭṭatun fa-qīla lī man daḥala ḥādā l-bāba aw nazala ilayhi yaḥruḡu min dunūbihi ka-hayʿatihi yawma walḍatīhi ummuhu yaqūlu Llāhu taʿālā ʿdhulū (read *dhulū l-bāba*) suḡḡadan wa-qūlu ḥiṭṭatun naḡfiru lakum ḥaṭāyākum' (**Koran** 2.58).

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,14 (see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 156 n. 30) (*iqḷimu š-Šaʿmi ... bihi ...*) l-bābu l-ladī ḍakarahu r-raḡulāni (cf. **Koran** 5.23).



B069.6. Whosoever enters this gate or descends to it becomes as free of sins as he was the day of his birth, because [this is the gate of which] God ordered [the Children of Israel], "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions" (**Koran** 2.58) (B069.4).

B069.7. **Rituals and customs (Muslim)**: Everyone entering this gate or descending to it is said to become as free of sins as he was the day of his birth (B069.4) and we may suppose people indeed enter the gate and descend to it.

B069.8. The Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) and the Gate of David (*Bāb Dāwūd*) are the usual main entries to the area.

B069.8.a. The pre-eminence of *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* and of *Bāb Dāwūd* can be deduced from their place in the lists of gates. *Bāb Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA) is mentioned first in **Ibn al-Faqīh** and **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih**. *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE) is the first gate in **al-Muqaddasī** (and **al-Muqaddasī C**); *Bāb al-kōhēn* (at BARCLAY'S GATE) is first in **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb**.

### B070. The Gate of the Priest<sup>1</sup>

B070.1. **Names (Jewish)**: The Gate of the Priest (*Bāb al-kōhēn*,<sup>2</sup> *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*<sup>3</sup>). It is

<sup>1</sup>For the High 'Abbāsīd Gate of the Priest, see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 266; Grossman, "'Alīyāh lə-rägāl" 273 n. 2; 275-277; Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn"; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn"; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 62-64; Gil, *Palestine* 640-647; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 147f.; Gil, "Jewish Community" 172f.

<sup>2</sup>**Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** 2v,3 (*ṣalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds ...*) *Bāb al kōhēn (... wa-dālik 'iṣrīn bāb)*.

<sup>3</sup>**Midraš Šīr ha-Šīrīm Rabbāh** 2.9 (Quoted Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 221f.; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 285f.; Gil, *Palestine* 642)) (*hinnēh zāh 'ōmēd aḥar kotālnū aḥar kōtāl ma<sup>a</sup>raḇī šāl Bēyt ha-Miqdāš lāmāh sā-nišba' lō ha-Qaddūš bārūk ha-šēm šā-āynū ḥāraḇ lə-ōlām*) *wə-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wə-Ša'ar Ḥūldāh lō ḥarbū lə-ōlām 'ad šā-yəḥaddēšām ha-Qaddūš bārūk ha-šēm*; **Bān Mē'ir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpillōtēnū 'alaykām tədirāh wə-ʿal ziqnē yəqār šā-lākām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglē Ālōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-ʿal Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wə-ʿal šā<sup>a</sup>rē Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm bə-qībbūš kāl Yisrā'el la-ḥag ḥag ha-Ālōhīm ḥag ha-sūkkōt*; **Bān Mē'ir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *ū-b-ḥ<sup>a</sup>ziratēnū āl aršēnū tinnēnū šəbāḥkām wə-bēraknū ātkām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm* *ū-b-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*; **Midraš Šīr ha-Šīrīm Rabbāh** 2.9 (quoted Hirshman, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 221f.; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 285f.; Gil, *Palestine* 642)) (*hinnēh zāh 'ōmēd aḥar kotālnū aḥar kōtāl ma<sup>a</sup>raḇī šāl Bēyt ha-Miqdāš lāmāh sā-nišba' lō ha-Qaddūš bārūk ha-šēm šā-āynū ḥāraḇ lə-ōlām*) *wə-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wə-Ša'ar Ḥūldāh lō ḥarbū lə-ōlām 'ad šā-yəḥaddēšām ha-Qaddūš bārūk ha-šēm*; **Midraš Qōhālāt Rabbāh Additions** 20-25 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 640f. n. 113; partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; see Grossman, "'Alīyāh lə-rägāl" 275-277) *kə-šā-ʾamadnū bə-Har ha-zētīm bə-hōša'nā rabbā apilū šə-bā'ū mē-kāl ha-qəhillōt šā-b-ōlām lō' hāyū nir'in allā kə-mātayim* (Grossman reads *bə-mātayim*) *wə-hēn hāyū 12 ālāp mē-Ša'ar Ḥūldāh 'ad Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*.

Cf. **Bān Mē'ir** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpillōtēnū 'alaykām tədirāh wə-ʿal ziqnē yəqār šā-lākām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm*

identical with the *Ḥiṭṭa* Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) (B069.1.a).

**B070.2. Position:** We locate the gate best at BARCLAY'S GATE.

B070.2.a. *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* mention *Bāb al-kōhēn* as first on the list of gates; it is followed by *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and preceded by the last two gates, *Bāb Dāwīd* (at BĀB AS-SAKĪNA/ BĀB AS-SILSILA) and *Bāb Šəlōmōh*. This allows location at BARCLAY'S GATE.

*Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb*    *Bāb Dāwīd* -> *Bāb Šəlōmōh* | *Bāb al-kōhēn* -> *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* -> \**Abwāb as-Sitt*

B070.2.b. It has been deduced from a passage in the *Midraš Qōhālāt Rabbāh Additions*, that both *Ša'ar Ḥuldāh* and *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn* should be in the EAST ḤARAM WALL or the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, but this is an overinterpretation (B062.3.a).

B070.2.c. *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn* has been identified with *ha-Ša'ar ha-Mizraḥī*<sup>1</sup> because these two gates were near each other in Temple times;<sup>2</sup> the argument has definitely no importance for our period. The gate has been located in the WEST ḤARAM WALL<sup>3</sup> at its south end;<sup>4</sup> location in the WEST ḤARAM WALL has been opposed with the argument that the west wall is not known well enough to say too much about it<sup>5</sup> - this argument is obviously rather weak. The gate has been identified with \**ha-Ša'ar ha-Mizraḥī*<sup>6</sup> at the DOUBLE GATE;<sup>7</sup> consequently, the name *Bāb al-kōhēn* = *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn* has been explained as being influenced by *Bāb an-Nabī*;<sup>8</sup> but as *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* mention *Bāb al-kōhēn* and *Abwāb ar-raḥma* side by side, this is impossible.<sup>9</sup> The gate is said to have covered, at the same time, both halves of the DOUBLE GATE and just one half,<sup>10</sup> but there is no evidence that, in this period, a part of a gate may have had its own name. All of these identifications would require positive evidence in their favour.

**B070.3. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the Gate of the Priest [of the former Temple] (B070.1); both the Gate of the Priest and the Gate of *Ḥuldāh* are parts of the **Temple** which have not been destroyed and will not be destroyed until God rebuilds them [as parts of the

*Meqōm Hādōm riglē Ālōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-ʿal Ša'ar ha-kōhēn wə-ʿal ša'arē Miqdaš ha-Ālōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yisrā'el la-ḥag ḥag ha-Ālōhīm ḥag ha-sūkkōt mē-Ša'ar Ḥuldāh ʿad Ša'ar ha-kōhēn* (Grossman, "ʿĀlīyāh lə-rägāl" 273 n. 2: *dəṭānīnān ʿōmdīn šāpūpīn wə-mišṭaḥawīn*) ... *wə-ḥišṭaḥawū lə-ha-Ālōhīm bə-Har ha-qodāš ū-b-Īrūšālayīm*.

<sup>1</sup> Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56f.; 62-64; 76f.; Hirshman, *Ša'ar ha-kohēn* 222; 224; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 288.

<sup>2</sup> Hirshman, *Ša'ar ha-kohēn* 222.

<sup>3</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 607; 640f. n. 113; 642 n. 114 (instead of "the eastern wall in which the Priest's Gate is" read "the western wall ..."); 646.

<sup>4</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 642.

<sup>5</sup> Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 285f.

<sup>6</sup> Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56f.; 62-64; 76f.; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 288.

<sup>7</sup> Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 285f.; 289f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 149.

<sup>8</sup> Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 289.

<sup>9</sup> Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 266; Gil, *Palestine* 641.

<sup>10</sup> Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 289.

eschatological Temple] (B062.8).

**B070.4. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** The Gate of the Priest (*Šaʿar ha-kōhēn*), the [other] gates and the Mount of Olives are places of Jewish [collective] prayers (*təpīllōt*), when a procession which represents all Jews, on the Feast of the Tabernacles, circumambulates the gates from the Gate of Ḥuldāh (*Šaʿar Ḥuldāh*) to the Gate of the Priest (*Šaʿar ha-kōhēn*) [and then ascends the Mount of Olives] (B058.5). This is one of the main entries to the area.

B070.4.a. *Šalawāt al-Abwāb* begin the list of the gates here and this is evidence for the importance of the gate.

### B071. The Gate of Solomon<sup>1</sup>

**B071.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of [King] Solomon, son of [King] David (*Bāb Sulaymān b. Dāwūd*).<sup>2</sup>

B071.1.a. *Bāb Sulaymān b. Dāwūd* is, by the eulogy, in **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's** (*fī l-masğidi ...*) *Bābu Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda ʿalayhimā s-salāmu* "(in the mosque ...) there is the Gate of Solomon, son of David, upon both be peace", attributed to the prophet Solomon, son of the prophet David, i.e., to King Solomon and King David.

**B071.2. Names (Jewish):** The Gate of Solomon (*Bāb Šəlōmōh*).<sup>3</sup>

**B071.3. Position:** We best locate the gate between BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and BARCLAY'S GATE.

B071.3.a. In **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** *Bāb Sulaymān* is preceded by *Bāb Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA) and followed by *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). In *Šalawāt al-Abwāb*, in both the text and the list, *Bāb Šəlōmōh* is the last gate; it is preceded by *Bāb Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA) and followed by the first gate *Bāb al-kōhēn* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). The gate therefore has its place between BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and BARCLAY'S GATE. A location in the WEST ḤARAM WALL<sup>4</sup> may be made more precise.

|                                       |                                                                                                                    |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b>                | <i>Bāb Dāwūd</i> -> <b><i>Bāb Sulaymān</i></b> -> <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <i>Bāb Muḥammad</i> -> <i>Bāb at-tawba</i>   |
| <b><i>Šalawāt al-Abwāb</i> (text)</b> | <i>Bāb Dāwūd</i> -> <b><i>Bāb Šəlōmōh</i></b>                                                                      |
| <b><i>Šalawāt al-Abwāb</i> (list)</b> | <i>Bāb Dāwūd</i> -> <b><i>Bāb Šəlōmōh</i></b>   <i>Bāb al-kōhēn</i> -> <i>Abwāb al-ḥamsa</i> -> * <i>Abwāb as-</i> |

<sup>1</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid Gate of Solomon, see Gil, *Palestine* 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163) (*ātāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimī ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *Bābu Sulaymāna bni Dāwūda ʿalayhimā s-salāmu*.

<sup>3</sup>***Šalawāt al-Abwāb*** 2r,11-13 *Bāb Šəlōmōh* ..., ***Šalawāt al-Abwāb*** 2v,6 (*šalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds ...*) *Bāb Šəlōmōh (... fa-dālik ʿiṣrīn bāb)*.

<sup>4</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 644.

*Sitt*

B071.3.b. *Bāb as-Sakīna* has been located at BĀB AS-SAKĪNA,<sup>1</sup> *Bāb as-Sakīna* at BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and *Bāb Dāwūd* at BĀB AS-SILSILA,<sup>2</sup> respectively, but there is no evidence that, in this period, parts of gates may have had separate names.

**B071.4. Contemporary events:** The gate is opened after 902/3 and closed before the 960s.

B071.4.a. The gate is unknown to **Ibn al-Faqīh** (902/03), known to **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** (died 940) and **Šalawāt al-Abwāb**, but unknown to **al-Muqaddasī** (describing the High ‘Abbāsīd city, see A018).

### **B072. The Gate(s) of David<sup>3</sup> and the minaret next to it**

**B072.1. Names (Muslim):** The (two) Gate(s) of David (*Bāb Dāwūd*,<sup>4</sup> *Bābā Dāwūd*<sup>5</sup>) and one of the four minarets (*manāwir*, *manārāt*) (B059.1).

B072.1.a. **al-Muqaddasī**'s *iqḷīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ... Miḥrābu Dāwūda wa-bābuhu* "(The region of Syria-Palestine ... in it is ...) the Chamber of David and his/its gate" requires a short discussion. Is ... *wa-bābuhu* the city gate *Bāb Miḥrāb Dāwūd* "the Gate of the Chamber of David"<sup>6</sup> (Miquel) or our *Bāb Dāwūd* "the Gate of David", a gate to the ḤARAM? **al-Muqaddasī** himself knows both places. The formula is part of a list of similar pairs<sup>7</sup> in which - with one exception - both the first and second parts refer to the central term. His ... *wa-bābuhu* therefore refers to our *Bāb Dāwūd*, the gate to the ḤARAM.

<sup>1</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 188.

<sup>2</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 414.

<sup>3</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd Gate of David, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 188 f.; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 68; 70; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 108 f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 152 n. 42; 321 s.v. "Salut"; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 79; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343a; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 121-124; Gil, *Palestine* 642; 644 f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 198; 2 414 f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 94.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Mašǧidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fihi mina l-abwābi*) *Bābu Dāwūda*; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163) (*āṭāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-mašǧidi Bābu Dāwūda 'alayhi š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu ...*; **al-Muqaddasī** 151,7 (*iqḷīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ... Miḥrābu Dāwūda wa-bābuhu*).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-mašǧidi min ṭalāṭata 'ašara mawḍi'an bi-šrīna bāban*) ... *Bābi Dāwūda* (I read *Bābay Dāwūda*, with C; see B072.5.a).

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 167,12 (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ... wa-lahā ṭamāniyatu abwābin ḥadīdun ...*) *Bābu Miḥrābi Dāwūda*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 151,6-9 (*iqḷīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Mahāǧīru Ibrāhīma* (C *Ibrāhīma šalawātu r-Raḥmāni 'alayhi*) *wa-qabruhu wa-Diyāru Ayyūba* (B *Diyāru Ayyūba*, without *wa-*) *wa-bi'ruhu wa-Miḥrābu Dāwūda wa-bābuhu wa-'Agā'ibu Sulaymāna wa-mudunuhu wa-Turbatu Iṣḥāqa wa-ummihi wa-Mawlīdu l-Masīḥi wa-mahduhu* (C *wa-mawlūduhu*) *wa-Qaryatu Ṭālūta wa-nahruhu wa-Maqtalu Ġālūta wa-ḥiṣnuhu wa-Ġubbu Irmīyā wa-ḥabsuhu* (C *wa-ǧibsuhu*) *wa-Mašǧidu Ūrīyā* (C *wa-Mašǧidu Ūrubā*) *wa-baytu wa-Qubbatu Muḥammadīn wa-bābuhu*.

|          |                                          |                                                    |
|----------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
|          | ( <i>iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...</i> )   | "(the region of Syria-Palestine ... there are ...) |
| Abraham  | <i>Mahāğīru Ibrāhīma wa-Qabruhu</i>      | the Exile-places of Abraham and his Tomb,          |
| Job      | <i>wa-Diyāru Ayyūba wa-Bi'ruhu</i>       | the Houses of Job and his Well,                    |
| David    | <i>wa-Miḥrābu Dāwūda wa-Bābuhu</i>       | the Chamber of David and his Gate,                 |
| Solomon  | <i>wa-'Agā'ibu Sulaymāna wa-Mudunuḥu</i> | the Wonders of Solomon and his Cities,             |
| Isaac    | <i>wa-Turbatu Ishāqa wa-ummihi</i>       | the Tomb of Isaac and [of] his mother,             |
| Jesus    | <i>wa-Mawlidu l-Masīḥi wa-Mahduhu</i>    | the Birth-place of Christ and his Cradle,          |
| Saul     | <i>wa-Qaryatu Ṭālūta wa-Nahruhu</i>      | the Village of Saul and his River,                 |
| Goliath  | <i>wa-Maqtalu Ġālūta wa-Ḥiṣnuhu</i>      | the Place of Goliath's killing and his Fortress,   |
| Jeremiah | <i>wa-Ğubbu Irmiyā wa-Ḥabsuḥu</i>        | the Pit of Jeremiah and his Prison,                |
| Uriah    | <i>wa-Masğidu Ūrīyā wa-Baytuḥu</i>       | the Mosque of Uriah and his Room, and              |
| Muḥammad | <i>wa-Qubbatu Muḥammadin wa-Bābuhu</i>   | the Dome of Muḥammad and his Gate"                 |

B072.1.b. *Bāb Dāwūd* is, only by the eulogy in **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's** *wa-fī l-masğidi Bābu Dāwūda 'alayhi ṣ-salātu wa-s-salāmu* "and in the mosque, there is the Gate of David, upon him be grace and peace, attributed to the prophet David, to King David.

B072.1.c. It has been assumed that the modern name BĀB AS-SILSILA "the Gate of the Chain" - where perhaps the Chain to judge among enemies (B104.4) is meant - may go back to its old name *Bāb Dāwūd* "the Gate of David";<sup>1</sup> this is possible, but should be further corroborated by sources. The other modern name of the gate, BĀB AL-MAḤKAMA, does not relate to the chain of David, but to the Ottoman court (*maḥkama*) in AT-TANKIZIYA,<sup>2</sup> the precursor of today's POLICE STATION.

## B072.2. Names (Jewish): The Gate of David (*Bāb Dāwūd*).<sup>3</sup>

## B072.3. Position: We best locate the gate at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.<sup>4</sup>

B072.3.a. In considering sequence, *Bāb al-Ḥaḍra'* and *Bāb as-Sakīna* should not be taken into account as they are mentioned in a kind of appendix and entered from outside the wall (B067.2.a). **Ibn al-Faqīh**, **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** and **al-Muqaddasī** (as well as **al-Muqaddasī C**) have *Bāb(ā) Dāwūd* preceded by *Abwāb al-Asbāt* (at both BĀB AL-'ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA or only at BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and followed by *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE), but immediately before and after *Bāb(ā) Dāwūd* a varying combination of gates put is in between. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has *Bāb Dāwūd* as the first gate on his list; it is preceded by his last gate, *Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālid*. **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** also has *Bāb Dāwūd* as the first gate; it is immediately preceded (apart from *Bāb al-Ḥiḍr* and *Bāb as-Sakīna*) by *Bāb al-Walīd* and *Bāb al-Hāšimī*, and followed by *Bāb Sulaymān* (between BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and BARCLAY'S GATE). Both **al-Muqaddasī** and **al-Muqaddasī C** have

<sup>1</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 109 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 109 n. 1; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 665 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* 2r,10 *Bāb Dāwūd ...*, *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* 2v,6 (*ṣalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds ...*) *Bāb Dāwūd (... fa-dālik 'iṣrīn bāb)*.

<sup>4</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine* 188; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 68; 70; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 152 n. 42; 321 s.v. "Salut"; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 79; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343a; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map 3*; Burgoyne, "Gates" 121; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 198; 2 414; Elad, *Jerusalem XXIII* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA); 94 ("in the west"). (Most authors call the gate BĀB AS-SILSILA, but obviously refer to both wings, i.e., BĀB AS-SILSILA and BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.)

*Bābā Dāwūd* as the last gate (in **al-Muqaddasī C**, with the additional gates *Bāb as-Sakīna* and *Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ*); the gate is preceded by *Bāb al-Walīd*, *Bāb Ibrāhīm* and *Bāb Umm Ḥālīd*. If we also take into account that Fāṭimid *Bāb Dāwūd* (B144.2) is at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA, we can locate High ‘Abbāsīd *Bāb Dāwūd* at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA as well.

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | <i>Abwāb al-Asbāṭ: Maḡārat Ibrāhīm, Mihrāb Ya‘qūb -&gt; Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālīd   Bāb Dāwūd -&gt; Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i>                                                                    |
| <b>Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih</b> | <i>Abwāb al-Asbāṭ: Asbāṭ Banī Isrāʾīl -&gt; Bāb al-Walīd -&gt; Bāb al-Hāšimī -&gt; Bāb al-Ḥiḍr -&gt; Bāb as-Sakīna   Bāb Dāwūd -&gt; Bāb Sulaymān -&gt; Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i>        |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>    | <i>Abwāb al-Asbāṭ -&gt; Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn -&gt; Bāb al-Walīd -&gt; Bāb Ibrāhīm -&gt; Bāb Umm Ḥālīd -&gt; *Bābā Dāwūd   Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i>                                        |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī C</b>  | <i>Abwāb al-Asbāṭ -&gt; Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn -&gt; Bāb al-Walīd -&gt; Bāb Ibrāhīm -&gt; Bāb Umm Ḥālīd -&gt; Bābā Dāwūd -&gt; Bāb as-Sakīna -&gt; Bāb al-Ḥaḍrāʾ   Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> |

B072.3.b. **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** have *Bāb Dāwūd* preceded by *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* (at BĀB AL-‘ATM), *Bāb al-baqar* and *Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh*, and followed by *Bāb Šəlōmōh*, the last gate on the list; next would be the first gate, *Bāb al-kōhēn* (at BARCLAY’S GATE). This also allows location at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.

|                                |                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb</b> (text) | <i>Bāb Yiṣḥāq -&gt; Bāb al-baqar: la-Parbār -&gt; Bāb Yəhūdāh -&gt; Bāb Dāwūd -&gt; Bāb Šəlōmōh</i>        |
| <b>Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb</b> (list) | <i>Bāb Yiṣḥāq -&gt; Bāb al-baqar -&gt; Bāb Āl Yəhūdāh -&gt; Bāb Dāwūd -&gt; Bāb Šəlōmōh   Bāb al-kōhēn</i> |

B072.3.c. Let us now combine all these name into one list to get the gates between *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* = *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* (at BĀB AL-‘ATM) and *Bāb(ā) Dāwūd* = *Bāb Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA). If the names do not move in the short period under consideration and if all gates existing at a given time are mentioned, the first gate north of *Bāb(ā) Dāwūd* = *Bāb Dāwūd* is *Bāb (Dār) Umm Ḥālīd* = *Bāb al-Hāšimī* = *Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh*. In **Ibn al-Faqīh** (902/903), this is the only west gate north of *Bāb(ā) Dāwūd* = *Bāb Dāwūd*. **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** and **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** then have a second gate *Bāb al-Walīd* or *Bāb al-baqar* opened further north. In **al-Muqaddasī** (still High ‘Abbāsīd), a third gate *Bāb Ibrāhīm* shows up between the first and second ones. Let us now combine these names with the WEST ḤARAM WALL GATES north of BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA, which are at the intersections of the Roman street plan with the ḤARAM WALL,<sup>1</sup> i.e., with BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN,<sup>2</sup> BĀB AL-ḤADĪD,<sup>3</sup> BĀB AN-NĀZĪR<sup>4</sup> and BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNĪMA, but not with BĀB AL-

<sup>1</sup>Wilkinson, "Streets".

<sup>2</sup>For BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 246f. n. 5; 262-265; 419f.; 427 n. 2; 2 127-129; pl. LXVII right; LXXI bottom; Grabar, "A New Inscription"; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 77; 91; 93 and pl. 13; 193; 273-298 and 343-355 (with figures and plates); fig. 12.2 (on separate sheet); Burgoyne, "Gates" 114; 118f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 355f.; 402f.; 427f.

<sup>3</sup>For BĀB AL-ḤADĪD, see Schefer, *Nassir* 74 n. 2; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 283; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 82; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 79; 91f.; 93 with pl. 13; 144-153 (with figures and plates); 193; 352f. fig. 31.9; 356-367 and 555-567 (with figures and plates); 582 pl. 62.1; 582 pl. 62.2; fig. 12.2 (on separate sheet); Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 262; fig. 9; Burgoyne, "Gates" 113f.; 118f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 431f.

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 113.

MAṬHARA, which leads only to the ABLUTIONS PLACE and does not fit with the Roman street plan.

|                                |                                      |                          |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>            |                                      |                          | <i>Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālid</i> |
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b>         | <i>Bāb al-Walīd -&gt;</i>            |                          | <i>Bāb al-Hāšimī</i>     |
| <b>Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb</b> (text) | <i>Bāb al-baqar: la-Parbār -&gt;</i> |                          | <i>Bāb Yəhūdāh</i>       |
| <b>Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb</b> (list) | <i>Bāb al-baqar -&gt;</i>            |                          | <i>Bāb Āl Yəhūdāh</i>    |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>            | <i>Bāb al-Walīd -&gt;</i>            | <i>Bāb Ibrāhīm -&gt;</i> | <i>Bāb Umm Ḥālid</i>     |
| Modern gates                   | BĀB AN-NĀẒIR                         | BĀB AL-ḤADĪD             | BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN          |

B072.3.d. The location of *Bāb Dāwūd* in the WEST ḤARAM WALL<sup>1</sup> may be made more precise.

B072.4. One of the four minarets is possibly at BĀB AS-SILSILA MINARET (B025.2).

B072.5. **Physical shape:** This is a double gate.

B072.5.a. **al-Muqaddasī** uses the singular *Bāb Dāwūd* not only in his general remark (*iqḷimu š-šāʿmi ... bihi ...*) *Miḥrābu Dāwūda wa-bābuhu* "(The region of Syria-Palestine ... in it is ...) the Chamber of David and his gate" (B072.1.a), but also in his list of gates (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masġidi min talātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban ...*) *Bābi Dāwūda* "(and one enters the mosque from thirteen places with twenty doors ...) the Gate of David"; **al-Muqaddasī C** has, in the same list, the dual ... *Bābay Dāwūda* "... the two Gates of David". The singular in the general chapter is no problem, as this is apparently the usual name of the gate. But **al-Muqaddasī's** singular, dual or plural in his list is highly informative, as it tells us whether the respective gate has one, two or three doors (B058.3.b) - and here the two lists clearly contradict each other. But there is no doubt that the gate should be located at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA (B072.3) and that BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA belongs to the Marwānid BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP (B020.3.b). We may therefore assume that **al-Muqaddasī's** text was originally \*... *Bābay Dāwūd*. The way from \*... *Bābay Dāwūda* to ... *Bābi Dāwūda* is very easy, as it requires nothing more than the addition of a *yāʿ*. The meaning is definitely in favour of \*... *Bābay Dāwūda*.

B072.5.b. *Bāb Dāwūd* has been located in BĀB AS-SILSILA, or *Bāb Dāwūd* at BĀB AS-SILSILA, *Bābā Dāwūd* in the whole double gate BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA;<sup>2</sup> but there is no evidence that parts of High ʿAbbāsid gates may have carried their own names, and the difference between *Bāb Dāwūd* and *Bābā Dāwūd* is rather a problem of the transmission of the tradition, which necessitates conjecture (B072.5.a).

B072.6. As all four minarets are covered by gilded sheets [of lead] (*ṣafāʾih muḍahhaba*) (B052.5), the minaret here is as well.

B072.7. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) and this gate are the

For BĀB AN-NĀẒIR, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 56-59; 115-117; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; 91; 192f.; 279; 305; 307; 384-398 and 456-459 (with figures and plates); 498; fig. 12.2 (on separate sheet); Burgoyne, "Gates" 113; 119-122; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 218; 2 437f.

<sup>1</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 642; 644f.

<sup>2</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 109 n. 1.

usual main entries to the area (B069.8).

### B073. The Gate of God's Presence<sup>1</sup>

**B073.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of God's Presence (*Bāb as-Sakīna*),<sup>2</sup> the Place of God's Presence (*Mawḍi' as-Sakīna*).<sup>3</sup>

B073.1.a. **Ibn al-Faḳīh**'s text may be read either (*Baytu l-Maqdisi*) *bihā Mawḍi' u š-Širāṭi wa-Wādī Ġahannuma wa-s-Sakīnati* "In Jerusalem, there is the Place of the Street (*Koran* 1.6), the Valley of Hell and [the Place of] God's Presence" or ... *wa-s-Sakīnati* "... and God's Presence",<sup>4</sup> the first case referring to a certain Place of God's Presence, the second case to God's Presence being connected with the city in general.

B073.1.b. A Marwānid *Bāb as-Sakīna*<sup>5</sup> may have existed, but the sources do not mention it.

**B073.2. Position:** We best locate the gate in the region of BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN, BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and BARCLAY'S GATE (B067.2.a), possibly at WARREN'S GATE.

B073.2.a. The location in the region mentioned is by sequence (B067.2.a).

B073.2.b. Fāṭimid *Bāb as-Sakīna* is at WARREN'S GATE (B146.2). We may assume local continuity, so that High 'Abbāsīd *Bāb as-Sakīna* would also be at WARREN'S GATE. It has been located in one of the underground ḤARAM GATES.<sup>6</sup> The location of *Bāb as-Sakīna* at BĀB AS-SAKĪNA, and of *Bāb Dāwūd* at BĀB AS-SILSILA is improbable (B071.3.b).

**B073.3. Physical shape:** This is a single gate (B058.3.b) which may be entered from outside the wall, but does not lend access to the courtyard (B067.2.a).

**B073.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The Gate of **God's Presence** (*Bāb as-Sakīna*) may have to do with the Koranic verse on Saul, "The sign of his kingship will be that the Ark will

<sup>1</sup>For the High 'Abbāsīd Gate of God's Presence, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 109 n. 1; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120-124; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 109; 113 f.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ...*) *Bābu s-Sakīnati* = **al-Harawī** K 25,11 *wa-Bābu s-Sakīnati*; **al-Muqaddasī** 151,17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174 f.) (*iqḷīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Bābu s-Sakīnati*; **al-Muqaddasī** C 170,12 (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masġidi min ṭalātata 'ašara mawḍi'an bi-širāna bāban*) ... *Bābi s-Sakīnati* ...

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faḳīh** 95,11 f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 325; Elad, *Jerusalem* 109 n. 159) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi*) *bihā Mawḍi' u š-Širāṭi wa-Wādī Ġahannuma wa-s-Sakīnati*.

<sup>4</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 109 n. 159.

<sup>5</sup>Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 48; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIV f.; 68; 109 f.; 160.

<sup>6</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 109 n. 1.



come to you [to Saul] containing a *Sakīna* from your Lord, and a relic of what was left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron, and the angels will bear it" (*Koran* 2.248), but this is not explicit.

B073.4.a. For traditions of the taking of the Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem, see B014.7.d. For traditions of the return of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem, see B014.9.a.

### B074. The Gate of (the House of) Umm Ḥālid<sup>1</sup>

**B074.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of (the House of) Umm Ḥālid (*Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālid*,<sup>2</sup> *Bāb Umm Ḥālid*<sup>3</sup>). The gate is identical with the Gate of the Hashemite (*Bāb al-Hāšimī*) and the Gate of (the Family of) Judah (*Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh*) (B072.3.c).

B074.1.a. **al-Muqaddasī's** *Bāb Umm Ḥālid* is probably the short version of **Ibn al-Faḳīh's** *Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālid*, referring to an otherwise unknown house \**Dār Umm Ḥālid* nearby. For parallel names in longer and shorter versions which are derived from places nearby, see B060.2.c.

**B074.2. Position:** We best locate the gate at the place of BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN (B072.3.c).

B074.2.a. A location at WARREN'S GATE<sup>4</sup> should be rejected.

**B074.3. Physical shape:** This is a single gate (B058.3.b).

### B075. The Gate of the Hashemite<sup>5</sup>

**B075.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of the Hashemite (*Bāb al-Hāšimī*).<sup>6</sup> The gate is identical with the Gate of (the House of) Umm Ḥālid (*Bāb (Dār) Umm Ḥālid*) and the Gate of (the Family of) Judah (*Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh*) (B072.3.c).

B075.1.a. *Bāb al-Hāšimī* and *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* (B081.1) have similar names, but sequence locates them at different gates.

<sup>1</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsīd Gate of Umm Ḥālid, see Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120f.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Faḳīh** 101,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126) (*Mašǧidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fī hi mina l-abwābi ...*) *Bābu Dāri Ummi Ḥālidin*.

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-mašǧidi min talātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban*) ... *Bābi Ummi Ḥālidin* ...

<sup>4</sup> Burgoyne, "Gates" 121.

<sup>5</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsīd Gate of the Hashemite, see Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Gil, *Palestine* 644.

<sup>6</sup> **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,10 (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-mašǧidi ...*) *Bābu l-Hāšimīyi* = **al-Harawī** K 25,11 ... *wa-Bābu l-Hāšimīyi*.

**B075.2. Position:** The gate should be located at BĀB AL-QATṬĀNĪN (B072.3.c).

B075.2.a. The gate has been located in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL,<sup>1</sup> at BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA<sup>2</sup> and at BĀB AL-‘ATM;<sup>3</sup> this is not supported by the sources.

**B075.3. Traditions (Muslim):** No tradition is mentioned, but the gate may have to do with the eschatological figure of the **Hashemite** (*al-Hāšimī*).<sup>4</sup>

### **B076. The Gate of (the Family of) Judah<sup>5</sup>**

**B076.1. Names (Jewish):** The Gate of (the Family of) Judah (*Bāb Yəhūdāh*,<sup>6</sup> *Bāb Āl Yəhūdāh*<sup>7</sup>). The Gate is identical with the Gate of (the House of) Umm Ḥālīd (*Bāb (Dār) Umm Ḥālīd*) and the Gate of the Hashemite (*Bāb al-Hāšimī*) (B072.3.c).

**B076.2. Position:** Outside the gate Karaite emigrants from Iraq are living (B076.4). We locate the gate best at BĀB AL-QATṬĀNĪN (B072.3.c).

B076.2.a. **Yāpāt bān ‘Alī, Təhillīm**, in his commentary on **Psalm** 122.2, mentions the Biblical north Temple gate *Bāb Yəhūdāh*,<sup>8</sup> and it has been deduced that High ‘Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid *Bāb Yəhūdāh* should be in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL;<sup>9</sup> but he obviously refers to the eschatological Gate of Judah (*Ša‘ar Yəhūdāh*), a gate of the eschatological Temple mentioned in **Ezekiel** 48.30 (see B023.4), and this does not necessarily mean that High ‘Abbāsīd *Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh* was also oriented towards the north.

**B076.3. Traditions (Jewish):** The Gate of (the Family of) Judah (*Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh*) refers to the Gate of Judah (*Ša‘ar Yəhūdāh*), one of the three north [*sic*] gates of the twelve gates of the **eschatological Temple** (**Ezekiel** 48.30) (see B023.4), but this is not explicit.

B076.3.a. The place of the gate in the west gate BĀB AL-QATṬĀNĪN is obviously discrepant with the possible reference of its name to an eschatological north gate - but the location cannot be doubted.

**B076.4. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** Outside the gate [and thereby near to the former

<sup>1</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 644.

<sup>2</sup> Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3 (reluctantly).

<sup>3</sup> Burgoyne, "Gates" 121.

<sup>4</sup> For the eschatological al-Hāšimī, see Aguadé, *Nu‘aim* 165-171.

<sup>5</sup> For the High ‘Abbāsīd Gate of (the Family of) Judah, see Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>6</sup> *Šalawāt al-Abwāb* 1v,9 *Bāb Yəhūdāh* ...

<sup>7</sup> *Šalawāt al-Abwāb* 2v,5f. (*šalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds* ...) *Bāb Āl Yəhūdāh* (... *fa-dālik ‘išrīn bāb*).

<sup>8</sup> **Yāpāt bān ‘Alī, Təhillīm** f.106: ad **Psalm** 122.2 (partly paraphrased Gil, *Palestine* 643 n. 115).

<sup>9</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

Temple] Karaite emigrants from Iraq are living.<sup>1</sup>

### B077. The Gate of Abraham<sup>2</sup>

B077.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Gate of Abraham (*Bāb Ibrāhīm*).<sup>3</sup>

B077.2. **Position:** The gate should be located at BĀB AL-ḤADĪD.<sup>4</sup>

B077.2.a. The location has been considered impossible due to lack of information,<sup>5</sup> but sequence is in favour of location at BĀB AL-ḤADĪD (B072.3.c). The location at BĀB AN-NĀẒIR<sup>6</sup> is improbable.

B077.3. **Physical shape:** This is a single gate (B058.3.b).

### B078. The Gate of al-Walīd<sup>7</sup>

B078.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Gate of al-Walīd (*Bāb al-Walīd*).<sup>8</sup> The gate is identical with the Gate of the Cattle (*Bāb al-baqar*) (B072.3.c).

B078.1.a. It has been assumed that *Bāb al-Walīd* refers to the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd, and this has been used for location (B078.2.a); but the sources do not support this.

B078.2. **Position:** The gate should be located at BĀB AN-NĀẒIR.<sup>9</sup>

B078.2.a. The sequence locates the gate at BĀB AN-NĀẒIR (B072.3.c). This fits with the fact that BĀB AN-NĀẒIR belongs to the Marwānid BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP (B020.3.b).

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥillūq ha-Qārā'im wa-ha-Rabbānīm* 104 (paraphrased Gil, *Palestine* 643 n. 1).

For the Jewish settlement in medieval Jerusalem, see Gil, *Palestine* 609-622.

<sup>2</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsid Gate of Abraham, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 187; 189; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 56f. n. 6; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3.

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masğidi min talātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban*) ... *Bābi Ibrāhīma* ...

<sup>4</sup> Le Strange, *Nāsir* 70f.; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3 (reluctantly).

<sup>5</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 56f. n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine* 187; 189.

<sup>7</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsid Gate of al-Walīd, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 174; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 43f.; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 45; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120f.; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 385; Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 72 n. 207.

<sup>8</sup> **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,10 (*āṭāru l-anbiyā'i ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *Bābu l-Hāšimīyi*; **al-Muqaddasī** 170,12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masğidi min talātata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban*) ... *Bābi l-Walīdi* ...

<sup>9</sup> Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3 (reluctantly).

B078.2.b. The name *Bāb al-Walīd* has been connected with the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd and the gate has been located next to the Umayyad Palaces outside the Southwest Ḥaram Corner,<sup>1</sup> at the Two Particular Stones in the South Ḥaram Wall which have been considered left from a bridge connecting the Ḥaram with the Umayyad Palaces,<sup>2</sup> at Bāb al-Ġawānima<sup>3</sup> and at the North Ḥaram Wall;<sup>4</sup> all of these locations require corroboration by further evidence.

B078.3. **Physical shape:** This is a single gate (B058.3.b).

### B079. The Gate of the Cattle = the *Parbār*<sup>5</sup>

B079.1. **Names (Jewish):** The Gate of the Cattle (*Bāb al-baqar*), the *Parbār* (*ha-Parbār*).<sup>6</sup> The gate is identical with the Gate of al-Walīd (B072.3.c).

B079.1.a. The identity of *Bāb al-baqar* and *ha-Parbār* is given by Sulaymān, *Šarḥ Ēyḵāh*'s *wa-ma'na li-Parbār yurīd Bāb al-baqar wa-ka-ḏāk ismuh al-ān yuštaqq min par bān bāqār wa-huwa ilā l-ān ma'rūf bi-hāḏā l-ism* "And [the] meaning of *Parbār*. It means the Gate of the Cattle (*Bāb al-baqar*) - such is its name now - derived from 'bull, son of the cattle' (*par bān bāqār*). And it is up to now known by this name.". The remark explains the otherwise unknown Hebrew *Parbār* of 1 *Chronicles* 26.18 as an abbreviation *prb*"r of *par bān bāqār* "bull, son of cattle" and thus makes it parallel to Arabic *Bāb al-baqar* "the Gate of the Cattle".

B079.2. **Position:** The gate is on the west side of the Temple (*min ḡihat al-ḡarb min al-Quds*).<sup>7</sup> We best locate the gate at Bāb AN-NĀZIR.

<sup>1</sup>Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 385.

<sup>2</sup>Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 43f.; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 45; Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 72 n. 207.

For these TWO PARTICULAR STONES, see B067.2.b.

<sup>3</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 174; Burgoyne, "Gates" 121.

<sup>4</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 644.

<sup>5</sup>For the High 'Abbāsid Gate of the Cattle, or *Parbār*, see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 286f.; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>6</sup>Sulaymān, *Šarḥ Ēyḵāh* XVII,29-XVIII,2 (see Gil, *Palestine* 643 n. 115) (*ka-qawluh 'la-Parbār la-ma'ra-rāb arbā'ah la-msillāh šenayim la-Parbār'* (1 *Chronicles* 26.18) *qawluh 'arbā'ah la-msillāh' ya'nī hāriḡ as-saḡ wa-qawluh 'šenayim la-Parbār' ya'nī s-saḡ nafsuh ka-qawluh fī ḡayruh 'wə-sippīm šenayim šenayim'* (1 *Chronicles* 26.18)) *wa-ma'na li-Parbār yurīd Bāb al-baqar wa-ka-ḏāk ismuh al-ān yuštaqq min par bān bāqār wa-huwa ilā l-ān ma'rūf bi-hāḏā l-ism min ḡihat al-ḡarb min al-Quds wa-minhu kānū yadhulū ilā l-Quds bi-l-qarābīn fa-hāḏā bayān maḥlāqōt ha-šō'arim; Šalawāt al-Abwāb* 1v,5 *Bāb al-baqar 'la-Parbār' ...* (1 *Chronicles* 26.18) (... *fa-dālik 'išrīn bāb*).

<sup>7</sup>Sulaymān, *Šarḥ Ēyḵāh* XVII,29-XVIII,2 (see Gil, *Palestine* 643 n. 115) (*ka-qawluh 'la-Parbār la-ma'ra-rāb arbā'ah la-msillāh šenayim la-Parbār'* (1 *Chronicles* 26.18) *qawluh 'arbā'ah la-msillāh' ya'nī hāriḡ as-saḡ wa-qawluh 'šenayim la-Parbār' ya'nī s-saḡ nafsuh ka-qawluh fī ḡayruh 'wə-sippīm šenayim šenayim'* (1 *Chronicles* 26.18)) *wa-ma'na li-Parbār yurīd Bāb al-baqar wa-ka-ḏāk ismuh al-ān yuštaqq min par bān bāqār*

B079.2.a. The position in the WEST ḤARAM WALL<sup>1</sup> is given by **Sulaymān, Šarḥ Ēyḵāh**'s (... *Bāb al-baqar* ...) *wa-huwa ilā l-ān maʿrūf bi-hādā l-ism min ġihat al-ġarb min al-Quds* "(... the Gate of the Cattle ...) And it is up to now known by this name, on the west side of the Temple". It has been assumed that the gate is in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL;<sup>2</sup> the sources do not support this.

B079.2.b. The sequence favours location at BĀB AN-NĀZIR (B072.3.c).

**B079.3. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the *Parbār* (*ha-Parbār*), [a kind of entry] on the west side of the **Temple** where there were six guardians, four at the street [leading there] and two at the *Parbār* itself (1 **Chronicles** 26.18); at the [west gate with the] *Parbār* (1 **Chronicles** 26.18), the people entered the Temple (*al-Quds*) with their offerings (*qarābīn*).<sup>3</sup>

---

*wa-huwa ilā l-ān maʿrūf bi-hādā l-ism min ġihat al-ġarb min al-Quds wa-minhu kĀnū yadhūlū ilā l-Quds bi-l-qarābīn fa-hādā bayān maḥlāqōt ha-šōʿrīm*; cf. **Šalawāt al-Abwāb** 1v,5 *Bāb al-baqar 'la-Parbār' ...* (1 **Chronicles** 26.18).

<sup>1</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 286f.

<sup>2</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>3</sup>**Sulaymān, Šarḥ Ēyḵāh** XVII,29-XVIII,2 (see Gil, *Palestine* 643 n. 115) (*ka-qawluh 'la-Parbār la-maʿrāb arbāʿāh la-msillāh šenayim la-Parbār'* (1 **Chronicles** 26.18) *qawluh 'arbāʿāh la-msillāh' yaʿnī ḥārīg as-saḥ wa-qawluh 'šenayim la-Parbār' yaʿnī s-saḥ nafsuh ka-qawluh fī ġayruh 'wə-sippīm šenayim šenayim'* (1 **Chronicles** 26.18)) *wa-maʿnā li-Parbār yurīd Bāb al-baqar wa-ka-ḡāk ismuh al-ān yuštaqq min par bān bāqār wa-huwa ilā l-ān maʿrūf bi-hādā l-ism min ġihat al-ġarb min al-Quds wa-minhu kĀnū yadhūlū ilā l-Quds bi-l-qarābīn fa-hādā bayān maḥlāqōt ha-šōʿrīm*.

### B080. The [collective] Gates of the Tribes and the north minaret

B080.1. **Names (Muslim):** The [collective] Gates of the Tribes (the Tribes of the Children of Israel) (*Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*,<sup>1</sup> *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ Asbāṭ Banī Isrāʾīl*) and one of the four minarets (*manāwir*, *manārāt*) (B059.1). This is the collective name of the north gates, of the Gates of the Hashemites (*Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn*) (B081.1) and the particular Gates of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*) (B083.1).

B080.1.a. The name *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* is used with two meanings and we have to be careful not to confuse them. The collective *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* we discuss here covers all north gates (at BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA); the more particular *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* is one particular gate (at BĀB AL-ʿATM) (B083.1).

B080.1.b. A parallel to the double use of *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*, which as a collective name covers all north gates, but as a specific name refers to one gate: High ʿAbbāsīd *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* covers all south gates (B060.3), but High ʿAbbāsīd *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* just one gate (B063.2).

B080.2. **Position:** Near these gates are the Cave of Abraham (*Maḡārat Ibrāhīm*) and the Chamber of Jacob (*Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb*). We best locate the gates at BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA.

B080.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s list of gates<sup>3</sup> fits a number of other places between the gates and we may assume that each of these places is in the immediate neighbourhood of the gate mentioned before it;<sup>4</sup> thus, *Miḥrāb Maryam* is inside *Bāb at-tawba*, *Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ* next to *Bāb ar-raḥma*, and *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* and *Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb* next to *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*.

|                           |                                                                      |                                                                           |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                           | ( <i>Masḡidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ...<br/>wa-fīhi mina l-abwābi ...</i> ) | "(the Mosque of the Temple ...<br>and in it are the following gates: ...) |
| The Gate of<br>Repentance | <i>wa-Bābu t-tawbati<br/>wa-fīhi Miḥrābu Maryama ...</i>             | and the Gate of Repentance<br>and in it is the Chamber of Mary ...,       |
| The Gate of Mercy         | <i>wa-Bābu r-raḥmati</i>                                             | the Gate of Mercy                                                         |

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126) (*Masḡidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fī hi mina l-abwābi ...*) *Abwābu l-Asbāṭi wa-Maḡāratu Ibrāhīma wa-Miḥrābu Yaʿqūba*; **al-Harawī** K 25,11 *wa-Abwābu l-Asbāṭi sittatu abwābin* (= but **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masḡidi ...*) *Abwābu l-Asbāṭi Asbāṭi Banī Isrāʾīla wa-hiya sittatu abwābin*).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masḡidi ...*) *Abwābu l-Asbāṭi Asbāṭi Banī Isrāʾīla wa-hiya sittatu abwābin* (= but **al-Harawī** K 25,11 *wa-Abwābu l-Asbāṭi sittatu abwābin*).

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,9-11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161f.).

<sup>4</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 126.

|                         |                                                                                           |                                                                                  |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                         | <i>wa-Miḥrābu Zakariyāʿa</i>                                                              | and the Chamber of Zechariah,                                                    |
| The Gates of the Tribes | <i>wa-Abwābu l-Asbāṭi</i><br><i>wa-Maḡāratu Ibrāhīma</i><br><i>wa-Miḥrābu Yaʿqūba ...</i> | the Gates of the Tribes,<br>the Cave of Abraham<br>and the Chamber of Jacob ..." |

B080.2.b. Thus **Ibn al-Faqīh** has *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* with *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* and *Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb* preceded by *Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) with *Miḥrāb Zakariyāʿ* (near the GOLDEN GATE), and followed by *Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālīd* (at BĀB AN-NĀZIR). **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** has *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ Asbāṭ Banī Isrāʾīl* preceded by *Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and followed by *Bāb al-Walīd* (at BĀB AN-NĀZIR) and *Bāb al-Hāšimī* (at BĀB AL-QATṬĀNĪN). This fits with the two gates BĀB AL-ʿATM/BĀB ḤITṬA.

|                        |                                                                                                                                                      |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | <i>Bāb ar-raḥma: Miḥrāb Zakariyāʿ -&gt; Abwāb al-Asbāṭ: Maḡārat Ibrāhīm, Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb -&gt; Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālīd   Bāb Dāwūd</i>                       |
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b> | <i>Bāb ar-raḥma -&gt; Abwāb al-Asbāṭ Asbāṭ Banī Isrāʾīl -&gt; Bāb al-Walīd -&gt; Bāb al-Hāšimī -&gt; Bāb al-Ḥidr -&gt; Bāb as-Sakīna   Bāb Dāwūd</i> |

B080.3. Between the [two] north gates there may be a minaret.

B080.3.a. The Marwānid mosque has a minaret near *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, at BĀB AL-ʿATM or BĀB ḤITṬA (B025.2); the Fāṭimid mosque has *Bāb al-abwāb*, the monumental portal-minaret of the mosque, at BĀB al-ʿATM (B150.2.e). Most ʿAbbāsīd Friday mosques have a single tower on top of or immediately outside the centre of the back wall, opposite the prayer-niche, sometimes shifted to one side.<sup>1</sup>

B080.4. **Physical shape:** These are [two gates with a total of] six doors.<sup>2</sup>

B080.4.a. **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** says quite clearly *Abwābu l-Asbāṭi ... wa-hiya sittatu abwābin* "the Gates of the Tribes ... they are six doors". This fits well with the remains of triple gates at both BĀB AL-ʿATM (B081.3.b) and BĀB ḤITṬA (B083.3.b).

B080.4.b. It has been assumed that **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** summarises with this *wa-hiya sittatu abwābin* all the gates mentioned before: *Bāb Dāwūd*, *Bāb Sulaymān*, *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*, *Bāb Muḥammad*, *Bāb at-tawba*/*Bāb ar-raḥma*, *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*.<sup>3</sup> Fāṭimid *Bāb at-tawba* and *Bāb ar-raḥma* are indeed the two halves of a gate, the GOLDEN GATE (B154.1), but High ʿAbbāsīd *Bāb at-tawba* (at the TRIPLE GATE) and *Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) are two different gates, so that the list mentioned has not six, but seven items.

B080.5. As all four minarets are covered by gilded sheets [of lead] (*ṣafāʾih mudahhaba*) (B052.5), we should suppose that the minaret here is as well.

<sup>1</sup> Bloom, *Minaret* 61f.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*ālāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masḡidi ...*) *Abwābu l-Asbāṭi Asbāṭ Banī Isrāʾīla wa-hiya sittatu abwābin = al-Harawī K 25,11 *wa-Abwābu l-Asbāṭi sittatu abwābin*.*

<sup>3</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 200 n. 2.

**B080.6. Traditions (Muslim):** The Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb/Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*) probably refer to the Koranic Tribes (*al-Asbāṭ*) (*Koran* 2.136; 2.140; 3.84; 4.163; 7.160), but may also be influenced by the **eschatological Temple** gates called after the Tribes of Israel (*Šibṭē Yisrāʿēl*) (*Ezekiel* 48.30-35) (see B023.4); neither is explicit.

### B081. The Gates of the Hashemites<sup>1</sup>

**B081.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gates of the Hashemites (*Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn*).<sup>2</sup> These gates are part of the collective Gates of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*) [all north gates] (B080.1). They are identical with the Gate of Isaac (*Bāb Yiṣḥāq*).

B081.1.a. *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* and *Bāb al-Hāšimī* have similar names, but are at different places (B075.1.a).

B081.1.b. The identity of *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* and *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* is by location of both at BĀB AL-ʿATM.

**B081.2. Position:** We best locate the gate at BĀB AL-ʿATM.<sup>3</sup>

B081.2.a. **al-Muqaddasī** has *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* preceded by *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʿīl* (between BĀB ḤITṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER) and particular *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* (at BĀB ḤITṬA), and followed by *Bāb al-Walid* (at BĀB AN-NĀẒIR), *Bāb Ibrāhīm* (at BĀB AL-ḤADĪD), *Bāb Umm Ḥālid* (at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN) and *\*Bābā Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA). This allows location at BĀB AL-ʿATM.

**al-Muqaddasī**                      *Bābā r-rahma -> Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʿīl -> Abwāb al-Asbāṭ -> Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn -> Bāb al-Walid -> Bāb Ibrāhīm -> Bāb Umm Ḥālid -> \*Bābā Dāwūd*

B081.2.b. The gate has been identified with the Fāṭimid gate to the Šūfī convents,<sup>4</sup> but sources do not support this. The location at the NORTH ḤARAM WALL<sup>5</sup> is correct, but may be made more precise.

**B081.3. Physical shape:** This is a triple gate.

B081.3.a. **al-Muqaddasī**'s plural *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* goes in favour of a triple gate (B058.3.b).

B081.3.b. BĀB AL-ʿATM has another two doors of the same size immediately to the east, which may be seen

<sup>1</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid Gates of the Hashemites, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 186; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 269 n. 35; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; 122-124 (erroneously speaking of one Gate of the Hashemite).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170, 11f. (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masğidi min ṭalāṭata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban*) ... *Abwābi l-Hāšimīyīna* ...

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 121-124 (erroneously speaking of one Gate of the Hashemite).

<sup>4</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 186; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69.

<sup>5</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.



from outside the ḤARAM WALL in AL-MADRASA L-BAKRĪYA (Mamlūk ad-Dawādārīya) and also from inside the ḤARAM WALL;<sup>1</sup> we may conclude that it was formerly a triple gate.<sup>2</sup> *Terminus ante quem* for this triple gate is an illegible and unpublished GRAFFITO, considered as being possibly ʿAbbāsīd or Fāṭimid, on the EAST JAMB of BĀB AL-ʿATM.<sup>3</sup>

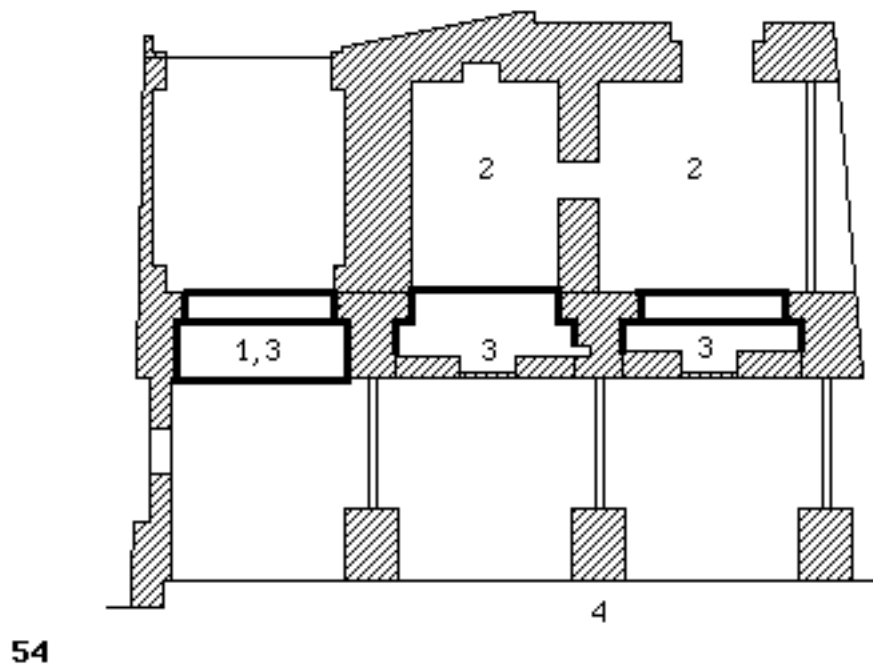


**Figure 54. Remains of a triple gate at BĀB AL-ʿATM:**<sup>4</sup> 1 BĀB AL-ʿATM. - 2 AL-MADRASA L-BAKRĪYA (Mamlūk al-Madrassa d-Dawādārīya). - 3 Remains of a triple gate. - 4 Place of the Mamlūk inscription **van Berchem Nr.163** (and of its Marwānīd predecessor), mentioning the dimensions of the mosque (see B131.8.g).

**B081.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The Gates of the Hashemites (*Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn*) may refer to the ʿAbbāsīds, the **Hashemites** (*Banū Hāšim*) *per se*, but this is not explicit.

<sup>1</sup> Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; 156 and pl. 8.1; 158f. fig. 8.3; 162f. and pl. 8.11; 165.

<sup>2</sup> Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; 156; Burgoyne, "Gates" 113; 118 fig. 14; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 95; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 395 n. 44)).

<sup>3</sup> Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45 n. 54.

<sup>4</sup> After Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 158f. fig. 8.3.

## B082. The Gate of Isaac<sup>1</sup>

**B082.1. Names (Jewish):** The Gate of Isaac (*Bāb Yiṣḥāq*).<sup>2</sup> The gate is identical with the Gates of the Hashemites (*Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn*) (B081.1.b).

**B082.2. Position:** The gate should be located at BĀB AL-‘ATM.

B082.2.a. *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* have on the list *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* preceded by *Abwāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and *Bāb Ḥannā* (at BĀB ḤITṬA) and followed both in the text and the list by *Bāb al-baqar* (at BĀB AN-NĀZIR), *Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh* (at BĀB AL-QATṬĀNIN) and *Bāb Dāwīd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA). The gate is in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL,<sup>3</sup> at BĀB AL-‘ATM.

*Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* (text) *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* -> *Bāb al-baqar*; *la-Parbār* -> *Bāb Yəhūdāh* -> *Bāb Dāwīd*  
*Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* (list) *Abwāb ar-raḥma* -> *Bāb Ḥannā* -> *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* -> *Bāb al-baqar* -> *Bāb Āl Yəhūdāh* -> *Bāb Dāwīd*

## B083. The [particular] Gate(s) of the Tribes, and the bath and the burial places nearby<sup>4</sup>

**B083.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*,<sup>5</sup> *Abwāb al-Asbāt*<sup>6</sup>). They are identical with the Gate of Ḥannā (*Bāb Ḥannā*).

B083.1.a. We have to be careful not to confuse collective *Abwāb al-Asbāt*, covering all north gates (at BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤITṬA) (B080.1), with this more particular *Abwāb al-Asbāt*, meaning one particular gate (at BĀB AL-‘ATM).

<sup>1</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd Gate of Isaac, see Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn" 285f.; 290; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>2</sup>*Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* 1v,1 *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* ..., *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* 2v,5 (*ṣalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds* ...) *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* (... wa-dālik ‘iṣrīn bāb).

<sup>3</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>4</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd Gate(s) of the Tribes, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 185; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; de Goeje, *al-Muqaddasi* 440 n. e; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 14; 199-203; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasi* 151 n. 35; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 328ab; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120-124; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 85-87; . For the bath nearby, see Grotzfeld, *Bad* 54; 59. For the cemetery nearby and the burial of the Iḥšīdids in Jerusalem, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 13-15; Gil, *Palestine* 634; 634f. n. 109; Elad, *Jerusalem* 85f.; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 487.

<sup>5</sup>*al-Kindī*, *Quḍāt* 296,17f. (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 85f.; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 14; 203 n. 2) (*Abū l-Ḥasani ‘Alīyū bnu l-Iḥšīdī ... fa-tuwuffiyya li-iḥdā ‘ašrata laylatin ḥalat mina l-muḥarrami sanata ḥamsin wa-ḥamsina wa-‘umruhu yawma’idin tāmānin wa-‘iṣrūna sanatan wa-niṣfun wa-ḥumila fī tābūtīn ilā l-Bayti l-Muqaddasi*) wa-dufina ma‘a aḥihi wa-wālidihī bi-Bābi l-Asbāṭi. Kāfūru.

<sup>6</sup>*al-Muqaddasī* 170,11 (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masḡidi min ṭalātata ‘ašara mawḍi‘an bi-‘iṣrīna bāban*) ... *Abwābi l-Asbāṭi* (Yāqūt *Bābi l-Asbāṭi* ...) ; *al-Muqaddasī* 440,14f. (transl. Grotzfeld, *Bad* 54; see Grotzfeld, *Bad* 59) wa-sami‘tu ba‘ḍa ḡilmāni wālidī raḥimahu Llāhu yaqūlu tabaḡnasa (C *taba‘nasa*) Abū l-Faraḡi š-Šīrāzīyū fī l-ḥammāmi l-laḍī banāhu bi-Abwābi l-Asbāṭi.

B083.1.b. It has been assumed that *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrā'īl* and *Bāb al-abwāb*, and perhaps also *Bāb al-Walīd* and *Bāb al-Hāšimī(yīn)*, may have been only parts of *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, similar to *Bāb ar-raḥma* and *Bāb at-tawba*, which are parts of one gate.<sup>1</sup> But the gates just mentioned are not from one period - *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrā'īl*, *Bāb al-Walīd* and *Bāb al-Hāšimī(yīn)* are High 'Abbāsīd and only High 'Abbāsīd, while *Bāb al-abwāb* is Fāṭimid and only Fāṭimid - and we have no evidence that High 'Abbāsīd names may refer to different parts of gates, as later the Fāṭimid *Bāb ar-raḥma* and *Bāb at-tawba* do.

B083.1.c. The identity of *Bāb/Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* and *Bāb Ḥannā* is by location of both at BĀB ḤITṬA.

**B083.2. Position:** In the immediate vicinity of the Gates of the Tribes (*bi-Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*) there is a bath which Abū l-Faraḡ aš-Šīrāzī built not in Persian, but half in Persian, half in Syro-Palestinian style, because of its nearness to the gate.<sup>2</sup> Next to some of the gates of the mosque are Muslim burial places (*battē qeḥbārōt*) (B058.4), among them the family burial place of the Iḥšīdids, at the Gate of the Tribes (*bi-Bāb al-Asbāṭ*) (B083.4). We best locate the gate at BĀB ḤITṬA.<sup>3</sup>

B083.2.a. **al-Muqaddasī** has *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* preceded by *Bābā r-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrā'īl* (between BĀB ḤITṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER), and followed by *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* (at BĀB AL-<sup>c</sup>ATM), then *Bāb al-Walīd* (at BĀB AN-NĀZIR), *Bāb Ibrāhīm* (at BĀB AL-ḤADĪD), *Bāb Umm Ḥālīd* (at BĀB AL-QATṬĀNĪN) and *\*Bābā Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA). This allows location at BĀB ḤITṬA. A location at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ<sup>4</sup> is impossible.<sup>5</sup>

**al-Muqaddasī**                      *Bābā r-raḥma* -> *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrā'īl* -> ***Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*** -> *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* -> *Bāb al-Walīd* -> *Bāb Ibrāhīm* -> *Bāb Umm Ḥālīd* -> *\*Bābā Dāwūd*

B083.2.b. There is no archaeological evidence for a bath next to BĀB ḤITṬA, but water may have come from the WATER CHANNEL which feeds the FOUNTAIN next to BĀB ḤITṬA,<sup>6</sup> or from BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀ'ĪL.

B083.2.c. We should emphasise that *Bāb/Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* changes its place during the Crusader period. Before

<sup>1</sup> Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 440,13-18 (transl. Grotzfeld, *Bad* 54; see Grotzfeld, *Bad* 59) speaking about the baths in *Fāris: wa l-baytu d-dāḥilu mina l-ḥammāmi lā yumkinu fihi l-makṭu mina l-ḥarri wa-samī'ū ba'ḍa ḡilmāni wālīdī raḥimahu Llāhu yaqūlu tabaḡnasa* (C *taba'nasa*) *Abū l-Faraḡi š-Šīrāziyu fī l-ḥammāmi l-laḡi banāhu bi-Abwābi l-Asbāṭi* [in Jerusalem, thus also de Goeje, *al-Muqaddasī* 44 n. e] *li-annahu adḡala n-nāra taḡta ba'ḍi l-bayti d-dāḥili wa-laysa ka-mā qāla wa-lākinnaḡu ra'ā rusūma š-Ša'mi fī ḡadā l-bābi tuḡālifu rusūma Fārisa fa-ḡa'ala ba'ḍa l-bayti 'alā rusūmi iqlīmihi wa-baqīyataḡu 'alā rusūmi š-Ša'mi*.

<sup>3</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine* 185; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 151 n. 35; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Burgoyne, "Gates" 121f..

<sup>4</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 14; 199-203.

<sup>5</sup> Elad, *Jerusalem* 85f.

<sup>6</sup> For the FOUNTAIN next to BĀB ḤITṬA, see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 173 fig. 9.7; 213 fig. 15.3; 217 and n. 29; Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 264; fig. 21; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 104-106: Nr.19 (with fig. 51).

the Crusades *Bāb/Abwāb al-Asbāt* is either all north gates of the mosque (BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) (B080.2) or one gate of the mosque (at BĀB ḤIṬṬA). In Crusader-time **al-Idrisī**, the road for Gethsemane (*al-Gismāniya*) leaves the city at *Bāb al-Asbāt*, which is obviously a city gate, i.e., the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ.<sup>1</sup> After the Crusades *Bāb al-Asbāt* is a city gate (the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ). Today we have both a ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ and a CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ.

B083.2.d. It has been assumed that *Abwāb al-Asbāt* on the list of gates in **al-Muqaddasī** 170,11 may be a gate to the mosque (at BĀB ḤIṬṬA), and *Abwāb al-Asbāt* next to the bath in **al-Muqaddasī** 440,14f., a city gate (at the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ);<sup>2</sup> but these are obviously just one and the same.<sup>3</sup>

B083.2.e. High ‘Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid *Bāb al-Asbāt* has been located at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ by connecting the burial of the Iḥšīdids at the Gate of the Tribes (*bi-Bāb al-Asbāt*) with the partial restoration of the wall of the mosque by Abū l-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Iḥšīd, which we know from his inscription (= **van Berchem Nr.146**) which is today in the EAST ḤARAM WALL between the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER and the GOLDEN GATE, above the MUSLIM CEMETERY outside the EAST ḤARAM WALL; it has been claimed that the inscription should have been right next to the part of the wall rebuilt by Abū l-Ḥasan, above his mausoleum and so next to *Bāb al-Asbāt*, this has been used to locate *Bāb al-Asbāt* at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ.<sup>4</sup> But the inscription is not necessarily *in situ* and Abū l-Ḥasan did not necessarily confine himself to rebuilding only the part of the wall next to his family's burial place. The sources have no High ‘Abbāsīd cemetery east of the wall (at the CEMETERY there). To consider the words *bi-Bāb al-Asbāt* as a gloss which has crept into the text would require further evidence.<sup>5</sup>

B083.2.f. The Fāṭimid gate has mistakenly been located at BĀB AL-‘ATM, and the same location has been transferred to the High ‘Abbāsīd gate (B150.2.d).

B083.2.g. **al-Kindī**, *Quḍāt* locates the burial place of the Iḥšīdids *bi-Abwābi l-Asbāṭi* "at the Gates of the Tribes". This has been considered as referring to burial places within the gate;<sup>6</sup> but we should not press the term and should rather locate it inside the gate or nearby.

**B083.3. Physical shape:** This is a triple gate. A bath next to the gate is built not in Persian,

<sup>1</sup>**al-Idrisī** 361, 2-7: III.5.64 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 210; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 201f.) *wa-bi-l-qurbi min hādā l-bābi* [i.e., *Bāb ar-raḥma*] *āḥaru maftūḥun yu‘rafu bi-Bābi l-Asbāṭi* ‘*alayhi d-duḥūlu wa-l-ḥurūḡu wa-idā ḥaraḡta min Bābi l-Asbāṭi sirta fī ḥudūdi miqdāri ramyati sahmin* [about an arrow shot from the city gate] *fā-taḡidu kanīṣatan kabīratan ḥasanatan ḡiddan ‘alā smi s-Sayyidati Maryama wa-yu‘rafu l-makānu bi-l-Ġismāniyati wa-hunāka qabruhā yabṣuru Ġabala z-Zaytūni wa-baynahu wa-bayna Bābi l-Asbāṭi naḥwu milin*.

For the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ or LIONS' GATE or ST. STEPHEN'S GATE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 431-436; 439; 443-445; 2 14 n. 2; 201-203; Miquel, "Jérusalem arabe" 9f., Milik, "Topographie" 170; 172; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 16-19; fig. 9; Gil, *Palestine* 417; Mango, "Temple Mount" 4; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 232f.; 3 206; Hillenbrand, "Monuments" 3; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 22 pl. 10; 28 pl. 18; Myres, "Overview" 327. For the transfer of the name onto a city gate, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 14 n. 2; 201f.

<sup>2</sup>Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 328ab.

<sup>3</sup>de Goeje, *al-Muqaddasī* 440 n. e; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 151 n. 35.

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 14f.

<sup>5</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 203 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 86.

but in half Persian, half Syro-Palestinian style, because of its nearness to the gate (B083.2).

B083.3.a. The three doors of this gate can be deduced from **al-Muqaddasī**'s plural *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*.<sup>1</sup> This fits with the remains of a triple gate at BĀB ḤIṬṬA. West of the single gate BĀB ḤIṬṬA, a semicircular archway may be seen in the tomb chamber of DĀR ĠĀR ALLĀH (Mamlūk al-Madrasa l-Awḥadiya) outside the ḤARAM,<sup>2</sup> and a vertical joint in the ḤARAM WALL masonry is seen from inside the ḤARAM;<sup>3</sup> the two gateways originally formed a double gate.<sup>4</sup> Remains of a similar third archway may be found immediately east of BĀB ḤIṬṬA in the ḤARAM WALL. This is actually the WEST ALCOVE in the south wall of the TRANSVERSE CHAMBER of modern DĀR ĠĀR ALLĀH (Mamlūk al-Madrasa l-Karīmīya);<sup>5</sup> the extension of DĀR ĠĀR ALLĀH (Mamlūk al-Madrasa l-Karīmīya) inside the ḤARAM is on a higher level than the gateway of BĀB ḤIṬṬA, but the CISTERN under the extension<sup>6</sup> may well have partly filled in the space. All three doors together do result in a triple gate.

**B083.4. Contemporary events:** The corpse of **Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Iḥšīd** (died 11 Muḥarram [3]55/7 January 966) is in a coffin (*tābūt*) brought here and buried at the Gate of the Tribes (*bi-Bāb al-Asbāṭ*) next to his brother [**Unūḡūr**] and his father [Muḥammad **al-Iḥšīd**] (died 334/946) and later their mentor (*ustād*) **Kāfūr**? (died 357/968);<sup>7</sup> this is certainly the family burial place of the Iḥšīdids.

**B083.5. Traditions (Muslim):** The Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb/Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*) refers to the Koranic Tribes (*al-Asbāṭ*) (*Koran* 2.136; 2.140; 3.84; 4.163; 7.160) and may also be influenced by the **eschatological Temple** gates called after the Tribes of Israel (*Šibṭē Yisrāʾēl*) (*Ezekiel* 48.30-35) (B023.4); neither explanation is explicit.

**B083.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** At the Gate of the Tribes (*bi-Bāb al-Asbāṭ*) is the family burial place of the Iḥšīdids, where the family has their dead members brought and

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,11 (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masġidi min talāṭata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban*) ... *Abwābi l-Asbāṭi* (Yāqūt *Bābi l-Asbāṭi*) ...

<sup>2</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 174; 176 pl. 9.8.

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 169 fig. 9.3 (at letter j); 174; Burgoyne, "Gates" 112; 117 fig. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 45; 174; Burgoyne, "Gates" 117 fig. 12; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 158.

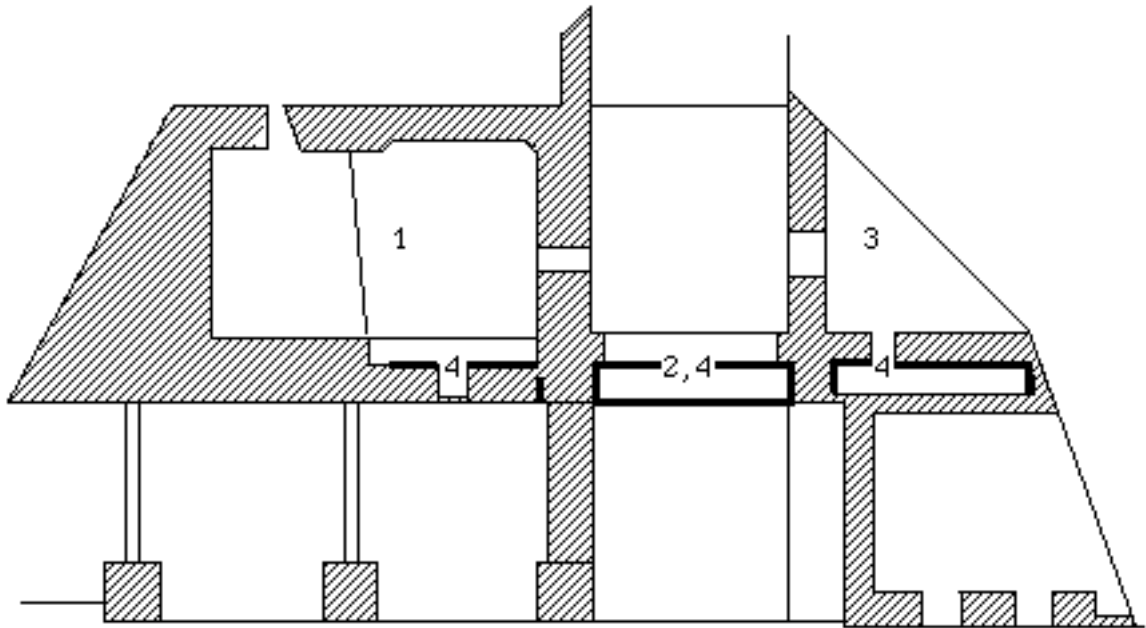
<sup>5</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 213 fig. 15.3 (the east alcove in the south wall of the "Transverse Chamber"); 214; 217.

<sup>6</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 217f. and fig. 15.6.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Kindī**, *Quḍāt* 296,16-18 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 85f.; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 14; 203 n. 2) (*Abū l-Ḥasani ʿAlīyu bnu l-Iḥšīdi ... (fa-tuwuffiyya li-iḥdā ʿašrata laylatin ḥalat mina l-muḥarrami sanata ḥamsin wa-ḥamsīna wa-ʿumruhu yawmaʿidin tāmānin wa-ʿiṣrūna sanatan wa-niṣfun wa-ḥumila fī tābūtīn ilā l-Bayti l-Muqaddasi wa-dufina maʿa aḥīhi wa-wālidīhi bi-Bābi l-Asbāṭi. (Kāfūru. wa-stabadda (I read wa-stabadda) Kāfūru bi-l-amri baʿda mawti ʿAlīya bni l-Iḥšīdi wa-duʿīya bi-smihi ʿalā l-manābiri fī l-muḥarrami sanata ḥamsin wa-ḥamsīna wa-talāṭimiʿatin).*

For the Muslim burial of the High ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid periods, see Leisten, *Architektur für Tote* (no reference for Jerusalem).

buried (B083.4).



55

**Figure 55. Remains of a triple gate at BĀB ḤIṬṬA:**<sup>1</sup> 1 DĀR ĠĀR ALLĀH (Mamlūk al-Awḥadiya). - 2 BĀB ḤIṬṬA. - 3 DĀR ĠĀR ALLĀH (Mamlūk al-Madrassa l-Karīmiya). - 4 Remains of a triple gate.

### B084. The Gate of Ḥannā<sup>2</sup>

**B084.1. Names (Jewish):** The Gate of [an otherwise unknown] Ḥannā (*Bāb Ḥannā*).<sup>3</sup> The gate is identical with the particular Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb/Abwāb al-Asbāt*) (B083.1.c).

**B084.2. Position:** We best locate the gate at BĀB ḤIṬṬA.

B084.2.a. The list of *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* has *Bāb Ḥannā* preceded by *Abwāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and followed by *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* (at BĀB AL-‘ATM), *Bāb al-baqar* (at BĀB AN-NĀẒIR), *Bāb Āl Yəhūdāh* (at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN) and *Bāb Dāwīd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA). This allows location at BĀB ḤIṬṬA. Location in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL<sup>4</sup> may therefore be made more precise.

<sup>1</sup> After Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 169 fig. 9.3; 213 fig. 15.3.

<sup>2</sup> For the High ‘Abbāsīd Gate of Ḥannā, see Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb* 2v,3f. (*ṣalawāt al-abwāb fī l-Quds ...*) *Bāb Ḥannā (... wa-dālik ‘išrīn bāb)*.

<sup>4</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

**Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** (list) *Abwāb ar-raḥma* -> **Bāb Ḥannā** -> *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* -> *Bāb al-baqar* -> *Bāb Āl Yəhūdāh* -> *Bāb Dāwīd*

### **B085. The Pool of the Children of Israel and the Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel<sup>1</sup>**

**B085.1. Names (Muslim):** The Pool of the Children of Israel (*Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl*)<sup>2</sup> and the Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel (*Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl*).<sup>3</sup>

B085.1. a. The gate *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* most probably has its name from the well-known *Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl*, and we may deduce that the gate is either next to the pool or leads to the pool. For parallels, i.e., gates called after places nearby, see B060.2.c.

**B085.2. Position:** The Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel (*Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl*) is either near the Pool of the Children of Israel (*Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl*) or leads there (B085.1.a). We best locate the pool at BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL, under MĪDĀN AL-ĠAZĀLĪ and the CAR-PARK to its west,<sup>4</sup> and the gate between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTH-EAST ḤARAM CORNER.

<sup>1</sup>For the High 'Abbāsid Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 185; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 199-203; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 204f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 165 n. 85.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 167,13-168,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 200) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-bihā talātu birakin 'azīmatun Birkatu Banī Isrāʾīla Birkatu Sulaymāna Birkatu 'Iyāda ...*

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 170,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masḡidi min talātata 'ašara mawḍi'an bi-'iṣrīna bāban*) ... *Bābi Birkati Banī Isrāʾīla ...*

Possibly the same pool is mentioned in the Pre-Marwānid *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 589.7f. (see Wightman, *Walls* 206; Küchler, "Die Probatische und Betesda" 141f.) *sunt in Hierusalem piscinae magnae duae ad latus (P alatus) Templi id est una ad dexteram (S a dexteris) alia ad sinistram (V et alia ad sinistram, S alia a sinistris) quas Salomon fecit (interius vero civitati (V civitate, S civitatis) sunt piscinae gemellares (S pigne gemellares, V piscinae gemillares) quinque porticus habentes quae appellantur Bethsaida (V Vetaidae, S Bethsaide)).*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 165 n. 85) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masḡidi min talātata 'ašara mawḍi'an bi-'iṣrīna bāban*) ... *Bābi Birkati Banī Isrāʾīla ...*

<sup>4</sup>For the former BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL, now a square called MĪDĀN AL-ĠAZĀLĪ and a CAR-PARK, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 122-126; 237; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 200; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 34f.; Busink, *Tempe* 990-992; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 173 fig. 9.7; 211-218 with pl. 15.9; 526-533 (with pl. 54.9 and pl. 54.10); Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Wightman, *Walls* 84f. n. 2; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 161f. .

Generally on the CITY's LARGE CISTERNS outside the ḤARAM and related matters, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 200-202; Miquel, "Jérusalem arabe" 12f.; Milik, "Topographie" 182f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 189 n. 177; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 74; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 117f.; 122f.; 127f.; 169; 212f.; 228; 231-233; 237.

B085.2.a. **al-Muqaddasī** has *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* preceded by *Bābā r-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and followed by *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* (at BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* (at BĀB AL-ʿATM). This fits with a place between the GOLDEN GATE and BĀB ḤIṬṬA, possibly the ḤARAM GATE BĀB ASBĀṬ.<sup>1</sup>

**al-Muqaddasī**                      *Bābā r-raḥma* -> **Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl** -> *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* -> *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn*

B085.2.b. *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* is called after *Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl*, and we may suppose that they are next to each other (B085.1.a). We may therefore identify it with BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL, the only cistern in the immediate vicinity of the NORTH ḤARAM WALL.

B085.2.c. The exact place of *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* is defined by the relation of BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL to the NORTH ḤARAM WALL. The Herodian predecessor of BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL reached the EAST CITY WALL,<sup>2</sup> but modern BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL is much shorter and leaves a dry strip along the CITY WALL from the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ to the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ. There is no evidence as to how far High ʿAbbāsīd (and Fāṭimid) *Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* extended. If *Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* joined the city wall, *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* led just to the pool and not further on (A on the figure below). But if High ʿAbbāsīd *Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* had a small corridor filled in on its east side, *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* may either have led only to the pool (B) or to this corridor (C). A position west of BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL would make the Gate very near *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* (at BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and may be excluded.

B085.2.d. If the gate led just to the pool (cases A and B), the gate may have been somewhere between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, not too near BĀB ḤIṬṬA; or at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ; or at the CENTRAL WINDOW of AL-BAKRĪYA, the place of an earlier opening.<sup>3</sup> If the gate led outside to the CORRIDOR east of BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL (case C), a position at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ is probable.

B085.3. **Physical shape:** The Pool of the Children of Israel (*Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl*) is one of the three large cisterns (*ṭalāt birak ʿaẓīma*) of the city fed by water conduits (*dawāʿī min al-azīqqa*) with baths (*ḥammāmāt*) above.<sup>4</sup> The Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel (*Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl*) is a single gate (B058.3.b).

<sup>1</sup>Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; Le Strange, *Palestine* 185; 189; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 199-203 (reluctantly); Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 121; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 204.

<sup>2</sup>Wightman, *Walls* 84f. n. 2; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 161.

<sup>3</sup>For the CENTRAL WINDOW of AL-BAKRĪYA, see B152.2.g.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 167,13-168,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 200) (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ...*) *wa-bihā ṭalātu birakin ʿaẓīmatun Birkatu Banī Isrāʾīla Birkatu Sulaymāna Birkatu ʿIyāḍa ʿalayhā ḥammāmātun lahā dawāʿīn mina l-azīqqati.*



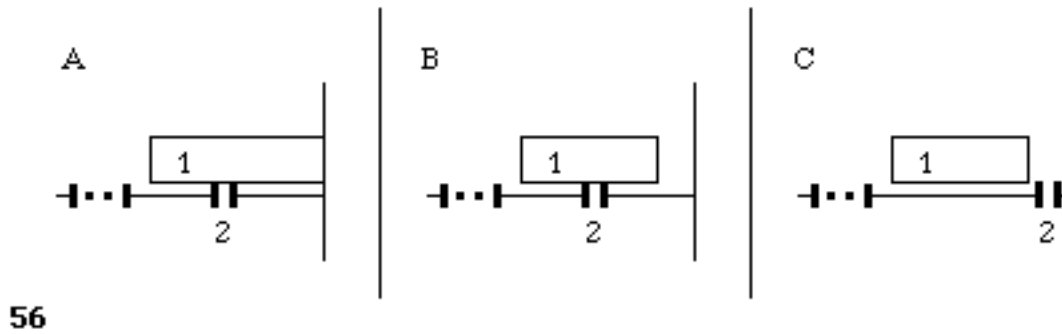


**Figure 56. The High ʿAbbāsid Pool of the Children of Israel and the gate nearby:** 1 The Pool of the Children of Israel. - 2 The Gate of the Pool of the Children of Israel / A With no corridor east of the pool and the gate leading just to the pool. - B With a corridor east of the pool and the gate leading just to the pool. - C With a corridor east of the pool and the gate leading to this corridor.

**B086. The east wall  
and the Gate(s) of Mercy  
= the Gate of Nikanor (with the [former] East Gate)<sup>1</sup>**

**B086.1. Names (Muslim):** The east wall (*al-ḥāʾiṭ aš-šarqī*)<sup>2</sup> with the (two) Gate(s) of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*,<sup>3</sup> *Bābā r-raḥma*<sup>4</sup>). The gate is identical with the gate where Jesus entered [the city on Palm Sunday].

<sup>1</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid east wall and the Gate(s) of Mercy or Gate of Nikanor, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 200; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* plan VIII; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342b; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 288; Braslavi/ Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56f.; 62-64; 76f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 44; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120-124; Gil, *Palestine* 641; 642 n. 114; 644f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 200-204; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 70; 94; 102; 108 n. 152; 109; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) *wa-laysa ʿalā l-maysarati arwiqatun wa-l-Muḡaṭṭā lā yattaṣilu bi-l-ḥāʾiṭi š-šarqīyī*; **Gil Nr.2** 1r,10-13 (*Wādī Ġahannum ...*) *wa fī l-ḥāʾiṭi aš-šarqī ilayh bābayn yuqāl lahum Bābayn ar-raḥma wa-ismhā Šaʿar Niqānōr ʾšām kōhēn gādōl miṭāhēr ēṭ haz-zābīm wēʾt hā-zābōṭ wēʾt ha-məṣōrā ʿū-mašqāh ēṭ haš-ṣōṭāhʾ*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,14f. (*iqḷimu š-Šaʿmi ... bihi ...*) *s-sūru l-ladī bayna l-ʿadābi wa-l-ḡufrāni* (cf. **Koran** 57.13).

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126) (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161) (*Masḡidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fīhi mina l-abwābi*) ... *Bābu r-raḥmati wa-Miḥrābu Zakariyāʾa ...*; **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163f.) (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi š-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masḡidi ...*) *Bābu r-raḥmati*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**: 268,20f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma saʿaltu ʿan Bābi r-raḥmati fa-idā bābun min nūrīn mimmā yalī l-masḡida wa-bābun min ḥadīdin mimmā yalī l-Wādī*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174; see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* plan VIII) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masḡidi min ṭalāṭata ʿašara mawḍiʿan bi-ʿiṣrīna bāban*) ... *Bābayi r-raḥmati* (Yāqūt *Bābi r-raḥmati*) ...

B086.1.a. The identity of *Bāb(ā) r-raḥma* and the gate where Jesus entered is by location of both at the GOLDEN GATE.

B086.2. **Names (Jewish):** A wall (*ḥadd*)<sup>1</sup> [of the Temple] with the (two) Gates of Mercy (*Bābayn ar-raḥma*,<sup>2</sup> *Abwāb ar-raḥma*<sup>3</sup>). They are identical with the Gate of Nikanor (\**Ša'ar Nīqānōr*),<sup>4</sup> where [formerly] the East Gate (\**ha-Ša'ar ha-Mizraḥī*) was.<sup>5</sup>

B086.2.a. *Abwāb ar-raḥma* and \**ha-Ša'ar ha-Mizraḥī* have been identified with *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*, but this is out of the question (B070.2.c).

B086.3. **Position:** In the east wall (*al-ḥā'it aš-šarqī*) are the (two) Gates of Mercy (*Bābayn ar-raḥma*);<sup>6</sup> the outside of the gate (*zāhir al-bāb*) faces the Valley of Hell, which is east of the Temple (*Wādī Ġahannum al-laḏī bi-šarqī Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>7</sup> The gate is at the place of the [now destroyed] East Gate (\**ha-Ša'ar ha-Mizraḥī*) (B086.2), near the Chamber of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb Zakariyā*).<sup>8</sup> The wall is obviously the EAST ḤARAM WALL, the gate, the GOLDEN GATE, and the older gate beneath the gate, the OLDER EAST GATE beneath the GOLDEN GATE.

B086.3.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-Muqaddasī and Šalawāt al-Abwāb** (list) have *Bāb(ā) r-*

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,1f. ... *fa-ḥadā l-ḥadd baqiya munda banāhu Šəlōmōh*.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,10-13 (*Wādī Ġahannum ...*) *wa fi l-ḥā'it aš-šarqī ilayh bābayn yuqāl lahum Bābayn ar-raḥma wa-ismhā Ša'a[r] Nīqānōr 'šām kōhēn gādōl miṭāhēr ēt haz-zābīm wē't hā-zābōt wē'[t] ha-məšōrā' ū-mašqāh ēt haš-šōṭāh'; Sulaymān, Šarḥ Qōḥālāt* 9.6 (quoted Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 283 n. 2) (*wa-ka-dālik idā kān ḥattā yumkinuh an yuḡār Allāh ta'ālā ka-qawluh fi Pinḥās 't 'taḥat aššār qānā' lə-Ālōhāw' wa-ka-dālik yuḡār li-Quds Allāh wa-mā fih min al-'arēlim wa-t-ṭemē'im wa-l-pesēlim wə-zābīm wə-məšōrā'im wə-nī'ūpīm wə-məšubbāb zākār*) *wə-battē so'ōt wə-mitpallēlim bə-ḥā'šērōtāw 'al ha-mātim*.

<sup>3</sup>**Šalawāt al-abwāb** 2v,4 (*šalawāt al-abwāb fi l-Quds ...*) *Abwāb ar-raḥmah (... wa-dālik 'išrīn bāb)*.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,10-13 (*Wādī Ġahannum ...*) *wa fi l-ḥā'it aš-šarqī ilayh bābayn yuqāl lahum Bābayn ar-raḥma wa-ismhā Ša'a[r] Nīqānōr 'šām kōhēn gādōl miṭāhēr ēt haz-zābīm wē't hā-zābōt wē'[t] ha-məšōrā' ū-mašqāh ēt haš-šōṭāh'.*

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,13-15 (see Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56; 62-64; 76f.) *wa-kān fi l-qadīm tamma* [Classical Arabic *tamma*] *bāb yusammā Ša'ar ha-Mizraḥī wa-bə-rūb hā-āwōnōt' šār al-yawm miḏā li-l-...* (Braslavi/Küchler read *may šā ...*) *wa-l-qadar*.

<sup>6</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,10-13 (*Wādī Ġahannum ...*) *wa fi l-ḥā'it aš-šarqī ilayh bābayn yuqāl lahum Bābayn ar-raḥma wa-ismhā Ša'a[r] Nīqānōr 'šām kōhēn gādōl miṭāhēr ēt haz-zābīm wē't hā-zābōt wē'[t] ha-məšōrā' ū-mašqāh ēt haš-šōṭāh'.*

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163f.) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi š-šalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fi l-masḡidi ...*) *Babu r-raḥmati l-latī dakarahā Llāhu ta'ālā fi kitābihi 'lahu bābun baṭīnuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'aḏābu' (Koran 57.13) ya'nī Wādī (read Wādiya) Ġahannuma l-laḏī bi-šarqīyi Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>8</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126) (*Masḡidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fihi mina al-abwābi ... Bābu r-raḥmati wa-Miḥrābu Zakariyā'a*).

For **Ibn al-Faqīh** mentioning the minor places with the nearby gates of the mosque, see B080.2.a.

*rahma* preceded by *Bāb an-Nabī* or *Bāb Muḥammad* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and *Bāb at-tawba* or *Abwāb* (*Miḥrāb Maryam* (at the TRIPLE GATE), and followed by *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* (*Asbāṭ Banī Isrāʾīl*) (at BĀB ḤITṬA and BĀB AL-ʿATM) or *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* and *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn* (at BĀB ḤITṬA and BĀB AL-ʿATM); **Ibn al-Faqīh** gives, immediately before *Bāb ar-rahma*, additionally *Bāb al-Wādī* (between the TRIPLE GATE and the GOLDEN GATE); **al-Muqaddasī** gives, immediately after *Bāb ar-rahma*, additionally *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* (between BĀB ḤITṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER). These suggest location at the GOLDEN GATE.

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i> -> <i>Bāb at-tawba</i> : inside it <i>Miḥrāb Maryam</i> -> <i>Bāb al-Wādī</i> -> <b><i>Bāb ar-rahma</i></b> : <i>Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ</i> -> <i>Abwāb al-Asbāṭ</i> : <i>Maḡārat Ibrāhīm</i> , <i>Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb</i> |
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b> | <i>Bāb Muḥammad</i> -> <i>Bāb at-tawba</i> -> <b><i>Bāb ar-rahma</i></b> -> <i>Abwāb al-Asbāṭ</i> <i>Asbāṭ Banī Isrāʾīl</i>                                                                                                       |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>    | <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i> -> <i>Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam</i> -> <b><i>Bāb ar-rahma</i></b> -> <i>Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl</i> -> <i>Abwāb al-Asbāṭ</i> -> <i>Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn</i>                                                            |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī C</b>  | <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i> -> <i>Abwāb Maryam</i> -> <b><i>Bāb ar-rahma</i></b> -> <i>Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl</i> -> <i>Abwāb al-Asbāṭ</i> -> <i>Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn</i>                                                                   |

B086.3.b. **Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb** have *Abwāb ar-rahma* = \*Šaʿar Nīqānōr preceded by *Abwāb al-ḥamsa* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and \**Abwāb as-Sitt* (at the TRIPLE GATE), and followed by *Bāb Ḥannā* (at BĀB ḤITṬA) and *Bāb Yiṣḥāq* (at BĀB AL-ʿATM). **Gil Nr.2** has *Bābayn ar-rahma* as the last gate; it is preceded by *Abwāb al-Aḥmās* (at the DOUBLE GATE and the TRIPLE GATE), i.e., *Abwāb an-Nabī* = Šaʿar Ḥuldāh (at the DOUBLE GATE) and Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šīr/Šaʿar ha-nāšīm (at the TRIPLE GATE). All this also fits with the location at the GOLDEN GATE.

|                                |                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb</b> (list) | <i>Abwāb al-ḥamsa</i> -> * <i>Abwāb as-Sitt</i> -> <b><i>Abwāb ar-rahma</i></b> = *Šaʿar Nīqānōr -> <i>Bāb Ḥannā</i> -> <i>Bāb Yiṣḥāq</i>                                            |
| <b>Gil Nr.2</b>                | <i>Abwāb al-Aḥmās</i> : <i>Abwāb an-Nabī</i> = Šaʿar Ḥuldāh, Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šīr/Šaʿar ha-nāšīm -> <b><i>Bābayn ar-rahma</i></b> = *Šaʿar Nīqānōr: formerly Šaʿar ha-Mizraḥī |

B086.3.c. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has, in his list of the gates, *wa-Bāb ar-rahma wa-Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ* "and the Gate of Mercy and the Chamber of Zechariah"; we may deduce from this that *Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ* is near *Bāb ar-rahma* (B080.2.a). It has been assumed that *Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ* is even inside *Bāb ar-rahma*,<sup>1</sup> but where **Ibn al-Faqīh** explicitly says *wa-Bāb at-tawba wa-fīhi Miḥrāb Maryam* "and the Gate of Repentance and inside it is the Chamber of Mary" (B080.2.a), he does not explicitly locate *Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ* inside *Bāb ar-rahma*.

B086.3.d. **Gil Nr.2** has *wa-kān fī l-qadīm tamma bāb yusammā Šaʿar ha-Mizraḥī wa-ʿb-rūb hā-ʿawōnōtʾ šār al-yawm mīdā li-l-... wa-l-qadar* "and there was in old times a gate called the East Gate, but because of the great number of [our] sins, it has become today an ablution place for the ... and pollution".<sup>2</sup> This may refer to the upper vaults of the OLDER EAST GATE, under the GOLDEN GATE; the ruins of this OLDER EAST GATE may have led to the tradition of the [destroyed] East Gate (\**ha-Šaʿar ha-Mizraḥī*) beneath the non-Jewish (Muslim)

<sup>1</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine* 161; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 342 s.v. "Zacharie".

<sup>2</sup> **Gil Nr.2** 1r,13-15 (see Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56; 62-64; 76f.) *wa-kān fī l-qadīm tamma* [Classical Arabic *tamma*] *bāb yusammā Šaʿar ha-Mizraḥī wa-ʿb-rūb hā-ʿawōnōtʾ šār al-yawm mīdā li-l-... (Braslavi/Küchler read may šā ...) wa-l-qadar*.

Gates of Mercy (*Bābayn ar-raḥma*) or Nikanor Gate (*\*Ša'ar Niqānōr*). ... *miḍā li-l-... wa-l-qadar* has been interpreted in favour of a [Muslim?] ablution place otherwise unattested to or a structure which embarrasses the Jews, possibly a Muslim cemetery;<sup>1</sup> but no High 'Abbāsid cemetery is attested to (B083.2.e). *Miḍā*, with the letters *MYṢ'*, has been read *may ṣā ... wa-l-qadar* "to the water of ... and of filth" (Braslavi/Küchler); but the only evidence in favour of an ablution place would be the WATER PIPE which leaves the ḤARAM immediately south of BĀB AL-ĞANĀ'IZ, and this is not enough.

**B086.4. Physical shape:** This is a wall with a [distinct] double gate,<sup>2</sup> possibly with ruins of an older gate to be seen beneath it (B086.3.d).

**B086.5. Traditions (Muslim):** The wall with its Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) (B086.1) is the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (*Koran* 57.13).<sup>3</sup> 'Umar ordered [the Muslims] to take the west part of this mosque as their prayer-place, therefore the Roofed Hall occupies the west part of the mosque and leaves the other half empty, up to the east wall [of the mosque] (*al-ḥā'it aš-šarqī*), without any building (B052.8).

**B086.6. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the Gate of Nikanor (*\*Ša'ar Niqānōr*), where the high priest purifies the men and women with a discharge and the leprous and gives the woman suspected of adultery the bitter water which brings a curse (*Numbers* 5.18).<sup>4</sup> Here was the [now destroyed] East Gate (*\*ha-Ša'ar ha-Mizraḥī*) [of the Temple].<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 63.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 174) (*wa-yudḥalu ilā l-masğidi min talāṭata 'ašara mawḍi'an bi- 'išrīna bāban*) ... *Bābayi r-raḥmati* (Yāqūt *Bābi r-raḥmati*) ...; **Gil Nr.2** 1r,10-13 (*Wādī Ġahannum ...*) *wa fi l-ḥā'i[t] aš-šarqī ilayh bābayn yuqāl lahum Bābayn ar-raḥma wa-ismhā Ša'a[r] Niqānōr 'šām kōhēn gādōl miṭāhēr ēt haz-zābīm wē't hā-zābōt wē'[t] ha-məṣōrā' ū-mašqāh ēt haš-šōṭāh*. For **al-Muqaddasī**'s use of *Bāb ...*, *Bābā ...*, and *Abwāb ...* for single, double, and triple gates, respectively, see B058.3.b.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163f.) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fi l-masğidi ...*) *Babu r-raḥmati l-latī ḡakarahā Llāhu ta'ālā fi kitābihi 'lahu bābun bāṭīnuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-zāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'adābu'* (*Koran* 57.13) *ya'nī Wādī* (read *Wādiya*) *Ġahannuma l-ladī bi-šarqīyi Bayti l-Maqdisi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,20f. (... *ḡaddatānī Abū Muḡammadin 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḡammadini l-ḡawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma sa'altu 'an Bābi r-raḥmati fa-idā bābun min nūrin mimma yalī l-masğida wa-bābun min ḡadīdin mimma yalī l-Wādī*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,14f. (*iqḡimu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *s-sūru l-ladī bayna l-'adābi wa-l-ḡufrāni* (cf. *Koran* 57.13).

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,10-13 (*Wādī Ġahannum ...*) *wa fi l-ḥā'i[t] aš-šarqī ilayh bābayn yuqāl lahum Bābayn ar-raḥma wa-ismhā Ša'a[r] Niqānōr 'šām kōhēn gādōl miṭāhēr ēt haz-zābīm wē't hā-zābōt wē'[t] ha-məṣōrā' ū-mašqāh ēt haš-šōṭāh*.

For Jewish traditions about the Gate of Nikanor, see Busink, *TempeI* 13f. n. 50; 1094-1096; Küchler, "Jerusalem-Führer aus der Geniza" 12 n. 12.

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,13-15 (see Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56; 62-64; 76f.) *wa-kān fi l-qadīm tamma* [Classical Arabic *tamma*] *bāb yusammā Ša'ar ha-Mizraḥī wa-'bə-rūb hā-'āwōnōt' šār al-yawm miḍā li-l-...* (Braslavi/Küchler read *may ṣā ...*) *wa-l-qadar*.

B086.6.a. The term *\*ha-šāʿar ha-Mizraḥī* "the East Gate" refers to the Old Testament's east gate of the Temple, but we do not know which place specifically is meant. It may be "the East Gate" (*šāʿar ha-Mizraḥī*) rebuilt by Nehemiah (**Nehemiah** 3.29); "the King's Gate on the east" (*šāʿar ha-Mālāk mizraḥā*), the place of the chief guardian (**1 Chronicles** 9.18); "the East gate of the Temple which faces eastward" (*šāʿar bēyt YHWH ha-qadmōnī ha-pōnāh qādīmāh*), where Ezechiel had the vision of a group of unfaithful Jerusalemites (**Ezekiel** 11.1); "the gate, the gate which faces toward the east" (*ha-šāʿar šāʿar ašār pōnāh dārāk ha-qādīm*), where Ezechiel had the vision of how the glory of God entered "the gate which faces toward the east" (*šāʿar ašār pānāw dārāk ha-qādīm*) (**Ezekiel** 43.1-4); or "the outer gate of the Temple which faces toward the east" (*šāʿar ha-Miqdāš ha-ḥī ṣōn ha-pōnāh qādīm*), where God is said to have entered, which is therefore now closed and is entered only by the king when he eats [ritually] in front of God (**Ezekiel** 44.1-3).

**B086.7. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the ʿĀšūrā<sup>2</sup>-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees the gate, from the mosque as a gate made of light (*bāb min nūr*), but from the valley as a gate made of iron (*bāb min ḥadīd*) [which refers to the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (**Koran** 57.13) (see B086.5)].<sup>1</sup>

B086.7.a. Parallels to the iron gate: A High ʿAbbāsid Christian tradition locates, in the south part of the city, the iron gates (*porte ferree*) through which the angel led Peter out of the prison (**Acts** 12.10), and which are now closed.<sup>2</sup> Fāṭimid *Bāb al-abwāb* has three doors decorated with iron (*āhan*) and copper (*biring*) (B151.3); the Fāṭimid double gate *Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* has two doors of iron (*āhan*) and Damascene copper (*biring-i Dimašqi*) (B154.4).

**B086.8. Traditions (Jewish):** The [east] wall (*ḥadd*) was built by **Solomon** and [as part of the **Temple**] has since remained so.<sup>3</sup>

B086.8.a. For parallels to the attribution of this wall [with its large blocks] to Solomon, see B057.3.a.

## B087. The gate where Jesus entered the city<sup>4</sup>

**B087.1. Names (Christian):** The gate where Jesus entered [the city on Palm Sunday]

---

For Jewish traditions about the East Gate, see A153.a.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407:** 268,20f. (... *ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīnī l-Ḥawlī yu ... qāla ...*) *tumma saʿaltu ʿan Bābi r-raḥmati fa-idā bābun min nūrin mim mā yalī l-mašgida wa-bābun min ḥadīdīn mim mā yalī l-Wādī.*

<sup>2</sup>**Bernardus** 316,4-6: 12 (*Est (L ea) preterea in ipsa civitate alia ecclesia ad meridiem in monte Syon que dicitur Sancti Symeonis ...*) *Ad meridiem sunt porte ferree per quas angelus Domini eduxit Petrum de carcere (Acts 12.10) que postea (LV post) non sunt aperte.*

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,1f. ... *fa-hādā l-ḥadd baqiya mund banāhu Šəlōmōh.*

<sup>4</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid gate where Jesus entered the city, see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 36 n. 63; 160; Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini" 31; Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 13f.; 16f.

when he came to suffer (*ea porta quam Dominus intraverat quando ad passionem venerat*) (B087.4). This gate is identical with the (two) Gate(s) of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*, *Bābā r-raḥma*, *Bābayn ar-raḥma*, *Abwāb ar-raḥma*), or Gate of Nikanor (\*Ša'ar Nīqānōr) (B086.1.a).

**B087.2. Position:** The gate is opposite the Mount of Olives (*Mons Olivetus*) and may have formerly served as an entry to the city (B087.4). It is perhaps best to locate it at the GOLDEN GATE.

B087.2.a. As the place of the gate opposite the Mount of Olives, we may locate it either at the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ, also called LIONS' GATE, or at the GOLDEN GATE, which leads into the ḤARAM. The road coming down from the Mount of Olives and passing Gethsemane reaches the city at the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ, both in the Pre-Marwānid era and today, and this is the obvious place to locate Jesus' entry. But the GOLDEN GATE is much more majestic, and the theme of the gate which closes down and becomes a wall (B087.4) fits very well with the very special combination of the EAST ḤARAM WALL and the GOLDEN GATE. But where the tradition is located in our period remains unclear, and later locations do not help.

**B087.3. Physical shape:** This is a [distinct] gate (*porta*) of stones (*lapides*) in a [distinct] wall (*paries*) (B087.4). There is no evidence that the gate is open nor that it is closed.

B087.3.a. The strong connection between gate and wall is taken from **Hrabanus Maurus'** legend (B087.4) of how the gate united to the wall in front of the emperor Herakleios.

B087.3.b. It has been claimed that the gate is blocked in the time of **Hrabanus Maurus**,<sup>1</sup> because he describes how the gate closed in front of the emperor Herakleios when he wanted to enter in his imperial robes, but opened when he put on modest clothes (B087.3). Whether the gate is open or closed is surely an issue, but it refers to the east Temple gate where God entered, which is now closed and where only the king enters to eat ritually in front of God (**Ezekiel** 44.1-3) (B086.6.a). It does not necessarily describe the present status of the gate. (If the tradition mentioned is nevertheless used as evidence, it would point rather to an open gate, as the gate is finally opened again and does not remain closed.)

**B087.4. Traditions (Christian):** When [the emperor] Herakleios (*Gracchus*) recaptured the relic of the True Cross from the Sāsānids, he descended in a procession from the Mount of Olives (*Mons Olivetus*) and wanted to enter [the city] by the gate by which **Jesus** entered [on Palm Sunday] before his suffering (**Matthew** 21.10; **Mark** 11.11; **Luke** 19.45); but as Herakleios wore the imperial diadem and clothes and sat [on a horse-drawn chariot], the stones (*lapides*) of the gate (*porta*) lowered and the gate became one with the wall (*paries*) and did not let pass him through; there was the sign of the cross in the sky, and an angel stood over the gate and told them that Jesus wore neither purple nor diadem, and did not need a horse-drawn chariot, but sat humbly on an ass, and that the emperor should do as Jesus did; the emperor took his imperial robes off, dressed in [modest] linen clothes, took the

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 36 n. 63; 161; Mango, "Temple Mount" 15.

cross in his hand and came, with tears on his face, to the gate - and the gate opened.<sup>1</sup>

### B088. The Chamber of Zechariah<sup>2</sup>

B088.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Chamber of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb Zakarīyā*,<sup>3</sup> *Miḥrāb Zakarī-yā*<sup>4</sup>).

B088.2. **Position:** The Chamber of Zechariah is near the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) (B086.3). We have thus a place in the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER<sup>5</sup> near the GOLDEN GATE.

B088.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh** mentions *Miḥrāb Zakarīyā* on his list of gates under *Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN

<sup>1</sup>**Hrabanus Maurus**, *Homilia I* 70,109-133 (see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 36 n. 63; 161; Mango, "Temple Mount" 15; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 13f.; 16f.; Livne-Kafri, "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem" 174) (*Gracchus* [Herakleios] ...) *Cumque imperator de monte Oliveti descendisset per eam portam quam Dominus intraverat quando ad passionem venerat ipse regio [diademate] et ornamentis imperialibus decoratus sedens voluisset intrare repente lapides portae descendentes clausurunt se invicem et factus est paries unus. Cumque mirarentur attoniti nimio terrore constricti respicientes in altum viderunt signum sanctae crucis in coelo flammeo fulgore resplendere. Angelus enim Domini aspiciens illud in manibus stetit super portam et ait: Quando rex coelorum Dominus totius mundi passionis sacramenta per hoc aditum completurus introiit non se purpuratum nec diademate nitentem exhibuit aut equi potentis vehiculum requisivit sed humilis aselli terga insidens cultoribus suis humilitatis exempla reliquit. Tunc imperator gaudens in Domino de visu angelico depositisque imperii insignibus discalceatus protinus lintea tantum zona praecinctus crucem Domini manu suscipiens perfusus facie lacrymis ad coelum oculum erigens properabat ad portam usque progrediens. Mox illo humiliter propinquante duritia lapidum coeleste persensit imperium statimque porta se subrigens liberum intransibilibus patefecit ingressum.*

<sup>2</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid Chamber of Zechariah, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 164-166; 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 148 n. 17; 342 s.v. "Zacharie"; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 41; 43; Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charīf" 66 fig. ; 67f.; Gil, *Palestine* 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120 (erroneously alluding to a Gate of the Chamber of Zechariah); Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 68; 70; 126; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning" 99; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu" 126; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32; Myres, "Masjid Mahd ʿIsa" 526.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ... wa-fīhi*) *Miḥrābu Zakarīyā*, **al-Muqaddasī** 151,10 (*iqḷimu ṣ-Ṣaʿmi ... bihi ...*) *Miḥrābu Zakarīyā*; **al-Muqaddasī** 170,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165) (*ilā l-masġidi ... wa-fīhi mina l-masāhidi*) *Miḥrābu Maryama wa-Zakarīya wa-Yaʿqūba wa-l-Ḥiḍri (... mutafarriqatan fīhi)*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126) (*Masġidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fīhi mina al-abwābi ...*) *Bābu r-raḥmati wa-Miḥrābu Zakarīyāʾa*; **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407**: 268,19f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 128 n. 259) (*... ḥaddatāni Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ... tumma saʿaltu ʿan Mawlidi ʿIsā ʿalayhi s-salāmu (cf. Koran 19.23-26) fa-qīla lī ...*) *wa-ka-ḍālika Miḥrābu Zakarīyā ʿalayhi s-salāmu.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,7f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 325) (*Baytu l-Masġidi ...*) *wa-baššara Llāhu ġalla wa-ʿazza Zakarīyāʾa bi-Yaḥyā (cf. Koran 3.39; 19.7) bihā.*

<sup>5</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 126.

GATE), and we may deduce that *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* is near *Bāb ar-raḥma* (B086.3.c). This gives a place near the GOLDEN GATE.

#### Ibn al-Faqīh

*Bāb at-tawba*: inside it *Miḥrāb Maryam* -> *Bāb al-Wādī* -> *Bāb ar-raḥma*: ***Miḥrāb Zakariyā*** -> *Abwāb al-Asbāt*: *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm*, *Miḥrāb Ya'qūb*

B088.2.b. Both **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** and **al-Muqaddasī** have *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* in a list of minor commemorative places, preceded by *Miḥrāb Maryam* (at the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR) and followed by *Miḥrāb Ya'qūb* (possibly at QUBBAT SULAYMĀN). This also allows location near the GOLDEN GATE.

#### Ibn 'Abd Rabbih

*Miḥrāb Maryam* -> ***Miḥrāb Zakariyā*** -> *Miḥrāb Ya'qūb* -> *Kursī Sulaymān* -> *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm*

#### al-Muqaddasī

*Miḥrāb Maryam* -> ***Miḥrāb Zakariyā*** -> *Miḥrāb Ya'qūb* -> *Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr*

B088.2.c. High 'Abbāsīd *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* has been located in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER.<sup>1</sup> We have indeed a Fāṭimid prayer-niche *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* in MASĠID MAHD 'ĪSĀ in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER (B165.4), but there is no evidence that High 'Abbāsīd *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* may have been there. The building cannot not be identified with a building of today.<sup>2</sup>

B088.2.d. The building has been identified with MIḤRĀB ZAKARĪYĀ, an east annex to the AQṢĀ MOSQUE;<sup>3</sup> but the identity of the Pre-Crusader and the modern names has no weight. Locating the building in the middle of the north part of the ḤARAM<sup>4</sup> is excluded.

**B088.3. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Chamber of **Zechariah** (*Miḥrāb Zakariyā*, *Miḥrāb Zakariyā*) (B088.1), where the angels foretold to Zechariah the birth of John "while he was yet standing praying in the sanctuary" (**Koran** 3.39, cf. **Koran** 19.7).<sup>5</sup>

B088.4. Whoever prays at the Chamber of Zechariah is as if he had entered Paradise; whoever enters the Chamber of Zechariah is as if he had looked at Zechariah [in Paradise] (B064.7).

**B088.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** Who prays at this place is as if he had entered Paradise, who enters this place is as if he had looked at Zechariah [in Paradise] (B064.7).

<sup>1</sup> Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 148 n. 17; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.

<sup>2</sup> Le Strange, *Nāsir* 32 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Gildemeister, "Beiträge zur Palästinakunde" 1 92; 3 163.

<sup>4</sup> Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf" 66 fig. ; 67.

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256, 12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masḡidi ... wa-fīhi*) *Miḥrābu Zakariyā l-ladī baššarathu fīhi l-malā'ikatu bi-Yahyā 'wa-huwa qā'imun yuṣalli fī l-miḥrābi'* (**Koran** 3.39; cf. **Koran** 19.7).

Cf. **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95, 7f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 325) (*Baytu l-Masḡidi ...*) *wa-baššara Llāhu ḡalla wa-'azza Zakariyā'a bi-Yahyā* (cf. **Koran** 3.39; 19.7) *bihā*.



**B088.6. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the 'Āšūrā'-Night 335/10-11 August 946, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī asks about the Birth-place of Jesus and is told that making ritual prayer at the Birth-place of Jesus is like entering Paradise, and entering the Birth-place of Jesus is like looking at Jesus and Mary [in Paradise] - and the same is true for the Chamber of Zechariah [i.e., making ritual prayer there is like entering Paradise, and entering the Chamber of Zechariah is like looking at Zechariah and Mary in Paradise] (B064.7).

### B089. The Gate of the Valley<sup>1</sup>

**B089.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of the Valley (*Bāb al-Wādī*).<sup>2</sup>

B089.1.a. The name *Bāb al-Wādī* refers to *al-Wādī* "the Valley", the current appellation of both the Marwānīd<sup>3</sup> and High 'Abbāsīd<sup>4</sup> KIDRON VALLEY, and we may deduce that the gate is either next to the valley or leads there. For parallels, i.e., gates called similarly after places nearby, see B060.2.c.

B089.1.b. *Bāb al-Wādī* and *Bāb at-tawba* have been considered one and the same gate, but this out of the question (B064.1.a).

**B089.2. Position:** The Gate of the Valley (*Bāb al-Wādī*) is either near the Valley (*al-Wādī*) (the KIDRON VALLEY) or leads there (B089.1.a). We locate the gate best between the

<sup>1</sup> For the High 'Abbāsīd Gate of the Valley, see Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; Elad, *Jerusalem* 94; 126.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126) (*Masğidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fi hi mina l-abwābi ...*) *Bābu l-Wādī*.

<sup>3</sup> **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.130:** 78,10-14 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 89-91) (... *ḥaddatānī šayḥun min wuldi Šaddāda bni Awsin 'an abihi 'an ḡaddihi qāla*) *fa-taqaddama raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu* (Hasson reads *fa-taqaddama 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu* ya'nī ilā š-Ṣaḥrati ḥīna arāda kašfahā wa-izālata l-mazbalati 'anhā) *ḥattā mala'a asfala tawbihi mina l-mazbalati l-lati kānat fi Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-ḥamala wa-ḥamalnā fi tiyābinā miṭla mā ḥamala ḥattā alqaynāhu fi l-Wādī ḥattā ḡalā 'an muṣallā ḡamā'atin mina l-Muslimīna fa-ttaḥadahu muṣallan; Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.327: 223,10-13 *wa-uḥida š-Ṣaḥriyu fa-yudbaḥu 'alā š-ṣafā l-mu'tariḍati 'alā waḡhi l-arḍi 'inda l-kanisati l-lati fi baṭni l-Wādī 'alā ṭarafī Ṭūri Zaytā* (Livne-Kafri reads *'alā ṭarafī daraḡi Ṭūri Zaytā*) *ya'nī Ṭūra Bayti l-Maqdisi l-muqanṭarati l-lati 'alā yamīni l-Wādī 'alā š-ṣafā l-mu'tariḍati 'alā waḡhi l-arḍi 'alayhā tudbaḥu* (read *yudbaḥu*) *kamā tudbaḥu š-šātu; Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.385: 253,13-15 *anna 'Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi lammā fataḥa Bayta l-Maqdisi marra bi-Kanīsati Maryama 'alayhā s-salāmu l-lati fi l-Wādī fa-ṣallā fihā rak'atayni tumma nadima fa-qāla li-qawli n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu hādā wādin min awdiyati Ġahannuma' tumma qāla mā kāna aḡnā 'Umara an yuṣalliya fi Wādī Ġahannuma.***

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.407:** 268,20f.; 269,9 (... *ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadin 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma sa'altu 'an Bābi r-raḥmati fa-idā bābun min nūrin mimma yalī l-masğida wa-bābun min ḥadīdin mimma yalī l-Wādī* (... *fa-qultu fa-sihāmu ahli l-bida'i fa-qīla lī fi Wādī Ġahannuma*) *fa-ašraftu 'alā l-Wādī.*

GOLDEN GATE and the TRIPLE GATE.<sup>1</sup>

B089.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has *Bāb al-Wādī* preceded by *Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and followed by *Bāb at-tawba* (at the TRIPLE GATE). This leaves us with the space between the GOLDEN GATE and the TRIPLE GATE.

**Ibn al-Faqīh**

*Bāb at-tawba*: inside it *Miḥrāb Maryam* -> ***Bāb al-Wādī*** -> *Bāb ar-raḥma*:  
*Miḥrāb Zakarīyā*<sup>2</sup>

B089.2.b. This part of the ḤARAM WALL has three gates: the blocked SMALL EAST GATE immediately south of the GOLDEN GATE;<sup>2</sup> then the blocked BĀB AL-ĞANĀ'IZ,<sup>3</sup> seen from outside the EAST ḤARAM WALL a couple of metres further south, next to a WATER PIPE; and finally the SINGLE GATE - but this is from Crusader times (B064.2.a), and so no option. But the gate should not necessarily be located at the SMALL EAST GATE or at BĀB AL-ĞANĀ'IZ. The place of the gate has been restricted to the EAST ḤARAM WALL,<sup>4</sup> but this is not necessarily so.

**B089.3. Contemporary events:** The gate is open around 902/03.

B089.3.a. *Bāb al-Wādī*, mentioned by **Ibn al-Faqīh** (902/03), is the only High 'Abbāsīd gate known between the GOLDEN GATE and the TRIPLE GATE; this may be sufficient evidence that the gate is open only for a short while, around 902/03.

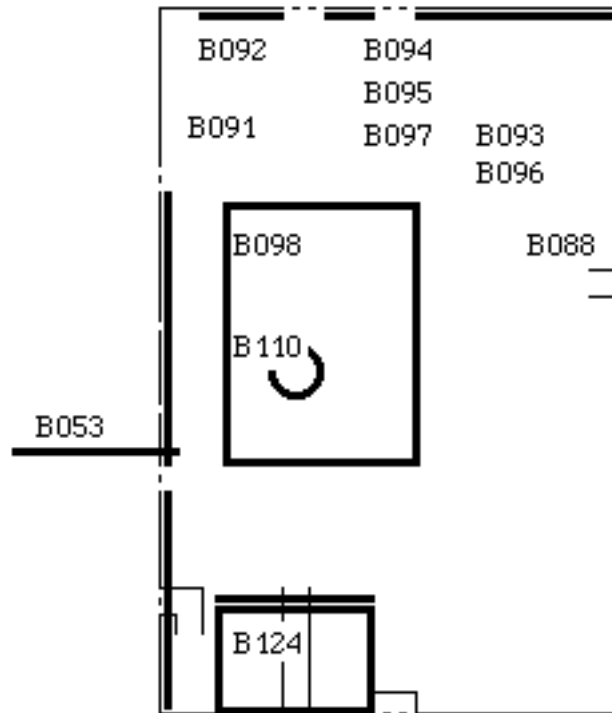
<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 94 ("a south-east or eastern gate leading apparently to the Kidron Valley").

<sup>2</sup>For this SMALL EAST GATE, see B002.2.a.

<sup>3</sup>For BĀB AL-ĞANĀ'IZ, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 237-239; Busink, *Tempel* 985f.; Burgoyne, "Gates" 112 n. 19; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 196 ("Eine zweite, heute vermauerte Poterne liegt 15,5 m südlich des Goldenen Tores"); Burgoyne, "East Wall" 488 (Buraq Gate).

<sup>4</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115.

## 3.3. THE COURTYARD



57

**Figure 57. The High ‘Abbāsid courtyard:** B053 The aqueduct or Channel of al-Marǧī‘. - B088 The Chamber of Zechariah (near the east gate). - B091 The west arcades. - B092 The north arcades. - B093 The cisterns (partly in the courtyard). - B094 The Throne of Solomon (near the two north gates). - B095 The Chamber of Jacob (near the two north gates). - B096 The Chamber of al-Ḥiḍr (in the area). - B097 The Cave of Abraham (near the two north gates). - B098 The platform. - B110 The Dome of the Rock. - B124 The Roofed Hall with its north arcade.

### B090. The courtyard<sup>1</sup>

**B090.1. Names (Muslim):** The courtyard (of the Temple) (*ṣaḥn Bayt al-Maqdis*,<sup>2</sup> *aṣ-ṣaḥn*).<sup>3</sup>

B090.1.a. **al-Muqaddasī**'s city gate *Bāb al-balāṭ*<sup>4</sup> has been understood as "the Gate of the paved square" and referred to "the court par excellence, i.e., the esplanade of the Haram ash-Sharif", i.e., the ḤARAM;<sup>5</sup> however, Arabic *balāṭ* is not the courtyard, but rather the pavement, and there is no connection with the ḤARAM. *Bāb al-balāṭ* has been understood as the "Gate of the palace", from Latin palatium "palace" and referred to the Umayyad Palaces outside the Southwest Ḥaram Corner;<sup>6</sup> this may be, but we would like to have more references for Arabic *balāṭ* "palace". *al-Balāṭ* is also one of the names of Jerusalem,<sup>7</sup> but this obviously plays no role within Jerusalem.

**B090.2. Position:** This is the completely open, unbuilt space of the ḤARAM.

**B090.3. Physical shape:** The courtyard is completely paved (*muballaṭ*);<sup>8</sup> in Syria-Palestine (*aṣ-Ṣa'm*), the courtyard of a Friday mosque (*ṣaḥn al-ḡāmi'*) has no pebble (*ḥaṣā*) except the courtyard of the Friday mosque in Tiberias;<sup>9</sup> we may suppose that the courtyard of the Jerusalem Friday mosque has no pebble as well. There are arcades in the courtyard (*alā ṣ-ṣaḥn*), in the mosque's right [west] part (*min al-maymana*) (B091.2) and in its back [north] part (*alā l-mu'ahhar*) (B092.2); but there are no arcades in the mosque's left [east] part (*al-maysara*) or all east of the Roofed Hall (B124.4). The centre of the courtyard (*wasat aṣ-ṣaḥn*) is the

<sup>1</sup>For the High 'Abbāsid courtyard, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 1 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 5 170,3f. *ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu l-Mubāraki ʿan raḡulin aḥbarahu qāla kuntu maʿā Ḥālidi bni Yazīda bni Muʿāwiyata fī ṣaḥni Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-laqīnā ʿUmara bna ʿAbdi l-ʿAzīzi wa-lā aʿrifuhu ...*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; Creswell, *EMA* 1 204; 375) *wa-ʿalā ṣ-ṣaḥni* (C *wa-ʿalā ṣ-ṣ-ṣaḥri*) *mina l-maymanati arwiqatun ʿalā aʿmidatin ruḥāmin wa-asāṭina*; **al-Muqaddasī** 169,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-ṣ-ṣaḥnu kulluhu muballaṭun*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 182,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 21; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 81) (*iqḷimu ṣ-Ṣa'mi ... wa-rusūmuhum ...*) *wa-bayna l-Muḡaṭṭa wa-ṣ-ṣaḥni abwābun illā Ariḥā'a wa-lā tarā l-ḥaṣā illā fī ṣaḥni ḡāmi'i Ṭabarīyata* (C without *illā ... fī ṣaḥni ḡāmi'i Ṭabarīyata*).

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 167,11 (*Baytu l-Maqdisi ... wa-lahā tamāniyatu abwābin ḥadīdun ...*) *Bābu l-balāṭi ...*

<sup>5</sup>Wightman, *Walls* 244.

<sup>6</sup>Ben-Dov, "Omayyad Structures" 43 n. 16.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 30,5 (*i'lam anna fī l-Islāmi buldānan wa-kuwaran wa-quran tattaqifu asmā'uhā wa-tatabāyanu mawāḍi'uhā wa-yaṣkalu ʿalā n-nāsi amruḥā wa-l-mansūbūna ilayhā* (C without *wa-l-mansūbūna ilayhā*) ... *wa-tusammā ʿĪliyā l-Balāṭa*; **al-Muqaddasī** 30,10f. (*wa-mina l-muduni mā lahā aḡtaru mini smin naḥwa* (C *mā lahā asāmin miṭlu*) ...) *Bayti l-Maqdisi ʿĪliyā l-Qudsu l-Balāṭu*.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-ṣ-ṣaḥnu kulluhu muballaṭun*.

<sup>9</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 182,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 21) (*iqḷimu ṣ-Ṣa'mi ... wa-rusūmuhum ... wa-bayna l-Muḡaṭṭa wa-ṣ-ṣaḥni abwābun illā Ariḥā'a*) *wa-lā tarā l-ḥaṣā illā fī ṣaḥni ḡāmi'i Ṭabarīyata* (C without *illā ... fī ṣaḥni ḡāmi'i Ṭabarīyata*).

platform (*ad-dikka*) (B098.2). In the south part of the mosque is the Roofed Hall (B124.4).

**B090.4. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the ʿĀšūrāʾ-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees trees made of light standing between the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock and the [Roofed Hall's] Copper Gate (*Bāb an-nuḥās*), opposite the prayer-niche (*muqābil al-miḥrāb*); this is explained to him as the way the faithful go with God, as opposed to the blocked ways of their opponents, and a path of light as white as snow is explained as the footsteps Muḥammad made on the night of the Night Journey.<sup>1</sup>

### B091. The west arcades<sup>2</sup>

**B091.1. Names (Muslim):** The arcades (*arwiqa* sing. *riwāq*) in the courtyard (ʿalā ṣ-ṣaḥn) in the mosque's right [west] part (*min al-maymana*) (B091.2).

**B091.2. Position:** These arcades are in the courtyard (ʿalā ṣ-ṣaḥn) in the mosque's right [west] part (*min al-maymana*).<sup>3</sup> We locate the arcades best along the WEST ḤARAM WALL.

B091.2.a. It has been assumed that the High ʿAbbāsīd west and north arcades may have served to mark the border of the Muslim sanctuary vis-à-vis the adjoining, predominantly Christian, neighbourhood;<sup>4</sup> this is very possible, but not confirmed by the sources.

**B091.3. Physical shape:** These are three or more arcades (*arwiqa* sing. *riwāq*) on marble columns and pillars (*aʿmidat ruḥām wa-asāṭīn*).<sup>5</sup>

B091.3.a. The number of at least three arcades is deduced from the plural *arwiqa* "arcades".

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407:** 268,8-12 (... *ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīnī l-Ḥawlīyū ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma ḥarağtu mina l-qubbati fa-idā ašğārun min nūrin min Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ilā Bābi n-nuḥāsi muqābila l-miḥrābi fa-qultu mā ḥādihi l-ašğāru fa-qīla lī ḥādihi ṭarīqu l-muʾminīna bi-Llāhi qultu fa-man yuḥālifuhum qāla nḥur ṭarīqahum musaddadatan ṭumma saʾaltu ʿani n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu laylata usriya bihi mā lahu aṭarun daḥala šayʾun fa-qīla lahu (read lī) nḥur ilā l-arḍi fa-idā nūrun abyadu miṭlu ṭ-ṭalğī wa-qad dāsahu bi-riğlayhi šallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-qad šāra ṭarīqan.*

<sup>2</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsīd west arcades, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 116; Creswell, *EMA* 1 204; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 192; 2 402f..

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; Creswell, *EMA* 1 204; 375) *wa-ʿalā ṣ-ṣaḥni* (C *wa-ʿalā ṣ-ṣaḥri*) *mina l-maymanati arwiqatun ʿalā aʿmidati ruḥāmin wa-asāṭīna.*

<sup>4</sup>Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 386.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; Creswell, *EMA* 1 204; 375) *wa-ʿalā ṣ-ṣaḥni* (C *wa-ʿalā ṣ-ṣaḥri*) *mina l-maymanati arwiqatun ʿalā aʿmidati ruḥāmin wa-asāṭīna.*

### B092. The north arcades<sup>1</sup>

**B092.1. Names (Muslim):** The arcades (*arwiqa*) in the mosque's back [north] part (‘*alà l-mu’ahḥar*’) (B092.2).

**B092.2. Position:** These arcades are in the mosque's back [north] part (‘*alà l-mu’ahḥar*’).<sup>2</sup> We best locate them along the NORTH ḤARAM WALL, from west of DĀR AL-ANṢĀRĪ (Mamlūk al-Is‘ardiya) to the NORTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER.

B092.2.a. There are about a dozen HOLES in the BEDROCK both west of DĀR AL-ANṢĀRĪ (Mamlūk al-Is‘ardiya) and inside the ARCADE south of DĀR AL-ANṢĀRĪ, with an average span of 3.89 metres and a height above ground of about 2.6-3.0 metres;<sup>3</sup> these holes have been dated as post-Herodian and - being redundant beneath Mamlūk al-Is‘ardiya (DĀR AL-ANṢĀRĪ) - Pre-Mamlūk, and identified with **al-Muqaddasī**'s north arcades.<sup>4</sup>

B092.2.b. It has been assumed that the High ‘Abbāsīd west and north arcades may have served to mark the border of the Muslim sanctuary vis-à-vis the adjoining, predominantly Christian, neighbourhood, but the sources do not confirm this (B095.1.a).

**B092.3. Physical shape:** These are wide arcades (*arwiqa āzāğ*) of stone (*ḥağāra*)<sup>5</sup> [on massive pillars, not on columns].

B092.3.a. The existence of three or more arcades is deduced from the plural *arwiqa āzāğ*.

### B093. The cisterns<sup>6</sup>

**B093.1. Names (Muslim):** The cisterns of the Friday mosque (*ṣahārīg al-ğāmi*) (B053.4), the water pits (sing. *ğubb li-l-mā*?<sup>7</sup> *ğubb*) which are in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*).

<sup>1</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd north arcades, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 83 n. 7; 116 n. 2; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; 104f.; 370; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 192; 2 441-443; 3 204f.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375) (*wa-‘alà ṣ-ṣaḥni* (C *wa-‘alà ṣ-ṣ-ṣaḥri*) *mina l-maymanati arwiqatun ‘alà a‘midati ruḥāmin wa-asāṭina*) *wa-‘alà l-mu’ahḥari arwiqatun āzāğun* (C *aqibbā*) *mina l-ḥiğārati*.

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44 pl. 3 (below "vaulting springer"); 46 and pl. 4; 104; 370; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 441-443.

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; 104.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375) (*wa-‘alà ṣ-ṣaḥni* (C *wa-‘alà ṣ-ṣ-ṣaḥri*) *mina l-maymanati arwiqatun ‘alà a‘midati ruḥāmin wa-asāṭina*) *wa-‘alà l-mu’ahḥari arwiqatun āzāğun* (C *aqibbā*) *mina l-ḥiğārati*.

<sup>6</sup>For the cisterns of the area, see B010.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 255,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163) (*al-masğidu ...*) *fīhi arba‘atun wa-‘isrūna ḡubban li-l-mā’i*.

B093.2. **Position:** These are cisterns in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) (B093.1). They are in the HARAM, at least partly in the COURTYARD.

B093.3. **Physical shape:** These are about twenty to twenty-five cisterns.<sup>2</sup> They collect both winter rain and summer dew. They are also fed by winter rain collected in the Pools of al-Marğī<sup>c</sup> (SOLOMON'S POOLS) and brought by the aqueduct to the mosque (B053.4). The spouts of the Furthest Mosque (*mazārīb al-Masğid al-Aqṣà*, *marāzīb al-Masğid al-Aqṣà*) run with dew (*nadà*) every summer night with a south wind.<sup>3</sup>

B093.3.a. The number of cisterns is given by **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's** (*al-masğidu ... fīhi arba'atun wa-'iṣrūna ġubban li-l-mā'i*) "(the mosque ...) in it are twenty-four water pits" and **al-Muqaddasī's** *wa-fī l-masğidi 'iṣrūna ġubban mutabaḥḥiratun* "and in the mosque are twenty pits like lakes".

B093.3.b. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has (*Masğidu Bayti l-Masğidi ... fīhi ḥamsatun wa-'iṣrūna alfa ḥubbin li-l-mā'i*) "(the Mosque of the Temple ...) in it are twenty-five thousand water jars". This is not impossible, but the similarity to **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's** (*al-masğidu ... fīhi arba'atun wa-'iṣrūna ġubban li-l-mā'i*) makes one guess that **Ibn al-Faqīh** may have had originally \*... *fīhi ḥamsatun wa-'iṣrūna ġubban li-l-mā'i* "... in it are twenty-five water pits". This would be rather easy, as *ḥubb li-l-mā'* becomes, by losing one dot, *ġubb li-l-mā'*, and this again may have led to the addition of *alf* "thousand", as twenty-five jars are very few for the whole mosque.

B093.3.c. **al-Muqaddasī's** *iṣrūna ġubban mutabaḥḥiratun* "20 pits like lakes" means that each cistern is [so spacious as to be considered] a kind of small lake. The term *mutabaḥḥira* has been understood as referring to pits connected with each other and thus forming a kind of subterranean lake (de Goeje,<sup>4</sup> Miquel); but this does not fit with what we know of the CISTERNs of today.

---

Cf. **Gil Nr.2** 2v, 10-15 *wa-taṣ'ad ṣā'id fī zahr al-ġabal ilà Ṣiyyōn titnāḥēm bi-mhērāh fa-tamma* [Classical Arabic *tamma*] *ṭarīq al-mā al-ladī adḥal Yəḥizqiyyāhū ilà l-balad Qanāt al-Marğī' 'alà mā qālū 'wa-<sup>a</sup>šār 'āsāh āt ha-bērēkāl wə-āt ha-tə'alāh wa-yābē' āt ha-mayim hā-'irāh' (2 Kings 20.20; cf. 2 Chronicles 32.30) wa-amr hādihī l-qanāt 'aḡīb taṣīr aktar min alf mīl wa-ṭ-ṭarīq min aṣl al-mā ilà bayt aṭ-ṭuhra 7 [amyāl] ...*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,2 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 200) *wa-fī l-masğidi 'iṣrūna ġubban mutabaḥḥiratun* (Yā-qūt *muṣaḡḡaratun/muttaḥidatun*).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,7 (*Masğidu Bayti l-Masğidi ... fīhi ḥamsatun wa-'iṣrūna alfa ḥubbin* (I read *ḥamsatun wa-'iṣrūna ġubban*) *li-l-mā'i* = **al-Harawī** K 25,11 (*al-masğidu ... wa-fihā* (read *wa-fihī*) *mina ṣ-ṣahārīḡi arba'atun wa-'iṣrīna* (read *'iṣrūna*) *kibāran*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,16f. (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 163) (*al-masğidu ... fīhi arba'atun wa-'iṣrūna ġubban li-l-mā'i*; **al-Muqaddasī** 168,2 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 200) *wa-fī l-masğidi 'iṣrūna ġubban mutabaḥḥiratun* (Yāqūt *muṣaḡḡaratun/muttaḥidatun*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 186,1f. *yanzilu 'alà Filasṭīna* (B *ilà Filasṭīna*, C *'alà Īliyā*) *fī kulli laylatini n-nadà* (B *n-nadā*, C *n-nadā'u*) *fī ṣ-ṣayfi idā habbatī l-ḡanūbu ḥattā yaḡrī minhu mazārību l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà* (C *fī ṣ-ṣayfi ... ḥattā yaḡrī marāzību l-masğidi*, B without *fī ṣ-ṣayfi ... ḥattā*).

Cf. **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,1 *wa-miyāhu Filasṭīna mina l-amṭāri wa-ṭ-ṭalli*.

<sup>4</sup>de Goeje, BGA 4185 s.v. "b-ḥ-r. V".

### B094. The Throne of Solomon<sup>1</sup>

B094.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Throne of Solomon (*Kursī Sulaymān*) (B094.4).

B094.2. **Position:** We best locate the Throne of Solomon near BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA, at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŞAḤRA.<sup>2</sup>

B094.2.a. **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** has *Kursī Sulaymān* on his list of minor commemorative places; it is preceded by *Miḥrāb Maryam* (inside the TRIPLE GATE), *Miḥrāb Zakarīyā* (near the GOLDEN GATE) and *Miḥrāb Ya‘qūb* (near BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA), and followed by *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* (near BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA). We best locate it near BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA.

**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** *Miḥrāb Maryam -> Miḥrāb Zakarīyā -> Miḥrāb Ya‘qūb -> **Kursī Sulaymān** -> Maḡārat Ibrāhīm*

B094.2.b. *Kursī Sulaymān* is a distinct piece of bedrock (B094.3), and we may identify it with the ROCK inside QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŞAḤRA.<sup>3</sup>

B094.3. **Physical shape: Names (Muslim):** This is a distinct piece of bedrock.

B094.3.a. There is no description of how High ‘Abbāsīd *Kursī Sulaymān* may have looked; but as both the Marwānid rock where Solomon prayed (B029.3) and the Fāṭimid *Kursī(-i) Sulaymān* (B163.3) are rocks, we may assume that High ‘Abbāsīd *Kursī Sulaymān* is a rock as well.

B094.4. **Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Throne of Solomon (*Kursī Sulaymān*), where **Solomon** prayed (see *Koran* 38.34f.) [when he had finished the Temple].<sup>4</sup>

### B095. The Chamber of Jacob<sup>5</sup>

B095.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Chamber of Jacob (*Miḥrāb Ya‘qūb*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd Throne of Solomon, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 169; 171; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 205-211; Busse, "Sanctity" 455f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIIIf.; 82f.; 86f.; 91-93; 165.

<sup>2</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIIIf.; 91-93.

<sup>3</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 91-93.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*ātāru l-anbiyā’i ‘alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa fī l-masḡidi ... wa-fīhi*) *Kursīyu Sulaymāna ṣalawātu Llāhi ‘alayhi l-ladī kāna yad‘ū Llāha fīhi* (cf. *Koran* 38.34f.); .

For Muslim traditions about the Throne of Solomon, see A084.b.

<sup>5</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd Chamber of Jacob, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 169; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 209 n. 4; 211; Busse, "Kultstätten" 138; Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charīf" 66 fig.; 67f.; Gil, *Palestine* 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120 (erroneously alluding to a Gate of the Chamber of Jacob); Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIIIf.; 87.



B095.2. **Position:** The Chamber of Jacob (*Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb*) is near the collective Gates of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāt*) (at BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) (B080.2). We locate it best near BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA.

B095.2.a. **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** and **al-Muqaddasī** have *Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb*, on their lists of minor commemorative places, preceded by *Miḥrāb Maryam* (inside the TRIPLE GATE) and *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* (near the GOLDEN GATE). In **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**, it is followed by *Kursī Sulaymān* (at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŠ-ŠAḤRA) and *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* (near BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA); in **al-Muqaddasī**, it is followed by *Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr*. This places *Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb* roughly in the north part of the ḤARAM.

|                        |                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b> | <i>Miḥrāb Maryam</i> -> <i>Miḥrāb Zakariyā</i> -> <b><i>Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb</i></b> -> <i>Kursī Sulaymān</i> -> <i>Maḡārat Ibrāhīm</i> |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>    | <i>Miḥrāb Maryam</i> -> <i>Miḥrāb Zakariyā</i> -> <b><i>Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb</i></b> -> <i>Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr</i>                           |

B095.2.b. **Ibn al-Faqīh** mentions *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* on his list of gates under *Abwāb al-Asbāt* (at BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and we may deduce that *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* is near BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA (B080.2.a).

|                     |                                                                                                                                          |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b> | <i>Bāb ar-raḥma: Miḥrāb Zakariyā</i> -> <i>Abwāb al-Asbāt: Maḡārat Ibrāhīm</i> , <b><i>Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb</i></b> -> <i>Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālid</i> |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

B095.2.c. The place has been located at QUBBAT SULAYMĀN;<sup>2</sup> this is very possible, but evidence is lacking.<sup>3</sup> Locating it in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER<sup>4</sup> is excluded.

B095.d. It has been suggested that High ʿAbbāsīd *Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb* may have been followed by Fāṭimid *Qubbat Yaʿqūb* = *Qubba-i Yaʿqūb*<sup>5</sup> (in the NORTH ARCADE, between BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA); this is indeed possible, but would require further corroboration.

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126) (*Masġidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fi hi mina l-abwābi ...*) *Abwābu l-Asbāti wa-Maḡāratu Ibrāhīma wa-Miḥrābu Yaʿqūba*; **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*ātāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi š-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fi l-masġidi ... wa-fihi*) *Miḥrābu Yaʿqūba*; **al-Muqaddasī** 170,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165) (*ilā l-masġidi ... wa-fihi mina l-mašāhidi*) *Miḥrābu Maryama wa-Zakariya wa-Yaʿqūba wa-l-Ḥiḍri (... mutafarriqatan fi hi)*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,10f. (*iqlimu š-Šaʾmi ... bihi ...*) *manāzilu Yaʿqūba*.

<sup>2</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170.

Le Strange, *Palestine* 169, identifies *Qubbat Yaʿqūb* with QUBBAT SULAYMĀN, but Le Strange, *Palestine* 167f. (where V has to be corrected into U) identifies *Miḥrāb Dāwūd* with QUBBAT SULAYMĀN.

<sup>3</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 208.

<sup>4</sup> Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf" 66 fig. ; 67.

<sup>5</sup> Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIII.

**B096. The Chamber of al-Ḥiḍr<sup>1</sup>**

**B096.1. Names (Muslim):** The Chamber of [the popular saint] al-Ḥiḍr (*Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr*).<sup>2</sup>

**B096.2. Position:** The Chamber of al-Ḥiḍr (*Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr*) is somewhere in the mosque. We locate it, therefore, just generally in the ḤARAM.

B096.2.a. **al-Muqaddasī** has *Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr* last on his list of minor commemorative places, preceded by *Miḥrāb Maryam* (inside the TRIPLE GATE), *Miḥrāb Zakarīyā* (near the GOLDEN GATE) and *Miḥrāb Ya'qūb* (near BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA). This does not help location.

|                     |                                                                                                        |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b> | <i>Miḥrāb Maryam</i> -> <i>Miḥrāb Zakarīyā</i> -> <i>Miḥrāb Ya'qūb</i> -> <b><i>Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr</i></b> |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

B096.2.b. *Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr* has been located north of the GOLDEN GATE,<sup>3</sup> but this is not supported by sources.

**B096.3. Traditions (Muslim):** The Chamber of **al-Ḥiḍr** (*Miḥrāb al-Ḥiḍr*) could be connected with [the popular saint] al-Ḥiḍr, but this is not explicit.

**B097. The Cave of Abraham<sup>4</sup>**

**B097.1. Names (Muslim):** The Cave of Abraham (the Friend of God) (*Maḡārat Ibrāhīm Ḥalīl ar-Raḥmān*,<sup>5</sup> *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm*<sup>6</sup>).

**B097.2. Position:** The Cave of Abraham is near the collective Gates of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*) (at BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) (B080.2). We locate it best near BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA.

B097.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh**, on his list of gates, has *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* under *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* (at BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA), and we may deduce that *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* is near *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ* (B080.2.a). In **Ibn ‘Abd**

<sup>1</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd Chamber of al-Ḥiḍr, see Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf" 66 fig. ; 67f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 117; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 893 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165) (*ilā l-masḡidi ... wa-fīhi mina l-masāhidi*) *Miḥrābu Maryama wa-Zakarīya wa-Ya'qūba wa-l-Ḥiḍri (... mutafarriqatan fihi)*.

<sup>3</sup>Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charîf" 66 fig. ; 67.

<sup>4</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd Cave of Abraham, see Gil, *Palestine* 424 n. 87; 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120 (erroneously alluding to a Gate of the Cave of Abraham).

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masḡidi ... wa-fīhi ...*) *Maḡāratu Ibrāhīma Ḥalīli r-Raḥmāni 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu*.

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 161f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 126) (*Masḡidu Bayti l-Maqdisi ... fī hi mina l-abwābi ...*) *Abwābu l-Asbāṭi wa-Maḡāratu Ibrāhīma wa-Miḥrābu Ya'qūba*.

**Rabbih**, *Mağārat Ibrāhīm* is the last place on his list of minor commemorative places; it is preceded by *Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb* (near BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and *Kursī Sulaymān* (at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŞAḤRA). All this suggests a location near BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA.

**Ibn al-Faqih**

*Bāb ar-raḥma: Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ -> Abwāb al-Asbāṭ: **Mağārat Ibrāhīm**, Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb -> Bāb Dār Umm Ḥālīd*

**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**

*Miḥrāb Maryam -> Miḥrāb Zakariyāʾ -> Miḥrāb Yaʿqūb -> Kursī Sulaymān -> **Mağārat Ibrāhīm** -> al-qubba l-latī araġa n-Nabī ... minhā ilā s-samāʾ*

B097.2.b. The High ʿAbbāsīd *Mağārat Ibrāhīm* has been identified with the Fāṭimid *ḡuwayr* "small cave" where Ibn al-ʿArabī l-Iṣbīlī is living;<sup>1</sup> this is very possible, but there are no further sources.

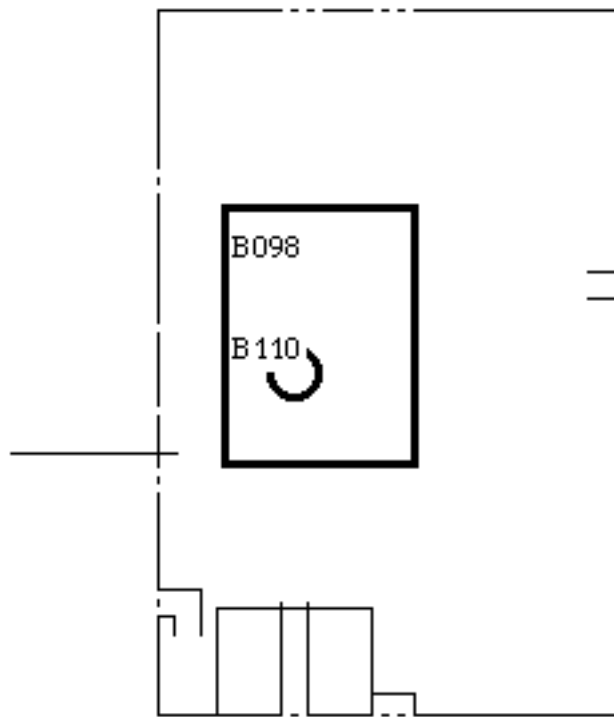
B097.3. **Physical shape:** This is obviously a cave, but no details are given.

B097.4. **Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Cave of Abraham (*Mağārat Ibrāhīm*), where **Abraham** lived like a hermit, worshipping (*kāna yataḥallā li-l-ʿibāda*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 424 n. 87.

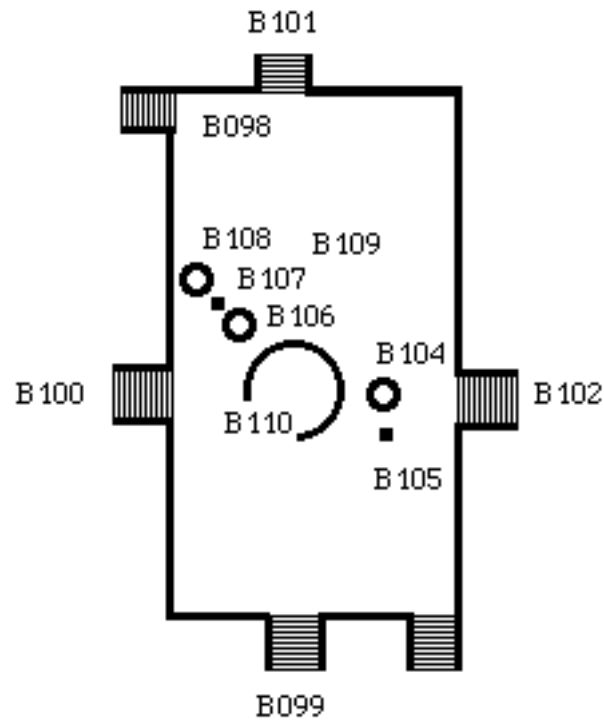
<sup>2</sup> **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*āṭaru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ... wa-fīhi ...*) *Mağāratu Ibrāhīma Ḥalīli r-Raḥmāni ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu l-latī kāna yataḥallā fīha li-l-ʿibādati*.

### 3.4. THE PLATFORM



**58**

**Figure 58. The position of the High 'Abbāsid platform: B098 The platform. - B110 The Dome of the Rock.**



59

**Figure 59. The High 'Abbāsid platform:** B098 The platform. - B099 The South Ascent or Ascent of the Prophet, the staircase opposite the south Gate of the Dome of the Rock. - B100 The staircase opposite the west gate of the Dome of the Rock. - B101 The staircase opposite the north gate of the Dome of the Rock. - B102 The staircase opposite the east gate of the Dome of the Rock. - B104 The Dome of the Chain. - B105 The Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr. - B106 The Dome of the Ascension. - B107 The Place of the Night Journey. - B108 The Dome of the Prophet or Dome of Muḥammad. - B109 The Standing-place of Gabriel or Prayer-place of Gabriel. - B110 The Dome of the Rock.

**B098. The platform (with its staircases)<sup>1</sup>**

**B098.1. Names (Muslim):** The platform (*dukkān*,<sup>2</sup> *dikka*<sup>3</sup>) and the staircases (*darağāt*,<sup>4</sup> *marāqf* sing. *mirqāf*<sup>6</sup>).

**B098.2. Position:** The platform is the centre of the mosque (*wasaf al-masğid*);<sup>7</sup> it is the centre of the courtyard (*wasaf aš-šaḥn*).<sup>8</sup> It encompasses the southwest corner of today's PLATFORM (B031.2.a). This is roughly the PLATFORM of today.

**B098.3. Physical shape:** The platform is similar to the platform (*dikka*) in the Mosque of Medina (*masğid Yaṭrib*);<sup>9</sup> it measures [from north to south and from east to west] 300 by 150 ells (149.40 by 74.70 m) and is 9 ells (4.48 m) high,<sup>10</sup> and thereby embraces the western two-thirds of today's PLATFORM. It has six staircases which lead to [the Dome of] the

<sup>1</sup>For the High 'Abbāsīd platform and its staircases, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 1 n. 3; 7-9; 74-80; Busink, *Tempel* 14 n. 53; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 30; 71; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 66; 90; 153.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; 157) *wa-wasaṭu l-masğidi dukkānun ṭuluḥu talātumi 'ati dirā'in fī ḥamsīna wa-mi'ati dirā'in wa-rtifā'uhu tis'atu adru'in*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,6 (*aš-šaḥnu* (C *aš-šaḥru*) ...) *wasafuhu dikkatun* (C without *wasafuhu dikkatun*, Yāqūt *wa-fī wasaṭi r-riwāqi dikkatun murabba'atun*); **al-Muqaddasī** 169,7 *wa-fī d-dikkati* (B *fī d-dikkati*) *arba'u qibābin*.

For *dikka*, *dukkān* "platform", see de Lane, *Lexicon* 899 s.v. "dakka"; Goeje, *BGA* 4 236 s.v. "dikka"; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 312-316; Jomier, "Dikka" (without mentioning the Jerusalem *dikka*); Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 2 267 with n. 46 (584); 4 114 with n. 40 (379); 131; 6 30 s.v. "dikka, dakka"; Sadan, *Mobilier* 123 n. 469; Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary* 68 s.v. "dikka".

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*wasafu l-masğidi dukkānun* ...) *wa-lahu sittu darağātin ilā š-Šaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock].

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,6f. (*aš-šaḥnu* (C *aš-šaḥru*) ...) *wasafuhu dikkatun* (C without *wasafuhu dikkatun*, Yāqūt *wa-fī wasaṭi r-riwāqi dikkatun murabba'atun*) *miṭlu masğidi Yaṭriba yuṣ'adu ilayhā mina l-arba'i ḡawāniba fī marāqin wāsi'atin*; **al-Muqaddasī** 169,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-fī l-wasaṭi Qubbatu š-Šaḥrati* '... bi-arba'ati abwābin) *kullu bābin yuqābilu mirqātan* (Yāqūt *mirqātan min marāqi d-dikkati*).

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-š-šaḥnu kulluhu muballaṭun*) *wa-fī l-wasaṭi* (Yāqūt *wa-fī wasaṭi l-qubbatu*) *Qubbatu š-Šaḥrati*.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; 157) *wa-wasaṭu l-masğidi dukkānun ṭuluḥu talātumi 'ati dirā'in fī ḥamsīna wa-mi'ati dirā'in wa-rtifā'uhu tis'atu adru'in*.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,6 (*aš-šaḥnu* (C *aš-šaḥru*) ...) *wasafuhu dikkatun* (C without *wasafuhu dikkatun*, Yāqūt *wa-fī wasaṭi r-riwāqi dikkatun murabba'atun*) *miṭlu masğidi Yaṭriba*.

<sup>9</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,6 (*aš-šaḥnu* (C *aš-šaḥru*) ...) *wasafuhu dikkatun* (C without *wasafuhu dikkatun*, Yāqūt *wa-fī wasaṭi r-riwāqi dikkatun murabba'atun*) *miṭlu masğidi Yaṭriba*.

For the *dikka* of the mosque of Medina, also known as *ḥawḍ* or *rawḍa*, see Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 88f. n. 5; 90-92; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 192 n. 191; Busse, "Kanzel des Propheten" 107.

<sup>10</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; 157) *wa-wasaṭu l-masğidi dukkānun ṭuluḥu talātumi 'ati dirā'in fī ḥamsīna wa-mi'ati dirā'in wa-rtifā'uhu tis'atu adru'in*.

Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*);<sup>1</sup> these are wide staircases (*marāqī wāsi'a*) which lead from all four sides up to the platform;<sup>2</sup> a staircase is opposite each of the four gates (*arba'at abwāb*) of the Dome of the Rock.<sup>3</sup> There are four domes on the platform (*fī d-dikka*) (B103.2).

B098.3.a. We may assume that the platform's long side is from north to south, its wide side from east to west. The length of 149.40 m roughly fits with the length of today's PLATFORM,<sup>4</sup> 166 m along the west edge and 162 m along the east edge; the height of 4.48 m fits with the height of today's PLATFORM, 4.00 m. But the width of 74.70 m does not fit with today's PLATFORM, in the north 159 m and in the south 129 m, and the proportions 2:1 of the High 'Abbāsid platform are different from the roughly quadratic PLATFORM of today. We have to conclude that the High 'Abbāsid platform is smaller than today's PLATFORM<sup>5</sup> and occupies only its western two-thirds, and that the EAST STAIRCASE is not High 'Abbāsid, but later.

B098.3.b. The borders of the platform may further be established through the places we know on the platform. These are the west staircase (at the WEST STAIRCASE) (B100.2), the Dome of the Rock (at the DOME OF THE ROCK) (B110.3), to its northwest *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĠ) (B106.2), *Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) (B106.2) and also *Maqām Ġibrīl* = *Maqām Ġibrā'il* = *Muṣallā Ġibrā'il* (B109.2), to its east *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) (B104.2) and *Mawḍi' al-Ḥiḍr* (south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) (B105.2). All these places are in the PLATFORM's western two-thirds. It has been claimed that the length of the platform should be from east to west, because of *Qubbat as-silsila*,<sup>6</sup> but this is not necessary.

B098.3.c. The total of six staircases is given by **Ibn al-Faḳīh**'s (*dukkānun ...*) *wa-lahu sittu daraġātin ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* "(the platform ...) it has six staircases [leading] to [the Dome of] the Rock". This is not contradicted by **al-Muqaddasī**'s (*dikkatun ...*) *yuṣ'adu ilayhā mina l-arba'i ġawāniba fī marāqin wāsi'atin* "(a platform ...) to which one ascends from the four sides by wide staircases" and his *wa-fī l-waṣaṭi Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ... bi-arba'ati abwābin kullu bābin yuqābilu mirqātan* "and in the centre is the Dome of the Rock ... with four gates, each gate is opposite a staircase"; this has been interpreted as referring to four staircases all in all.<sup>7</sup> However, he does not give the total number of staircases, but rather emphasises the strong relation between four staircases and the four gates of the Dome of the Rock.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-Faḳīh** 100,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*waṣaṭu l-masġidi dukkānun ...*) *wa-lahu sittu daraġātin ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock].

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 169,6f. (*aṣ-ṣaḥnu* (C *aṣ-ṣaḥru*) ...) *waṣaṭuhu dikkatun* (C without *waṣaṭuhu dikkatun*, Yāqūt *wa-fī waṣaṭi r-riwāqi dikkatun murabba'atun*) *miṭlu masġidi Yaṭriba yuṣ'adu ilayhā mina l-arba'i ġawāniba fī marāqin wāsi'atin*.

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 169,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-fī l-waṣaṭi* (Yāqūt *wa-fī waṣaṭi l-qubbati*) *Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* '... *bi-arba'ati abwābin*) *kullu bābin yuqābilu mirqātan* (Yāqūt *mirqātan min marāqī d-dikkati*).

<sup>4</sup> Dimensions given are from Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 40.

<sup>5</sup> Busink, *Tempel* 14 n. 53; 994; 996.

<sup>6</sup> Busink, *Tempel* 994.

<sup>7</sup> Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 186; 3 66, erroneously translate *marāqī* as "Arkaden".

<sup>8</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74; 79f. n. 2 at the end.

**B099. The South Ascent**  
**= the Ascent of the Prophet**  
**= the staircase opposite the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>**

**B099.1. Names (Muslim):** The South Ascent (*al-Maqām al-Qiblī*),<sup>2</sup> the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*),<sup>3</sup> the staircase (*mirqāt*) opposite the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3).

B099.1.a. The term *maqām* "ascent", *nomen loci* of *qāma* "stand up, rise", is unknown in the dictionaries, but well-attested to for both High 'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> High 'Abbāsid sources mention the term without much explanation: **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.249** and **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.255** have *al-Maqām al-Qiblī*; **al-Muqaddasī** has *Maqām an-Nabī* and *Maqām Ġibrā'īl*; inscriptions **van Berchem Nr. 145** on the WEST STAIRCASE ARCADES and **Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.IX.B** on the SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE ARCADES, both not necessarily *in situ*, refer to *hādā l-maqām*.<sup>5</sup> Fāṭimid sources are more informative: **al-Murağğā Nr.59** mentions *Maqām an-Nabī* (B171.1); titles in **Ibn al-Murağğā** refer to *Maqām an-Nabī* (B171.1) and *al-Maqām al-Ġarbī* (B173.1); and **Nāṣir** describes *Maqām an-Nabī* (B171.1), *Maqām-i Ġūrī* (B172.1), *Maqām-i Šarqī* (B176.1) and *Maqām-i Šāmī* (B175.1) as staircases with arcades, and gives further details. The term is unknown in post-Crusader sources.<sup>6</sup>

B099.1.b. It has been conjectured that the Fāṭimid names *Maqām-i Ġūrī*, *Maqām-i Šarqī* and *Maqām-i Šāmī* may have gone back to *Maqām an-Nabī*, being a *maqām* "commemorative place" of Muḥammad's prayer on the Night Journey, with the arcade on top of the staircase as a kind of prayer-niche;<sup>7</sup> this is not impossible, but the sources do not mention it.

B099.1.c. The identity of *al-Maqām al-Qiblī* and *Maqām an-Nabī* with the staircase opposite the south gate of the

<sup>1</sup>For the High 'Abbāsid South Ascent, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 10f.; 74-78; 79 n. 2; Mayer, *Architects* 40 s.v. "Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr"; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 311 s.v. "Prophète"; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 31 fig. 17; 71; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 70; 153; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 72; 117 n. 205; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.249**: 177,14f. (... *Aḥmadu bnu Yaḥyà l-bazzāru l-Bağdādīyu ... qāla*) *ra'aytu l-bāriḥata Rasūla Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ḥāriḡan mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ma'a ḡamā'atin min aṣḥābihi ḥattā aqbala ilā l-Maqāmi l-Qibliyi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.255**: 181,2f. (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32) (*anba'anā l-Qāsimu l-Azdīyu 'an 'Abdi s-Salāmi l-Hawḡīyi qāla*) *kuntu uṣallī bi-l-layli bayna l-Maqāmi l-Qibliyi wa-bayna ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *wa-bayna yadayya ṭalāṭatu nafarin 'inda l-maqāmi*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165; see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 311 s.v. "Prophète") (*ilā l-masḡidi ... wa-fihi mina l-masāhidi ...*) *Maqāmu n-Nabīyi wa-Ġibrā'īla (... mutafarriqatan fihi)*.

<sup>4</sup>For High 'Abbāsid and Fāṭimid *maqām* "ascent", see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 10f.; 77f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219 and n. 4; Elad, *Jerusalem* 117 n. 205; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158.

<sup>5</sup>**van Berchem Nr.145** (see *RCEA* Nr.1458; Mayer, *Architects* 40 s.v. "Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr"; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46 n. 69) *'umila hād[ā] l-maqāmu sanata arba'ina wa-ṭālāṭimi[']aṭin*; **Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.IX.B** (see Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* 400 n. 1) l.1f. *bi-smi Llāhi adīna Llāhu ta'ālā bi-binā hādā l-maqāmi 'alā yadi 'abdihi Nūṣṭakīn ayyadahu Llāhu*.

<sup>6</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 81 n. 3.

<sup>7</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 10f. n. 3; 77f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158.



Dome of the Rock is given by the location of both at the SOUTH STAIRCASE and the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE.

**B099.2. Position:** This is the staircase (*mirqāt*) opposite the south gate of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3). We best locate it at the SOUTH STAIRCASE,<sup>1</sup> more precisely at the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE.

B099.2.a. The position of *al-Maqām al-Qiblī* in the south, further south than the other staircases to the platform, is given by its name.

B099.2.b. **al-Muqaddasī** has *Maqām an-Nabī* in his group of minor commemorative places, as the first of two places called *Maqām* .... This is obviously of no help for location.

**al-Muqaddasī**

***Maqām an-Nabī* -> *Maqām Ġibrāʾīl***

B099.2.c. We may assume that *Fāṭimid Maqām an-Nabī* (at the SOUTH STAIRCASE and the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE) (B171.2) is at the same place as High ʿAbbāsid *Maqām an-Nabī*. Local continuity is, of course, not necessary, but we nevertheless best locate High ʿAbbāsid *Maqām an-Nabī* at the SOUTH STAIRCASE and the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE.

**B099.3. Physical shape:** This is a staircase (*daraġ*) with a middle column (*ʿamūd waṣṭānī*) [and so an uneven number of columns].<sup>2</sup> This is one of the [four] staircases (sing. *mirqāt*) opposite the four gates of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3).

B099.3.a. High ʿAbbāsid *Maqām an-Nabī* has a middle column and so an uneven number of columns; Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī*, four columns and so no middle column (B171.4); today's SOUTH STAIRCASE, two side pillars and three columns.

B099.3.b. A line drawn from the SOUTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK to the CENTRAL GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE passes through the middle of the SECOND WESTERN VAULT of the SOUTH STAIRCASE.<sup>3</sup> We may assume that the south staircase was originally an integral part of the opposition between

<sup>1</sup> For the SOUTH STAIRCASE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-80; pl. XLIV bottom; XLV bottom; CIX top; CX bottom; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 31 fig. 17 (erroneously calling it "south-western stairway"); Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 70; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental Stairway" 163 n. 7; 165-168; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 23-25; 32-34; 146; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 40 fig. 18.

For the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE, see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental Stairway"; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 40 fig. 18.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr. 249:** 177, 14-16 (... *Aḥmadu bnu Yaḥyà l-bazzāru l-Baġdādīyu ... qāla*) *raʾaytu l-bārīḥata Rasūla Llāhi ʿalayhi s-salāmu ḥārīġan mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *maʿa ġamāʿatin min aṣḥābihi ḥattā aqbala ilā l-Maqāmi l-Qibliyi ilā l-ʿamūdi l-waṣṭānīyi wa-rafaʿa yadayhi yadʿū fa-lammā raʾānī ṭālīʿa d-daraġa qāla*.

<sup>3</sup> The position of SOUTH STAIRCASE'S VAULT 2 opposite the CENTRAL GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE may be seen in van Berchem, *Jérusalem* pl. XLV bottom; the position of the SOUTH STAIRCASE'S VAULT 2

the SOUTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK and the CENTRAL GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE. It may originally have had an even number of columns with a space between two columns, opposite the SOUTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK and the CENTRAL GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE. This means that today's SOUTH STAIRCASE continues definitely not the High ʿAbbāsīd, but the Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī*.

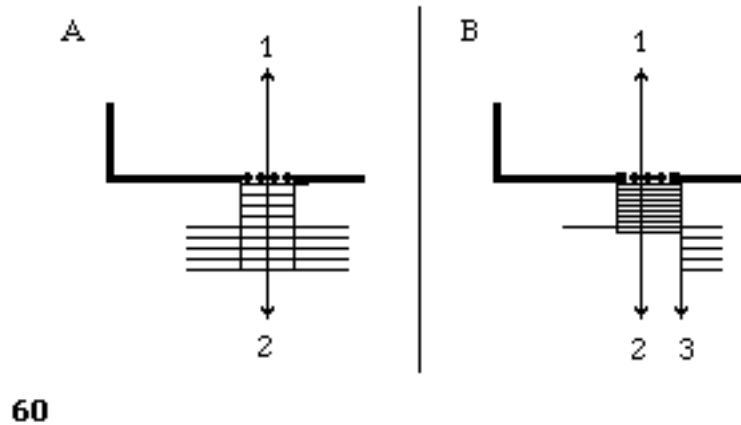


**Figure 60. The position of the High ʿAbbāsīd Ascent of the Prophet:** A The High ʿAbbāsīd Ascent of the Prophet. - B The SOUTH STAIRCASE of today / 1 To the south gate of the Dome of the Rock. - 2 To the central gate of the Aqṣā Mosque and to the main prayer-niche. - 3 To the east edge of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR.

**B099.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) refers to **Muḥammad** on his Night Journey, where he ascended the platform.

**B099.5. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** Aḥmad b. Yaḥyà l-Bazzār al-Baġdādī sees, in a dream in *Raġab* 341/22 November-21 December 952, Muḥammad with a group of his companions leave the Dome of the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), come to the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) and its middle column (*al-ʿamūd al-waṣṭānī*) and pray there (B052.17). ʿAbd as-Salām al-Hawġī prays between the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) and the Dome of the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and sees [in a vision] three men standing in front [south] of him at the [aforementioned] ascent (*maqām*); of these, both the first and second are lifted and blown away by a strong wind, whereas the third man stays on; the third man explains to him that the other two men stood for reliability (*al-amāna*) and cutting the ties of kinship (*qaṭʿ al-arḥām*) [in favour of God's cause], both now gone, but he himself for ritual prayer (*aṣ-ṣalāt*), and

---

between the SOUTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK and AL-KAʿS [which is in front of the CENTRAL GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE] may be seen in Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 31 fig. 17 (erroneously calling it "south-western stairway").

that people should be careful to keep him up.<sup>1</sup>

B099.5.a. It has been suggested that the first man had embezzled a deposit entrusted to him, and the second one had sinned against his relations;<sup>2</sup> but this neglects the third man, who says *wa-ammā ana fa-ṣ-ṣalātu \*bāqin maʿakum fa-ḥfaẓūnī fa-idā ḍayyaʿtumūnī rtafaʿtu* "What concerns me, I am the ritual prayer which stays with you. Therefore, keep me. If you lose me, I will [also] be lifted [away]".

### B100. The staircase opposite the [west] gate of the Dome of the Rock<sup>3</sup>

B100.1. **Names (Muslim):** The staircase (*mirqāt*) opposite the [west] gate of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3), possibly also a *maqām* "ascent" (B100.3).

B100.2. **Position:** This is the staircase (*mirqāt*) opposite the west gate of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3). We best locate it at the WEST STAIRCASE.<sup>4</sup>

B100.3. **Physical shape:** The staircase possibly has an arcade with the inscription *bi-smi Llāhi ʿumila hādā l-maqāmu sanata arbaʿina wa-tālātīmīʿatin ʿamalu Aḥmada bni Abī Karāsa raḥimahumu Llāhu* "In the name of God. This ascent was built in the year 340. Work of Aḥmad b. Abī Karāsa - may God have mercy upon both" (= **van Berchem Nr.145**).<sup>5</sup>

B100.3.a. The identification of the *maqām* "ascent" mentioned in **van Berchem Nr.145** with the WEST STAIRCASE presupposes that **van Berchem Nr.145**, today on the WEST STAIRCASE ARCADE, is *in situ* - something we do not really know.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.255:** 181,2-7 (see Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32) (*anbaʿanā l-Qāsimu l-Azdiyu ʿan ʿAbdi s-Salāmi l-Hawğiyi qāla*) kuntu uṣallī bi-l-layli bayna l-Maqāmi l-Qibliyi wa-bayna ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] wa-bayna yadayya ṭalāṭatu nafarin ʿinda l-maqāmi fa-ğāʿat riḥun ṣadīdun fa-ḥamalati aḥada ṭ-ṭal āṭati wa-rafaʿathu ilā s-samāʿi wa-ana anzuru ilayhi ḥattā ḡāba ʿannī ṭumma ḡāʿat ḥattā ḥamalati ṭ-tāniya wa-ana anzuru ilayhi fī ḡawwi s-samāʿi yuṭṭaʿu qaṭʿan fa-qumtu ilā ṭ-tālīṭi fa-qultu mā hādā l-ladī raʾaytuhu min aṣḥābikum fa-qāla a-wa-qad raʾaytahu qultu naʿam qāla ammā l-awwalu fa-innahu l-amānātu rufiʿat wa-ammā ṭ-tānī fa-innahu qaṭʿu l-arḥāmi wa-ammā ana fa-ṣ-ṣalātu bāqī (read *bāqin*) maʿakum fa-ḥfaẓūnī fa-idā ḍayyaʿtumūnī rtafaʿtu.

<sup>2</sup>Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32.

<sup>3</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid west staircase, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 10f.; 74-78; 79 n. 2; Mayer, *Architects* 40 s.v. "Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr"; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46 and n. 69; 219; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 71; Gil, *Palestine* 331; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 71; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158.

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 11; 74-80; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; Richards, "Jerusalem Under the Mamlūks" 69; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 71; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3.

For the WEST STAIRCASE of today, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 9-11; 74-80; pl. CVIII; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* colour plate 15; 219; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 71f.; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 13; 27; 35; 40f..

<sup>5</sup>**van Berchem Nr.145** (see *RCEA* Nr.1458; Mayer, *Architects* 40 s.v. "Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr"; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46 n. 69; 219) *ʿumila hād[ā] l-maqāmu sanata arbaʿina wa-tālātīmīʿ[ʾa]tin*.

**B100.4. Contemporary events:** This is possibly the ascent (*maqām*) built or rebuilt in 340/9 June 951-28 May 952 by **Aḥmad b. Abī Karāsa** and designated as such by the inscription *bi-smi Llāhi ‘umila hādā l-maqāmu sanata arba‘īna wa-tālātīmi’atin ‘amalu Aḥmada bni Abī Karāsa raḥimahumu Llāhu* "In the name of God. This ascent was built in the year 340. Work of Aḥmad b. Abī Karāsa - may God have mercy upon both." (= **van Berchem Nr.145**) (B100.3).

### **B101. The staircase opposite the [north] gate of the Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>**

**B101.1. Names (Muslim):** The staircase (*mirqāt*) opposite the [north] gate of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3).

**B101.2. Position:** This is the staircase (*mirqāt*) opposite the north gate of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3). We best locate it at the NORTH STAIRCASE.<sup>2</sup>

### **B102. The staircase opposite the [east] gate of the Dome of the Rock<sup>3</sup>**

**B102.1. Names (Muslim):** The staircase (*mirqāt*) opposite the [east] gate of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3).

**B102.2. Position:** This is the staircase (*mirqāt*) opposite the east gate of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B098.3). We best locate it immediately east of today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

**B102.2.a.** The place of the staircase is defined by the fact that the High ‘Abbāsīd platform embraces only the western two-thirds of the PLATFORM (B098.3) and by the position of the staircase east of the Dome of the Rock. It has been located at the EAST STAIRWAY,<sup>4</sup> but this is too far east.

<sup>1</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd north staircase, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-78; 79 n. 2; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 44f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; 570; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 71; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 91f.

<sup>2</sup>Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3.

For today's NORTH STAIRCASE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-80; 119-122; pl. LX; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 44f.; Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" 127f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219f. (with plates); Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 310; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur* 2 132; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 91f.

<sup>3</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsīd East Ascent, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-78; 79 n. 2; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 71; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 156.

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 77 fig. 14; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 71; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3.

### B103. The minor domes<sup>1</sup>

**B103.1. Names (Muslim):** There are four domes (*arbaʿ qibāb*) on the platform (B013.2).

B103.1.a. It has been assumed that earthquakes may have damaged the minor buildings on the platform more than other buildings in the ḤARAM, and identification is therefore especially hard;<sup>2</sup> but the platform is on solid bedrock and earthquake damage here is less probable than elsewhere - this shows the many Marwānid elements preserved in the DOME OF THE ROCK (B038.2.a).

**B103.2. Physical shape:** On the platform (*fī d-dikka*) are four domes (*arbaʿ qibāb*), [the three minor domes] the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*), the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Miʿrāġ*) and the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*), and in the centre (*fī l-wasaʿi*) [of the platform and of these minor domes] the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*); the three minor domes are all elegant domes (*qibāb liṭāf*) [with roofs] covered with lead (*mulabbasa bi-r-raṣāṣ*), on marble columns (*ʿalā aʿmidat ruḥām*), with no walls (*bi-lā ḥiṭān*); the Dome of the Rock is on top of an octagonal sanctuary (*ʿalā bayt muṭamman*) with four gates (*arbaʿ abwāb*);<sup>3</sup> the roofs of the mosque, the domes and the minarets (*ġamīʿ suṭūḥ al-masġid wa-l-qibāb wa-l-manārāt*) are covered with gilded sheets [of lead] (*ṣafāʾiḥ muḍahhaba*) (B052.5).

### B104. The Dome of the Chain<sup>4</sup>

**B104.1. Names (Muslim):** (The Dome of) the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*,<sup>5</sup> *as-Silsila*<sup>1</sup>), the

---

For the EAST STAIRCASE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-80; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 156f.; and the plates in Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 163; 166f.; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 124 fig. 58; St. Laurent "Dome of the Rock" 418 n. 10.

<sup>1</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid minor domes on the platform, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 47; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 193 n. 192.

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 153; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 193 n. 192.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) *wa-fī d-dikkati* (B *fī d-dikkati*) *arbaʿu qibābin Qubbatu s-Silsilati Qubbatu l-Miʿrāġi Qubbatu n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-hāḍiḥi t-ṭalātu liṭāfun mulabbasatun bi-r-raṣāṣi ʿalā aʿmidatin ruḥāmin bi-lā ḥiṭānin* (C instead of *arbaʿu qibābin ... bi-lā ḥiṭānin: arbaʿu qibābin mulabbasatun bi-r-raṣāṣi Qubbat l-Miʿrāġi Qubbatu n-Nabīyi Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) *wa-fī l-wasaʿi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin*.

<sup>4</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid Dome of the Chain, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 174-180; Creswell, *EMA* 1 202; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I* 17; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 26; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 154-156; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 73; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 163.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; 152; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176) *wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fīhi s-silsilatu* (read *Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) ...; **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407**: 268,14f. (... *ḥaddatani Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma qultu Qubbatu s-Silsilati mā*

dome in which the Chain (*as-Silsila*) was hanging in the time of the Children of Israel, to judge among them (*al-qubba l-lati k̄anat as-Silsila tahbuṭ fihā zamān Banī Isrāʾīla li-l-qaḍāʾ baynahum*) (B104.4).

**B104.2. Position:** The Dome of the Chain is on the platform (*fī d-dikka*) (B103.2) and east of the Dome of the Rock (*min šarqī Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>2</sup> The Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr*) is in front [south] of the Dome of the Chain (*amām Qubbat as-Silsila*).<sup>3</sup> We best locate it at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

B104.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh, al-Muqaddasī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** and **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407** mention *Qubbat as-Silsila* and *al-qubbatu l-lati k̄anati s-Silsilatu tahbuṭ fihā zamāna Banī Isrāʾīla li-l-qaḍāʾ baynahum*, respectively, on their lists of minor places on the platform; the first two begin their lists with it, the last conclude with it. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has *Qubbat as-Silsila* followed by *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr* (south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA), *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MIʿRĀĠ), *Maqām Ġibrīl* (north of the DOME OF THE ROCK) and *Qubbat al-Miʿrāġ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ). **al-Muqaddasī** has *Qubbat as-Silsila* followed by *Qubbat al-Miʿrāġ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) and *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MIʿRĀĠ). **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's** *al-qubbatu l-lati k̄anati s-Silsilatu tahbuṭ fihā zamāna Banī Isrāʾīla li-l-qaḍāʾ baynahum*, i.e., the Dome of the Chain, is preceded by *al-qubbatu l-lati ʿaraġa n-Nabīyu ... minhā ilā s-samāʾi*, i.e., the Dome of the Ascension (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ), and *al-qubbatu l-lati ṣallā fihā n-Nabīyu ... bi-n-nabīyīna*, i.e., the Dome of the Prophet (at QUBBAT AL-MIʿRĀĠ). In **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**, *Qubbat as-Silsila* is preceded by [the dome] *al-Miʿrāġ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) and *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MIʿRĀĠ). All sources carefully distinguish between the places east of the Dome of the Rock and the places northwest of it, but we may deduce only that *Qubbat as-silsila* is one of the domes on the platform, east of the Dome of the Rock.

**Ibn al-Faqīh**

*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra* -> ***Qubbat as-Silsila***: in front of it *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr* -> *Qubbat an-Nabī* -> *Maqām Ġibrīl* -> *Qubbat al-Miʿrāġ*

**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**

*al-qubba l-lati ʿaraġa n-Nabī ... minhā ilā s-samāʾ* -> *al-qubba l-lati ṣallā fihā n-Nabī ... bi-n-nabīyīn* -> ***al-qubba l-lati k̄anat as-Silsila tahbuṭ fihā***

**al-Muqaddasī**

the platform and the stairs leading there -> ***Qubbat as-Silsila*** -> *Qubbat al-Miʿrāġ* -> *Qubbat an-Nabī* -> *Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*

---

*hiya wa-ayna s-Silsilatu*; **al-Muqaddasī** 169,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) (*wa-fī d-dikkati* (B *fī d-dikkati*) *arbaʿu qibābin*) *Qubbatu s-Silsilati*.

Cf. **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 151; 164; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 176) (*ātāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimī ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ...*) *l-qubbatu l-lati k̄anati s-Silsilatu tahbuṭ fihā zamāna Banī Isrāʾīla li-l-qaḍāʾ baynahum*; **al-Muqaddasī** 151,17 (*iqḷimu ṣ-Ṣaʾmi ... bihi ...*) *Qubbatu s-Silsilati*.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**: 268,15f. (*... ḥaddatāni Abū Muḥammadīn ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīni l-Ḥawli yu ... qāla ... tumma qultu Qubbatu s-Silsilati mā hiya wa-ayna s-Silsilatu*) *fā-qīla lī s-Silsilatu* [the Dome of the Chain] *mawḍiʿuhā wa-hiya nūrun lā yarāhu aḥadun mina l-ādāmīyīna*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; 152; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176) *wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fihī s-silsilatu* (read *Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) ...).

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,7 (*wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fihī s-silsilatu* (read *wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) ...) *wa-amāmahā Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍri ʿalayhi s-salāmu*.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**

*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra: aṣ-Ṣaḥra, al-Balāṭa s-sawdā' -> min Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra ilā Bāb an-nuḥās muqābil al-miḥrāb -> al-Mi'rāğ -> Qubbat an-Nabī -> Qubbat as-Silsila = as-Silsila -> Bāb ḥiṭṭa -> Mawlid 'Īsā -> Miḥrāb Zakariyā*

**B104.3. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*) (B104.4) on twenty<sup>1</sup> marble columns (*a'mida ruḥām* sing. *'amūd ruḥām*) [in two circles],<sup>2</sup> covered [on its roof] with lead sheets (*mulabbasa bi-ṣafā'iḥ ar-raṣāṣ*);<sup>3</sup> this is one of the three minor elegant domes (*qibāb liṭāf*) on the platform [with roofs] covered with lead (*mulabbasa bi-r-raṣāṣ*), on marble columns (*'alā a'midat ruḥām*), with no walls (*bi-lā ḥiṭān*) (B103.2). There is no chain suspended in the dome.

B104.3.a. The only evidence for an outer and an inner circle is the relatively high number of twenty columns. Today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA has seventeen columns in two circles, eleven in the outer and six in the inner circle.

B104.3.b. High 'Abbāsid *Qubbat as-silsila* has no walls. Today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA has the two southernmost columns of the outer circle connected by a wall with a prayer-niche.

B104.3.c. *Qubbat as-Silsila* "the Dome of the Chain" is called after a chain, but there is no chain - this is the reason 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī inquires in his dream about the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Chain (*as-Silsila*) after which it is named, and why he receives the answer that the chain is [of superior quality and] made of light, and [therefore] invisible to men (B104.5).

**B104.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the dome in which the Chain (*as-Silsila*) was hanging in the time of the **Children of Israel**, to judge among them (*al-qubba l-latī kānat as-Silsila tahbuṭ fihā zamān Banī Isrā'īla li-l-qaḍā' baynahum*);<sup>4</sup> **Solomon** [here] put the Chain

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; 151f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176; Creswell, *EMA* 1 202) *Qubbatu s-Silsilati 'alā 'iṣrīna 'amūdan ruḥāman mulabbasatun bi-ṣafā'iḥi r-raṣāṣi*.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; 151f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176; Creswell, *EMA* 1 202) *Qubbatu s-Silsilati 'alā 'iṣrīna 'amūdan ruḥāman mulabbasatun bi-ṣafā'iḥi r-raṣāṣi*; **al-Muqaddasī** 169,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 202; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) *wa-fī d-dikkati (B fī d-dikkati) arba'u qibābin Qubbatu s-Silsilati Qubbatu l-Mi'rāği Qubbatu n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-hādihi t-talātu liṭāfun mulabbasatun bi-r-raṣāṣi 'alā a'midatin ruḥāmin bi-lā ḥiṭānin* (C instead of *arba'u qibābin ... bi-lā ḥiṭānin: arba'u qibābin mulabbasatun bi-r-raṣāṣi Qubbat l-Mi'rāği Qubbatu n-Nabīyi Qubbatu s-Silsilati*).

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; 151f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176; Creswell, *EMA* 1 202) *Qubbatu s-Silsilati 'alā 'iṣrīna 'amūdan ruḥāman mulabbasatun bi-ṣafā'iḥi r-raṣāṣi*.

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 151; 164; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 176) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-maṣğidi ...*) *l-qubbatu l-lati kānati s-Silsilatu tahbuṭ fihā zamāna Banī Isrā'īla li-l-qaḍā'i baynahum*.

For Muslim traditions about David as judge, see A084.b.

to judge among enemies (\**Silsilat qaḍā' al-ḥuṣūm*).<sup>1</sup> This is possibly the Chain of **David**, "which was the place of clear proofs" (*Silsilat Dāwūd l-latī kānat mawḍi' al-bayyināt*).

B104.4.a. **al-Muqaddasī** mentions *Silsilatu Dāwūda l-latī kānat mawḍi' u l-bayyināti* "the Chain of David which was the place of clear proofs" in his chapter on names which are known from different places, but he locates the chain only at al-Ġašš and forgets all other places.<sup>2</sup> The chain is otherwise well-attested to for Jerusalem, and we may assume that one of these other places is Jerusalem.

B104.5. **Visions and dreams (Muslim)**: While dreaming on the 'Āšūrā'-Night 335/10-11 August 946, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī asks about the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Chain (*as-Silsila*) after which it is named, and receives the explanation that this chain is at [the Dome of] the Chain (*as-Silsila*), [of superior quality and] made of light, and [therefore] invisible to men.<sup>3</sup>

### B105. The Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr <sup>4</sup>

B105.1. **Names (Muslim)**: The Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr*).<sup>5</sup>

B105.2. **Position**: This place is in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*),<sup>6</sup> in front [south] of the Dome of the Chain (*amām Qubbat as-Silsila*) (B104.2). This is the [geometrical] centre of the mosque (*wasat al-masğid*).<sup>7</sup> We best locate it south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

B105.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh's** *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-huwa wasaṭu l-masğidi* "the Prayer-place of al-

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,19 *wa-kānat Silsilatu ittiḍā'i l-ḥuṣūmī* (read *Silsilatu qaḍā'i l-ḥuṣūmī*, with Yāqūt) *mini ttiḥādi Sulaymāna (wa-kāna mimmā ittaḥada ayḍan bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi mina l-a'āğibi an nuṣiba fī zāwiyatin min zawāyā l-masğidi 'aṣā abanūsa fa-kāna man massahā min awlādi l-anbiyā'i lam yaḍurrahu massuhā wa-man massahā min ḡayrihimī ḥtaraqat yaduhu).*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 46,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 463) (*ḍikru l-mawāḍi'i l-muḥtalaḥi fihā ...*) *bi-l-Ġašši mawḍi'un qālū ṭamma kānat Silsilatu Dāwūda l-latī kānat mawḍi' u l-bayyināti.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,14-16 (... *ḥaddatāni Abū Muḥammadin 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma qultu Qubbatu s-Silsilati mā hiya wa-ayna s-Silsilatu fa-qāla lī s-Silsilatu [the Dome of the Chain] mawḍi'uhā wa-hiya nūrun lā yarāhu aḥadun mina l-ādāmiyina.*

<sup>4</sup>For the High 'Abbāsīd Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 284 s.v. "al-Ḥiḍr"; Elad, *Jerusalem* 117; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 893 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,7 (*wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḥrati fihī s-silsilatu* (read *wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḥrati Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) ...) *wa-amāmahā Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,18 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimī š-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ... wa-fihī ...*) *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu.*

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,18 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164) (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimī š-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ... wa-fihī ...*) *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu.*

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,7f. (*wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḥrati fihī s-silsilatu* (read *wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḥrati Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) ...) *wa-amāmahā Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-huwa wasaṭu l-masğidi.*



Ḥiḍr - peace be upon him, it is the centre of the mosque" may be understood as referring to the geometrical centre. This fits with the position of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA, which is in the centre of the ḤARAM, next to it.<sup>1</sup>

B105.2.b. **Ibn al-Faḳīh** has *Muṣallā al-Ḥiḍr*, on his list of minor structures on the platform, preceded by *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) and followed by *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MI‘RĀĠ), *Maqām Ġibrīl* (north of the DOME OF THE ROCK) and *Qubbat al-Mi‘rāġ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ). It may well be east of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

**Ibn al-Faḳīh**

*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra* -> *Qubbat as-Silsila*: in front of it ***Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr***  
-> *Qubbat an-Nabī* -> *Maqām Ġibrīl* -> *Qubbat al-Mi‘rāġ* -> the gates  
of the mosque

B105.2.c. **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** has *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr* as the second of the two prayer-places called *Muṣallā* ...; this is of little help for location.

**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih**

*Muṣallā Ġibrīl* -> ***Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr***

B105.3. **Traditions (Muslim)**: The Prayer-place of **al-Ḥiḍr** (*Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr*) is obviously the place where al-Ḥiḍr was or is praying, but no details are given.

B105.3.a. Parallels to the Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr: A Marwānid tradition has al-Ḥiḍr praying each Friday in the five mosques of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Qabā’ and perhaps the mosque of the Sinai (*aṭ-Ṭūr*), and each night in the mosque of the Sinai (*aṭ-Ṭūr*) (B014.8); another Marwānid tradition has [the prophet] Elias (*Ilyās*) and al-Ḥiḍr fasting during *Ramaḍān* in Jerusalem and celebrating the Feast (*al-Mawsim*) [the Feast of the Sacrifice] here every year.<sup>2</sup> When Fāṭimid Abū l-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥimṣī is afraid of a voice he hears praying in the mosque before noon [in a strange way], increasing and decreasing in strength, he is told that this is al-Ḥiḍr, praying thus every day at this time (B174.3).

### B106. The Dome of the Ascension<sup>3</sup>

B106.1. **Names (Muslim)**: (The Dome of) the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi‘rāġ*,<sup>4</sup> *al-Mi‘rāġ*<sup>1</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> For the geometrical centre of the ḤARAM and related matters, see B033.2.b.

<sup>2</sup> **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.149**: 91,11f. *Ilyāsu wa-l-Ḥiḍru ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhimā yaṣūmāni ṣaḥra ramaḍāna bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-yuwāfiyāni l-Mawsima kulla ‘āmin* = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.176**: 140,15f. *Ilyāsu wa-l-Ḥiḍru ‘alayhimā s-salāmu yaṣūmāni ṣaḥra ramaḍāna bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-yuwāfiyāni l-Mawsima kulla ‘āmin*.

<sup>3</sup> For the High ‘Abbāsīd Dome of the Ascension, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 154; 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 47; 170-172; Busse, "Sanctity" 442; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 41; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 88; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIII.; 50; 70; 73f.

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn al-Faḳīh** 101,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; Busink, *Tempel* 908) *wa-‘inda ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *Qubbatu l-Mi‘rāġ*; **al-Muqaddasī** 169,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; Busink, *Tempel* 908) (*wa-ḥi d-dikkati* (B *fi d-dikkati*) *arba’u qibābin*) ... *Qubbatu l-Mi‘rāġ*; **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.249**: 177,20f. (... *Aḥmadu bnu Yaḥyā l-bazzāru l-Baġdādiyu* ... *qāla ra’aytu l-bāriḥata Rasūla Llāhi ‘alayhi s-salāmu ḥāriġan mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *fa-qāla* ... *wa-law lam yakun* (Livne-Kafri reads *ṣabban wa-lam yakun*) *li-hādā l-mawḍi’i maḥallun* (Livne-Kafri reads *maḥallun*

the dome from which the Prophet rose to heaven (*al-qubba l-latī 'araġa n-Nabī minhā ilà s-samā'*) (B106.4).

**B106.2. Position:** This dome is on the platform (*fī d-dikka*) (B103.2), near [the Dome of] the Rock (*'ind aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>2</sup> and the Place of the Night Journey (*'ind Mawḍī' al-isrā*) is near the Dome of the Ascension (*'ind Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ*).<sup>3</sup> This is the closest dome (*al-qubba d-dunyā*) right [west] of [the Dome of] the Rock (*'an yamīn aṣ-Ṣaḥra*); the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) is the dome farthest away (*al-qubba l-quṣwā*), in back [north] of [the Dome of] the Rock (*fī dubr aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>4</sup> right [west] of [the Dome of] the Rock (*'an yamīn aṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>5</sup> We locate the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ*) best at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ, and the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĠ.

**B106.2.a. Ibn al-Faqīh's** list of minor structures on the platform has *Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ* last, preceded by *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA), *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr* (south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA), *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĠ) and *Maqām Ġibrīl* (north of the DOME OF THE ROCK). **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih**

---

*'aẓimūn) lammā usriya bihi (I read bī) ilayhi) wa-ašāra bi-yadihi ilà Mawḍī' l-isrā (Livne-Kafri reads ilà Mawḍī' l-isrā'i) 'inda Qubbati l-Mi'rāġi.*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407:** 268,12f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīni l-Ḥawli yu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma naẓartu ilà l-Mi'rāġi (mawḍī'u l-qubbati miṭlu qawsī Llāhi aḥḍaru wa-aḥmaru yatala'la'u nūran).*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; see Busink, *Tempe* 1908) *wa-'inda ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] Qubbatu l-Mi'rāġi.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.249:** 177,20f. (... *Aḥmadu bnu Yaḥyā l-bazzāru l-Baġdādiyu ... qāla ra'aytu l-bāriḥata Rasūla Llāhi 'alayhi s-salāmu ḥāriġan mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] ... fa-qāla ... wa-law lam yakun (Livne-Kafri reads ṣabban wa-lam yakun) li-hādā l-mawḍī' maḥallun (Livne-Kafri reads maḥallun 'aẓimūn) lammā usriya bihi (I read bī) ilayhi) wa-ašāra bi-yadihi ilà Mawḍī' l-isrā (Livne-Kafri reads ilà Mawḍī' l-isrā'i) 'inda Qubbati l-Mi'rāġi.*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.123:** 76,7f. (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 50) (... *ḥaddaṭanā Abū Ḥuḍayfata mu'addīnu Bayti l-Maqdisi 'an ḡaddatihi annahā ra'at Ṣafiyata zawġa n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-Ka'bun yaqūlu lahā yā umma l-mu'minīna ṣallī hāhunā fa-inna n-Nabīya ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ṣallā bi-n-na-bīyīna ḥīna usriya bihi ilà s-samā'i ṣallā bihim hāhunā wa-nuṣīrū) wa-awmā (read wa-awma'a) Abū Ḥuḍayfata bi-yadihi ilà l-qubbati l-quṣwā fī dubri ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] = without mentioning the Dome of the Rock **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.149:** 124,10f. (... *anba'anā Abū Ḥuḍayfata mu'addīnu Bayti l-Maqdisi 'an ḡaddatihi annahā ra'at Ṣafiyata zawġa n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-Ka'bun yaqūlu lahā yā umma l-mu'minīna ṣallī hāhunā fa-inna n-Nabīya 'alayhi s-salāmu ṣallā bi-n-nabīyīna ḥīna usriya bihi ilà s-samā'i ṣallā bihim hāhunā wa-nuṣīrū lahu) wa-awmā (read wa-awma'a) Abū Ḥuḍayfata bi-yadihi ilà l-qubbati l-quṣwā (I read ilà l-qubbati l-quṣwā fī dubri ṣ-Ṣaḥrati, with al-Wāsiṭi).**

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119:** 73,21-74,1 (*anba'anā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Tābiti bni Istanībi- yādā l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu ḥaddaṭanā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni) wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā l-latī 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] = **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.148:** 124,3f. (*anba'anā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Tābitini l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu qāla anba'anā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni) wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā (Livne-Kafri reads l-qubbatu d-dunyā l-latī, with al-Wāsiṭi) 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock].**

mentions *al-qubbatu l-lati 'araġa n-Nabīyu ... minhā ilà s-samā'i*, i.e., the Dome of the Ascension, as the first of these minor domes, then *al-qubbatu l-lati šallā fihā n-Nabīyu ... bi-n-nabīyīna*, i.e., the Dome of the Prophet, and *al-qubbatu l-lati kānati s-Silsilatu tahbuṭu fihā zamāna Banī Isrā'īla li-l-qaḍā'i baynahum*, i.e., the Dome of the Chain. **al-Muqaddasī** has *Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ* preceded by *Qubbat as-Silsila* and followed by *Qubbat an-Nabī*. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407** has [the dome] *al-Mi'rāġ* first, followed by *Qubbat an-Nabī* and *Qubbat as-Silsila*. In all these cases, *Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ* and *Qubbat an-Nabī* are in sequence next to each other; this reflects their geographical proximity.

|                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>          | <i>Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra</i> -> <i>Qubbat as-Silsila</i> : in front of it <i>Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr</i> -> <i>Qubbat an-Nabī</i> -> <i>Maqām Ġibrīl</i> -> <b><i>Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ</i></b> -> the gates of the mosque                                                                                                     |
| <b>Ibn 'Abd Rabbih</b>       | <b><i>al-qubba l-lati 'araġa n-Nabī ... minhā ilà s-samā'</i></b> -> <i>al-qubba l-lati šallā fihā n-Nabī ... bi-n-nabīyīn</i> -> <i>al-qubba l-lati kānat as-Silsila tahbuṭ fihā ...</i>                                                                                                                  |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>          | <i>dikka</i> : with <i>marāqī</i> -> <i>Qubbat as-Silsila</i> -> <b><i>Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ</i></b> -> <i>Qubbat an-Nabī</i> -> <i>Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra</i>                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407</b> | <i>Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra</i> : <i>aṣ-Ṣaḥra</i> , <i>al-Balāṭa s-sawdā'</i> -> <i>min Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra ilà Bāb an-nuḥās muqābil al-miḥrāb</i> -> <b><i>al-Mi'rāġ</i></b> -> <i>Qubbat an-Nabī</i> -> <i>Qubbat as-Silsila</i> = <i>as-Silsila</i> -> <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <i>Mawlid 'Isā</i> -> <i>Miḥrāb Zakariyā</i> |

B106.2.b. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has *Qubbat an-Nabī* preceded by *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) and *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr* (south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) and followed by *Maqām Ġibrīl* (north of the DOME OF THE ROCK) and *Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ). **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** has *al-qubbatu l-lati šallā fihā n-Nabīyu ... bi-n-nabīyīna*, i.e., the Dome of the Prophet, preceded by *al-qubbatu l-lati 'araġa n-Nabīyu ... minhā ilà s-samā'i*, i.e., the Dome of the Ascension and followed by *al-qubbatu l-lati kānati s-Silsilatu tahbuṭu fihā zamāna Banī Isrā'īla li-l-qaḍā'i baynahum*, i.e., the Dome of the Chain. **al-Muqaddasī** gives *Qubbat an-Nabī* as last of the minor domes, preceded by *Qubbat as-Silsila* and *Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ*. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407** has *Qubbat an-Nabī* preceded by [the dome] *al-Mi'rāġ* and followed by *Qubbat as-Silsila*.

|                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>          | <i>Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra</i> -> <i>Qubbat as-Silsila</i> : in front of it <i>Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr</i> -> <b><i>Qubbat an-Nabī</i></b> -> <i>Maqām Ġibrīl</i> -> <i>Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ</i> -> the gates of the mosque                                                                                                     |
| <b>Ibn 'Abd Rabbih</b>       | <i>al-qubba l-lati 'araġa n-Nabī ... minhā ilà s-samā'</i> -> <b><i>al-qubba l-lati šallā fihā n-Nabī ... bi-n-nabīyīn</i></b> -> <i>al-qubba l-lati kānat as-Silsila tahbuṭ fihā ...</i>                                                                                                                  |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>          | <i>dikka</i> : with <i>marāqī</i> -> <i>Qubbat as-Silsila</i> -> <i>Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ</i> -> <b><i>Qubbat an-Nabī</i></b> -> <i>Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra</i>                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407</b> | <i>Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra</i> : <i>aṣ-Ṣaḥra</i> , <i>al-Balāṭa s-sawdā'</i> -> <i>min Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra ilà Bāb an-nuḥās muqābil al-miḥrāb</i> -> <i>al-Mi'rāġ</i> -> <b><i>Qubbat an-Nabī</i></b> -> <i>Qubbat as-Silsila</i> = <i>as-Silsila</i> -> <i>Bāb ḥiṭṭa</i> -> <i>Mawlid 'Isā</i> -> <i>Miḥrāb Zakariyā</i> |

B106.2.c. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has *Qubbat as-Silsila* and *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr* east of the Dome of the Rock, *Qubbat an-Nabī* and *Maqām Ġibrīl* north of it, and *Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ* near it. Obviously *Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ* is nearer the Dome of the Rock than *Qubbat an-Nabī* and *Maqām Ġibrīl*, mentioned immediately before; we may even assume that the author approaches the Dome of the Rock from *Qubbat an-Nabī* and *Maqām Ġibrīl* and arrives at *Qubbat al-*

*Mi'rāğ*. This places *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* also more or less north of the Dome of the Rock. The places north the Dome of the Rock, *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*, *Qubbat an-Nabī* (and *Maqām Ġibrīl*), are somehow parallel to the two places east of it, *Qubbat as-Silsila* and *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr*.

|                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| East of the Dome of the Rock:<br>the Dome of the Chain<br>the Prayer-place of al-Ḥiḍr          | <i>wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḥrati</i><br><i>Qubbatu s-Silsilati ...</i><br><i>wa-amāmahā Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍri</i><br><i>‘alayhi s-salāmu</i><br><i>wa-huwa wasaṭu l-masgidi</i> | "East of the Dome of the Rock<br>is the Dome of the Chain ...<br>and in front of it is the Prayer-place<br>of al-Ḥiḍr - peace be upon him -<br>and it is the centre of the mosque. |
| North of the Dome of the Rock:<br>the Dome of the Prophet<br><br>the Standing-place of Gabriel | <i>wa-fī š-ša'mīyi</i><br><i>Qubbatu n-Nabīyi</i><br><i>ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama</i><br><i>wa-Maqāmu Ġibrīla</i><br><i>‘alayhi s-salāmu</i>                            | In the north<br>is the Dome of the Prophet - God may<br>bless him and grant him salvation -<br>and the Standing-place of Gabriel<br>- peace be upon him.                           |
| Near the Dome of the Rock:<br>the Dome of the Ascension                                        | <i>wa-‘inda š-Šaḥrati</i><br><i>Qubbatu l-Mi'rāğī</i>                                                                                                                        | Near [the Dome of] the Rock<br>is the Dome of the Ascension.                                                                                                                       |

B106.2.d. **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.123 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.149** also has two domes north of the Dome of the Rock. In **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.123**, Abū Ḥuḍayfa locates a tradition about where Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the prophets, i.e., the Dome of the Prophet, thus *wa-awma'a Abū Ḥuḍayfata bi-yadihi ilā l-qubbati l-quṣwā fī dubri š-Šaḥrati* "and Abū Ḥuḍayfa pointed with his hand to the dome farther away in back [north] of [the Dome of] the Rock"; the same tradition ends, in **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.149**, ... *ilā l-qubbati l-quṣwā* "... to the dome farther away", without *fī dubri š-Šaḥrati* "in back [north] of [the Dome of] the Rock". We may not only deduce that this dome [*Qubbat an-Nabī*] is in back [north] of the Dome of the Rock, but also that there is another dome [*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*] nearer to the Dome of the Rock.

B106.2.e. The location of *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* nearer the Dome of the Rock, and *Qubbat an-Nabī* farther away, seems to be contradicted by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Ṭābit al-Fārisī l-Ḥumsī in **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.119 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**:<sup>1</sup>

|                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                         |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. Authorities trans-<br>transmitting the<br>tradition | <i>... anba'anā 'Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu</i><br><i>Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Ṭābiti</i><br><i>bni Istanībiyāda<sup>2</sup> l-Fārisīyu</i><br><i>l-Ḥumsīyu qāla ... 'an Ka'bin<sup>3</sup></i> | "... 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad<br>b. Maṣṣūr b. Ṭābit b. Istanībiyād<br>al-Fārisī l-Ḥumsī<br>informed us ... from Ka'b: |
| B. Heading                                             | <i>inna n-Nabīya ...</i><br><i>laylata usriya bihi</i>                                                                                                                                   | "The Prophet ...<br>on the night he had the Night Journey,                                                              |
| C. [ <i>Marbaṭ al-Burāq</i> ]                          | <i>waqafa l-Burāqa fī l-Mawqifi l-laḍī</i><br><i>kāna yaqifu fīhi l-anbiyā'u qablu</i>                                                                                                   | stopped al-Burāq at the Stopping-place<br>where the prophets had stopped before.                                        |

<sup>1</sup>The following text is **Ibn al-Murağğā**'s; variants of **al-Wāsiṭī** are given in the footnotes, variants in the eulogies are ignored.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** without *bni Istanībiyāda*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 'an Ka'bin qāla.

|                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| D. <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i>          | <i>tumma daḥala min Bābi n-Nabīyi ...</i><br><i>wa-Ġibrīlu amāmahu</i><br><i>fa-aḍā’a lahu fīhi ḍaw’an ...</i>                                                                                                                                               | Then he [Muḥammad] entered from the Gate of the Prophet and Gabriel was in front of him and lit for him in it a light ...                                                                                                      |
| E. [ <i>Q. al-Maḥṣar</i> ]     | <i>tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu</i><br><i>ḥattā daḥala min ša’mīyi š-Šaḥrati</i><br><i>fa-aḍḍana Ġibrīlu</i><br><i>wa-nazalati l-malā’ikatu mina s-samā’i</i><br><i>wa-ḥašara ... l-mursalīna<sup>1</sup></i><br><i>fa-aqāma š-ṣalāta</i>                         | Then Gabriel proceeded until he entered north of the Rock; Gabriel called the prayer-call and the angels came down from heaven and he [God] raised the messengers and called the second prayer-call.                           |
| F. [ <i>Qubbat an-Nabī</i> ]   | <i>tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu ...</i><br><i>fa-ṣallā n-Nabīyu ...</i><br><i>bi-l-malā’ikati wa-l-mursalīna</i>                                                                                                                                                  | Then Gabriel proceeded and the Prophet led the ritual prayer of the angels and messengers.                                                                                                                                     |
| G. [ <i>Qubbat al-Mi’rāḡ</i> ] | <i>tumma taqaddama</i><br><i>quddāma dālīka ilā l-Mawḍi’i</i><br><i>fa-wuḍi’at lahu mirqāṭun ...</i><br><i>wa-mirqāṭun ...<sup>2</sup></i><br><i>wa-huwa l-Mi’rāḡu</i><br><i>ḥattā ‘araḡa Ġibrīlu ... wa-n-Nabīyu ...</i><br><i>ilā s-samā’i</i>             | Then he [Muḥammad] proceeded in front of this to the Place and a ladder was put up for him ... and another ladder ... and it the Ascension until Gabriel and the Prophet ascended heaven.’                                     |
| H.                             | <i>fa-qāla ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | And ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān said:                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| I.                             | <i>wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā</i><br><i>l-latī ‘an yamīni š-Šaḥrati<sup>3</sup></i>                                                                                                                                                                           | And it is the nearest dome which is on the right [west] side of [the Dome of] the Rock.                                                                                                                                        |
| J.                             | <i>wa-man atā l-qubbata qāṣidan<sup>4</sup></i><br><i>wa-lahu ḥāḡatun ...</i><br><i>fa-ṣallā fihā rak’atayni</i><br><i>aw arba’a raka’ātin<sup>5</sup></i><br><i>tabayyana lahu sur’atu iḡābatihī</i><br><br><i>wa-‘arafa barakata l-mawḍi’i<sup>6</sup></i> | Whoever comes to the dome when he is in need and prays in it two <i>rak’a</i> or four <i>rak’a</i> , then the quickness of the positive answer he receives will be obvious to him and he will understand the place’s blessing. |

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** adds *lahu* "for him".

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** *tumma taqaddama Ġibrīlu quddāmahu ilā l-Mawḍi’i fa-waḍa’a lahu mirqāṭan ... wa-mirqāṭan* ... "then Gabriel preceded in front of him to the Place and put for him a ladder ... and another ladder ...".

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** without *al-latī*.

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** adds *ya’nī Qubbata n-Nabīyi ...* "i.e., the Dome of the Prophet".

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** *fa-ṣallā fihā rak’atayni aw arba’an* "and prays in it two *rak’a* or four".

<sup>6</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** without *wa-‘arafa barakata l-mawḍi’i*.

|    |                                                                                              |                                                                                     |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| K. | <i>wa-n-Nabīyu</i> <sup>1</sup> ... <i>ṣallā fihā</i><br><i>yuqālu lahā Qubbata n-Nabīyi</i> | The Prophet ... made ritual prayer in it,<br>it is called the Dome of the Prophet." |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

B106.2.f. The passage (A-K) includes a main tradition (A-G) and a commentary tradition (H-K) with two sub-parts. Part one (A-G) has the chain of authorities transmitting the tradition up to Ka'b (A) and the stations of Muḥammad on his Night Journey (B-G). The only station explicitly named is *Bāb an-Nabī* (D), but the other places are well known from other [contemporary or later] sources as *Marbaṭ al-Burāq* (C), *Qubbat al-Maḥṣar* (E), *Qubbat an-Nabī* (F) and *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* (G). Part two is a commentary by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad with an abbreviated chain of authorities back to himself (H) and a double text (I-K). The first sub-part (I) of this double text locates the preceding tradition (B-G), i.e., its most relevant part, in the dome nearest to the Dome of the Rock, on its right [west] side; there is no reference to any particular station. The second sub-part opens with *man atā l-qubbata qāṣidan* "whoever comes to the dome" (J), and **Ibn al-Murağğā** adds *ya'nī Qubbata n-Nabīyi*; this is obviously one of the many traditions beginning with *man atā* ... "whoever comes to ...", stating what a pious Muslim has to do in Jerusalem or at a specific place in it, and what kind of blessing he thus will get. The second sub-part closes with an additional explanation about the holiness of *Qubbat an-Nabī* (K). *Qubbat an-Nabī* is introduced only at the very end of the whole tradition; in **al-Wāsiṭī** only in the very last words (K), in **Ibn al-Murağğā** additionally at the beginning of the second sub-part (J). We may deduce that the first sub-part (I) does not necessarily relate to *Qubbat an-Nabī*; in **al-Wāsiṭī** even the opening of the sub-part (J) is not related to *Qubbat an-Nabī*. We rather should connect it with the last part of the main tradition, with the *Mi'rāğ*, and thereby with *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* - a solution which perfectly fits with the locations made so far.

B106.2.g. The expression *al-qubbatu d-dunyā l-latī 'an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* "the nearest dome which is on the right [west] side of [the Dome of] the Rock" implies the existence of at least one other dome farther away from the Dome of the Rock. This fits with our location of *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* nearer and *Qubbat an-Nabī* farther away from the Dome of the Rock.

B106.2.h. The main tradition (A-G) locates the gathering of the angels and prophets (E), the prayer led by Muḥammad (F) and the Ascension (G) *ša'mī ṣ-Ṣaḥra* "on the north side of [the Dome of] the Rock", but 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad puts the Ascension *'an yamīn aṣ-Ṣaḥra* "on the right [west] of [the Dome of] the Rock" (I). The obvious solution is a place north and west, i.e., northwest of the DOME OF THE ROCK, at about QUBBAT AN-NABĪ. Thereby, High 'Abbāsīd *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* is at today's QUBBAT AN-NABĪ and High 'Abbāsīd *Qubbat an-Nabī* at today's QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ.<sup>2</sup> Locating *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* at about QUBBAT AN-NABĪ, and *Qubbat an-Nabī* further north next to the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE,<sup>3</sup> is possible as well.

B106.2.i. High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* has been located in QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ,<sup>4</sup> and *Qubbat an-Nabī* at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ,<sup>5</sup> but the identity of the names has no weight, and there is no evidence in favour of this.

B106.2.j. The suggestion that High 'Abbāsīd *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* was continued by Fāṭimid *Qubbat Ġabrā'il*

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-Murağğā** *wa-Rasūlu Llāhi* "and the Messenger of God ...".

<sup>2</sup> Natsheh, "Catalogue" 702 (locating *Qubbat an-Nabī* at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ which Natsheh calls *Qubbat an-Nabī*).

<sup>3</sup> Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.

<sup>4</sup> Schefer, *Nassir* 94 n. 2 (Fāṭimid *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*); Le Strange, *Palestine* 154; 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 43; 171 (reluctantly); Busse, "Sanctity" 442.

<sup>5</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 43; 171; 194 f. (reluctantly).

should be accepted (B177.1.c).

**B106.3. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*),<sup>1</sup> one of the three minor elegant domes (*qibāb liṭāf*) on the platform [with roofs] covered with lead (*mulabbasa bi-r-raṣāṣ*), on marble columns (ʿalā aʿmidat ruḥām), with no walls (*bi-lā ḥiṭān*) (B103.2).

B106.3.a. Both **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**'s (*fī l-masğidi ... wa-fīhi ...*) *l-qubbatu l-latī ʿaraḡa n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama minhā ilā s-samāʾi* "(in the mosque ... and it ...) is the dome from which the Prophet - God may bless him and grant him salvation - ascended to heaven", and **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**'s *tumma naẓartu ilā l-Miʿrāğī mawḍiʿu l-qubbati miṭlu qawsī Llāhi aḡḡaru wa-aḡmaru ...* "then I looked to [the Dome of] the Ascension - the place of the dome was like a rainbow green and red ..." call the place a dome. The same may be deduced from **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119 = Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**, describing *Qubbat an-Nabī* as *al-qubbatu d-dunyā l-latī ʿan yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḡrati* "the nearest dome which is on the right [west] side of [the Dome of] the Rock" - there is obviously another dome on the right [west] side, i.e., *Qubbat al-Miʿrāğ* (B106.2.g).

B106.3.b. The description fits with QUBBAT AN-NABĪ near the Dome of the Rock and QUBBAT AL-ḤIDR and QUBBAT AL-ARWĀḤ farther away, but none of them has any Pre-Crusader elements.

**B106.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Dome of the Ascension, the dome from which the Prophet [Muḥammad] rose to heaven (*al-qubba l-latī ʿaraḡa n-Nabīyu minhā ilā s-samāʾ*).<sup>2</sup>

**B106.5. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the ʿĀšūrāʾ-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī looks at [the Dome of] the Ascension (*al-Miʿrāğ*) and sees the place of the dome (*mawḍiʿ al-qubba*) glittering green and red like a rainbow.<sup>3</sup>

## B107. The Place of the Night Journey

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) (*ātāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimī ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ... wa-fīhi ...*) *l-qubbatu l-latī ʿaraḡa n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama minhā ilā s-samāʾi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,12f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadīn ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīni l-Ḥawlīyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma naẓartu ilā l-Miʿrāğī mawḍiʿu l-qubbati miṭlu qawsī Llāhi aḡḡaru wa-aḡmaru yatalaʾlaʾu nūran*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) (*ātāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimī ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ... wa-fīhi ...*) *l-qubbatu l-latī ʿaraḡa n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama minhā ilā s-samāʾi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,12f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadīn ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīni l-Ḥawlīyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma naẓartu ilā l-Miʿrāğī mawḍiʿu l-qubbati miṭlu qawsī Llāhi aḡḡaru wa-aḡmaru yatalaʾlaʾu nūran*.

B107.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Place of the Night Journey (*Mawḍiʿ al-isrāʾ*).<sup>1</sup>

B107.2. **Position:** This place is near the Dome of the Ascension (*ʿind Qubbat al-Miʿrāḡ*) (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) (B106.2). We locate it best near QUBBAT AN-NABĪ.

B107.3. **Traditions (Muslim):** The Place of the Night Journey (*Mawḍiʿ al-Isrāʾ*) obviously refers to **Muḥammad's** Night Journey, but no details are given.

### B108. The Dome of the Prophet = the Dome of Muḥammad<sup>2</sup>

B108.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*),<sup>3</sup> the Dome of Muḥammad (*Qubbat Muḥammad*),<sup>4</sup> the dome in which the Prophet [Muḥammad] led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets (*al-qubba l-latī ṣallā fihā n-Nabī bi-n-nabīyīn*) (B108.4).

B108.1.a. An identification of High ʿAbbāsīd *Qubbat an-Nabī* with the north staircase leading to the Fāṭimid platform<sup>5</sup> is out of the question.

---

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.249:** 177,20f. (... *Aḥmadū bnu Yaḥyā l-bazzāru l-Baḡdādīyu ... qāla raʾaytu l-bāriḡata Rasūla Llāhi ʿalayhi s-salāmu ḡariḡan mina ṣ-Ṣaḡrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ... *fa-qāla ... wa-law lam yakun (Livne-Kafri reads ṣabban wa-lam yakun) li-hāḡā l-mawḡiʿi maḡallun* (Livne-Kafri reads *maḡallun ʿaḡimun*) *lammā usriya bihi* (I read *bī*) *ilayhi*) *wa-aṣāra bi-yadihi ilā Mawḡiʿi l-isrāʾ* (Livne-Kafri reads *ilā Mawḡiʿi l-isrāʾi*) *ʿinda Qubbati l-Miʿrāḡi*.

<sup>2</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsīd Dome of the Prophet, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 47; 170-172; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 311 s.v. "Prophète"; Sivan, "Beginnings" 267; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 41; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 87f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 48; 70; 74f.; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 702.

Cf. the Mamlūk inscription **van Berchem Nr.152,2** *ḡadihi Qubbatu n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-ʿalā ālihi wa-sallama l-latī ḡakarahā ahlu t-taʾriḡi fī kutubihim* (tawallā *iḡhāraha baʿda ʿadamihā wa-ʿimāratahā baʿda ḡaʾārīhā bi-nafsihi wa-mālihi l-faḡīru ilā raḡmati rabbihi* ...).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119:** 74,3 (*anbaʾanā ʿAbdu r-Raḡmāni bnu Muḡammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Ṭābiti bni Istanī-biyāda l-Fārisīyu l-ḡumsīyu ḡaddatanā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla ʿAbdu r-Raḡmāni ... wa-man atā l-qubbata qāṣidan ...*) *wa-yuḡālu lahā Qubbata n-Nabīyi = Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.148:* 124,4; 6 (*anbaʾanā ʿAbdu r-Raḡmāni bnu Muḡammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Ṭābitini l-Fārisīyu l-ḡumsīyu qāla anbaʾanā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla ʿAbdu r-Raḡmāni ...*) *wa-man atā* (Livne-Kafri reads *atā*) *l-qubbata qāṣidan yaʿnī Qubbata n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu ... yuḡālu lahā Qubbata n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu; Ibn al-Faḡīh* 101,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 74) (*Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḡrati ...*) *wa-fī ṣ-ṣaʾmīyi Qubbatu n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-Maḡāmu ḡibrīla ʿalayhi s-salāmu; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407:* 268,13f. (... *ḡaddatanā Abū Muḡammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḡammadini l-ḡawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma naḡartu ilā Qubbati n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu; al-Muqaddasī* 169,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) (*wa-fī d-dikkati* (B *fī d-dikkati*) *arbaʿu qibābin*) ... *Qubbatu n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama* ...

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 151,9 (*iqḡīmu ṣ-Ṣaʾmi ... bihi* ...) *Qubbatu Muḡammadin wa-bābuhu*.

<sup>5</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 74f. n. 111 (erroneously calling the north staircase al-Maḡām aṣ-Ṣaʾmī instead of Maḡām an-Nabī).



**B108.2. Position:** This dome is on the platform (*fī d-dikka*) (B103.2). It is the dome farthest away (*al-qubba l-quṣwā*) [from the Dome of the Rock], in the north (*fī š-ša’mī*) [of the Dome of the Rock], in back [north] of [the Dome of] the Rock (*fī dubr aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B106.2). We locate it best at QUBBAT AL-MI‘RĀĠ (B106.2).

**B108.3. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*),<sup>1</sup> one of the three minor elegant domes (*qibāb liṭāf*) on the platform [with roofs] covered with lead (*mulabbasa bi-r-raṣāṣ*), on marble columns (*‘alā a’mīdat ruḥām*), with no walls (*bi-lā ḥiṭān*) (B103.2).

**B108.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the dome in which the Prophet [Muḥammad] led the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets (*al-qubba l-latī ṣallā fihā n-Nabī bi-n-nabīyīn*),<sup>2</sup> where Muḥammad led, on his Night Journey, the ritual prayer of the [former] prophets brought back to life,<sup>3</sup> the ritual prayer of the prophets and the angels.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) (*ātāru l-anbiyā’i ‘alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ... wa-fīhi ...*) *l-qubbatu l-latī ṣallā fihā n-Nabī yu ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama bi-n-nabīyīna*; **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119**: 73,21-74,3 (*anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣūri bni Tābiti bni Istanībiyāda l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu ḥaddatanā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni*) *wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā l-latī ‘an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]) *wa-man atā l-qubbata qāṣidan ... wa-n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama ṣallā fihā wa-yuqālu lahā Qubbata n-Nabīyi = Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.148: 124,3-6 (*anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣūri bni Tābitini l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu qāla anba’anā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni*) *wa-hiya l-qubbatu d-dunyā* (read *l-qubbatu d-dunyā l-latī*, with al-Wāsiṭi) *‘an yamīni ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]) *wa-man atā* (Livne-Kafri reads *atā*) *l-qubbata qāṣidan ya’nī Qubbata n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu ... wa-Rasūlu Llāhi ‘alayhi s-salāmu ṣallā fihā yuqālu lahā Qubbata n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu*.*

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) (*ātāru l-anbiyā’i ‘alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ... wa-fīhi ...*) *l-qubbatu l-latī ṣallā fihā n-Nabī yu ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama bi-n-nabīyīna*.

<sup>3</sup> **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.123**: 76,6f. (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 50) (*... ḥaddatanā Abū Ḥuḍayfata mu’addīnu Bayti l-Maqdisi ‘an ḡaddatihi annahā ra’at Ṣafīyata zawġa n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-Ka’bun yaqūlu lahā yā umma l-mu’minīna ṣallī hāhunā*) *fa-inna n-Nabīya ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama ṣallā bi-n-nabīyīna ḥīna usriya bihi ilā s-samā’i ṣallā bihim hāhunā wa-nuṣīrū* (read *wa-awma’a*) *Abū Ḥuḍayfata bi-yadihi ilā l-qubbati l-quṣwā fī dubri ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]) = **Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.149**: 124,9f. (*... anba’anā Abū Ḥuḍayfata mu’addīnu Bayti l-Maqdisi ‘an ḡaddatihi annahā ra’at Ṣafīyata zawġa n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu wa-Ka’bun yaqūlu lahā yā umma l-mu’minīna ṣallī hāhunā*) *fa-inna n-Nabīya ‘alayhi s-salāmu ṣallā bi-n-nabīyīna ḥīna usriya bihi ilā s-samā’i ṣallā bihim hāhunā wa-nuṣīrū lahu wa-awma’a* (read *wa-awma’a*) *Abū Ḥuḍayfata bi-yadihi ilā l-qubbati l-quṣwā* (I read *ilā l-qubbati l-quṣwā fī dubri ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*, with al-Wāsiṭi).

Cf. , without mentioning the prophets, **al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119**: 74,3 (*anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣūri bni Tābiti bni Istanībiyāda l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu ḥaddatanā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni ...*) *wa-n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama ṣallā fihā = Ibn al-Muraġġa Nr.148: 124,5f. (*anba’anā ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣūri bni Tābitini l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu qāla anba’anā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla ‘Abdu r-Raḥmāni ...*) *wa-Rasūlu Llāhi ‘alayhi s-salāmu ṣallā fihā*.*

B108.5. Whoever is in need and prays two or four *rakʿa* at the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) has his needs fulfilled.<sup>2</sup>

B108.6. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** Whoever is in need and prays two or four *rakʿa* at the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) has his needs fulfilled (B108.5).

### B109. The Standing-place of Gabriel<sup>3</sup> = the Prayer-place of Gabriel

B109.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Standing-place of Gabriel (*Maqām Ġibrīl*,<sup>4</sup> *Maqām Ġibrāʾīl*), the Prayer-place of Gabriel (*Muṣallā Ġibrīl*).<sup>6</sup>

B109.2. **Position:** This place is on the platform, in the north (*fī š-šaʾmī*) [as seen from the Dome of the Rock].<sup>7</sup> We locate it best near QUBBAT AL-MIʿRĀĠ and QUBBAT AN-NABĪ.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407:** 268,13f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawli yu ... qāla ...*) *tumma naḏartu ilā Qubbati n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu fa-qāla lī fī ḥāda l-mawḍiʿi ṣallā bi-l-anbiyāʾi wa-l-malāʾikati*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.119:** 74,1f. (*anbaʾanā ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Ṭābiti bni Ista-nī biyāda l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu ḥaddaṭanā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni ...*) *wa-man atā l-qubbata qāsidan wa-lahu ḥāḡatun min ḥawāʾiġi d-dunyā wa-l-āḡirati fa-ṣallā fihā rakʿatayni aw arbaʿa rakaʿatin tabayyana lahu surʿatu iġābatihī wa-ʿarafa barakata l-Mawḍiʿi (wa-n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama ṣallā fihā) = Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.148: 124,4f. (*anbaʾanā ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadi bni Maṣṣūri bni Ṭābitini l-Fārisīyu l-Ḥumsīyu qāla anbaʾanā Ubayyun ... fa-qāla ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni ...*) *wa-man atā (Livne-Kafri reads atā) l-qubbata qāsidan yaʾnī Qubbata n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-lahu ḥāḡatun min ḥawāʾiġi d-dunyā wa-l-āḡirati fa-ṣallā fihā rakʿatayni aw arbaʿan tabayyana (read tatabayyana) lahu surʿatu iġābatihī (wa-Rasūlu Llāhi ʿalayhi s-salāmu ṣallā fihā).**

<sup>3</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsīd Standing-place of Gabriel, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 47; 171f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 273 s.v. "Gabriel".

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 74) (*wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḡrati fihī s-silsilati* (read *Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) ...) *wa-fī š-šaʾmīyi Qubbatu n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-Maqāmu Ġibrīla ʿalayhi s-salāmu*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165; see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 311 s.v. "Prophète") (*ilā l-masġidi ... wa-fihī mina l-masāḡidi ...*) *Maqāmu n-Nabīyi wa-Ġibrāʾīla (... mutafarriqatan fihī).*

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) (*āṭāru l-anbiyāʾi ʿalayhimi š-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masġidi ... wa-fihī ...*) *Muṣallā Ġibrīla ʿalayhi s-salāmu*.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 74) (*wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḡrati fihī s-silsilati* (read *wa-min šarqīyi Qubbati š-Šaḡrati Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) ...) *wa-amāmahā Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍri ʿalayhi s-salāmu ...* *wa-fī š-šaʾmīyi Qubbatu n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-Maqāmu Ġibrīla ʿalayhi s-salāmu (wa-ʿinda š-Šaḡrati [the Dome of the Rock] Qubbatu l-Miʿrāġi).*

B109.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has *Maqām Ġibrīl* as one of the minor structures on the platform, preceded by *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MIʿRĀĠ) and followed by *Qubbat al-Miʿrāġ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ). The place is most probably near to both.

**Ibn al-Faqīh**

*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra* -> *Qubbat as-Silsila*: in front of it *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr* ->  
*Qubbat an-Nabī* -> ***Maqām Ġibrīl*** -> *Qubbat al-Miʿrāġ*

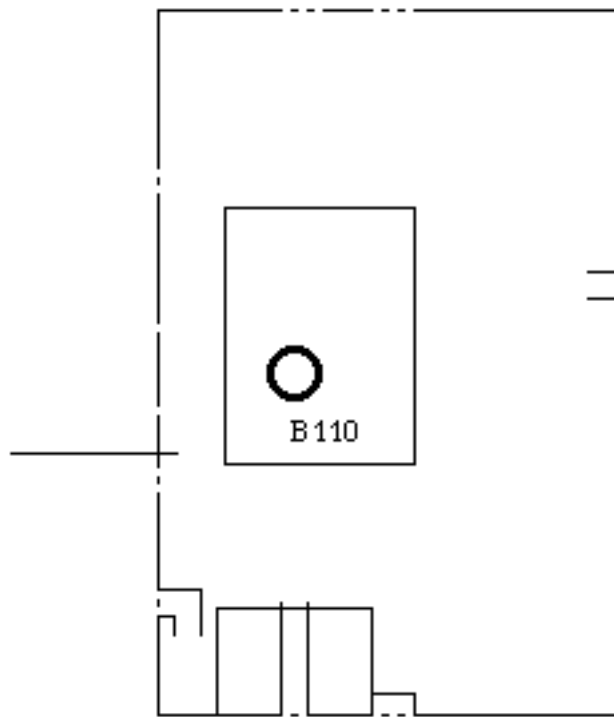
B109.2.b. **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** and **al-Muqaddasī** have *Muṣallā Ġibrīl* and *Maqām Ġibrāʾīl*, respectively, among the minor structures in the area, in the two-item subgroup of places called *Muṣallā ...* or *Maqām ...* - this does not help us in location.

**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**  
**al-Muqaddasī**

***Muṣallā Ġibrīl*** -> *Muṣallā l-Ḥiḍr*  
*Maqām an-Nabī* -> ***Maqām Ġibrāʾīl***

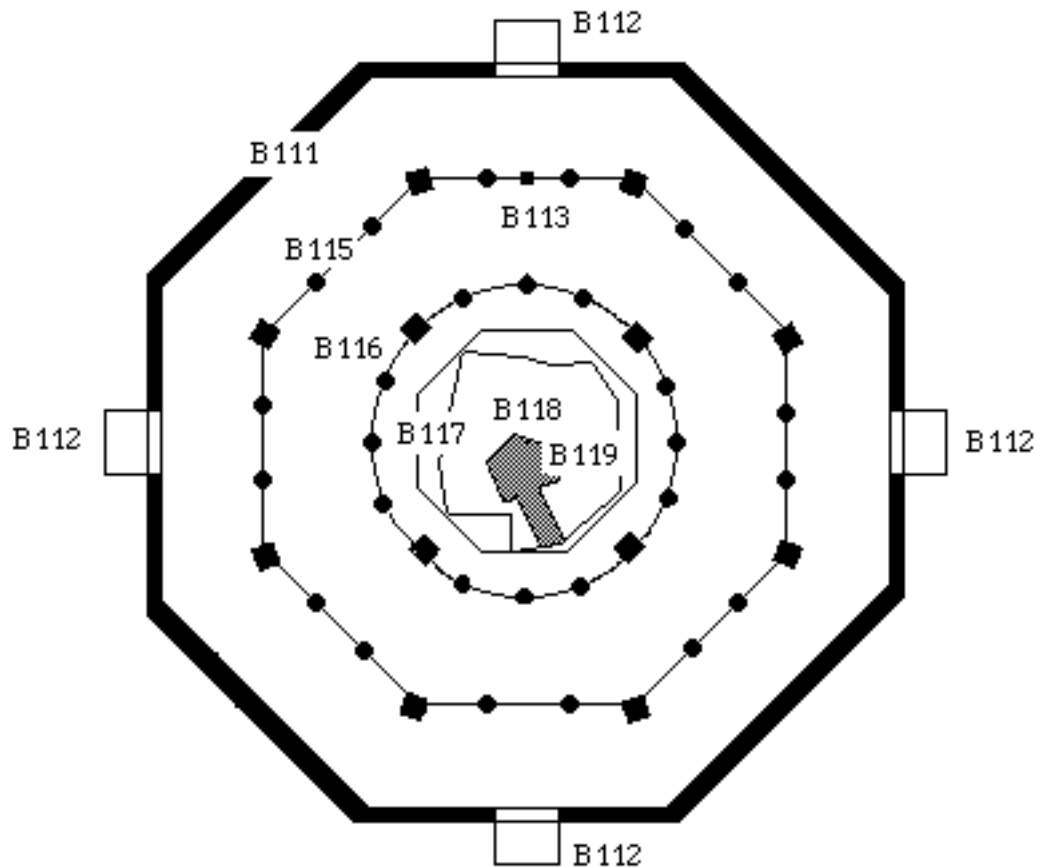
B109.3. **Traditions (Muslim)**: The Standing-place of Gabriel (*Maqām Ġibrīl* = *Maqām Ġibrāʾīl*) and the Prayer-place of Gabriel (*Muṣallā Ġibrīl*) refer to Gabriel standing in prayer [when **Muḥammad** led him and all prophets and angels in ritual prayer], but no details are given.

3.5. THE DOME OF THE ROCK



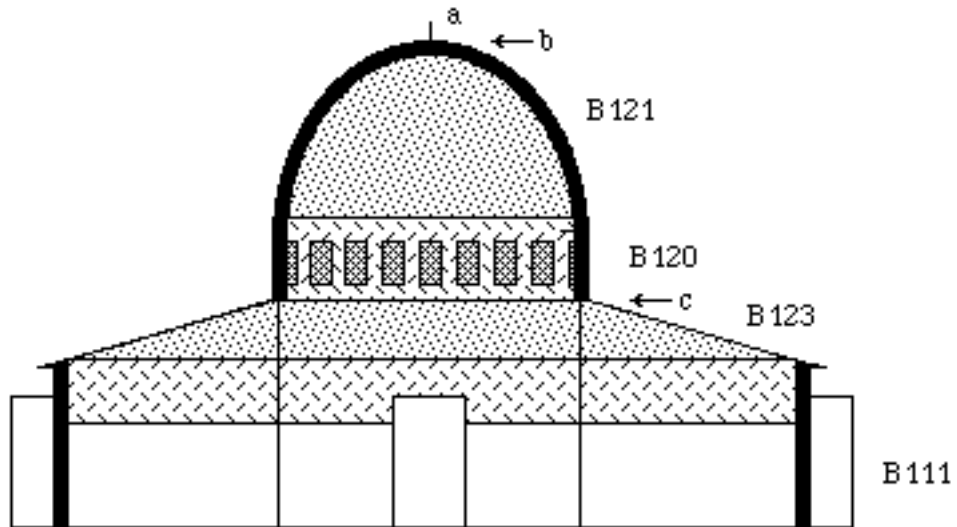
**61**

**Figure 61. The position of the High 'Abbāsid Dome of the Rock (B110).**



62

**Figure 62. The High ʿAbbāsid Dome of the Rock (layout):** B111 The wall. - B112 The gates: the South Gate or Gate [of the Dome] of the Rock (southwards), the Gate of Isrāfil (eastwards), the Gate of the Trumpet (northwards) and the Gate of the Women (westwards). - B113 The Black Paving-stone, or paving-stone with the Rock in front. - B115 The arcades in a round configuration and the low arcades on top of them. - B116 The circular non-octagonal arcade around the Rock. - B117 The fence around the Rock. - B118 The Rock. - B119 The cave under the Rock.



63

**Figure 63. The High ‘Abbāsid Dome of the Rock (view):** B111 The wall with the gates and marble lobbies in front of them. - B120 The drum. - B121 The dome with its spike (a), its top (b) and its widest base (c). - B123 The roofs.

### B110. The Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>

**B110.1. Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*,<sup>2</sup> *aṣ-Ṣaḥra*<sup>3</sup>), the Place of the Rock (*Mawḍi' aṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>4</sup>

B110.1.a. The name *Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra* obviously refers to the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) in it. For the ambiguity of the term *aṣ-Ṣaḥra*, see B038.1.a.

**B110.2. Names (Christian):** The Holy of Holies (τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων) (B110.7).

**B110.3. Position:** The Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) is on the platform (*fī d-dikka*) in the centre (*fī l-wasaf*) [of the platform and of the minor domes on the platform] (B103.2). Its dome is over the Rock (B118.3). This is basically the DOME OF THE ROCK.

<sup>1</sup>For the High 'Abbāsid Dome of the Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 93f.; 121f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 225-261; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 65-131; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Gil, *Palestine* 101-104; 478f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 192; 3 66; 74; 79f.; Schick, *Christian Communities* 338-340; Elad, *Jerusalem* 45f.; 70; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52-54; 164 n. 81.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407:** 268,3 (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīni l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ra'aytu ... fī-mā yarā n-nā'imū ka-annī fī Ṣaḥrati Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi* (I read *fī Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *wa-ana muqābila Qubbata ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*; **al-Muqaddasī** 169,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) *wa-fī l-wasafī Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*; **al-Muqaddasī** 186,5 *wa-Qubbatu-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ... mina l-'ağā'ibi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*aṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-bihā arba'atu abwābin muṭabbaqatun 'alā kulli bābin arba'atu abwābin wa-'alā kulli bābin dukkānayni muraḥḥamatun* (read *dukkānatun muraḥḥamatun*); **Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) *wa-Ḥağaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ṭalātun wa-ṭalātūna dirā'an fī sab'atin wa-'iṣrīna dirā'an*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122) *wa-l-'umudu l-latī dāḥila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ṭalātūna 'amūdan wa-l-'umudu l-latī ḥāriğa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ṭamāniyata 'ašara 'amūdan*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 92) (*wa-yusrağū fī l-masğidi ...*) *fihī ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-mulabbasatu safā'iha r-raṣāsi ...*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,6f. (transl. *wa-ğamī 'u mā yusrağū fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *mina l-qanādili arba'umi'ati qindilin wa-arba'atun wa-sittūna qindilan bi-ma'āliqi n-nuḥāsi wa-salāsili n-nuḥāsi*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,19 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) *fa-idā daḥalta ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-ṣalli fī ṭalātati arkānihā* [at the three corners of the Rock] (*wa-ṣalli 'alā l-balātati l-latī tusāmitu ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Rock] *fa-innahā 'alā bābin min abwābi l-Ġannati*); **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407:** 268,8f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīni l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma ḥarağtu mina l-qubbati fa-idā ašğārun min nūrin min Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ilā Bābi n-nuḥāsi muqābila l-miḥrābi*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥr i** 56,18-57,1 (*wa-Baytu l-Muqaddasi* (I read *wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi*) ... *wa-bihā masğidun ...*) *wa-l-binā'u* (C *wa-l-binā'u minhu*) *fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi yamtaddu 'alā naḥwi nişfi 'arḍi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi fāriğun illā Mawḍi'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (C *'alā naḥwi nişfi 'arḍi l-masğidi ilā Mawḍi'i ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*); **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,6-8 (*wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi masğidun ...*) *wa-lahu binā'un fī qiblatihi musaqqafun fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi wa-yamtaddu ḥadā t-tasqifu 'alā nişfi 'arḍi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi ḥālin lā binā'a fī hi illā Mawḍi'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*.

B110.3.a. The High ‘Abbāsid building is over the Rock (today's ROCK), as the Marwānid building (B038.2) was. This, and the Marwānid character of quite a number of elements (B038.2.a), leave no doubt that the DOME OF THE ROCK as it is today is basically the same as the Marwānid (and High ‘Abbāsid) Dome of the Rock.

**B110.4. Physical shape:** Apart from the Place of the Rock [the Dome of the Rock] (*Mawḍi‘ aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and the building (*al-binā’*) [the Roofed Hall], the mosque (*al-masğid*) is empty (*fāriğ*) (B052.5). This is a dome (*qubba*)<sup>1</sup> with two parts, i.e., with an (octagonal) sanctuary (*bayt muṭamman*,<sup>2</sup> *bayḥ*) with three arcades (B114.2) inside the sanctuary (*dāḥil al-bayt*) (B114.2), and with a dome (*qubba*) proper.<sup>4</sup> The building has a circumference of 360 ells (179.28 m) and covers roughly a square of 100 by 100 ells (49.80 m).<sup>5</sup> It has a white marble floor (*farš*) (B122.3); its roofs (*suqūf*) are covered with red gold (B123.3). The whole building is supported by three [*sic*] arcades (*arwiqa*) (B114.2) and has twelve pillars (sing. *rukṇ*) and thirty columns (sing. *‘amūd*) (B114.2.e). Inside the building is the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*)

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) *wa-faršu l-qubbati ruḥāmun abyādu wa-suqūfuhā bi-d-ḡahabi l-aḥmari fī dawri ḥiṭānīhā*; **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *ğuduruhā* (read *ğadruhā*) *min dāḥilin wa-ḥāriğin mulabbasun bi-r-ruḥāmi l-abyādi*; **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76) *wa-l-qubbatu banāhā ‘Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ‘alā ṭnay ‘ašara ruknan wa-talātina ‘amūdan*; **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) *wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi fāriğun illā Mawḍi‘a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna ‘alayhi ḥağaran murtafi‘an miṭla d-dikkati wa-fī wasaṭi l-ḥağari ‘alā l-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatur*; **Sa‘id b. Biṭriq, Ta’rīḥ** 2 42,2-5 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 109; Gil, *Palestine* 92; Schick, *Christian Communities* 339; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54) (*al-Walidu ...*) *fa-ba‘ata ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-banā Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-šayyadahu wa-šayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masğidi wa-banā ḥawlahā wa-raḥḥamahu wa-qala‘a qubbatan kānat li-n-Našārā fī kanīsati madīnati Ba‘labakka wa-kānati l-qubbatu min nuḥāsin maṭliyatun bi-d-ḡahabi fa-naṣabahā ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-amara n-nāsa bi-l-ḥağği ila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,4.8 (... *ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn ‘Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīn l-Hawliyu ... qāla ra‘aytu ...*) *wa-ana muqābila Qubbata ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ...* *ṭumma daḥaltu ilā l-qubbati ... ṭumma ḥarağtu mina l-qubbati*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-fī l-wasaṭi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ‘alā baytin muṭammanin*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81) *dāḥila l-bayti talātatu arwiqatin*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76) *wa-l-qubbatu banāhā ‘Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ‘alā ṭnay ‘ašara ruknan wa-talātina ‘amūdan*; **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) *wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi fāriğun illā Mawḍi‘a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna ‘alayhi ḥağaran murtafi‘an miṭla d-dikkati wa-fī wasaṭi l-ḥağari ‘alā l-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatur*; **Sa‘id b. Biṭriq, Ta’rīḥ** 2 42,2-5 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 109; Gil, *Palestine* 92; Schick, *Christian Communities* 339; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54) (*al-Walidu ...*) *fa-ba‘ata ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-banā Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-šayyadahu wa-šayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masğidi wa-banā ḥawlahā wa-raḥḥamahu wa-qala‘a qubbatan kānat li-n-Našārā fī kanīsati madīnati Ba‘labakka wa-kānati l-qubbatu min nuḥāsin maṭliyatun bi-d-ḡahabi fa-naṣabahā ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-amara n-nāsa bi-l-ḥağği ila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,15f. (*aṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-hiya mi‘atu ḡirā‘in fī mi‘ati ḡirā‘ini rtifā‘uhā sab‘ūna ḡirā‘an wa-dawruhā talātumi‘atin wa-sittūna ḡirā‘in*.



(B118.3).

B110.4.a. **al-Muqaddasī** distinguishes between *al-bayt* "the sanctuary" and *al-qubba* "the dome", referring to the two parts of the building which are quite different in light (B043.3.c), i.e., the zone outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE and the zone inside the CIRCULAR ARCADE under the DOME. These are exactly the two zones of the Dome of the Rock described above (B043.3.c), the zone of shadow outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE and the zone of bright light inside the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

B110.4.b. The circumference of 360 ells (179.28 m) means a length of 45 ells (22.41 m) for each of the eight sides. This, as well as the square of 100 by 100 ells (49.80 m) the building covers, fits with the 20.59 m length of the sides of today's DOME OF THE ROCK.<sup>1</sup>

B110.5. **Traditions (Muslim):** ʿAbd al-Malik built a dome over the Rock<sup>2</sup> on eighteen pillars (sing. *rukṇ*) and thirty columns (sing. *ʿamūd*),<sup>3</sup> to counterbalance the influence of Ibn az-Zubayr and to counterbalance the impression the dimensions of the dome of the Anastasis [of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] (*qubbat al-Qumāma*) made on the Muslims (B052.8).

B110.6. In the last days, Hell (*Ġahannum*) will be brought to the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and **Paradise** (*al-Ġanna*) will visit the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), as one visits a bride,<sup>4</sup> the **Kaʿba** will visit the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), together with all people who made *ḥaġġ* to it and it will be said, "Welcome both, the visitor and the visited";<sup>5</sup> and the **Black Stone** [of

<sup>1</sup> Figures of the DOME OF THE ROCK are those of Caskel, *Felsendom* 11; Creswell, *EMA* 1 68; 71 fig. 21; 74; 658-660.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Faḳīh** 101,3f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76) *wa-l-qubbatu banāhā ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ʿalā ṭnay ʿašara ruknan wa-talāṭīna ʿamūdan*; **al-Yaʿqūbī**, *Taʾrīḫ* 2 311,13f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.) (*ʿAbdu l-Maliki ...*) *fa-banā ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan*; **al-Muqaddasī** 159,10f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 55; Caskel, *Felsendom* 24; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 291f.; Gil, *Palestine* 93; see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 174 n. 122; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 325a; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 2f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52-54) (*qultu yawman li-ʿammī ... qāla ...*) *a-lā tarā anna ʿAbdu l-Maliki lammā raʾa ʿuẓma qubbatī l-Qumāmati wa-hayʾatahā ḥaṣīya an taʿẓuma fī qulūbi l-Muslimīna fa-naṣaba ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan ʿalā mā tarā* (not in C).

For the alleged diversion of the annual pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem, see A137.

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Faḳīh** 101,3f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76) *wa-l-qubbatu banāhā ʿAbdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ʿalā ṭnay ʿašara ruknan wa-talāṭīna ʿamūdan*.

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 257,2-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164f.; Busse, "Sanctity" 467f.) *wa-yuʾtā bi-Ġahannuma naʿūdu bi-Llāhi minhā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-tuzaffu l-Ġannatu yawma l-qiyāmati miṭla l-ʿarūsi ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 257,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164f.; Busse, "Sanctity" 467f.) *wa-tuzaffu l-Kaʿbatu bi-ḥāġġihā bihā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-yuqālu lahā marḥaban bi-z-zāʾirati wa-l-mazūratī*.

**Mecca]** will visit the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>1</sup>

B110.6.a. A parallel to the Ka'ba visiting the Temple in the last days: The city of 'Abbādān is said to be a piece of clay from the clay of the Temple/Jerusalem (*ṭīna min ṭīn Bayt al-Maqdis*) which was brought there at the time of the Flood and which will return to its place of origin [the Temple/Jerusalem] in the last days.<sup>2</sup>

**B110.7. Traditions (Christian):** This is the Holy of Holies [of the **Temple**] (τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων).<sup>3</sup> 'Abd al-Malik enlarged the mosque (*al-masğid*) and integrated the Rock into it; because of Ibn az-Zubayr, he ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥağğ*) to Jerusalem, not to Mecca (B052.10). al-Walīd built the mosque (*al-masğid*), put the Rock in its centre (*ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥra fī wasaṭ al-masğid*), built over it (*banā ḥawl aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), put the gilded copper dome of the church of Ba'labakk over the Rock, and ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥağğ*) to this Rock (B052.10).

**B110.8. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** Inside the Dome of the Rock (*fī ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) are 446 lamps (sing. *qindīl*), suspended on copper hooks and copper chains (*ma'ālīq an-nuḥās wa-salāsīl an-nuḥās*).<sup>4</sup>

### B111. The wall of the Dome of the Rock<sup>5</sup>

**B111.1. Names (Muslim):** The wall of the dome (*\*ğadr al-qubba*),<sup>6</sup> the side walls of the dome (*ḥiṭān al-qubba*),<sup>7</sup> the side walls of the sanctuary (*ḥiṭān al-bayt*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibn 'Abd Rabbih 7 257,2-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164f.; Busse, "Sanctity" 467f.) *wa-yuzaffu l-Ḥağaru l-Aswadu ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-l-Ḥağaru yawma'idin a'zamu min Ġabali Abī Qabisa*.

<sup>2</sup>al-Muqaddasī C 118,12 (*wa-qāla n-Nabīyu ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama man adraka minkum 'Abbādāna fa-l-yurābiṭ bihā*) *fa-innahā ṭīnatun min ṭīni Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥamalahā ṭ-ṭūfānu ayyāma Nūḥin wa-sa-ta'ūdu ilā mawḍi'ihā yawma l-qiyāmati*.

<sup>3</sup>Photios, *Amph.* 316 2-6 (transl. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 173) Ἡ μὲν τοῦ Σολομῶντος στοά [the Aqṣā Mosque] (*John* 10.23; *Acts* 3.11; 5.12) ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ παλαιὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων [the spot of the Dome of the Rock] ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀθεότητος κατεχόμενα καὶ μασγιδίου χώραν αὐτοῖς πληροῦντα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Χριστιανῶν κατέστηκε γνωστά· ἄβατα γὰρ Χριστιανοῖς τὰ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς συντηροῦνται σεμνά.

<sup>4</sup>Ibn 'Abd Rabbih 7 255,6f. (transl. *wa-ğamī'u mā yusrağū fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *mina l-qanādī li arba'umi'ati qindīlin wa-arba'atun wa-sittūna qindīlan bi-ma'ālīqi n-nuḥāsi wa-salāsīli n-nuḥāsi*).

<sup>5</sup>For the wall of the High 'Abbāsid Dome of the Rock, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 284f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 79; 97 n. 11; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 226; 233.

<sup>6</sup>Ibn al-Faqīh 101,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *ğuduruhā* (read *ğadruhā*) *min dāḥīlin wa-ḥāriğin mulabbasun bi-r-ruḥāmi l-abyadi*.

<sup>7</sup>Ibn al-Faqīh 101,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) *wa-fāršu l-qubbati ruḥāmun abyadu wa-suqūfuhā bi-d-dahabi l-aḥmari fī dawri ḥiṭānihā*.

B111.1.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh's** (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *ḡuduruhā min dāḥilin wa-ḥāriḡin mulabbasun bi-r-ruḥāmi l-abyaḍi* "(and the dome ...) its walls are from inside and outside covered with white marble" is syntactically insofar incorrect, as the plural *al-ḡudur* - thus vocalised in the text - necessitates a feminine *\*mulabbasatun*. We should assume that the text had originally the singular *\*ḡadruhā*, vocalised *ḡuduruhā* only by mistake.

**B111.2. Position:** This is basically the EXTERIOR WALL of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

B111.2.a. The wall may be located by the fact that the circumference of the wall fits with the circumference of the EXTERIOR WALL of the DOME OF THE ROCK today (B110.4.b).

**B111.3. Physical shape:** The circumference of the octagonal (B110.4) building [i.e., the length of its exterior wall] is 360 ells (179.28 m) (B110.4) [and the length of each side 45 ells (22.41m)] (B110.4.b). The walls of the dome (*\*ḡadr al-qubba*) are covered with marble (*ar-ruḥām al-abyaḍ*);<sup>2</sup> the floor of the sanctuary and [the lower part of] its side walls (*arḍ al-bayt wa-ḥiṭānuhu*), as well as the drum (*al-minṭaqa*), have inside and outside (*min dāḥil wa-ḥāriḡ*) the same covering [of marble below and polychrome gilded mosaic above] as the mosque of Damascus;<sup>3</sup> the outside of the drum glitters incredibly beautifully in the sunshine.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 284; Creswell, *EMA* 1 97 n. 11; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 226; 233) *wa-arḍu l-bayti wa-ḥiṭānuhu ... ʿalā mā ḡakarnā min ḡāmiʿi Dimašqa* (C adds *mina r-ruḥāmi wa-l-fusāfisāʿi*) (cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 157,12-17; 158,4f.).

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *ḡuduruhā* (read *ḡadruhā*) *min dāḥilin wa-ḥāriḡin mulabbasun bi-r-ruḥāmi l-abyaḍi*.

Cf. **Saʿīd b. Biṭriq, Taʾrīḥ** 2 42,2-5 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Gil, *Palestine* 92; Schick, *Christian Communities* 339; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54) (*al-Walīdu ... fa-baʿāta ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-banā Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-šayyadahu wa-šayyara š-Šaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masḡidi*) *wa-banā ḥawlahā wa-raḥḥamahu*.

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 284; Creswell, *EMA* 1 97 n. 11; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 226; 233) *wa-arḍu l-bayti wa-ḥiṭānuhu maʿa l-minṭaqati* (Yāqūt *maʿa ḥiṭānihi wa-l-minṭaqati*) *min dāḥilin wa-ḥāriḡin ʿalā mā ḡakarnā min ḡāmiʿi Dimašqa* (C adds *mina r-ruḥāmi wa-l-fusāfisāʿi*) (cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 157,12-17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 227; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 284; Creswell, *EMA* 1 97 n. 11; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 233; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 176; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 174-177) (*wa-udīra ʿala š-ṣaḥni ...*) *wa-ḥiṭānuhu ilā qāmatayni bi-r-ruḥāmi l-muḡazzaʿi tumma ilā s-saqfi bi-l-fusāfisāʿi l-mulawwanati fī l-muḡahhabati šuwari ašḡārin wa-amšārin wa-kitābātun* (C *bi-šuwari ašḡārin wa-buldānin wa-kitābātin*) *ʿalā ḡāyati l-ḥusni wa-d-diqqati wa-laṭāfati š-šanʿati wa-qillu* (C *wa-aqalla*) *šaḡaratin aw baladin maḍkūrin illā wa-qad mutṭila ʿalā tilka l-ḥiṭāni*); **al-Muqaddasī** 158,4f. (*al-ḡāmiʿu ...*) *wa-min aḡabi šayʿin fihi taʿlifu r-ruḥāmi l-muḡazzaʿi kullu šāmatin ilā uḥtiḥā* (C *ilā naḡirihā*) *wa-law anna raḡulan min ahli l-ḥikmati ḥtalafā ilayhi sanatan la-aḡāda minhu kulla yawmin šīḡatan wa-ʿuqdatan uḥrā* (C *la-stafāde kulla yawmin minhu šanʿatan uḥrā*).

<sup>4</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *fa-idā bazaḡat ʿalayhā š-šamsu ašraqati l-qubbatu wa-talaʿlaʿati l-minṭaqatu* (C *wa-talaʿlaʿa FSYFS*) *wa-raʿayta šayʿan aḡīban* (C *ʿagaban*) *wa-ʿalā l-ḡumlati lam ara fi l-Islāmi wa-lā samiʿtu anna fī š-Širki miṭlu ḥāḍihi l-qubbatu*.

B111.3.a. Both the circumference of 360 ells (179.28 m) [resulting in a side length of 45 ells (22.41 m)] and the square 100 by 100 ells (49.80 m) the building covers fit with the 20 m side length of today's DOME OF THE ROCK (B110.4.b).

B111.3.b. The double structure of marble below and mosaic above is mirrored in today's DOME OF THE ROCK with a LOWER MARBLE PART and an UPPER MOSAIC PART on the inside and a LOWER MARBLE PART and an Ottoman UPPER TILES PART on the outside.<sup>1</sup>

B111.3.c. **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s *\*(wa-l-qubbatu ...) ġadruhā min dāhīlin wa-ḥārīġin mulabbasun bi-r-ruḥāmi l-abyaḍi* "(and the dome ...) its wall is covered inside and outside by white marble" mentions no mosaics. **al-Muqaddasī**'s *wa-arḍu l-bayti wa-ḥiṭānuhu ma'a l-minṭaqati min dāhīlin wa-ḥārīġin 'alā mā ḍakarnā min ġāmi'i Dimašqa* "and the floor of the sanctuary and its walls, together with the drum, are inside and outside as we mentioned for the Friday mosque of Damascus" refers to his long description (**al-Muqaddasī** 157, 11-18) of how the Friday mosque of Damascus has walls with two parts, a lower marble part and an upper mosaic part. We may be tempted to deduce that the mosque gets its mosaic decoration between **Ibn al-Faqīh** and **al-Muqaddasī**, i.e., in the first half of the 10th century, but this would give **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s silence too much weight. [Šaġab] the mother of al-Muqtadir (ʿAbbāsid caliph 295-320/908-932) redoes the gates (B115.4) and the ceiling (B115.5) of the Dome of the Rock, but there is no other evidence that she covers the upper part of the wall and the drum newly with mosaic.

B111.3.d. The glittering of the mosaic is most probably due to the well-known technique of inserting some of the gilded mosaic stones at an angle.<sup>2</sup>

B111.4. **Traditions (Christian):** **al-Walīd** built the mosque (*al-masġid*), put the Rock in its centre (*ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥra fī wasaṭ al-masġid*), built over it (*banā ḥawl aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), put the gilded copper dome of the church of Baʿlabakk over the Rock, and ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥaġġ*) to this Rock (B052.10).

## B112. The gates of the Dome of the Rock<sup>3</sup>

B112.1. **Names (Muslim):** The gates [of the Dome of the Rock] (*abwāb*<sup>4</sup> sing. *bāb*<sup>1</sup>), i.e.,

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 76.

<sup>2</sup>For this mosaic technique, see Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 311; 319; 365; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 73f.

<sup>3</sup>For the gates of the High ʿAbbāsid Dome of the Rock, see de Goeje, *BGA* 4 281 s.v. "ṣuffa"; de Goeje, *Ibn al-Fakīh* XXV s.v. "dukkāna"; Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 246-255; 261; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 151 n. 37; 193f. n. 193 and n. 194; Busse, "Sanctity" 456; Creswell, *EMA* 1 81f.; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342b; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 30; 68; Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 51; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; 81f.

Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf., erroneously attributes *Bāb Isrāfīl* to the Umayyad period.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100, 18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*aṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-bihā arbaʿatu abwābin muṭabbaqatun ʿalā kulli bābin arbaʿatu abwābin wa-ʿalā kulli bābin dukkānayni muraḥḥamatun* (read *dukkānatun muraḥḥamatun*); **al-Muqaddasī** 169, 7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) *wa-fī d-dikkati (B fī d-dikkati) arbaʿu qibābin Qubbatu s-Silsilati Qubbatu l-Miʿrāġi Qubbatu n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-ḥāḍihi t-talātu liṭāfun mulabbasatun bi-r-raṣāši ʿalā aʿmidatin ruḥāmin bi-lā ḥiṭānin* (C instead of *arbaʿu qibābin ... bi-lā ḥiṭānin*: *arbaʿu qibābin mulabbasatun bi-r-raṣāši Qubbat l-*

the South Gate (*\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī*)<sup>2</sup> or [simply] the Gate [of the Dome] of the Rock (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>3</sup> the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*),<sup>4</sup> the Gate of the Trumpet (*Bāb aṣ-ṣūr*)<sup>5</sup> and, towards the west, the Gate of the Women (*Bāb an-nisāʾ*).<sup>6</sup>

B112.1.a. **al-Muqaddasī** speaks of *Bāb al-Qiblī* "the Gate of the Southern" [?] or *Bāb al-QYLY*. We best assume that the text originally had *\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī* "the South Gate", although this is *lectio facilior*; quite similarly, he mentions in Siġilmāsa (in North Africa) the gates *Bāb al-qiblī* and *Bāb al-ġarbī*.<sup>7</sup> We have a Marwānid gate of the Dome of the Rock *al-Bāb al-Qiblī* (B040.1), and the meaning fits perfectly.

B112.1.b. Both *\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī* "the South Gate" and *Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra* "the Gate [of the Dome] of the Rock" are best located in the SOUTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK (B112.2) and are thereby one and the same gate.

**B112.2. Position:** These are four gates, each opposite a staircase (*mirqāt*) to the platform (B098.3). The South Gate (*\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī*) is obviously the south gate; the Gate [of the Dome] of the Rock (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) proper has its place [towards the south] opposite the [Roofed Hall's] Copper Gate (*Bāb an-nuḥās*) and the Prayer-niche (*al-Miḥrāb*) (B090.4); the Gate of the Women (*Bāb an-nisāʾ*) opens towards the west (*ilā l-ġarb*) (B112.1). We best locate the South Gate in the SOUTH GATE, the Gate of Isrāfīl in the EAST GATE, the Gate of the Trumpet in the NORTH GATE and the Gate of the Women in the WEST GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

---

*Miʿrāġi Qubbatu n-Nabiyyi Qubbatu s-Silsilati*) wa-fī l-wasaʿi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faḡīh** 100,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*aṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) wa-bihā arbaʿatu abwābin muṭabbaqatun ʿalā kulli bābin arbaʿatu abwābin wa-ʿalā kulli bābin dukkānayni muraḥḥamatun (read *dukkānatun muraḥḥamatun*); **al-Muqaddasī** 169,8-10.12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) wa-fī l-wasaʿi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin kullu bābin yuqābilu mirqātan (Yāqūt *mirqātan min marāqī d-dikkati*) Bābu l-Qibliyyi (read *al-Bābu l-Qibliyyu*; C *Bābu l-QYLY*, Yāqūt *al-Bābu l-Qibliyyu*) Bābu Isrāfīla Bābu ṣ-ṣūri Bābu n-nisāʾi ... wa-ʿalā kulli bābin ṣuffatun.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-fī l-wasaʿi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin* ...) Bābu l-Qibliyyi (read *al-Bābu l-Qibliyyu*; C *Bābu l-QYLY*, Yāqūt *al-Bābu l-Qibliyyu*) ...

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.407**: 268,8f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawlī yu ... qāla* ...) tumma ḥaraġtu mina l-qubbati fa-idā ašġārun min nūrin min Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] ilā Bābi n-nuḥāsi muqābila l-miḥrābi.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-fī l-wasaʿi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin* ...) ... Bābu Isrāfīla ...

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-fī l-wasaʿi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin* ...) ... Bābu ṣ-ṣūri ...

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-fī l-wasaʿi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin* ...) ... Bābu n-nisāʾi yaftaḥu ilā l-ġarbi.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,16 (see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 151 n. 37) (*iqḷimu ṣ-Ṣaʿmi ... bihi* ...) Bābu ṣ-ṣūri.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 231,9f. (*Siġilmāsatu* ...) lahā Bābu l-qibliyyi Bābu l-ġarbīyi (C *Bābu l-ġarbi*) ...

B112.2.a. **al-Muqaddasī** mentions *\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī*, *Bāb Isrāfīl*, *Bāb aṣ-ṣūr* and the west gate *Bāb an-nisāʾ*, and we may suppose that *\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī* "the South Gate" goes towards the south. This leaves us either with the sequence south - east - north - west, counterclockwise, (A in the figure) or with the nonsense sequence south - north - east - west (B); we thus have *\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī* southwards, *Bāb an-nisāʾ* westwards, *Bāb Isrāfīl* eastwards and *Bāb aṣ-ṣūr* northwards.<sup>1</sup>

**al-Muqaddasī**

*\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī -> Bāb Isrāfīl -> Bāb aṣ-ṣūr -> Bāb an-nisāʾ: yaftaḥu ilā l-ġarbi*

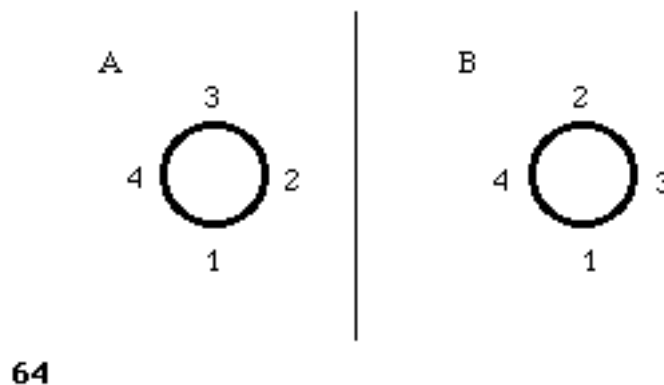


**Figure 64. The position of the gates of the High 'Abbāsid Dome of the Rock:** A Counter-clockwise. - B Nonsense order / 1 The South Gate (southwards). - 2 The Gate of Isrāfīl. - 3 The Gate of the Trumpet. - 4 The Gate of the Women (westwards).

B112.3. **Physical shape:** Prior to the rebuilding of the gates by [Šaġab] the mother of al-Muqtadir (ʿAbbāsid caliph 295-320/908-932) (B115.4), each of the four gates is covered [with copper fittings] (*muṭabbaq*) and entered through a marble lobby (*\*dukkāna muraḥḥamatun*), and so has four doors [i.e., two main doors and two lobby doors].<sup>2</sup> In the month of *Ra-bīʿ II* 216/18 May-15 June 831, or later, the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn is added to the Umayyad inscription above the east and north [and the west and south] gates (= **van Berchem Nr.216-217**).<sup>3</sup>

B112.3.a. In **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s *wa-ʿalā kullī bābin dukkānayni muraḥḥamatun* "and in each gate are two marble shops", *dukkānayni* is problematic, as we are expecting a nominative, neither gender nor number fits with the subsequent *muraḥḥamatun*, and the meaning "two shops" makes no sense. We best assume an original *\*wa-ʿalā*

<sup>1</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 193 n. 193; Busse, "Sanctity" 455 (locating the North Gate and the Gate of the Trumpet); Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 30; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIVf.; XXII f.; 82.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100, 18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*aṣ-Ṣaḥrātu* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-bihā arbaʿatu abwābin muṭabbaqatun ʿalā kullī bābin arbaʿatu abwābin wa-ʿalā kullī bābin dukkānayni muraḥḥamatun* (read *dukkānatun muraḥḥamatun*).

<sup>3</sup>For al-Maʾmūn building in Jerusalem, see A122.

*kulli bābin dukkānatun muraḥḥamatun* "and in each gate is a marble lobby".<sup>1</sup> Misreading of the assumed original *\*dukkānatun* as *dukkānayni* is not probable, but at least not out of the question. *\*Dukkāna muraḥḥama* "a marble lobby" would fit best syntactically and would be perfectly parallel to **al-Muqaddasī**'s (B112.4) post-renovation *ṣuffa muraḥḥama* "a marble lobby".

B112.4. After the rebuilding by [Šaḡab] the mother of al-Muqtadir (B115.4) all gates (*ḡamīʿ al-abwāb*) are gilded (sing. *muḍaḥḥab*); these are beautiful entries (*madāḥil ḥusun*); each is entered through a marble lobby (*ṣuffa muraḥḥama* plur. *ṣifāf*) with simple doors (*abwāb sa-wādiḡ*), which leads to an elegant fir wood door (*bāb ṣarīf min ḥaṣāb at-tannūb*), [a door] having on its outside fir wood attached to copper (*bi-t-tannūbiya taṭabbaqat ʿalā ṣ-ṣufrīya min ḥārīḡ*).<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions above the gates (B112.3) are probably as before.

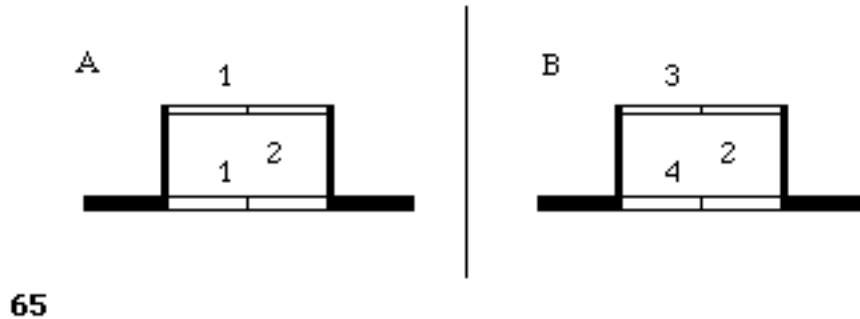


**Figure 65. The gates of the High ‘Abbāsid Dome of the Rock (layout):** A Before the reconstruction by Šaḡab. - B After the reconstruction by Šaḡab / 1 Gates covered [with copper fittings]. - 2 Marble lobby. - 3 Simple doors. - 4 Elegant fir wood doors covered with copper.

B112.4.a. **al-Muqaddasī** has (*Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḡrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin ...*) *ḡamīʿuhā muḍaḥḥabatun fī waḡhi kulli wāḥidin bābun ṣarīfun min ḥaṣābi t-tannūbi madāḥilu ḥusunun amarat bihinna ummu l-Muqtadiri bi-Llāhi* "(the Dome of the Rock is on top of an octagonal sanctuary with four gates ...) all of them are gilded, each is entered through an elegant fir wood door - these are beautiful entries which have been ordered by the mother of al-Muqtadir bi-Llāh". The text may also be read ... *fī waḡhi kulli wāḥidin bābun ṣarīfun min ḥaṣābi t-tannūbi mudāḥalun ḥasanun* "each is entered through an elegant fir wood door finely worked in patterns".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> de Goeje, *Ibn al-Fakīh* XXV s.v. "dukkāna".

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 169,10-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 82) (*wa-fī l-waṣaṭi Qubbatu ṣ-Ṣaḡrati ʿalā baytin muṭammanin bi-arbaʿati abwābin ...*) *ḡamīʿuhā muḍaḥḥabatun fī waḡhi kulli wāḥidin bābun ṣarīfun min ḥaṣābi t-tannūbi madāḥilu ḥusunun amarat bihinna ummu l-Muqtadiri bi-Llāhi wa-ʿalā kulli bābin ṣuffatun muraḥḥamatun bi-t-tannūbiyati taṭabbaqa ʿalā ṣ-ṣufrīyati min ḥārīḡin wa-ʿalā abwābi ṣ-ṣifāfi abwābun ayḍan sawādiḡu* (C without *fī waḡhi kulli wāḥidin ... abwābun ayḍan sawādiḡu*).

<sup>3</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; Creswell, *EMA* 1 82.

For *mudāḥal* "worked in panels", see de Goeje, *BGA* 4 233 s.v. "mudāḥal".

B112.4.b. **al-Muqaddasī**'s *ṣuffa* in this passage has been translated "porta Templi";<sup>1</sup> but **al-Muqaddasī** uses *ṣuffa* in other passages for "vestibulum domus", i.e., a kind of lobby,<sup>2</sup> and also here a lobby is meant.

**B112.5. Contemporary events:** In the month of *Rabīʿ II* 216/216/18 May-15 June 831, or later, the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph **al-Maʾmūn** is added to the Umayyad inscription above the east and north [and the west and south] gates (= **van Berchem Nr.216-217**) (B112.3).

B112.5.a. The gates are, both before and after the rebuilding, accessed through marble lobbies with separate doors before reaching the doors proper. The rebuilding is obviously not a complete change of the layout, but rather an embellishment of the individual elements.

**B112.6. Traditions (Muslim):** The way from the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock to the [Roofed Hall's] Copper Gate (*Bāb an-nuḥās*) [but not necessarily in this direction] is connected with **Muḥammad's** Night Journey (B090.4).

B112.7. The way from the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock to the [Roofed Hall's] Copper Gate (*Bāb an-nuḥās*) is explained as the way the **faithful** go with God, whereas the ways of their opponents are blocked (B090.4).

B112.8. Both the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) and the Gate of the Trumpet (*Bāb aṣ-ṣūr*) may be related to the eschatological **gathering** of mankind by Isrāfīl, on "the day when the herald will make proclamation from a place near at hand" (**Koran** 50.41) (see B045.7), but the reference is not explicit.

**B112.9. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The South Gate (*\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī*) or [simply] the Gate [of the Dome] of the Rock (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) is possibly the main entry to the Dome of the Rock.

B112.9.a. Both the primary position which **al-Muqaddasī** gives *\*al-Bāb al-Qiblī* on his list of the gates of the Dome of the Rock (B112.2.a), and the fact that **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.407** calls the same gate simply *Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra* "the Gate [of the Dome] of the Rock", make guess that this is the main entry to the Dome of the Rock.

**B112.10. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the ʿĀṣūrā<sup>2</sup>-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawli sees trees of light standing between the [south] Gate of the Dome of the Rock and the [Roofed Hall's] Copper Gate (*Bāb an-nuḥās*),

<sup>1</sup>de Goeje, *BGA* 4281 s.v. "ṣuffa", referring to our passage **al-Muqaddasī** 169,12f.

<sup>2</sup>de Goeje, *BGA* 4281 s.v. "ṣuffa", referring to **al-Muqaddasī** 322,9 *innā nanāmu* (B *yanāmu*) ... *fī ṣ-ṣifāfī*, "atrium" referring to **al-Muqaddasī** 94,6 ... *anna maṭala hādīhi l-ḡazīrati maṭalu ṣuffatin*.

For *ṣuffa* "lobby", see Lane, *Lexicon* 1693 s.v. "ṣuffa".



and a path of light as white as snow; the trees are explained to him as the way the faithful go with God, whereas the ways of their opponents are blocked; the path of light is interpreted as the footsteps Muḥammad made the night of the Night Journey (B090.4).

**B113. The Black Paving-stone**  
**= the paving-stone with the Rock in front [to its south]<sup>1</sup>**

**B113.1. Names (Muslim):** The Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ*),<sup>2</sup> the paving-stone which has the Rock in front [to its south] (*al-balāṭa l-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B113.2).

**B113.2. Position:** This stone is inside the Dome of the Rock. This is the paving-stone which has the Rock in front [to its south] (*tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>3</sup> We locate it north of the ROCK, possibly under the OCTAGONAL ARCADE.

B113.2.a. **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** has *al-balāṭa l-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra* in his paragraph on the Dome of the Rock, which is introduced by *fa-idā daḥalta ṣ-Ṣaḥrata ...* "and when you enter [the Dome of] the Rock ..."; the whole paragraph is preceded by *Marbaṭ al-Burāq* and then all the places inside the mosque which are introduced by *wa-ḥī l-masḡid ...* "and inside the mosque ...", and followed by the places farther away, like *Mawlid ʿIsā* [at Bethlehem] and *Masḡid Ibrāhīm ... wa-qabruhu* [at Hebron]. Inside the building only two places to pray are mentioned, first *ṭalāṭat arkān aṣ-Ṣaḥra* "the three corners of the Rock", then this paving-stone. We may deduce only that the place is inside the Dome of the Rock.

**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**

*fa-idā daḥalta ṣ-Ṣaḥra: ṭalāṭat arkān aṣ-Ṣaḥra, al-balāṭa l-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra*

B113.2.b. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.407** also has *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ* in the paragraph on the Dome of the Rock introduced by *tumma daḥaltu ilā l-qubbati ḥattā anzura ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* "then, I entered the dome to look at the Rock" and concluded by *tumma ḥaraḡtu minā l-qubbati fa-idā aṣḡārun min nūrin min Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ilā Bābi n-nuḥāsī muqābila l-miḥrābi* "then I left the dome and there were trees made of light from the Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock to the Copper Gate opposite the prayer-niche". Inside the building *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ* is preceded by the Rock and followed by the [south] Gate by which the dome is exited. We again may deduce only that the place is inside the Dome of the Rock.

**Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.407**

*tumma daḥaltu ilā l-qubba -> aṣ-Ṣaḥra -> al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ -> tumma ḥaraḡtu min al-qubba: aṣḡār min nūr min Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra ilā Bāb an-nuḥās muqābil al-miḥrāb*

<sup>1</sup> For the High ʿAbbāsid Black Paving-stone, see Busse, "Sanctity" 455; Elad, *Jerusalem* 70; 79.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡa Nr.407:** 268,6 (... ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...) *tumma ṣallaytu ʿalā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾ*.

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) *fa-idā daḥalta ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-ṣalli fī ṭalāṭati arkānihā* [at the three corners of the Rock] *wa-ṣalli ʿalā l-balāṭati l-latī tusāmitu ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Rock].

B113.2.c. The location is helped by **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih**'s *al-balāṭa l-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra* "the paving-stone which is in front of the Rock". The meaning of the root is applied to a direct object by using the third form, so that *samata* "to pursue a good course, to follow a good direction" becomes *sāmata šay’an* "to take something as a good course, as a good direction". The thing taken as a good direction is in front of the person concerned; so ... *al-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra* is not only "... which is opposite the Rock", but more precisely "... which has the Rock in front". If we combine this with the general orientation in the prayer-direction, towards the south, "in front of" is "south of", and ... *al-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra* may stand for "... which has the Rock south". Interpreting ... *al-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra* as "the sublime characteristics of which compete with those of the Rock"<sup>1</sup> is very possible; however, the kind of competition is not explained, and this is rather in favour of our first explanation.

B113.2.e. There may be local continuity with Marwānid *al-Balāṭa ṣ-Ṣawdā’* (north of the Rock, next to the NORTH GATE under the OCTAGONAL ARCADE) (B041.2), but this is not certain.

**B113.3. Physical shape:** This is a black paving-stone.

B113.3.a. Both names *al-Balāṭa ṣ-Ṣawdā’* and *al-balāṭa ...* (B113.1), as well as the admonition to pray on the stone (B113.4), are in favour of a real black paving-stone.

**B113.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, after entering the Dome of the Rock, pray at the three corners of the Rock (*fī ṭalāṭat arkān aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and at the paving-stone which has the Rock in front [to its south] (*‘alā l-balāṭa l-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), as the Rock is at one of the gates of Paradise (*‘alā bāb min abwāb al-Ġanna*).<sup>2</sup>

B113.4.a. In **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih**'s (*wa-ṣalli ‘alā l-balāṭati l-latī tusāmitu ṣ-Ṣaḥrata*) *fa-innahā ‘alā bābin min abwābi l-Ġannati* "and pray on the the paving-stone which is in front of the Rock, because it is one of the gates of Paradise", *fa-innahā ‘alā bābin min abwābi l-Ġannati* has been taken as referring to *al-balāṭa*,<sup>3</sup> not to the Rock itself. But the association of the Rock with Paradise is well-attested in Marwānid and High ‘Abbāsīd Muslim traditions (B045.6, B113.5), and a High ‘Abbāsīd Christian tradition connects the Rock with Jacob's dream of the gate of Paradise (B118.7); we should therefore take the Rock, not the paving-stone, as one of the gates of Paradise.

**B113.5. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the *‘Āṣūrā*<sup>2</sup>-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) shining like a ruby (*yāqūṭa*) and receives the explanation that [only] some people may see it so; then he prays on the Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa ṣ-Ṣawdā’*) and sees light shining from the four sides of it [the Rock] and four rivers coming from beneath it, and it is explained to him that

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 78-81.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 256,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) *fa-idda daḥalta ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-ṣalli fī ṭalāṭati arkāniḥā* [at the three corners of the Rock] *wa-ṣalli ‘alā l-balāṭati l-latī tusāmitu ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Rock] *fa-innahā ‘alā bābin min abwābi l-Ġannati*.

<sup>3</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 79.

these are the rivers of Paradise.<sup>1</sup>

B113.5.a. For parallels to the rivers flowing from underneath the Rock, see B045.6.a.

### B114. The three arcades

**B114.1. Names (Muslim):** Three arcades in a round configuration (*talāṭat arwiqa dā’ira*), a double arcade with arcades in a round configuration (*\*arwiqa dā’ira*) and low arcades (*arwiqa lāṭiya*) on top, and a circular non-octagonal arcade surrounding the Rock (*riwāq mustadīr ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra lā muṭamman*).<sup>2</sup>

**B114.2. Position:** All three arcades are inside the sanctuary (*dāḥil al-bayt*) (B110.4). We best identify the double arcade with arcades in a round configuration (*\*arwiqa dā’ira*) and the low arcades (*arwiqa lāṭiya*) on top with the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, and the circular non-octagonal arcade surrounding the Rock (*riwāq mustadīr ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) with the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

B114.2.a. **al-Muqaddasī** has the sanctuary (*al-bayt*) preceded by the gates and followed by the drum (*al-minṭaqa*) and the dome (*al-qubba*). He structures the interior as follows:

|                       |                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. Heading            | <i>dāḥila l-bayti</i>                                                                                           | "Inside the sanctuary                                                                                                                          |
| B. Three arcades      | <i>ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin</i>                                                                                       | are three arcades:                                                                                                                             |
| C. [Octagonal Arcade] | <i>*arwiqatun dā’iratun<br/>‘alā a‘midatin ma‘ḡūnatin<br/>aḡallu mina r-ruḥāmi wa-aḥsanu<br/>lā naẓīra lahā</i> | [arcades] in a round configuration<br>on polished columns<br>more splendid than marble and more beautiful -<br>nothing bears comparison to it. |
| D. Low arcades        | <i>qad ‘uqidat ‘alayhā<br/>arwiqatun lāṭiyatun</i>                                                              | On top of them<br>low arcades are built.                                                                                                       |
| E. Circular Arcade    | <i>dāḥilahā riwāqun āḥaru<br/>mustadīrun ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati</i>                                                     | Inside them is another circular<br>arcade surrounding the Rock,                                                                                |

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407:** 268,6-8 (... ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ‘Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawlī yu ... qāla ...) *tumma ṣallaytu ‘alā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā’i fa-idā n-nūru yaṣṭaḥu min ḡawānibihā wa-idā arba‘atu anḥārin taḡrī min taḥṭihā qultu mā ḥādīhi l-anḥāru fa-qīla lī mina l-Ḡannati.*

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 169,13-16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81) *dāḥila l-bayti ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin arwiqatun* (I read *ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin arwiqatun*) *dā’iratun ‘alā a‘midatin ma‘ḡūnatin aḡallu mina r-ruḥāmi wa-aḥsanu lā naẓīra lahā qad ‘uqidat ‘alayhā* (C *qad ‘uqida ‘alayhā*, Yāqūt *qad ‘uqidat ‘alayhi*) *arwiqatun lāṭiyatun dāḥilahā riwāqun āḥaru* (BC *dāḥilahu riwāqun āḥaru*, Yāqūt *dāḥilatun fī riwāqin āḥara*) *mustadīrun ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati lā muṭammanun* (C *Yāqūt without lā muṭammanun*) *‘alā a‘midatin ma‘ḡūnatin* (C *ma‘ḡūnatin ayḍan*) *bi-qanāṭira mudawwaratin.*

|                                  |                      |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>lā muṭammanun</i>             | non-octagonal,       |
| <i>‘alā a‘midatin ma‘ḡūnatin</i> | on polished columns, |
| <i>bi-qanāṭira mudawwaratin</i>  | with round vaults.   |

F. Drum                      *fawqa hādīhi minṭaqatun ...*                      On top of them is the drum ..."

B114.2.b. The *riwāq mustadīr ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra lā muṭamman* "circular non-octagonal arcade surrounding the Rock" on columns, with vaults (E) is easily identified with the CIRCULAR ARCADE. Further outside are *arwiqa lāṭiya* "low arcades" on columns (D); these refer to the low VAULTS of the upper storey of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE. Therefore, *\*arwiqa dā’ira* "[arcades] in a round configuration" with columns on which the low arcades stand (C) constitute the lower storey of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE. The triple structure of the texts fits with the introductory *dāhila l-bayti ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin* "inside the sanctuary are three arcades" (A).

#### al-Muqaddasī

*dāhīl al-bayt ṭalāṭat arwiqa* -> *\*arwiqa dā’ira*: *‘alā a‘mida ma‘ḡūna* -> *arwiqa lāṭiya* -> *riwāq ... mustadīr*: *‘alā a‘mida ma‘ḡūna bi-qanāṭir mudawwara* -> *minṭaqa: ṭiqān kibār* -> *al-qubba*

B114.2.c. Obviously something is missing before *dā’ira*. We should assume that the text was originally *\*dāhila l-bayti ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin arwiqatun dā’iratun*. The reduction of *\*ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin arwiqatun dā’iratun* into *ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin dā’iratun* is very easy.

B114.2.d. The plurals *\*arwiqa dā’ira* and *arwiqa lāṭiya* may refer to the eight parts of the octagonal arcade; the singular *riwāq mustadīr* perhaps emphasises the more straightforward character of the circular arcade.

B114.2.e. The number of pillars and columns is given by **Ibn al-Faqīh**<sup>1</sup> as *wa-l-qubbatu banāhā ‘Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ‘alā ṭnay ‘ašara ruknan wa-ṭalāṭina ‘amūdan* "and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān built the dome on twelve pillars and thirty columns" and **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih**<sup>2</sup> as *wa-l-‘umudu l-latī dāhila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ṭalāṭūna ‘amūdan* "and the columns which are inside [the Dome of] the Rock are thirty". Today's DOME OF THE ROCK has eighteen pillars and twenty-eight columns in the two ARCADES, i.e., eight pillars and sixteen columns in the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, four pillars and twelve columns in the CIRCULAR ARCADE, and another two columns at the lower end of the STAIRCASE to the ROOF or at the upper end of the STAIRCASE to the CAVE;<sup>3</sup> the closeness of the numbers is no surprise insofar, as the layout of both the OCTAGONAL ARCADE and the CIRCULAR ARCADE are Marwānid (B042.3.c), and unchanged since.

B114.2.f. **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** continues, after *wa-l-‘umudu l-latī dāhila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ṭalāṭūna ‘amūdan* "and the columns which are inside [the Dome of] the Rock are thirty columns", *wa-l-‘umudu l-latī ḥārīḡa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ṭamāniyata ‘ašara ‘amūdan* "and the columns which are outside [the Dome of] the Rock are eighteen columns". These eighteen exterior columns have been identified with the columns [of the CIRCULAR ARCADE] around

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,3f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76) *wa-l-qubbatu banāhā ‘Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna ‘alā ṭnay ‘ašara ruknan wa-ṭalāṭina ‘amūdan*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih** 7 255,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122) *wa-l-‘umudu l-latī dāhila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ṭalāṭūna ‘amūdan wa-l-‘umudu l-latī ḥārīḡa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ṭamāniyata ‘ašara ‘amūdan*.

<sup>3</sup>Schick, "Reports" 83f. (COLUMNS at the STAIRCASE to the ROOF); Creswell, *EMA* 1 76f. (COLUMNS at the STAIRCASE to the CAVE).

the Rock;<sup>1</sup> but the CIRCULAR ARCADE has four pillars and twelve columns, i.e., only sixteen items, and **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**'s contrast, *dāḥil aṣ-Ṣaḥra* versus *ḥāriḡ aṣ-Ṣaḥra*, leaves no doubt that the latter columns are outside the building.

**B114.3. Physical shape:** The Dome of the Rock has, altogether, eighteen pillars (sing. *rukṇ*) and thirty columns (sing. *ʿamūd*) (B114.2.e).

**B114.4. Traditions (Muslim):** ʿAbd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock on eighteen pillars and thirty columns (B114.2.e).

### **B115. The arcades in a round configuration and the low arcades on top<sup>2</sup>**

**B115.1. Names (Muslim):** Arcades in a round configuration (*\*arwiqa dāʿira*) and, on top of them, low arcades (*arwiqa lāṭiya*) (B115.3).

**B115.2. Position:** [The double arcade with] the arcades in a round configuration (*\*arwiqa dāʿira*) and the lower arcades (*arwiqa lāṭiya*) on top are inside [the Dome of] the Rock (*dāḥil aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), but further exterior than the circular non-octagonal arcade surrounding the Rock (*riwāq mustadīr ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥra lā muṭamman*) (the CIRCULAR ARCADE) (B114.2.b). We best identify this double arcade with the lower and upper parts of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE (B114.2.b).

**B115.3. Physical shape:** These are arcades in a round configuration (*\*arwiqa dāʿira*) on polished columns (*ʿalā aʿmida maʿḡūna*) more beautiful than marble (*aḡall min ar-ruḥām wa-aḥsan*), on top of these arcades (*\*ʿalā l-arwiqa*) are low arcades (*arwiqa lāṭiya*)<sup>3</sup> embellished with Marwānid mosaics, carrying the Marwānid inscription (B042.3), but the name of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik is replaced by the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʿmūn (= **van Berchem Nr.215**).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 122.

<sup>2</sup>For the outer arcade of the High ʿAbbāsid Dome of the Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 224-246; 259-261; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 81; Grabar, "Ḳubbat al-Ṣaḥra" 298a; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 341b; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 75f.; 164 n. 81.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; see Sharon, "Inscription from 65 A.H." 246; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81) *dāḥila l-bayti ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin arwiqatun* (I read *ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin arwiqatun*) *dāʿiratun ʿalā aʿmidatin maʿḡūnatin aḡallu mina r-ruḥāmi wa-aḥsanu lā naḡira lahā qad ʿuqidat ʿalayhā* (C qad ʿuqida ʿalayhā) *arwiqatun lāṭiyatun*.

For *aʿmida maʿḡūna* "polished columns", see de Goeje, *BGA* 4 296 s.v. "maʿḡūn"; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 194 n. 195; 407 s.v. "maʿḡūn". For *arwiqa lāṭiya* "low arcades", see de Goeje, *BGA* 4 348f. s.v. "laṭā", Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 194 n. 196; 417 s.v. "l-ṭ-ʿ".

<sup>4</sup>For al-Maʿmūn building in Jerusalem, see A122.

B115.3.a. For parallels to the inscription with the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn, see B040.3.a.

B115.3.b. The octagonal layout is given by the Marwānīd character of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE (B042.3.c) and may be hinted at by **al-Muqaddasī**'s remark about the inner arcade, *riwāqun āḥaru mustadīrun 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati lā muṭammanun* "another circular non-octagonal arcade surrounding the Rock" (B116.3), which obviously emphasises that the circular non-octagonal arcade is different [from the outer arcade]. **al-Muqaddasī**'s *\*arwiqa dā'ira* "arcades in a round configuration" just makes clear that the arcade is not linear as usual, but that its end joins its beginning.

B115.4. After the rebuilding in 301/913-914 by [Šaḡab] the mother of al-Muqtadir, the ceiling immediately outside these arcades (at today's OUTER AMBULATORY) openly displays its beams with their painted undersides; on the other sides of these beams are one long inscription, *mimmā amarāt bihi s-sayyidatu ayyadahā Llāhu wa-ḡarā dālīka 'alā yaday Labība mawlā s-sayyidati akramahā Llāhu* "From what the Lady ordered - may God maintain her. And that happened by the hands of Labīb, client of the Lady - may God honor her", and ten short inscriptions, *li-Llāhi s-Sayyidatu ummu l-Muqtadiri bi-Llāhi* "For God. The Lady, the mother of al-Muqtadir bi-Llāh (= **van Berchem Nr.219**).<sup>1</sup>

B115.4.a. The decoration of the undersides of the BEAMS<sup>2</sup> above today's OUTER AMBULATORY presupposes that they are on open display, with no additional ceiling.<sup>3</sup>

B115.5. **Contemporary events:** In the time of **al-Ma'mūn**, or later, his name is added to the Umayyad inscription (= **van Berchem Nr.215**) (B115.3). [Šaḡab] the mother of al-Muqtadir remakes, in 301/7 August 913-26 July 914, the ceiling at least of the OUTER AMBULATORY (B115.4).

### B116. The circular non-octagonal arcade<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**van Berchem Nr.219** (see *RCEA* Nr.961; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling" 85-94; pl. Vf.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 81; 89; 91f.; Busink, *Tempel* 918; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 80) in the long inscription ... *mimmā amarāt bihi s-sayyidatu ayyadahā Llāhu wa-ḡarā dālīka 'alā yaday Labība mawlā s-sayyidati akramahā Llāhu*, and the ten short inscriptions *li-Llāhi s-Sayyidatu ummu l-Muqtadiri bi-Llāhi*.

<sup>2</sup>For the CEILING of the OUTER AMBULATORY and the BEAMS above, today and in the High 'Abbāsīd period, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 360; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 88-92; Kessler, "Reconsideration" 8 n. 68; Grabar, "Qubbat al-Šakhra" 298a; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 341b; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 75f.; Allan/Abu Khalaf, "Wooden Ceiling" 467f. (quoting Megaw, A.H.S., *Qubbat as-Sakhra (The Dome of the Rock): an Account of the Building and Its Condition with Recommendations For Its Conservation, Submitted to the Supreme Moslem Council*, typescript Jerusalem 1952, 5-6).

<sup>3</sup>Kessler, "Above the Ceiling" 85-87; Creswell, *EMA* 1 92; Kessler, "Reconsideration" 8 n. 68.

<sup>4</sup>For the circular arcade of the High 'Abbāsīd Dome of the Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 4 74; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81.

**B116.1. Names (Muslim):** A circular, non-octagonal, arcade surrounding the Rock (*riwāq mustadīr ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra lā muṭamman*) (B116.3).

**B116.2. Position:** This arcade is inside [the Dome of] the Rock (*dāḥil aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), surrounding the Rock (*mustadīr ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*), more interior than [the double arcade with] the arcades in a round configuration (*\*arwiqa dā’ira*) and the lower arcades (*arwiqa lāṭiya*) on top (the two storeys of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE) (B114.2.b). On top of the round vaults of this arcade (*qanāṭir mudawwara fawq hādīhi*) is a drum (*minṭaqa*).<sup>1</sup> We identify this arcade best with the CIRCULAR ARCADE (B114.2.b).

**B116.3. Physical shape:** This is a circular non-octagonal arcade surrounding the Rock (*riwāq mustadīr ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra lā muṭamman*), on polished columns (*a‘mida ma‘ḡūna*), with round vaults (*qanāṭir mudawwara*) [on top];<sup>2</sup> the arcade is covered by Marwānid mosaics.

B116.3.a. The singular *riwāq mustadīr* possibly emphasises the one-piece character of the circular arcade, as opposed to the plurals *\*arwiqa dā’ira* and *arwiqa lāṭiya*, possibly meaning the eight parts of the octagonal arcade.

B116.3.b. The circular layout of this arcade is given by the Marwānid character of the CIRCULAR ARCADE and the DRUM (B042.3.c), by the fact that it supports the obviously round drum, and by **al-Muqaddasī**’s *riwāq mustadīr ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra lā muṭamman* "a circular non-octagonal arcade surrounding the Rock".

## B117. The fence around the Rock

**B117.1. Names (Muslim):** A fence surrounding the Rock (*\*ḥizār ḥā’it ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B117.2).

**B117.2. Position:** This is a fence surrounding the Rock (*\*ḥizār ḥā’it ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>3</sup> We may possibly locate it at an octagon made of a first square drawn between the four pillars of the CIRCULAR ARCADE and a second square drawn between its MIDDLE COLUMNS.

<sup>1</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 169,16-170,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81) (... *riwāqun āḥaru ... ‘alā a‘midatin ma‘ḡūnatin* (C *ma‘ḡūnatin ayḍan*) *bi-qanāṭira mudawwaratin*) *fawqa hādīhi* (C *fawqahā*) *minṭaqatun muta‘āliyatun fī l-hawā’i fihā ṭiqānun kibārun* (C without *fihā ṭiqānun kibārun*; Yāqūt *tāqātun*).

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 169,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81) (*dāḥila l-bayti ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin arwiqatun* (I read *ṭalāṭatu arwiqatin arwiqatun*) *dā’iratun ... ‘alayhā* (C *qad ‘uqida ‘alayhā*, Yāqūt *qad ‘uqidat ‘alayhi*) *arwiqatun lāṭiyatun*) *dāḥilahā riwāqun āḥaru* (BC *dāḥilahu riwāqun āḥaru*, Yāqūt *dāḥilatun fī riwāqin āḥara*) *mustadīrun ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati lā muṭammanun* (C *Yāqūt without lā muṭammanun*) *‘alā a‘midatin ma‘ḡūnatin* (C *ma‘ḡūnatin ayḍan*) *bi-qanāṭira mudawwaratin* (*fawqa hādīhi* (C *fawqahā*) *minṭaqatun*).

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,11f. (*wa-rtifā’u hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-latī ta’rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta hādīhi l-qubbatī ilā ṣadri l-qā’imi ...*) *wa-‘alayhā ḥiṣārūn* (read *ḥizārūn*) *ḥā’itun mulawwāḥun*.

B117.2.a. The layout of the High ‘Abbāsid fence may continue the assumed layout of the Marwānid fence, at an octagon made of a first square drawn between the four pillars of the CIRCULAR ARCADE and a second square drawn between its MIDDLE COLUMNS (B044.2).

B117.3. **Physical shape:** The is a sparkling [marble] fence (*\*ḥiẓār mulawwaḥ*) 0.5 *qāma* (1.00 m) high.<sup>1</sup>

### B118. The Rock<sup>2</sup> and the chain suspended over it

B118.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>3</sup> the Stone (*al-Ḥaḡar*),<sup>4</sup> the Rock of Jeru-

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,11f. (*wa-rtifā‘u ḥādihi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-latī ta‘rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta ḥādihi l-qubbati ilā ṣadri l-qā‘imi ...*) *wa-‘alayhā ḥiẓārūn* (read *ḥiẓārūn*) *ḥā‘iṭūn mulawwaḥūn wa-yakūnu niṣfa qāmatin*.

<sup>2</sup>For the High ‘Abbāsid Rock, see de Goeje, *Ibn al-Fakīh* 100 n. i; Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72; Busse, "Sanctity" 455-457; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 72; 79f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 45 n. 72; 164f.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) *wa-l-bāqī mina l-masḡidi fārīgūn illā Mawḍi‘a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna ‘alayhi ḥaḡaran murtafi‘an miṭla d-dikkati wa-fī wasaṭi l-ḥaḡari ‘alā l-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun ‘āliyatun ḡiddan; al-Iṣṭaḥrī* 57,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-rtifā‘u ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi ilā ṣadri l-qā‘imi; al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīḥ* 2 311,13f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.) (*‘Abdu l-Maliki ...*) *fa-banā ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih* 7 256,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) *fa-idā daḡalta ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-ṣalli fī ṭalātati arkānihā* [at the three corners of the Rock] *wa-ṣalli ‘alā l-balāṭati l-latī tusāmitu ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Rock] *fa-innahā ‘alā bābin min abwābi l-Ġannati; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407:* 268,4-6 (*... ḥaddaṭānī Abū Muḥammadīn ‘Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīnī l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma daḡaltu ilā l-qubbati ḥattā anḡura ilā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-idā hiya yāqūtātun wa-lahā nūrun fa-qultu subḡāna Llāhi mā yarawnahā n-nāsu illā Ṣaḡratan wa-hiya yāqūtātun fa-qīla lī ya‘riḍu ‘alā qawmin bi-ḥādihi ṣ-ṣifati; al-Muqaddasī* 171,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charīf"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 7; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) (*wa-innamā turika ḥāḡā l-ba‘ḍu* (I read *ḥāḡā l-bu‘ḍu*) *li-sababayni ...*) *wa-t-ṭānī annahum law maddū l-Muḡaṭṭā ilā z-zāwiyati lam taqā‘i ṣ-Ṣaḡratu ḥiḡḡā l-miḡrābi; Ibn Ḥawqal* 171,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) *wa-bāqī l-masḡidi ḡālin lā binā‘a fihi illā Mawḍi‘a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna hunāka ḥaḡaran murtafi‘an ka-d-dikkati ‘aẓimūn kabīrun ḡayru mustawīn wa-‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun ‘āliyatun mustadīratu r-ra‘si; Ibn Ḥawqal* 171,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) *wa-rtifā‘u ḥādihi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-latī tu‘rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta ḥādihi l-qubbati ilā ṣadri l-qā‘imi wa-ṭūluḡa wa-‘arḡuḡa mutaḡāribun ...; Ibn Ḥawqal* 171,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāḡini ḥādihi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati bi-marāḡin min bābin yuṣbiḡu s-sirdāba ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluḡu naḡwa ḡamsi aḡru‘in fī ‘aṣrin lā bi-l-murtafi‘i wa-lā bi-l-mustadīri wa-lā bi-l-murabba‘i wa-samkuḡu fawḡa l-qāmati*.

Cf. , in direct speech of ‘Abd al-Malik, **al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīḥ** 2 311,12f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.; partly Busink, *Tempel* 908; Gil, *Palestine* 102) (*‘Abdu l-Maliki ... fa-qāla lahum ...*) *wa-ḥādihi ṣ-Ṣaḡratu [l-latī] yurwā anna Rasūla Llāhi waḡa‘a qadamahu ‘alayhā lammā ṣa‘ada ilā s-samā‘i taqūmu lakum maḡāma l-Ka‘bati ...*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-masāḡatu l-Ḥaḡari biḡ‘a ‘aṣrata ḡirā‘an fī miṭliḡā*.

Cf. **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) (*wa-l-bāqī mina l-masḡidi fārīgūn illā Mawḍi‘a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna ‘alayhi ḥaḡaran murtafi‘an miṭla d-dikkati wa-fī wasaṭi l-ḥaḡari ‘alā l-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun ‘āliyatun*



salem (*Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>1</sup> the Rock which is in the Temple (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-latī bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*);<sup>2</sup> the Stone of [the Dome of] the Rock (*Haḡar aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>3</sup> the Rock of Moses (*Ṣaḥrat Mūsā*) (B118.5), the Prayer-direction of the Jews (*Qiblat al-Yahūd*) (B118.5).

**B118.2. Names (Christian):** The Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>4</sup> the Rock on which God spoke to Jacob (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-latī kallama Llāh Ya'qūb 'alayhā*) (B118.7).

**B118.3. Position:** The Rock is under the dome (*taḥt al-qubba*)<sup>5</sup> and the dome is over the Rock (*'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>6</sup> The Rock has its place opposite the [Roofed Hall's] prayer-niche (*ḥiḍā'*

---

*ḡiddan*; **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) (*wa-bāqī l-masḡidi ḥālin lā binā'a fihī illā Mawḍi'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*) *fa-inna hunāka ḡaḡaran murtafi'an ka-d-dikkati 'aẓimūn kabīrun ḡayru mustawin wa-'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbātun 'āliyatun mustadīratu r-ra'si*.

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 96,15-20 (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 326) *wa-qāla Fuḡayluni bnu 'Iyāda lammā ṣurifati l-Ka'batu* (read *lammā ṣurifati l-qiblatu naḡwa l-Ka'batī*, with Yāqūt) *qālat Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi Llāhī lam azal qiblatan li-'ibādika ḡattā ba'atta ḡayra ḡalqika fa-ṣurifat qiblatuhum 'annī fa-qāla ...*; **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,7f. *wa-kāna ḡulu Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fī s-samā'i tḡay 'aṣara mīlan*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,16f. *wa-mā min mā'in 'aḡibin illā yaḡruḡu min taḡti ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) *wa-Haḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ṭalātātun wa-ṭalātūna ḡirā'an fī sab'atin wa-'īsrīna ḡirā'an*; **al-Muqaddasī** 171,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165; see de Goeje, *Ibn al-Fakīh* 100 n. i) *wa-Haḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (B *Haḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥri*) *ṭalātun wa-ṭalātūna ḡirā'an fī sab'in wa-'īsrīna* (de Goeje reads *ṭalātātun wa-ṭalātūna ḡirā'an fī sab'atin wa-'īsrīna*, with Yāqūt).

<sup>4</sup>**Sa'id b. Biṭriq, Ta'rīḡ** 2 42,2-5 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 109; Gil, *Palestine* 92; Schick, *Christian Communities* 339; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54) (*al-Walīdu ...*) *fa-ba'ata ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-banā Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ṣayyadahu wa-ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masḡidi wa-banā ḡawlahā wa-raḡḡamahu wa-qala'a qubbatan kānat li-n-Naṣārā fī kanīsati madīnati Ba'labakka wa-kānati l-qubbatu min nuḡāsin maṭliyatun bi-d-dahabi fa-naṣabahā 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-amara n-nāsa bi-l-ḡaḡḡi ila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) (*wa-bāqī l-masḡidi ḥālin lā binā'a fihī illā Mawḍi'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ...*) *wa-rtifā'u ḡāḡihi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḡi l-latī tu'rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḡta ḡāḡihi l-qubbati ilā ṣadri l-qā'imī*.

Cf. **al-Ya'qūbi, Ta'rīḡ** 2 311,13f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.) (*'Abdu l-Maliki ...*) *fa-banā 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan*; **Sa'id b. Biṭriq, Ta'rīḡ** 2 42,2-5 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 109; Gil, *Palestine* 92; Schick, *Christian Communities* 339; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54) (*al-Walīdu ...*) *fa-ba'ata ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-banā Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ṣayyadahu wa-ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masḡidi wa-banā ḡawlahā wa-raḡḡamahu wa-qala'a qubbatan kānat li-n-Naṣārā fī kanīsati madīnati Ba'labakka wa-kānati l-qubbatu min nuḡāsin maṭliyatun bi-d-dahabi fa-naṣabahā 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-amara n-nāsa bi-l-ḡaḡḡi ila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*; **al-Muqaddasī** 159,10f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 55; Caskel, *Felsendom* 24; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 291f.; Gil, *Palestine* 93; see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 174 n. 122; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 325a; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 2f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52-54) (*qultu yawman li-'ammī ... qāla ...*) *a-lā tarā anna 'Abda l-Maliki lammā ra'ā 'uzma qubbati l-Qumāmī wa-hay'ataḡa ḡaṣiya an ta'zuma fī qulūbi l-Muslimīna fa-naṣaba 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan 'alā mā tarā* (not in C).

<sup>6</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḡrī** 57,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) *wa-l-bāqī mina l-masḡidi fāriḡun illā Mawḍi'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna 'alayhi ḡaḡaran murtafi'an miṭla d-dikkati wa-fī wasaṭi l-ḡaḡari 'alā l-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbātun 'āliyatun ḡiddan*;

*al-miḥrāb*),<sup>1</sup> it has been set up in the centre of the mosque (*fī wasaṭ al-masğid*) (B052.10). The Mount of Olives (*Ṭūr Zaytā*) is opposite the Prayer-direction of the Jews (*bi-izā' Qiblat al-Yahūd*) [the Rock] (B118.5). This is basically today's ROCK.

**B118.4. Physical shape:** The Rock is great and large (*ʿaẓīm kabīr*), but uneven (*ġayr mustawī*).<sup>2</sup> Its surface (*masāḥa*) measures more than 10 ells (4.98 m) in length and width,<sup>3</sup> [from north to south and from east to west] 33 by 27 ells (16.43 by 13.45 m);<sup>4</sup> one speaks of the three corners of the Rock (*talāṭat arkān aṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>5</sup> It is high like a platform (*murtafi' ka-d-dikka*),<sup>6</sup> and reaches to the breast of a standing man (*ilā ṣadr al-qā'im*) (about 1.50 m).<sup>7</sup>

B118.4.a. It has been assumed that **al-Muqaddasī**'s *wa-Ḥaḡaru \*ṣ-Ṣaḥrati talāṭun wa-talāṭūna ḍirā'an fī sab'in wa-ʿīsrīna* "and the Stone of [the Dome of] the Rock is 33 ells by 27 ells" may originally have been been *\*wa-ḥaḡmu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati talāṭatun wa-talāṭūna ḍirā'an fī sab'atin wa-ʿīsrīna* "and the size of the Rock is 33 ells by 27 ells", as found in **Yāqūt**, **Buldān**; but **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s *wa-Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati talāṭatun wa-talāṭūna ḍirā'an fī sab'atin wa-ʿīsrīna ḍirā'an* "and the Stone of the Rock of [the Dome of] the Rock is 33 ells by 27 ells" corroborates **al-**

**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) (*wa-bāqī l-masğidi ḥālīn lā binā'a fīhi illā Mawḍī'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna hunāka ḥaḡaran murtafi'an ka-d-dikkati ʿaẓīmun kabīrun ġayru mustawīn wa-ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbātun ʿaliyatun mustadīratu r-ra'si*).

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 171,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charīf"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments 7*; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) (*wa-innamā turika ḥādā l-ba'ḍu (I read ḥādā l-bu'ḍu) li-sababayni ...)* *wa-t-tānī annahum law maddū l-Muḡaṭṭā ilā z-zāwiyati lam taqa' i ṣ-Ṣaḥratu ḥidā'a l-miḥrābi*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) (*wa-bāqī l-masğidi ḥālīn lā binā'a fīhi illā Mawḍī'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna hunāka ḥaḡaran murtafi'an ka-d-dikkati ʿaẓīmun kabīrun ġayru mustawīn wa-ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbātun ʿaliyatun mustadīratu r-ra'si*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,2-4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-rtifā'u ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi ilā ṣadri l-qā'imī wa-tūluḥā wa-ʿarḍuhā mutaḡāribun yakūnu biḍ'ata ʿašara (Var. tis'ata ʿašara, dawāzdiḥ) ḍirā'an; Ibn Ḥawqal* 171,10-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-rtifā'u ḥādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-latī tu'rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta ḥādīhi l-qubbati ilā ṣadri l-qā'imī wa-tūluḥā wa-ʿarḍuhā mutaḡāribun ... wa-masāḥatu l-Ḥaḡari biḍ'ata ʿašrata ḍirā'an fī miṭliḥā*).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*wa-Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati [the Dome of the Rock] talāṭatun wa-talāṭūna ḍirā'an fī sab'atin wa-ʿīsrīna ḍirā'an; al-Muqaddasī* 171,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165; see de Goeje, *Ibn al-Fakīh* 100 n. i) (*wa-Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati (B Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrī) talāṭun wa-talāṭūna ḍirā'an fī sab'in wa-ʿīsrīna* (de Goeje reads *talāṭatun wa-talāṭūna ḍirā'an fī sab'atin wa-ʿīsrīna*, with **Yāqūt**).

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 256,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 164; Elad, *Jerusalem* 79) (*fa-idā daḡalta ṣ-Ṣaḥrata [the Dome of the Rock] fa-šalli fī talāṭati arkānihā [at the three corners of the Rock] wa-šalli ʿalā l-balāṭati l-latī tusāmitu ṣ-Ṣaḥrata [the Rock] fa-innahā ʿalā bābin min abwābi l-Ġannati*).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) (*wa-bāqī l-masğidi ḥālīn lā binā'a fīhi illā Mawḍī'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna hunāka ḥaḡaran murtafi'an ka-d-dikkati ʿaẓīmun kabīrun ġayru mustawīn wa-ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbātun ʿaliyatun mustadīratu r-ra'si*).

<sup>7</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-rtifā'u ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi ilā ṣadri l-qā'imī; Ibn Ḥawqal* 171,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) (*wa-rtifā'u ḥādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-latī tu'rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta ḥādīhi l-qubbati ilā ṣadri l-qā'imī*).

**Muqaddasī's text.**<sup>1</sup>

B118.4.b. The length and width of the Rock are in **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** and **Ibn Ḥawqal** given as roughly equal, of *biḍʿata ʿašara dirāʿan* "more than 10 ells", and in **Ibn al-Faḳīh** and **al-Muqaddasī** as *\*talātun wa-talātūna dirāʿan fī sabʿin wa-ʿiṣrīna dirāʿan* "33 ells by 27 ells". The north-south length of today's ROCK of about 18 m and its east-west width of about 13 m<sup>2</sup> make clear that **al-Iṣṭaḥrī's** and **Ibn Ḥawqal's** measurements are too short;<sup>3</sup> today's dimensions fit with the description of **Ibn al-Faḳīh** and **al-Muqaddasī**.

B118.4.c. **al-Muqaddasī** refers to a main orientation in the prayer-direction. His first number is therefore the length from north to south, his second the width from east to west.

B118.4.d. The height of the Rock is, in **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** and **Ibn Ḥawqal**, *mina l-arḍi ilā ṣadri l-qāʿimi* "from the earth to the breast of a standing man". Today the Rock has a height of about 1.50 m;<sup>4</sup> this fits with the given description.

**B118.5. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Rock of **Moses** (*Ṣaḥrat Mūsā*) [where Moses turned in ritual prayer],<sup>5</sup> the [first] prayer-direction in force, until the prayer-direction was, in the time of Muḥammad, changed from the Rock to the Kaʿba.<sup>6</sup> The Mount of Olives (*Ṭūr zaytā*) is, at least by Muslims, considered as being opposite the [current] prayer-direction of the **Jews** (*bi-izā Qiblat al-Yahūd*) [the Rock].<sup>7</sup> [In earlier times], the Rock of the Temple (*Ṣaḥrat Bayt al-Maqdis*) had a height of 12 miles (*mīl*) (24 km) in the sky (*fī s-samāʾ*).<sup>8</sup> When **Solomon** had finished building the Temple, he stood on the Rock and prayed.<sup>9</sup> **Muḥammad** put his foot on it when he rose [on his Night Journey] to heaven, as ʿAbd al-Malik told the people.<sup>10</sup> ʿAbd al-Malik built a dome over the Rock to counterbalance the impression

<sup>1</sup> de Goeje, *Ibn al-Faḳīh* 100 n. i (abolishing his previous opinion in de Goeje, *al-Muqaddasī* 171 n. g).

<sup>2</sup> Creswell, *EMA* 1 65.

<sup>3</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine* 123.

<sup>4</sup> Creswell, *EMA* 1 64; Busink, *Tempel* 13 n. 47.

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) *wa-rtifāʿu hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-latī tuʿrafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta hādīhi l-qubbatī ilā ṣadri l-qāʿimi wa-ṭūluḥā wa-ʿarḍuḥā mutaḳāribun*.

<sup>6</sup> **Ibn al-Faḳīh** 96,15-20 (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 326) *wa-qāla Fuḍayluni bnu ʿIyāda lammā ṣurifati l-Kaʿbatu* (read *lammā ṣurifati l-qiblatu naḥwa l-Kaʿbatī*, with Yāqūt) *qālat Ṣaḥratu Bayti l-Maqdisi Llāhī lam azal qiblatan li-ʿibādika ḥattā baʿṭta ḥayra ḥalqika fa-ṣurifat qiblatuhum ʿannī fa-qāla ...*

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 151,5 (*iqḷimu ṣ-Ṣaʿmi ...*) *bihi l-Qiblatu l-Ūlā*.

<sup>7</sup> **al-Masʿūdī**, *Tanbīh* 143,8 (see Gil, *Palestine* 628) (... *ʿalā l-ḡabali l-muḏilli ʿalā madīnati Bayti l-Maqdisi l-maʿrūfī bi-Ṭūri Zaytā* (L *bi-Ṭūrī Sīnā*)) *wa-huwa bi-izāʾi Qiblati l-Yahūdī*.

<sup>8</sup> **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 255,7f. *wa-kāna ṭūlu Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi fī s-samāʾi tṇay ʿašara mīlan*.

<sup>9</sup> **Ibn al-Faḳīh** 99,11-13, speaking about Solomon building the Temple, *fa-lammā fariḡa min bināʾihi ... qāma ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati rāfiʿan yadayhi ilā Llāhī*.

<sup>10</sup> **al-Yaʿqūbī**, *Taʾrīḫ* 2 311,12f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 16; Le Strange, *Palestine* 116; Caskel, *Felsendom* 25; Creswell, *EMA* 1 66; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 68f.; partly Busink, *Tempel* 908; Gil, *Palestine* 102) (*ʿAbdu l-Maliki ... fa-qāla lahum ...*) *wa-hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu [l-latī] yurwā anna Rasūla Llāhī waḍaʿa qadamahu ʿalayhā lammā ṣaʿada ilā s-samāʾi taqūmu lakum maqāma l-Kaʿbatī ...*

the dimensions of the dome of the Anastasis [of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] (*qubbat al-Qumāma*) made on the Muslims (B052.8); Ibn az-Zubayr asked for the oath of loyalty from the people of Syria-Palestine (*ahl aš-Ša'm*) coming for pilgrimage (*ḥağğ*) to Mecca, but 'Abd al-Malik ordered them not to go to Mecca, but rather to consider the Mosque of the Temple (*Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis*) [in Jerusalem] as equal to the Holy House of God (*al-Masğid al-Ḥarām*) in Mecca, and this Rock [of Jerusalem] (*hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) as equal to the Ka'ba, saying that one may visit [equally] the three mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem and that Muḥammad, ascending to heaven, had put his foot on the Rock of Jerusalem; 'Abd al-Malik then built a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock and hung brocade curtains (*sutūr ad-dībāğ*) over it; people circumambulated the Rock of Jerusalem until the end of the Umayyad reign, as they had formerly circumambulated the Ka'ba (B052.8). The Roofed Hall was built [by the **Marwānids**] such that opposite the prayer-niche (*ḥiḍā' al-miḥrāb*) [in the middle axis of the building] was the Rock, and such that it did not join the east wall [of the mosque] (*al-ḥā'it aš-šarqī*); if the building had joined the east wall, then the prayer-niche [in the building's middle axis] would not have been opposite the Rock.<sup>1</sup>

B118.5.a. Parallels in Syria-Palestine to the Jerusalem Rock of Moses: High 'Abbāsīd Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*) has a Rock of Moses (*Ṣaḥrat Mūsā*);<sup>2</sup> the shores of Syria-Palestine (*sawāḥil aš-Ša'm*) have a Rock of Moses (*Ṣaḥrat Mūsā*);<sup>3</sup> a village is called *aš-Ṣaḥra* after the Rock of Moses (*Ṣaḥrat Mūsā*), where Moses and al-Ḥiḍr met;<sup>4</sup> Madyan has the stones (*ḥağar*) which Moses raised when he gave the flock of Šu'ayb water.<sup>5</sup>

B118.5.b. For parallels to the height of the Rock of 12 miles, see B045.5.b.

B118.6. The Rock is at one of the gates of **Paradise** (*'alā bāb min abwāb al-Ġanna*) (B113.4); from beneath it the four rivers of Paradise are coming forth;<sup>6</sup> all sweet water

---

For the footprints of Muḥammad, see A127.b.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 171,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charif"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 7; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) (*wa-innamā turika hādā l-ba'ḍu* (I read *hādā l-bu'ḍu*) *li-sababayni ...*) *wa-t-tānī annahum law maddū l-Muğatṭā ilā z-zāwiyati lam taqa'i ṣ-Ṣaḥratu ḥiḍā'a l-miḥrābi fa-karihū ḍālīka wa-Llāhu*.

For the asymmetric position of the prayer-niche opposite the Rock and the relation between prayer-niche and Rock, see A121.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 151,9 (*iqḷimu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Ṣaḥratu Mūsā*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 19,6 (*sawāḥilu š-Ša'mi ...*) *wa-Ṣaḥratu Mūsā ṭamma bayyinatun*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 62,6 (see Hirschberg, "Sources" 340 n. 2) *wa-ammā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *fa-innahā tu'rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā wa-yuqālu inna Mūsā ḡtama'a ma'a l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu fī hādā l-mawḍi'i* (C *fa-ammā ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-lati tu'rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā bni 'Imrāna fa-innahā bi-hādā l-mawḍi'i*).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 179,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 497 s.v. "Madyan") (*Madyanu ...*) *wa-ṭamma l-ḥağaru l-ladi rafa'ahu Mūsā 'alayhi s-salāmu ḥīna* (C *ḥattā*) *saqa ḡanama Šu'aybin*.

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,15-18; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,6-8 (... *ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīni l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *ṭamma ṣallaytu 'alā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdā'i fa-idā n-nūru yaṣṭaḥu min ḡawānibihā wa-idā arba'atu anḥārin tağrī min taḥtiḥā qultu mā hādīhi l-anḥāru fa-qīla lī mina l-Ġannati*.

originates from beneath the Rock.<sup>1</sup>

**B118.7. Traditions (Christian):** This is the Rock on which God spoke to **Jacob** (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-latī kallama Llāh Yaʿqūb ʿalayhā*) [when he saw the angels descend and ascend].<sup>2</sup> The Rock was the altar (*haykal*) of the **Children of Israel**, who venerated it (*kānū yuʿazzimūnahā*), and this was their prayer-direction.<sup>3</sup> In 6127/634-635, ʿUmar came to Jerusalem and searched for the Temple (B052.10); the patr kiow (*al-biṭriq*) of Jerusalem showed him a place to build a mosque (*masǧid*) and guided him to the Rock (B052.10), then ʿUmar cleaned the Rock.<sup>4</sup> ʿAbd al-Malik enlarged the mosque (*al-masǧid*) and integrated the Rock into it; because of Ibn az-Zubayr, he ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥaǧǧ*) to Jerusalem, not to Mecca (B052.10). al-Walīd built the mosque (*al-masǧid*), put the Rock in its centre (*ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥra fī wasaṭ al-masǧid*), built over it (*banā ḥawl aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), put the gilded copper dome of the church of Baʿlabakk over the Rock, and ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥaǧǧ*) to this Rock (B052.10).

**B118.8. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, after entering the Dome of the Rock, pray at the three corners of the Rock (*fī ṭalāṭat arkān aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and at the paving-stone which has the Rock in front [to its south] (*ʿalā l-balāṭa l-latī tusāmit aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), as the Rock is at one of the gates of Paradise (*ʿalā bāb min abwāb al-Ġanna*) (B113.4).

**B118.9. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the ʿĀšūrāʾ-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) shining like a ruby (*yāqūta*) and it is explained to him that [only] some people may see it so; then he prays on the Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ*) and sees light shining from the four sides of it [the Rock] and four rivers coming from beneath it, and it is explained to him that these are the rivers of Paradise (B113.5).

<sup>1</sup>Ibn al-Faqīh 95,16f. *wa-mā min māʾin ʿadibin illā yaḥruǧu min taḥti ṣ-Ṣaḥrati l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>2</sup>Saʿid b. Biṭriq, *Taʾrīḥ* 2 18,1-3 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 5; see Creswell, *EMA* 32; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110) (*fa-qāla lahu* [to ʿUmar] *l-biṭriku ana uʿfī amīra l-muʾminīna mawḍiʿan yabnī fīhi masǧidan ... wa-hiya ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-latī kallama Llāhu Yaʿqūba ʿalayhā ... wa-kānat haykalan li-Banī Isrāʾīla wa-kānū Banū Isrāʾīla yuʿazzimūnahā wa-ḥayṭamā kānū idā ṣallū takūnu wuǧūhuhum ilayhā*).

<sup>3</sup>Saʿid b. Biṭriq, *Taʾrīḥ* 2 18,1-3 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 5; see Creswell, *EMA* 32; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110) (*fa-qāla lahu* [to ʿUmar] *l-biṭriku ana uʿfī amīra l-muʾminīna mawḍiʿan yabnī fīhi masǧidan ... wa-hiya ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-latī kallama Llāhu Yaʿqūba ʿalayhā ... wa-kānat haykalan li-Banī Isrāʾīla wa-kānū Banū Isrāʾīla yuʿazzimūnahā wa-ḥayṭamā kānū idā ṣallū takūnu wuǧūhuhum ilayhā*).

<sup>4</sup>Saʿid b. Biṭriq, *Taʾrīḥ* 2 18,11-15 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 5; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 32; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110); Saʿid b. Biṭriq, *Taʾrīḥ* 2 18,15-17 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 5; see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110).

**B119. The cave under the Rock<sup>1</sup>**

**B119.1. Names (Muslim):** A cave (*mağāra*), a room (*bayt*) (B119.3).

**B119.2. Position:** This cave is under the Rock (*taḥt aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>2</sup> inside it (*fī bāṭin aṣ-Ṣaḥra*)<sup>3</sup> and one descends there by staircases (B119.3). We may identify the cave with the CAVE under the ROCK.

B119.2.a. It has been hypothesised that the description of **al-Muqaddasī** refers instead to the Cave the Fāṭimid Jews have, but this is out of the question (B119.3.f).

**B119.3. Physical shape:** This is a room (*bayt*),<sup>4</sup> a cave (*mağāra*).<sup>5</sup> It is neither round nor rectangular (*lā bi-l-mustadīr wa-lā bi-l-murabbaʿ*).<sup>6</sup> Its length and width are about 1 fathom-

<sup>1</sup>For the High ʿAbbāsid cave under the Rock, see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 197 n. 206; Gil, *Palestine* 649; Elad, *Jerusalem* 72.

For the CAVE under the ROCK today, see Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 222; Jeremias, *Golgotha* 65; Creswell, *EMA* 1 65; 100; colour plate in front of the title page; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 197 n. 206; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 27-29; 31; pl. XIV; Busink, *Tempel* 998 fig. 227; 1000-1003; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 31; 3 72f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 72 n. 93; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 283-289 (with fig. 129f.).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,20-101,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ..*) *wa-taḥtahā mağāratun yuṣallī fihā n-nāsu yasaʿuhā tisʿatun wa-sittūna nafsan*; **al-Muqaddasī** 171,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165) (*wa-Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (B *Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥri*) ...) *wa-l-mağāratu l-latī taḥtahā tasaʿu tisʿan wa-sittina nafsan* (C *Yāqūt wa-taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mağāratun tuzāru wa-yuṣallā fihā tasaʿu miʿatan wa-sittina nafsan*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-rtifāʿu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi ..*) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭinihā bi-marāqin min bābin šabihin bi-s-sirdābi* (C *ilā bāṭinihā bi-marāqī* (I read *bi-marāqin*) *šabihin bi-s-sarabi*) *ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluha naḥwa baṣṭatin fī miṭlihā* (I read *yakūnu ṭūluha qāmatin wa-baṣṭatin fī miṭlihā*); **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭini hādhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati bi-marāqin min bābin yuṣbihi s-sirdāba ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluha naḥwa ḥamsi adruʿin fī ʿašrin lā bi-l-murtafiʿi wa-lā bi-l-mustadīri wa-lā bi-l-murabbaʿi wa-samkuhu fawqa l-qāmati*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-rtifāʿu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ..*) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭinihā bi-marāqin min bābin šabihin bi-s-sirdābi* (C *ilā bāṭinihā bi-marāqī* (I read *bi-marāqin*) *šabihin bi-s-sarabi*) *ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluha baṣṭatan fī miṭlihā* (I read *yakūnu ṭūluha qāmatun wa-baṣṭatan fī miṭlihā*); **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭini hādhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati bi-marāqin min bābin yuṣbihi s-sirdāba ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluha naḥwa ḥamsi adruʿin fī ʿašrin lā bi-l-murtafiʿi wa-lā bi-l-mustadīri wa-lā bi-l-murabbaʿi wa-samkuhu fawqa l-qāmati*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,20-101,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ..*) *wa-taḥtahā mağāratun yuṣallī fihā n-nāsu yasaʿuhā tisʿatun wa-sittūna nafsan*; **al-Muqaddasī** 171,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165) (*wa-Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (B *Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥri*) ...) *wa-l-mağāratu l-latī taḥtahā tasaʿu tisʿan wa-sittina nafsan* (C *Yāqūt wa-taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mağāratun tuzāru wa-yuṣallā fihā tasaʿu miʿatan wa-sittina nafsan*).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭini hādhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati bi-marāqin min bābin yuṣbihi s-sirdāba ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluha naḥwa ḥamsi adruʿin fī ʿašrin lā bi-l-murtafiʿi wa-lā bi-l-mustadīri wa-lā bi-l-murabbaʿi wa-samkuhu fawqa l-qāmati*.

and-ell (*\*naḥw qāma wa-baṣṭa*) (2.49 m);<sup>1</sup> it measures [from north to south and from east to west] 5 by 10 ells (2.49 by 4.98 m),<sup>2</sup> with space for sixty-nine people.<sup>3</sup> It is higher than 1 fathom (*qāma*) (1.99 m), but not [very] high (*lā bi-l-murtafi*).<sup>4</sup> One descends there by staircases (*marāqī*) from a door (*bāb*) [an opening in the floor] like [the opening of] a cistern (*sirdāb*).<sup>5</sup>

B119.3.a. A parallel to the irregular shape of the cave under the Rock: The Fāṭimid Rock has an irregular shape, neither round nor rectangular (B192.5).

B119.3.b. **Ibn Ḥawqal** gives the cave a [north-south] length of 5 ells (2.49 m), an [east-west] width of 10 ells (4.98 m) and a height of more than 1 fathom (1.99 m). Today's CAVE has a northwest-southeast length of about 7 m, a northeast-southwest width of about 5 m and a height of less than 3 m,<sup>6</sup> and has obviously been enlarged since the High 'Abbāsid period.<sup>1</sup> **al-Iṣṭaḥrī**'s length and width of about 1 *baṣṭa* "ell" (0.49) m are impossible; he may originally have had a length of about 1 *qāma wa-baṣṭa* "fathom-and-ell" (2.49 m).<sup>7</sup>

B119.3.c. The text of **al-Iṣṭaḥrī C** is a short version of **al-Iṣṭaḥrī**:

|                   |                                                 |                                                   |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| <b>al-Iṣṭaḥrī</b> | ( <i>wa-rtifā'u ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi ...</i> ) | "(And the height of the Rock from the ground ...) |
|                   | <i>wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭinihā</i>                  | And one descends to its interior                  |
|                   | <i>bi-marāqin</i>                               | by staircases                                     |
|                   | <i>min bābin ṣābihin bi-s-sirdābi</i>           | from a door similar to a cistern                  |
|                   | <i>ilā baytin</i>                               | to a room                                         |

<sup>1</sup> **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-rtifā'u ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ...*) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭinihā bi-marāqin min bābin ṣābihin bi-s-sirdābi* (C *ilā bāṭinihā bi-marāqī* (I read *bi-marāqin*) *ṣābihin bi-s-sarabi*) *ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluḥu baṣṭatan fī miṭliḥā* (I read *yakūnu ṭūluḥu qāmatun wa-baṣṭatan fī miṭliḥā*)).

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭini hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati bi-marāqin min bābin yuṣbiḥu s-sirdāba ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluḥu naḥwa ḥamsi adru'in fī 'ašrin lā bi-l-murtafi'i wa-lā bi-l-mustadiri wa-lā bi-l-murabba'i wa-samkuḥu fawqa l-qāmati*.

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,20-101,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ..*) *wa-taḥtahā maḡāratun yuṣallī fihā n-nāsu yasa'uhā tis'atun wa-sittūna nafsan*; **al-Muqaddasī** 171,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 165) (*wa-Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (B *Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḥri*) ...) *wa-l-maḡāratu l-latī taḥtahā tasa'u tis'an wa-sittīna nafsan* (C *Yāqūt wa-taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati maḡāratun tuzāru wa-yuṣallā fihā tasa'u mi'atan wa-sittīna nafsan*).

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭini hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati bi-marāqin min bābin yuṣbiḥu s-sirdāba ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluḥu naḥwa ḥamsi adru'in fī 'ašrin lā bi-l-murtafi'i wa-lā bi-l-mustadiri wa-lā bi-l-murabba'i wa-samkuḥu fawqa l-qāmati*.

<sup>5</sup> **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) (*wa-rtifā'u ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi ...*) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭinihā bi-marāqin min bābin ṣābihin bi-s-sirdābi* (C *ilā bāṭinihā bi-marāqī* (I read *bi-marāqin*) *ṣābihin bi-s-sarabi*) *ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluḥu baṣṭatan fī miṭliḥā* (I read *yakūnu ṭūluḥu qāmatun wa-baṣṭatan fī miṭliḥā*)); **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭini hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati bi-marāqin min bābin yuṣbiḥu s-sirdāba ilā baytin yakūnu ṭūluḥu naḥwa ḥamsi adru'in fī 'ašrin lā bi-l-murtafi'i wa-lā bi-l-mustadiri wa-lā bi-l-murabba'i wa-samkuḥu fawqa l-qāmati*.

<sup>6</sup> Measurements are given in Creswell, *EMA* 1 65. The orientation of length and width may be deduced from the colour plate in front of the title page of Creswell, *EMA* 1, and from the fact that the STAIRCASE enters the CAVE from the southeast.

<sup>7</sup> For *qāma wa-baṣṭa* "fathom-and-ell", see B121.3.

|                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                   | <i>ṭūluhu *naḥwa qāmatin wa-baṣṭatin</i><br><i>fī miṭliḥā</i>                                                                                                                                                                      | with a length of 1 fathom-and-ell<br>by the same."                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Ibn Ḥawqal</b> | <i>(wa-masāḥatu l-ḥaḡari ...)</i><br><i>wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭini ḥādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḡrati</i><br><i>bi-marāqin</i><br><i>min bābin yuṣbiḥu s-sirdāba</i><br><i>ilā baytin</i><br><i>yakūnu ṭūluḥu naḥwa ḥamsi adruʿin</i><br><i>fī ʿaṣrin</i> | "(And the surface of the stone ...)<br>And one descends to the interior of this rock<br>by staircases<br>from a door which is similar to a cistern<br>to a room<br>with a length of about 5 ells by 10." |
| <b>al-Iṣṭ. C</b>  | <i>(wa-rtifāʿu ṣ-Ṣaḡrati mina l-arḍi ...)</i><br><i>wa-yunzalu ilā bāṭiniḥā</i><br><i>bi-marāqī ṣābihin bi-s-sarabi</i><br><i>yakūnu ṭūluḥu *qāmatan wa-baṣṭatan</i><br><i>fī miṭliḥā</i>                                          | "(And the height of the Rock from the ground ...)<br>And one descends to its interior<br>by staircases similar to a cave/water-channel<br>with a length of 1 fathom-and-ell<br>by the same."             |

B119.3.d. **al-Iṣṭaḥr ī C**'s *wa-yunzalu ... bi-marāqin abihin bi-s-sarabi* "and one descends by staircases similar to a cave/water-channel" is obviously a careless reproduction of **al-Iṣṭaḥr ī's** *wa-yunzalu ... bi-marāqin min bābin ṣābihin bi-s-sirdābi* "and one descends by staircases from a gate similar to a cistern"; he simply drops *min bāb* and misspells *sirdāb* as *sarab*. Quite similarly, **al-Iṣṭaḥr ī C**'s *wa-yunzalu ... ṣābihin bi-s-sarabi yakūnu ṭūluḥu ...* "and one descends ... similar to a cave/water-channel which has a length of ..." is a careless copying of **al-Iṣṭaḥr ī's** *wa-yunzalu ... ṣābihin bi-s-sirdābi ilā baytin ṭūluḥu ...* "and one descends ... similar to a cistern to a room which has a length of ..."; here as well **al-Iṣṭaḥr ī C** simply drops *ilā bayt*.

B119.3.e. It has been proposed that **al-Iṣṭaḥr ī** may have originally had *\*... min bābin ilā baytin ṣābihin bi-s-sirdābi ...* "... from a gate to a room similar to a cistern ...";<sup>1</sup> but **Ibn al-Ḥawqal's** *min bābin yuṣbiḥu s-sirdāba* has the same meaning. We best keep **al-Iṣṭaḥr ī's** text and take it as referring to a door which is like the opening of a cistern, i.e., more or less level with the floor, with nothing protruding up.

B119.3.f. **al-Muqaddasī's** description has been referred to as the Cave of the Jews in the Fāṭimid period, and **al-Muqaddasī's** space for sixty-nine people has been replaced by **Yāqūt's** space for six hundred ninety people;<sup>2</sup> but **al-Muqaddasī's** *aṣ-Ṣaḡratu ... wa-l-maḡāratu l-latī taḥtahā ...* "the Rock ... and the cave which is under it" definitely refers to the cave of the Dome of the Rock, not to the cave of the Jews.

**B119.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People make ritual prayer in this cave.<sup>3</sup>

## B120. The drum of the Dome of the Rock<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> de Goeje, *al-Istakhrī* 57 n. e.

<sup>2</sup> Gil, *Palestine* 649.

<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Faḡīh** 100,20-101,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*Ḥaḡaru ṣ-Ṣaḡrati ..*) *wa-taḥtahā maḡāratun yuṣallī fihā n-nāsu yasaʿuhā tisʿatun wa-sittūna nafsan*.

<sup>4</sup> For the drum of the High ʿAbbāsīd Dome of the Rock, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 261-288; Creswell, *EMA* 1 69; 79; 115; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81.



B120.1. **Names (Muslim):** The drum [of the Dome of the Rock] (*al-minṭaqa*) (B120.3).

B120.2. **Position:** The drum (*minṭaqa*) has its place above the round vaults of this arcade (*qanāṭir mudawwara fawq hādīhi*), of the circular non-octagonal arcade surrounding the Rock (*riwāq mustadīr 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra lā muṭamman*) (B116.2). Above the drum (*min fawq al-minṭaqa*) is the dome (*al-qubba*) proper.<sup>1</sup> This is the DRUM of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

B120.2.a. **al-Muqaddasī** has the drum preceded by the circular arcade and followed by the dome proper. This fits with today's DRUM.

**al-Muqaddasī**

*dāḥil al-bayt ṭalāṭat arwiqa -> \*arwiqa dā'ira: 'alā a'mida ma'ḡūna -> arwiqa lāṭiya -> riwāq ... mustadīr: 'alā a'mida ma'ḡūna bi-qanāṭir mudawwara -> minṭaqa: ṭiqān kibār -> al-qubba*

B120.3. **Physical shape:** This is a drum (*minṭaqa*) [supporting a dome] rising high into the air (*minṭaqa muta'āliya fī l-hawā'*).<sup>2</sup> Both the wall [in its upper part] and the drum have, inside and outside, the same covering [of polychrome gilded mosaic] as the mosque of Damascus (B111.3); the outside of the drum glitters incredibly beautifully in the sunshine. In the drum (*fī l-minṭaqa*) are great windows (*ṭiqān kibār*);<sup>3</sup> at the dome's top (*fī a'lā l-qubba*) are fifty-six glass windows of different [colours of] glass [*sitta wa-ḥamsūn bāb muzaḡḡaḡa bi-anwā' az-zuḡāḡ*] [in two rows on top of each other], each 6 ells (2.99 m) [high] and 6 inches [wide].<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124) *wa-l-qubbatu min fawqi l-minṭaqati* (Yāqūt *fawqa l-minṭaqati*).

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 169,16-170,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81) (... *riwāqun āḥaru* (BC *dāḥilahu riwāqun āḥaru*, Yāqūt *dāḥilātun fī riwāqin āḥara*) ... *'alā a'midatin ma'ḡūnatin* (C *ma'ḡūnatin ayḍan*) *bi-qanāṭira mudawwaratin*) *fawqa hādīhi* (C *fawqahā*) *minṭaqatun muta'āliyatun fī l-hawā'i*.

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 169,16-170,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164 n. 81) (*riwāqun āḥaru* (BC *dāḥilahu riwāqun āḥaru*, Yāqūt *dāḥilātun fī riwāqin āḥara*) ... *'alā a'midatin ma'ḡūnatin* (C *ma'ḡūnatin ayḍan*) *bi-qanāṭira mudawwaratin*) *fawqa hādīhi* (C *fawqahā*) *minṭaqatun muta'āliyatun fī l-hawā'i fī hā ṭiqānun kibārun* (C without *fihā ṭiqānun kibārun*; Yāqūt *tāqātun*).

For the WINDOWS of the DRUM, both today and in the High 'Abbāsīd period, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121; Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 11; 78-81; 85-87; fig. 13; fig. 67f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 224; 329-333; pl. CXV; Creswell, *EMA* 1 68f. with n. 9; 70 fig. 20; 78f.; 92; 115f.; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 215; Busse, "Inchriften im und am Felsendom" 22f.; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 390; 402; Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem* 43 pl. 28-32; 44; St. Laurent "Dome of the Rock" 418; 420; Carswell, "Deconstruction" 427; Flood, "Ottoman Windows" 432f. For *ṭāq*, *ṭāqa* pl. *ṭiqān* "window", see Lane, *Lexicon* 1894 s.v. "ṭāq"; Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; Dozy, *Supplément* 2 71 s.v. "ṭāqa"; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 2 145; 147; 4 62; 80; 6 122 s.v. "window (ṭāqa)"; Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary* 137 s.v. "ṭāqa".

<sup>4</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; Creswell, *EMA* 1 79; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 69; 115) (*wa-farṣu l-qubbati ruḥāmūn abyāḍu wa-suqūfuhā bi-d-ḡahabi l-aḥmari fī dawri ḥiṭānihā*) *wa-fī a'lāhā sittatun wa-ḥamsūna bāban muzaḡḡaḡatan bi-anwā'i z-zuḡāḡi wa-l-bābu sittatu adru'in fī sittati ašbārin*.

B120.3.a. For parallels to the drum's sparkling in the sunshine, see B046.3.a.

B120.3.b. It has been assumed that the windows were enclosed by grills;<sup>1</sup> this may well be, but the sources do not mention it.

B120.3.c. The building today has fifty-eight WINDOWS: sixteen in the DRUM, forty in the upper and two in the lower part of the EXTERIOR WALL;<sup>2</sup> of these, the latter two were cut only at the end of the 16th century.<sup>3</sup> **Ibn al-Faḳīh**'s fifty-six windows have been identified with the fifty-six pre-16th century WINDOWS;<sup>4</sup> but **Ibn al-Faḳīh** explicitly says (*wa-farṣu l-qubbati ...*) *wa-fī a'lāhā sittatun wa-ḥamsūna bāban muzağğagatan ...* "(and the floor of the dome ...) and at its tops are fifty-six glass windows ..."

B120.3.d. That the windows originally had metal or marble grills, perhaps similar to those of the Great Mosque of Damascus, is suggested by holes in the original stones found when the dome was gilded somewhen before 2001.<sup>5</sup>

## B121. The dome of the Dome of the Rock<sup>6</sup>

B121.1. Names (Muslim): The dome (*qubba*) [of the Dome of the Rock].<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Busse, "Inschriften im und am Felsendom" 22f.; Flood, "Ottoman Windows" 432.

<sup>2</sup> Creswell, *EMA* 1 69; Flood, "Ottoman Windows" 432.

<sup>3</sup> van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 340-342; Creswell, *EMA* 1 68f. n. 9; 69.

<sup>4</sup> Creswell, *EMA* 1 69.

<sup>5</sup> St. Laurent "Dome of the Rock" n. 11.

<sup>6</sup> For the dome of the High 'Abbāsid Dome of the Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 267-269; 282; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 55f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 174 n. 122; 194 n. 198; Caskel, *Felsendom* 23f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 38-47; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 88-97; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 226; 233; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 325a; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 341b; Gil, *Palestine* 479; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52-54.

<sup>7</sup> **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) *wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi fāriğun illā Mawḍī'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna 'alayhi ḥağaran murtafi'an miṭla d-dikkati wa-fī wasaṭi l-ḥağari 'alā l-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun*; **Ibn al-Faḳīh** 101,3f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 121f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76) *wa-l-qubbatu banāhā 'Abdu l-Maliki bnu Marwāna 'alā ṭnay 'ašara ruknan wa-ṭalāṭina 'amūdan*; **al-Muqaddasī** 159,10f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 55; Caskel, *Felsendom* 24; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 291f.; Gil, *Palestine* 93; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 55f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 174 n. 122; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 325a; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 2f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52-54) (*qultu yawman li-'ammī ... qāla ...*) *a-lā tarā anna 'Abda l-Maliki lammā ra'ā 'uẓma qubbatu l-Qumāmati wa-hay'atahā ḥašiya an ta'zuma fī qulūbi l-Muslimīna fa-naṣaba 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan 'alā mā tarā* (not in C); **al-Muqaddasī** 170,1.3.5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 268; Creswell, *EMA* 1 92f.) *wa-l-qubbatu min fawqi l-minṭaqati* (Yāqūt *fawqa l-minṭaqati*) ... *wa-l-qubbatu 'alā 'uẓmihā mulabbasatun bi-ṣ-ṣufri l-muḍahhabi* (C *wa-l-qubbatu muḍahhabatun kulluhā*) ... *wa-l-qubbatu ṭalāṭu sāfatini*; **al-Muqaddasī** 170,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *fa-idā bazağat 'alayhā ṣ-ṣamsu ašraqati l-qubbatu wa-tala'la'ati l-minṭaqatu* (C *wa-tala'la'a FSYS*) *wa-ra'ayta ṣay'an 'ağiban* (C *'agaban*) *wa-'alā l-ğumlati lam ara fī l-Islāmi wa-lā sami'tu anna fī ṣ-Širki miṭlu ḥādihi l-qubbatu*; **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,9-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) *wa-bāqī l-masğidi ḥālin lā binā'a fihi illā Mawḍī'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna hunāka ḥağaran murtafi'an ka-d-dikkati 'aẓimun kabī*

B121.2. **Position:** The Rock is under the dome (*taḥt al-qubba*), the dome is over the Rock (*‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B118.3). The dome is above the drum (*min fawq al-minṭaqa*) (B120.2).

B121.3. **Physical shape:** This is a dome of imposing dimensions (*‘uẓm*), 100 ells (49.80 m) high from the widest base (*al-qā‘ida l-kubrā*) to the spike (*saffūd*), and it may [because of its height] be seen from far away;<sup>1</sup> this is a (very) high dome (*qubba ‘āliya ḡiddan*,<sup>2</sup> *qubba ‘āliya*<sup>3</sup>), higher than the dome of the Anastasis [of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] (*qubbat Kanīsat al-Qiyāma*).<sup>4</sup> The top of the dome (*ra’s al-qubba*)<sup>5</sup> is round (*mustadīr*)<sup>6</sup> and has a

---

*run ḡayru mustawin wa-‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun ‘āliyatun mustadīratu r-ra’si qad ḡuṣṣiyat bi-r-raṣāṣ l-ḡalīzi s-samki wa-rtifā’u hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-latī tu‘rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta hādīhi l-qubbatu ilā ṣadri l-qā’imi wa-tūluḥā wa-‘arḍuhā mutaḡāribun ... wa-masāḥatu l-Ḥaḡari biḍ‘a ‘aṣrata dīrā’an fī miṭlihā.*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 96) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *tūluḥā ‘ani l-qā‘idati l-kubrā* (C *‘ani l-qā‘ati l-kubrā*, Yāqūt *ḡayra l-qā‘idati l-kubrā*) *ma‘a s-saffūdi* (C without *ma‘a s-saffūdi*) *fī-l-hawā’i mi’atu dīrā’in turā mina l-bu‘di fawqahā saffūdun ḡasanun* (Le Strange, *Palestine* 124 and Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 194 n. 198 read *tarā mina l-bu‘di fawqahā saffūdun ḡasanun*) *tūla qāmatin wa-baṣṭatin* (Yāqūt instead of *fawqahā ... tūla qāmatin wa-baṣṭatin*: *tūluḥā qāmatun wa-baṣṭatun*) *wa-l-qubbatu ‘alā ‘uẓmihā mulabbasatun bi-ṣ-ṣufri l-muḡahhabī* (C *wa-l-qubbatu muḡahhabatun kulluhā*).

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**: 268,3f. (... *ḡaddatani Abū Muḡammadin ‘Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḡammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ra’aytu ... fī-mā yarā n-nā’imu ka-annī fī Ṣaḥrati Masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi* (I read *fī Masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*)) *wa-ana muḡābila Qubbata ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-idā hiya qubbatun ‘aẓīmatun min nūrīn bayḡā’a ‘āliyatun wa-‘alā ra’sihā durratun*; **al-Muqaddasī** 159,10f. (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 55; Caskel, *Felsendom* 24; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 291f.; Gil, *Palestine* 93; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 55f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 174 n. 122; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 325a; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 2f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52-54) (*qultu yawman li-‘ammī ... qāla ...*) *a-lā tarā anna ‘Abda l-Maliki lammā ra’ā ‘uẓma qubbatu l-Qumāmī wa-hay’ataḡā ḡaṣiya an ta’zuma fī qulūbi l-Muslimīna fa-naṣaba ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatan ‘alā mā tarā* (not in C).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḡrī** 57,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122f.) *wa-l-bāqī mina l-masḡidi fārīḡun illā Mawḡi’a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna ‘alayhi ḡaḡaran murtafi’an miṭla d-dikkati wa-fī wasaṭi l-ḡaḡari ‘alā l-ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun ‘āliyatun ḡiddan.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun ‘āliyatun (mustadīratu r-ra’si).*

<sup>4</sup>**Sa‘id b. Biṭriq, Ta’rīḡ** 2 56,7-11 *fa-lammā raḡa’a ‘Ubaydu Llāhi bnu Ṭāḡirin min Miṣra yurīdu Baḡdāda wa-rafa’ū ilayhi l-Muslimīna anna n-Naṣārā ta’addaw wa-fa’alū mā lā yaḡibu lahum wa-hadamū qubbata Kanīsata l-Qiyāmī wa-kānat qubbatan ṣaḡīratan fa-zādū fihā wa-ṣayyarūhā akbara mimma kānat ḡattā ḡāza tūluḥā Qubbata ṣ-Ṣaḥrati. fa-aṣḡaṣa ‘Ubaydu Llāhi bnu Ṭāḡirin Tūma l-baṭarka wa-ḡamā’atan ma’ahu fa-ḡabasahum li-yas’ala ‘an ḡādā l-amri fa-in ṣaḡḡa mā rufi’a ilayhim* (I read *ilayhi*) *ḡarabahum bi-s-siyāṭi.*

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun ‘āliyatun mustadīratu r-ra’si qad ḡuṣṣiyat bi-r-raṣāṣ l-ḡalīzi s-samki*; **al-Muqaddasī** C 170,6f. (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfatīni l-ulā ... wa-t-ṭāniyatu ... ṭumma t-ṭālīṭatu ...*) *wasata hādīhi l-qibābi ṭarīqun ilā ra’si l-qubbatu yaṣ’aduhā ṣ-ṣunnā’u li-tafaqqudihā wa-rammihā.*

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun ‘āliyatun mustadīratu r-ra’si qad ḡuṣṣiyat bi-r-raṣāṣ l-ḡalīzi s-samki.*

beautiful spike (*saffūd ḥasan*) projecting 1 fathom-and-ell (*qāma wa-baṣṭa*) (2.49 m).<sup>1</sup>

B121.3.a. It has been assumed that **al-Muqaddasī**'s (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *turà mina l-bu'di fawqahā saffūdun ḥasanun* "(and the dome ...) is seen from far away, above it is a beautiful spike" may have originally been *\*(wa-l-qubbatu ...) tarà mina l-bu'di fawqahā saffūdan ḥasanan* "(and the dome ...) you may see from far away a beautiful spike above it" (Le Strange;<sup>2</sup> Miquel); but the text we have is perfectly in order both in syntax and meaning.

B121.3.b. The dome has a height of 100 ells (49.80 m), from *al-qā'ida l-kubrā* "the widest base" [immediately over the drum] to and including the spike; this is more or less the height of today's DOME. The dome in fact has an unusual height.<sup>3</sup> For the political dimension of the extraordinary height of this dome, higher than the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see B121.6.

B121.4. This is a double dome, one dome on top of another (*qubba 'alā qubba*),<sup>4</sup> with, if we count the space in between, three layers (*ṭalāṭ sāfāt*)<sup>5</sup> - a number of domes (*qibāb*);<sup>6</sup> these two domes and the anchors connecting them are the backbone of the whole construction. The ceiling of the inner dome, towards the interior, carries decoration. The outer dome gives protection against wind and weather and has its outside covered with gold.

1. The inner dome is made of [wood] panels, decorated [on the inside] (*alwāḥ muzawwaqa*).<sup>7</sup>
2. The intermediate space has latticed iron columns (*a'midat ḥadīd šubbikat*) so that the wind may not move the dome.<sup>8</sup> Through them leads a corridor (*ṭarīq*) which allows workmen

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 96) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *ṭūluḥā 'ani l-qā'idati l-kubrā* (C *'ani l-qā'ati l-kubrā*, Yāqūt *gayra l-qā'idati l-kubrā*) *ma'a s-saffūdi* (C without *ma'a s-saffūdi*) *fī-l-hawā'i mi'atu dirā'in turà mina l-bu'di fawqahā saffūdun ḥasanun* (Le Strange, *Palestine* 124 and Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 194 n. 198; Blachère, extraits 171, Gildemeister, "Beiträge zur Palästinakunde" 163 read *tarà mina l-bu'di fawqahā saffūdan ḥasanan*) *ṭūla qāmatin wa-baṣṭatin* (Yāqūt instead of *fawqahā ... ṭūla qāmatin wa-baṣṭatin*: *ṭūluḥu qāmatun wa-baṣṭatun*).

For *qāma wa-baṣṭa* "fathom-and-ell", see Lane, *Lexicon* 204 s.v. "bāṣiṭ"; de Goeje, *BGA* 4 190 s.v. "baṣṭa".

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 124.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 104; 109f.; 115; 172.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; Creswell, *EMA* 92) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *wa-hiya qubbatun 'alā qubbatin*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 268; Creswell, *EMA* 1 92f.) *wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini (l-ūlā ... wa-t-tāniyatu ... tumma t-tālīṭatu ...)*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** C 170,6f. (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini l-ūlā ... wa-t-tāniyatu ... tumma t-tālīṭatu ...*) *wasāṭa ḥādīhi l-qibābi ṭarīqun ilā ra'si l-qubbatī yaṣ'aduhā ṣ-ṣunnā'u li-tafaqqudihā wa-rammihā*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 268; Creswell, *EMA* 1 92f.) (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini*) *l-ūlā min alwāḥin muzawwaqatin* (Yāqūt *al-ūlā muzawwaqatun 'alā l-alwāḥi*);.

The inner dome is also mentioned in **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; Creswell, *EMA* 92) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *wa-hiya qubbatun 'alā qubbatin*.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 268; Creswell, *EMA* 1 92f.; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 95) (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini ...*) *wa-t-tāniyatu min a'midati l-ḥadīdi qad šubbikat li-allā tumīlahā r-riyāḥu* (C *al-aryāḥu*).

to examine and repair the dome, to the top of the dome (*ra's al-qubba*),<sup>1</sup> to the spike (*as-saffūd*);<sup>2</sup> there is an exit where the workmen may get out onto the dome's surface.

3. The outer dome

- a. is mainly made of panels (*alwāḥ*)<sup>3</sup> of wood (*ḥaṣab*).<sup>4</sup>
- b. These panels carry a thick layer of lead (*ar-raṣāṣ al-ḡalīz as-samk*),<sup>5</sup> 3,392<sup>6</sup> lead sheets (*ṣafā'ih ar-raṣāṣ*).<sup>7</sup>
- c. The dome is covered with gilded brass (*aṣ-ṣufr al-muḍahhab*),<sup>8</sup> gilded copper sheets (*ṣafā'ih an-nuḥās muḍahhaba*,<sup>9</sup> *ṣafā'ih an-nuḥās maṭliya bi-d-dahab*<sup>10</sup>), with gilded

<sup>1</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** C 170,6f. (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini l-ūlā ... wa-t-tāniyatu ... tumma t-tālītatu ...*) *wasāṭa ḥādīhi l-qibābi ṭarīqun ilā ra'si l-qubbatu yaṣ'aduhā ṣ-ṣunnā'u li-tafaqqudihā wa-rammihā.*

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** C 170,6f. (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini l-ūlā ... wa-t-tāniyatu ... tumma t-tālītatu ...*) *wasāṭa ḥādīhi l-qibābi ṭarīqun ilā ra'si l-qubbatu yaṣ'aduhā ṣ-ṣunnā'u li-tafaqqudihā wa-rammihā.*

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** C 170,6 (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini ...*) *wa-t-tālītatu min ḥaṣabin wa-l-alwāḥu mulabbasatun bi-ṣ-ṣafā'ih l-muḍahhabati.*

<sup>4</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 268; Creswell, *EMA* 1 92f.) (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini ...*) *tumma t-tālītatu min ḥaṣabin 'alayhā ṣ-ṣafā'ihu* (C *wa-t-tālītatu min ḥaṣabin wa-l-alwāḥu mulabbasatun bi-ṣ-ṣafā'ih l-muḍahhabati*).

The outer dome is also mentioned in **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; Creswell, *EMA* 92) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *wa-hiya qubbatun 'alā qubbatin.*

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati qubbatun 'āliyatun mustadīratu r-ra'si qad ḡuṣṣiyat bi-r-raṣāṣ l-ḡalīzi s-samki.*

<sup>6</sup> **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 92) (*wa-yusraḡu fī l-masḡidi ...*) *fīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-mulabbasatu ṣafā'ihā r-raṣāṣi 'alayhā ṭalātu ālāfi ṣafīḥatin wa-ṭalātumi'atin wa-tnatāni wa-tis'ūna safīḥatan (wa-min fawqi dālika ṣafā'ihu n-nuḥāsi maṭliyatun bi-d-dahabi).*

<sup>7</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; Creswell, *EMA* 92) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *wa-hiya qubbatun 'alā qubbatin 'alayhā ṣafā'ihu r-raṣāṣi wa-ṣafā'ihu n-nuḥāsi muḍahhabatun; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih 7 255,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 92) (*wa-yusraḡu fī l-masḡidi ...*) *fīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-mulabbasatu ṣafā'ihā r-raṣāṣi 'alayhā ṭalātu ālāfi ṣafīḥatin wa-ṭalātumi'atin wa-tnatāni wa-tis'ūna safīḥatan (wa-min fawqi dālika ṣafā'ihu n-nuḥāsi maṭliyatun bi-d-dahabi).**

<sup>8</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 268; Creswell, *EMA* 1 92f.) (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfātini ...*) *tumma t-tālītatu min ḥaṣabin 'alayhā ṣ-ṣafā'ihu* (C *wa-t-tālītatu min ḥaṣabin wa-l-alwāḥu mulabbasatun bi-ṣ-ṣafā'ih l-muḍahhabati*).

<sup>9</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120; Creswell, *EMA* 92) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *wa-hiya qubbatun 'alā qubbatin 'alayhā ṣafā'ihu r-raṣāṣi wa-ṣafā'ihu n-nuḥāsi muḍahhabatun.*

<sup>10</sup> **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 92) (*wa-yusraḡu fī l-masḡidi ...*) *fīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-mulabbasatu ṣafā'ihā r-raṣāṣi ...*) *wa-min fawqi dālika ṣafā'ihu n-nuḥāsi maṭliyatun bi-d-dahabi yakūnu 'alayhā 'aṣaratu ālāfi ṣafīḥatin wa-mi'atāni wa-'aṣru ṣafā'ihā.*

<sup>10</sup> **Sa'id b. Biṭriq, Ta'rīḥ** 2 42,2-5 (transl. Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 17; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 109; Gil, *Palestine* 92; Schick, *Christian Communities* 339; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 54), referring to the time of al-Walīd, but possibly also describing his own time, (*al-Walīdu ...*) *fa-ba'aṭa ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi fa-banā Masḡida Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ṣayyadahu wa-ṣayyara ṣ-Ṣaḥrata fī wasaṭi l-masḡidi wa-banā ḥawlahā wa-raḥḥamahu wa-qala'a qubbatan kānat li-n-Naṣārā fī kanīsati madīnati Ba'labakka wa-kānati l-qubbatu min nuḥāsin maṭliyatun bi-d-dahabi fa-naṣabahā 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-amara n-nāsa bi-l-ḥaḡḡi ila ṣ-Ṣaḥrati.*

sheets (*ṣafāʾih muḍahhaba*),<sup>1</sup> 10,210 sheets.<sup>2</sup> The dome glitters incredibly beautifully in the sunshine [because of its gold covering].<sup>3</sup> The roofs of the dome (*suqūf al-qubba*) [both the dome and the whole building] are, on all sides (*fī dawr ḥiṭān al-qubba*), gilded with red gold (*ḍahab aḥmar*) (B123.3); all the roofs of the mosque, the domes and the minarets (*ḡamīʿ suṭūḥ al-masḡid wa-l-qibāb wa-l-manārāt*) are covered with gilded sheets [of lead] (*ṣafāʾih muḍahhaba*) (B052.5) and this obviously includes both the roofs and the dome of the Dome of the Rock.

B121.4.a. For parallels to the dome glittering in the sunshine, see B046.3.a.

B121.4.b. A parallel to the construction of this double dome: The High 'Abbāsid dome of the Anastasis [of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] (*qubbat Kanīsat al-Qiyāma*) is [in 820] remade by the patriarch Thomas Tamrīq (patriarch of Jerusalem 807-821), with an inner dome of beams (*ḡudūʿ* sing. *ḡidʿ*) of cedar (*arz*) and pine (*ṣanawbar*) wood brought from Cyprus, an outer dome covered by lead (*raṣāṣ*) and an intermediate space in between large enough so that a man may walk there.<sup>4</sup> Another double dome [the dome of the Roofed Hall or the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] has, in between the two domes, iron anchors and iron girders (*kalālīb ḥadīd wa-ʿawāriḍ ḥadīd*) going from one dome to the other (*bayn al-qubbatayn min al-qubba ilā l-qubba*).<sup>5</sup>

B121.4.c. Not all sources mention all elements. The basic construction of a double dome (1, 3) is given by **Ibn al-Faqīh** and **al-Muqaddasī** (and **al-Muqaddasī C**). The two outer layers of the outer dome (3.b, 3.c) are

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī C** 170,6 (*wa-l-qubbatu ṭalātu sāfatini ...*) *wa-t-ṭālītatu min ḥaṣabin wa-l-alwāḥu mulabbasatun bi-ṣ-ṣafāʾih l-muḍahhabati*.

Cf. **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 255,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 60 and n. 3; Bloom, *Minaret* 183f.) *ḡamīʿu suṭūḥi l-masḡidi wa-l-qibābi wa-l-manārāti mulabbasatun ṣafāʾiḥa muḍahhabatan*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** 7 255,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 162; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 92) (*wa-yusraḡu fī l-masḡidi ... fihi ṣ-ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-mulabbasatu ṣafāʾiḥa r-raṣāṣi ...*) *wa-min fawqi ḍālīka ṣafāʾiḥu n-nuḥāsi maṭliyatun bi-d-ḍahabi yakūnu ʿalayhā ʿaṣratu ālāfi ṣafīḥatin wa-miʿatāni wa-ʿaṣru ṣafāʾiḥa*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *fa-idā bazaḡat ʿalayhā ṣ-ṣamsu aṣraqati l-qubbatu wa-talaʾaʾati l-minṭaqatu* (C *wa-talaʾaʾa FSYFS*) *wa-raʾayta ṣayʾan ʿaḡīban* (C *ʿagaban*) *wa-ʿalā l-ḡumlati lam ara fī l-Islāmi wa-lā samiʿtu anna fī ṣ-Ṣirki miṭlu ḥāḍihi l-qubbati*.

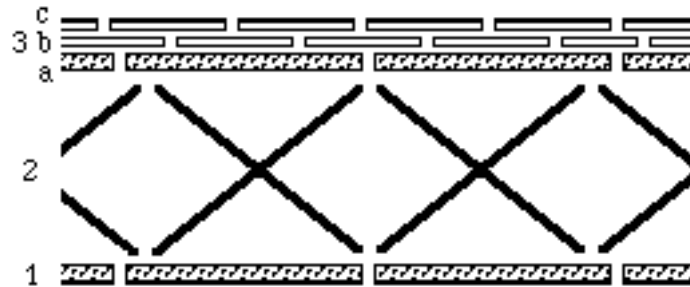
<sup>4</sup>**Saʿīd b. Biṭrīq, Taʾrīḡ** 2 55,14-16.19f.; 52,2-6 (*wa-waqaʿa bi-Filasṭīna wa-Bayti l-Maqdisi ḡawʿun ṣadīdun wa-ḡarādun kaṭirun ...*) *fa-staḡnama Tūmā baṭriyarku Bayti l-Maqdisi l-maʾrūfu bi-Tamrīqa ḥulūwa l-madīnati mina l-Muslimīna fa-waḡḡaha ilā Qubruṣa fa-qataʿa ḥamsīna ḡidʿin* (read *ḥamsīna ḡidʿin*) *min arzin wa-ṣa-nawbara wa-ḥamalahā ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-kāna Tūmā l-baṭriyarku yahdimu mina l-qubbati ṣayʾan ṣayʾan wa-yudaḥḥilu tilka l-ḡudūʿa* (read *tilka l-ḡudūʿa*) *wa-yabnī ʿalayhā ... fa-lammā tamma Tūmā l-baṭarku iṣlāḥa l-qubbati bi-l-ḡudūʿi wa-lazaḡihā min fawqu wa- min taḥtu banā fawqa l-qubbati l-ḥaṣabi qubbatan uḥrā yakūnu baynahumā qadru mā yamši fīhi insānun wa-raṣṣaṣa fawqahā bi-r-raṣāṣi*.

For the rebuilding of the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 820, see Gil, "Dhimmi Donations and Foundations" 161f.; Gil, *Palestine* 478f.; Schick, *Christian Communities* 162f.; 329; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 185; Linder, "Christian Communities" 141.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Wāsiṭi Nr.137**: 84,7-10 (see Gil, *Jerusalem* 298 n. 33) *qāla ʿAbdu r-Raḥmāni bnu Muḥammadin wa-ḍakara abī anna l-kanīsata tahaddamat fa-amara bi-bināʾihā l-Faḍlu bnu Ṣāliḥi bni ʿAlīyi bni ʿAbdi Llāhi bni ʿAbbāsa bi-amri l-Mahdīyi fa-kāna bayna l-qubbatayni mina l-qubbati ilā l-qubbati kalālību ḥadīdun wa-ʿawāriḍu ḥadīdun fa-qala ʿahā Ubayyu bnu Yaḥyā*.

found in **Ibn al-Faqīh** and **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**, but not the supporting wooden panels (3.a), but the existence of some kind of wooden substructure is obvious. The panels and the gilded copper covering of the outer dome (3.a, 3.c) are described by **al-Muqaddasī** (and **al-Muqaddasī C**), but without the lead sheets (3.b); this is the more surprising as he is most interested in the dome's structure, and as both **al-Muqaddasī** and **al-Muqaddasī C** are usually very well informed about Jerusalem Only the lead covering (3.b) is given by **Ibn Ḥawqal**.

|                        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3.a | 3.b | 3.c |
|------------------------|---|---|---|-----|-----|-----|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | x | - | x | -   | x   | x   |
| <b>Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih</b> | - | - | - | -   | x   | x   |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī</b>    | x | x | x | x   | -   | x   |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī C</b>  | x | x | x | x   | -   | x   |
| <b>Ibn Ḥawqal</b>      | - | - | - | -   | x   | -   |



66

**Figure 66. The layers of the High ʿAbbāsid dome of the Dome of the Rock:** 1 The inner dome, made of decorated wood panels. - 2 The intermediate space, with latticed iron columns. - 3 The outer dome, with wood panels (a), lead sheets (b) and gilded copper sheets (c).

B121.4.d. It has been suggested that **al-Muqaddasī**'s *aʿmidat ḥadīd šubbikat* "iron columns latticed" were rather of wood black with age, which **al-Muqaddasī** erroneously took for iron;<sup>1</sup> this is quite possible, but we would like to have further sources in favour of this.

**B121.5. Traditions (Muslim):** ʿAbd al-Malik built the dome over the Rock to counter-balance the influence of Ibn az-Zubayr and the impression the dimensions of the dome of the Anastasis [of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] (*qubbat al-Qumāma*) made on the Muslims (B052.8).

**B121.6.** This dome is **extraordinary in the whole world**, both in Muslim territory (*al-*

<sup>1</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 95.

*Islām*) and non-Muslim territory (*aš-Širk*).<sup>1</sup> Its extraordinary height, higher than the dome of the Anastasis [the Church of the Holy Sepulchre], symbolises the [political] superiority of Islam over Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

B121.6.a. The patriarch Thomas Tamrīq (patriarch of Jerusalem 807-821), after his rebuilding of the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre [in 820] (B121.4.b), is threatened that if this new dome is higher than the Dome of the Rock, he and a group of [leading] Christians will be flogged.<sup>3</sup> In the Fātimid period, another church (*kanīsa*) rebuilt at an unmentioned place, obviously in Palestine,<sup>4</sup> is demolished when it becomes evident that it is now higher than the [city's] Friday mosque (*ḡāmi*).<sup>5</sup>

B121.6.b. The political superiority of Islam is possibly also mirrored by the fact that the DOME OF THE ROCK stands on a lower level than the CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, but has, because of its unusual height, its spike nevertheless on a higher level.

**B121.7. Traditions (Christian):** *al-Walīd* took the gilded copper dome of the church of Baʿlabakk, put it over the Rock, and ordered the people to make the pilgrimage (*al-ḥaḡḡ*) to this Rock (B052.10).

**B121.8. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the ʿ*Āšūrā*-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees the dome as a large and high dome made of white light (*qubba ʿazīma min nūr bayḍāʾ ʿāliya*), with a pearl (*durra*) on top.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 124) (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *fa-idā bazaḡat ʿalayhā š-šamsu ašraqati l-qubbatu wa-talaʿlaʿati l-minṭaqatu* (C *wa-talaʿlaʿa FSYFS*) *wa-raʿayta šayʿan ʿaḡiban* (C *ʿagaban*) *wa-ʿalā l-ḡumlati lam ara fī l-Islāmi wa-lā samiʿtu anna fī š-Širki miṭlu ḥāḍihi l-qubbati*.

<sup>2</sup>Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 174 n. 122; Gil, *Palestine* 479; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52-54; 104.

<sup>3</sup>**Saʿīd b. Biṭrīq, Taʿrīḡ** 2 56,7-11 *fa-lammā raḡaʿa ʿUbaydu Llāhi bnu Ṭāhirin min Mišra yurīdu Baḡdāda wa-rafaʿū ilayhi l-Muslimīna anna n-Našārā taʿaddaw wa-faʿalū mā lā yaḡību lahum wa-hadamū qubbata Kanīsata l-Qiyāmati wa-kānat qubbatan ṣaḡīratan fa-zādū fihā wa-šayyarūhā akbara mimma kānat ḡattā ḡāza ṭūluhā Qubbata š-Šaḡrati. fa-ašḡaša ʿUbaydu Llāhi bnu Ṭāhirin Tūma l-baṭarka wa-ḡamāʿatan maʿahu fa-ḡabasahum li-yasʿala ʿan ḥāḍā l-amri fa-in ṣaḡḡa mā rufiʿa ilayhim* (I read *ilayhi*) *ḡarabahum bi-s-siyāṭi*.

<sup>4</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 161.

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.404**,14-19 (see Gil, *Palestine* 161).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.407**: 268,3f. (... *ḡaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawlī yu ... qāla raʿaytu ... fī-mā yarā n-nāʿimu ka-annī fī Šaḡrati Masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi* (I read *fī Masḡidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*)) *wa-ana muqābila Qubbata š-Šaḡrati wa-idā hiya qubbatun ʿazīmatun min nūrin bayḍāʾa ʿāliyatun wa-ʿalā raʿsihā durratun*.



## B122. The floor of the Dome of the Rock

B122.1. **Names (Muslim):** The floor of the dome (*farš al-qubba*),<sup>1</sup> the ground (of the sanctuary) (*arḍ al-bayt*),<sup>2</sup> *al-arḍ*<sup>3</sup>).

B122.2. **Position:** This is the floor next to the Rock [i.e., under the dome],<sup>4</sup> the ground (of the sanctuary) [the octagonal building further outside] (*arḍ al-bayt*) (B122.1). We best locate it at the FLOOR under the DOME and in the AMBULATORIES, i.e., inside and outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

B122.2.a. Both **al-Iṣṭaḥrī**'s *wa-rtifā'u š-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi* "and the height of the Rock from the ground" and **Ibn Ḥawqal**'s *wa-rtifā'u hādīhi š-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi* "and the height of this Rock from the ground" refer to the ground next to the Rock. **Ibn al-Faḳīh**'s *faršu l-qubbatī ruḥāmun abyāḍu* seems at first to refer to both floor and wall; but as the wall is mentioned separately in his (*wa-l-qubbatu ...*) *\*ḡadruḥā min dāḥilin wa-ḥāriḡin mulabbasun bi-r-ruḥāmi l-abyāḍi* "(and the dome ...) its wall is from inside and outside covered with white marble" (B111.2), the former passage concerns rather just the floor. **al-Muqaddasī**'s *wa-arḍu l-bayti wa-ḥī ṭānuhu ma'a l-minṭaqati min dāḥilin wa-ḥāriḡin 'alā mā ḍakarnā min ḡāmi'i Dimašqa* "and the ground of the sanctuary and its walls, together with the drum, are from inside and outside of the shape we mentioned for the Friday mosque of Damascus", with the addition in **al-Muqaddasī C** ... *mina r-ruḥāmi wa-l-fusāfīsā'i* "... of marble and mosaic", refers to the ground of the sanctuary, the part outside the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

B122.3. **Physical shape:** The floor is made of white marble;<sup>5</sup> it is similar to the [marble] floor of the courtyard in the Friday mosque of Damascus (B122.3).

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Faḳīh** 101,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) *faršu l-qubbatī ruḥāmun abyāḍu (wa-suqūfuhā bi-d-dahabi l-aḥmari fī dawri ḥiṭāniḥā)*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 170,3f. *wa-arḍu l-bayti wa-ḥiṭānuhu ma'a l-minṭaqati* (Yāqūt *ma'a ḥiṭānihi wa-l-minṭaqati*) ...

<sup>3</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-rtifā'u š-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi ilā ṣadri l-qā'imi (wa-ṭūluḥā wa-ḥāriḡin mutaḡāribun yakūnu biḍ'ata 'ašara* (Var. *tis'ata 'ašara, dawāzdiḥ) dīrā'an; Ibn Ḥawqal* 171,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) *wa-rtifā'u hādīhi š-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-lati tu'rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta hādīhi l-qubbatī ilā ṣadri l-qā'imi*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123) *wa-rtifā'u š-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi ilā ṣadri l-qā'imi (wa-ṭūluḥā wa-ḥāriḡin mutaḡāribun yakūnu biḍ'ata 'ašara* (Var. *tis'ata 'ašara, dawāzdiḥ) dīrā'an; Ibn Ḥawqal* 171,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 123; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) *wa-rtifā'u hādīhi š-Ṣaḥrati mina l-arḍi l-lati tu'rafu bi-Ṣaḥrati Mūsā taḥta hādīhi l-qubbatī ilā ṣadri l-qā'imi*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Faḳīh** 101,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) *faršu l-qubbatī ruḥāmun abyāḍu (wa-suqūfuhā bi-d-dahabi l-aḥmari fī dawri ḥiṭāniḥā)*.

### B123. The roofs of the Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>

B123.1. **Names (Muslim):** The roofs of the dome (*suqūf al-qubba*) (B123.2).

B123.2. **Position:** These are the roofs (*suqūf*) of the Dome of the Rock around all sides of the dome (*fī dawr ḥiṭān al-qubba*) [of both the dome proper and the ambulatories].<sup>2</sup> We best locate them at the DOME and the ROOFS of the AMBULATORIES.

B123.2.a. **Ibn al-Faqīh** has the roofs preceded by the gates, the Rock, the cave and the floor, and followed by the windows [in the drum], the dome and the wall. These places are all over the building, not just in the dome; the roofs mentioned are also the roofs of the whole building rather than just those of the dome.

**Ibn al-Faqīh**

*arbaʿat abwāb: \*dukkāna -> Ḥaġar aṣ-Ṣaḥra -> maġāra -> farš al-qubba: ruḥām -> suqūf al-qubba: ḍahab aḥmar -> sittā wa-ḥamsūn bāb muzaġġaġa -> al-qubba: banāhā ʿAbd al-Malik ʿalā tṇay ʿašara ruknan wa-ṭalāṭīna ʿamūdan qubba ʿalā qubba -> \*ġadruḥā*

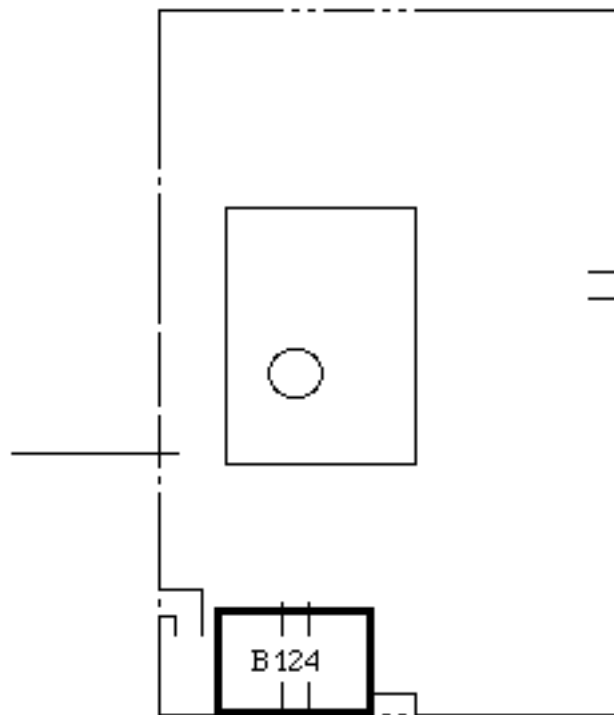
B123.3. **Physical shape:** The roofs (*suqūf*) of the Dome of the Rock are, around all sides of the dome (*fī dawr ḥiṭān al-qubba*), covered with red gold (*ḍahab aḥmar*);<sup>3</sup> all the roofs of the mosque, the domes and the minarets (*ġamīʿ suṭūḥ al-masġid wa-l-qibāb wa-l-manārāt*) are covered with gilded sheets [of lead] (*ṣafāʾih mudahhaba*) (B052.5) and this obviously refers also to the roofs and the dome of the Dome of the Rock.

<sup>1</sup>For the roof of the High 'Abbāsid Dome of the Rock (and of today's DOME OF THE ROCK), see Mauss, "Méthode" 23-27 (with fig. 8f.); Kessler, "Above the Ceiling"; Creswell, *EMA* 1 88-90; pl. 2b; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 226f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 74; Myres, "Overview" 329; Carswell, "Deconstruction" 427f.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*wa-faršu l-qubbati ruḥāmun abyāḍu*) *wa-suqūfuhā bi-d-ḍahabi l-aḥmari fī dawri ḥiṭānihā*.

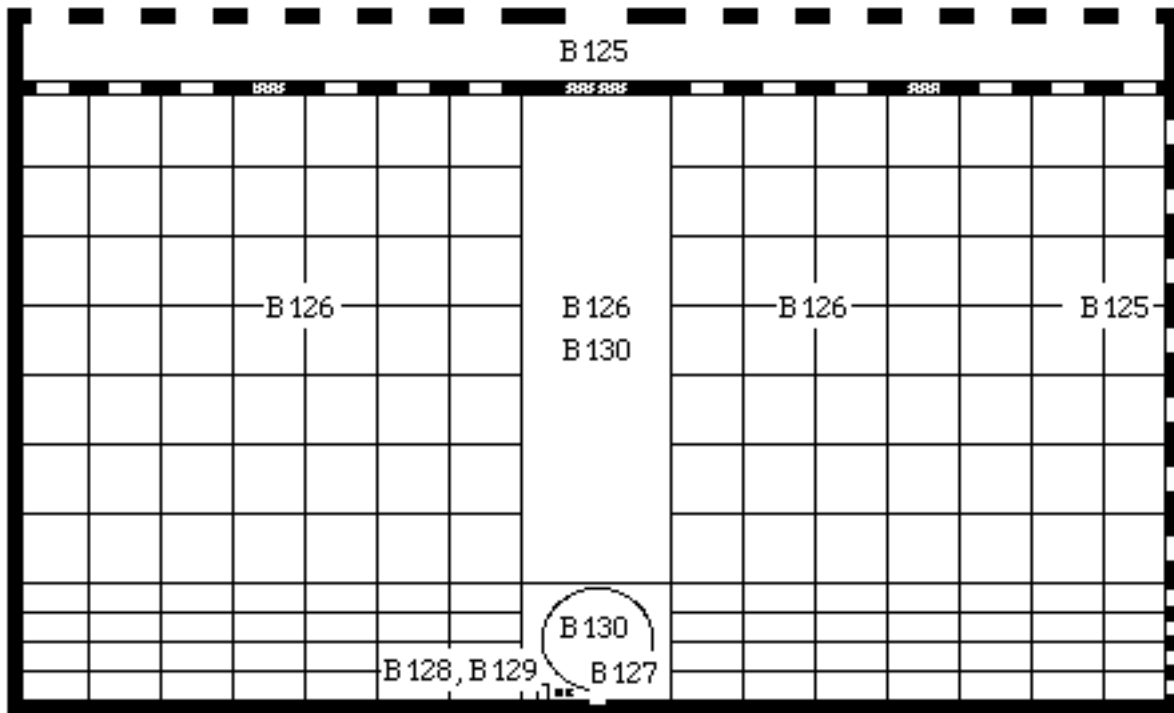
<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 101,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 120) (*wa-faršu l-qubbati ruḥāmun abyāḍu*) *wa-suqūfuhā bi-d-ḍahabi l-aḥmari fī dawri ḥiṭānihā*.

3.6. THE ROOFED HALL



**67**

**Figure 67.** The position of the High ʿAbbāsid Roofed Hall (B124).



68

**Figure 68. The High 'Abbāsid Roofed Hall (layout):** B125 Fifteen north gates, among them the central north gate, the Greatest Copper Gate with an arcade in front, and eleven east gates. - B126 Fifteen naves north-south, among them the central nave, and eleven vertical naves west-east. - B127 The prayer-niche. - B128 The Pulpit of the Temple. - B129 The black and the white paving-stones behind the pulpit. - B130 The gable roof and the dome.

## B124. The Roofed Hall and the open space east of it<sup>1</sup>

B124.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Roofed Hall [of the mosque] (*al-Muğatṭā*),<sup>2</sup> the (roofed) building (*binā' musaqqaf*,<sup>3</sup> *binā'*), [the building with] the roofing (*at-tasqīf*),<sup>1</sup> the mosque (*al-*

<sup>1</sup>For the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and the High 'Abbāsid Roofed Hall, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 250f.; Mauss, "Méthode" 29 fig. 11; 30f.; Le Strange, *Palestine* 89-113; Herzfeld, "Qubbat al-Ṣakhra" 242f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 109 n. 1; 268 n. 4; 269f. n. 3; 377-450; 452f. (note de Wiet); pl. XLVf.; pl. CXIX left; CXX right; Creswell, *EMA* 2 156; Marçais, "Panels" (with figures and plates 25-27); Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100f.; 188; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; 72; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā"; Busse, "Sanctity" 460f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 114; 373-380 (with fig. 445f.); pl. 63; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 218; 303; 306-309; 310 n. 2; 311; 360; fig. 181-183; fig. 366-370; fig. 376; Busink, *Tempel* 921-932 (with fig. 205-210, partly on pl. 15f.); Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 291; pl. 4; Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca* 93f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 35-39; 46; 48f.; 77f. and n. 6; 235f.; 278; 337; 339; 341f.; 346; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 14f.; Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 260f.; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I*; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 5; 7; 43 fig. 25; 70f.; Grabar, "al-Masjdjid al-Aḳṣā"; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 310f.; pl. 32; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II"; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā"; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 270; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 189; 192f.; 216; 218; 232; 2 410; 3 50-63; 374; Schick, *Christian Communities* 338-340; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIII; 41-44; 70; Kühnel, "Aachen, Byzanz und frühisl. Architektur" pl. 9f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 119-121; 164f.; 177 fig. 3f.; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 143-152; 156-158; al-Asad, "CAD Programs" 177 fig. 3f. (with the erroneous legend "Aqsa Mosque, Umayyad period"); Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 395; 398; 406-408; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 386.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 374; 378; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25) ... *lākin ḡā'at* (C *fa-ḡā'at*, without *lākin*) *zilzilātun fī dawlati Banī l-'Abbāsi* (C *fī dawlati Wuldi l-'Abbāsi*) *fa-ṭaraḥati l-Muḡatṭā illā mā* (B *fa-ṭaraḥat illā mā*, C *fa-ṭaraḥat ilā mā*) *ḥawla l-miḥrābi*; **al-Muqaddasī** 168,13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378; Grabar, "al-Masjdjid al-Aḳṣā" 696a) *wa-li-l-Muḡatṭā* (B *wa-l-Muḡatṭā*) *sittatun wa-'iṣrūna bāban*; **al-Muqaddasī** 169,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 384; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; Elad, *Jerusalem* 42 n. 90) *wa-'alā wasaṭi l-Muḡatṭā ḡamalun 'aẓīmun*; **al-Muqaddasī** 170,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) *wa-l-Muḡatṭā lā yattaṣilu bi-l-ḥā'iti ṣ-ṣarqīyi*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 182,7f.9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 21; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 81) (*iqḷimu ṣ-Ṣa'mi ... wa-rusūmuhum ...*) *wa-bayna l-Muḡatṭā wa-ṣ-ṣaḥni abwābun illā Ariḥā'a wa-lā tarā l-ḥaṣā illā fī ṣaḥni ḡāmi'i Ṭabarīyata* (C without *illā ... fī ṣaḥni ḡāmi'i Ṭabarīyata*) ... *wa-awsāṭu suqūfi l-Muḡatṭā muḡammalatun* (C *wa-awsāṭu suqūfi l-Muḡatṭā muḡammalatun* (I read *muḡammalatun*)).

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,6-8 (*wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi maṣḡidun ...*) *wa-lahu binā'un fī qiblatihi musaqqafun fī zā-wiyatin min ḡarbiyi l-maṣḡidi wa-yamtaddu ḥadā t-tasqīfu 'alā niṣfi 'arḍi l-maṣḡidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-maṣḡidi ḥālīn lā binā'a fihi illā Mawḍi'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 56,18-57,1 (*wa-Baytu l-Muqaddasi* (I read *wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi*) ... *wa-bihā maṣḡidun ...*) *wa-l-binā'u* (C *wa-l-binā'u minhu*) *fī zāwiyatin min ḡarbiyi l-maṣḡidi yamtaddu 'alā naḥwi niṣfi 'arḍi l-maṣḡidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-maṣḡidi fāriḡun illā Mawḍi'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (C *'alā naḥwi niṣfi 'arḍi l-maṣḡidi ilā Mawḍi'i ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*).

*masğid*),<sup>2</sup> a prayer-place for the Muslims (*muṣallā li-l-Muslimīn*) (B052.8).

B124.1.a. Terminology is problematic insofar as *masğid* may refer to both the whole area (B052.1) and the Roofed Hall.

B124.2. **Names (Christian):** The stoa of Solomon (*Ē stob toř Solomūnow*) (B124.9).

B124.3. **Names (Jewish):** The mosque where the Muslims pray [their congregational prayer] (*al-masğid al-ladī yarğizū fih Yišmā'ēl*).<sup>3</sup>

B124.4. **Position:** This building is in the south side of the mosque (*fī qiblat al-masğid*),<sup>4</sup> in the west side of this mosque (*min ġarbī hādā l-masğid*) (B052.8) without reaching the east wall (*al-hā'it aš-šarqī*) [of the mosque] (B118.5), in a corner in the west side of the mosque (*fī zāwiya min ġarbī l-masğid*).<sup>5</sup> We best locate the building roughly at the place of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

B124.4.a. **al-Iṣṭaḥrī** and **Ibn Ḥawqal** mention this *binā'* "building" after the general description of the mosque, but before the Rock. **al-Muqaddasī** gives some information on *al-Muğatṭā* "the Roofed Hall" in his general description of the mosque, some more details in the subsequent proper entry on *al-Muğatṭā*, then continues with the courtyard and the central platform. **Gil Nr.2** mentions *al-masğid al-ladī yarğizū fih Yišmā'ēl* "the mosque where the Muslims pray [their congregational prayer]" *en passant* in his description of *Abwāb an-Nabī* = *Ša'arē Ḥuldāh*. This also does not help us in locating the place.

**al-Iṣṭaḥrī**  
**Ibn Ḥawqal**

*masğid* -> **al-binā'** -> *Mawḍi' aš-Šaḥra*  
*masğid* -> **binā'** -> *Mawḍi' aš-Šaḥra*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,6-8 (*wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi masğidun ...*) *wa-lahu binā'un fī qiblatihi musaqqafun fī zā-wiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi wa-yamtaddu hādā t-tasqifu 'alā nişfi 'arđi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi ḥālin lā binā'a fīhi illā Mawḍi' aš-Šaḥrati*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 255,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 163; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 60 and n. 3; Bloom, *Minaret* 183f.) *wa-ğamī'u suṭūḥi l-masğidi wa-l-qibābi wa-l-manārāti mulabbasatun šafā'iha muḍahhabatan; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407: 268,22 (... *ḥaddatāni Abū Muḥammadin 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *tumma daḥaltu l-masğida* [the Aqṣā Mosque] *naḥwa š-šaffi l-awwali*.*

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1r,3f. (*Ša'arē Ḥuldāh wa-l-'Arab yusammūnahā Abwāb an-nab[i] ...*) *wa-tamma 'amūd fī wasaṭ al-aqbā l-lati taḥmi[l] fī wasaṭ al-masğid al-ladī yarğizū fih Yišmā'ēl*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,6-8 (*wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi masğidun ...*) *wa-lahu binā'un fī qiblatihi musaqqafun fī zā-wiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi wa-yamtaddu hādā t-tasqifu 'alā nişfi 'arđi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi ḥālin lā binā'a fīhi illā Mawḍi' aš-Šaḥrati*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 56,18-57,1 (*wa-Baytu l-Muqaddasi* (I read *wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi*) ... *wa-bihā masğidun ...*) *wa-l-binā'u* (C *wa-l-binā'u minhu*) *fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi yamtaddu 'alā naḥwi nişfi 'arđi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi fāriğun illā Mawḍi' aš-Šaḥrati* (C *'alā naḥwi nişfi 'arđi l-masğidi ilā Mawḍi' i š-Šaḥrati*); **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,6-8 (*wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi masğidun ...*) *wa-lahu binā'un fī qiblatihi musaqqafun fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi wa-yamtaddu hādā t-tasqifu 'alā nişfi 'arđi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi ḥālin lā binā'a fīhi illā Mawḍi' aš-Šaḥrati*.

**al-Muqaddasi**  
**Gil Nr.2**

*masğid al-Aqṣā: al-Muğatṭā -> al-Muğatṭā -> aṣ-ṣaḥn -> dikka*  
*Abwāb al-Aḥmās: Abwāb an-Nabī = Šaʿrē Ḥuldāh: ʿamūd fī*  
*wasat al-aqbā l-lati \*taḥmil fī wasat al-masğid al-ladī yarğizū fī*  
*h Yišmāʿēl, Šaʿar ha-mayim/Šaʿar ha-šīr/Šaʿar ha-nāšīm -> Bābayn*  
*ar-raḥma = \*Šaʿar Nīqānōr*

B124.5. This is the Roofed Hall of the mosque (B124.1). The mosque (*al-masğid*) is, apart from this building (*al-bināʾ*) [the Roofed Hall] and the Place of the Rock [the Dome of the Rock] (*Mawḍiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), empty (*fārīg*) - these are the only proper buildings the mosque has (B052.5). The building occupies [roughly] half the width of the mosque<sup>1</sup> and leaves the other half empty up to the east wall [of the mosque] (*al-ḥāʾiṭ aš-šarqī*), without any building [or arcade];<sup>2</sup> the [mosque's] left [east] part (*al-maysara*) has no arcades at all.<sup>3</sup> The middle part of the mosque where the Muslims pray (*fī wasat al-masğid al-ladī yarğizū fih Yišmāʿēl*) [the Roofed Hall] is supported by the vaults (*al-aqbāʾ*) of the *Mišnāh* (the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR) (B062.4). The Rock is opposite the [Roofed Hall's] prayer-niche (*ḥidāʾ al-miḥrāb*) (B118.3). Its central north gate is also opposite the prayer-niche (*muqābil al-miḥrāb, yuqābil al-miḥrāb*) (B125.2) - obviously Rock, central north-gate and prayer-niche are in one line. The building reaches from next to the WEST ḤARAM WALL in the west to about the TRIPLE GATE in the east, and has (with the arcade) from north to south the same length as today, i.e., from south of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR EXIT to the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL; its prayer-niche is at the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

B124.5.a. Rough dimensions of the building are given by **al-Iṣṭaḥrī**'s (*wa-l-bināʾu ...*) *yamtaddu ʿalā naḥwi niṣfi ʿarḍi l-masğidi*" and the building stretches over about half the width of the mosque" and **Ibn Ḥawqal**'s (*wa-lahu bināʾun ...*) *wa-yamtaddu ḥadā t-tasqifu ʿalā niṣfi ʿarḍi l-masğidi*" and it has a building ... and this roofing stretches over half the width of the mosque".

B124.5.b. Dimensions are also given by its gates and naves. We may assume that its fifteen north gates cor-

<sup>1</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 56,18-57,1 (*wa-Baytu l-Muqaddasi* (I read *wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi*) ... *wa-bihā masğidun ...*) *wa-l-bināʾu* (C *wa-l-bināʾu minhu*) *fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi yamtaddu ʿalā naḥwi niṣfi ʿarḍi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi fārīgūn illā Mawḍiʿa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (C *ʿalā naḥwi niṣfi ʿarḍi l-masğidi ilā Mawḍiʿi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*); **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,6-8 (*wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi masğidun ...*) *wa-lahu bināʾun fī qiblatihi musaqqafun fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi wa-yamtaddu ḥadā t-tasqifu ʿalā niṣfi ʿarḍi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi ḥālin lā bināʾa fī hi illā Mawḍiʿa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 56,18-57,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122) (*wa-Baytu l-Muqaddasi* (I read *wa-Baytu l-Maqdisi*) ... *wa-bihā masğidun ...*) *wa-l-bināʾu* (C *wa-l-bināʾu minhu*) *fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi yamtaddu ʿalā naḥwi niṣfi ʿarḍi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi fārīgūn illā Mawḍiʿi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*; **Ibn Ḥawqal** 171,6-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 122) (*wa-bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi masğidun ...*) *wa-lahu bināʾun fī qiblatihi musaqqafun fī zāwiyatin min ġarbīyi l-masğidi wa-yamtaddu ḥadā t-tasqifu ʿalā niṣfi ʿarḍi l-masğidi wa-l-bāqī mina l-masğidi ḥālin lā bināʾa fī hi illā Mawḍiʿa ṣ-Ṣaḥrati*; **al-Muqaddasi** 170,14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) *wa-laysa ʿalā l-maysarati arwiqatun*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasi** 170,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) *wa-l-Muğatṭā lā yattaṣilu bi-l-ḥāʾiṭi š-šarqīyi*.

respond to fifteen naves: a central nave at the CENTRAL NAVE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, seven east naves at the three EAST NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and another four naves further east (partly at the four NAVES of ĠĀMI‘ UMAR), and seven west naves at the three west NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and another four naves further west (B126.2.a). We may further assume that its eleven east gates correspond to eleven vertical naves at the eleven VERTICAL NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE (B126.2.b).

B124.5.c. Dimensions are further defined by the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, the DOUBLE GATE and BI’R AL-MAĠĀRIBA. We may assume that the prayer-niche (at the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE) is in the middle axis of the building; the building therefore stretches equally to both sides from the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE. The *Mišnāh* (at the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR) carries the weight of the building on top; the building may therefore (with its north arcade) not reach further north than the EXIT of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR (which is today immediately north of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE). *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY’S GATE) is one of the main entries (B069.8) and so leads into the mosque, into the courtyard, not into the Roofed Hall; the Roofed Hall is east of the exit of *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at or near BI’R AL-MAĠĀRIBA).

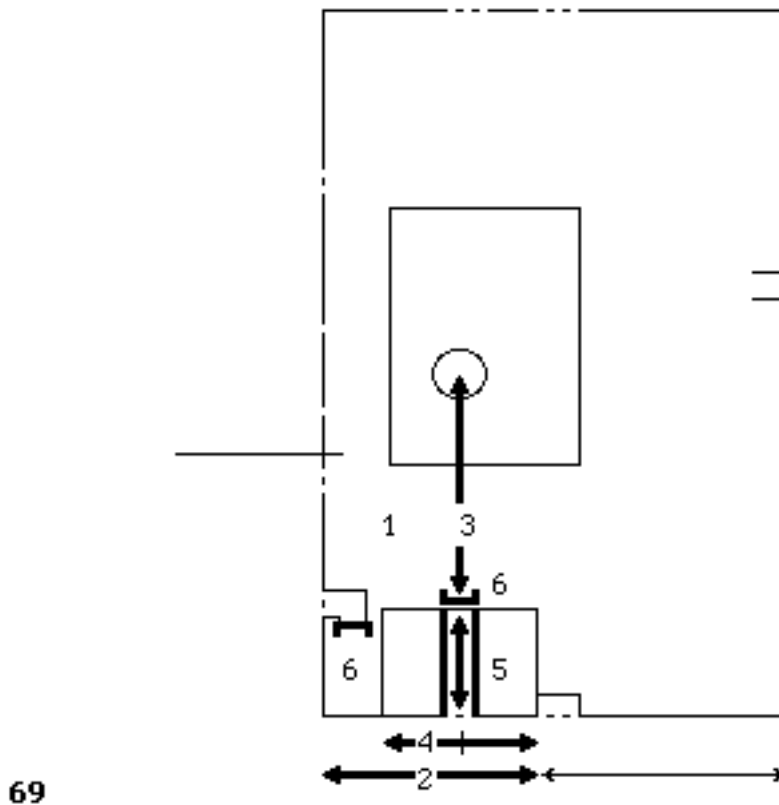


**Figure 69. Factors defining the position of the High ‘Abbāsid Roofed Hall:** 1 It is inside the ḤARAM, in its west part without reaching its east wall, and in its south part. - 2 It covers about half of the ḤARAM’s width. - 3 Its main north gate and prayer-niche are in one line with the ROCK. - 4 It extends equally west and east of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE. - 5 It is on top of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR. - 6 It includes neither the EXIT of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR nor BI’R AL-MAĠĀRIBA.



B124.6. **Physical shape:** The building has both a large gable roof and a beautiful dome (B130.2), fifteen naves from north to south and eleven vertical naves from east to west (B126.2), and in front of the north wall an arcade (B125.3). The Roofed Hall has twenty-six gates, fifteen north gates, among them a central north gate, and eleven east gates (B125.2, B125.3). Inside the building is a prayer-niche (B127.2) and also the Pulpit of the Temple (*Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B128.2).

B124.7. **Traditions (Muslim):** ʿUmar ordered [the Muslims], "Take in the west part of this mosque a prayer-place for the Muslims" (*ittahidū fī ġarbīyi hādā l-masġidi muṣallan li-l-Muslimīna*), therefore the Roofed Hall occupies the west part of the mosque, but does not reach its east wall (*al-ḥāʾiṭ aš-šarqī*) (B052.8).

B124.8. The Roofed Hall was built [by the **Marwānids**] such that opposite the prayer-niche (*ḥiḍāʾ al-miḥrāb*) [in the middle axis of the building] was the Rock, and such that it did not join the east wall [of the mosque] (*al-ḥāʾiṭ aš-šarqī*); if the building had joined the east wall, then the prayer-niche [in the building's middle axis] would not have been opposite the Rock (B118.5); in the space east of the Roofed Hall, a row (*ṣaff*) [arcade] will never be completed.<sup>1</sup>

B124.9. **Traditions (Christian):** This is the stoa of **Solomon** (*Ē stob toř Solomūntow*).<sup>2</sup>

B124.9.a. It has been stated that **Saʿīd b. Biṭriq**'s description of how al-Walīd built the Dome of the Rock may refer to the Roofed Hall, but this is out of the question (B052.10.a).

B124.10. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** This is the place of Muslim [congregational] prayer (B124.1, B124.3).

### B125. The gates and the north arcade of the Roofed Hall<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 170,15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) (*wa-laysa ʿalā l-maysarati arwiqatun wa-l-Muġaṭṭā lā yattaṣilu bi-l-ḥāʾiṭi š-šarqīyi*) *wa-min aġli hādā yuqālu lā yatimmu fīhi ṣaffun abadan*.

<sup>2</sup> **Photios**, **Amph. 316** 2-6 (transl. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 173) *Ἡ μὲν τοῦ Σολομῶντος στοά* [the Aqṣā Mosque] (**John** 10.23; **Acts** 3.11; 5.12) *ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ παλαιὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων* [the spot of the Dome of the Rock] *ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀθεότητος κατεχόμενα καὶ μασιγίδιου χώραν αὐτοῖς πληροῦντα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Χριστιανῶν καθέστηκε γνωστά· ἄβατα γὰρ Χριστιανοῖς τὰ τοῖς Σαρακενοῖς συντηροῦνται σεμνά*.

<sup>3</sup> For the gates and the north arcade of the High ʿAbbāsid Roofed Hall, see Schefer, *Nassir* 81 n. 1; Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; 103f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; 72; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 114; 374f.; 378; Busink, *Tempel* 924f. with fig. 208f.; Grabar, "al-Masjdjid al-Aqṣā" 696a; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143; Elad, *Jerusalem* 41f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 120.

**B125.1. Names (Muslim):** The gates (*abwāb* sing. *bāb*) of the Roofed Hall (*al-Muğatṭā*),<sup>1</sup> among them the (Greatest) Copper Gate (*Bāb an-nuḥās al-aʿẓam*,<sup>2</sup> *Bāb an-nuḥās*<sup>3</sup>) and an arcade (*riwāq*) (B125.3); the back part [the north façade of the Roofed Hall] (*al-muʾaḥḥar*).<sup>4</sup>

**B125.2. Position:** The Roofed Hall (*al-Muğatṭā*) has twenty-six gates.<sup>5</sup> On the east side (*min naḥw aš-šarq*) are eleven plain gates (*abwāb sawādiğ*) (B125.3) which lead into eleven vertical naves. Towards the north is the (Greatest) Copper Gate opposite the prayer-niche (*muqābil al-miḥrāb*,<sup>6</sup> *yuqābil al-miḥrāb*<sup>7</sup>), and both right [west] of the Greatest Copper Gate (*ʿan yamīn Bāb an-nuḥās al-aʿẓam*) and left [east] (*ʿalā l-yasār*) are seven large doors (*abwāb kibār*) (B125.3) which lead into fifteen naves. In front of the fifteen [north] gates (*alā l-ḥam-*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,13-169,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378; Grabar, "al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā" 696a; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143) *wa-li-l-Muğatṭā* (B *wa-l-Muğatṭā*) *sittatun wa-ʿiṣrūna bāban bābun yuqābilu l-miḥrāba yusammā Bāba n-nuḥāsi l-aʿẓama ... ʿan yamīnihi* (C *wa-ʿan yamīnihi*) *sabʿatu abwābin kibārun fī wasaṭihā* (C *wasatuhā*, without *fī*) *bābun muṣaffaḥun muḍahhabun wa-ʿalā l-yasāri miṭluhunna wa-min naḥwi š-šarqi aḥada ʿašara bāban sawādiğū*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 182,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 21; Creswell, *EMA* 1 81) (*iqḷimu š-Šaʿmi ... wa-rusūmuhum ...*) *wa-bayna l-Muğatṭā wa-š-ṣaḥni abwābin illā Ariḥāʾa* (C without *illā Ariḥāʾa*).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Grabar, "al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā" 696a) *bābun yuqābilu l-miḥrāba yusammā Bāba n-nuḥāsi l-aʿẓama*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,8f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawli yu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma ḥarağtu mina l-qubbatī fa-idā ašğārun min nūrin min Bābi š-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ilā Bābi n-nuḥāsi muqābila l-miḥrābi*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,4 f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 234; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 190; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 410f.) (*wa-li-l-muğatṭā* (B *wa-l-Muğatṭā*) *sittatun wa-ʿiṣrūna bāban ...*) *wa-s-suqūfu kulluhā illā l-muʾaḥḥara* (C *wa-s-suqūfu l-masğidi kulluhā ilā l-muğatṭā*, *Yāqūt wa-s-suqūfu kulluhā ilā l-muğatṭā*) *mulabbasatun bi-šiqāqi r-raṣāsi wa-l-muʾaḥḥaru maršūfun bi-l-fusayfisāʾi l-kibāri* (C without *wa-l-muʾaḥḥaru maršūfun bi-l-fusayfisāʾi l-kibāri*).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,13-169,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378; Grabar, "al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā" 696a; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143) *wa-li-l-Muğatṭā* (B *wa-l-Muğatṭā*) *sittatun wa-ʿiṣrūna bāban bābun ... ʿan yamīnihi* (C *wa-ʿan yamīnihi*) *sabʿatu abwābin ... wa-ʿalā l-yasāri miṭluhunna wa-min naḥwi š-šarqi aḥada ʿašara bāban sawādiğū*.

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,8f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawli yu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma ḥarağtu mina l-qubbatī fa-idā ašğārun min nūrin min Bābi š-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ilā Bābi n-nuḥāsi muqābila l-miḥrābi*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Grabar, "al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā" 696a) (*wa-li-l-Muğatṭā* (B *wa-l-Muğatṭā*) *sittatun wa-ʿiṣrūna bāban*) *bābun yuqābilu l-miḥrāba yusammā Bāba n-nuḥāsi l-aʿẓama*.

*sata ʿašara bāban*) is an arcade (*riwāq*), newly built (*aḥdatahu*) by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (governor of Ḥurāsān 214-230/828-845) (B125.3). The building has a main north façade and a simpler east façade; the importance of the north façade in front of the Dome of the Rock is emphasised by the main gate and the secondary main gates (B125.3) as well as by the arcade in front. We best locate the east gates parallel to the eleven VERTICAL NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, further east; the north gates at the seven NORTH GATES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and another four gates both east and west, with the main north gate at the CENTRAL NORTH GATE; the arcade at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE NORTH ARCADE.<sup>1</sup>

B125.2.a. We may assume that the eleven east gates lead into eleven vertical naves<sup>2</sup> which are (B126.2) at the eleven VERTICAL NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE. We then may locate the east gates on the same north-south length as the eleven VERTICAL NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, but further east because of the greater east-west width of the High ʿAbbāsid mosque.

B125.2.b. We may also assume that the fifteen north gates lead into fifteen naves which are (B126.2) at the seven NAVES of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE, four naves further east (partly at the four NAVES of ĠĀMIʿ ʿUMAR), and another four naves further west. We may then locate them on the same east-west width as the seven NORTH GATES of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and another four both east and west.

B125.2.c. The north end of the building (with its arcade) is the same as that of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, south of the EXIT from the DOUBLE GATE (B124.5.c). We thereby locate the north gates in the NORTH GATES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, plus another four gates both east and west, with the central north gate *Bāb an-nuḥās (al-aʿẓam)* at the CENTRAL NORTH GATE.<sup>3</sup> The larger shape of *Bāb an-nuḥās (al-aʿẓam)* mirrors the greater width of the CENTRAL NAVE.

B125.2.d. The fifteen High ʿAbbāsid north gates have been identified with the fifteen doors of the High Fāṭimid building towards the north and the east,<sup>4</sup> and with the fourteen High ʿAbbāsid east doors related to the 280 (20 x 14) columns of the much narrower (B202.3) High Fāṭimid building;<sup>5</sup> both assumptions are out of the question.

B125.2.e. The existence of a north and an east façade has been interpreted as evidence for the importance of *Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam* (at the TRIPLE GATE) and its function as an entry;<sup>6</sup> but High ʿAbbāsid *Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam* do not necessarily lead through to the courtyard, and in any case the EXIT of the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR is not opposite the east façade of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE, but further north - there is no evidence that the High ʿAbbāsid corridor may have had its exit further south.

**B125.3. Physical shape:** On the east side (*min naḥw aš-šarq*) are eleven plain gates (*abwāb*

<sup>1</sup>For the AQṢĀ MOSQUE NORTH ARCADE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 415-419; 425-436; pl. XLVf.; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 37-40 with fig. 21; Creswell, *EMA* 1 377; Busink, *Tempel* 927; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 310f.; pl. 32.a.

<sup>2</sup>Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143.

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" Creswell, *EMA* 1 377f.; fig. 446.

<sup>4</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 81 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 103f.

<sup>6</sup>Grabar, "al-Masjd al-Aqṣā" 696a; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 120.

*sawādiğ*).<sup>1</sup> Among the north gates is the (Greatest) Copper Gate, covered with gilded copper (*muṣaffaḥ bi-ṣ-ṣufr al-muḍahhab*), and each wing (*miṣrā'*) may only be opened by a strong man;<sup>2</sup> it carries an inscription with the name of al-Ma'mūn. Both right [west] of the Greatest Copper Gate (*'an yamīn Bāb an-nuḥās al-a'zam*) and left [east] (*'alā l-yasār*) are seven large doors (*abwāb kibār*), and [the central] one of each seven is a door covered with gilded copper (*bāb muṣaffaḥ muḍahhab*).<sup>3</sup> The roofs [of the Roofed Hall] (*as-suqūf*) are all covered with lead sheets (*ṣiqāq ar-raṣāṣ*), but the back part [the north gable wall] (*al-mu'aḥḥar*) is covered with large mosaics (*al-fusayfīsā' al-kibār*).<sup>4</sup> The arcade (*riwāq*) in front of the fifteen [north] gates (*alā l-ḥamsata 'ašara bāban*), which 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir newly built (*aḥḍatahu*), stands on marble columns (*'umud ruḥām*),<sup>5</sup> and there may be an inscription which immortalises its builder here.

B125.3.a. For parallels to the inscription with the name of al-Ma'mūn, see B040.3.a.

B125.3.b. The inscription on the Copper Gate with the name of al-Ma'mūn is mentioned only in Fāṭimid times (B203.3). An inscription with the name of an 'Abbāsīd caliph was definitely not set up in the Fāṭimid period, and we may be certain it goes back to High 'Abbāsīd times.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378; Grabar, "al-Masjdīd al-Aqṣā" 696a; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143) (*wa-li-l-Muğattā* (B *wa-l-Muğattā*) *sittatun wa-'iṣrūna bāban bābun ... 'an yamīnihi* (C *wa-'an yamīnihi*) *sab'atu abwābin ... wa-'alā l-yasāri miṭluhunna*) *wa-min naḥwi ṣ-ṣarqī aḥada 'ašara bāban sawādiğū*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378; Grabar, "al-Masjdīd al-Aqṣā" 696a) *bābun yuqābilu l-miḥrāba yusammā Bāba n-nuḥāsi l-a'zama muṣaffaḥun bi-ṣ-ṣufri l-muḍahhabi lā yaftaḥu miṣrā'ahu illā rağulun ṣadīdu l-bā'i qawīyu d-ḍirā'i*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,15-169,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378; Grabar, "al-Masjdīd al-Aqṣā" 696a; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143) (*wa-li-l-Muğattā* (B *wa-l-Muğattā*) *sittatun wa-'iṣrūna bāban bābun ... 'an yamīnihi* (C *wa-'an yamīnihi*) *sab'atu abwābin ... wa-'alā l-yasāri miṭluhunna* (wa-min naḥwi ṣ-ṣarqī aḥada 'ašara bāban sawādiğū).

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,4 f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 234; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 190; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 410f.) (*wa-li-l-muğattā* (B *wa-l-Muğattā*) *sittatun wa-'iṣrūna bāban ... wa-s-suqūfu kulluhā illā l-mu'aḥḥara* (C *wa-suqūfu l-masğidi kulluhā ilā l-muğattā*, Yāqūt *wa-s-suqūfu kulluhā ilā l-muğattā*) *mulabbasatun bi-ṣiqāqi r-raṣāsi wa-l-mu'aḥḥaru marṣūfun bi-l-fusayfīsā'i l-kibāri* (C without *wa-l-mu'aḥḥaru marṣūfun bi-l-fusayfīsā'i l-kibāri*).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378; Grabar, "al-Masjdīd al-Aqṣā" 696a; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143) (*wa-li-l-Muğattā* (B *wa-l-Muğattā*) *sittatun wa-'iṣrūna bāban bābun ... 'an yamīnihi* (C *wa-'an yamīnihi*) *sab'atu abwābin ... wa-'alā l-yasāri miṭluhunna wa-min naḥwi ṣ-ṣarqī aḥada 'ašara bāban sawādiğū*) *wa-'alā l-ḥamsata 'ašara riwāqun* (B *riwāqan*) *'alā a'midatin ruḥāmin aḥḍatahu* (B Yāqūt *aḥḍatahā*) *'Abdu Llāhi bnu Ṭāhirin*.

**B125.4. Contemporary events:** 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (governor of Ḥurāsān 214-230/828-845) newly builds (*aḥḍaṭahu*) an arcade (*riwāq*) in front of the fifteen [north] gates (*alā l-ḥamsata 'ašara bāban*) (B125.3).

**B125.5. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the 'Āšūrā'-Night 335/10-11 August 946, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees trees of light standing between the [south] Door of the Dome of the Rock and the [Roofed Hall's] Copper Gate (*Bāb an-nuḥās*), and he receives the explanation that Muḥammad walked there on the night of his Night Journey, and that this is the way the faithful go with God, whereas the ways of their opponents are blocked; he then sees a path of light as white as snow and this is explained as the foot-steps Muḥammad made on the night of the Night Journey (B090.4).

### B126. The naves of the Roofed Hall<sup>1</sup>

**B126.1. Names (Muslim):** Naves (sing. *riwāq*) (B126.2) with the first row [of the mosque] (*aṣ-ṣaff al-awwal*) [the southernmost vertical nave].<sup>2</sup>

**B126.2. Position:** There are fifteen naves, among them a central nave and, on both sides, seven lateral naves; and eleven vertical naves, among them the first row (*aṣ-ṣaff al-awwal*). We best locate the central nave at the CENTRAL NAVE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, the seven east naves at the three EAST NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and four naves further east (partly at the four NAVES of ĠĀMI' 'UMAR); the seven west naves at the three WEST NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and another four naves further west. The eleven vertical naves are best located at the eleven VERTICAL NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, the first row (*aṣ-ṣaff al-awwal*) (B126.6) at its FIRST SOUTH VERTICAL NAVE from the south.

B126.2.a. The (Greatest) Copper Gate and the seven lateral doors both left and right (B125.3) most probably lead into a wider central nave and seven lateral naves both left and right. Today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE has a wider

<sup>1</sup>For the naves of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE and the High 'Abbāsīd Roofed Hall, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100f.; 188; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 1-3; 13-15; 36; 37 fig. 20; 60f.; 71-82; Hamilton, "Some Capitals"; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30f.; 36-38 with fig. 23; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Creswell, *EMA* 1 149; 375; 378f.; fig. 446; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 36-38; 45; Busink, *Tempel* 924-926; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I I*; Grabar, "al-Masdjīd al-Aqṣā" 696b; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II"; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197; 3 51-54; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 118 fig. 60; 119f.; al-Asad, "CAD Programs" 177 fig. 3f. (with the erroneous legend "Aqsa Mosque, Umayyad period").

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407:** 268,22 (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīnī l-Ḥawlī* *yu ... qāla ...*) *tumma daḥaltu l-masğida* [the Aqṣā Mosque] *naḥwa ṣ-ṣaffī l-awwali*.

CENTRAL NAVE<sup>1</sup> and narrower LATERAL NAVES of the same width both left and right. There is no evidence that the width of the side naves may ever have changed. The seven High ‘Abbāsid east naves therefore may have been at the three east NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and another four naves further east (partly at the four NAVES of ĠĀMI‘ ‘UMAR), and the seven west naves at the three west NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and another four naves now vanished.<sup>2</sup> These are fifteen naves.<sup>3</sup>

B126.2.b. The eleven east doors (B125.3) most probably lead into eleven vertical naves.<sup>4</sup> The Roofed Hall has, including its arcade is, from north to south, the same length as today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE including the AQṢĀ MOSQUE NORTH ARCADE (B125.2). The eleven vertical naves therefore may fit with the eleven VERTICAL NAVES we have today. The suggested existence of sixteen vertical naves<sup>5</sup> is not supported by the sources.

B126.3. The interior has two quite different parts, the old part (*qīṭ‘a*) around the prayer-niche (*ḥawl al-miḥrāb*), with marble columns (*a‘midat ruḥām*), similar to a [dark] birthmark (*šāma*) [on light skin], and the newly built (*muḥḍat*) part, with plaster-coated pillars (*asāṭīn mušayyada*) and a number of arcades (sing. *riwāq*), of more solid and thick construction than before (*awṭaq wa-aḡlaḡ šinā‘atan mimma kāna*).<sup>6</sup> We best locate the old part with marble columns at the first FOUR SOUTH VERTICAL NAVES including ĠĀMI‘ ‘UMAR and ĠĀMI‘ AL-ARBA‘ĪN, and the rebuilt part in the other NORTH VERTICAL NAVES.

B126.3.a. Before the rebuilding of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE in the 1930-1940s, all pillars had columns inside and there was no difference between the columns next to the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE and other pillars.<sup>7</sup> But the first FOUR SOUTH VERTICAL NAVES including ĠĀMI‘ ‘UMAR and ĠĀMI‘ AL-ARBA‘ĪN, up to the north of

<sup>1</sup>For the two widths, strictly speaking, of the CENTRAL NAVE, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 378.

<sup>2</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 378.

<sup>3</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36; 37 fig. 20; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378f.; fig. 446; Busink, *Tempel* 924f. with fig. 208; Grabar, "al-Masjdīd al-Aḡṣā" 696a; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 118 fig. 60; 119f.; al-Asad, "CAD Programs" 177 fig. 3f. (with the erroneous legend "Aqsa Mosque, Umayyad period").

<sup>4</sup>Busink, *Tempel* 926; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 118 fig. 60; 119f..

<sup>5</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 378f.; fig. 446.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,8-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 374; 378; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 292; Elad, *Jerusalem* 41; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aḡṣā" 30f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Busse, "Sanctity" 460f.; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aḡṣā" 143; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25) (*wa-ammā l-Masḡidu l-Aḡṣā ...*) *wa-kāna aḡsana min ḡāmi‘i Dimašqa* (C adds *li-annah qūbila bihi kanisatu n-Naṣārā l-‘uḡmā l-lati bi-Bayti l-Maḡḍisi wa-ḡu‘ila aḡsana minhā*) *lākin ḡā‘at* (C *fa-ḡā‘at*, without *lākin*) *zilzilātun fī dawlati Banī l-‘Abbāsi* (C *fī dawlati Wuldi l-‘Abbāsi*) *fa-ṭaraḡati l-Muḡaṭṭa illā mā* (B *fa-ṭaraḡat illā mā*, C *fa-ṭaraḡat ilā mā*) *ḥawla l-miḥrābi fa-lammā balaḡa l-ḡalīfata ḡabaruhu qīla lahu lā yafī bi-raddihi ilā mā kāna baytu māli l-Muslimī na fa-kataba ilā umarā‘i l-aṭrāfi wa-sā‘iri l-quwwādi an yabniya kullu wāḡidin minhum riwāqan fa-banawhu awṭaqa wa-aḡlaḡa šinā‘atan mimma kāna fa-baḡiyat tilka l-qīṭ‘atu šāmātan fihi* (C *šāmātan wa-u‘ḡūbatan*) *wa-hiya ilā ḡaddi a‘midati r-ruḡāmi* (Yāqūt *ilā ḡidā‘i a‘midati r-ruḡāmi*) *wa-mā kāna mina l-asāṭīni l-mušayyadati fa-huwa muḥḍatun*.

For *mušayyad* "coated with plaster", from *šid* "plaster", see Lane, *Lexicon* 1630 s.v. "mašīd/mušayyad"; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aḡṣā" 143f.

<sup>7</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque*.

the DOME, were much nearer to each other than the remaining SEVEN NORTH VERTICAL NAVES, and we may assume that the difference in width goes back to the difference between the marble-columns part next to the prayer-niche and the remainder of the building.

**B126.4. Physical shape:** The part around the prayer-niche (*ḥawl al-miḥrāb*) looks like a [dark] birthmark (*šāma*) [on light skin] and has marble columns (*aʿmidat ruḥām*), the remaining part plaster-coated pillars (*asāṭīn mušayyada*) (B126.5).

**B126.5. Traditions (Muslim):** The Roofed Hall (*al-Muḡaṭṭā*) was, in the Early ʿAbbāsid period [750-775], partly damaged by an earthquake, then rebuilt by the caliph **[al-Mahdī]** (ʿAbbāsid caliph 158-169/775-785)<sup>1</sup> with the help of the governors of the parts [of the Muslim Empire] and other leading personalities (*umarāʾ al-aṭrāf wa-sāʾir al-quwwād*), financed [by the provincial treasuries], not by the central treasury (*bayt al-māl*); the part (*qiṭʿa*) around the prayer-niche (*ḥawl al-miḥrāb*) with marble columns (*aʿmidat ruḥām*) is similar to a [dark] birthmark (*šāma*) [on light skin] and dates from the pre-earthquake period; the other naves (sing. *riwāq*) with plaster-coated pillars (*asāṭīn mušayyada*) and a number of arcades (sing. *riwāq*) are newly built (*muḥḍat*) of more solid and thick construction than before (*awṭaq wa-aḡlaḡ šināʿatan mimma kāna*).<sup>2</sup>

**B126.6. Visions and dreams (Muslim):** While dreaming on the ʿĀšūrāʾ-Night 335/10-11 August 946, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawlī sees some people swallowed up by the earth with only their heads sticking out in the first row (*aṣ-ṣaff al-awwal*) [the southernmost vertical nave], these are explained to him as the people who hate the ancestors (*as-salaf*); Michael, Gabriel, Isrāfīl and a fourth angel then order him to bless the *imām* of the mosque, a certain Muḥammad, and to tell him that if he continues to preach and work as he does, they

<sup>1</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Creswell, *EMA* 1 374f.; 378; Elad, *Jerusalem* 41.

<sup>2</sup> **al-Masʿūdī** 5 212; **al-Muqaddasī** 168,8-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 374; 378; Rosen-Ayalon, "Façade of the Holy Sepulchre" 292; Elad, *Jerusalem* 41; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Busse, "Sanctity" 460f.; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25) (*wa-ammā l-Masḡidu l-Aqṣā ...*) *wa-kāna aḥsana min ḡāmiʿi Dimašqa* (C adds *li-annahu qūbila bihi kanīsatu n-Naṣārā l-ʿuḡmā l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-ḡuʿila aḥsana minhā*) *lākin ḡāʿat* (C *fa-ḡāʿat*, without *lākin*) *zilzilātun fī dawlati Banī l-ʿAbbāsi* (C *fī dawlati Wuldi l-ʿAbbāsi*) *fa-ṭaraḡati l-Muḡaṭṭā illā mā* (B *fa-ṭaraḡat illā mā*, C *fa-ṭaraḡat ilā mā*) *ḥawla l-miḥrābi fa-lammā balāḡa l-ḡalīfata ḡabaruhu qīla lahu lā yafī bi-raddihi ilā mā kāna baytu māli l-Muslimīna fa-kataba ilā umarāʾi l-aṭrāfi wa-sāʾiri l-quwwādi an yabniya kullu wāḡidin minhum riwāqan fa-banawhu awṭaqa wa-aḡlaḡa šināʿatan mimma kāna fa-baqiyat tilka l-qiṭʿatu šāmātan fīhi* (C *šāmātan wa-uḡūbatan*) *wa-hiya ilā ḡaddi aʿmidati r-ruḡāmi* (Yāqūt *ilā ḡidāʾi aʿmidati r-ruḡāmi*) *wa-mā kāna mina l-asāṭīni l-mušayyadati fa-huwa muḥḍatun*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 147,2-5 *wa-kāna yuqālu ʿaḡāʾibu d-dunyā ṭālātun manāratu l-Iskandarīyati wa-qanṭaratu Saḡata wa-kanīsatu r-Ruḡā* (B *wa-kilīsatu r-Ruḡā*) *fa-lammā buniya l-Masḡidu l-Aqṣā ḡuʿila badala l-kanīsati fa-lammā hadamathu z-zilzilatu ḡuʿila mawḡiʿahu* (C *makānahu*) *ḡāmiʿu Dimašqa*.

For the destruction of the Roofed Hall and its rebuilding under al-Mahdī, see B041.2.

will prepare for him in Paradise a seat made of light and he will be raised on it above all other people, a promise valid also for Abū Bakr and Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Qaysarānī; the angels stress that there are seven "anchors of the mosque in Jerusalem" (*awtād al-masğid bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>1</sup>

## B127. The prayer-niche<sup>2</sup>

B127.1. **Names (Muslim):** The prayer-niche (*al-miḥrāb*).<sup>3</sup>

B127.2. **Position:** The prayer-niche is inside the Roofed Hall.<sup>4</sup> The Rock is opposite the

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407:** 268,22-269,8 (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ‘Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma daḥaltu l-masğida* [the Aqṣā Mosque] *naḥwa ṣ-ṣaffi l-awwali fa-qīla lī nżur fa-idan aqwāmun qadi btala’athumu l-arḍu wa-ru’ūsum ḥ ariğatun fa-qultu man hā’ulā’i fa-qīla lī man Y‘S* (read *yabğadu*) *s-salafa ṭumma kallamanī arba’atun fa-qultu fī sirri mkylyh* (read *malā’ikatun*) *fa-qīla lī hum Mikā’ilu wa-Ğibrīlu wa-Isrāfīlu wa-lam a’rifī r-rābi’a wa-hum yaqūlūna lī qra’ yā Muhammadu* (I read *‘alā Muḥammadini*) *s-salāma ya’nūna imāma l-Masğidi l-Ğāmi’i l-Muqaddasi wa-qul lahu yağ’ali l-ḥuṭaba l-lati yaḥtubu li-Llāhi ta’ālā wa-ka-ḍālīka sā’ira ‘amalihi fa-idā tamma lahu ḍālīka waḍa’nā lahu sarīran min nūrin fī l-Ğannati ḥattā yartafi’a ‘alayhi wa-yartafi’a ‘alā n-nāsi wa-ka-ḍālīka Abū Bakrini ‘Alāwatu wa-Abū Aḥmada Muḥammadu bnu Muḥammadi bni ‘Abdi r-Raḥmāni l-Qaysarāniyu wa-li-yadāmū ‘alā mā hum ‘alayhi wa-fī ḥādā l-waqtī sab’atun mina l-mu’minīna awtādu l-masğidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

For the Fāṭimid cursing of the ancestors, i.e., of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Utmān, Mu‘āwiya and other Companions of Muḥammad, and of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs, see Halm, "Treuhänder" 35-38.

<sup>2</sup>For the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE of today and for the High ‘Abbāsid prayer-niche, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 403-415; pl. XXXI; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 59; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 100; 161; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61) *wa-‘alā yamīni l-miḥrābi balāṭatun sawdā’u maktūbun fihā ḥilqatun ‘Muḥammadun’ ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407: 268,8f. (... *ḥaddaṭanī Abū Muḥammadin ‘Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadini l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma ḥarağtu mina l-qubbatī fa-idā ašğārun min nūrin min Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *ilā Bābi n-nuḥāsi muqābila l-miḥrābi; al-Muqaddasī* 168,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 374; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25) ... *lākin ġā’at* (C *fa-ğā’at*, without *lākin*) *zilzilātun fī dawlati Banī l-‘Abbāsi* (C *fī dawlati Wuldi l-‘Abbāsi*) *fa-ṭaraḥati l-Muğattā illā mā* (B *fa-ṭaraḥat illā mā*, C *fa-ṭaraḥat ilā mā*) *ḥawla l-miḥrābi; al-Muqaddasī* 168,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Grabar, "al-Masjd al-Aqṣā" 696a) *bābun yuqābilu l-miḥrāba yusammā Bāba n-nuḥāsi l-a’zama; al-Muqaddasī* 171,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charif"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 7; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) *(wa-innamā turika ḥādā l-ba’du* (I read *ḥādā l-bu’du*) *li-sababayni ...*) *wa-t-ṭāni annahum law maddū l-Muğattā ilā z-zāwiyyati lam taqa’i ṣ-Ṣaḥratu ḥidā’a l-miḥrābi fa-karihū ḍālīka.**

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 168,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 374; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 92-94; Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine* 100f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 191 n. 185; Elad, *Jerusalem* 25) ... *lākin ġā’at* (C *fa-ğā’at*, without *lākin*) *zilzilātun fī*



[Roofed Hall's] prayer-niche (*ḥiḍāʿ al-miḥrāb*) (B118.3), and the (Greatest) Copper Gate (*al-Bāb an-nuḥās (al-aʿẓam)*) is also opposite the prayer-niche (*muqābil al-miḥrāb, yuqābil al-miḥrāb*) (B125.2). Around the prayer-niche (*ḥawl al-miḥrāb*) is the old part (*qitʿa*) of the building with marble columns (*aʿmidat ruḥām*) (B126.5). We best locate the prayer-niche at the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

**B127.3. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The prayer-niche defines the prayer-direction for congregational prayer; the *imām* leads the Friday service standing next to it.

### B128. The Pulpit of the Temple

**B128.1. Names (Muslim):** The Pulpit of the Temple (*Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>1</sup>

**B128.2. Position:** This pulpit is inside the Roofed Hall, not too far from the prayer-niche. Behind [south of] the Pulpit of the Temple (*ḥalf Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*) are a black and a white paving-stone (B129.2). We best locate this pulpit inside the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, not too far from the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE.

**B128.3. Physical shape:** This is a very beautiful pulpit.

B128.3.a. **al-Muqaddasī** says of ar-Ramla, the capital of Palestine, that the pulpit of the White [Mosque] (*al-Ġāmiʿ al-Abyaḍ*) there is the most beautiful (*aḥsan*) in the Islamic World (*fī l-Islām*) - except for the Pulpit of the Temple (*Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>2</sup>

**B128.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** From this pulpit the *imām* gives his sermon du-

---

*dawlati Banī l-ʿAbbāsi (C fī dawlati Wuldi l-ʿAbbāsi) fa-ṭarahati l-Muḡaṭṭā illā mā (B fa-ṭarahat illā mā, C fa-ṭarahat ilā mā) ḥawla l-miḥrābi; al-Muqaddasī* 168,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 98f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 94; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 36f.; 70; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378; Grabar, "al-Masjid al-Aqṣā" 696a; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143) (*wa-li-l-Muḡaṭṭā (B wa-l-Muḡaṭṭā) sittatun wa-ʿiṣrūna bāban*) *bābun yuqābilu l-miḥrāba yusammā Bāba n-nuḥāsi l-aʿẓama ... (ʿan yamīnihi (C wa-ʿan yamīnihi) sabʿatu abwābin ... wa-ʿalā l-yasāri miṭluhunna wa-min naḥwi š-šarqi aḥada ʿašara bāban sawādiḡu).*

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 171,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; see Miquel, "Le Haram al-Charīf"; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 7; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 164f.) (*wa-innamā turika ḥādā l-baʿdu (I read ḥādā l-buʿdu) li-sababayni aḥaduhumā ...)* *wa-t-tānī annahum law maddū l-Muḡaṭṭā ilā z-zāwiyati lam taqāʿi š-Ṣaḥratu ḥiḍāʿa l-miḥrābi.*

<sup>1</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 165,5f. (*ar-Ramlatu qaṣabatu Filasṭīna ... wa-ḡāmiʿu l-qaṣabati ... yusammā l-Abyaḍa*) *laysa fī l-Islāmi akbaru min miḥrābihi wa-lā baʿda Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi aḥsanu min minbarihi; al-Muqaddasī* C 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) *li-Bayti l-Maqdisi ṭilasmun li-allā talduḡa (I read talduḡa or talḍaʿa) l-ḥayyātu ḥalfa Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun ... wa-uḥrā ...*

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī** 165,5f. (*ar-Ramlatu qaṣabatu Filasṭīna ... wa-ḡāmiʿu l-qaṣabati ... yusammā l-Abyaḍa*) *laysa fī l-Islāmi akbaru min miḥrābihi wa-lā baʿda Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi aḥsanu min minbarihi.*

ring the Friday service. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, who in 321/933 transmits a certain tradition in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*), is muezzin and preacher in the Temple (*muʾad-din ḥaṭīb bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B052.7).

### B129. The black paving-stone and the white paving-stone behind the pulpit<sup>1</sup>

B129.1. **Names (Muslim):** One (black) paving-stone (*balāṭa sawdāʾ*, *ruḥāma*), a stone (*ḥaḡar*), and another paving-stone (*\*ruḥāma uḥrā*), a white stone (*ḥaḡar abyad*), both with much worn-down inscriptions (B129.3).

B129.2. **Position:** Both stones are behind [south of] the Pulpit of the Temple (*ḥalf Minbar Bayt al-Maqdis*).<sup>2</sup> The white stone (*ḥaḡar abyad*) is in back of the prayer-direction [wall] (*fī zahr al-qibla*).<sup>3</sup> We best locate them in the SOUTH WALL of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, not too far from the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE.

B129.2.a. Both **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s *wa-fī zahrī l-qiblati fī ḥaḡarin abyada kitābatun* "and in back of the prayer-direction [wall] is an inscription on a white stone" and **al-Muqaddasī C**'s *ḥalfa Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun fihī kitābatun ... wa-uḥrā ...* "behind the Pulpit of the Temple is a paving-stone on which is an inscription ... and another one ..." locate these stones rather south of the pulpit. The term *ḥalf* defines an object as being hidden from the speaker by another object, unlike *muqaddam* "front part" and *muʾaḥḡar* "back part", giving places relative to the person speaking.

B129.2.b. **Ibn al-Faqīh** mentions the two stones among the minor places of the mosque, preceded by the ablution places of the mosque and its roof and followed by its three *maqṣūra*. **al-Muqaddasī C** mentions them as the last item on his list of wonderful things (*ʿaḡāʾib*) of Syria-Palestine; they are preceded by the Cities of Solomon (*Mudun Sulaymān*), Baʿlabakk, Palmyra, the Dome of the Rock, the mosque of Damascus, and the ports of Tyre and Acre. **al-Bīrūnī** has them on his list of miracles of nature (*ašyāʾ ṭabīʿīya ʿaḡība*); they are preceded by those from mines (*maʿādin*), and followed by precious stones (*fuṣūṣ*) with the name of ʿAlī (caliph 35-41/656-661) All this does not help in locating them.

<sup>1</sup>For the black and the white paving-stones behind the pulpit of the High ʿAbbāsid Roofed Hall, and for the talisman of Jerusalem, see de Goeje, *Ibn Ḥurdādhbih* 177 n. h; Le Strange, *Palestine* 99f.; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 232 n. 96; Elad, *Jerusalem* 79.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī C** 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) *li-Bayti l-Maqdisi ṭilasmun li-allā talduḡa* (I read *talduḡa* or *talḡaʿa*) *l-ḥayyātu ḥalfa Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun ... wa-uḥrā ...*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,11-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 100; 161; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61) *wa-ʿalā yamīni l-miḡrābi balāṭatun sawdāʾu maktūbun fihā ḥilqatan ʿMuḥammadunʾ ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*) *wa-fī zahrī l-qiblati fī ḥaḡarin abyada kitābatun ʿbi-smi Llāhi r-raḡmāni r-raḡīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatuʾ*; Fāṭimid **al-Bīrūnī**, *Āṭār* 298,5f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (*... wa-ka-dālīka yūḡadu fī l-maʿādinī ašyāʾu ṭabīʿīyatun ʿaḡibatun fa-innahu yuḡkà anna fī maḡṣūratī l-masḡidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥaḡarin wa-hiya ʿMuḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*) *wa-fī zahrī l-qiblati ayḡan ḥaḡarun abyada* (I read *fī ḥaḡarin abyada*, with Ibn al-Faqīh; Sachau reads *ḥaḡarun abyadu fihī*) *kitābat[at]un ḥilqatun ʿbi-smi Llāhi r-raḡmāni r-raḡīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatuʾ*.

Cf. **Ibn Ḥurdādhbih** 177,11 *fī qiblati Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥaḡarun ...*

|                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ibn al-Faqīh</b>    | <i>arbaʿat mayādīʾ -&gt; šuṭūḥ al-masğid: 45,000 šaḥīfat rašāš -&gt; balāṭa sawdāʾ maktūb fihā -&gt; fī ḥağar abyad kitāba -&gt; dāḥil al-masğid ṭalāṭat maqāšīr</i>                                  |
| <b>al-Muqaddasī C</b>  | <i>min al-ʿağāʾib: Mudun Sulaymān, Balʿlabakk, Tadmur, Qubbat aš-Šaḥra, ġāmiʿ Dimašq, minā Šūr, minā ʿAkkā, li-Bayt al-Maqdis ṭilasm: ruḥāma fihi kitāba, wa-uḥrā</i>                                 |
| <b>al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār</b> | <i>fī l-maʿādin ašyāʾ ṭabīʿīya ʿağība -&gt; fī maqšūrat al-masğid bi-Bayt al-Maqdis kitāba ... fī ḥağar -&gt; *fī ḥağar abyad kitāba -&gt; al-fuṣūṣ al-latī ʿalayhā ism amīr al-muʾminīn ... ʿAlī</i> |

**B129.3. Physical shape:** These two stones are two miracles of nature. One of them is a (black) paving-stone (*balāṭa sawdāʾ*) with a worn-down inscription (*ḥilqa*),<sup>1</sup> a paving stone (*ruḥāma*) with a worn-down inscription (*kitāba ḥilqa*);<sup>2</sup> the inscription reads, *Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama* "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God - God may bless him and grant salvation".<sup>3</sup> There is another paving-stone (*ruḥāma uḥrā*),<sup>4</sup> a white stone (*ḥağar abyad*)<sup>5</sup> which has the (worn-down) inscription (*kitāba ḥilqa*,<sup>1</sup> *kitāba*<sup>2</sup>), *bi-smi Llāhi*

<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 100; 161; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61) *wa-ʿalā yamīni l-miḥrābi balāṭatun sawdāʾu maktūbun fihā ḥilqatun ʿMuḥammadun ʿallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*.

Cf. **Ibn Ḥurdādhbih** 177,11 *fī qiblati Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥağarun ...*

<sup>2</sup> **al-Muqaddasī C** 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) *ḥalfa Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun fihi kitābatun ḥalfahu* (I read *fihā kitābatun ḥilqatun*; de Goeje reads *fihi kitābatun ḥalaqatun*) *ʿMuḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhiʿ*; Fāṭimid **al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār** 298,4f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (... *wa-ka-ḍālīka yūğadu fī l-maʿādin ašyāʾu ṭabīʿīyatun ʿağibatun*) *fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqšūratī l-masğidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥağarin wa-hiya ʿMuḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallamaʿ*.

<sup>3</sup> **al-Muqaddasī C** 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) *ḥalfa Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun fihi kitābatun ḥalfahu* (I read *fihā kitābatun ḥilqatun*; de Goeje reads *fihi kitābatun ḥalaqatun*) *ʿMuḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhiʿ*; Fāṭimid **al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār** 298,4f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (... *wa-ka-ḍālīka yūğadu fī l-maʿādin ašyāʾu ṭabīʿīyatun ʿağibatun*) *fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqšūratī l-masğidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥağarin wa-hiya ʿMuḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallamaʿ*; shorter in **Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 100; 161; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61) *wa-ʿalā ya-mīni l-miḥrābi balāṭatun sawdāʾu maktūbun fihā ḥilqatan ʿMuḥammadun ʿallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*.

<sup>4</sup> **al-Muqaddasī C** 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) (*ḥalfa Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun fihi kitābatun ḥalfahu* (I read *fihā kitābatun ḥilqatun*; de Goeje reads *fihi kitābatun ḥalaqatun*) ...) *wa-uḥrā ʿbi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmiʿ*.

<sup>5</sup> **Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,11-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 100; 161; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61) *wa-ʿalā yamīni l-miḥrābi balāṭatun sawdāʾu maktūbun fihā ḥilqatan ʿMuḥammadun ʿallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*) *wa-fī ṣaḥri l-qiblati fī ḥağarin abyada kitābatun ʿbi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi ʿMuḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatuʿ*; Fāṭimid **al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār** 298,5f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (... *wa-ka-ḍālīka yūğadu fī l-maʿādin ašyāʾu ṭabīʿīyatun ʿağibatun*) *fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqšūratī l-masğidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥağarin wa-hiya ʿMuḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi šallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallamaʿ*) *wa-fī ṣaḥri l-qiblati ayḍan ḥağarun abyadu* (I read *fī ḥağarin abyada*, with Ibn al-Faqīh; Sachau reads *ḥağarun abyadu fihi*) *kitābatun ḥilqatan ʿbi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi ʿMuḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatuʿ*.

*r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatu* "In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. Ḥamza is his aid".<sup>3</sup>

B129.3.a. Possible parallels to these short inscriptions: The DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR has an undatable graffito with a blessing of Muḥammad.<sup>4</sup> A CISTERN in the KIDRON VALLEY about 600 m north of the Old City has an undatable graffito with *Mūsā b. Aḥmad* "Mūsā b. Aḥmad", probably followed by *lā ilāha illā Llāhu Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi* "There is no God but God, Muḥammad is His Messenger";<sup>5</sup> this is the only graffito in van Berchem's graffiti collection which has a classical religious formula.<sup>6</sup> The building on top of the church at Beth Yerah has an Umayyad sherd with *bi-smi Llāhi* "In the name of God" scratched on it.<sup>7</sup> A stone slab from al-

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī C** 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) (*ḥalfā Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun fihi kitābatun ḥalfahu* (I read *fiḥā kitābatun ḥilqatun*; de Goeje reads *fihi kitābatun ḥalaqatun*) *wa-uḥrā 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi'*; Fātimid **al-Birūnī, Āṭār** 298,5f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (... *wa-ka-dālīka yūḡadu fī l-ma'ādini ašyā'u ṭabī'iyatun 'aḡibatun fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqṣūratī l-masḡidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥaḡarin wa-hiya 'Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama'*) *wa-fī zahri l-qiblātī ayḡan ḥaḡarun abyāḡu* (I read *fī ḥaḡarin abyāḡa*, with Ibn al-Faqīh; Sachau reads *ḥaḡarun abyāḡu fihi*) *kitāb[at]un ḥilqatun 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatu'*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,11-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 100; 161; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61) *wa-'alā yamīni l-miḥrābi balāṭatun sawdā'u maktūbun fiḥā ḥilqatan 'Muḥammadun' ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama'* *wa-fī zahri l-qiblātī fī ḥaḡarin abyāḡa kitābatun 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatu'*; **al-Muqaddasī C** 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) (*ḥalfā Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun fihi kitābatun ḥalfahu* (I read *fiḥā kitābatun ḥilqatun*; de Goeje reads *fihi kitābatun ḥalaqatun*) ...) *wa-uḥrā 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi'*; Fātimid **al-Birūnī, Āṭār** 298,5f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (... *wa-ka-dālīka yūḡadu fī l-ma'ādini ašyā'u ṭabī'iyatun 'aḡibatun fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqṣūratī l-masḡidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥaḡarin wa-hiya 'Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama'*) *wa-fī zahri l-qiblātī ayḡan ḥaḡarun abyāḡu* (I read *fī ḥaḡarin abyāḡa*, with Ibn al-Faqīh; Sachau reads *ḥaḡarun abyāḡu fihi*) *kitāb[at]un ḥilqatun 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatu'*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 100,11-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 100; 161; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 61) *wa-'alā yamīni l-miḥrābi balāṭatun sawdā'u maktūbun fiḥā ḥilqatan 'Muḥammadun' ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama'* *wa-fī zahri l-qiblātī fī ḥaḡarin abyāḡa kitābatun 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatu'*; Fātimid **al-Birūnī, Āṭār** 298,5f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (... *wa-ka-dālīka yūḡadu fī l-ma'ādini ašyā'u ṭabī'iyatun 'aḡibatun fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqṣūratī l-masḡidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥaḡarin wa-hiya 'Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama'*) *wa-fī zahri l-qiblātī ayḡan ḥaḡarun abyāḡu* (I read *fī ḥaḡarin abyāḡa*, with Ibn al-Faqīh; Sachau reads *ḥaḡarun abyāḡu fihi*) *kitāb[at]un ḥilqatun 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatu'*.

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī C** 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) (*ḥalfā Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun fihi kitābatun ḥalfahu* (I read *fiḥā kitābatun ḥilqatun*; de Goeje reads *fihi kitābatun ḥalaqatun*) ...) *wa-uḥrā 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi'*.

<sup>4</sup>**van Berchem Nr.276**, about which Sauvaire's unpublished notes have: "Aqṣā - dans le souterrain du monolithe. Invocation en faveur de Mahomet et de ses compagnons, puis mots coufiques que je n' ai pu déchiffrer" (thus van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 5 n. 2).

<sup>5</sup>**van Berchem Nr.33,XXX**, described by van Berchem as, "Cinq lignes très frustes renfermant un ou deux noms (Mūsā ibn Aḥmad?), suivis peut-être par la formule de la shahāda".

<sup>6</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 83 (van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 22 83 n. 1, read XXX, instead of XX), referring to **van Berchem Nr.32-33**. We add to these the non-datable **small inscriptions** on the Dome of the Rock, van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 363-371, and **van Berchem Nr.276**.

<sup>7</sup>Schick, *Christian Communities* 147.

Lağgūn reads *lā ilāha illā Llāhu Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi* "There is no God but God, Muḥammad is his Messenger".<sup>1</sup> Mount Nebo has four Islamic inscriptions or graffiti.<sup>2</sup> The marble floors and columns of the church on the mound of Tall al-Ḥuṣn at Baysān/Beth Shean have Islamic graffiti.<sup>3</sup> In Kilwa an inscription has *bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* "In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate" and then "... made this cell ...".<sup>4</sup> The north church of Rehovot has seven seventh or eighth century inscriptions<sup>5</sup> and an Islamic inscription cut into a paving-stone.<sup>6</sup> The crypt of the church at Ruġm Barakat has a seventh or eighth century Islamic inscription.<sup>7</sup> There are unpublished Islamic inscriptions in Shivta.<sup>8</sup> Seven workmen's signatures on the Dome of the Rock from the beginning of the 19th century had *lā ilāha illā Llāhu Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi* "There is no God but God, Muḥammad is his Messenger", followed by one or two names (= **van Berchem Nr.261-267**);<sup>9</sup> most of these inscriptions have been removed.<sup>10</sup> A long graffito inside the Golden Gate is introduced by *lā ilāha illā Llāhu Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi* "There is no God but God, Muḥammad is his Messenger".<sup>11</sup>

B129.3.b. Descriptions in High 'Abbāsīd **Ibn al-Faqīh**, **al-Muqaddasī C** and Fāṭimid **al-Bīrūnī**, **Āṭār** are interdependent; Fāṭimid **al-Bīrūnī**, **Āṭār** is High 'Abbāsīd, apart from the introductory *fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqṣūratī l-maṣġidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ...* "and it is told that in the *maqṣūra* of the mosque in the Temple/in Jerusalem, there is ...".

**Ibn al-Faqīh***wa-'alā yamīni l-miḥrābi**balāṭatun sawdā'u**maktūbun fihā ḥilqatun**'Muḥammadun ṣallā Llāhu**'alayhi wa-sallama'**wa-fī ṣahri l-qiblati**fī ḥaġarin abyāḍa**kitābatun**'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi**Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi**naṣruhu Ḥamzatu'***al-Muqaddasī C***li-Bayti l-Maqdisi ṭilasmun**li-allā \*taldūga l-ḥayyātu**ḥalfa minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi**ruḥāmatun**fīhi kitābatun ḥilqatun**'Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi'**wa-uḥrā**'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi'***al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār***fa-innahu yuḥkà**anna fī maqṣūratī l-maṣġidi**bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi**kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥaġarin**wa-hiya 'Muḥammadun Rasūlu**Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-**sallama'**wa-fī ṣahri l-qiblati ayḍan**\*fī ḥaġarin abyāḍa**\*kitābatun ḥilqatun**'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi**Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi**naṣruhu Ḥamzatu'*<sup>1</sup> Schick, *Christian Communities* 147; 389.<sup>2</sup> Schick, *Christian Communities* 147; 409.<sup>3</sup> Schick, *Christian Communities* 147; 270f.<sup>4</sup> Schick, *Christian Communities* 387.<sup>5</sup> Schick, *Christian Communities* 147; 441.<sup>6</sup> Schick, *Christian Communities* 147; 441.<sup>7</sup> Schick, *Christian Communities* 147; 445.<sup>8</sup> Schick, *Christian Communities* 147; 457.<sup>9</sup> For the pious exclamations and signatures of workmen, see also Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 99-102.<sup>10</sup> Busse, "Inscripfen im und am Felsendom" 21.<sup>11</sup> **Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.XLI,1** *lā ilāha illā Llāhu Muḥammadun rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi*.

B129.3.c. As all three texts are similar and the original passages may be those found in two of the three texts. This gives for the first inscription *Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*, for the second inscription *bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi naṣruhu Ḥamzatu*.

B129.3.d. **al-Muqaddasī C** and **al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār** have the inscriptions in their chapters on miracles of nature, **Ibn al-Faqīh** and **al-Muqaddasī C** call the first inscription explicitly *ḥilqa* "creation", as does **al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār** for both inscriptions. The word has also been read as a feminine adjective *ḥalaqa* "much worn-down" (Schefer) which would fit with **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s *ruḥāma* "paving-stone", with **al-Muqaddasī C**'s *kitāba* "inscription", and with *kitāba*, then *\*kitāba* in **al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār**; but in **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s *balāṭatun sawdā'u maktūbun fihā ḥalaqatun* 'Muḥammadun ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama' "a black paving-stone on which is written - it is much worn-down - 'Muḥammad - God may bless him and grant salvation'", *ḥalaqa* is an unusual insertion. It has been suggested that **Ibn al-Faqīh**'s sentence may have originally been *\*balāṭatun sawdā'u maktūbun fī ḥalqatin* 'Muḥammadun ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama' "on which is written a circle ..." (Le Strange). The assumed *\*ḥalqa* requires only an additional dot to become *ḥalqa*; *\*fihī* becomes *fī* less easily. But in the end, all readings converge in the same result - this most probably is a miracle of nature, a stone with traces which resemble the letters MḤMD RSWL ṾLLH or, less probably, BSM ṾLLH ṾLRḤMN ṾLRḤYM MḤMD RSWL ṾLLH NṢRH ḤMZH. A man-made inscription with the name of Muḥammad would never have been put on a paving-stone to be trampled upon.

**B129.4. Traditions (Muslim):** One of these inscriptions is the **talisman** (*ṭilasm*) of the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), which prevents snakes from biting;<sup>1</sup> both stones, because of the worn character of their inscriptions, are reckoned among the miracles of nature (*ašyā' ṭabī'ī ya ‘aḡība*) found in mines (*fī l-ma‘ādin*).<sup>2</sup>

B129.4.a. Parallels to the Jerusalem talisman against snakes:<sup>3</sup> A High ‘Abbāsid Muslim tradition mentions that Jericho is the home of the antidote-snakes (*al-ḥayyāt at-tiryāqīya*) and that the antidote of Jerusalem (*tiryāq Bayt al-Maqdis*) is effective when made of their flesh.<sup>4</sup> A Fāṭimid Jewish or Christian tradition says that poisonous vermin (*hawāmm mu’dīya*) do not bite in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> A stone column about 10 ells (6.65m) high in Fāṭimid Ma‘arrat an-Nu‘mān, with a non-Arabic inscription, is considered a talisman which prevents scorpions from entering the city.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muqaddasī C** 186,5 (transl. Le Strange 100) *li-Bayti l-Maqdisi ṭilasmun li-allā talduḡa* (I read *talduḡa* or *talda‘a*) *l-ḥayyātu ḥalfā Minbari Bayti l-Maqdisi ruḥāmatun fihī kitābatun ḥalfahu* (I read *fihā kitābatun ḥilqatun*; de Goeje reads *fihī kitābatun ḥalaqatun*) 'Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi' wa-uḥrā (I read *wa-uḥrā fihā*) 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi'.

<sup>2</sup>Fāṭimid **al-Bīrūnī, Āṭār** 298,4f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (... *wa-ka-ḡālīka yūḡadu fī l-ma‘ādinī ašyā' ṭabī'ī-yatun ‘aḡibatun*) *fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqṣūratī l-masḡidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥaḡarin wa-hiya* 'Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama'.

<sup>3</sup>Generally on city talismans, see A127.b.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī C** 175,1f. (*wa-Ariḥā'u ... wa-hiya ...*) *ma‘dinu l-ḥayyāti t-tiryāqīyati wa-innamā ḡāda tiryāqu Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-luḥūmī tilka l-ḥayyāti*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 53,7 (transl. Vajda, "al-Muhallabī" 196) (*qāla ahlu l-kitābi ... qālū: wa-kāna fī ḥādā l-bayti ‘ašaru āyātīn minhā annahu ...*) *wa-lam yalsibi l-hawāmmu l-mu’dī* (I read *l-mu’dīyatu*) *bihā aḡadan qaṭṭu*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 15,2-7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 495) (*Ma‘arrat an-Nu‘mān ...*) *bar dar-i šahr uṣṭuwāna-ī sangīn dī dam čiz-ī dar ān niwišta būd ba-ḡaṭṭ-ī dīgar az tāzī az yak-ī pursīdam kih īn čih čiz ast guft ṭilism-i kaḡdumī ast*

### B130. The roofs of the Roofed Hall, with the gable roof and the dome<sup>1</sup>

B130.1. **Names (Muslim):** The roofs [of the Roofed Hall] (*as-suqūf*),<sup>2</sup> with a gable roof (*ğamal*) and the dome (*qubba*) (B130.2).

B130.2. **Position:** There is a gable roof (*ğamal* 'azīm), over the middle of the Roofed Hall (*'alā wasaṭ al-Muğatṭā*), behind [north of] a beautiful dome (*ħalf qubba ħasana*) [which is further south];<sup>3</sup> the dome is next to the prayer-niche. We best locate the gable roof over the CENTRAL NAVE of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and the dome roughly at today's DOME.

B130.2.a. The High 'Abbāsid dome fits with Hamilton's **Aqṣā Mosque II** (B048.4.d).

B130.3. **Physical shape:** These are a large gable roof (*ğamal* 'azīm) and a beautiful dome (*qubba ħasana*) (B130.2). The roofs (*as-suqūf*) are all covered with lead sheets (*šiqāq ar-raṣāṣ*), but the back part [the north gable wall] (*al-mu'ahhar*) is covered with large mosaics (*al-fusayfisā' al-kibār*) (B125.3). All the roofs of the mosque, the domes and the minarets (*ğamī' suṭūḥ al-masğid wa-l-qibāb wa-l-manārāt*) are covered with gilded sheets [of lead] (*ṣafā'ih muḍahhaba*) (B052.5) and this obviously includes the roof and the dome of the Roofed Hall.

---

*kih har-giz 'aqrab dar īn šahr na-bāšad wa na-yāyad wa agar az bīrūn āwarand wa rahā kunand bigurizad wa dar šahr na-yāyad* (NP *na-pāyad*) *bālāy-i ān suṭūn dah araš qiyās kardam*.

<sup>1</sup>For the roof and the dome of the High 'Abbāsid Roofed Hall (and of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE of today), and for the MOSAICS OF THE AQṢĀ MOSQUE DOME, see Mauss, "Méthode" 29 fig. 11; 30f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 268 n. 4; 269f. n. 3; 276 n. 5; 282; 377; 381-392; 421f.; 443f.; 452f. (remark by Wiet); pl. XXVII top; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 38-47; Creswell, *EMA* 1 91; 375f.; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 228; 303f.; 306-309; 310 n. 2; 311; 360; fig. 367f.; fig. 376; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; Busink, *Tempel* 926; Marçais, "Panels" (with figures and plates 25-27); Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 57; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 151; 154f. fig. 81f.; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 143 (plate).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,4 f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; partly Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 234; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 190; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 410f.) (*wa-li-l-muğatṭā* (B *wa-l-Muğatṭā*) *sittatun wa-'iṣrūna bāban ...*) *wa-s-suqūfu kulluhā illā l-mu'ahhar* (C *wa-suqūfu l-masğidi kulluhā illā l-muğatṭā*, *Yāqūt wa-s-suqūfu kulluhā illā l-muğatṭā*) *mulabbasatun bi-šiqāqi r-raṣāṣi wa-l-mu'ahharu marṣūfun bi-l-fusayfisā'i l-kibāri* (C without *wa-l-mu'ahharu marṣūfun bi-l-fusayfisā'i l-kibāri*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 169,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 99; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 384; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 72; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 42 n. 90) *wa-'alā wasaṭi l-Muğatṭā ġamalun 'azīmun ħalfa qubbatin ħasanatin* (C *ħalfa qubbatin ħasanatin umawīyatin*).

Cf. **al-Muqaddasī** 182,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 21) (*iqlīmu š-Ša'mi ... wa-rusūmuhum ...*) *wa-awsātu suqūfi l-Muğatṭā muğammalatun* (C *wa-awsātu suqūfi l-Muğatṭā muğammalatun* (I read *muğammalun*)).

## 4. THE FĀṬIMID PHASE (969-1099)

### 4.1. THE WHOLE AREA

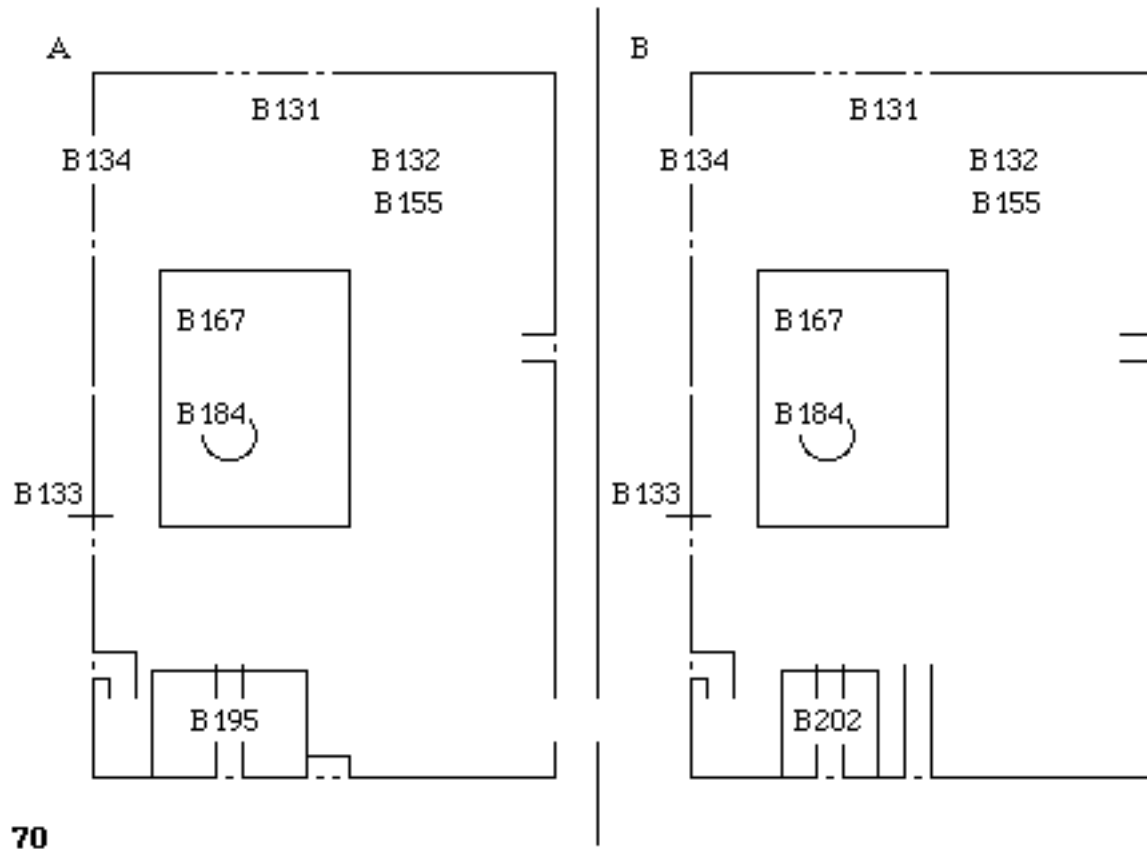


**Figure 70. The Fāṭimid area:** A The Early Fāṭimid area. - B The High Fāṭimid area / B131 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B132 The cisterns and pools (in the courtyard). - B133 The aqueduct coming from a large pool. - B134 The wall. - B155 The courtyard. - B167 The platform. - B184 The Dome of the Rock. - B195 The Early Fāṭimid Roofed Hall. - B202 The High Fāṭimid Aqṣà Mosque.



**B131. (The (Friday) Mosque of) the Temple  
= the (Friday) mosque of Jerusalem  
= the mosque on the Temple,  
and the inscription with its dimensions<sup>1</sup>**

**B131.1. Names (Muslim):** The Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*,<sup>2</sup> *al-Quds*<sup>3</sup>), the (Friday) Mosque of the Temple (*\*Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Maqdis*,<sup>4</sup> *\*Ġāmiʿ-i Bayt al-Maqdis*,<sup>5</sup> *\*Masğid-i Bayt al-Maqdis*<sup>6</sup>), the Mosque the Temple (*al-Masğid al-Quds*),<sup>7</sup> the Holy Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Muqaddas*),<sup>8</sup> the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣà*),<sup>9</sup> the Friday mosque (of the

<sup>1</sup>For the dimensions of the area and the inscription mentioning them, see Schefer, *Nassir* 72 n. 2; Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 240f.; 318f.; Le Strange, *Palestine* 192-197; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 167-174 (with a plate); van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 19-21; 85-97 (basic); pl. XXXVIII top left; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 196f. n. 204; Grabar, "al-Ḥaram al-sharīf" 178a; Grabar, "al-Quds" 342b; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 33 with n. 10 and n. 11; 41; 107; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣir" 269f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 218; 3 44-46; 95; Elad, *Jerusalem* 87-90; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 26.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52:** 64,15 *yustahabbu lahu idā daḥala l-Masğida Bayta l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi*) ...; **Nāṣir** 39,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 180) *wa ḡumla-i darhā-yi Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *Bayt al-Maqdis*) *zīr wa bālāy nuḥ dar ast*; possibly as well **Ibn al-Bannāʾ**, **Taʾrīḥ** 2 239,9: 3 (see Gil, *Palesine* 408; 408f. n. 60) (*wa-warada l-ḥabaru ... bi-annahu ḥadāta bi-Filasṭīna wa-r-Ramlati zilzilātun ʿaẓīmatun ...*) *wa-nṣada ʿati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-niṣfayni tumma ltaʿamat bi-idni Llāhi taʿālā*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.56:** 68,6f. *wa-in aḥabba an yadʿuwa bi-mā kāna yadʿū bihi daʿʿu Banī Isrāʾīla idā unzilat bihimi ṣ-ṣadāʾida fī l-Qudsi wa-ḡayrihi min mutaʿabbadātihim*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 306,13 (*qāla ṣ-ṣayḥu* [Ibn al-Murağğā] *wa-baʿda dīkrī li-faḍli l-masāğidi wa-mā ḥaṣṣahā Llāhu taʿālā bihi mimma daḥala l-Masğida l-Qudsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *Masğida l-Qudsi*) *fī ʿumūmihi adkuru faḍāʾila ṣ-Ṣaʾmi wa-mā ḥaṣṣahā Llāhu taʿālā bihi ...*) *fa-kullu faḍīlatin waradat fī ṣ-Ṣaʾmi wa-li-l-Qudsi* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-li-l-Qudsi*) *minhā aʿzamu ḥaẓẓin wa-awfaru naṣībīn*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir NP** 45,21 *az nawādir ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) ...

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,19-21 *in maʿni dar Ġāmiʿ-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *dar Ġāmiʿ-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) *dīda būdam wa taṣwīr karda wa ham-ān-ḡā bar rūznāma kih dāštam taʿlīq zada*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,21 (see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 159) *az nawādir ba-Masğid-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ba-Masğid-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) (NP *ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Maqdis*)) ...

Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā** 136,16-138,19 (see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f. n. 5) *Bābu mā ḡāʾa fī Miḥrābi Zakarī yā ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-ḥidmati Yaḥyā li-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 306,10f. *qāla ṣ-ṣayḥu* [Ibn al-Murağğā] *wa-baʿda dīkrī li-faḍli l-masāğidi wa-mā ḥaṣṣahā Llāhu taʿālā bihi mimma daḥala l-Masğida l-Qudsa* (Livne-Kafri reads *Masğida l-Qudsi*) *fī ʿumūmihi adkuru faḍāʾila ṣ-Ṣaʾmi wa-mā ḥaṣṣahā Llāhu taʿālā bihi (... fa-kullu faḍīlatin waradat fī ṣ-Ṣaʾmi wa-li-l-Qudsi* (Livne-Kafri reads *fa-li-l-Qudsi*) *minhā aʿzamu ḥaẓẓin wa-awfaru naṣībīn*).

<sup>8</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 127,16 *Bābu faḍli ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī muʾaḥḥari l-Masğidi l-Muqaddasi wa-mā ḡāʾa fihā*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 129,14 *Bābu dīkri mā ḡāʾa fī Bābi r-raḥmati wa-sūri l-Masğidi l-Muqaddasi wa-Wādī Ḡahannuma*.

<sup>9</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī** 3,11f. (*aḥbarānā ṣ-ṣayḥu l-imāmu l-amīnu Taqīyu d-dīni Abū l-Ḥusayni Aḥmadu bnu Ḥamzata bni ʿAlīyini ṣ-Ṣāfiʾyi raḍīya Llāhu ʿanhu ... bi-taʾrīḥi ṣaḥri raḡaba sanata taḷāṭīn wa-tamānīna wa-ḥamsi miʾ[atin] ... qāla aḥbarānā ṣ-ṣarīfu n-naqību Abū l-ʿAbbāsi Aḥmadu bnu Muḥammadi bni ʿAbdi l-ʿAzīzi l-ʿAbbāsiyū l-Makki*

city) (*ḡāmiʿ-i šahr*,<sup>1</sup> *al-ḡāmiʿ*,<sup>2</sup> *al-ḡāmiʿ al-aʿzam*,<sup>3</sup> *masḡid-i ādīna*,<sup>4</sup> *masḡid-i buzurg*<sup>5</sup>), a mosque (*masḡid*),<sup>6</sup> the former Sanctuary which is now the mosque (*al-Bayt al-ladī huwa l-masḡid*

*yu raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu ... fi l-ʿušri t-tānī min rabīʿi l-awwali sanata sabʿin wa-arbaʿina wa-ḥamsi miʿatin qāla aḥbarānā l-qāḍī Abū l-Ḥusayni Muḥammadu bnu Muḥammadi bni l-Ḥusayni bnu l-Farrāʾi qāla aḥbarānā l-imāmu Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu l-ʿAzīzi bnu Aḥmada bni ʿUmaru l-maʿrūfu bi-bni Nuṣaybīyi qāla aḥbarānā l-imāmu l-ḥaṭību Abū Bakrin Muḥammadu bnu Aḥmada bni Muḥammadini l-Maqdisīyu l-maʿrūfu bi-l-Wasīṭīyi ... sanata ʿašrin wa-arbaʿi miʿatin qāla) ḥaddaṭanā Abū Ḥafṣin ʿUmaru bnu l-Faḍli bni l-Muḥāḡiri huwa l-Laḥmīyu fi l-Masḡidi l-Aqṣā qirāʾatan ʿalayhi qāla ...; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.548**: 331,2 (*qāla š-šayḥu l-imāmu l-ḥāfiẓu Abū l-Maʿālī l-Muṣarrāfu bnu l-Muraḡḡā l-Maqdisīyu raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu aḥbarānā Abū l-Faraḡi ʿUbaydu Llāhi bnu Yūsufu n-Naḥawīyu l-Marāḡīyu bi-qirāʾati ʿalayhi fi l-Masḡidi l-Aqṣā*).*

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 30,3f. *wa-miyān-i ḡāmiʿ wa-in dašt-i Sāhira wādī-i ast ʿaẓīm-i ẓarf; Nāṣir 37,12-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245 n. 4) *wa dar sih farsang-i šahr ābgīr-i didam ʿaẓīm kih ābhā kih az kūh furūd āyad dar ān-ḡā ḡamʿ šawad wa ān-rā rāh sāhtand* (NP *rāh-i sāhta*) *kih ba-ḡāmiʿ-i šahr rawad*.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.67**: 78,15f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 127 n. 256) *tumma yantahī ilā š-ṣuḥūri l-lati fi muʿaḥḡari l-ḡāmiʿi mimma yali Bāba l-Asbāṭi; Nāṣir 29,15f. (*dar Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *dar Bayt al-Maqdis*) *šudīm ...*) *wa ḡāmiʿ* (NP *ḡāmiʿ-i ān*) *masriqī ast wa bārū-yi mašriqī-i šahr bārū-yi ḡāmiʿ-ast; Nāṣir 30,3f. *wa-miyān-i ḡāmiʿ wa-in dašt-i Sāhira wādī-i ast ʿaẓīm-i ẓarf; Nāṣir 44,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74) *šifāt-i daraḡāt rāh-i dukkān kih bar sāhat-i ḡāmiʿ-ast; Nāṣir 37,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar hama šahr farāḡi-i āb dar ḡāmiʿ bāšad; Nāṣir 37,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 198) *wa in ḥawḍhā kih dar ḡāmiʿ ast ...******

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,17f. (*wa-madīnatu ʿIlīyā ḥāḍihi ... wa-bihā l-ḡāmiʿu l-aʿzamu*) *ṭuluḥu tisʿu miʿati dirāʿin, wa-ʿarḍuhu ḥamsu miʿati dirāʿin wa-ʿišrūna dirāʿan*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 30,20f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa ān bimāristān wa* (NP without *wa*) *masḡid-i ādīna bar kinār-i Wādī-i Ḡahannum ast*.

Cf. **Nāṣir** 33,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa ḥalq-i az mutaṣawwifa hamīša ān-ḡā muḡāwir bāšand wa namāz ham-ān-ḡā kunand illā rūz-i ādīna ba-masḡid dar āyand kih āwāz-i takbīr ba-išān birasad*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) (*wa-in masḡid maʿrūf-ast ba-Mahd-i ʿĪsī ʿalayhi s-salām ...*) *wa čūn az dar-i in masḡid biguḍarī ham bar diwār-i šarqī čūn ba-ḡūša-i masḡid-i buzurg birasand masḡid-i diḡar ast* (*.. wa ān-rā Masḡid al-Aqṣā gūyand*); **Nāṣir** 35,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa pūšiš-i masḡid-i buzurg kih Maqṣūra dar-ū-st bar diwār-i ḡanūbī ast wa ḡarbī*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,18-21 (*al-ḡāmiʿu l-aʿzamu ...*) *mabniyun ʿalā āzāḡin ʿizāmin taḥtahu yunzalu ilayhā bi-daraḡin wa-yuḡraḡu min abwābin lahā sāhiqatin ilā ṭuruqātin taḥta l-masḡidi mustaqillatin ka-annahā ṭabaqatun ṭāniyatun taḥta l-masḡidi wa-l-masḡidu ʿalā šafīri wādin min šarqīyihi yuʿrafu bi-Wādī Ḡahannuma wa-ṭ-ṭuruqātu l-mustaqillatu taḥta l-masḡidi fi ṭ-ṭabaqati ṭ-ṭāniyati tufḍi ilayhi; al-Muhallabī* 50,2,8-11 *wa-riwāqu l-masḡidi l-qibliyu [the Aqṣā Mosque] l-ladī fihi l-miḡrābu šabihun bi-sudsihi fi d-darʿi ... wa-r-riwāqu kulluhu muballaṭun bi-l-marmari wa-ḥiṭānuhu kulluhā manqūṣatun wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sāʾiri ḡihātihi abwābun maṭwīyatun* (I read *wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sāʾiri ḡihātihi bi-abwābin maṭliyatun*) *bayna yadayhā arwiqatun ʿalā ʿumudin min sāʾiri ḡihāti l-masḡidi wa-ka-ḍālīka ka-mā yadūru š-ṣaḡnu bi-arwiqatin ʿalā ʿumudin ʿarḍu r-riwāqi arbaʿa ʿašara dirāʿan; al-Muhallabī* 51,1f. *wa-hāḍa l-masḡidu huwa l-ladī banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ʿalayhimā s-salāmu ʿalā l-asāsi l-ladī banāhu Dāwūdu ʿalayhi s-salāmu; al-Muhallabī* 52,1-3 (transl. Vajda, "al-Muhallabī" 194f.) (*wa-kāna Ṭālūtu ... wa-malaka baʿdahu Dāwūdu ʿalayhi s-salāmu fa-aqāma fi l-mulki arbaʿina sanatan*) *fa-arāda fi baʿḍihā an yabniya l-Bayta l-ladī huwa l-masḡidu l-āna fa-awḡa Llāhu taʿālā ilayhi anna bnahu Sulaymāna huwa l-ladī yabnihi fa-banā Dāwūdu l-asāsa l-ladī ḡakartuhu* (cf. **al-Muhallabī** 51,1); **al-Muhallabī** 54,13-15 (transl. partly Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 89) (*wa-lammā banat Halānātu ummu Quṣṭantīna l-maliki Kanisata Qumāmata wa-ḡayrahā mina l-kanāʾisi ... amarat bi-taqaṣṣi hadmi l-Bayti wa-ḡaʿalat Mawḍiʿa š-Šaḡrati ḥuṣūša l-baladi wa-mazābilahu fa-daṭara*) *fa-lammā fataḡa ʿUmaru l-balada ḡāʾahu l-Yahūdu fa-ʿarraḡūhu bi-l-Mawḍiʿi fa-*

*al-ān*) (B131.10).

*amara l-Muslimīna bi-tanzīfihi wa-‘āwanahu l-Yahūdu ‘alā dālīka fa-kušifa ‘ani l-Mawḍi‘i wa-banā l-Muslimūna ‘alayhi masğidan; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 52: 64,15f. yustaḥabbu lahu idā daḥala l-Masğida Bayta l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Masğida Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *an yabda’a bi-riğlihi l-yumnā wa-yu’ahhira š-šamāla wa-yaqūla mā kāna n-Nabīyu ‘alayhi s-salāmu yaqūluhu idā daḥala l-masğida (wa-huwa ... qāla kāna Rasūlu Llāhi idā daḥala l-masğida ...); Ibn al-Murağğā 77,1f. Bābu mā yustaḥabbu mina d-du‘ā’i ‘inda Qubbati n-Nabīyi šallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-Bābi r-raḥmati wa-ğayri dālīka min ma‘ālimi l-masğidi; Nāşir 31,1f. (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 105) wa az barā-yi sang-i Şaḥra kih ān-ğā būda ast ...; Nāşir 31,5-7 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 129f.) ... tā ba-rūzgār-i Sulaymān ‘alayhi s-salām kih cūn qibla Şaḥra būd masğid dar gird-i Şaḥra bisāhtand cūn-ān-kih Şaḥra dar miyān-i masğid būd wa-miḥrāb-i ḥalq; Nāşir 31,10-15 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90) miḥwāstam tā masāḥat-i in masğid bikunam guftam awwal hay’at wa waḍ‘-i ān nīkū bidānam wa binam (NP *bibīnam*) ba’d az ān masāḥat kunam muddathā dar ān masğid mīgaştam wa nazāra mikardam pas dar ġānib-i šamālī ... niwišta dīdam dar sang kih ‘tūl-i in masğid haftşad (read *haftşad wa haštād*, thus Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 171; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90) wa čahār araş-ast wa ‘arḍ şad (read *čahār şad*, thus Schefer; Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90) wa paṅğāh wa paṅğ araş ba-gaz-i malik’ (= **van Berchem Nr.149A**) ...; Nāşir 32,15-17 wa dirāzi-i masğid az šamāl ba-ğānūb ast tā cūn Maqşūra az ān bāz burīda ast sāḥat murabba‘ āmada kih qibla dar ġānūb uftāda ast; Nāşir 33,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) (wa ḥalq-i az mutaşawwifa hamīša ān-ğā muğāwir bāşand wa namāz ham-ān-ğā kunand) illā rūz-i ādīna ba-masğid dar āyand kih āwāz-i takbīr ba-işān birasad; Nāşir 33,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) wa bar dīwār-i şarqī dar miyān-i (NP *ba-miyān-i*) ġā-yi masğid dargāh-i ‘azīm ast; Nāşir 37,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) (wa bar dīwār-i ġānūbī dar-i ast wa ān-ğā mutawaḍḍā-st wa āb) kih agar kas-i muḥtāğ-i wuḍūy (NP *wuḍū’i*) şawad dar ān-ğā rawad wa tağdīd-i wuḍū kunad čih agar az masğid bīrūn şawad namāz na-rasad wa namāz fawt şawad az buzurgī-i masğid; Nāşir 37, 7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) wa dar zamīn-i masğid hawḍhā wa ābgīrhā bisyār ast dar zamīn burīda čih masğid ba-yak-bār bar sar-i sang-ast; Nāşir 38,3-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāşer" 267f.) guftam (NP *guftīm*) kih šahr-i Bayt al-Muqaddas (I read *šahr-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) bar sar-i kūh-i-st (NP *kūh-ast*) (cf. **Nāşir** 28,5-9; **Nāşir** 29,8) wa zamīn hamwār nīst ammā masğid-rā za-mīn hamwār wa mustawī ast wa az bīrūn-i masğid ba-nisbat-i mawāḍi‘ har kuğā nişib ast dīwār-i masğid bulandtar ast az ān-kih pay bar zamīn-i nişib nihāda and wa har kuğā farāz ast (NP *farāzi-st*) dīwār kūtāhtar-ast pas badān mawḍi‘ kih šahr wa maḥallahā dar nişib ast (NP *dar nişib*) masğid-rā darhā-st kih ham-cūn-ān-kih naqb (NP *laqab*) bāşad burīda and wa ba-sāḥat-i masğid bīrūn āwarda; **Nāşir** 38,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) wa payğambar-i mā ‘alayhi ş-şalawāt (NP *‘alayhi ş-şalāt*) wa-s-salām dar šab-i Mi‘rāğ az ān rahğudar (NP *rāhğudar*) dar masğid āmad; **Nāşir** 38,23-39,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) dīwār-i masğid az bīrūn qarīb-i paṅğāh gaz irtifā‘ dārad; **Nāşir** 39,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) wa (NP without *wa*) bar dar-i masğid az dast-i rāst sang-i dar dīwār ast bālā-yi ān pānzdah (NP *yāzdah*) araş wa čahār araş ‘arḍ (NP *‘ulūw wa ‘arḍ*) ham-cūn-in dar-in masğid az in buzurgtar hič sang-i nīst; **Nāşir** 39,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179f.) (wa dar-i dīgar ast ... kih ān-rā Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa (NP *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) gūyand) wa cūn-in gūyand kih in dar ān-ast kih Hudā-yi ‘azza wa ġalla Banī Isrā’īl-rā badīn dar farmūd dar raftan ba-masğid; **Nāşir** 40,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) (wa ḥawḍ-i dar miyān-i in dukkān (NP *dukkān-i*) dar zīr-i zamīn sāḥta and ...) wa āb-i in ḥawḍ az hama-i ābhā kih dar in masğid ast pākīzatar wa ḥūştar ast; **Nāşir** 40,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) şifat-i Qubba-i Şaḥra banā-yi masğid cūn-ān nihāda ast kih dukkān ba-miyān-i sāḥat āmada wa Qubba-i Şaḥra ba-miyān-i dukkān wa Şaḥra ba-miyān-i qubba; **Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Işbīlī**, **‘Aridat al-Aḥwādī** 11 78 (quoted in and transl. by Elad, *Jerusalem* 117) (Bābu ḥiṭṭatin ...) huwa bābu l-masğidi t-tāminu.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā**: 133,8-136,15 *Bābu mā ġā’a fi Miḥrābi Maryama ‘alayhā s-salāmu wa-naḍri mra’ati Imrāna mā fi baṭniḥā muḥarraran li-ḥidmati l-masğidi*.

B131.1.a. It has been suggested that *Miḥrāb Dāwūd*, usually meaning the fortress next to the city's west gate (the CITADEL next to JAFFA GATE), in some instances refers to whole area,<sup>1</sup> the Dome of the Rock,<sup>2</sup> the Rock<sup>3</sup> or a prayer-niche (MIḤRĀB 'UMAR) in the middle of the area's south wall.<sup>4</sup>

B131.2. **Names (Christian):** The Temple of Solomon (ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος),<sup>5</sup> the mosque at the place of the Temple of King Solomon (*masgdā b-dōkaṭ hayklā ḍa-Šleyṁōn malkā* = *masḡid fī mawḍi' Haykal Sulaymān al-malik*).<sup>6</sup>

B131.3. **Names (Jewish):** The Temple (*Bēyt ha-Miqdāš*,<sup>7</sup> *ha-Miqdāš*,<sup>8</sup> *al-Maqdis*,<sup>9</sup> *al-Quds*<sup>10</sup>), the Temple of (Our) God (*Miqdāš Ālōhēnū*,<sup>1</sup> *Bēyt Ālōhēnū*,<sup>2</sup> *Quds Allāh*<sup>3</sup>), the Glo-

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 40; Busse, "Sanctity" 450f.; Kessler, "Reconsideration" 11 n. 20; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 79; 116; Busse, "'Omar's Image" 166f.; Gil, *Palestine* 413 n. 64; 418 n. 67; 648; 828; 833; 947 s.v. "miḥrāb Dā'ūd"; Busse, "Tower of David" 144 n. 10; 155-157; 163; Elad, *Jerusalem* 136f.

<sup>2</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 413 n. 64; 947 s.v. "miḥrāb Dā'ūd".

<sup>3</sup>Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 30; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 99-101.

<sup>4</sup>Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 17; 24.

<sup>5</sup>**Epiphanius V** II,19 (see Schneider, "Epiphanius" 152f.) καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἰδιότειχα = **Epiphanius M** II,19 καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος = **Epiphanius J** II,19 καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἰδιότυχος

<sup>6</sup>**Elias of Nisibis** 1 132,25-133,1 (Syriac) = 133,5 (Arabic): AH 17 (see Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110) (*bāh nṣaq 'Omar bar Ḥaṭṭāb men Yātrih medintā w-eṭā l-Ūrišlem w-'al lāh w-amlek bāh*) *wa-bnā masgdā b-dōkaṭ Hayklā ḍa-Šleyṁōn malkā* = *fihā ḥaraḡa 'Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi mina l-Madīnati wa-wāfā ilā Bayti l-Muqaddasī wa-daḥalahā wa-malakahā wa-btanā masḡidan fī mawḍi' Haykalī Sulaymāna l-maliki*.

<sup>7</sup>**Gil Nr.174**,8 (*al tiḥšōk 'atiratka bē-ēdēnū*) *ūlay yišma' Ālōhēnū [təpi]ll[ō]tēkā āl Bēyt ha-Miqdāš wa-'al ša'arē bēytō (wə-yiqqaḥ mē-'alēnū ha-[maḥ]lāh wə-nimša' rəpū'āh lə-hiqbīl pānīm yāpāh bə-ḥayyīm)*; **Gil Nr.519**,20-23 *gam bē-ēt 'āmīdātī 'al ša'arē Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mhērāh b-imēnū wə-b-imāw wə-'al Har ha-zētīm 'anī məbarkēyhū wə-šō'el mə-ha-Ēl ša-yiṣlēhū wə-yis'edēhū wə-yəgōnēhū wə-hū' bə-raḥmāw yišma' wa-y'a'anāh*.

<sup>8</sup>**Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāsūt abnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn 'aprotāyhā ū-l-sōbēb ša'arē ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl 'alāyhām bə-qōl rām bə-qadoš wə-bārūk' ū-b-'alōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šir ū-b-'amodām 'alāw b-imē ha-ḥaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Šəḵīnat 'uzzō wa-Hādōm riglāw*; **Gil Nr.109**,13f. (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 149 n. 16; see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282) (*lə-ma'an lō yināzzēqū Bēyt Yisrā'el [... ba-'alōtām] ū-b-bō'am bə-sōbēbām 'al ša'arē [ha-Miqdāš ...] bə-qadoš wə-bārūk' (ū-ka-'alōtām āl Har [ha-zētīm ... nōkah] Hēykāl Ālōhēnū məqōm Šəḵīnat 'uzzō wə-hādōm [riglō] ...)*.

<sup>9</sup>**Gil Nr.617**,44 *wa-wa-ḥaqq al-Maq[d]is in kān lī li-sabt šayayn albasuh siwā fard tawb*.

Cf. **Gil Nr.467**r upper margin,1-5 (*min al-Quds ... wa-rabbēnū Yəhūdāh [as]al tu'arrifuh an katabtu ḡawāb kitābuh wa-huwa qad ḥaraquh insān šayḥ mi-pnē ha-sakkānāh*) *wa-ḥaqq hādā l-Mawḍi' al-Muqaddas la-qad katabtuh wa-ḥaraquh insān šayḥ*; **Gil Nr.484**r,6 (*kitābī ... min al-Quds 'amaruh Allāh ...*) *wa-bi-ḥaqq hādā l-Mawḍi' aš-Šarīf lā taqta' kutubak 'annā (li-tufarriḡ 'annā bihā)*; **Gil Nr.617**r,44 *wa-wa-ḥaqq al-Maq[d]is in kān lī li-sabt šayayn albasuh siwā fard tawb*.

<sup>10</sup>**Gil Nr.1**r,5-11 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 71; partly Gil, "Jewish Community" 167; see Gil, *Palestine* 71-74) (*tumma innuh ['Umar] amarhum bi-kans al-Qūds wa-tanzīfuh ... fa-kull mā nkašafat šadwa* [Classical Arabic

rious Temple (*al-Maqdis al-Ġalīl*),<sup>4</sup> the Temple [soon] to be rebuilt (*al-Quds al-Ma'mūr*),<sup>5</sup> the

šadwa] yas'al li-šuyūḥ al-al-Yahūd (read *li-šuyūḥ al-Yahūd*) 'an as-Šaḥra l-ladī hiya Āḥān Šaṭiyāh (**Mishna Yoma** 5.2) *fa-kān ba'd al-ūlamā yuhaddid luh al-Mawḍi' ilā an inkāšaf fa-amar bi-an yubnā sūr al-Quds wa-yubnā 'alā š-Šaḥra qūbba wa-[tu]tlā bi-d-dahab*; **Gil Nr.1v**,10-15 (see Gil, *Palestine* 71-74) *tumma innuh qāl* ['Umar] *ayn tuḥibbū taskunū fi l-balad fa-qālū* [the Jews] *ḡanūbī l-balad wa-huwa Sūq al-Yahūd wa-kān min ṭalabhum qurb al-Quds wa-abwābuh wa-ka-dālik Mā Silwān li-ṭ-ṭəḥīlāh fa-an'am amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhum dālik*; **Gil Nr.451r**,3 (wa-*lam yā mawlāya l-parnās ayyadaka Llāh annī maḍaytu ilā qibrē āḥōt* [at Hebron] *wa-kān ma'ī ḡamā'a*) *wa-wa-ḥaqq al-Quds la-qad da'aytu li-mawlāya l-ḥābēr Abū Zakarīy[ā] šəmōrō Šūr* (wa-li-... *... waqt fatḥ sēpār Tōrah wa-tabā' kull šalāt*); **Gil Nr.451r**,12 (wa-mā naqdir 'alā mukāfa'a lā lak yā sayyidi wa-lā li-ḡayrak aktar min ad-dū'a a[š]-šālīḥ bə-tōaḥ ha-qāhāl) *wa-fi s-sayr 'alā abwāb al-Quds* (wa-fi Har ha-zētīm mə-qōm ma'mad Šəḡīnāh wa-nas'aluh al-iḡāba bi-raḥmatuh); **Gil Nr.497r**,2 (*kitābī ... min al-mustaqarr min al-Quds al-Ma'mūr*) *an-niṣf min adār rišōn sā'at wa-ḥaqq al-Quds wuṣūl kitābak al-karīm*; **Gil Nr.501r**,10 *wa-wa-ḥaqq hāda l-Quds la-qad mirār katīra natamannā l-mawt wa-naštahih*; **Gil Nr.502r**,8-10 (*fa-lammā kān fi l-ḥaḡī ḡ ištaynā 'inab fa-qāl li azin* [Classical Arabic wa-zin] *'annī fa-wazantu 'anhu h dan[ā]nir nizāriya ... wa-sāfar huwa ḥafizuh Allāh ilā Šūr*) *fa-īnd wuṣūluh waṣal wa-ḥaqq al-Quds ilā [d-]dār fi ma'arīb šay lam narā qaṭṭ mitluh*; **Gil Nr.503r**,3f. (wa-aṣḥāb al-qamḥ sāyirīn rāḡi'īn fa-ḥarragtu wa-Llāh yā mawlāya dan[ā]nir uḡrā wa-'aynayya tatalaḡlaḡ dumū' fa-qālū li n-nisā bi-Llāh yā mawlāya hrūḡ anta bihā wa-azin [Classical Arabic wa-zin] *lahum*) *fa-qāsitu wa-ḥaqq al-Quds min al-mə'rōrōt ma'hum mā lā aqwā aṣifuh*; **Gil Nr.575**,33.37f. (*as-sultān* [the Fāṭimid caliph] *'azza Llāh naṣruḥ ... fa-in naṣarnā Llāh 'alā yadayh wa-fataḥ al-Quds wa-ka-dī ya[k]lūn in šā' Allāh*) *fa-ana l-ladī lā albat* [Classical Arabic lā albat] *'an al-masīr ilayhā ušāhidhā* (wa-a'ūd qāṣidan ilaykum in šā' Allāh ... *fa-ana a'ūd 'alā kull waḡḥ wa-sabab ma' al-ḥayāt*) *immā ba'd naṣar al-Quds aw ba'd al-yās min dālik* (wa-kallā yakūn dālik).

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.110**,23f. (wə-ānū niqbašnū yaḥad kāl 'am adōnāy ha-nimšā'im b-Īrūsālayīm nə'ārīm wa-zqēnīm: ḥ<sup>a</sup>kāmīm wə-nəḥōnīm <sup>a</sup>nāšīm wa-nāšīm wə-ṭap wə-yāšišīm wə-hōsēfnū təḥillōt ... l-zəqēnēnū wə-ḥ<sup>a</sup>šūbēnū wə-y<sup>a</sup>dīdēnū wa-nəḡīdnū gam lə-kāl ha-zəqēnīm ... ū-l-kōl qəḥēlōt 'am Ālōhēnū ...) wə-gam harbēnū lə-hithannēn 'al ša<sup>a</sup>rē Miqdaš Ālōhēnū u-b-Har ha-Zētīm.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.379**,8.11 (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 629) (... wa-yubālīḡ min al-ad'īya wa-yaḡtamin (read wa-yaḡtanim) wāfir afḍāluḥ 'alayh kull ... wa-qaliq qal[bī] li-dālik) wa-štaḡal sarī) wa-sa[ru'tu l]tazamtu š-šawm wa-š-šalāt qāṣidan 'alā ša<sup>a</sup>rē Bēyt Ālōhēnū yitrōmēm šibḥō ū-mnūḥat aḥōtī li-aḡl[...m] 'alayya min al-furūd wa-mā ziltu bi-hāda l-ḡumla (ilā an 'ād kitāb al-madkūr wa-radd [...]) Ālōhē Yisrā'ēl yit'ālāh bih min tawaḡḡuh al-āfiya wa-t-ta'wīl fi yawm [...] al-ḥamām fa-aktartu min šāḥaḥ al-ḥāliq ta'ālā) wa-sa'altuh an yutammim [...].

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.434r**,10f. (wa-ana as'al mawlāya l-ḥābēr al-mə'ōlāh yūhannī [sayyidi ... fi hāda l-]id al-mubārak Allāh yu'īdūh 'alayh sinīn katra) wa-an [yūḡma' aš-ša]ml fi būnyān Qudsuh; **Gil Nr.474r**,4 (min al-Gūš niṣf ēlūl ... wa-ana uhannīk bi-hādih al-a'yād al-[mubāraka wa]-bi-š-šawm Allāh yataqabbal minnā wa-minnak) wa-yaḡma'nā ilā Qudsuh; **Gil Nr.500a** r,3 (waṣal kitāb mawlāya š-šayḥ aṭāl Allāh baqāḥ wa-adām salāmatuh wa-sa'ādatuh sā'at kitābī hādā ilayh wa-huwa yawm al-itnayn yawmayn baqīna min tišrī a'ād Allāh 'alayh hādih al-a'yād šānīm rabbōt) wa-aṣḥadnā wa-īyyāḥ bunyān Qudsuh.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.301**,17f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-in ra'a mawlāya š-šayḥ Šūrō yirbāḥ hadarō mu-sā'adatuh wa-ma'ūnatuh wa-irfāduḥ bi-šay wa-aḡrāḥ 'alā l-ma'ḥūd min faḍluḥ bi-mā saḥul fa-inna lahu ...*) *wa-yaḡtanim min 'abduḥ ḥarasuh Allāh katrat al-ad'īyya* [sic] *l-mubāraka bi-'aqīb kull šalāt wa-fi kull du'a fi abwāb hādā l-Maqdis al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yaqarrēb šīklōlō b-īmēnū bi-ḥayyay wə'al yedē ha-zāqēn ha-məḡōbēd adōnēnū wə-rabbēnū.*

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.497r**,2 (*kitābī ... min al-mustaqarr min al-Quds al-Ma'mūr*) *an-niṣf min adār rišōn sā'at wa-ḥaqq al-Quds wuṣūl kitābak al-karīm.*

Noble Temple (*al-Quds aš-Šarīf*),<sup>1</sup> the Holy Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ al-Muqaddas*),<sup>2</sup> the Noble Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ aš-Šarīf*),<sup>3</sup> the Glorious Sanctuary (*al-Bayt al-Ġalīl*),<sup>4</sup> the Great Sanctuary (*al-Bayt al-ʿAẓīm*).<sup>5</sup>

**B131.4. Position:** The mosque is [inside the city] towards the east (*mašriqī*) and the [east] wall of the Friday mosque (*bārū-yi ġāmiʿ*) is at the same time the east wall of the city (*bārū-yi mašriqī-i šahr*) (B153.2); both the hospital and the Friday mosque are on the edge of the Valley of Hell (*bar kinār-i Wādī-i Ġahannum*);<sup>6</sup> the mosque is on the edge of the Valley of Hell (*Wādī Ġahannum*);<sup>7</sup> between the Friday mosque (*ġāmiʿ*) and the Plain of as-Sāhira (*dašt-i Sāhira*) [on the Mount of Olives] is the Valley of Hell (*Wādī-i Ġahannum*) (the KIDRON

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.298r**,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ġalla surʿat al-istiġāba bimā ana muwāṣilhumā min al-adʿiy[ya] ṣ-ṣāliḥa fī hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl yeqarrēḥ šiklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū*; **Gil Nr.300**,18-20 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asaluh Allāh yaʿal luh dālik bayn yadayh zəkūt meqōbēl kēmō qurbān meqōbēl*) *wa-an yastaġib minnī fih dāyiman kull daʿwa ṣāliḥa l-lati ana dāʿihā luh quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl bi-raḥmatuh*; **Gil Nr.301**,7-9,12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ġalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiġābat mā ana muwāṣiluh li-mawlāya ṣ-ṣayḥ min al-adʿiyya [sic] ṣ-ṣāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ... wa-sababuh inqitāʿuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yarḍih taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā ṣ-ṣalāt fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yeqarrēḥ šiklōlō b-īmēnū bə-ḥayyay wə-ʿal yədē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ġādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū*.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.467r** upper margin ,1-5 (*min al-Quds ... wa-rabbēnū Yəhūdāh [as]al tuʿarrifuh an katabtu ġawāb kitābuh wa-huwa qad ḥaraquh insān ṣayḥ mi-pnē ha-sakkānāh*) *wa-ḥaqq hādā l-Mawḍiʿ al-Muqaddas la-qad katabtuh wa-ḥaraquh insān ṣayḥ*.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.484r**,6 (*kitābī ... min al-Quds ʿamaruh Allāh ...*) *wa-bi-ḥaqq hādā l-Mawḍiʿ aš-Šarīf lā taqtaʿ kutubak ʿannā (li-tufarrig ʿannā bihā)*.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.298r**,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ġalla surʿat al-istiġāba bimā ana muwāṣilhumā min al-adʿiy[ya] ṣ-ṣāliḥa fī hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl yeqarrēḥ šiklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū*; **Gil Nr.300**,18-20 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asaluh Allāh yaʿal luh dālik bayn yadayh zəkūt meqōbēl kēmō qurbān meqōbēl*) *wa-an yastaġib minnī fih dāyiman kull daʿwa ṣāliḥa l-lati ana dāʿihā luh quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl bi-raḥmatuh*; **Gil Nr.301**,7-9,12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ġalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiġābat mā ana muwāṣiluh li-mawlāya ṣ-ṣayḥ min al-adʿiyya [sic] ṣ-ṣāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ... wa-sababuh inqitāʿuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yarḍih taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā ṣ-ṣalāt fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yeqarrēḥ šiklōlō b-īmēnū bə-ḥayyay wə-ʿal yədē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ġādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū*.

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.300**,26-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asal Allāh yaḥrus ḥayātuh ...*) *wa-staġāb minnī fih wa-fihim [the addressee and his children] kull daʿwa ṣāliḥa l-lati ana dāʿihā dāyman fī hādā l-Quds quddām hādā l-Bayt al-ʿAẓīm*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 30,20-23 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa ān bīmāristān wa (NP without wa) masġid-i ādīna bar kinār-i Wādī-i Ġahannum ast wa čün az sū-yi bīrūn-i masġid ān dīwār-rā kih bā wādī ast binigarand šad araš bāšad ba-sanghā-yi ʿaẓīm bar āwarda čün-ān-kih gil wa gağ dar miyān nist*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,18-21 *wa-l-masġidu ʿalā šafiri wādīn min šarqīyhi yuʿrafu bi-Wādī Ġahannuma (wa-t-turuqātu l-mustaḳillatu taḥta l-masġidi fī t-ṭabaqati t-tāniyati tufḍi ilayhi)*.

VALLEY).<sup>1</sup> When one goes from the market to the mosque, eastwards (*čūn az bāzār ba-masğid rawand rūy ba-mašriq bāšad*), one arrives at the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) (B144.2). This is the ḤARAM.

**B131.5. Physical shape:** This is a (Friday) mosque (B131.1). The long side of the mosque (*dirāzī-i masğid*) is from north to south (*az šamāl ba-ğanūb*) and if one deducts from this total length [the length of] the Roofed Hall (*Maqšūra*) in its south, one gets a quadrangular (*murabba*<sup>2</sup>) courtyard (*sāḥat*).<sup>2</sup> In the [north] broad side of the mosque which goes eastwards (*dar pahnā-yi masğid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad*) is a gate (B150.2); in the [same north] broad side of the mosque (*bar pahnā-yi masğid*), another arcade (*riwāq*) (B152.2); in the [south] broad side of the mosque (*dar pahnā-yi masğid*), the Gate of the Spring (*Bāb al-ʿAyn*) (B140.2). The prayer-direction [wall] (*qibla*) is in the south (*dar ғанūb*),<sup>3</sup> in the south side wall opposite the north wall (*bar dīl-i ғанūbī piš-i dīwār-i šamālī*).<sup>4</sup> The Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) and the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) are two famous places of the mosque (*maʿālim al-masğid*).<sup>5</sup> The mosque (*masğid*) was built around the Rock (*dar gird-i Şaḥra*), and in the centre of the mosque (*dar miyān-i masğid*) came the Rock (*Şaḥra*) (B131.10); the mosque (*masğid*) was built such that in the centre of the courtyard (*ba-miyān-i sāḥat*) came the platform (*dukkān*), in the centre of the platform (*ba-miyān-i dukkān*) the Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Şaḥra*), and in the centre of the dome (*ba-miyān-i qubba*) the Rock (*Şaḥra*) (B155.3).

**B131.5.a. Nāṣir's** *wa bar dīwār-i šarqī čūn ba-gūša-i rasad kih ғанūbī ast wa qibla bar dīl-i ғанūbī-st wa piš-i dīwār-i šamālī masğid-i-st sardāb* (... *wa in masğid maʿrūf-ast ba-Mahd-i ʿIsī ʿalayhi s-salām*) "And in the east wall when it arrives at the corner which is south - the qibla is in the south side and opposite the north wall - there is an underground mosque (... and this mosque is known as the Cradle of Jesus)" has, in the middle of the sentence, an insertion that the prayer-direction is towards the south. This insertion has been taken as referring to the underground mosque (Schefer, *Le Strange*), but this is quite unnecessary.

**B131.6.** One may look over the roof of the mosque (*bām-i masğid*) from the platform (*dukkān*) (B167.3).

**B131.7.** The mosque measures [from north to south and from east to west] 784 by 455

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 30,3f. *wa-miyān-i ғāmiʿ wa-in dašt-i Sāhira wādī-i ast ʿazīm-i žarf*.

<sup>2</sup>Nāṣir 32,15-17 *wa dirāzī-i masğid az šamāl ba-ғанūb ast tā čūn Maqšūra az ān bāz burīda ast sāḥat murabbaʿ āmada kih qibla dar ғанūb uftāda ast*.

<sup>3</sup>Nāṣir 32,16f. ... *kih qibla dar ғанūb uftāda ast*.

<sup>4</sup>Nāṣir 34,14f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 166) (*wa* (NP without *wa*) *bar dīwār-i šarqī čūn ba-gūša-i rasad kih ғанūbī ast wa qibla bar dīl-i ғанūbī-st wa piš-i dīwār-i šamālī (masğid-i-st sardāb)*).

<sup>5</sup>Ibn al-Murağğā 77,1f. *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu mina d-duʿāʾi ʿinda Qubbati n-Nabīyi šallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-Bābi r-raḥmati wa-ğayri dālīka min maʿālimi l-masğidi*.

king's ells (*dirā' al-malik*) (521.36 by 302.58 m) (B131.8) or 900 by 520 ells (*dirā'*) (448.20 by 258.96 m).<sup>1</sup>

B131.8. An inscription gives the dimensions, apparently officially: *\*tūlu l-masğidi sab'umi'ati dirā'in wa-arba'un wa-ṭamānūna dirā'an wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'ati dirā'in wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dirā'an bi-dirā'i l-maliki* "The length of the mosque is 784 ells and its width 455 ells by the king's ell".<sup>2</sup> This inscription is written in stone (*niwišta dar sang*) and is placed on a vault (*bar ṭāq-i*) [of an arcade] in the north side of the mosque next to the Dome of Jacob (*dar ḡānib-i šamālī kih nazdik-i Qubba-i Ya'qūb ʿalayhi s-salām ast*), between the two gates which are in the north side (*miyān-i ān dū dargāh kih bar ḡānib-i šamāl ast*),<sup>3</sup> between BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB HITTĀ.

B131.8.a. The text of the inscription is given by Fāṭimid **Nāṣir** and Crusader **al-Harawī** - the inscription is changed shortly after 1200 (131.8.c) and therefore I use all sources available. **Nāṣir**'s *tūl-i in masğid haftšad wa čahār araš-ast wa ʿarḍ šad wa paṅgāh wa paṅg ba-gaz-i malik* "the length of the mosque is 704 ells and the width 155 ells by the king's ell" is obviously a Persian translation; **al-Harawī**'s *tūlu l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā sab'umi'ati dirā'in bi-dirā'i l-maliki wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'atin wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dirā'an bi-dirā'i l-maliki* "the length of the Aqṣā Mosque is 700 ells, by the king's ell, and its width 455 ells, by the king's ell" is the Arabic text.

B131.8.b. Marwānid, High ʿAbbāsīd and even post-Crusader sources give almost the same text, but do not refer to the inscription. Marwānid **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** has *tūlu l-masğidi sab'u mi'ati dirā'in wa-ḥamsatun wa-*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,17f. (*wa-madīnatu ʿIlīyā hādīhi ... wa-bihā l-ḡāmi'u l-a'zamu*) *tūluhu tis'u mi'ati dirā'in, wa-ʿarḍuhu ḥamsu mi'ati dirā'in wa-ʿišrūna dirā'an*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,10-16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90) *miḥwāstam tā masāḥat-i in masğid bikunam guftam awwal hayʾat wa waḍʿ-i ān nī kū bidānam wa būnam (NP bibīnam) baʿd az ān masāḥat kunam muddathā dar ān masğid mīgaštam wa naẓāra mī kardam pas dar ḡānib-i šamālī kih nazdik-i Qubba-i Ya'qūb ʿalayhi s-salām ast bar ṭāq-i niwišta dīdam dar sang kih 'tūl-i in masğid haftšad* (read *haftšad wa haštād*, thus Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 171; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90) *wa čahār araš-ast wa ʿarḍ šad* (read *čahār šad*, thus Schefer; Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90) *wa paṅgāh wa paṅg araš ba-gaz-i malik'* (= **van Berchem Nr.149A**) *wa gaz-i malik ān-ast kih ba-Ḥurāsān ān-rā gaz-i šāyḡān gūyand wa ān yak araš wa nīm bāšad čizak-i kamtar*; later Crusader-time **al-Harawī** 26,7-10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 194) *wa-qara'tu ʿalā šaḥratin maktūban mā hādīhi šūratuhu 'tūlu l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā sab'umi'ati dirā'in* (read *sab'umi'atin wa-arba'un wa-ṭamānūna dirā'an*, thus Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 172; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90f.) *bi-dirā'i l-maliki wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'atin wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dirā'an bi-dirā'i l-maliki' wa-hādīhi š-Šaḥratu baqiyatun mabniyatun fī ḥa'iqin šamā-līya l-Aqṣā*.

Cf. today's inscription, **van Berchem Nr.163** (see Elad, *Jerusalem* 88 n. 54) *bi-[smi Llāhi r-raḥ]māni r-raḥīmi tūlu l-Masğidi sab'atu mi'atin wa-arba'un wa-ṭamānīna dirā'in wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'u mi'atin wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsīna dirā'in bi-dirā'i l-maliki*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170) *pas dar ḡānib-i šamālī kih nazdik-i Qubba-i Ya'qūb ʿalayhi s-salām ast bar ṭāq-i niwišta dīdam dar sang kih ...; Nāṣir* 33,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa miyān-i ān (NP in) dū dargāh kih bar ḡānib-i šamāl ast dar in riwāq kih ṭāqhā-yi ān bar pīlpāyahā -st qubba i-st*.



*ḥamsūna ḍirā'an bi-ḍirā'i l-maliki wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'u mi'ati ḍirā'in wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā'an bi-ḍirā'i l-maliki ayḍan* "the length of the mosque is 755 ells by the king's ell and its width 455 ells by the king's ell also" (B015.2.a); High ʿAbbāsid **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**, *ṭūlu l-masġidi sabʿumi'ati ḍirā'in wa-arba'un wa-ṭamānūna ḍirā'an wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'ati ḍirā'in wa-ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā'an bi-ḍirā'i l-imāmi* "the length of the mosque is 784 ells and its width 455 ells by the imām's ell" (B052.6.a); post-Crusader **al-Qazwīnī**, *ammā l-masġidu fa-ṭūluhu sabʿumi'atin wa-arbaʿatun wa-ṭamānūnā ḍirā'an wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'atin wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā'an* "what concerns the mosque, its length is 784 ells and its width 455 ells".<sup>1</sup> We may assume that these Marwānid and High ʿAbbāsid sources quote an inscription existing in the Marwānid and High ʿAbbāsid periods,<sup>2</sup> this is much more probable than the reverse that the Fāṭimid inscription quotes Marwānid and High ʿAbbāsid traditions.

B131.8.c. A slightly different inscription in less Classical Arabic is quoted by Post-Crusader **Aḥmad al-Maqdisī**, **as-Suyūṭī** and **Muġīr ad-dīn**,<sup>3</sup> the same dimensions are given, without reference to the inscription, by **Ibn Baṭṭūṭa**.<sup>4</sup> This is **van Berchem Nr. 163** as we have it today, *\*bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥī mi ṭūlu l-masġidi sabʿatu mi'atin wa-arba'un wa-ṭamānīna ḍirā'in wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'u mi'atin wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsīna ḍirā'in bi-ḍirā'i l-maliki* "In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. The length of the mosque is 784 ells and its width 455 ells, by the king's ell." This is not the inscription of **Nāṣir** and **al-Harawī**, but a more recent copy which replaces, shortly after 1200, the apparently much-worn older inscription, and is of no interest to us.<sup>5</sup>

B131.8.d. Let us now reconstruct the Fāṭimid (and earlier Marwānid and High ʿAbbāsid) inscription. It deals with the length and width of *al-masġid* "the mosque"; this is given by all except **al-Harawī**, who has instead *al-Masġid al-Aqṣā* "the Furthest Mosque". The original length is 784 ells (521.36 m), given by **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih** and **al-Qazwīnī**; **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr. 47** copies the width's 55 ells into the length; **Nāṣir** drops the tens;<sup>6</sup> **al-Harawī** drops both tens and last digits.<sup>7</sup> The original width is 455 ells (302.58 m), given by all except by **Nāṣir**, who drops the digits of the hundreds.<sup>8</sup> The unit is the king's ell, found in **Ibn al-Muraġġā**, **Nāṣir** and

<sup>1</sup>**al-Qazwīnī** II 109,1f. *ammā l-masġidu fa-ṭūluhu sabʿumi'atin wa-arbaʿatun wa-ṭamānūnā ḍirā'an wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'atin wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā'an*.

<sup>2</sup>Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 171; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 87f. (referring to **Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih**); 89.

<sup>3</sup>**Aḥmad al-Maqdisī** 305,8-14 (quoted in van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 91 n. 6; transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 195) ... *wa-lākin ra'aytu qadīman bi-l-ḥāyīti š-šamāliyi fawqa l-bābi l-laḍi yalī d-Dawādārīyata min dāḥili s-sūri balāṭatan fihā ṭūlu l-masġidi wa-ʿarḍuhu wa-dālika muḥālīfun li-mā ḍakarāhu* [**Ibn al-Muraġġā** and **Bahā' ad-dīn b. ʿAsākir**] *fa-l-laḍi fihā anna ṭūluhu sabʿumi'ati ḍirā'in wa-arbaʿatun wa-ṭamānūna ḍirā'an wa-ʿarḍuhu arba'umi'ati ḍirā'in wa-ḥamsatun wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā'an qāla l-muṣannifu raḥimahu Llāhu wa-wuṣifa fihā d-ḍirā'u lākinni lam atahqqaq dālika hal huwa d-ḍirā'u l-maḍkūru* [i.e., ḍirā' al-malik] *am ġayruhu li-taša'uti l-kitābatī*; **as-Suyūṭī**, *Iṭḥāf* (transl. Le Strange 269f.); **Muġīr ad-dīn** 251 (transl. Sauvage, *Moudjîr-ed-dyn* 60f.).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn Baṭṭūṭa** 1 121,6-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 194; see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 93f.) (*ḍikru l-Masġidi l-Muqaddasi* ...) *wa-inna ṭūluhu min šarqin ilā ġarbin sabʿumi'atin wa-ṭintāni wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā'an bi-d-ḍirā'i l-mālīkiyati wa-ʿarḍuhu mina l-qiblati ilā l-ġawfi arba'umi'ati ḍirā'in wa-ḥamsun wa-ṭalātūna ḍirā'an*.

<sup>5</sup>Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 172f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 87f.; 94f.

<sup>6</sup>Schefer, *Nassir*, Persian text 22,9; Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90.

<sup>7</sup>Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 172; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90f.

<sup>8</sup>Schefer, *Nassir*, Persian text 22,9; Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90.

**al-Harawī**; **al-Qazwīnī** has instead plain ells; **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih**, who does not claim to quote word for word, has *dirā‘ al-imām* "the *imām*'s ell". These dimensions roughly fit with those of today's ḤARAM (B015.2.a).

|                                    | subject                  | length | width | unit                  |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------|-------|-----------------------|
| <b>Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih</b>             | <i>al-masğid</i>         | 784    | 455   | <i>dirā‘ al-imām</i>  |
| <b>Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47</b>        | <i>al-masğid</i>         | 755    | 455   | <i>dirā‘ al-malik</i> |
| <b>Nāšir</b> (Persian translation) | <i>in masğid</i>         | 704    | 155   | <i>gaz-i malik</i>    |
| <b>al-Harawī</b>                   | <i>al-Masğid al-Aqṣā</i> | 700    | 455   | <i>dirā‘ al-malik</i> |
| <b>al-Qazwīnī</b>                  | <i>al-masğid</i>         | 784    | 455   | <i>dirā‘</i>          |
| assumed original                   | <i>al-masğid</i>         | 784    | 455   | <i>dirā‘ al-malik</i> |

B131.8.e. Length and width are defined by the prayer-direction towards Mecca, towards the south, length is therefore from north to south, width from east to west.

B131.8.f. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** and **al-Harawī**'s *dirā‘ al-malik*, **Nāšir**'s *gaz-i malik*, mostly just *gaz*, and **Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih**'s *dirā‘ al-imām* are the well-known *dirā‘ al-malik* "the king's ell" or *ad-dirā‘ al-Hāšimīya* "the Hashimite ell", 0.665 m long, 8/6 of *ad-dirā‘ aš-šar‘īya* "the legal ell" of 0.498 m.<sup>1</sup> **Nāšir** identifies *gaz-i malik* with the Ḥurāsānian *gaz-i šāygān* "the kings' ell" and explains that the latter is somewhat less than 1.5 times the plain *araš* "ell";<sup>2</sup> this seems to suppose that *gaz-i šāygān* is somewhat less than 0.747 m. Marwānīd **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.137** = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.17** says that the Rock had, in the time of Solomon, a height of 12 *dirā‘ al-amān* "protection ells" - possibly a misspelling of *\*dirā‘ al-imām* - and explains this unit as 1 [usual] ell (*dirā‘*) (0.498 m) plus 1 inch (*šibr*) and 1 fist (*qabḍa*) (0.09 m) (B045.5.d).

B131.8.g. The place of the inscription is given by **Nāšir**'s *dar ġānib-i šamālī kih nazdik-i Qubba-i Ya‘qūb ‘alayhi s-salām ast bar taq-i niwišta dīdam dar sang kih ...* "in the north side which is near the Dome of Jacob I saw the following written on a vault in stone ..."; the arcade near the Dome of Jacob is located between the two north gates by **Nāšir**'s *wa miyān-i ān dū dargāh kih bar ġānib-i šamāl ast dar in riwāq kih ... qubba ī-st ... wa ān-rā Qubba-i Ya‘qūb-i ‘alayhi s-salām gūyand* "and between those two gates which are on the north side, in the arcade which ..., there is a dome ... and they call it the Dome of Jacob". Crusader **al-Harawī** describes the place only with *fī ḥa’iṭin šamālīya l-Aqṣā* "in a wall in the north side of the Furthest [Mosque]". All this fits with the arcade between the two north gates, *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-abwāb* (BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤITṬA). The later inscription **van Berchem Nr.163** was found next to BĀB AL-‘ATM on BAY 29 of the NORTH ARCADE<sup>3</sup> - i.e., on the east pillar of the central door of the original triple gate (fig. 54 at 4) - and this may have been, exactly or roughly, the place of the first inscription.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hinz, "Dhirā‘" 238b.

For *dirā‘ al-malik* or *ad-dirā‘ al-Hāšimīya*, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 85 n. 1; 95f.; Grohmann, *Einführung* 174; 252; Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte* 55-62; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 196f. n. 204.

<sup>2</sup>The term *šāhgānī* connected with a measure of length [?] is found in a Jerusalem-related letter, in **Gil Nr. 472r,8** (*yabī‘hā [...]’lw bi-rās mālḥā l’[...]šrt bi-h danānīr [...] šāhgānī štarāw*).

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 84; 90; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 107; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 95. BAYS are counted as in Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 104-108.

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90.

B131.9. **Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Išbīlī** lives in a small cave (*ḡuwayr*) between the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) and the Chamber of Zechariah (*Mihrāb Zakarīyā*).<sup>1</sup> **Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Išbīlī** and **Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maḡribī** together perform the evening ritual prayer between the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) and the Gate of al-Aḥḍar (*Bāb al-Aḥḍar*).<sup>2</sup>

B131.9.a. The suggested identification of the High ‘Abbāsīd *Maḡārat Ibrāhīm* with the Fāṭimid *ḡuwayr* "small cave" of Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Išbīlī is very possible, but further sources are lacking (B097.2.b).

B131.10. **Traditions (Muslim)**: This is the former Sanctuary which is now the mosque (*al-Bayt al-laḍī huwa l-masḡid al-ān*),<sup>3</sup> built by **Solomon**<sup>4</sup> on the foundation (*asās*) laid by **David**.<sup>5</sup> In the time of **Solomon** the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) was the prayer-direction, and he there-

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Išbīlī**, *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (quoted in ‘Abbās, "Qānūn" 80).

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Išbīlī**, *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān* 3 1297 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 116; see ‘Abbās, "Qānūn" 66).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 52,1-3.6f.9 (transl. Vajda, "al-Muhallabī" 194f.) (*wa-kāna Ṭālūtu ... wa-malaka ba’dahu Dāwūdu ‘alayhi s-salāmu fa-aqāma fī l-mulki arba’ina sanatan*) *fa-arāda fī ba’dihā an yabniya l-Bayta l-laḍī huwa l-masḡidu l-āna fa-awḥā Llāhu ta’ālā ilayhi anna bnahu Sulaymāna huwa l-laḍī yabnihi fa-banā Dāwūdu l-asāsa l-laḍī dakartuhu* (cf. **al-Muhallabī** 51,1) ... *wa-lammā btada’a Sulaymānu ‘alayhi s-salāmu bi-binā’i l-Bayti ... wa-banā Sulaymānu ‘alayhi s-salāmu l-Bayta fī ṭalāta ‘ašrata sanatan*.

Cf. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.67**: 78,15-18 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 127 n. 256) *ṭumma yantahī ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī mu’ahḥari l-ḡāmi’i mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbātī fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi’i l-laḍī yuqālu lahu Kursiya Sulaymāna wa-yastaqbilu l-qiblata wa-yaḡtahidu fī d-du’ā’i fa-huwa l-mawḍi’u l-laḍī da’ā fīhi Sulaymānu ‘alayhi s-salāmu lammā fariḡa min binā’i l-masḡidi fa-staḡāba Llāhu ta’ālā lahu fīhi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 133,8-136,15 *Bābu mā ḡā’a fī Mihrābi Maryama ‘alayhā s-salāmu wa-naḍri mra’ati ‘Imrāna mā fī baṭnihi muḥarraran li-ḥidmati l-masḡidi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 136,16-138,19 (see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f. n. 5) *Bābu mā ḡā’a fī Mihrābi Zakarīyā ‘alayhi s-salāmu wa-ḥidmati Yahyā li-Masḡidi Bayti l-Maqḍisi*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,1 ... *wa-lammā btada’a Sulaymānu ‘alayhi s-salāmu bi-binā’i l-Bayti ... wa-banā Sulaymānu ‘alayhi s-salāmu l-Bayta fī ṭalāta ‘ašrata sanatan*; **al-Muhallabī** 51,1f. *wa-hāḍa l-masḡidu huwa l-laḍī banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ‘alayhimā s-salāmu ‘alā l-asāsi l-laḍī banāhu Dāwūdu ‘alayhi s-salāmu*; **al-Muhallabī** 52,1-3.6f.9 (transl. Vajda, "al-Muhallabī" 194f.) (*wa-kāna Ṭālūtu ... wa-malaka ba’dahu Dāwūdu ‘alayhi s-salāmu fa-aqāma fī l-mulki arba’ina sanatan*) *fa-arāda fī ba’dihā an yabniya l-Bayta l-laḍī huwa l-masḡidu l-āna fa-awḥā Llāhu ta’ālā ilayhi anna bnahu Sulaymāna huwa l-laḍī yabnihi fa-banā Dāwūdu l-asāsa l-laḍī dakartuhu* (cf. **al-Muhallabī** 51,1) ... *wa-lammā btada’a Sulaymānu ‘alayhi s-salāmu bi-binā’i l-Bayti ... wa-banā Sulaymānu ‘alayhi s-salāmu l-Bayta fī ṭalāta ‘ašrata sanatan*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.67**: 78,15-18 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 127 n. 256) *ṭumma yantahī ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī mu’ahḥari l-ḡāmi’i mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbātī fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi’i l-laḍī yuqālu lahu Kursiya Sulaymāna wa-yastaqbilu l-qiblata wa-yaḡtahidu fī d-du’ā’i fa-huwa l-mawḍi’u l-laḍī da’ā fīhi Sulaymānu ‘alayhi s-salāmu lammā fariḡa min binā’i l-masḡidi fa-staḡāba Llāhu ta’ālā lahu fīhi*; **Nāṣir** 45,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) (*wa ḡuyand in Kursi-i Sulaymān būda ast*) *wa guftand kih Sulaymān ‘alayhi s-salām bar ān-ḡā nišastī badān waqt kih ‘imārat-i masḡid hamī kardand*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,1f. *wa-hāḍa l-masḡidu huwa l-laḍī banāhu Sulaymānu bnu Dāwūda ‘alayhimā s-salāmu ‘alā l-asāsi l-laḍī banāhu Dāwūdu ‘alayhi s-salāmu*; **al-Muhallabī** 52,1-3.6f.9 (transl. Vajda, "al-Muhallabī" 194f.) (*wa-kāna Ṭālūtu ... wa-malaka ba’dahu Dāwūdu ‘alayhi s-salāmu fa-aqāma fī l-mulki arba’ina sanatan*) *fa-arāda fī ba’dihā an yabniya l-Bayta l-laḍī huwa l-masḡidu l-āna fa-awḥā Llāhu ta’ālā ilayhi anna bnahu Sulaymāna huwa l-*

fore built the mosque (*masğid*) around the Rock (*dar gird-i Şaḥra*) so that the Rock (*Şaḥra*) came in the centre of the mosque (*dar miyān-i masğid*) and became the prayer-niche of [all] people (*miḥrāb-i ḥalq*).<sup>1</sup> The Temple (*al-Quds*) was one of the prayer-places of the **Children of Israel** (*mutaʿabbadāt Banī Isrāʾīl*).<sup>2</sup> When **Helena**, the mother of Constantine, built the Anastasis [the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] and other churches, she destroyed the Sanctuary (*al-Bayt*) thoroughly and made the Place of the Rock (*Mawḍiʿ aṣ-Şaḥra*) the city's privies and garbage dumps; but when ʿUmar conquered the city, he was informed by Jews where the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) was; he ordered the Muslims to clean it with the help of the Jews; it was uncovered and the Muslims built a mosque (*masğid*) on it.<sup>3</sup> **al-Walīd** (Umayyad caliph 86-96/701-715) built the mosque (*al-masğid*) on its old foundation (*ʿalā asāsihi l-qadīm*), built the dome (*al-qubba*) over the Rock (*ʿalā ṣ-Şaḥra*), embellished and levelled the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) [the Dome of the Rock] and built further domes (*qibāb*) in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*): the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Miʿrāğ*), the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*), the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥşar*);<sup>4</sup> he tried to turn the simple people of Syria-Palestine (*aṭ-ṭağām min ahl aṣ-Şaʿm*) away from the pilgrimage (*al-ḥağğ*) to the Ḥiğāz and to alienate them from Muḥammad's family, and told them therefore that the gathering and judgement of the last days would be in that Place (*dālīka l-Mawḍiʿ*), in this mosque (*masğid*), and that Muḥammad rose from that Place (*dālīka l-Mawḍiʿ*) to heaven.<sup>5</sup>

---

*laḍī yabnihi fa-banā Dāwūdu l-asāsa l-laḍī ḍakartuhu* (cf. **al-Muhallabī** 51,1) ... *wa-lammā btadaʿa Sulaymānu ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-bināʾi l-Bayti* ... *wa-banā Sulaymānu ʿalayhi s-salāmu l-Bayta fī ṭalāṭa ʿaṣrata sanatan*.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,5-7 (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 129f.) ... *tā ba-rūzgār-i Sulaymān ʿalayhi s-salām kih cūn qibla Şaḥra būd masğid dar gird-i Şaḥra bisāhtand cūn-ān-kih Şaḥra dar miyān-i masğid būd wa-miḥrāb-i ḥalq*.

Cf., without the name of the builder, **Nāṣir** 31,1f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 105) *wa az barā-yi sang-i Şaḥra kih ān-ğā būda ast masğid ham ān-ğā banā nihāda and*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.56:** 68,6f. *wa-in aḥabba an yadʿuwa bi-mā kāna yadʿū bihi daʿʿu Banī Isrāʾīla idā unzilat bihimi ṣ-ṣadāʾida fī l-Qudsi wa-ğayrihi min mutaʿabbadātihim*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,11-15 (transl. partly Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 89) *wa-lammā banat Halānātu ummu Quṣṭanṭīna l-maliki Kanīsata Qumāmata wa-ğayrahā mina l-kanāʾisi ... amarat bi-taqasṣi hadmi l-Bayti wa-ğāʿalat Mawḍiʿa ṣ-Şaḥrati ḥuṣūṣa l-baladi wa-mazābilahu fa-daṭara fa-lammā fataḥa ʿUmaru l-balada ḡāʾahu l-Yahūdu fa-ʿarrafūhu bi-l-Mawḍiʿi fa-amara l-Muslimīna bi-tanzīfihi wa-ʿāwanahu l-Yahūdu ʿalā dālīka fa-kaṣafa ʿani l-Mawḍiʿi wa-banā l-Muslimūna ʿalayhi masğidan*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni ʿAbdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida ʿalā asāsihi l-qadīmi wa-banā l-qubbata ʿalā ṣ-Şaḥrati wa-hassana l-Mawḍiʿa wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fihi qibāban ḡayrahā sammā baʿḍahā Qubbata l-Miʿrāği wa-baʿḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-baʿḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-baʿḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥşari*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,19-24 (transl. partly Elad, "Dome of the Rock" 51 n. 89; see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni ʿAbdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida ʿalā asāsihi l-qadīmi ...*) *wa-aqāma fī nufūsi ṭ-ṭağāmi min ahli ṣ-Şaʿmi anna n-nāsa yaḥşirūna* (Elad reads *yuhşarūna*) *ilā dālīka l-Mawḍiʿi wa-yuḥāsabūna fihi wa-annahu ʿuriğā bi-n-Nabiyyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu min dālīka l-Mawḍiʿi ilā s-samāʾi stinʾān lahum waṣadan ʿani l-ḥağğī wa-isğālan lahum bi-hādā l-makāni ʿani l-Ḥiğāzi ḥawfan ʿalā ahli ṣ-Şaʿmi an yadḥulū l-Ḥiğāza fa-yalqāhumu n-nāsu wa-yuʿarrifūnahum faḍla ahli l-bayti ʿalayhimi*

B131.10.a. **al-Muhallabī**'s tradition of how the complex was built has the following structure:

|                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. Setting          | <i>fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi<br/>l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki</i>                                                                                                                                    | "And when it was in the days of<br>al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik                                                                                                                                     |
| b. Whole mosque     | <i>banà l-masğida 'alà asāsihi l-qadīmi</i>                                                                                                                                                       | he built the mosque on its old foundation.                                                                                                                                                       |
| c. Dome of the Rock | <i>wa-banà l-qubbata 'alà š-Şaḥrati<br/>wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi'a wa-sawwāhu</i>                                                                                                                       | And he built the dome over the Rock,<br>embellished the Place and levelled it.                                                                                                                   |
| d. Minor domes      | <i>wa-banà fīhi qibāban ḡayrahā<br/>sammā ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāği</i><br><br><i>wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni</i><br><i>wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati</i><br><i>wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥşari</i> | And he built on it some more domes,<br>of which he called one the Dome of the<br>Ascension,<br>one the Dome of the Balance,<br>one the Dome of the Chain,<br>and one the Dome of the Gathering." |

B131.10.b. Part d says *wa-banà fīhi qibāban ḡayrahā* "and he built on it some more domes". This seems to mean that he built the minor domes on *al-Mawḍi'* "the Place" preceding in c; but *al-Mawḍi'*, synonymous with *Mawḍi' aš-Şaḥra* "the Place of the Rock", is, in Marwānid, High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid sources, the Dome of the Rock, and the minor domes are obviously not on the Dome of the Rock. We should rather take the sentence as referring to *al-masğid* "the mosque" in b, and the minor domes are indeed part of the area.

B131.10.c. **Nāşir**'s ... *čun-ān-kih Şaḥra dar miyān-i masğid būd wa-miḥrāb-i ḡalq* " ... and therefore, the Rock was in the centre of the mosque and the prayer-niche of [all] people" means that the believers of all nations turned in their prayer to the Rock of Jerusalem. There is no *miḥrāb-i Hudā* "the mihrab of God".<sup>1</sup>

B131.11. The Dome of the Rock is the Third Sanctuary of God (*Siwwum Ḥāna-i Hudā*), as the scholars of religion (*'ulamā-yi dīn*) know that ritual prayer made in the Temple (*\*Bayt al-Maqdis*) [Jerusalem] is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in Medina, to 50,000, and in Mecca, to 100,000 prayers.<sup>2</sup>

---

*s-salāmu 'alà Banī Umayyata li-annahū lam yakun bi-š-Şā'mi aḡadun yazunnu anna li-n-Nabīyi qarābatan illā Banī Umayyata.*

<sup>1</sup>Grabar's "mihrab for all creation" (Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 146) obviously translates *miḥrāb-i ḡalq*, but he nevertheless explains the term as "miḥrāb-i Khoda, literally 'the mihrab of God' " (Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 146 n. 35).

<sup>2</sup>**Nāşir** 42,10-16 *wa ān ḡā-yi-st kih Siwwum Ḥāna-i Hudā-yi subḡānahu wa-ta'alā ast čih miyān-i 'ulamā-yi dīn ma'rūf-ast kih har namāz-i kih dar Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *dar Bayt al-Maqdis*) *guḡārand* (read *guzārand*) *bah bī st wa paṅğ hazār namāz qubūl uftad wa ān-čih ba-Madīna-i Rasūl 'alayhi š-şālāt wa-s-salām kunand har namāz-i bah paṅğāh hazār namāz šumārānd wa ān-čih ba-Makka-i mu'aẓẓama šarrafahā Llāhu ta'alā guḡārand* (read *guzārand*) (NP *ba-Makka guḡārand šarrafahā Llāhu ta'alā*) *ba-şad hazār namāz qubūl uftad Hudā-yi 'azza wa-ğalla hama-i bandagān-i ḡud-rā tawfiq-i dar yāft ān rūz-i kunād.*

Cf. **Ibn al-Bannā**, **Ta'rīḡ** 4 290,16-21: 142 (see Gil, *Palestine* 98 n. 22) *wa-urriḡtu yawma 'abara qāḡi l-quḡāti ilā qabri Abī Ḥānīfata li-yuḡlisa Abā Ṭālibin aḡā n-naqībi wa-ma'ahu l-ğamā'atu anna bna Fūraka*

**B131.12. Traditions (Christian):** ‘Umar built the mosque (*masgdā* = *masǧid*) at the place of the Temple of King Solomon (*hayklā da-Šleyṃōn malkā* = *haykal Sulaymān al-malik*).<sup>1</sup>

**B131.13. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the **Temple** (B131.3) [destroyed and] hopefully soon to be rebuilt.<sup>2</sup> After the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem, ‘Umar searched for the Foundation Stone (*Āḥān Šēṭiyāh*) (*Mishna Yoma* 5.2) [the stone from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, in the Holy of Holies]; he asked the elders of the Jews (*\*šuyūḥ al-Yahūd*) about it and was helped by one or more of the [Jewish] scholars (*baḏ al-ulamā*) to discover the Place (*al-Mawḏi*); he cleaned the Temple (*al-Quds*), built the wall of the Temple (*sūr al-Quds*), built a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock (*alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and gilded it;<sup>3</sup> he brought the Jews to Jerusalem and settled them in the city's south (*ǧanūbī l-balad*), in the [neighbourhood called] the Market of the Jews (*Sūq al-Yahūd*), next to the Temple and its

---

*takallama bi-mā ankarathu l-ǧamāʿatu wa-studilla bihi ʿalā l-ǧahli l-ʿazīmi wa-dālika annahu qāla ašrafu l-biqāʿi ṭalāṭun Makkatu wa-l-Madīnatu tumma qāla wa-hādā l-mawḏiʿu yaʿni qabra Abī Ḥanīfata fa-qāla baḏu l-mutafaqqihati wa-nasīta anna fī d-dunyā mawḏiʿan yuqālu lahu Bayta l-Maqdisi fa-layta qulta arbaʿun (read arbaʿatun) kāna aǧmala min an tuʿlima kaḏbaka šurāḥan.*

<sup>1</sup>**Elias of Nisibis** 1 132,25-133,1 (Syriac) = 133,5 (Arabic): AH 17 (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 107-110) (*bāh nṣāq ʿOmar bar Ḥaṭṭāb men Yātrih medīntā w-eṭā l-Ūrišlem w-ʿal lāh w-amlek bāh*) *wa-bnā masgdā b-dōkaṭ Hayklā da-Šleyṃōn malkā* = *fīhā ḥaraǧa Umaru bnu l-Ḥaṭṭābi mina l-Madīnati wa-wāfā ilā Bayti l-Muqaddasi wa-daḥalahā wa-malakahā wa-btanā masǧidan fī mawḏiʿi Haykali Sulaymāna l-maliki.*

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.298**r,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ǧalla surʿat al-istiǧāba bimā ana muwāšilhumā min al-adʿiy[ya] ṣ-šāliḥa fī hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-ǧalīl ha-Ēl yeqarrēb šiklōl binyānō b-imānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū*; **Gil Nr.301**,12-14.17f.(see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-sababuh inqīṭaʿuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yarḏih taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā ṣ-ṣalāt fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-ǧalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōlō b-imēnū b-ḥayyay w-ʿal yadē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ǧādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū (... fa-in raʿa mawlāya ṣ-šayḥ Šūrō yirbāh hadarō musaʿadatuh wa-maʿunatuh wa-irfāduh bi-šay wa-aǧrāh ʿalā l-maḥūd min faḏluh bi-mā saḥul fa-inna lahu ...) wa-yaǧtanim min ʿabduh ḥarasuh Allāh katrat al-adʿiyya [sic] l-mubāraka bi-ʿaqib kull ṣalāt wa-fī kull duʿā fī abwāb hādā l-Maqdis al-ǧalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōlō b-imēnū bi-ḥayyay w-ʿal yadē ha-zāqēn ha-maḥōbēd adōnēnū w-rabbēnū*; **Gil Nr.434**r,10f. (*wa-ana asʿal mawlāya l-ḥābēr al-maʿōlāh yūhannī [sayyidi] ... fī hādā l-ʿid al-mubārak Allāh yuʿidūh ʿalayh sinin katra*) *wa-an [yūǧmaʿ aš-ša]ml fī būnyān Qūdsuh*; **Gil Nr.500a** r,3 (*waṣal kitāb mawlāya ṣ-šayḥ aṭāl Allāh baqāh wa-adām salāmatuh wa-saʿadatuh sāʿat kitābī hādā ilayh wa-huwa yawm al-itnayn yawmayn baqīna min tišrī aʿād Allāh ʿalayh hādih al-aʿyād šānīm rabbōt*) *wa-ašhadnā wa-iyyāh bunyān Qūdsuh*; **Gil Nr.519**,20-23 *gam b-ʿet ʿāmīdātī ʿal šaʿrē Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mḥērāh b-imēnū w-b-ī māw w-ʿal Har ha-zētīm ʿanī mabarkēyhū w-šōʿel mē-ha-Ēl šā-yiṣlēḥhū w-yisʿadēhū w-yegōnēnēhū w-hūʾ b-rahʾa māw yišmaʿ wa-yʿanāh.*

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.1r**,5-11 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 71; partly Gil, "Jewish Community" 167; see Gil, *Palestine* 71-74; ) (*tumma innuh [ʿUmar] amarhum bi-kans al-Qūds wa-tanzīfuh ... fa-kull mā nkašafāt šadwa* [Classical Arabic šadwa] *yasʿal li-šuyūḥ al-al-Yahūd* (read *li-šuyūḥ al-Yahūd*) *ʿan as-Ṣaḥra l-ladī hiya Āḥān Šēṭiyāh* (*Mishna Yoma* 5.2) *fa-kān baḏ al-ulamā yuhaddid luh al-Mawḏiʿ ilā an inkašaf fa-amar bi-an yubnā sūr al-Qūds wa-yubnā ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥra qubba wa-[tu]ṭlā bi-d-dahab.*

gates (*qurb al-Quds wa-abwābuh*) and next to the Spring of Sulwān (*Mā' Sulwān*);<sup>1</sup> at the time of the Muslim conquest, the Jews showed the Muslims the place of the Temple.<sup>2</sup>

**B131.14. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** This is a mosque (B131.1). People [staying in the mosque for a long while] make ritual ablution at the ablution place under the Roofed Hall; if they had to leave the mosque [for ritual ablution], they would miss ritual prayer because of the great dimensions of the mosque (*az buzurgī-i masǧid*) (B137.8). The Ṣūfīs living in the two Ṣūfī convents (*\*dū duwayra-i šūfiyān*) as adherents (sing. *muǧāwir*) usually pray in the convents except on Fridays when, upon hearing the prayer-call (*āwāz-i takbīr*), they join the [congregational] prayer in the mosque (B152.5). In the Furthest Mosque (*fī l-Masǧid al-Aq-ṣā*), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqdisī l-Wāsiṭī reads a tradition in a course given by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Faḍl b. al-Muhāǧir al-Laḥmī in 410/1019-1020;<sup>3</sup> here, Ibn al-Muraǧǧā reads a tradition in a course given by Abū l-Faraǧ ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yūsuf an-Naḥawī l-Marāǧī.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-ʿArabī l-Iṣbīlī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Maǧribī together perform the evening ritual prayer between the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) and the Gate of al-Aḥḍar (*Bāb al-Aḥḍar*) (B131.9).

B131.15. The mosque is considered one of the three [large] mosques [in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] one may [equally] visit (B131.11). The scholars of religion (*ʿulamā-yi dīn*) know that ritual prayer made in in the Temple (*\*Bayt al-Maqdis*) [Jerusalem] is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in Medina, to 50,000, and in Mecca, to 100,000 prayers (B131.11).

### B132. The cisterns and pools<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.1v**,10-15 (see Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 19 n. 14; Gil, *Palestine* 71-74) *tumma innuh qāl* [ʿUmar] *ayn tuḥibbū taskunū fī l-balad fa-qālū* [the Jews] *ǧanūbī l-balad wa-huwa Sūq al-Yahūd wa-kān min ṭalabhum qurb al-Quds wa-abwābuh wa-ka-dālik Mā Silwān li-ṭ-ṭəḥlāh fa-anʿam amīr al-muʿminīn ʿalayhum dālik*.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.420**,10-13 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 71).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī** 3,11f. (*aḥbarānā š-šayḥu l-imāmu l-amīnu Taqīyu d-dīni Abū l-Ḥusayni Aḥmadu bnu Ḥamzata bni ʿAliyini š-Šāfiʿiyi raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu ... bi-taʿrīḥi šahri raǧaba sanata ṭalāṭin wa-ṭamānīna wa-ḥamsi miʿatin*) ... *qāla aḥbarānā š-šarīfu n-naqību Abū l-ʿAbbāsi Aḥmadu bnu Muḥammadi bni ʿAbdi l-ʿAzizi l-ʿAbbāsīyu l-Makkī yu raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu ... fī l-ʿuṣri ṭ-ṭānī min rabīʿi l-awwali sanata sabʿin wa-arbaʿina wa-ḥamsi miʿatin qāla aḥbarānā l-qādi Abū l-Ḥusayni Muḥammadu bnu Muḥammadi bni l-Ḥusayni bnu l-Farrāʿi qāla aḥbarānā l-imāmu Abū Muḥammadin ʿAbdu l-ʿAzizi bnu Aḥmada bni ʿUmara l-maʿrūfu bi-bni Nuṣaybīyi qāla aḥbarānā l-imāmu l-ḥaṭību Abū Bakrin Muḥammadu bnu Aḥmada bni Muḥammadini l-Maqdisīyu l-maʿrūfu bi-l-Wāsiṭīyi ... sanata ʿaṣrin wa-arbaʿi miʿatin qāla) ḥaddaṭanā Abū Ḥafṣin ʿUmaru bnu l-Faḍli bni l-Muhāǧiri huwa l-Laḥmīyu fī l-Masǧidi l-Aqṣā qirāʿatan ʿalayhi qāla ...*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.548**: 331,2 (*qāla š-šayḥu l-imāmu l-ḥāfiẓu Abū l-Maʿālī l-Muṣarrafu bnu l-Muraǧǧā l-Maqdisīyu raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu) aḥbarānā Abū l-Faraǧi ʿUbaydu Llāhi bnu Yūsufu n-Naḥawīyu l-Marāǧīyu bi-qirāʿatī ʿalayhi fī l-Masǧidi l-Aqṣā*.

<sup>5</sup>For the cisterns of the area, see B010.

**B132.1. Names (Muslim):** The cisterns (*ḥawḍhā*) which are in the Friday mosque (*dar ḡāmi'*).<sup>1</sup>

**B132.2. Position:** There are many<sup>2</sup> cisterns and pools in the Friday mosque (*dar ḡāmi'*),<sup>3</sup> in this mosque (*dar in masḡid*),<sup>4</sup> and the water of the aqueduct is brought into the Friday mosque of the city (*ba-ḡāmi'-i šahr*) (B133.2); the mosque (*masḡid*) has many places to store water (*ābhā*);<sup>5</sup> the Friday mosque (*ḡāmi'*) has the largest quantity of water in the whole city.<sup>6</sup> These cisterns and pools (*ḥawḍhā wa ābgīrhā*) are in the ground of the mosque (*dar zamīn-i masḡid*);<sup>7</sup> one cistern is in the centre of the platform (*dar miyān-i dukkān*) (B168.2); another water cistern (*ḥawḍ ḡihat-i āb*) is inside the Roofed Hall (*dar andarūn-i pūšiš*) (B205.2). We should locate these cisterns roughly in the ḤARAM, the cistern under the platform in the only existing CISTERN under the PLATFORM (B168.2), the cistern inside the Roofed Hall at B'P' AL-WARAQA (B205.2).

**B132.3. Physical shape:** These are cisterns (*ḥawḍhā*<sup>8</sup> sing. *ḥawḍ*) and pools (*ābgīrhā*<sup>10</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 198) *wa in ḥawḍhā kih dar ḡāmi' ast ...*

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar zamīn-i masḡid ḥawḍhā wa ābgīrhā bisyār ast.*

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,12-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245 n. 4) *wa dar sih farsang-i šahr ābgīr-i didam 'azīm kih ābhā kih az kūh furūd āyad dar ān-ḡā ḡam' šawad wa ān-rā rāh sāhtand* (NP *rāh-i sāhta*) *kih ba-ḡāmi'-i šahr rawad wa dar hama šahr farāḥī-i āb dar ḡāmi' bāšad*; **Nāṣir** 37,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 198) *wa in ḥawḍhā kih dar ḡāmi' ast ...*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa āb-i in ḥawḍ az hama-i ābhā kih dar in masḡid ast pākizatar wa ḥūštar ast.*

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa āb-i in ḥawḍ az hama-i ābhā kih dar in masḡid ast pākizatar wa ḥūštar ast.*

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar hama šahr farāḥī-i āb dar ḡāmi' bāšad.*

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar zamīn-i masḡid ḥawḍhā wa ābgīrhā bisyār ast dar zamīn burīda čih masḡid ba-yak-bār bar sar-i sang-ast.*

<sup>8</sup> **Nāṣir** 37,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar zamīn-i masḡid ḥawḍhā wa ābgīrhā bisyār ast dar zamīn burīda*; **Nāṣir** 37,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa ḥawḍhā-yi sangīn dar zīr-i nāwdānhā nihāda*; **Nāṣir** 37,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 198) *wa in ḥawḍhā kih dar ḡāmi' ast ...*; **Nāṣir** 37,20f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 196) *wa sar-i ḥawḍhā čun-ān-ast ...*

<sup>9</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *(wa ḥawḍhā-yi sangīn dar zīr-i nāwdānhā nihāda sūrāḥ-i dar zīr-i ān) kih āb az ān sūrāḥ ba-maḡrā rawad wa ba-ḥawḍ rasad*; **Nāṣir** 37,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 196) *wa sar-čāh-i sangīn ast* (NP *sar-čāh-i sangīn sāhta ast*) *bar sar-i har ḥawḍ-i.*

The cistern under the platform is mentioned in **Nāṣir** 40,5-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa ḥawḍ-i dar miyān-i in dukkān* (NP *dukkān-i*) *dar zīr-i zamīn sāhta and kih hama-i bārānhā kih bar ān-ḡā bārād āb* (NP *āb-i ān*) *ba-maḡrāyhā dar in ḥawḍ rawad wa āb-i in ḥawḍ az hama-i ābhā kih dar in masḡid ast pākizatar wa ḥūštar ast.*

<sup>10</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,7-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar zamīn-i masḡid ḥawḍhā wa ābgīrhā bisyār ast dar zamīn burīda čih masḡid ba-yak-bār bar sar-i sang-ast čun-ān-kih har čand bārān bibārad hič āb bīrūn na-rawad wa talaf na-šawad hama dar ābgīrhā rawad.*



These cisterns in the Friday mosque (*in ḥawḍhā kih dar ḡāmi‘ ast*) never need any repair as they are of bedrock (*sang-i ḥāra*), and all potential fissures and holes have been filled in so well that there is never any damage.<sup>1</sup> The top of the cisterns (*sar-i ḥawḍhā*) is like [the top of] an oven (*tanūr*), it is closed by a stone cap (*sar-čāh-i sangīn*) lest anything may fall into them;<sup>2</sup> the cistern (*ḥawḍ*) in the centre of the platform is under the floor (*dar zīr-i zamīn*) (B168.2); the water cistern (*ḥawḍ ḡihat-i āb*) inside the Roofed Hall is, with its cap (*sar*) put on, level with the floor (*ba-zamīn mustawī*) (B205.2).

B132.4. These cisterns are fed by rain collected in a large pool (*ābgīr-i ‘azīm*) 3 *farsang* (18 km) from the city and brought here by the aqueduct (B133.2) or falling on the courtyard of the mosque and its roofs. Rain is neither wasted nor polluted, but as the mosque (*masḡid*) is on [bed] rock (*bar sar-i sang*), rain is collected into pools (*ābgīrhā*) from which people may draw [fresh] water; this water becomes neither soiled nor ill-smelling, but is [for storage] led by lead gutters (*\*nāwdānhā az arzīz*) down into stone cisterns (*ḥawḍhā-yi sangīn*), then from a hole (*sūrāh*) in the bottom by a drain (*maḡrā*) to a [storing] cistern (*ḥawḍ*).<sup>3</sup> Gutters are constructed such that they are still dripping two or three days after a rain.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,17-20 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 198) *wa in ḥawḍhā kih dar ḡāmi‘ ast har-gaz muḥtāḡ-i ‘imārat na-bāšad kih sang-i ḥāra ast wa agar šaqq-i yā sūrāh-i būda bāšad čun-ān muḥkam karda and kih har-gaz ḥarāb na-šawad wa čun-in guftand kih in-rā Sulaymān ‘alayhi s-salām karda ast.*

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,20-22 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 196) *wa sar-i ḥawḍhā čun-ān-ast kih čun tanūr-i wa sar-čāh-i sangī n ast (NP sar-čāh-i sangīn sāhta ast) bar sar-i har ḥawḍ-i tā hič čiz dar ān na-yuftad.*

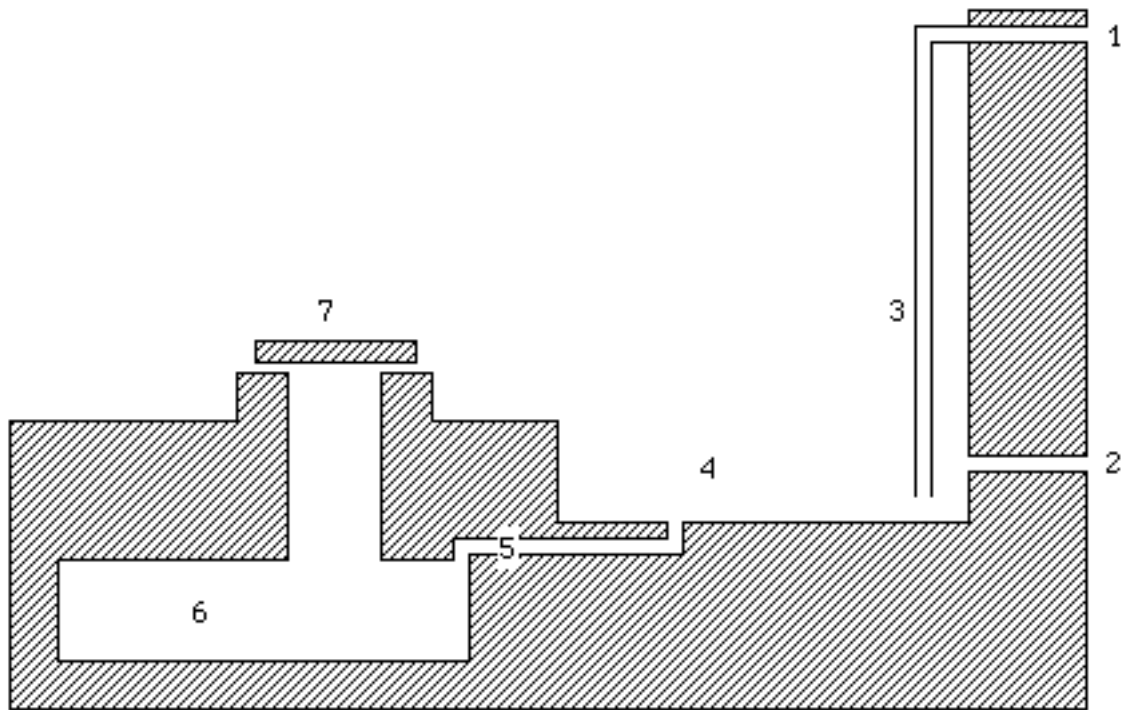
A description of the Palestinian oven is given in High ‘Abbāsīd **al-Muqaddasī** 183,16-18 (*aš-Ša’mu ... wa-rusūmuḥum ...*) *wa-lahumu l-afrinatu wa-li-l-qaryātīyina ṭ-fawwābīna tannūrun fī l-arḍi šaḡīrun qad furiša bi-l-ḥaṣā fa-yūqadu z-ziblu ḥawlahu wa-fawqahu fa-ida ḥmarra ṭuriḥati l-aḡrifatu ‘alā l-ḥaṣā.*

For this kind of oven, see Schefer, *Nassir* 84 n. 1; Le Strange, *Palestine* 79 n. 5; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 226 n. 69; Mazar, "Excavations in the Old City II-III" pl. XIV; Waines, "Maṭbakh" 798a.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,7-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar zamīn-i masḡid ḥawḍhā wa ābgīrhā bisyār ast dar zamī n burīda čih masḡid ba-yak-bār bar sar-i sang-ast čun-ān-kih har čand bārān bibārad hič āb bīrūn na-rawad wa talaf na-šawad hama dar ābgīrhā rawad wa mardum bar mīdārānd wa nāwdānhā az arzīr (read az arzīz, with NP) sāhta kih āb badān furūd (NP furū) āyad wa ḥawḍhā-yi sangīn dar zīr-i nāwdānhā nihāda sūrāh-i dar zīr-i ān kih āb az ān sūrāh ba-maḡrā rawad wa ba-ḥawḍ rasad mulawwaṭ nā-šuda wa āsīb būy na-rasīda (NP nā-rasīda).*

The term maḡārī l-mi‘āh "the aqueducts" is also mentioned in Jerusalem in Mamlūk **van Berchem Nr. 103**,1f. (see[...] *taḡdīdu ‘imārati maḡārī l-mi‘āhi l-wāṣilati ilā l-Bayti l-Muqaddasī.*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,23-38,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 198) *wa agar andak bārān-i bibārad tā dū sih rūz az nāwdānhā āb mīdawad čun-ān-kih hawā sāfī šawad wa aṭar na-mānad (NP na-mānda) hanūz qaṭarāt-i bārān hamīčakad (NP mī čakad).*



## 71

**Figure 71. Water storage in the Fāṭimid courtyard as described by Nāṣir:** 1 Drain from the roof. - 2 Drain from another pool. - 3 Lead gutter. - 4 Cistern with hole at bottom. - 5 Drain. - 6 Storing cistern. - 7 Top of cistern with stone cap.

B132.4.a. Parallels to the drains described by Nāṣir: BUILDING II of the Umayyad Palaces outside the Southwest Ḥaram Corner has in its walls DRAIN-PIPES which lead to SEWERS beneath the ground-floor-level and a system which lead the rainwater from both the roofs and the courtyard to large CISTERNS.<sup>1</sup> The 14th-century vaulted CORRIDOR to DĀR AL-ḤAṬĪB (Mamlūk al-Ḥātūniya) has in six RECESSES remains of earthenware PIPES, and these may have connected a roof with a cistern nearby.<sup>2</sup>

**B132.5. Traditions (Muslim):** The cisterns in the Friday mosque were constructed by Solomon [because they need no repair].<sup>3</sup> Of all the water which is in this mosque (*az hama-i ābhā kih dar īn masġid ast*) the water of the cistern under the platform is the **purest and**

<sup>1</sup>Ben-Dov, "The Area South of the Temple Mount" 99.

<sup>2</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 359f.; 360 fig. 32.3 (five recesses in the west and one in the east wall of the "passageway to Khātūniyya").

<sup>3</sup>Nāṣir 37,17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 198) (*wa īn ḥawdhā kih dar ġāmi' ast har-gaz muḥtāġ-i 'imārat nabāšad kih sang-i ḥāra ast wa agar šaqq-ī yā sūrāḥ-ī būda bāšad čun-ān muḥkam karda and kih har-gaz ḥarāb na-šawad*) *wa čun-īn guftand kih īn-rā Sulaymān 'alayhi s-salām karda ast.*

best (*pākīzatar wa hūštar*) (B168.4).

### B133. The aqueduct and the large pool from which it comes<sup>1</sup>

B133.1. **Names (Muslim):** An aqueduct (*rāh*) leading from a large pool (*ābgīr-i 'azīm*) to the city's Friday mosque (*ḡāmi'-i šahr*) (B133.2).

B133.2. **Position:** This aqueduct leads from a large pool (*ābgīr-i 'azīm*) a distance of 3 *far-sang* (18 km) from the city, collecting the water from the mountain, to the Friday mosque of the city (*ba-ḡāmi'-i šahr*).<sup>2</sup> The aqueduct is obviously the AQUEDUCT, the large pool the two older (B028.3.b) SOLOMON'S POOLS 11 km away from the city.<sup>3</sup>

B133.2.a. **Nāṣir's** *ābgīr-i 'azīm* "large pool" may well refer to the two older SOLOMON'S POOLS.

B133.2.b. It has been suggested that the orientation of ḤAMMĀM AŠ-ŠIFĀ' [next to the aqueduct], which does not fit with the orientation of half-Crusader, half-Mamlūk SŪQ AL-QATṬĀNĪN next to it, may have been determined by a free-standing Pre-Crusader structure, that the place of both ḤAMMĀM AŠ-ŠIFĀ' and its precursor may have been determined by the deep WELL beneath ḤAMMĀM AŠ-ŠIFĀ', and that this precursor may have been an ablution place or a bath;<sup>4</sup> this is convincing, but no further evidence is known.

B133.3. **Physical shape:** This is a [water] way (*rāh*), an aqueduct.

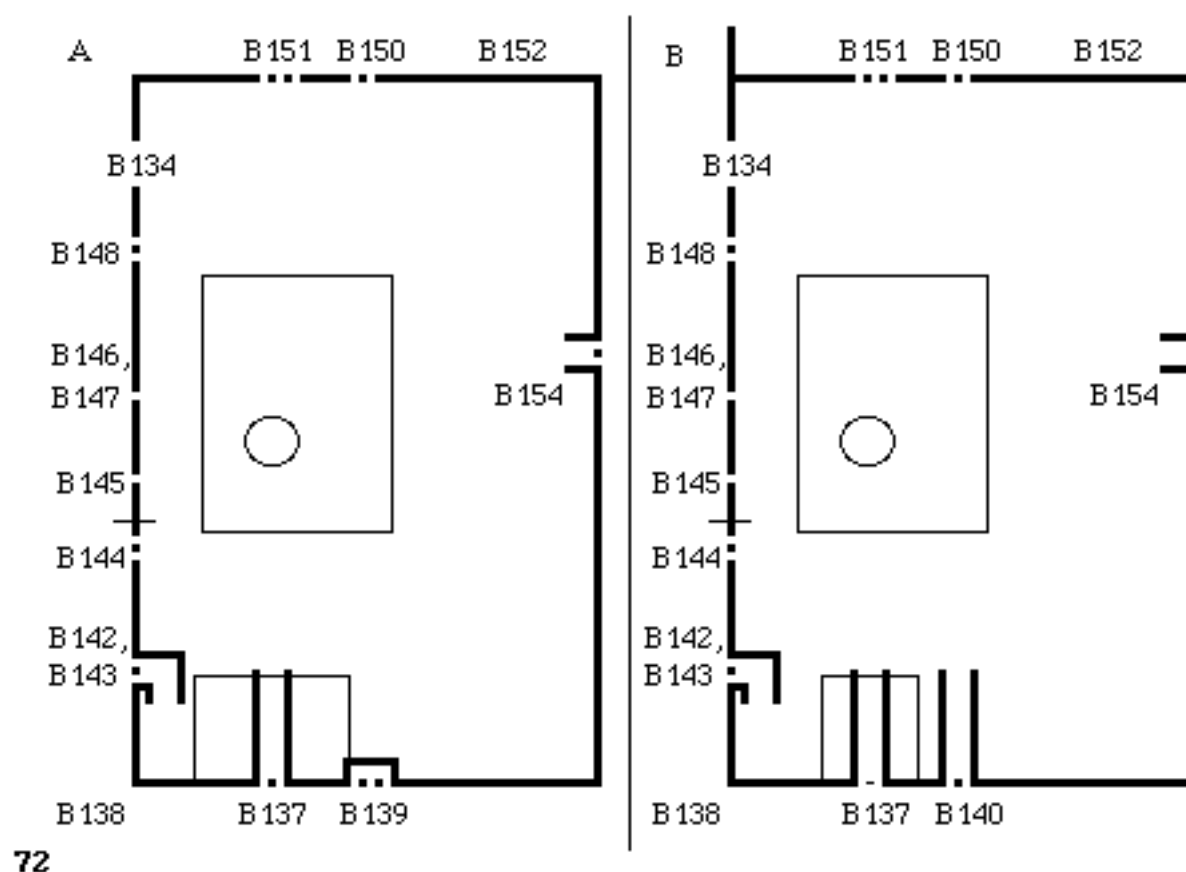
<sup>1</sup>For the aqueduct, see B028.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,12-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 245 n. 4) *wa dar siḥ farsang-i šahr ābgīr-i dīdam 'azīm kih ābhā kih az kūh furūd āyad dar ān-ḡā ḡam 'šawad wa ān-rā rāh sāhtand* (NP *rāh-i sāhta*) *kih ba-ḡāmi'-i šahr rawad*.

<sup>3</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 197; 202; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 190 n. 180; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 118.

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 273-276 with fig. 24.2. For the WELL SYSTEM under ḤAMMĀM AŠ-ŠIFĀ', see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 261-263; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 273-276; 282 fig. 24.5; 286f.; 290 fig. 24.10; Shalem, "Bi'r al-Waraq" 57f.

## 4.2. THE WALL AND THE GATES



72

**Figure 72. The Fāṭimid wall and gates:** A The Early Fāṭimid wall and gates. - B The High Fāṭimid wall and gates / B134 The wall. - B137 The Gate of the Prophet with its corridor, the shield-like pattern made by Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and the ablution place. - B138 The Kneeling-place of the she-camel or the place where Gabriel tied up al-Burāq. - B139 The Early Fāṭimid Chamber of Mary or Cradle of Jesus. - B140 The High Fāṭimid Gate of the Spring. - B142 The Ḥiṭṭa Gate. - B143 The Gate of the Priest. - B144 The Gate of David. - B145 The Gate of Judah. - B146 The Gate of God’s Presence. - B147 The Gate of the Cave, with the Cave. - B148 The Gate of the Cattle. - B150 The Gate of the Tribes. - B151 The Main Gate, the portal-minaret. - B152 The gate leading to the two Ṣūfī convents, and the convents themselves. - B154 The Gate(s) of Mercy or the double gate the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance.

B134. The wall<sup>1</sup>

B134.1. **Names (Muslim):** The wall(s) (*ḥā'it*,<sup>2</sup> *dīwār*<sup>3</sup> plur. *dīwārḥā*<sup>4</sup>), the great wall (*dīwār-i buzurg*),<sup>5</sup> the wall(s) of the mosque (*sūr al-masğid*,<sup>6</sup> *dīwār-i masğid*,<sup>7</sup> plur. *ḥiṭān al-masğid*<sup>8</sup>), the wall of the Holy Mosque (*sūr al-Masğid al-Muqaddas*),<sup>9</sup> the wall of the Friday mosque (*bārū-yi ḡāmi*).<sup>10</sup> These are: the south wall (*\*al-ḥā'it al-qibli*, *dīwār-i ḡanūbī*), the [south] broad side of the mosque (*pahnā-yi masğid*), or the wall facing the valley (*ān dīwār kih bā wādī ast*) (B136.1); the west wall (*dīwār-i ḡarbī*) (B141.1); the east wall (*\*al-ḥā'it aš-šarqī*, *dīwār-i šarqī*), the [east] wall of the Holy Mosque (*sūr al-Masğid al-Muqaddas*), or the [east] wall of the Friday mosque (*bārū-yi ḡāmi*); and the north wall (*dīwār-i šamālī*), or the [north] broad side of the mosque (*pahnā-yi masğid*) (B149.1).

B134.2. **Names (Christian):** The Temple of Solomon has a separate wall (ὁ ναὸς τοῦ

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid wall, see Gil, *Palestine* 398-400; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 267f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 37-41; 198f.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66:** 77,14 *ṭumma yaqšidu Bāba r-raḥmati fa-yuṣallī fihi min dāḥili l-ḥā'iti*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa dar-ī dīgar ast ham bar in dīwār kih ān-rā Bāb as-Saqar* (I read *Bāb al-baqar*) *gūyand*; **Nāṣir** 33,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176f.) (*wa bar pahnā-yi masğid riwāq-i-st*) *wa-bar ān dīwār dar-ī ast*; **Nāṣir** 38,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa har kuḡā farāz ast* (NP *farāzi-st*) *dī wār kūtāhtar-ast*; **Nāṣir** 38,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa ba-nazdik-i dar bar dīwār ba-andāza-i sipar-ī buzurg bar sang naqš-i ast*; **Nāṣir** 39,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa* (NP without *wa*) *bar dar-i masğid az dast-i rāst sang-ī dar dīwār ast bālā-yi ān pānzdah* (NP *yāzdah*) *araš wa čahār araš 'arḍ* (NP *'ulūw wa 'arḍ*); **Nāṣir** 39,5-7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *ammā sanghā-yi čahār gaz wa paṅḡ gaz bisyār ast kih bar dīwār nihāda and az zamīn ba-sī wa čihil gaz bulandī*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 30,23-31,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa az andarūn-i masğid hama sar-i dīwārḥā rāst-ast* (NP *dar hama sar-i dīwārḥā rāstī-st*).

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,20-37,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa az bīrūn-i pūšiš bar dīwār-i buzurg kih dīkr raft* (cf. **Nāṣir** 30,21-23 or **Nāṣir** 35,21?) *riwāq-i-st ba-čihil wa dū ṭāq wa hama-i sutūnhāš az ruḡām-i mulawwan wa in riwāq bā riwāq-i maḡribī paywasta ast* (NP *paywasta*).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 78,13-15 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 127 n. 256) *ṭumma yamḏī ilā Miḥrābi Zakariyā fa-yuṣallī fihi wa-yaf'alu miṭla dālīka* (cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 77,3-78,13) *yaḡtahidu fī d-du'ā'i 'indahu wa-yas'alu Llāha ta'ālā l-ḡannata wa-yasta'īdu bihi mina n-Nāri li-annahu fī sūri l-masğidi ayḡan*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *dīwār-i masğid bulandtar ast az ān-kih pay bar zamīn-i ni-šīb nihāda and* (*wa har kuḡā farāz ast* (NP *farāzi-st*) *dīwār kūtāhtar-ast*); **Nāṣir** 38,23-39,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *dīwār-i masğid az bīrūn qarīb-i paṅḡāh gaz irtifā' dārad*.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,21-50,2 (*al-masğidu ...*) *ḥiṭānuhu wa-asāsuhu mabniyatun bi-ḥiḡāratin manḡūtatin minhā mā ṭūlu l-ḡaḡari minhu 'ašru adru 'in wa-'arḡuhu wa-sumkuhu arba'u adru 'in*.

Cf. **al-Muhallabī** 54,16 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) *fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida 'alā asāsīhi l-qadīmi*.

<sup>9</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 129,14 *Bābu dīkri mā ḡā'a fī Bābi r-raḥmati wa-sūri l-Masğidi l-Muqaddasi wa-Wādī Čahannuma*.

<sup>10</sup>**Nāṣir** 29,15f. *bārū-yi mašriqī-i šahr bārū-yi ḡāmi'-ast*.

Σολομῶντος ιδιότειχα).<sup>1</sup>

B134.2.a. **Epiphanius** mentions the two most characteristic parts of the area, the Holy of Holies [the Dome of the Rock, B184.4] with the blood of Zechariah and the Invisibly Suspended Stone (B192.4), and the whole of the Temple of Solomon with its separate wall.

|                           |                                          |                                                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| (The Probatikē Pool)      | (ή προβατική κολυμβήθρα ...)             | "(The Probatikē Pool ...)                              |
| a. The Holy of Holies     | καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἔστι τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων | And next is the Holy of Holies                         |
| b. The blood of Zechariah | ἐνθα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα πέπηκται·      | where the blood of Zechariah fell<br>[onto the ground] |
| c. The Suspended Stone    | καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐξ ἀοράτου      | and the Invisibly Suspended Stone.                     |
| d. The wall of the Temple | καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος ιδιότειχα      | And the Temple of Solomon has a<br>separate wall."     |

B134.2.b. His τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων is located through the blood of Zechariah (which does not really help) and the Invisibly Suspended Stone (the ROCK in the DOME OF THE ROCK), i.e., in the DOME OF THE ROCK. The High 'Abbāsid τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων (B110.2) is also best located in the DOME OF THE ROCK.

B134.3. **Names (Jewish):** The wall of the Temple (*sūr al-Quds*).<sup>2</sup>

B134.4. **Position:** This is the ḤARAM WALL.

B134.5. **Physical shape:** The wall has two layers, the (old) foundation of the mosque (*asās al-masğid (al-qadīm)*) and an upper part.<sup>3</sup> The lower layer is made of stones (*sanghā*,<sup>4</sup> *hiğāra*

<sup>1</sup>**Epiphanius** V II,19 (see Schneider, "Epiphanius" 152f.) (... ή προβατική κολυμβήθρα ... καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἔστι τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἐνθα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα πέπηκται· καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος) καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος ιδιότειχα = **Epiphanius** M II,19 (... ή προβατική κολυμβήθρα ... καὶ πλησίον δὲ ταύτης εἰσὶ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἐνθα τοῦ προφήτου Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα· καὶ Ἐλισάβετ ἀνηρτήθειν) καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος = **Epiphanius** J II,19 (... ή προβατική κολυμβήθρα ... καὶ πλησίον αὐτῶν τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὅπου τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα ἀπόκειται· καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐξ ἀοράτου) καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος ιδιότυχος.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.1r**,5-11 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 71; Gil, "Jewish Community" 167; see Gil, *Palestine* 71-74) (*tumma innuh* ['Umar] *amarhum bi-kans al-Qūds wa-tanzīfuh ... fa-kull mā nkašafat šadwa*[Classical Arabic *šadwa*] *yas'al li-šuyūh al-al-Yahūd* (read *li-šuyūh al-Yahūd*) 'an as-Šaḥra l-ladī hiya Āḥān Šetiyāh (**Mishna Yoma** 5.2) *fa-kān ba'ḏ al-ūlamā yuḥaddid luh al-Mawḏi' ilā an inkašaf fa-amar bi-an yubnā sūr al-Qūds wa-yubnā 'alā š-Šaḥra qūbba wa-[tu]tlā bi-d-dahab*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,21-50,2 (*al-masğidu ...*) *ḥiṭānuhu wa-asāsuhu mabnīyatun bi-ḥiğāratin manḥūtatin minhā mā jūlu l-ḥağari minhu 'asru adru'in wa-'arḏuhu wa-sumkuhu arba'u adru'in*; **al-Muhallabī** 54,16 (see Gil-demeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) *fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida 'alā asāsīhi l-qadīmi*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāsir** 39,5-7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *ammā sanghā-yi čahār gaz wa pang gaz bisyār ast kih bar dīwār nihāda and az zamīn ba-sī wa čihil gaz bulandī*.

sing. *ḥağar*)<sup>1</sup> 4-5 ells (2.66-3.33 m) long;<sup>2</sup> some stones are 10 ells (4.98 m) long and 4 ells (1.99 m) wide and high,<sup>3</sup> the largest one even 15 ells (9.98 m) long and 4 ells (2.66 m) high (B137.5); at the southeast corner the wall is completely made up of large stones (*sanghā-yi ʿazīm*) put on top of each other without any mortar (*gil wa gağ*) (B136.3). The lower layer reaches 30-40 ells (19.95-26.60 m) above the ground,<sup>4</sup> but in the [south] wall facing the valley (*ān dīwār kih bā wādī ast*) [at the southeast corner], 100 ells (66.50 m) [almost to the wall's top] (B136.3). The total height of the wall, at the south wall next to the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*), is 50 ells (33.25 m), and at the [south] wall facing the valley (*ān dīwār kih bā wādī ast*) [near the southeast corner], 100 ells (66.50 m) (B136.3). The top of the walls (*sar-i dīwārḥā*) is at one height (*rāst*) on the inner side [and all the wall has the same height];<sup>5</sup> the mosque is all on the same level, its floor flat and even (*hamwār wa mustawī*), but the city and the neighbourhoods [outside the city] (*šahr wa maḥallahā*) are partly on a lower, partly on the same level (B135.4); the wall therefore, depending on the level of the surrounding area, is in some places higher than in others.

B134.5.a. Today the stones in the lower layer of the WALL are about 1-3 m long and 1-1.2 m high,<sup>6</sup> and in the first layer above the DOUBLE GATE TRESHOLD and the TRIPLE GATE TRESHOLD, 1.8 m high.

B134.5.b. Today's LOWER LAYER indeed rises very impressively towards the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER; this fits exactly with the Fāṭimid situation described by **Nāṣir**.

B134.5.c. **Nāṣir**'s remark about Jerusalem, *har kuğā kūh būda ast wa bulandī burīda and wa hamwāra karda čun-ān-kih čūn bārān bārād hama zamīn pākīza šusta šawad* "and wheresoever has been a mountain or an elevation, they cut it away and made it even, so when there is rain, all ground is properly washed",<sup>7</sup> does not refer to the city's levelling, but to the removal of all obstacles which hinder the water from flowing out of the city.

**B134.6. Contemporary events:** A part of the wall collapses due to the earthquake of 1033.<sup>8</sup> **az-Zāhir** (Fāṭimid caliph 411-427/1021-1036) rebuilds the south wall (*\*al-ḥāʾiṭ al-*

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,21-50,2 (*al-masğidu ...*) *ḥiṭānuhu wa-asāsuhu mabniyatun bi-ḥiğāratin manḥūtatin minhā mā ṭūlu l-ḥağari minhu ʿašru aḍruʿin wa-ʿarḍuhu wa-sumkuhu arbaʿu aḍruʿin*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,5-7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *ammā sanghā-yi čahār gaz wa paṅğ gaz bisyār ast kih bar dīwār nihāda and az zamīn ba-sī wa čihil gaz bulandī*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,21-50,2 (*al-masğidu ...*) *ḥiṭānuhu wa-asāsuhu mabniyatun bi-ḥiğāratin manḥūtatin minhā mā ṭūlu l-ḥağari minhu ʿašru aḍruʿin wa-ʿarḍuhu wa-sumkuhu arbaʿu aḍruʿin*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,5-7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *ammā sanghā-yi čahār gaz wa paṅğ gaz bisyār ast kih bar dīwār nihāda and az zamīn ba-sī wa čihil gaz bulandī*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 30,23-31,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa az andarūn-i masğid hama sar-i dīwārḥā rāst-ast (NP dar hama sar-i dīwārḥā rāstī-st)*.

<sup>6</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 43.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 29,12-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 88) (*Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *Bayt al-Maqdis*) ...) *har kuğā kūh būda ast wa bulandī burīda and wa hamwāra karda čun-ān-kih čūn bārān bārād hama zamīn pākīza šusta šawad*.

<sup>8</sup>**Yahyà b. Saʿīd** 272 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 400 n. 53; see Gil, *Palestine* 399f.).

*qiblī*), the [east] wall (*\*al-ḥā'it al-šarqī*) and the underground vaults (*al-aqbā'*) [as well as the corresponding underground gates and corridors] in 425/1037 (B135.5).

**B134.7. Traditions (Muslim):** 'Abd al-Malik built [the wall of] the mosque on top of its old foundation (*asās*).<sup>1</sup>

**B134.8. Traditions (Jewish):** 'Umar built the wall of the Temple (*sūr al-Quds*) (B131.13).

### B135. The gates<sup>2</sup>

**B135.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gates of the Temple (*\*darhā-yi Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>3</sup> the gates (*darhā*) of the mosque (*masǧid*).<sup>4</sup> In High Fāṭimid times these are nine gates (*nuh dar*):<sup>5</sup> the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) (B144.1), the Gate of the Cattle (*\*Bāb al-baqar*) (B148.1), the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) (B150.1), the Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*) (B151.1), the [double gate] the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba*) (B154.1), the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) (B137.1), the Gate of the Spring (*Bāb al-Ayn*) (B140.1), the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) (B142.1) and the Gate of God's Presence (*Bāb as-Sakīna*) (B146.1), plus an additional gate which leads directly into two Ṣūfī convents (B152.2).

**B135.2. Names (Jewish):** The gates (of the Temple) (*ša<sup>a</sup>rē Bēyt ha-Miqdāš*,<sup>6</sup> *ša<sup>a</sup>rē ha-Miqdāš*,<sup>7</sup> *abwāb al-Quds*,<sup>1</sup> *ha-šō'ārīm*,<sup>2</sup> *al-abwāb*), the gates of the Temple of our God

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,16 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*al-masǧidu ... ḥiṭṭānuhu wa-asāsuhu mabniyatun bi-ḥiǧāratin manḥūtatin minḥā mā ṭūlu l-ḥaǧari minhu 'ašru adru 'in wa-ʿarḍuhu wa-sumkuhu arba'u adru 'in ...*) *fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walidi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masǧida 'alā asāsihi l-qadīmi*.

<sup>2</sup>For the gates of the Fāṭimid area, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 189; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 69f.; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Gil, *Palestine* 629; 643f.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 180) *wa ḡumla-i darhā-yi Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ḡumla-i darhā-yi Bayt al-Maqdis*) *zīr wa bālāy nuḥ dar ast kih šifāt karda am* (NP *karda āmad*) (cf. **Nāṣir** 38,3-39,16).

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *pas badān mawḍi' kih šahr wa maḥallahā dar nišib ast* (NP *dar nišib*) *masǧid-rā darhā-st kih ham-čun-ān-kih naqb* (NP *laqab*) *bāšad burīda and wa ba-sāḥat-i masǧid bīrūn āwarda*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 180) *wa ḡumla-i darhā-yi Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ḡumla-i darhā-yi Bayt al-Maqdis*) *zīr wa bālāy nuḥ dar ast kih šifāt karda am* (NP *karda āmad*) (cf. **Nāṣir** 38,3-39,16).

<sup>6</sup>**Gil Nr. 519**, 20-23 *gam bə-ʿēt 'āmīdātī 'al ša<sup>a</sup>rē Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mḥērāh b-īmēnū wə-b-īmāw wə-ʿal Har ha-zētīm<sup>a</sup> nī məbarkēyhū wə-šō'ēl mə-ha-Ēl šā-yiṣlēḥhū wə-yis'edēhū wə-yəgōnənēhū wə-hū' bə-raḥ<sup>a</sup>māw yišma' wa-y<sup>a</sup>ʿanāh*.

<sup>7</sup>**Gil Nr. 105**, 14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāšūt abnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn 'aprotāyhā ū-l-sōbēb ša<sup>a</sup>rē ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl 'alāyhām bə-*



(ša<sup>arē</sup> Miqdaš Ālōhēnū,<sup>4</sup> ša<sup>arē</sup> Bēyt Ālōhēnū), the gates of the Noble Temple (*abwāb al-Quds aš-Šarīf*),<sup>6</sup> the gates of the Glorious Temple (*abwāb al-Maqdis al-Ġalīl*).<sup>7</sup>

*qōl rām bə-ʿqadōš wə-bārūk' ū-b-ʿalōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šīr ū-b-ʿamodām ʿalāw b-īmē ha-ḥaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Maqōm Šəḵīnat ʿuzzō wa-H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglāw; Gil Nr.109r,13f. (transl. partly Gil, Palestine 149 n. 16; see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282) (lə-ma'an lō yīnāzzēqū Bēyt Yīsrā'ēl [... ba-ʿlō]tām) ū-b-bō'ām bə-sōbəbām ʿal ša<sup>arē</sup> [ha-Miqdāš ...] bə-ʿqadōš wə-bārūk' (ū-ka-ʿalōtām āl Har [ha-zētīm ... nōkah] Hēykal Ālōhēnū maqōm Šəḵīnat ʿuzzō wə-h<sup>a</sup>dōm [riglō] ...).*

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.1v,10-15** (see Gil, Palestine 71-74) *tumma innuh qāl [ʿUmar] ayn tuḥibbū taskunū fī l-balad fa-qālū [the Jews] ḡanūbī l-balad wa-huwa Sūq al-Yahūd wa-kān min ṭalabhum qurb al-Quds wa-abwābuh wa-ka-dālik Mā Sī lwān li-ṭ-ṭəbīlāh fa-anʿam amīr al-muʿminīn ʿalayhum dālik; Gil Nr.451r,12 (wa-mā naqdir ʿalā mukāfāʾa lā lak yā sayyidī wa-lā li-ḡayrak aktar min ad-dūʾa a[š]-šālīḥ bə-tōaḥ ha-qāhāl) wa-fī s-sayr ʿalā abwāb al-Quds (wa-fī Har ha-zētīm maqōm maʿmad Šəḵīnāh wa-nasʾaluh al-iḡāba bi-raḥmatuh).*

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.420,3-5.**

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.469r,16-19** (*wa-innā luh naḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq ʿalā l-ladī yurīduh) wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt adʿū lak wa-luh ʿalā Abwāb ar-raḥma li-annī amḏī ilayhim al-itnayn wa-l-ḥamīs wa-ʿalā sāʾir al-abwāb Allāh yataqabbal minnī fikum šālīḥ ad-duʿā; Gil Nr.524r,24-26* (see Gil, Ārāš Yīsrāʾēl 3 663 s.v. "al-ḡabal"; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 281 n. 10) (*wa-yuʿarrifnī matā yatimm luh as-safar) wa-innā mā nuḥallīh min ad-duʿā ʿalā l-abwāb wa-fī l-Ġabal* [i.e., on the Mount of Olives, thus also Gil and Reiner] *wa-Llāh yataqabbal minnā šālīḥ ad-duʿā fīh wa-fī ḡamāʿat Yīsrāʾēl kullhum āmin* [sic] *wa-kēn yehī rāšōn.*

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.110,23f.** (*wə-ānū niqbašnū yaḥad kāl ʿam adōnāy ha-nimšāʾim b-Īrūšalayīm nəʿarīm wa-zqēnim; ḥ<sup>a</sup>kāmīm wə-nəbōnīm <sup>a</sup>nāšīm wa-nāšīm wə-ṭap wə-yāšīšīm wə-hōsēfnū təpillōt ... l-zəqēnēnū wə-ḥ<sup>a</sup>šūbēnū wə-y<sup>a</sup>dīdēnū wa-nəḡīdnū gam lə-kāl ha-zəqēnim ... ū-l-kōl qəhēlōt ʿam Ālōhēnū ...)* *wə-gam harbēnū lə-hithannēn ʿal ša<sup>arē</sup> Miqdaš Ālōhēnū u-b-Har ha-Zētīm.*

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.174,8** (*al tiḥšōk ʿatīratkā bə-ʿēdēnū) ūlay yišmaʿ Ālōhēnū [təpī]ll[ō]tēkā āl Bēyt ha-Miqdāš wa-ʿal ša<sup>arē</sup> bēytō (wə-yiqqaḥ mē-ʿalēnū ha-[maḥ<sup>a</sup>]lāh wə-nimšā rəpūʾāh lə-hiqbīl pānīm yāpāh bə-ḥayyīm; Gil Nr.379,8.11* (transl. partly Gil, Palestine 629) (*... wa-yubālīḡ min al-adʿiya wa-yaḡtamin* (read *wa-yaḡtanim*) *wāfir afdāluh ʿalayh kull ... wa-qaliq qal[bī] li-dālik) wa-štaḡal sarī) wa-sa[ruʿtu l]tazamtu š-ṣawm wa-ṣ-ṣalāt qāšidan ʿalā ša<sup>arē</sup> Bēyt Ālōhēnū yitrōmēm šibḥō ū-mnūḥat abōtī li-aḡl[...m]ʾ ʿalayya min al-furūd wa-mā ziltu bi-hādā l-ḡumla (ilā an ʿad kitāb al-madkūr wa-radd [...]) Ālōhē Yīsrāʾēl yitʿālāh bih min tawaḡḡuh al-ʿāfiya wa-t-taʿwīl fī yawm [...] al-ḥamām fa-aktartu min šābāḥ al-ḥālīq taʿālā) wa-saʾaltuh an yutammim [...].*

<sup>6</sup>**Gil Nr.301,7-9.12-14** (see Gil, Palestine 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ḡalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiḡābat mā ana muwāšiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ min al-adʿiya [sic] š-šālīḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ... wa-sababuh inqīṭāʿuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yarḏīh taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā š-ṣalāt fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yəqarrēḥ šīklōlō b-īmēnū bə-ḥayyay wə-ʿal yədē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ḡādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū..*

Cf. **Gil Nr.298r,7-9** (see Gil, Palestine 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ḡalla surʿat al-istiḡāba bimā ana muwāšilhumā min al-adʿiy[ya] š-šālīḥa fī hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl yəqarrēḥ šīklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū; Gil Nr.300,18-20* (see Gil, Palestine 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asaluh Allāh yaʿal luh dālik bayn yadayh zəḡūt məqōbēl kəmə qurbān məqōbēl) wa-an yastaḡīb minnī fīh dāyiman kull daʿwa šālīḥa l-latī ana dāʾihā luh quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl bi-raḥmatuh.*

<sup>7</sup>**Gil Nr.301,17f.** (see Gil, Palestine 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-in raʾa mawlāya š-šayḥ Šūrō yirbāh hadarō mu-sāʿadatuh wa-maʿūnatuh wa-irfāduh bi-šay wa-aḡrāh ʿalā l-maʿhūd min faḍluh bi-mā saḥul fa-inna lahu ...)* *wa-yaḡtanim min ʿabduh ḥarasuh Allāh katrat al-adʿiya [sic] l-mubāraka bi-ʿaqib kull ṣalāt wa-fī kull duʿā fī abwāb hādā l-Maqdis al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yəqarrēḥ šīklōlō b-īmēnū bi-ḥayyay wə-ʿal yədē ha-zāqēn ha-məḡōbēd adōnēnū wə-rabbēnū.*

**B135.3. Position:** The gates are [all] in front of the Glorious/Great Sanctuary (*quddām al-Bayt al-Ġalīl*,<sup>1</sup> *quddām al-Bayt al-ʿAzīm*<sup>2</sup>), i.e., in front of the ḤARAM. The mosque has a number of underground gates, like holes, in the courtyard (B135.4); these are the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) (B137.4), the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*, *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) (B142.3) and the Gate of the Spring (*Bāb al-ʿAyn*) (B140.3). For their locations, see below under the particular gates.

B135.3.a. Parallels to the gates in front of the Temple: A High ʿAbbāsīd Muslim tradition considers the Mount of Olives (*Tūr Zaytā*) as being opposite the Prayer-direction of the Jews [the Rock] (*bi-izāʾ Qiblat al-Yahūd*) (B118.5).<sup>3</sup> A High ʿAbbāsīd Jewish source considers the Mount of Olives, the Place of the Stool of our God (*Məqōm H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglē ʾĀlōhēnū*) (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4), as facing the Temple of God (*mūl Hēykal ha-ʾĀlōhīm*).<sup>4</sup> A Fāṭimid Jewish source considers the Mount of Olives, with the Place of the Presence of God's Glory and the Stool of His Feet (*Məqōm Šəḳīnat ʿuzzō wa-H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglāw*) (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4), as facing the Temple of God (*mūl Hēykal ha-ʾĀlōhīm*).<sup>5</sup>

B135.3.b. One may be tempted to understand the Jewish *quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl/al-ʿAzīm* "in front of this Glorious/Great Sanctuary" of **Gil Nr.298**, **Gil Nr.300**, and **Gil Nr.301**, in light of the Temple's general orientation towards the east, as "east of this Glorious/Great Sanctuary", aiming at either *Bāb ar-raḥma* = *Abwāb ar-raḥma* or the Mount of Olives. But the expression refers in **Gil Nr.298** and **Gil Nr. 300** to prayers *fi hādā*

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.298**,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ḡalla surʿat al-istiḡāba bimā ana muwāṣilhumā min al-adʿiyā [sic] ṣ-ṣāliḥa fi hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-ʾĒl yəqarrēḥ šiklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū*; **Gil Nr.300**,18-20 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asaluh Allāh yaʿal luh dālik bayn yadayh zəkūt məqōbēl kəmə qurbān məqōbēl*) *wa-an yastaḡīb minnī fih dāyiman kull daʿwa ṣāliḥa l-lati ana dāʾihā luh quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl bi-raḥmatuh*; **Gil Nr.301**,7-9,12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ḡalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiḡābat mā ana muwāṣiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ min al-adʿiyya [sic] ṣ-ṣāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fi abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ... wa-sababuh inqīṭaʾuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fi l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yarḏih taʿālā wa-li-tawaffūruh ʿalā ṣ-ṣalāt fi abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-ʾĒl ʾĀlōhēnū yəqarrēḥ šiklōlō b-īmēnū bə-ḥayyay wə-ʿal yədē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ḡādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū*.

For the place opposite the Temple, see Gil, *Palestine* 640.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.300**,26-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asal Allāh yaḥrus ḥayātuh ...*) *wa-staḡāb minnī fih wa-fihim* [the addressee and his children] *kull daʿwa ṣāliḥa l-lati ana dāʾihā dāyiman fi hādā l-Quds quddām hādā l-Bayt al-ʿAzīm*.

<sup>3</sup>The parallelism of the formulas in the Geniza letters and in the High ʿAbbāsīd remark has been noticed by Gil, *Palestine* 628.

<sup>4</sup>**Bān Mēʾīr** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 262f.; 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 279) *təpillōtēnū ʿalaykām tədirāh wə-ʿal ziqnē yəqār šā-lāḡām bə-Har ha-zētīm mūl Hēykal ha-ʾĀlōhīm Məqōm H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglē ʾĀlōhēnū* (cf. **Zechariah** 14.4) *wə-ʿal Šaʿar ha-kōhēn wə-ʿal šaʿrē Miqdāš ha-ʾĀlōhīm bə-qī bbūš kāl Yisrāʾēl la-ḡag ḡag ha-ʾĀlōhīm ḡag ha-sūkkōt*.

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāšūt aḡnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn ʿaprōtāyhā ū-l-sōbēḥ šaʿrē ha-Miqdāš ū-l-ḥiṭpallēl ʿalāyhām bə-qōl rām bə-ʿqadōš wə-bārūk ʿū-b-ʿalōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šīr ū-b-ʿamodām ʿalāw b-īmē ha-ḡaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-ʾĀlōhīm Məqōm Šəḳīnat ʿuzzō wa-H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglāw*.

*I-Quds (aš-Šarīf)* "in this (Noble) Temple", and in **Gil Nr.301** to prayers *fī abwāb hādā I-Quds aš-Šarīf* "in the gates of this Noble Temple"; obviously, all gates are considered as being in front.

**B135.4. Physical shape:** The gates are plain gates, or underground gates like holes (sing. *naqb*) cut out of the courtyard of the mosque (*sāḥat-i masǧid*), because the mosque is all on the same level and its floor flat and even (*hamwār wa mustawī*), but the city and the neighbourhoods [outside the city] (*šahr wa maḥallahā*) are on a lower or on the same level.<sup>1</sup> They are reached from the courtyard by high gates (*abwāb šāhiqa*),<sup>2</sup> staircases (*daraǧ*,<sup>3</sup> *daraǧāt*<sup>4</sup>) and corridors (*ṭuruqāt*,<sup>5</sup> sing. *marra*,<sup>6</sup> *mamarr*,<sup>7</sup> *rahgudār*<sup>1</sup>); their corridors are part of the

<sup>1</sup>**Nāšir** 29,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 88; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāšir" 267f.) (*šahr-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *šahr-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) ...) *šahr-i ast bar sar-i kūh-i nihāda* wa *zamin hamwār nīst ammā masǧid-rā zamin hamwār wa mustawī ast wa az bīrūn-i masǧid ba-nisbat-i mawāḍi' har kuǧā nišib ast dīwār-i masǧid bulandtar ast az ān-kih pay bar zamin-i nišib nihāda and wa har kuǧā farāz ast* (NP *farāzi-st*) *dīwār kūtāhtar-ast pas badān mawḍi' kih šahr wa maḥallahā dar nišib ast* (NP *dar nišib*) *masǧid-rā darhā-st kih ham-čun-ān-kih naqb* (NP *laqab*) *bāšad burīda and wa ba-sāḥat-i masǧid bīrūn āwarda*; **Nāšir** 38,3-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *guftam* (NP *guftim*) *kih šahr-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *šahr-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) *bar sar-i kūh-i-st* (NP *kūh-ast*) (cf. **Nāšir** 28,5-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 87) (*Qaryat al-ʿInab* ...) wa *az ān-ǧā biraftim rūy bar bālā karda tašawwur būd kih bar kūh-i mīrawīm kih čun bar dīgar* (NP *ba-dīgar*) *ǧānib furū rawīm šahr bāšad čun miqdār-i bālā raftim šahrā'-i ʿazīm dar piš āmad ba-ḍ-i sanglāḥ wa ba-ḍ-i ḥāknāk* (NP *ḥāk nāk*) *bar sar-i kūh šahr-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *šahr-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) *nihādah ast*).

Cf. **al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*falammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walidi bni ʿAbdi l-Maliki banā l-masǧida ʿalā asāsihi l-qadīmi ... banā l-qubbata ʿalā š-Šahrati wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍiʿa wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fihi qibāban ǧayrahā sammā ba-ḍahā Qubbata l-Miʿrāǧi wa-ba-ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba-ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba-ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥšari*; **Nāšir** 39,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179f.) *wa dar-i dīgar ast ham-čun-īn dar zamin burda* (I read *burīda*) *kih ān-rā Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (NP *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) *gūyand*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,18-21 (*al-ǧāmiʿu l-a-ḥamu* ...) *mabniyun ʿalā āzāǧin ʿizāmin taḥtahu yunzalu ilayhā bi-daraǧin wa-yuḥraǧu min abwābin lahā šāhiqatin ilā ṭuruqātin taḥta l-masǧidi mustaqillatin ka-annahā ṭabaqatun tāniyatun taḥta l-masǧidi wa-l-masǧidu ʿalā šafiri wādin min šarqiyihi yuʿrafu bi-Wādī Ġahannuma wa-ṭ-ṭuruqātu l-mustaqillatu taḥta l-masǧidi fī ṭ-ṭabaqati ṭ-tāniyati tufḍi ilayhi*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,18-21 (*al-ǧāmiʿu l-a-ḥamu* ...) *mabniyun ʿalā āzāǧin ʿizāmin taḥtahu yunzalu ilayhā bi-daraǧin wa-yuḥraǧu min abwābin lahā šāhiqatin ilā ṭuruqātin taḥta l-masǧidi mustaqillatin ka-annahā ṭabaqatun tāniyatun taḥta l-masǧidi wa-l-masǧidu ʿalā šafiri wādin min šarqiyihi yuʿrafu bi-Wādī Ġahannuma wa-ṭ-ṭuruqātu l-mustaqillatu taḥta l-masǧidi fī ṭ-ṭabaqati ṭ-tāniyati tufḍi ilayhi*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāšir** 38,12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178f.) *ya nī saqf-i in mamarr dar ǧāhā* (NP *ǧāʿi*) *bīst gaz ʿulūw ast*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,18-21 (*al-ǧāmiʿu l-a-ḥamu* ...) *mabniyun ʿalā āzāǧin ʿizāmin taḥtahu yunzalu ilayhā bi-daraǧin wa-yuḥraǧu min abwābin lahā šāhiqatin ilā ṭuruqātin taḥta l-masǧidi mustaqillatin ka-annahā ṭabaqatun tāniyatun taḥta l-masǧidi wa-l-masǧidu ʿalā šafiri wādin min šarqiyihi yuʿrafu bi-Wādī Ġahannuma wa-ṭ-ṭuruqātu l-mustaqillatu taḥta l-masǧidi fī ṭ-ṭabaqati ṭ-tāniyati tufḍi ilayhi*.

<sup>6</sup>**van Berchem Nr.147**,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 101; see RCEA Nr.2404; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 69f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375 n. 5; Gil, *Palestine* 397f.; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 487) [...] *wa-l-aqbāʿa wa-l-marrata* (Gil, *Palestine* 398 n. 52 reads *wa-l-mamarrata*) *lahunna wa-[l-]ḥāʿiṭa l-qibliya wa-l-ḥāʿiṭa [š-šarqiya]*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāšir** 38,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178f.) *ya nī saqf-i in mamarr dar ǧāhā* (NP *ǧāʿi*) *bīst gaz ʿulūw ast ... wa ān mamarr čun-ān muḥkam ast kih ...*; **Nāšir** 38,22f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa bar-īn dar-i masǧid kih in mamarr sāḥta and dar-i* (NP *wa dar-i*) *ba-dū mišrāʿ bar ān-ǧā nišānda*.

large vaults (*āzāğ ʿizām*) under the mosque, form a kind of second floor (*ṭabaqa ṭāniya*) below the mosque (*taḥt al-masğid*) and lead to the Valley of Hell (*Wādī Ġahannum*), which is [mostly] east of the mosque (*šarqī l-masğid*).<sup>2</sup>

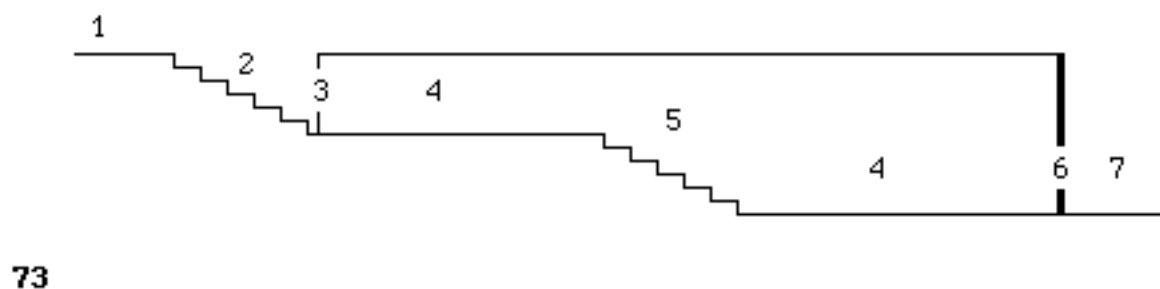


**Figure 73. The Fāṭimid underground gates (cross-section):** 1 Courtyard. - 2 Staircase from the courtyard. - 3 Interior gate. - 4 Corridor. - 5 Interior staircase. - 6 Exterior gate in the enclosing wall. - 7 Outside of the area.

B135.4.a. It has been claimed that the underground doors are blocked around the year 1000;<sup>3</sup> but we do not have enough evidence to be certain that any of them was closed.

**B135.5. Contemporary events:** *az-Zāhir* rebuilds the south wall (*\*al-ḥāʾiṭ al-qiblī*), the [east] wall (*\*al-ḥāʾiṭ aš-šarqī*) [of the mosque] and the underground vaults (*al-aqbāʾ*) [as well as the corresponding underground gates and corridors] in 425/1037.<sup>4</sup>

**B135.6. Traditions (Muslim):** These are the gates of the **Temple** [of Solomon] (B135.1).

<sup>1</sup>The corridor to the Gate of the Prophet is mentioned in **Nāṣir** 38,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa payğambar-i mā ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalawāt* (NP *ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalāt*) *wa-s-salām dar šab-i Miʿrāğ az ān rahgudār* (NP *rāhgudār*) *dar masğid āmad*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 49,18-21 (*al-ğāmiʿu l-aʿzamu ...*) *mabniyun ʿalā āzāğin ʿizāmin taḥtahu yunzalu ilayhā bi-darağin wa-yuḥrağū min abwābin lahā šāhiqatin ilā ṭuruqātin taḥta l-masğidi mustaqillatin ka-annahā ṭabaqatun ṭāniyatun taḥta l-masğidi wa-l-masğidu ʿalā šafiri wādin min šarqīyihī yuʿrafu bi-Wādī Ġahannuma wa-ṭ-ṭuruqātu l-mustaqillatu taḥta l-masğidi fī ṭ-ṭabaqati ṭ-ṭāniyati tufḍi ilayhi*.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*.

<sup>4</sup>**van Berchem Nr.147**,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 101; see *RCEA* Nr.2404; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 69f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375 n. 5; Gil, *Palestine* 397f.; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 487) [... *ayyāma*] *l-imāmi ṣ-Zāhiri li-iʿ[ʿzāzi] dīni [ʿ]l-lāhi amīri l-muʿ[aminina ...] wa-l-aqbāʾa wa-l-marrata* (Gil, *Palestine* 398 n. 52 reads *wa-l-mamarrata*) *lahunna wa-[l-ḥāʾiṭa l-qiblīya wa-l-ḥāʾiṭa [š-šarqīya ...] l-āḥari sanata ḥamsin wa-ʿiṣrīna wa-[ar]baʿi miʾatin*.

For the High Fāṭimid rebuilding of the area's south, see A169.

**B135.7. Traditions (Jewish):** These are the gates of the **Temple** (B135.2), the gates in front of the Glorious/ Sanctuary (*quddām al-Bayt al-Ġalīl*, *quddām al-Bayt al-ʿAzīm*) (B135.3).

**B135.8. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** These gates and the Mount of Olives are the two parts of the Jewish prayer route.<sup>1</sup> The participants first have a procession (*sayr*),<sup>2</sup> a procession going round (*sōbēb*) the gates,<sup>3</sup> singing [a litany which repeats the formula] *qa-dōš wə-bārūk* ... "holy and blessed ...";<sup>4</sup> they make at the gates their prayer (*duʿā*,<sup>5</sup> *ṣalāt*,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the Jewish prayer in High ʿAbbāsīd and Fāṭimid Jerusalem, see A154.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.451**r,12 (*wa-mā naqdīr ʿalā mukāfaʿa lā lak yā sayyidī wa-lā li-ḡayrak aktar min ad-dūʿa a[ṣ]-ṣālīḥ bə-tōaḵ ha-qāhāl*) *wa-fī s-sayr ʿalā abwāb al-Qūds* (*wa-fī Har ha-zētīm maqōm maʿmad Šəḵīnāh wa-nasʿaluh al-iḡāba bi-raḥmatuh*).

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāšūt aḡnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn ʿaprōtāyhā ū-l-sōbēb šaʿar ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl ʿalayhām bə-qōl rām bə-ʿqadōš wə-bārūk ʿū-b-ʿalōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šīr ū-b-ʿamodām ʿalāw b-īmē ha-ḡaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Maqōm Šəḵīnāt ʿūzzō wa-H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglāw*; **Gil Nr.109**r,13f. (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 149 n. 16; see Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282) (*lə-maʿan lō yīnāzzēqū Bēyt Yīsrāʿēl [... ba-ʿlō]tām*) *ū-b-bōʿām bə-sōbēbām ʿal šaʿar ha-Miqdāš [...]* *bə-ʿqadōš wə-bārūk* (*ū-ka-ʿalōtām āl Har [ha-zētīm ... nōkah] Hēykal Ālōhēnū maqōm Šəḵīnāt ʿūzzō wə-h<sup>a</sup>dōm [riglō] ...*); **Gil Nr.420**,3-5.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāšūt aḡnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn ʿaprōtāyhā ū-l-sōbēb šaʿar ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl ʿalayhām bə-qōl rām bə-ʿqadōš wə-bārūk ʿū-b-ʿalōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šīr ū-b-ʿamodām ʿalāw b-īmē ha-ḡaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Maqōm Šəḵīnāt ʿūzzō wa-H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglāw*; **Gil Nr.109**r,13f. (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 149 n. 16; see Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282) (*lə-maʿan lō yīnāzzēqū Bēyt Yīsrāʿēl [... ba-ʿlō]tām*) *ū-b-bōʿām bə-sōbēbām ʿal šaʿar ha-Miqdāš [...]* *bə-ʿqadōš wə-bārūk* (*ū-ka-ʿalōtām āl Har [ha-zētīm ... nōkah] Hēykal Ālōhēnū maqōm Šəḵīnāt ʿūzzō wə-h<sup>a</sup>dōm [riglō] ...*).

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.301**,17f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fā-in raʿa mawlāya š-šayḥ Šūrō yirbāh hadarō mu-sāʿadatuh wa-maʿūnatuh wa-irfāduh bi-šay wa-aḡrāh ʿalā l-maʿhūd min faḍluh bi-mā saḥul fā-inna lahu ...*) *wa-yaḡtanim min ʿabduh ḡarasuh Allāh katrat al-adʿiyya [sic] l-mubāraka bi-ʿaqib kull ṣalāt wa-fī kull duʿā fī abwāb hādā l-Maqdis al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yaqarrēb šīḡlōlō b-īmēnū bi-ḡayyay wə-ʿal yadē ha-zāqēn ha-məḡkōbēd adōnēnū wə-rabbēnū*; **Gil Nr.524**r,24-26 (see Gil, *Ärāš Yīsrāʿēl* 3 663 s.v. "al-ḡabal"; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 281 n. 10) (*wa-yuʿarrifnī matā yatimm luh as-safar*) *wa-innā mā nuḡallih min ad-duʿā ʿalā l-abwāb wa-fī l-Ġabal [i.e., on the Mount of Olives, thus also Gil and Reiner] wa-Llāh yataqabbal minnā ṣālīḥ ad-duʿā fih wa-fī ḡamāʿat Yīsrāʿēl kullhum āmin [sic] wa-kēn yəḥī rāšōn*.

<sup>6</sup>**Gil Nr.301**,12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-sababuh inqīṭāʿuh min at-taṣarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yaḡdih taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā ṣ-ṣalāt fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yaqarrēb šīḡlōlō b-īmēnū bə-ḡayyay wə-ʿal yadē ha-zāqēn ha-ḡāsīd ha-ḡādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū*.

Cf. **Gil Nr.379**,8.11 (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 629) (... *wa-yubālīḡ min al-adʿiyya wa-yaḡtanim* (read *wa-yaḡtanim*) *wāfir afḡālūh ʿalayh kull ... wa-qaliq qal[bī] li-dālik*) *wa-štaḡal sarī*) *wa-sa[ruʿtu] l-tazamtū ṣ-ṣawm wa-ṣ-ṣalāt qāšidan ʿalā šaʿar Bēyt Ālōhēnū yitrōmēm šīḡhō ū-mnūḡat aḡōtī li-aḡl[...]* *ʿalayya min al-furūd wa-mā ziltu bi-hādā l-ḡumla (ilā an ʿad kitāb al-madkūr wa-radd [...]) Ālōhē Yīsrāʿēl yitʿālāh bih min tawaḡḡuh al-ʿāfiya wa-taʿwīl fī yawm [...]* *al-ḡamām fā-aktartu min šāḡah al-ḡālīq taʿālā*) *wa-saʿaltuh an yutammim [...]*.

*hitpallēl*,<sup>1</sup> *hiṭhannēn*,<sup>2</sup> plur. *təpillōt*,<sup>3</sup> their rightful prayer (*daʿwa šāliḥa*,<sup>4</sup> *duʿā šāliḥ*,<sup>5</sup> *šāliḥ ad-duʿā*,<sup>6</sup> plur. *adʿiyya* [sic] *šāliḥa*),<sup>7</sup> their standing [in prayer] (*ʿamidāh*),<sup>8</sup> their prostration and asking for mercy and forgiveness (*hištaḥwāh ū-biqqēš raḥmīm wa-sliḥāh*),<sup>9</sup> pray (*daʿā*)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāšūt abnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn ʿaprōtāyhā ū-l-sōḥēb šaʿrē ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl ʿalāyhām bə-qōl rām bə-qadōš wə-bārūk ū-b-ʿalōtām ʾāl Har ha-zētīm bə-šir ū-b-ʿamodām ʿalāw b-īmē ha-ḥaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-ʾĀlōhīm Məqōm Šəḵīnat ʿūzzō wa-Hādōm riglāw.*

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.110**,23f. (*wə-ānū niqbāšnū yaḥad kāl ʿam adōnāy ha-nimšāʾīm b-Īrūšālayīm nəʿarīm wa-zqēnīm: ḥāḳāmīm wə-nəḥōnīm ʾnāšīm wa-nāšīm wə-ṭāp wə-yāšišīm wə-hōsēfnū təpillōt ... l-zəqēnēnū wə-ḥāšūḥēnū wə-yādidēnū wa-nəgīdnū gam lə-kāl ha-zəqēnīm ... ū-l-kōl qəhēlōt ʿam ʾĀlōhēnū ...*) *wə-gam harbēnū lə-hiṭhannēn ʿal šaʿrē Miqdāš ʾĀlōhēnū ū-b-Har ha-Zētīm.*

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.174**,8 (*al tiḥšōḳ ʿatiratkā bə-ʿedēnū*) *ūlay yišmaʿ ʾĀlōhēnū [təpi]ll[ō]tēkā ʾāl Bēyt ha-Miqdāš wa-ʿal šaʿarē bēytō (wə-yiqqaḥ mē-ʿalēnū ha-[maḥʾ]lāh wə-nimšā rəpūʾāh lə-hiqbīl pānīm yāpāh bə-ḥayyīm).*

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.300**,18-20,26-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asaluh Allāh yaʿal luh dālik bayn yadayh zəkūt məqōḥēl kəmo qurbān məqōḥēl*) *wa-an yastaḡīb minnī fih dāyiman kull daʿwa šāliḥa l-lati ana dāʾihā luh quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl bi-raḥmatuh (... fa-asal Allāh yaḥrus ḥayātuh ...) wa-staḡāb minnī fih wa-fihim [the addressee and his children] kull daʿwa šāliḥa l-lati ana dāʾihā dāyiman fī hādā l-Quds quddām hādā l-Bayt al-ʿAzī m.*

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.451**r,12 (*wa-mā naqdir ʿalā mukāfaʾa lā lak yā sayyidi wa-lā li-ḡayrak aktar min ad-duʿā a[š]-šāliḥ bə-tōaḳ ha-qāhāl*) *wa-fī s-sayr ʿalā abwāb al-Quds (wa-fī Har ha-zētīm məqōm maʿmad Šəḵīnāh wa-nasʿaluh al-iḡāba bi-raḥmatuh).*

<sup>6</sup>**Gil Nr.469**r,16-19 (*wa-innā luh naḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq ʿalā l-ladī yurīduh*) *wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt adʿū lak wa-luh ʿalā Abwāb ar-raḥma li-annī amḏī ilayhim al-itnayn wa-l-ḥamīs wa-ʿalā sāʾir al-abwāb Allāh yataqabbal minnī fikum šāliḥ ad-duʿā*; **Gil Nr.524**r,24-26 (see Gil, *Ärāš Yisrāʾēl* 3 663 s.v. "al-ḡabal"; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 281 n. 10) (*wa-yuʿarrifnī matā yatimm luh as-safar*) *wa-innā mā nuḥallih min ad-duʿā ʿalā l-abwāb wa-fī l-Ġabal [i.e., on the Mount of Olives, thus also Gil and Reiner] wa-Llāh yataqabbal minnā šāliḥ ad-duʿā fih wa-fī ḡamāʿat Yisrāʾēl kullhum āmin [sic] wa-kēn yəḥī rāšōn.*

<sup>7</sup>**Gil Nr.298**r,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ḡalla surʿat al-istiḡāba bimā ana muwāšilhumā min al-adʿiyya [sic] š-šāliḥa fī hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl yəqarrēb šiklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū*; **Gil Nr.301**,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ḡalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiḡābat mā ana muwāšiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ min al-adʿiyya [sic] š-šāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl.*

<sup>8</sup>**Gil Nr.519**,20-23 *gam bə-ʿēt ʿamidāti ʿal šaʿrē Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mḥērāh b-īmēnū wə-b-īmāw wə-ʿal Har ha-zētīm ʾnī məḥarkēyhū wə-šōʾēl mə-ha-Ēl šā-yiṣlēḥhū wə-yisʿadēhū wə-yəḡōnənēhū wə-hūʾ bə-raḥmāw yišmaʿ wa-yʿanāh.*

<sup>9</sup>**Gil Nr.420**,4f.

<sup>10</sup>**Gil Nr.469**r,16-19 (*wa-innā luh naḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq ʿalā l-ladī yurīduh*) *wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt adʿū lak wa-luh ʿalā Abwāb ar-raḥma li-annī amḏī ilayhim al-itnayn wa-l-ḥamīs wa-ʿalā sāʾir al-abwāb Allāh yataqabbal minnī fikum šāliḥ ad-duʿā.*

Cf. **Gil Nr.300**,26-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asal Allāh yaḥrus ḥayātuh ...*) *wa-staḡāb minnī fih wa-fihim [the addressee and his children] kull daʿwa šāliḥa l-lati ana dāʾihā dāyiman fī hādā l-Quds quddām hādā l-Bayt al-ʿAzī m.*

and bless (*bēraḳ*).<sup>1</sup> Then they make an ascent (*‘alōt*) to the Mount of Olives<sup>2</sup> with songs (*šīr*)<sup>3</sup> and their standing [in prayer] (*‘amōd*,<sup>4</sup> *‘amīdāh*) on it. Praying thus is made as intercession on behalf of other people<sup>6</sup> and is considered as effective as intercession said after

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.519**,20-23 *gam bə-‘ēt ‘amīdātī ‘al ša‘arē Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mhērāh b-īmēnū wə-b-īmāw wə-‘al Har ha-zētīm anī məḥarkēyhū wə-šō‘ēl mə-ha-Ēl šā-yiṣlēḥhū wə-yis‘ədēhū wə-yəgōnənēhū wə-hū’ bə-rah‘amāw yišma‘ wa-y‘anāh.*

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāšūt aḥnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn ‘aprōtāyhā ū-l-sōbēḥ ša‘arē ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl ‘alāyhām bə-qōl rām bə-‘qadōš wə-bārūk’ ū-b-‘alōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šīr ū-b-‘amodām ‘alāw b-īmē ha-ḥaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Šəḳīnat ‘ūzzō wa-Hādōm riglāw*; **Gil Nr.109r**,13f. (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 149 n. 16; see Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282) (*lə-ma‘an lō yīnāzzēqū Bēyt Yīsrā‘ēl [... ba-‘alōtām] ū-b-bō‘ām bə-sōbēḥām ‘al ša‘arē [ha-Miqdāš ...] bə-‘qadōš wə-bārūk’ (ū-ka-‘alōtām āl Har [ha-zētīm ... nōkaḥ] Hēykal Ālōhēnū məqōm Šəḳīnat ‘ūzzō wə-Hādōm [riglō] ...).*

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāšūt aḥnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn ‘aprōtāyhā ū-l-sōbēḥ ša‘arē ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl ‘alāyhām bə-qōl rām bə-‘qadōš wə-bārūk’ ū-b-‘alōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šīr ū-b-‘amodām ‘alāw b-īmē ha-ḥaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Šəḳīnat ‘ūzzō wa-Hādōm riglāw.*

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.420**,3-5.

Rather a reference to the annual ceremony on the Mount of Olives is **Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lə-rāšūt aḥnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn ‘aprōtāyhā ū-l-sōbēḥ ša‘arē ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl ‘alāyhām bə-qōl rām bə-‘qadōš wə-bārūk’ ū-b-‘alōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šīr ū-b-‘amodām ‘alāw b-īmē ha-ḥaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-Ālōhīm Məqōm Šəḳīnat ‘ūzzō wa-Hādōm riglāw.*

For praying on the Mount of Olives, cf. also **Gil Nr.110**,23f. (*wə-ānū niqbašnū yaḥad kāl ‘am adōnāy ha-nimšā’im b-Īrūšālayīm nə‘ārīm wa-zqēnīm: ḥāḳāmīm wə-nəḥōnīm anāšīm wa-nāšīm wə-ṭap wə-yāšīšīm wə-ḥōsēfnū təpillōt ... l-zqēnēnū wə-ḥāšūbēnū wə-yādīdēnū wa-nəgīdnū gam lə-kāl ha-zəqēnīm ... ū-l-kōl qəhēlōt ‘am Ālōhēnū ...)* *wə-gam harbēnū lə-hithannēn ‘al ša‘arē Miqdāš Ālōhēnū ū-b-Har ha-Zētīm.*

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.519**,20-23 *gam bə-‘ēt ‘amīdātī ‘al ša‘arē Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mhērāh b-īmēnū wə-b-īmāw wə-‘al Har ha-zētīm anī məḥarkēyhū wə-šō‘ēl mə-ha-Ēl šā-yiṣlēḥhū wə-yis‘ədēhū wə-yəgōnənēhū wə-hū’ bə-rah‘amāw yišma‘ wa-y‘anāh.*

<sup>6</sup>**Gil Nr.174**,8 (*al tiḥšōḳ ‘atīratkā bə-‘ēdēnū) ūlay yišma‘ Ālōhēnū [təpī]ll[ō]tēkā āl Bēyt ha-Miqdāš wa-‘al ša‘arē bēytō (wə-yiqqaḥ mē-‘alēnū ha-[maḥ‘a]lāh wə-nimšā rəpū‘āh lə-hiqbīl pānīm yāpāh bə-ḥayyīm); Gil Nr.298r*,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ‘azza wa-ḡalla sur‘at al-istiḡāba bimā ana mu-wāšilhumā min al-ad‘īy[ya] ṣ-šāliḥa fī hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl yaqarrēb šīklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū*; **Gil Nr.300**,18-20.26-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asaluh Allāh ya‘al luh dālik bayn yadayh zəḳūt məqōbēl kəmo qurbān məqōbēl) wa-an yastaḡīb minnī fīh dāyiman kull da‘wa ṣāliḥa l-latī ana dā‘ihā luh quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl bi-rahmatuh (... fa-asal Allāh yaḥrus ḥayātuh ...)* *wa-staḡāb minnī fīh wa-fīhim [the addressee and his children] kull da‘wa ṣāliḥa l-latī ana dā‘ihā dāyiman fī hādā l-Quds quddām hādā l-Bayt al-‘Azīm*; **Gil Nr.301**,7-9.17f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ḡalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiḡābat mā ana muwāšiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ min al-ad‘īyya [sic] ṣ-šāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl (... fa-in ra‘a mawlāya š-šayḥ Šūrō yirbāh hadarō musā‘adatuh wa-ma‘ūnatuh wa-irfādūh bi-šay wa-aḡrāh ‘alā l-ma‘hūd min faḍluh bi-mā saḥul fa-inna lahu ...)* *wa-yaḡtanim min ‘abduh ḥarasuh Allāh katrat al-ad‘īyya [sic] l-mubāraka bi-‘aqīb kull ṣalāt wa-fī kull du‘ā fī abwāb hādā l-Maqdis al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yaqarrēb šīklōlō b-īmēnū bi-ḥayyay wə-‘al yədē ha-zāqēn ha-məḳōbēd adōnēnū wə-rabbēnū*; **Gil Nr.379**,8.11 (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 629) (*... wa-yubālīḡ min al-ad‘īya wa-yaḡtanim (read wa-yaḡtanim) wāfir afḍāluh ‘alayh kull ... wa-qaliq qal[bi] li-dālik) wa-štaḡal sarī) wa-sa[ru‘tu l]tazamtu ṣ-ṣawm wa-ṣ-*

congregational service.<sup>1</sup> This tour is performed both by individuals,<sup>2</sup> day and night<sup>3</sup> or twice a week on Monday and Thursday (B154.10),<sup>4</sup> as well as by a group, once a year<sup>5</sup> or in the days of the [three] feasts (*b-īmē ha-ḥaggīm*) [the Feast of Tabernacles, Passover and Pen-

*ṣalāt qāšidan* 'alā ša<sup>a</sup>rē Bēyt Ālōhēnū yitrōmēm šibhō ū-mnūḥat abōtī li-aḡl[...]*]*m' 'alayya min al-furūd wa-mā ziltu bi-hāda l-ḡumla (ilā an 'ād kitāb al-madkūr wa-radd [...]) Ālōhē Yīsrā'ēl yit'ālāh bih min tawaḡḡuh al-'āfiya wa-t-ta'wīl fī yawm [...] al-ḥamām fa-aktartu min šābaḥ al-ḥāliq ta'ālā) wa-sa'altuh an yutammim [...]; **Gil Nr. 451r,12** (wa-mā naqdir 'alā mukāfa'a lā lak yā sayyidī wa-lā li-ḡayrak aktar min ad-dū'a a[ṣ]-šāliḥ bē-tōāk ha-qāhāl) wa-fī s-sayr 'alā abwāb al-Qūds (wa-fī Har ha-zētīm mēqōm ma'mad Šēkināh wa-nas'aluh al-iḡāba bi-raḥmatuh); **Gil Nr. 469r,16-19** (wa-innā luh na'ḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq 'alā l-ladī yurīduh) wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt ad'ū lak wa-luh 'alā Abwāb ar-raḥma li-annī amḏī ilayhim al-itnayn wa-l-ḥamīs wa-'alā sār al-abwāb Allāh yataqabbal minnī fikum šāliḥ ad-du'a; **Gil Nr. 519,20-23** gam bē-ēt āmīdātī 'al ša<sup>a</sup>rē Bēyt ha-Miqdāš yibbānāh bi-mḥērāh b-īmēnū wē-b-īmāw wē-'al Har ha-zētīm<sup>a</sup> nī mēbarkēyḥū wē-šō'ēl mē-ha-Ēl šā-yiṣlēḥhū wē-yis'edēhū wē-yēḡōnēnēhū wē-hū' bē-raḥ<sup>a</sup>māw yišma' wa-y<sup>a</sup>'anāh; **Gil Nr. 524r,24-26** (see Gil, Ārāš Yīsrā'ēl 3 663 s.v. "al-ḡabal"; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 281 n. 10) (wa-yu'arrifnī matā yatimm luh as-safār) wa-innā mā nuḡallih min ad-du'a 'alā l-abwāb wa-fī l-Ḡabal [i.e., on the Mount of Olives, thus also Gil and Reiner] wa-l-lāh yataqabbal minnā šāliḥ ad-du'a fih wa-fī ḡamā'at Yīsrā'ēl kullhum āmin [sic] wa-kēn yāhī rāšōn.

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr. 301,17f.** (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (fa-in ra'a mawlāya š-šayḥ Šūrō yirbāh hadarō mu-sā'adatuh wa-ma'ūnatuh wa-irfāduh bi-šay wa-aḡrāh 'alā l-ma'ḥūd min faḏluh bi-mā saḥul fa-inna lahu ...) wa-yaḡtanīm min 'abduh ḥarasuh Allāh katrat al-ad'iyya [sic] l-mubāraka bi-'aqib kull ṣalāt wa-fī kull du'a fī abwāb hādā l-Maqdis al-Ḡalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōlō b-īmēnū bi-ḥayyay wē-'al yedē ha-zāqēn ha-mēkōbēd adōnēnū wē-rabbēnū; **Gil Nr. 451r,12** (wa-mā naqdir 'alā mukāfa'a lā lak yā sayyidī wa-lā li-ḡayrak aktar min ad-dū'a a[ṣ]-šāliḥ bē-tōāk ha-qāhāl) wa-fī s-sayr 'alā abwāb al-Qūds (wa-fī Har ha-zētīm mēqōm ma'mad Šēkināh wa-nas'aluh al-iḡāba bi-raḥmatuh).

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr. 301,7-9.12-14** (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) wa-asaluh ḡalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiḡābat mā ana muwāšiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ min al-ad'iyya [sic] š-šāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ḡalīl ... wa-sababuh inqīṭā'uh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yardīh ta'ālā wa-li-tawaffuruh 'alā š-ṣalāt fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ḡalīl ha-Ēl Ālōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōlō b-īmēnū bē-ḥayyay wē-'al yedē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ḡādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū; **Gil Nr. 379,8.11** (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 629) (... wa-yubālīḡ min al-ad'iyya wa-yaḡtamin (read wa-yaḡtanīm) wāfir afḏāluh 'alayh kull ... wa-qaliq qal[bī] li-dālik) wa-štaḡal sarī) wa-sa[ru'tu l]tazamtu š-sawm wa-š-ṣalāt qāšidan 'alā ša<sup>a</sup>rē Bēyt Ālōhēnū yitrōmēm šibhō ū-mnūḥat abōtī li-aḡl[...]*]*m' 'alayya min al-furūd wa-mā ziltu bi-hāda l-ḡumla (ilā an 'ād kitāb al-madkūr wa-radd [...]) Ālōhē Yīsrā'ēl yit'ālāh bih min tawaḡḡuh al-'āfiya wa-t-ta'wīl fī yawm [...] al-ḥamām fa-aktartu min šābaḥ al-ḥāliq ta'ālā) wa-sa'altuh an yutammim [...]; **Gil Nr. 469r,16-19** (wa-innā luh na'ḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq 'alā l-ladī yurīduh) wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt ad'ū lak wa-luh 'alā Abwāb ar-raḥma li-annī amḏī ilayhim al-itnayn wa-l-ḥamīs wa-'alā sār al-abwāb Allāh yataqabbal minnī fikum šāliḥ ad-du'a.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr. 301,7-9** (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) wa-asaluh ḡalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiḡābat mā ana muwāšiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ min al-ad'iyya [sic] š-šāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb hādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām hādā l-Bayt al-Ḡalīl.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr. 469r,16-19** (wa-innā luh na'ḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq 'alā l-ladī yurīduh) wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt ad'ū lak wa-luh 'alā Abwāb ar-raḥma li-annī amḏī ilayhim al-itnayn wa-l-ḥamīs wa-'alā sār al-abwāb Allāh yataqabbal minnī fikum šāliḥ ad-du'a.

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr. 110,23f.** (wē-ānū niqbašnū yaḥad kāl 'am adōnāy ha-nimšā'im b-Īrūšālayīm nē'ārīm wa-zqēnīm: ḥ<sup>a</sup>ḡāmīm wē-nēbōnīm<sup>a</sup> nāšīm wa-nāšīm wē-ṭap wē-yāšīšīm wē-hōsēfnū tēpillōt ... l-zēqēnēnū wē-ḥ<sup>a</sup>šūbēnū wē-y<sup>a</sup>dīdēnū wa-nēḡīdnū gam lē-kāl ha-zēqēnīm ... ū-l-kōl qēhēlōt 'am Ālōhēnū ...) wē-gam harbēnū lē-hithannēn 'al ša<sup>a</sup>rē Miqdāš Ālōhēnū u-b-Har ha-Zētīm.



tecost].<sup>1</sup>

### B136. The south wall<sup>2</sup>

**B136.1. Names (Muslim):** The south wall [of the mosque] (*\*al-ḥa'īṭ al-qiblī*,<sup>3</sup> *dīwār-i ḡā-nūbī*<sup>4</sup>), the [south] broad side of the mosque (*pahnā-yi masǧid*),<sup>5</sup> the wall facing the valley (*ān dīwār kih bā wādī ast*) (B136.3).

B136.1.a. **Nāṣir** has *ān dīwār kih bā wādī ast* "the wall facing the valley" preceded by *Wādī-i Ġahannum* "the Valley of Hell" (the KIDRON VALLEY), *ʿAyn-i Sulwān* "the Spring of Sulwān" (the POOL OF SILWĀN) with its village and the *bīmāristān* "hospital", and followed by the mosque (the ḤARAM) and its courtyard. We therefore best identify the wall facing the valley with the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, not with the EAST ḤARAM WALL. The identification with the part of the WEST ḤARAM WALL which Jews visit in the second half of the 19th century<sup>6</sup> is out of the question.

**Nāṣir**

*Wādī-i Ġahannum* -> *ʿAyn-i Sulwān* -> *bīmāristān* -> **ān dīwār-rā kih bā wādī ast** -> *masǧid*

**B136.2. Position:** This is the south wall [of the mosque]. In the south side [of the mosque] (*az ḡānib-i qibla ya'nī ḡanūb*) [i.e., in this wall] is the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) (B137.2); in the south wall (*bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī*), a gate (*dar*) [identical with the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*)] with an ablution place and water (*mutawaḍḍā wa āb*) (B137.5); in the [south] broad side of the mosque (*dar pahnā-yi masǧid*), the High Fāṭimid Gate of the Spring (*Bāb al-ʿAyn*) (B140.2). This is the wall which faces the valley (*ān dīwār kih bā wādī ast*) (B136.1). The High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall has its place in the southwest [corner of the] wall

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.105**,14-17 (transl. partly Gil, "Aliya" 170; Gil, *Palestine* 627; see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 280; 282; Gil, *Palestine* 148f.) *lā-rāšūt abnāyhā ū-l-ḥōnēn ʿaprōtāyhā ū-l-sōḥēb ša'arē ha-Miqdāš ū-l-hitpallēl ʿalāyhām bə-qōl rām bə-ʿqadōš wə-bārūk' ū-b-ʿalōtām āl Har ha-zētīm bə-šīr ū-b-ʿamodām ʿalāw b-īmē ha-ḥaggīm mūl Hēykal ha-ʾlōhīm Məqōm Šəḳīnat ʿūzzō wa-H<sup>a</sup>dōm riglāw.*

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid south wall, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 15-18; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 69f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375 n. 5; Gil, *Palestine* 397f. For the High Fāṭimid rebuilding of the area's south, see A169.

<sup>3</sup>**van Berchem Nr.147**,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 101; see RCEA Nr.2404; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 69f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375 n. 5; Gil, *Palestine* 397f.; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 487) [...] *wa-l-aqbā'a wa-l-marrata* (Gil, *Palestine* 398 n. 52 reads *wa-l-mamarrata lahunna wa-[l-]ḥā'īṭa l-qiblīya wa-l-ḥā'īṭa [š-šarqīya]*).

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 377) *wa čūn ba-dīwār-i ḡanūbī bāz gardī az ān ḡūša miqdār-i duwīst gaz pūšīš nīst wa sāḥat ast wa pūšīš-i masǧid-i buzurg kih Maqšūra dar-ū-st bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī ast wa ḡarbī*; **Nāṣir** 37,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī dar-ī ast.*

The south wall is also mentioned in **Nāṣir** 38,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa ba-nazdik-i dar bar dī wār ba-andāza-i sipar-i buzurg bar sang naqš-ī ast*; **Nāṣir** 39,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa* (NP without *wa*) *bar dar-ī masǧid az dast-ī rāst sang-ī dar dīwār ast bālā-yi ān pānzdah* (NP *yāzdah*) *araš wa čahār araš ʿarḍ* (NP *ʿulūw wa ʿarḍ*).

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa dar pahnā-yi masǧid dar-ī-st mašriqī.*

<sup>6</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 71 n. 1.

[of the mosque] (*bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī-i ḡarbī*) (B202.2). We best locate the wall at the SOUTH HARAM WALL, which overlooks [roughly] the KIDRON VALLEY.

**B136.3. Physical shape:** On the outside (*az bīrūn*), the wall [next to the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*)] is almost 50 ells (33.25 m) high.<sup>1</sup> The height of the [south] wall facing the valley (*ān dīwār kih bā wādī ast*) is [next to the southeast corner] 100 ells (66.50 m), a wall of large blocks (*sanghā-yi 'aẓīm*) placed [to the wall's top] one upon another without any mortar (*gil wa gağ*) [and the lower layer reaches almost to the wall's top].<sup>2</sup> The largest stone of the whole mosque (*masğid*) is 15 ells (9.98 m) long and 4 ells (2.66 m) wide and has its place inside the Gate of the Prophet on the right [west] side [of the gate] (*bar dast-i rāst*) (B137.5). Along the south wall (*ba-dīwār-i ḡanūbī*), [on its inside] between the southeast corner and the High Fāṭimid Aqṣà Mosque (*Masğid al-Aqṣà*) for a length of 200 ells (133.00 m), there is no roofed hall, but a courtyard (*pūšiš nīst wa sāḡat ast*) (B202.2).

**B136.4. Contemporary events:** *az-Zāhir* rebuilds the south wall (*\*al-ḡā'it al-qiblī*), the [east] wall (*\*al-ḡā'it al-šarqī*) and the underground vaults (*al-aqbā'*) [as well as the corresponding underground gates and their corridors] in 425/1037 (B135.5).

### B137. The Gate of the Prophet<sup>3</sup>

(with its corridor, the shield-like pattern made by  
Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and the ablution place)

**B137.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*),<sup>4</sup> a gate of the mosque (*dar-i masğid*), a gate (*dar*) in the south wall (*bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī*) with an ablution place and

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,23-39,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *dīwār-i masğid az bīrūn qarīb-i paṅḡāh gaz irtifā' dārad*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 30,20-23 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) (*wa ān bīmāristān wa* (NP without *wa*) *masğid-i ādīna bar kinār-i Wādī-i Ḡahannum ast*) *wa čūn az sū-yi bīrūn-i masğid ān dīwār-rā kih bā wādī ast binigarand šad araš bāšad ba-sanghā-yi 'aẓīm bar āwarda čun-ān-kih gil wa gağ dar miyān nīst*.

<sup>3</sup>For the Fāṭimid Gate of the Prophet, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 180; 182; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 67f.; Matthews, "Wailing Wall", especially 335-339; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78; 81; Mazar, *Excavations in the Old City I* 20f.; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 269f. n. 35; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 290; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56-58; 76f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 45; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 121; Gil, *Palestine* 398; 643-645 n. 115; 644; Wightman, *Walls* 231; 238; 245; 264; pl. 30.2; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIIff.; 71; 97-99; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 152f..

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 79,2f. *wa-yanzilu ilā Bābi n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu fa-yuṣallī fihi wa-yad'ū bimā qaddamnā dīkrahū* (cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-67:** 64,15-78,13) *mīna l-ad'iyati l-ma'tūrati 'ani n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.68: 79,14 *wa-yanzilu ilā l-mawḏi' i l-laḏī ḡaraqahu Ḡibrīlu 'alayhi s-salāmu bi-iṣba'ihī wa-šadda fihi l-Burāqa*) *wa-huwa ḡarīḡa Bābi n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu; Nāṣir 38,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa az ān darhā yak-ī-rā Bāb an-Nabī 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām gūyand*.**

water (*mutawaḍḍā wa āb*) (B137.5).

B137.1.a. *Bāb an-Nabī* and the gate with the ablution place are one and the same gate, as both are best located at the DOUBLE GATE.

B137.2. **Position:** The Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) is in the south side [of the mosque] (*az ḡānib-i qibla ya'nī ḡanūb*),<sup>1</sup> in the side towards Mecca (*bar ḡānib-i rāh-i Makka*);<sup>2</sup> the gate with the ablution place and water (*mutawaḍḍā wa āb*) is in the south wall (*bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī*) (B137.5). The Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) is an underground gate (B137.4); above [the corridor of] the Gate of the Prophet (*bar pušt-i Bāb an-Nabī*) is the Roofed Hall of the mosque (*pūšīš-i masḡid*);<sup>3</sup> the Gate of the Spring (*Bāb al-ʿAyn*) is a gate [further] east (*dar-i mašriqī*) (B140.2). Both [the exit of] the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) and the Chamber of Mary (*Miḥrāb Maryam*) or Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd ʿĪsā*) are on an intermediate level between the Inner Roofed Mosque [the Roofed Hall] (*al-Masḡid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqafa*) on a higher level and the Kneeling-place of the she-camel (*Mabrak an-nāqa*) on a lower level.<sup>4</sup> Inside the gate (*bar dar-i masḡid*), in its right [west] side (*bar dast-i rāst*), is the largest stone of the whole mosque (B137.5). Outside the Gate of the Prophet (*ḡariḡ Bāb an-Nabī*) is the Kneeling-place of the she-camel (*Mabrak an-nāqa*) (B138.2), and [in the vicinity of the gate] the wall is, on the outside (*az bīrūn*), almost 50 ells (33.35 m) high (B136.3). We best locate the gate at the DOUBLE GATE,<sup>5</sup> the ablution place at MAQĀM AL-ḤIDR.<sup>6</sup>

B137.2.a. The place of the gate in the south wall leaves us with the choice between the DOUBLE GATE and the TRIPLE GATE; a location at the Crusader (B064.2.a) SINGLE GATE is impossible. Its position under the Roofed Hall and west of *Bāb al-ʿAyn* are definitely in favour of the DOUBLE GATE. The mention of an ablution place (B137.5) fits with the existence of the WATER CHANNEL which leads to MAQĀM AL-ḤIDR.

B137.2.b. In **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.52-69**, the visitor arrives at *Bāb an-Nabī* after descending from *al-Masḡid*

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 38,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178f.) *wa in dar az ḡānib-i qibla ya'nī ḡanūb ast*.

<sup>2</sup>Nāṣir 38,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa in bāb bar ḡānib-i rāh-i Makka ast*.

<sup>3</sup>Nāṣir 38,13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa bar pušt-i ān pūšīš-i masḡid ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.67-68:** 78,19-79,14 *ṭumma yadhulu l-Masḡida d-Dāḥilāniya l-Musaqqafa ... wa-yanzilu ilā Bābi n-Nabiyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu ... ṭumma yamḍi ilā Mihrābi Maryama wa-mawḍiʿi mutaʿabbadihā* (cf. **Koran** 3.43; 66.12) *... wa-yanzilu ilā l-mawḍiʿi l-laḍi ḥaraqahu Ġibrīlu ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-iṣbaʿihi wa-šadda fihi l-Burāqa*.

<sup>5</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 180; 182; 189; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 67f.; Matthews, "Wailing Wall", especially 335-339; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78 (at the DOUBLE GATE); 81 (at the DOUBLE GATE or at BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA); Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 269f. n. 35; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56-58; 76f.; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Wightman, *Walls* 245; 264; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIff.; 97-99; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 152.

<sup>6</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 182.

For MAQĀM AL-ḤIDR in the east wall of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 168; Schick, *Stiftshütte, Tempel und Tempelplatz* 312; Busink, *Tempel* 958.

*ad-Dāhilānī l-Musaqqaf* (at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE) and goes on to *Miḥrāb Maryam* = *Mahd ʿĪsā* (at MASĠID MAHD ʿĪSĀ), then descends to *Mabrak an-nāqa* (possibly at the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER) back near *Bāb an-Nabī*, then ascends *as-Sāhira* (on the slope of the MOUNT OF OLIVES). These are clearly three levels: first *al-Masġid ad-Dāhilānī l-Musaqqaf*, then *Bāb an-Nabī* and *Miḥrāb Maryam* = *Mahd ʿĪsā*, then *Mabrak an-nāqa*. All these details allow location of *Bāb an-Nabī* at the DOUBLE GATE.

#### Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.52-69

*al-Masġid ad-Dāhilānī l-Musaqqaf* -> **Bāb an-Nabī** -> *Miḥrāb Maryam* = *Mahd ʿĪsā* -> *Mabrak an-nāqa* -> *as-Sāhira*

B137.2.c. **Nāṣir** has both the gate with the ablution place (*mutawaḍḍā*) (introduced as being in a south gate, without reference to *Bāb an-Nabī*) and *Bāb an-Nabī* on his way from *Masġid al-Aqṣā* (at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE) (with its west arcade and its interior cistern) to the outside of the wall (next to *Bāb an-Nabī*); *Bāb al-ʿAyn* (at the TRIPLE GATE) and *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE) are outside the wall; in between the ablution place and *Bāb an-Nabī*, the text has a digression on the city's cisterns and water supply and on the underground gates of the mosque. This sequence favours the location of both the gate with the ablution place and *Bāb an-Nabī* at the DOUBLE GATE.

#### Nāṣir

*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* <- *Bāb al-ʿAyn* <- outside of the wall <- **Bāb an-Nabī** <- the underground gates <- cisterns of the mosque, water in Jerusalem <- **ablution place in a south gate** <- cistern inside the Aqṣā Mosque <- south arcade (west of the Aqṣā Mosque) <- *Masġid al-Aqṣā*

B137.2.d. *Bāb an-Nabī* has been located at BĀB AL-MATHARA<sup>1</sup> or, alternatively, at the DOUBLE GATE and BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA;<sup>2</sup> both locations are impossible because of the sequences of **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.52-69** and **Nāṣir**. It has been claimed that *dar-i masġid* "the gate of the mosque" immediately next to the largest stone may be *Bāb-i Dāwūd* (BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA), the main gate, and that therefore the largest stone has to be located in the WEST ḤARAM WALL south of BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA (Schefer); **Nāṣir**'s sequence does not support this.

**B137.3. Physical shape:** This is a gate (*dar*)<sup>3</sup> 10 ells (6.65 m) wide,<sup>4</sup> with two doors (*dū*

<sup>1</sup>Reiner's [otherwise unknown] BĀB AṬ-ṬAHAR (Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 290) most probably means BĀB AL-MATHARA.

For BĀB AL-MATHARA, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 103-108; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 77; 278; 544-554 and 572-578 (with figures and plates); fig. 12.2 (on separate sheet); Burgoyne, "Gates" 116; 119; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur* 2 28; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 218; 2 423; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 307.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, "A New Inscription" 81 (but Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78 locates it at the DOUBLE GATE).

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa bar dīwār-i ġanūbī dar-ī ast (wa ān-ġā mutawaḍḍā-st wa āb); Nāṣir 38,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178f.) *wa az ān darhā yak-ī-rā Bāb an-Nabī ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām gūyand wa in dar az ġānib-i qibla yaʿnī ġanūb ast; Nāṣir 38,19-23 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa ba-nazdī k-i dar bar dīwār ba-andāza-i sipar-ī buzurg bar sang naqṣ-ī ast ... wa bar-in dar-i masġid kih in mamarr sāḥta and dar-ī (NP wa dar-ī) ba-dū miṣrāʿ bar ān-ġā nišānda*.**

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178f.) *wa in dar az ġānib-i qibla yaʿnī ġanūb ast wa in-rā čun-ān sāḥta and kih dah gaz pahnā dārad (wa irtifāʿ ba-nisbat-i daraġāt ġā-yī pang gaz ʿulūw dārad yaʿnī saqf-i in mamarr dar ġāhā (NP ġāʾ) bīst gaz ʿulūw ast)*.

*miṣrā*).<sup>1</sup> The gate integrates elements of an older gate (B018.3). It is open.

B137.3.a. **Nāṣir**'s remark about the gate has been read as (*wa-īn dar*) ... *dah gaz pahnā dārad wa irtifā* / *ba-nisbat-i darağāt ḡā-yī paṅḡ gaz* 'ulūw dārad ya'nī saqf-i īn mamarr dar ḡāhā bīst gaz 'ulūw ast" (la porte ...) Elle a dix guez de haut sur autant de large. La voûte du souterrain fermé par elle a, à cause des escaliers, tantôt cinq guez de hauteur et tantôt jusqu' à vingt guez." (Schefer). But why should the gate be 10 ells high, if the corridor is between 5 and 20 ells high? It is better to read (*wa-īn dar*) ... *dah gaz pahnā dārad / wa irtifā* 'ba-nisbat-i darağāt ...' (The gate ...) It has a width of 10 ells and a height depending on the stairs. At one place it has a height of 5 ells, i.e., up to the ceiling of the corridor; at other places it is of a height of 20 ells." It has been proposed that the height depends on the number of steps (Thackston), but the number of steps surely plays no role.

B137.3.b. Both in **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** (B137.2.b) and in **Nāṣir** (B137.2.c), the visitor leaves the mosque through this gate; this makes one think that the gate is open. **Nāṣir**'s remark that the gate was opened to give the neighbourhood (*maḥalla*) outside direct access to the mosque (B137.7) obviously refers to former times, but may also allude to the gate being open at his time. It has been claimed that the underground doors are blocked around 1000, but we do not have enough evidence for this (B135.4.b).

B137.4. The mosque has a number of underground gates, like holes, in the courtyard (B135.4); the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) is one of them.<sup>2</sup> It is reached from the courtyard by a corridor (*mamarr*,<sup>3</sup> *rahguḍar*<sup>4</sup>) made of [large] rocks (*sanghā* sing. *sang*), which one cannot imagine that men were able to move.<sup>5</sup> Inside the corridor is a staircase (*darağāt*), but the ceiling of the corridor (*saqf-i mamarr*) remains level, so that the corridor's height decreases from 20 to 5 ells (from 13.30 to 3.33 m).<sup>6</sup> Above [the corridor of] the Gate of the Prophet (*bar pušt-i Bāb an-Nabī*) is the Roofed Hall of the mosque (*pūšiš-i masğid*),

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,22f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa bar-īn dar-i masğid kih īn mamarr sāḥta and dar-ī* (NP *wa dar-ī*) *ba-dū miṣrā* 'bar ān-ḡā nišānda.

Cf. **Nāṣir** 32,22-33,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176; see B151.3.b) *wa īn dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand az ān sabab kih mawāḍi* 'i dīgar darhā ḡuft ḡuft ast magar īn sih dar ast.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) (*masğid-rā darhā-st kih ham-čun-ān-kih naqb* (NP *laqab*) *bāšad burīda and wa ba-sāḥat-i masğid bīrūn āwarda*) *wa az ān darhā yak-ī-rā Bāb an-Nabī* 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt *wa-s-salām gūyand*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178f.) *ya'nī saqf-i īn mamarr dar ḡāhā* (NP *ḡā*) *bīst gaz* 'ulūw ast ... *wa ān mamarr čun-ān muḥkam ast kih ...*; **Nāṣir** 38,22f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa bar-īn dar-i masğid kih īn mamarr sāḥta and ...*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa payḡambar-i mā* 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalawāt (NP 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt) *wa-s-salām dar šab-i Mi'rāḡ az ān rahguḍar* (NP *rāhguḍar*) *dar masğid āmad*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,14-16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa dar ān-ḡā sanghā ba-kār yurda* (I read *burda*) *and kih* 'aql *qubūl na-kunad kih quwwat-i bašarī badān rasad kih ān sang-rā naql wa taḥwīl kunad* (*wa miḡūyand ān* 'imārat *Sulaymān ibn-i Dāwūd* 'alayhi s-salām *karda ast*).

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178f.) (*wa az ān darhā yak-ī-rā Bāb an-Nabī* 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt *wa-s-salām gūyand ... wa īn-rā čun-ān sāḥta and kih dah gaz pahnā dārad*) *wa irtifā* 'ba-nisbat-i *darağāt ḡā-yī paṅḡ gaz* 'ulūw dārad *ya'nī saqf-i īn mamarr dar ḡāhā* (NP *ḡā*) *bīst gaz* 'ulūw ast.

but the corridor shows no signs of pressure damage.<sup>1</sup>

B137.4.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa bar pušt-i ān pūšiš-i masğid* is obviously not "La partie couverte de la mosquée el Aqça est bâtie sur ce souterrain" (Schefer), but only "and on top of this is the Roofed Hall of the mosque"; the Persian text - and Schefer has the same text - does not speak of the Aqşa Mosque.

B137.5. The gate has an ablution place and water (*mutawaḍḍā wa āb*).<sup>2</sup> Inside the gate of the mosque (*bar dar-i masğid*) is, on its right [west] side (*bar dast-i rāst*), the largest stone of the mosque, 15 ells (9.98 m) long and 4 ells (2.66 m) wide.<sup>3</sup> Next to the gate, in the wall (*ba-nazdik-i dar bar dīwār*), is a decoration (*naqš*) similar to a shield (*sipar*).<sup>4</sup>

B137.5.a. For parallels to the shield-like imprint in the wall, see B018.5.a.

B137.5.b. A parallel to the largest stone, a distinct stone of the wall:<sup>5</sup> The Pre-Marwānid Cornerstone (*angulus, caput angeli*) (in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER) is also a distinct stone, possibly by its position or dimensions (B004.3.a).

B137.5.c. The dimensions of the stone are given by **Nāṣir**'s (*sang-i ...*) *bālā-yi ān pānzdah araš wa čahār araš 'arḍ* "(a stone ...) its height is 15 ells, its width 4 ells" and **Nāṣir NP**'s (*sang-i ...*) *bālā-yi ān yāzdah araš wa čahār araš 'ulūw wa 'arḍ* "(a stone ...) its height is 15 ells, its height and width 4 ells". It has been proposed that *yāzdah araš* "11 ells" should be preferred (Schefer in his translation, *Le Strange*), but we should take as the better text *pānzdah araš* "15 ells" (Schefer in the Persian text). Obviously *bālā* "height" means not the height proper, but the length. Numbers have mistakenly been attributed to the column inside the 'Abbāsīd gate here (B062.6.c). The excavations outside the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER have unearthed a much larger stone, 12 m long,<sup>6</sup> and the digging of the WEST WALL TUNNEL south of BĀB AS-SILSILA, a stone 13.7 m long and 3.5 m high, another one 12.5 m long and 3.5 m high.<sup>7</sup> In Fāṭimid times both stones were most probably deep below the

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,13f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 179) (*wa az ān darhā yak-i-rā Bāb an-Nabī 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām gūyand ... ya'nī saqf-i in mamarr dar ġāhā* (NP *ġā'ī*) *bīst gaz 'ulūw ast*) *wa bar pušt-i ān pūšiš-i masğid ast wa ān mamarr čun-ān muḥkam ast kih banā'ī badān 'uzmī bar pušt-i ān sāḥta and wa dar ū hič aṭar na-karda*.

For the relation of the Roofed Hall to the corridor beneath, see B018.4.a.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,3f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 178) *wa bar dīwār-i ġanūbī dar-ī ast wa ān-ġā mutawaḍḍā-st wa āb (kih agar kas-i muḥtāğ-i wuḍūy* (NP *wuḍū'ī*) *šawad dar ān-ġā rawad wa tağdīd-i wuḍū kunad čih agar az masğid bī rūn šawad namāz na-rasad wa namāz fawt šawad az buzurgī-i masğid*).

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,3-5 (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 179) *wa* (NP without *wa*) *bar dar-i masğid az dast-i rāst sang-i dar dī wār ast bālā-yi ān pānzdah* (NP *yāzdah*) *araš wa čahār araš 'arḍ* (NP *'ulūw wa 'arḍ*) *ham-čun-in dar-in masğid az in buzurgtar hič sang-i nīst*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,19f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 179) *wa ba-nazdik-i dar bar dīwār ba-andāza-i sipar-i buzurg bar sang naqš-i ast*.

<sup>5</sup>For the importance of the LARGE STONES in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, put there to astonish the visitors, see Busink, *Tempel* 957.

<sup>6</sup>Wilson, *Ordnance Survey* 15; 26; Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 174; Busink, *Tempel* 951; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 43.

<sup>7</sup>Bahat, "Western Wall Tunnels I" 68; Ben-Dov/Naor/Aner, *Western Wall* 42; Bahat, "Western Wall Tunnels II" 181.

surface.

B137.5.d. It has been said that **Nāṣir** speaks about the astonishing decoration of *Bāb an-Nabī*,<sup>1</sup> but the corresponding remark (**Nāṣir** 31,20-32,3) refers not to *Bāb an-Nabī*, but to *Bāb-i Dāwūd* (B144.4). It has further been claimed that he describes the middle column of the corridor as being 15 (variants 11, 14) ells long and 4 ells thick,<sup>2</sup> but this remark (**Nāṣir** 39,3-5) refers to the largest stone in the wall (B137.5).

B137.5.e. **Nāṣir**'s *wa bar diwār-i ġanūbī dar-i ast wa ān-ġā mutawaḏḏā-st wa āb* is not "and in the south wall is a gate at the ablution pool" (Thackston), but rather "and in the wall is a gate, and there is an ablution place and water". The existence of an ablution place fits with the existence of a WATER CHANNEL leading to MAQĀM AL-ḤIDR (B137.2.a).

**B137.6. Contemporary events:** **az-Zāhir** rebuilds the south wall, the [east] wall of the mosque and the underground vaults [as well as all corresponding underground gates and their corridors] in 425/1037 (B135.5), and we may suppose that he also rebuilds this corridor.

**B137.7. Traditions (Muslim):** **Solomon** built this corridor with its [large] blocks, which one cannot imagine that men were able to move.<sup>3</sup> By that corridor (*az ān rahgudar*) **Muḥammad** entered the mosque on the Night of the Ascension.<sup>4</sup> The shield-like pattern goes back to [the Early Islamic hero] **Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib**, Muḥammad's paternal uncle, who sat down here with his shield on his back and had his shield imprinted.<sup>5</sup> The gate was opened to give the neighbourhood (*maḥalla*) outside **direct access** to the mosque.<sup>6</sup>

B137.7.a. For parallels to the attribution of the corridor with its [large] blocks to Solomon, see B057.3.a.

B137.7.b. For parallels to the shield of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, see B018.5.a.

**B137.8. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on their prayer-route, perform

<sup>1</sup>Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 57f.

<sup>2</sup>Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 58.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) (*wa-ān mamarr ... wa dar ān-ġā sanghā ba-kār yurda* (I read *burda*) and *kih 'aql qubūl na-kunad kih quwwat-i bašarī badān rasad kih ān sang-rā naql wa taḥwīl kunad*) *wa mī gūyand ān 'imārat Sulaymān ibn-i Dāwūd 'alayhi s-salām karda ast.*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa payġambar-i mā 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalawāt* (NP *'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt*) *wa-s-salām dar šab-i Mi'rāġ az ān rahgudar* (NP *rāhgudar*) *dar masġid āmad.*

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,19-22 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa ba-nazdik-i dar bar diwār ba-andāza-i sipar-i buzurg bar sang naqš-i ast gūyand kih Ḥamza ibn-i 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib 'amm-i Rasūl 'alayhi s-salām ān-ġā nišasta ast sipar-i bar dūš basta pušt bar ān diwār nihāda wa* (NP *nihāda*) *ān naqš-i sipar-i ū-st.*

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa ġaraḏ az sāhtan īn dar ān būda ast tā mardum-i ān maḥalla-rā kih īn dīl-i masġid bā ān-ġā-st ba-maḥalla-i diġar na-bāyad šud čūn* (NP *wa čūn*) *dar ḥwāhand raft.*

ritual prayer here and say the same prayers as before on the prayer-route.<sup>1</sup> People [staying in the mosque for a long while] make their ritual ablution at the ablution place here; if they had to leave the mosque [for ritual ablution], they would miss ritual prayer, because of the great dimensions of the mosque (*az buzburgī-i masğid*).<sup>2</sup>

**B138. The Kneeling-place of the she-camel  
= the place (which Gabriel pierced with his finger and)  
where Gabriel tied up al-Burāq<sup>3</sup>**

**B138.1. Names (Muslim):** The Kneeling-place of the she-camel (*Mabrak an-nāqa*), identical with the place (which Gabriel pierced with his finger and) where Gabriel tied up al-Burāq (*al-mawḍiʿi al-ladī ḥaraqahu Ġibrīl bi-iṣbaʿihi wa-šadda fīhi l-Burāq, al-mawḍiʿ al-ladī šadda fīhi Ġibrīl al-Burāq*) (B138.4).

**B138.2. Position:** The place which Gabriel pierced with his finger and where he tied up al-Burāq is outside the Gate of the Prophet (*ḥāriğ Bāb an-Nabī*), i.e., outside the DOUBLE GATE. The Kneeling-place of the she-camel (*Mabrak an-nāqa*) is on the lowest of three levels, lower than the Inner Roofed Mosque [the Roofed Hall] (*al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf*) on the highest level, and [the exit of] the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) and the Chamber of Mary (*Miḥrāb Maryam*) or Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd ʿĪsā*) on the intermediate level (B137.2). We best locate it in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER,<sup>4</sup> in the HOLE there.

B138.2.a. In **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**, the visitor descends from *al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf* (at the AQSĀ MOSQUE) to *Bāb an-Nabī* and *Miḥrāb Maryam* = *Mahd ʿĪsā* (at MASĞID MAHD ʿĪSĀ), then again to *Mabrak an-nāqa*, then goes on to *as-Sāhira* (on the slope of the MOUNT OF OLIVES). Both the sequence and the position on the lowest of the three levels are in favour of the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER, even though the Fāṭimid ground level may be determined only roughly as being between the level of the

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 79,2f. *wa-yanzilu ilā Bābi n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu fa-yuṣallī fīhi wa-yadʿū bimā qaddamnā dikrahu* (cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-67:** 64,15-78,13) *mina l-adʿiyati l-maʿtūrati ʿani n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,3-6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī dar-ī ast wa ān-ḡā mutawaḍḍā-st wa āb kih agar kas-ī muḥtāğ-i wuḍūy (NP wuḍūʿi) šawad dar ān-ḡā rawad wa tağdīd-i wuḍū kunad čih agar az masğid bī rūn šawad namāz na-rasad wa namāz fawt šawad az buzburgī-i masğid*.

For ritual prayer in what is today the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDO, cf. the undatable graffito **van Berchem Nr.276** ("Invocation en faveur de Mahomet et de ses compagnons, puis mots coufiques que je n' ai pu déchiffrer.") and the graffito **Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.XLI**.

<sup>3</sup>For the Fāṭimid place where Gabriel tied up al-Burāq, see Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; 71; 99-102; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 13.

<sup>4</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 13 n. 59.



UMAYYAD STREET and the level before the post-1967 excavations.<sup>1</sup>

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf -> Bāb an-Nabī -> Miḥrāb Maryam = Mahd ʿĪsā -> **Mabrak an-nāqa** -> as-Sāhira*

**B138.3. Physical shape:** This is possibly a kind of hole.

B138.3.a. The only evidence in favour of a hole is the tradition relating to the place (B138.4) where Gabriel made, with his finger, a hole in a stone.

**B138.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The Kneeling-place of the she-camel (*Mabrak an-nāqa*) is the place (which Gabriel pierced with his finger and) where Gabriel tied up al-Burāq (*al-mawḍiʿ al-laḍī ḥaraqahu Ǧibrīl bi-iṣbaʿihi wa-šadda fīhi l-Burāq*,<sup>2</sup> *al-mawḍiʿ al-laḍī šadda fīhi Ǧibrīl al-Burāq*).<sup>3</sup>

**B138.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** At the place which Gabriel pierced with his finger and where he tied up al-Burāq people should, on their prayer-route, endeavour in prayer and ask God for the good things of this world and the Other World.<sup>4</sup>

### **B139. The Early Fāṭimid Chamber of Mary and her worshipping-place = the Cradle of Jesus (969-1030s)<sup>5</sup>**

**B139.1. Names (Muslim):** The Chamber of Mary (*Miḥrāb Maryam*),<sup>6</sup> the Chamber of Mary and the spot of her worshipping-place (*Miḥrāb Maryam wa-mawḍiʿ mutaʿabbadihā*),

<sup>1</sup>For the Umayyad Street outside the Ḥaram Corner, see B019.2.d. For the difference in level between the Roman Street, on the one hand, and the Umayyad Palaces and the Umayyad Street, on the other hand, see B025.2.b.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.68:** 79,13f. *wa-yanzilu ilā l-mawḍiʿi l-laḍī ḥaraqahu Ǧibrīlu ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-iṣbaʿihi wa-šadda fīhi l-Burāq*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 248,1f. *Bābu mā ḡāʿa fī l-mawḍiʿi l-laḍī šadda fīhi Ǧibrīlu ʿalayhi s-salāmu l-Burāqa wa-huwa l-laḍī yusammā Mabarka n-nāqati*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.68:** 80,2f. *(wa-yanzilu ilā l-mawḍiʿi l-laḍī ḥaraqahu Ǧibrīlu ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-iṣbaʿihi wa-šadda fīhi l-Burāqa...) fa-yaḡtahidu ṭamma fī d-duʿāʾi fa-yasʿalu Llāhu min ḥayri d-dunyā wa-l-āḥirati*.

<sup>5</sup>For the Early Fāṭimid Chamber of Mary or Cradle of Jesus, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f.; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40f.; 43; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 193; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 71; 96; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu".

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā:** 133,8-136,15 *Bābu mā ḡāʿa fī Miḥrābi Maryama ʿalayhā s-salāmu wa-naḍri mraʿati ʿImrāna mā fī baṭniḥā muḥarraran li-ḥidmati l-masḡidi*.

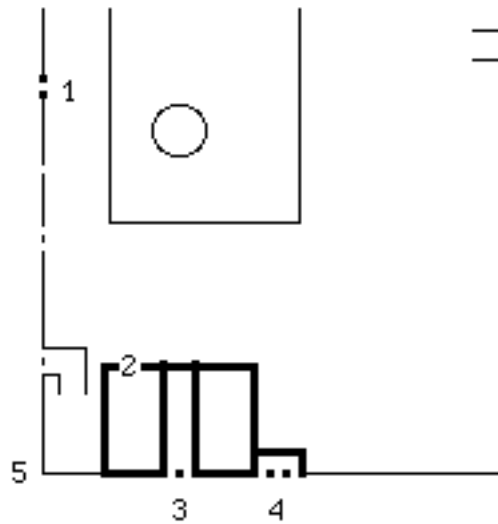
Cf. the probably Ottoman, but possibly earlier, **inscription** outside on the southwest wall of the Dome of the Rock (van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 365) *'kullamā daḡala ʿalayhā Zakariyā l-miḥrāba'* (**Koran** 3.37).

the Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd 'Īsà*).<sup>1</sup>

**B139.2. Position:** Both [the exit of] the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) and the Chamber of Mary (*Mihrāb Maryam*) or Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd 'Īsà*) are on an intermediate level between the Inner Roofed Mosque [the Roofed Hall] (*al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf*) on a higher level and the Kneeling-place of the she-camel (*Mabrak an-nāqa*) on a lower level (B137.2). We best locate this place in the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*Bāb as-Sakīna -> al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf-> Bāb an-Nabī -> Mihrāb Maryam = Mahd 'Īsà -> Mabrak an-nāqa -> as-Sāhira*



**74**

**Figure 74. The Early Fāṭimid Gate of the Prophet, and the Chamber of Mary or Cradle of Jesus, in the sequence of Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69:** 1 The Gate of God's Presence. - 2 The Inner Roofed Mosque. - 3 The Gate of the Prophet. - 4 The Chamber of Mary or Cradle of Jesus. - 5 The Kneeling-place of the she-camel.

B139.2.a. In **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**, the visitor descends from *al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf* (at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE) to *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and *Mihrāb Maryam = Mahd 'Īsà*, then further down to *Mabrak an-nāqa* (possibly at the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER), and goes on to *as-Sāhira* (on the MOUNT OF OLIVES). This fits best with the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR. We may suppose that the visitor makes a detour as **Nāṣir** does (B140.2.b) for High Fāṭimid *Bāb al-ʿAyn* (at the TRIPLE GATE).

B139.2.b. *Mawlid 'Īsà*, *Mihrāb Maryam* and *Mihrāb Zakarīyā* have been located in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 79,3f. *ṭumma yamḍī ilā Mihrābi Maryama wa-mawḍī'i muta'abbadihā* (cf. **Koran** 3.43; 66.12) *wa-huwa yu'rafu bi-Mahdi 'Īsà 'alayhi s-salāmu*.

CORNER [at MASĠID MAHD ʿĪSĀ];<sup>1</sup> the three places are there in High Fāṭimid times (B165.2, B165.4), but not in Early Fāṭimid times.

**B139.3. Physical shape:** This is a kind of room.

**B139.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Chamber of Mary and the spot of her worshiping-place (*Miḥrāb Maryam wa-mawḍiʿ mutaʿabbadihā*) [where Mary lived devoted to worship (cf. *Koran* 3.43; 66.12) and the birth of Jesus was announced to her] (B139.1). It is the Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd ʿĪsā*) [from which the baby Jesus "was speaking to the people" in defence of his mother (*Koran* 3.46; 5.110; 19.29)].

**B139.5.** Prayers said here as part of a certain ritual are answered; they make one as free of sins as on the day of one's birth (B139.6).

**B139.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on the prayer-route, endeavour here in prayer, make ritual prayer, recite *Koran* 19 where Mary is mentioned, prostrate themselves, and behave like ʿUmar, who made ritual prayer in the Chamber of David (*Miḥrāb Dāwūd*), recited *Koran* 38 mentioning David and prostrated himself; prayer here is answered, as has been tried by more than one.<sup>2</sup> Here people should return to God, break with all sins, be thankful for the mercy of the visit to this noble place, and endeavour in worship, ritual prayer, personal prayer and almsgiving - then, they will become as free of sins as they were the day of their birth.<sup>3</sup> People best say the prayer Jesus said immediately before God raised him from the Mount of Olives, "Oh God, you are the near one in the sublimity, the sublime one in your nearness, the one elevated above everything of your creation, you

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIII.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 79,3-7 *tumma yamḍi ilā Miḥrābi Maryama wa-mawḍiʿi mutaʿabbadihā* (cf. *Koran* 3.43; 66.12) *wa-huwa yuʿrafu bi-Mahdi ʿĪsā ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-yağtahidu fī d-duʿāʾi fa-inna d-duʿāʾa fīhi mustağābun wa-yuṣalli fīhi wa-yaqraʿu sūrata Maryama (Koran 19) li-mā fihā min ḍikrihā wa-yaṣḡudu fihā* (read *fīhi*) *ka-mā faʿala ʿUmaru fī Miḥrābi Dāwūda ʿalayhi s-salāmu qaraʿa fīhi sūrata ṣ (Koran 38) wa-yaṣḡudu fihā* (read *wa-sağada fīhi*) *li-mā fihā* (read *li-mā fīhi*) *min ḍikri Dāwūda wa-yuṣalli mā badā lahu wa-yağtahidu fī d-duʿāʾi fa-innahu mustağābun qad ġarrabahu ġayru wāḥidin mina n-nāsi fa-wağadahu ka-ḍālika.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 79,7-13 (*tumma yamḍi ilā Miḥrābi Maryama wa-mawḍiʿi mutaʿabbadihā* (cf. *Koran* 3.43; 66.12) *wa-huwa yuʿrafu bi-Mahdi ʿĪsā ʿalayhi s-salāmu ...*) *wa-afḍalu d-duʿāʾi fīhi duʿāʾu ʿĪsā ʿalayhi s-salāmu l-laḍi daʿā bihi ḥīna rafaʿahu Llāhu taʿālā min Ṭūri Zaytā wa-huwa maḍkūrun fī-mā baʿdu bi-isnādihi* (cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.69:** 80,6-81,9) *wa-yanbağī lahu idā faʿala ḍālika an yatūba ilā Llāhi taʿālā wa-yuqlīʿa ʿani d-dunūbi wa-yaškura Llāha taʿālā ʿalā mā waffağahu min ziyārati ḥādā l-mawḍiʿi š-šarīfi wa-yağtahida fī ṭ-ṭāʿati wa-ṣ-ṣalāti wa-d-duʿāʾi wa-ṣ-ṣadaqati fa-inna fī ḍālika faḍlan kaṭīran qad ḍukira fī mawḍiʿihi fa-idā faʿala ḍālika ḥarağā min dunūbihi wṣʿ* (read *wa-sāra*) *ka-hayʿatihi walḍatihi ummuhu* (read *ka-hayʿatihi yawma walḍatihi ummuhu*) *fa-l-yastaʿnifi l-ʿamala ka-ḍālika rawāhu Muʿaḍu bnu Ġābalin wa-huwa yağīʿu fī mawḍiʿihi in šāʾa Llāhu taʿālā.*

For *ṭāʿat* "worship", see B154.6.

are the one whose sight goes through all of his creatures - all sights become dim if they do not look at you, you are the one who removed darkness by his light. Praised be you, oh God, Creator of the creation through your might, Determinor of affairs through your wisdom, Inventor of creation through your majesty, Judge upon everything through your knowledge, you are the one who has created seven [heavens] in the air through his words, with storeys humbling to your obedience which you have called to the height by your power and they answered - smoke they were - out of fear of you, and became obedient through your command upon them. In them are angels praising you and worshipping you. You have put in them a light which expels darkness and lights brighter than sun. You have put in them lamps through which one is guided in the darkneses of land and water and 'projectiles for the satans' (*Koran* 67.5). Praised be you, oh God, to have split your heavens and to have levelled your earth. You have levelled over the water, submitted the manifest water to it [to the earth]. And it submitted to obey you, and the waves of the seas resigned to your word, and you made after the seas the rivers flow, and after the rivers the ample springs and sources. Then you made come forth from it [from the earth] trees with fruits. Then you put on its surface mountains as pegs, and their hills obeyed you. Praised be you, oh God. Who is able to describe your power? You make rain pour down and clouds ascend, you free necks [of slaves] and determine right - you are the best who decrees, there is no god but you. Among your servants fear you the learned, the sharp-witted. I attest you are not a god we have invented, not a lord whose memory fades away, you have had no companions who judge with you, to whom we may pray and leave you, nobody has helped in creation so that we may doubt you. I attest you are 'the one, the eternal, he did not beget, he was not begotten and there is nobody comparable to him' (*Koran* 112.1-4), he has taken neither wife nor son. Make me from [this] my affair a relief and an exit."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 79,7-13 (*tumma yamḍī ilā Mihrābi Maryama wa-mawḍi'i muta'abbadihā* (cf. *Koran* 3.43; 66.12) *wa-huwa yu'rafu bi-Mahdi 'Isā 'alayhi s-salāmu ...*) *wa-afḍalu d-du'a'i fihi du'a'u 'Isā 'alayhi s-salāmu l-laḍi da'a bihi ḥīna rafa'ahu Llāhu ta'ālā min Ṭūri Zaytā wa-huwa maḍkūrun fī-mā ba'du bi-isnādihi* (cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.69:** 80,6-81,9) *wa-yanbaḡi lahu idā fa'ala ḍālīka an yatūba ilā Llāhi ta'ālā wa-yuqli'a 'ani d-dunūbi wa-yaškura Llāha ta'ālā 'alā mā waffaqahu min ziyāratī hādā l-mawḍi'i š-šarifi wa-yaḡtahida fī ṭ-ṭā'ati wa-š-šalāti wa-d-du'a'i wa-š-šadaqati fa-inna fī ḍālīka faḍlan kaṭīran qad ḍukira fī mawḍi'ihī fa-idā fa'ala ḍālīka ḡaraḡa min dunūbihi wṣ' (read wa-šāra) ka-hay'atihi walḍatihi ummuhu (read ka-hay'atihi yawma walḍatihi ummuhu) fa-l-yasta'nifi l-'amala ka-ḍālīka rawāhu Mu'ādu bnu Ġabalīn wa-huwa yaḡi'u fī mawḍi'ihī in šā'a Llāhu ta'ālā; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.69:** 80,6-81,9 *wa-yustaḡabbu lahu an yad'uwa bi-d-du'a'i l-laḍi da'a bihi 'Isā 'alayhi s-salāmu lammā rafa'ahu Llāhu ta'ālā ilā s-samā'i min ḍālīka l-mawḍi'i wa-huwa mā ḡaddaṭanā bihi š-šayḡu Abū l-Ḥasani Aḡmadu bnu 'Abdi Llāhi bi-Dimašqa bi-qirā'atī 'alayhi qāla ... wa-ḡakara Wahbun annahu du'a'u 'Isā 'alayhi s-salāmu waqta raf'ihi Llāhu min Ṭūri Sīnā (read min Ṭūri Zaytā) wa-huwa du'a'un mustaḡābuni Llāhumma anta l-qarību fī 'ulūwika l-muta'ālī fī dunūwika r-rafi'u 'alā kullī šay'in min ḡalqika anta l-laḍi nafaḡa bašaruka fī ḡalqika wa-ḡasarati l-abšāru dūna n-nažara ilayka anta l-laḍi ḡallayta z-zulama bi-nūrika fa-tabārakta Llāhumma ḡālīqa l-ḡalqi bi-quḍratika wa-muḡaddira l-umūri bi-ḡikmatika wa-mubtadi'a l-ḡalqi bi-'ažamatika l-qāḍi fī kullī šay'in bi-'ilmika anta l-laḍi ḡalaqta sab'an fī l-hawā (Livne-Kafri reads fī l-hawā'i) bi-kalīmātika mustawiyātī ṭ-ṭibāqi muḍni'atin li-ṭā'atika sammāyhinna (I read sammaytahinna; Livne-Kafri reads**

## B140. The High Fāṭimid Gate of the Spring (1030s-1099)<sup>1</sup>

### B140.1. Names (Muslim): The Gate of the Spring (*Bāb al-ʿAyn*).<sup>2</sup>

B140.1.a. From outside of this gate, a road leads to *Čašma-i Sulwān* "the Spring of Sulwān" (B140.2), and the name *Bāb al-ʿAyn* most probably refers to this *Čašma-i Sulwān*, the Persian translation of the usual Arabic *ʿAyn Sulwān*. For parallel names derived from places nearby, see B060.2.c. There is no evidence that the Old Testament *Šaʿar ha-ʿayin* "the Gate of the Spring" (**Nehemiah** 2.14; 3.15; 12.37) may have influenced the name.

B140.2. **Position:** This is a gate east (*dar-i mašriqī*) [of the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*)], in the [south] broad side of the mosque (*dar pahnā-yi masǧid*); if one leaves this gate and descends down the hill, one arrives at the Spring of Sulwān (*Čašma-i Sulwān*).<sup>3</sup> We best locate the gate at the TRIPLE GATE.<sup>4</sup>

B140.2.a. As the long side of the mosque (*dirāzī-i masǧid*) runs from north to south (B131.5), its broad side (*pahnā-yi masǧid*) is either the south or the north wall, in this case the south wall.<sup>5</sup> *Dar-ī ... mašriqī* has been translated "a gate facing east" (Thackston), but rather positions the gate somewhat east of *Bāb an-Nabī*, mentioned

---

*sammā bihinna*) *l-ʿulūwa bi-sulṭānika fa-aǧabna wa-hunna duḥānūn min ḥawfika fa-atayna ṭāʾiʿātin bi-amrika fi hinna malāʾikatun yusabbihūnaka wa-yuqaddisūnaka wa-ǧaʿalta fihinna nūran yaǧlū ẓ-ẓalāmu wa-ḍiyāʾan aḍwaʾa mina š-šamsi wa-ǧaʿalta fihinna mašābiḥa yuhtadā bihā fi ẓulumāti l-barri wa-l-baḥri wa-ruǧūman li-š-šayāṭinaʾ* (**Koran** 67.5) *fa-tabārakta Llāhumma fi maṭṭūri samāwātika wa-fi-mā raḥawna* (read *daḥawta*) *min arḍika fa-daḥawtahā ʿalā l-māʾi fa-aḍlalta lahā l-māʾa l-munzāhira* (read *al-mutaẓāhira*) *fa-dalla li-ṭāʿatika wa-ddaʾā* (read *wa-aḍʿana*) *li-amrika wa-ḥaḍiʿa li-qawlika amwāǧu l-biḥāri fa-faǧǧarta fihā baʿda l-biḥāri l-anhāra wa-baʿda l-anhāri wa-baʿda l-anhāri* (sic; read only once: *wa-baʿda l-anhāri*) *l-ʿuyūna l-ʿawrā* (Livne-Kafri reads *l-ʿuyūna l-ǧizāra*) *wa-l-yanābiʿa tumma aḥraǧta minhā l-anhāra šigārūn bi-t-ṭimāri* (read *minhā l-ašǧāra bi-t-ṭimāri*) *tumma ǧaʿalta ʿalā ẓahriḥā l-ǧibāla awtādan fa-aṭāʾatka awtāduhā fa-tabārakta Llāhumma fa-man yabluǧu šifata qudratika tunzilu l-ǧayṭa wa-tunšiʾu s-siḥāba wa-tafukku r-riqāba wa-taqḍi l-ḥaqqa wa-anta ḥayru l-fāṣilīna lā ilāha illā anta innamā yaḥšāka min ʾibādika l-ʿulamāʾu l-akyāsu ašḥadu annaka lasta bi-ilāhini staḥḍatnāka wa-lā rabbīn bnyd* (read *yabī du*) *dikruhu wa-lā kāna laka šurakāʾu yaqḍūna maʾaka fa-yadʿūhum* (read *fa-nadʿūhum*) *wa-nadaʿuka wa-lā aʾānaka aḥadun ʿalā ḥalqika fa-našukku fika ašḥadu annaka aḥadun šamadun ʾlam yalid wa-lam yūlad wa-lam yakun lahu kufuʾan aḥadun* (cf. **Koran** 112.1-4) *wa-lam yattaḥid šāḥibatan wa-lā waladun* (read *wa-lā waladani*) *ǧʿal li min amrī faraǧan wa-maḥraǧan qāla Wahbun fa-lammā tamma d-duʿāʾu rafaʾahu Llāhu ilayhi*.

<sup>1</sup>For the High Fāṭimid Gate of the Spring, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 182; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287; 290 (speaking erroneously of *Bāb al-ʿuyūn*); Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; Gil, *Palestine* 644; Wightman, *Walls* 231; 245; 264; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāšir** 39,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa dar pahnā-yi masǧid dar-ī-st mašriqī kih ān-rā Bāb al-ʿAyn gūyand*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāšir** 39,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa dar pahnā-yi masǧid dar-ī-st mašriqī kih ān-rā Bāb al-ʿAyn gūyand kih čūn az in dar birūn rawand wa ba-nišīb-ī furū rawand ān-ǧā Čašma-i Sulwān ast*.

<sup>4</sup>Reiner, "Šaʿar ha-kōhēn" 287; 290 (erroneously speaking of *Bāb al-ʿuyūn*); Wightman, *Walls* 231; 245; 264; 290.

<sup>5</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 203; ; Wightman, *Walls* 231.

before.<sup>1</sup> This allows location at the TRIPLE GATE or the SINGLE GATE.<sup>2</sup> But the SINGLE GATE is from the Crusader period (B064.2.a); location at the SINGLE GATE<sup>3</sup> is therefore no option, and we are left with the TRIPLE GATE. A location in the south part of the EAST ḤARAM WALL<sup>4</sup> is also no option.

B140.2.b. **Nāṣir** mentions *Bāb al-ʿAyn* preceded by *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and the outside of the wall next to it, and followed by *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). As *Bāb al-ʿAyn* is further east than *Bāb an-Nabī*,<sup>5</sup> **Nāṣir** mentions it on a detour to the east of *Bāb an-Nabī*; the sequence of *Bāb an-Nabī* and *Bāb al-ʿAyn* is therefore not clockwise as usual, but counterclockwise; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** makes a similar detour for Early Fāṭimid *Miḥrāb Maryam* = *Mahd ʿĪsā* (at the TRIPLE GATE) (B139.2.a). It may be worth emphasising that **Nāṣir** does not describe *Bāb al-ʿAyn* on his tour inside the wall, i.e., between *Masğid-i Mahd-i ʿĪsā* (at MASĞID MAHD ʿĪSĀ) and *Masğid al-Aqṣā* (at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE), but in a separate detour outside the wall.

**Nāṣir**

*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* <- **Bāb al-ʿAyn** <- outside of the wall <- *Bāb an-Nabī*  
<- the underground gates <- cisterns of the mosque, water in  
Jerusalem <- ablution place in a south gate <- cistern inside the Aqṣā  
Mosque <- south arcade (west of the Aqṣā Mosque) <- *Masğid al-*  
*Aqṣā*

B140.2.c. The two doors of the gate (B140.3) fit with the two-door width of the TRIPLE GATE CORRIDOR, and we may assume that a Marwānid triple gate here was reduced into a High Fāṭimid double gate (B064.2.c). There is no evidence that the SINGLE GATE ever had more than one door.

**B140.3. Physical shape:** This is a gate (*dar*),<sup>6</sup> a double gate (B151.3.b). The mosque has a number of underground gates with corridors (B135.4); this gate is one of them, and has a corridor which leads from the courtyard to the gate. The gate integrates remains of an earlier gate (B020.3).

B140.3.a. The underground character of the gate is deduced from its location at the TRIPLE GATE, and its being open. The existence of the corridor is deduced from the fact (B140.2) that here, people may leave the mosque for the Spring of Sulwān.

B140.3.b. It has been claimed that the underground doors are blocked around 1000, but we do not have enough evidence for this (B135.4.b).

<sup>1</sup>; Wightman, *Walls* 231.

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 182 (with a slight preference for the TRIPLE GATE); Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153.

<sup>4</sup>Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3.

<sup>5</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 644, locates *Bāb al-ʿAyn* in the south wall, east of *Bāb an-Nabī*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179) *wa dar pahnā-yi masğid dar-ī-st mašriqī kih ān-rā Bāb al-ʿAyn gūyand kih cūn az īn dar bīrūn rawand ...*

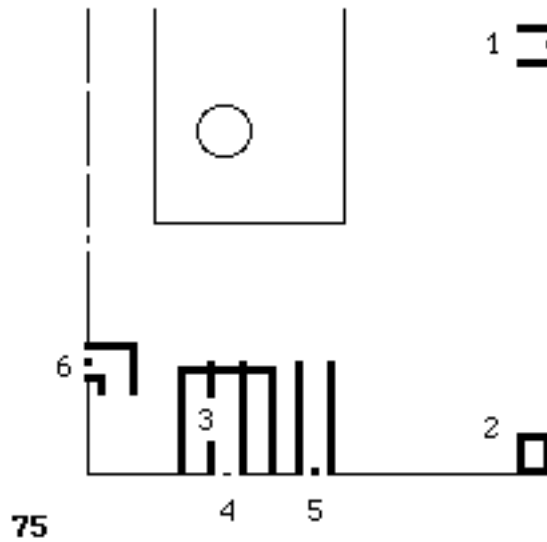


**Figure 75. The High Fāṭimid Gate of the Prophet, the Gate of the Spring and the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus, in the sequence of Nāṣir:** 1 The double gate the Gate of Repentance/ the Gate of Mercy. - 2 The Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus. - 3 The Aqṣà Mosque. - 4 The Gate of the Prophet. - 5 The Gate of the Spring. - 6 The Ḥiṭṭa Gate.

**B140.4. Contemporary events:** *aḏ-Zāhir* rebuilds the south wall, the [east] wall, the corridors and the underground vaults [and all corresponding underground gates and their corridors] in 425/1037 (B135.5); part of this is the reduction of the triple gate formerly here to a double gate, and the opening of a corridor which leads from the gate to the court-yard.

B140.4.a. The High Fāṭimid *Bāb al-ʿAyn* here is an open double gate which connects the courtyard with the neighbourhood outside the wall (B140.3); its predecessor *Abwāb Miḥrāb Maryam*, with the *Miḥrāb Maryam*, *per definitionem* a place of silent life far from the world, was a triple gate with no access to the courtyard (B064.3.d). This rebuilding is best connected with the great reshaping of the whole south part of the ḤARAM. The opening of a corridor may have been the reason the name *Miḥrāb Maryam* was transferred to the more quiet MASĠID MAHD ʿISĀ nearby.

**B140.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** If one leaves this gate and descends down the hill, one arrives at the Spring of Sulwān (*Čašma-i Sulwān*) (B140.2).

#### **B141. The west wall**

B141.1. **Names (Muslim):** The west wall (*dīwār-i ġarbī*).<sup>1</sup>

B141.2. **Physical shape:** In the [west] wall (*dīwār*) are both the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) and the Gate of the Cattle (*\*Bāb al-baqar*) (B144.2), the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*, *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*) (B142.2), the Gate of Judah (*Bāb Yəhūdāh*) (B145.2) and the Gate of God's Presence (*Bāb as-Sakīna*) (B146.2) or Gate of the Cave (*Bāb al-Maġāra*) (B147.2). South of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) is a twenty-nine-column arcade reaching the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) (B158.5) and another twenty-nine-column arcade reaching from the Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) to the Aqṣā Mosque (B158.5). North of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) is a 64-vault arcade which reaches the Gate of the Cattle (*\*Bāb al-baqar*) (B158.5).

## B142. The Ḥiṭṭa Gate<sup>2</sup>

B142.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*,<sup>3</sup> *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*<sup>4</sup>). It is identical with the Gate of the Priest (*Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*).

B142.1.a. **Nāṣir's** *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* is the over-Arabisation of Persian *\*Bāb-i ḥiṭṭa*, which corresponds to the *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* of **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** (and all Marwānid and High 'Abbāsīd sources). We may be tempted to consider in parallel **Nāṣir's** *Bāb as-Saqar* as an over-Arabisation of Persian *\*Bāb-i Saqar*, corresponding to Arabic *Bāb Saqar*, but the name is rather a misspelling of *\*Bāb al-baqar* (B148.1.a).

B142.1.b. The identity of *Bāb (al-)ḥiṭṭa* and *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn* is given by the location of both at BARCLAY'S GATE.

B142.2. **Position:** This is the Eighth Gate of the mosque (*Bāb al-masġid at-Tāmin*) [?], and

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa pūšiš-i masġid-i buzurg kih Maqṣūra dar-ū-st bar dīwār-i ġanūbī ast wa ġarbī*.

The west wall is also mentioned in **Nāṣir** 32,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa dar-ī dīgar ast ham bar īn dīwār kih ān-rā Bāb as-Saqar* (I read *Bāb al-baqar*) *gūyand*.

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid Ḥiṭṭa Gate, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 180-182; 185; 189; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 103f.; 199-203; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78; 81; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 268-270; Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIff.; 71; 116f.; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644f.; 645-647 n. 116; 647 n. 117; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179f.) *wa dar-ī dīgar ast ... kih ān-rā Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (NP *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) *gūyand*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 139,1 *Bābu mā ḡā'a fī Bābi ḥiṭṭatun*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67**: 78,18f. (*tumma yantahī ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-lati fī mu'ahḥari l-ḡāmi'i mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi'i l-ladī yuqālu lahu Kursiya Sulaymāna wa-yastaqbilu l-qiblata wa-yaghtahidu fī d-du'a'i ... tumma yamḍī ilā Bābi s-Sakīnati fa-yaf'alu miṭla dālika*) *wa-ka-dālika 'inda Bābi ḥiṭṭatun*; **Ibn al-'Arabī l-Iṣbīlī**, *'Aridat al-Aḥwadī* 11 78 (quoted in and transl. by Elad, *Jerusalem* 117) *Bābu ḥiṭṭatin*; **Ibn al-'Arabī l-Iṣbīlī**, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān* 3 1297 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 116; see 'Abbās, "Qānūn" 66).



is in the south part [of the mosque] (*min ġihat al-qibla*),<sup>1</sup> an underground gate (B142.3) between the two arcades south of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) (B158.3). We best locate the gate at BARCLAY'S GATE.<sup>2</sup>

B142.2.a. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* preceded by *Bāb as-Sakīna* (at WARREN'S GATE) and followed by *al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf* (at the AQṢĀ-MOSQUE). **Nāṣir** has the reverse, *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* preceded by *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and the outside of the wall next to it, with a detour to *Bāb al-ʿAyn* (at the TRIPLE GATE), and followed by *Bāb as-Sakīna* (at WARREN'S GATE). These fit with both BARCLAY'S GATE and BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA.<sup>3</sup> A location at the SINGLE GATE<sup>4</sup> built in Crusader times (B064.2.a) is no option. The gate has been located in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL or the ḤARAM WALL's southwest<sup>5</sup> and in the WEST ḤARAM WALL;<sup>6</sup> the latter are correct, but may be made more precise.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī muʾaḥḥar al-ġāmiʿ mim mā yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ: Kursī Sulaymān -> Bāb as-Sakīna -> **Bāb ḥiṭṭa** -> al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf*

**Nāṣir**

*Bāb-i Dāwūd | Bāb as-Sakīna <- **Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa** <- Bāb al-ʿAyn <- Bāb an-Nabī <- Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba*

B142.2.b. The underground character of the gate (B142.3) fits only with BARCLAY'S GATE, not with BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA. A double gate (B142.3) is neither of them. We nevertheless best locate the gate in BARCLAY'S GATE.

B142.2.c. **Ibn al-ʿArabī l-Iṣbīlī**, **ʿAridat al-Aḥwādī**'s (*Bābu ḥiṭṭatin ...*) *wa-huwa min ġihati l-qiblati* has been translated as "(Bāb Ḥiṭṭa ...) is on the southern side" and seems to refer to a gate in the south wall - a problem insofar as all other sources locate *Bāb Ḥiṭṭa* in the west wall.<sup>7</sup> But the expression may refer to a west gate in the south part of the west wall, being parallel to **Nāṣir**'s *wa dar pahnā-yi masğid dar-ī-st mašriqī kih ān-rā Bāb al-ʿAyn gūyand* "and in the broad side of the mosque, there is a gate further east which they call the Gate of the Spring" - not an east gate, but a south gate further east than *Bāb an-Nabī*, mentioned before (B140.2.a) - and to his *ham bar pahnā-yi masğid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad bāz dargāh-ī ... ast ... wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand* "there is still in the broad side of the mosque which runs eastwards a ... gateway ... and they call this gate the Main Gate" - again not in the east wall, but in the north wall further east than *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, mentioned before (B150.2.a).

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-ʿArabī l-Iṣbīlī**, **ʿAridat al-Aḥwādī** 11 78 (quoted in and transl. by Elad, *Jerusalem* 117) (*Bābu ḥiṭṭatin ...*) *huwa bābu l-masğidi t-tāminu wa-huwa min ġihati l-qiblati*.

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 180-182; 185; 189; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 104 n. 3 (reluctantly); Grabar, "A New Inscription" 81; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 268-270; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 103; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIff. (at BARCLAY'S GATE).

<sup>3</sup>For BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 187; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 104; 199-203; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 194; 262f.; fig. 12.2 (on separate sheet); Burgoyne, "Gates" 119; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 402.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153.

<sup>5</sup>Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78.

<sup>6</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 644f.; 647 n. 117.

<sup>7</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 117.

**B142.3. Physical shape:** This is a gate (*dar*) cut out of the ground (*dar zamīn burīda*),<sup>1</sup> a double gate (B151.3.b), one of the underground gates like holes in the courtyard (B135.4).

B142.3.a. It has been claimed that the underground doors are blocked around 1000, but we do not have enough evidence for this (B135.4.b).

**B142.4. Contemporary events:** Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Iṣbīlī enters the gate in [4]86/1093, makes ritual prayer here and prays, "There is no god but God. Oh God, take my sin from me and forgive me!" and stays there many times (*a‘wāman*), each time repeating these words (*hādā l-kalām*) and entering the gate many times.<sup>2</sup>

**B142.5. Traditions (Muslim):** The Ḥiṭṭa Gate (*Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) is the gate where God ordered the Children of Israel [in vain] to enter the mosque, as he said, "Enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'ḥiṭṭa', and we shall forgive you your transgressions and increase those who do well" (*Koran* 2.58).<sup>3</sup> This is the Eighth Gate of the mosque (*Bāb al-masğid at-Tāmin*) [?] (B142.1).

**B142.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on their prayer-route, endeavour in prayer here.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Iṣbīlī enters the gate in [4]86/1093, makes ritual prayer here and prays, "There is no god but God. Oh God, take my sin from me and forgive me!" and stays there many times (*a‘wāman*), each time repeating these words (*hādā l-kalām*) and entering the gate many times (B142.4).

### B143. The Gate of the Priest<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Nāṣir* 39,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179f.) *wa dar-ī dīgar ast ham-čun-īn dar zamīn burda* (I read *burīda*) (*kih ān-rā Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (NP *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) *gūyand*).

<sup>2</sup>*Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Iṣbīlī, ‘Ariḍat al-Aḥwādī* 11 78 (quoted in and transl. partly by Elad, *Jerusalem* 117) (*Bābu ḥiṭṭatin ...*) *daḥaltuhu sanata sittin wa-tamānīna wa-sağadtu wa-ḥaḍa‘tu wa-qultu lā ilāha illā Llāhu Llāhumma ḥuṭṭ ‘annī danbī wa-ğfar lī wa-baqītu fihi a‘wāman wa-kulla marratin ukarriru hādā l-kalāma wa-uktiru mina d-duḥūlī*. I owe the second part of the quotation to the kindness of Professor Amikam Elad.

<sup>3</sup>*Nāṣir* 39,10-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 179f.) (*wa dar-ī dīgar ast ... kih ān-rā Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (NP *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) *gūyand*) *wa čun-īn gūyand kih īn dar ān-ast kih Ḥudā-yi ‘azza wa ġalla Banī Isrā’īl-rā badīn dar farmūd dar raftan ba-masğid qawluhu ta‘ālā ‘dhulū l-bāba suğğadan wa qulū ḥiṭṭatun nağfiru lakum ḥaṭāyākum wa-sa-nazīdu l-muḥsinīna* (*Koran* 2.58).

<sup>4</sup>*Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67*: 78,18f. (*tumma yantahī ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī mu‘aḥḥari l-ğāmi‘i mim mā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi‘i l-ladī yuqālu lahu Kursiya Sulaymāna wa-yastaqbilu l-qiblata wa-yağtahidu fī d-du‘ā‘i ... tumma yamḍi ilā Bābi s-Sakīnati fa-yaf‘alu miṭla dālīka*) *wa-ka-dālīka ‘inda Bābi ḥiṭṭatun*.

<sup>5</sup>For the Fāṭimid Gate of the Priest, see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 266; Grossman, "‘Alīyāh lə-rāğāl" 273 n. 2; Hirshman, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn"; Reiner, "Ša‘ar ha-kōhēn"; Braslavi/Küchler, "Alttester Jerusalem-Führer" 62-64; Gil, *Palestine* 640-647; 647 n. 117; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 147f.; Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 55f.

**B143.1. Names (Jewish):** The Gate of the Priest (*Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*).<sup>1</sup> It is identical with the *Ḥiṭṭa* Gate (*Bāb (al-)ḥiṭṭa*) (B142.1.b).

**B143.2. Position:** At the Gate of the Priest (*bə-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*) the Rabbanites (*\*kat ha-Rabbānīm*) live (B143.3). We best locate the gate at BARCLAY'S GATE (B070.2).

B143.2.a. The High 'Abbāsīd *Bāb (al-)kōhēn* = *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*, identical with *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE), is possibly continued by Fāṭimid *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*, again identical with *Bāb (al-)ḥiṭṭa*, but this is a rather weak position to take.

**B143.3. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** At the Gate of the Priest (*bə-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*) [outside it] the Rabbanites (*\*kat ha-Rabbānīm*) live.<sup>2</sup>

B143.3.a. **Gil Nr.49's** *\*kat ha-Rabbānīm aššār bə-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn šōknīm* "the confession of the Rabbanites which live at the Gate of the Priest" has been understood to mean that a mainly Rabbanite neighbourhood may have been outside *Ša'ar ha-kōhēn*;<sup>3</sup> however, the remark says only that Rabbanites were living in this neighbourhood (all, most or just some of them), not that the majority of the people living here were Rabbanites.

#### B144. The Gate of David<sup>4</sup>

**B144.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of [the prophet] David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd-i 'alayhi s-salām*).<sup>5</sup>

B144.1.a. *Bāb-i Dāwūd* is attributed to the prophet David, to King David, by the eulogy in **Nāṣir's** *wa in dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd 'alayhi s-salām gūyand*" and they call this gate the Gate of David - upon him be peace".

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.49r**,11 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 640; see Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) [*ka*]t ha-Rabbānīm aššār bə-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn šōknīm.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.49r**,11 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 640; see Mann, *Texts and Studies* 1 459 n. 40; Reiner, "Ša'ar ha-kōhēn" 279) [*ka*]t ha-Rabbānīm aššār bə-Ša'ar ha-kōhēn šōknīm.

<sup>3</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 640.

<sup>4</sup>For the Fāṭimid Gate of David, see Schefer, *Nassir* 73 n. 1; Le Strange, *Palestine* 188f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 108f.; 119; 2 20f.; 375; 385; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 249; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 57f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; Gil, *Palestine* 642; 644f.; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 268f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 198; 2 414f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIIIf.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 146f. and fig. 74f.; 149 fig. 76; 151; 159 fig. 84; 160; 172.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20) *wa in dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd 'alayhi s-salām gūyand*.

The Gate of David possibly figures also **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.182**: 144,11 (*anba'anā s-Sariyu ... 'an Abi Ḥafṣini l-Ḥimṣīyi qāla daḥaltu Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-dālika qubayla aw qabla niṣfi n-nahāri li-uṣalliya fa-idā ana bi-ṣawtin yaḥāfat ahyānan wa-yağharu ahyānan ... qāla fa-ḥarağtu maḍ'ūran) fa-marartu 'alā nāsin 'alā bābi l-masğidi*.

B144.2. **Position:** When one goes from the market to the mosque, eastwards (*čün az bāzār ba-masğid rawand rūy ba-mašriq bāšād*), one arrives at the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*).<sup>1</sup> South of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) are two large arcades (*dū riwāq-i buzurg*), each with twenty-nine-columns (B158.3), north of it is a long arcade (*riwāq-i dirāz*) with sixty-four vaults (B158.4). In the same wall (*dīwār*) as the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) is the Gate of the Cattle (*\*Bāb al-baqar*).<sup>2</sup> We best locate the gate at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.<sup>3</sup>

B144.2.a. A parallel to the relation between gate and market: The Pre-Marwānid Basilica of Constantine, because of its large gates, attracts the people passing by in the market.<sup>4</sup>

B144.2.b. **Nāšir** mentions *Bāb-i Dāwūd* first on his list of the gates of the mosque; it is followed by *\*Bāb al-baqar* (at BĀB AN-NĀZIR) and preceded by the last gates on his list, *Bāb as-Sakīna* (at WARREN'S GATE) and *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). This fits with BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.

**Nāšir**

*Bāb al-abwāb* <- *Bāb al-Asbāt* <- *\*Bāb al-baqar* <- ***Bāb-i Dāwūd*** |  
*Bāb as-Sakīna* <- *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*

B144.2.c. The gate possibly appears also in the pilgrims' guide **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**. The first entry - there is no general introduction - is the prayer to say upon entering and leaving the mosque, then the prayers to say at the Dome of the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa*), especially at the Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa ṣ-Ṣawdā*),

<sup>1</sup>**Nāšir** 31,17-20 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; see Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab) *wa masğid šarqī-i šahr wa bāzār-ast kih čün az bāzār ba-masğid rawand rūy ba-mašriq bāšād dargāh-i 'aẓīm-i nīkū ... bar āwarda and*. For *čün az bāzār ba-masğid rawand*, see B150.2.b.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāšir** 32,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa dar-i digar ast ham bar in dīwār kih ān-rā Bāb as-Saqar* (I read *Bāb al-baqar*) *gūyand*.

<sup>3</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 73 n. 1; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 108f.; 119; 2 20f.; 385; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120f. (by identifying the gate with **al-Muqaddasī's** *Bābā Dāwūd*); Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 198; 2 414f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 146f. and fig. 74f.; 149 fig. 76; 151; 159 fig. 84; 160; 172.

<sup>4</sup>**Eusebios, Vita Constantini** 100,17-22: 3.37 Ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάτερα τὰ πλευρὰ διττῶν στοῶν ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων δίδυμοι παραστάδες τῷ μήκει τοῦ νεῶ συνεξετείνοντο χρυσῷ καὶ αἴσται τοὺς ὀρόφους πεποικιλμέναι· ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ οἴκου κίοσι παμμεγέθεσιν ἐπηρείδοντο (VB ἐπερείδοντο) αἱ δ' εἴσω τῶν ἔμπροσθεν (A ἔσωθεν) ὑπὸ πεσσοῖς ἀνηγείροντο πολὺν τὸν ἔξωθεν περιβεβλημένοις κόσμον. Πύλαι δὲ τρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον εὖ διακείμεναι τὰ πλήθη (V τὰ πλήθει, B τῷ πλήθει) τῶν εἴσω φερομένων ὑπεδέχοντο; **Eusebios, Vita Constantini** 100,29-32: 3.39 (see Donner, *Sophronius* 53f.; Milik, "Topographie") (καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ αὐλίοι (read αὐλαιοι) πύλαι·) μεθ' ἃς ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς (read ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας) τὰ τοῦ παντὸς προπύλαια φιλοκάλως ἡσκημένα τοῖς τὴν ἐκτὸς πορείαν ποιουμένοις καταπληκτικὴν παρεῖχον τὴν τῶν ἔνδον ὁρωμένην (read ὁρωμένων) θέαν; **Etheria** 43,53-56: 43.7 *et apertis baluis maioribus quae sunt de quintana parte omnis populus intrat* [at the procession of Pentecost] *in Martyrium cum ymnis et episcopo*; **Madaba Map** 2.

then at the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*), and so on;<sup>1</sup> all other prayers are connected with certain places, but this first prayer is introduced only by *idā daḥala l-masğida wa-idā ḥarağa* "when he [the visitor] enters the mosque and when he leaves" - there are other examples where **Ibn al-Murağğā**'s titles and following do not fit-, and *Bāb Dāwūd* (well known not only from **Nāṣir**, but also from Marwānid and High 'Abbāsīd sources) should be mentioned, but is not. Praying upon entering the mosque is also mentioned in a rather general remark.<sup>2</sup> We best assume that the introductory prayer refers to *Bāb Dāwūd*. Locating the gate at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA is not impossible; the location in the south part of the WEST ḤARAM WALL<sup>3</sup> may be made more precise.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

... *idā daḥala l-masğid wa-idā ḥarağa* ... *idā daḥala Masğid Bayt al-Maqdis* -> ... *idā daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa* ... *li-man daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥra*

B144.2.d. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** does not mention *Bāb Dāwūd* on his way from *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* (at BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and *Kursī Sulaymān* (at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AṢ-ŠAḤRA) to *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE); this absence is quite reasonably explained when *Bāb Dāwūd* has already been dealt with as the entry to the mosque.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī mu'aḥḥar al-ğāmi* 'mimmā yalī *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*: *Kursī Sulaymān* -> *Bāb as-Sakīna* -> *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* -> *Bāb an-Nabī*

B144.3. **Physical shape:** This is a gate (*dar*),<sup>4</sup> a gateway (*dargāh*),<sup>5</sup> a large and beautiful gateway (*dargāh-i 'aẓīm-i nikū*) 30 ells (19.95 m) high and 20 ells (13.30 m) wide, with two flanking bays cut out [of it] (*dū ḡanāḥ bāz burīda*).<sup>6</sup> The gate has two doors (*dar*<sup>7</sup> plur. *dar-hā*), each 15 ells (9.98 m) high and 8 ells (5.32 m) wide, the outside of the doors (*rū-yi dar-hā*) masterfully made (*ba-takalluf sāḥta*), covered with Damascene copper (*biring-i Dimašqī*)

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**: 64,14-81,22.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66**: 78,2-4 *wa-qad dakarnā fī-mā ba'du mā ḥaṣṣa Llāhu kulla mawḍi'in min ḥādihi l-mawḍi'i minā l-faḍā'ili Musnadan mubawwaban wa-innamā dakartu hāhunā faḍla d-du'a'i li-anna l-insāna awwala mā yadhulu ilā l-masğidi yaḥtāḡu ilā d-du'a'i wa-ṣ-ṣalāti wa-ba'da ḍālīka.*

<sup>3</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 642; 644f.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20) *wa in dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd 'alayhi s-salām gūyand.*

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,18f.; 20f.; 32,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20; see Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 268f.) *dargāh-i 'aẓīm-i nikū ... bar āwarda ... dargāh wa (NP dargāh-i ū) rū-yi ḡanāḥ wa aywān-i dargāh (NP rū-yi ḡanāḥ wa aywān-i dargāh-ra) munaqqaš karda ... wa gunbad-i bas buzurg bar sar-i in dargāh sāḥta az sang-i muhandam.*

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,18-20 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20; see Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 268f.) *dargāh-i 'aẓīm-i nikū miqdār-i sī gaz irtifā' dar bīst gaz 'arḍ andām dāda bar āwarda and wa dū ḡanāḥ bāz burīda.*

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20) *wa dū dar ba-takalluf sāḥta.*

Cf. **Nāṣir** 32,22-33,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176; see B151.3.b) *wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand az ān sabab kih mawāḍi'i dīgar darhā ḡuft ḡuft ast magar in sih dar ast.*

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20) *(wa dū dar ba-takalluf sāḥta) rū-yi darhā ba-biring-i Dimašqī.*

like red gold, drawn gold (*zar-i ṭalā zar-i kūfta*), and there are many decorations (*naqšhā-yi bisyār*).<sup>1</sup> On top of this gate (*bar sar-i īn dargāh*) is a large dome (*qubba-i nīz 'aẓīm-i buzurg*) of hewn stone (*az sang-i muhandam*).<sup>2</sup>

B144.3.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa-gunbad-ī bas buzurg bar sar-i īn dargāh sāhta az sang-i muhandam* "and there is a quite large dome put on top of this gateway of hewn stone" clearly mentions one dome. A gateway with four domes on top, similar to the DOUBLE GATE and the GOLDEN GATE,<sup>3</sup> or a gateway with two additional gates in the dome on top (Thackston) is not mentioned.

B144.3.b. The difference between the levels inside and outside the wall is unknown.<sup>4</sup> A majestic high staircase has been assumed to exist outside the gate,<sup>5</sup> and even the view over the city from the gate to the Basilica of Constantine has been drawn upon;<sup>6</sup> both assumptions are unsupported by the sources. The remains of the PAVED STREET outside BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA<sup>7</sup> are possibly Fāṭimid, but this is far from certain;<sup>8</sup> if they are Fāṭimid, we will have to assume a low staircase.

B144.3.c. The dimensions of the Fāṭimid double gate *Bāb-i Dāwūd* roughly fit the dimensions of today's double gate BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA.

B144.4. The gate [proper], the façade of the two flanking bays, and the arcade of the gate (*dargāh wa rū-yi ḡanāḥ wa aywān-i dargāh*) are all decorated with polychrome mosaics (*munaqqaš karda hama ba-mīnāhā-yi mulawwan*) embedded in plaster (*dar gağ dar nišānda*), a very beautiful decoration (*naqš*).<sup>9</sup> There is, on this gateway (*bar ān dargāh*), also an inscription in mosaic decoration (*kitābat ba-naqš-i mīnā*) which mentions the title of the [Fāṭimid]

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,4-6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20) *wa dū dar ba-takalluf sāhta rū-yi darhā ba-biring-i Dimašqī kih gūyī zar-i ṭalā ast zar-i kūfta* (NP *dar-i kūfta*) *wa naqšhā-yi bisyār dar ān karda*) *har yak pānzdah gaz bālā wa hašt gaz pahnā*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20; see Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab) *wa gunbad-ī bas buzurg bar sar-i īn dargāh sāhta az sang-i muhandam*.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 146f. and fig. 74; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 147 and n. 36.

<sup>5</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 141 fig. 71; 146f. and fig. 74; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>6</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 147 and fig. 75; 160.

<sup>7</sup>For the PAVED STREET outside BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA, see Abu Raya, "Street of the Chain (A)"; Gershuny, "Street of the Chain (B)"; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 406f.; Kogan-Zehavi, "Hashalshelet Street"; Avni, "Jerusalem as Textbook" 38-41 (with plates); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 147 n. 36.

<sup>8</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 147 n. 36.

<sup>9</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,20-32,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20; see Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 268f.) *dargāh wa* (NP *dargāh-i ū*) *rū-yi ḡanāḥ wa aywān-i dargāh* (NP *rū-yi ḡanāḥ wa aywān-i dargāh-ra*) *munaqqaš karda hama ba-mīnāhā-yi* (NP *mīnāhā-yi*) *mulawwan kih dar gağ* (NP *ba-kağ dar ān*) *dar nišānda and bar naqš-i* (NP *naqš*) *kih ḥwāsta and čun-ān-kih čašm az didan-i ān ḥīra mānad*.

Cf. the description of the Aqṣā Mosque dome in **Nāṣir** 36,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa qubba-i nīz 'aẓīm-i buzurg-i munaqqaš ba-mīnā čun-ān-kih šifat karda āmad* (cf. **Nāṣir** 31,20-32,3).

ruler of Egypt (*laqab-i sulṭān-i Miṣr*); this inscription glitters in the sunshine.<sup>1</sup> The dome of the Aqṣà Mosque is, in the same style, decorated with mosaic (*munaqqaṣ ba-mīnā*).<sup>2</sup>

B144.4.a. For parallels to the inscription with the name of the Fāṭimid caliph, see B040.3.a.

B144.4.b. For parallels to the glittering of this inscription in the sunshine, see B046.3.a.

B144.4.c. In BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA pick marks were found which may have given the glue [or the plaster?] under the mosaic better adhesion to the wall;<sup>3</sup> this fits with **Nāṣir**'s mosaic on Fāṭimid *Bāb-i Dāwūd*.

**B144.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** This is the gate towards the market (B144.2).

B144.5.a. It has been assumed that *Bāb-i Dāwūd* may be the main entry to the mosque.<sup>4</sup> The official main entry is *Bāb al-abwāb* (at BĀB AL-ʿATM) (B151.3.c), but *Bāb-i Dāwūd* is indeed the main entry from the market.

B144.6. When one enters the Mosque of the Temple (*Masǧid Bayt al-Maqdis*) [by this gate (B144.2.c)], one should enter with the right foot first and say the prayer Muḥammad used to say when he entered the mosque, "Oh God, forgive me my sins and open to me the doors of your mercy", and when one leaves, the prayer Muḥammad used to say when he left the mosque, "Oh God, forgive me my sins and open to me the doors of your grace".<sup>5</sup>

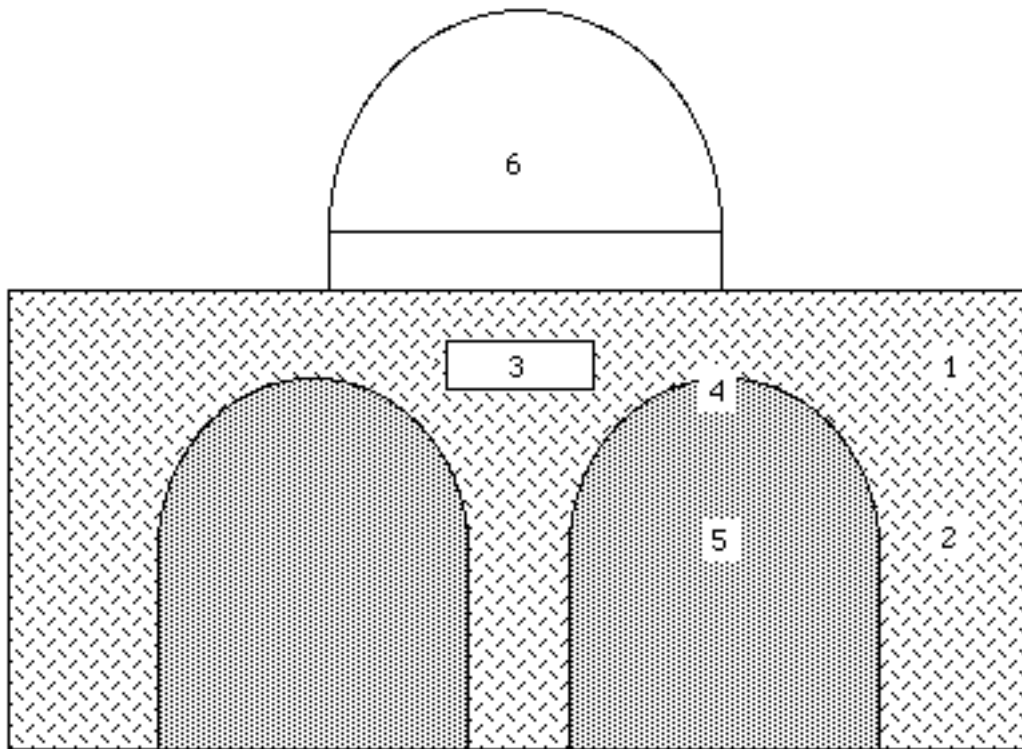
<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20; see Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab) *wa kitābat-i* (NP *kitāba*) *ham-čun-in ba-naqš-i mīnā bar ān dargāh sāḥta wa laqab-i sulṭān-i Miṣr bar ān-ǧā niwišta kih čūn āftāb bar ān-ǧā uftad šu ʿā-ʿi ān-čūn-ān bāšad kih ʿaql dar ān mutaḥayyir šawad.*

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa qubba-i nīz ʿaẓīm-i buzurg-i munaqqaṣ ba-mīnā čun-ān-kih šifat karda āmad* (cf. **Nāṣir** 31,20-32,3).

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343ab; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 147.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā** 64,14 *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu min d-duʿāʾ idā daḥala l-masǧida wa-idā ḥaraǧa*, **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā** Nr.52: 64,15-65,6 *yustaḥabbu lahu idā daḥala l-Masǧida Bayta l-Maqdisi* (Livne-Kafri reads *Masǧida Bayti l-Maqdisi*) *an yabdaʾa bi-riǧlihi l-yumnā wa-yuʾaḥḥira š-šamāla wa-yaqūla mā kāna n-Nabīyu ʿalayhi s-salāmu yaqūluhu idā daḥala l-masǧida wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi š-šayḥu š-šālīhu Abū Aḥmada Muḥammadu bnu Aḥmada bni Sahlini l-Qaysarāniyu bi-Qaysariyata bi-qirāʾati ʿalayhi fī l-masǧidi l-muʿallaqi l-laḍi fī r-Rabaḍi qultu lahu ... kāna Rasūlu Llāhi idā daḥala l-masǧida šallā ʿalā Muḥammadin ʿalayhi wa-sallama* (read *šallā ʿalā Muḥammadin wa-sallama*) *ṭumma qāla Llāhumma ǧfār lī dunūbī wa-ftaḥ lī abwāba raḥmatika wa-idā ḥaraǧa šallā Llāhu ʿalā n-Nabīyi* (I read *šallā Llāhu ʿalā n-Nabīyi*) *ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-qāla Llāhumma ǧfār lī dunūbī wa-ftaḥ lī abwāba faḍlika.*



## 76

**Figure 76. The Fāṭimid Gate of David (view from the west):** 1 Gate covered with mosaic. - 2 Flanking bays covered with mosaic. - 3 Mosaic inscription. - 4 Mosaic vault. - 5 Bronze doors with inscriptions. - 6 Stone dome.

### B145. The Gate of Judah<sup>1</sup>

**B145.1. Names (Jewish):** The Gate of Judah (*Bāb Yəhūdāh*).<sup>2</sup>

**B145.2. Position:** The gate is best located at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN.

B145.2.a. We may assume continuity of Fāṭimid *Bāb Yəhūdāh* with High ʿAbbāsīd *Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh* (at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN) (B072.3.c).

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Gate of Judah, see Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644;

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr. 313**, 14f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 684f. n. 138) (*raʿà Yūsuf as-Siġilmāsī āb-[bēt-]dīn fī l-Quds ...*) *fā-ntabah wa-labis tiyābuh wa-maḍā yuṣalli fī Bāb Yəhūdāh wa-laḥiquh abih ilayh ṣallā maʿuh*.



B145.2.b. High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid *Bāb Yəhūdāh* has been located in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL, but we better locate it at BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN (076.2.a).

**B145.3. Traditions (Jewish):** The Gate of (the Family of) Judah (*Bāb (Āl) Yəhūdāh*) refers to the Gate of Judah (*Ša'ar Yəhūdāh*), one of the three north [sic] gates among the twelve gates of the eschatological Temple (**Ezekiel** 48.30) (see B023.4), but this is not explicit.

**B145.4. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** People pray inside the Gate of Judah (*fī Bāb Yəhūdāh*) and ask God to explain their dreams to them.<sup>1</sup>

### B146. The Gate of God's Presence<sup>2</sup>

**B146.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of God's Presence (*Bāb as-Sakīna*).<sup>3</sup> It is identical with the Gate of the Cave (*Bāb al-Magāra*).

B146.1.a. The identity with Jewish *Bāb al-Magāra* is only by locating both at WARREN'S GATE.

**B146.2. Position:** The gate is best located at WARREN'S GATE.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr. 313**, 14f. (see Gil, *Palestine* 684f. n. 138) (*ra'ā Yūsuf as-Siġilmāsi āb-[bēt]-dīn fī l-Quds ka-annuh yamši fī l-maqābir al-'atīqa bi-r-Ramla wa-waġad fihā talāt nafar wuqūf ... fa-qālū luh naḥnu Mošāh wa-Ah<sup>a</sup>ron wa-Šəmū'ēl fa-ḥarr sāġid ... fa-qālū luh qum wa-nḥadir ilā r-Ramla wa-qūl lahum* [Classical Arabic *wa-qul lahum*] *ya'lamū gəzar dīn itnā šar yawman wa-yarġa'ū ilā Llāh qabl an taḥill bihim al-āfāt al-'aẓīma fa-ntabah wa-labis tiyābuh*) *wa-maḍa yuṣallī fī Bāb Yəhūdāh wa-laḥiquh abih ilayh ṣallā ma'uh* (*fa-lammā fariġ min aṣ-ṣalāt a'ād Yūsuf 'alā abih al-manām [al-ladī] ra'āh fa-qāl luh hādā l-manām bi-'ay[nuh ra'ay]tuh ana wa-ḥalaf 'alayh bi-šəbū'āh wa-ma[...]* (I read *wa-maḍawā*, see the subsequent dual; Gil reads *wa-maḍāw*) *ġamī'an ilā r-rayyis Šəlōmōh rōš yəšībāh [wa-a]lamāh ḥāl al-manām ...*).

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid Gate of God's Presence, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 109 n. 1; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 422; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIII f.; XXII f.; 71; 109 f.; 113 f.; 127 n. 256; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153.

The references in Elad, *Jerusalem* XIV f.; 68 erroneously refer to an Umayyad Gate of God's Presence.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr. 67**: 78, 18 (*tumma yantahī ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī mu'aḥḥari l-ġāmi'i mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbātī fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi'i l-laḍī yuqālu lahu Kursiya Sulaymāna wa-yastaqbilu l-qiblata wa-yaġtahidu fī d-du'ā'i ...*) *tumma yamḍi ilā Bābi s-Sakīnati fa-yaf'alu miṭla dālīka*; **Nāṣir** 39, 13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 180) *wa dar-ī dīgar ast wa ān-rā Bāb as-Sakīna gūyand*.

<sup>4</sup>Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3.

For WARREN'S GATE and the WARREN'S GATE CISTERN, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 203-205; 224; Le Strange, *Palestine* 197-200; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 166; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 109 n. 1 ("une des portes souterraines du Ḥaram"); Busink, *Tempel* 973 f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 44; Bahat, "Western Wall Tunnels I" 73 f.; Burgoyne, "Gates" 116-122; Wightman, *Walls* 83; Bahat, "Western Wall Tunnels II" 178 fig.; 181 with plate; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 28; 2 422;

B146.2.a. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has *Bāb as-Sakīna* preceded by *Bāb al-Asbāt* (at BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and *Kursī Sulaymān* (at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŞAHRA) and followed by *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE). This locates the gate only roughly, in the region from BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA to the DOUBLE GATE. The gate has been located in the west wall.<sup>1</sup> The location at the DOUBLE GATE<sup>2</sup> is out of the question.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aş-şuḥūr al-latī fī mu’ahḥar al-ğāmi‘ mim mā yalī Bāb al-Asbāt: Kursī Sulaymān -> **Bāb as-Sakīna** -> Bāb ḥiṭṭa -> Bāb an-Nabī*

B146.2.b. **Nāṣir** mentions *Bāb as-Sakīna* as the last gate; it is preceded by *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE) and followed by his first gate *Bāb-i Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA). This seems to locate the gate between BARCLAY'S GATE and BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA. However, the gate is entered only from outside the mosque (B146.3), and the tour ending with it does not necessarily lead back to *Bāb-i Dāwūd*.

**Nāṣir**

*Bāb al-abwāb <- Bāb al-Asbāt <- \*Bāb al-baqar <- Bāb-i Dāwūd | **Bāb as-Sakīna** <- Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*

B146.2.c. A location at WARREN'S GATE seems at first to be contradicted by the fact that **Nāṣir** does not mention *Bāb as-Sakīna* between *Bāb-i Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SAKĪNA/BĀB AS-SILSILA) and *\*Bāb al-baqar* (at BĀB AN-NĀZIR), i.e., from inside the mosque. But the gate is entered only from outside the mosque (B146.3), and there is no need to mention it when viewing it from inside the mosque.

B146.2.d. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has *Bāb as-Sakīna* on his tour of the inside of the mosque, but as the gate is only mentioned and not really described, we may not suppose that the gate may be entered from inside the mosque.

B146.2.e. A west gate accessible from outside the wall, but not from inside, is best located in WARREN'S GATE and the WARREN'S GATE CISTERN, although the many prayer-niches in the south wall of *Bāb as-Sakīna* (B146.3) may not be identified in the WARREN GATE CISTERN.

B146.2.f. A location of *Bāb as-Sakīna* at BĀB AS-SAKĪNA,<sup>3</sup> or of *Bāb as-Sakīna* at BĀB AS-SILSILA and *Bāb Dāwūd* at BĀB AS-SAKĪNA,<sup>4</sup> is improbable.

**B146.3. Physical shape:** This is a gate (*dar*),<sup>5</sup> a double gate (B151.3.b). In the gateway of the gate (*dar dihliz-i dar*) a mosque (*masğid*) has been set up with many prayer-niches (*miḥ-rābhā-yi bisyār*) [evidently in its south wall]; the gateway is blocked (*basta ast*) at its entry

Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental Stairway" 163 fig. 1 (numbers 13 and 16 are reversed); Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 80-84: Nr.12 (with fig. 40f.).

<sup>1</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>2</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem XVIII*f. (at the DOUBLE GATE); 127 n. 256 ("in the western wall of the Ḥaram").

<sup>3</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 188.

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 120f. (by identifying **Nāṣir**'s *Bāb as-Sakīna* and *Bāb Dāwūd* with **al-Muqaddasī**'s *Bāb as-Sakīna* and *Bāb Dāwūd*); Elad, *Jerusalem XXIII*f.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 180) *wa dar-ī diḡar ast (wa ān-rā Bāb as-Sakīna gūyand)*.

(*dar awwalaš*) so that no one may enter it [from inside the wall, but only from outside].<sup>1</sup>

B146.3.a. **Nāṣir**'s (*dar-ī ... wa dihlīz-ī ān ...*) *dar awwalaš basta ast kih kas-ī dar na-tawān šud* "(a gate ... and its gateway ...) is blocked at its beginning, so that nobody may come in [into the courtyard]" refers to a person who has entered the gateway from outside the wall and finds the entry to the mosque blocked (Le Strange). The blockage has been referred to as a first door (Schefer, Thackston), but "a first door" would be Persian *\*dar-ī awwal*, not **Nāṣir**'s *dar awwalaš*, and a first door would imply at least a second door, something totally unknown. A close parallel to the passage is **Nāṣir**'s description (B154.5.a) of the double gate *Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* with the words *wa bar īn dargāh masǧid-ī-st naǧz waqt-ī čun-ān būda kih dihlīz-ī wa dihlīz-rā masǧid sāhta and wa ān-rā ba-anwā'-i faršhā biyārāsta* "And in this gate is a nice mosque. It had sometime been like a gateway, but they made the gateway a mosque and embellished it with many kinds of carpets."

**B146.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The angels put the Ark of God's Presence [the Ark of the Covenant] (*Tābūt-i Sakīna*) here when they brought it [back to Saul] (**Koran** 2.248).<sup>2</sup>

B146.4.a. For parallels to the return of the Ark of the Covenant here, see B014.9.a.

B146.4.b. **Nāṣir**'s *Tābūt-i Sakīna ... ān-ǧā nihāda ast kih firištaǧān bar giriftandī* "the Ark of God's Presence ... was put here, which the angels had carried" refers to **Koran** 2.248 *inna āyata mulkihi an ya'tiyakumu t-Tābūtu fī hi Sakīnatun min rabbikum wa-baqīyatun mimmā taraka ālu Mūsā wa-ālu Hārūna taḥmiluhu l-malā'ikatu* "The sign of his kingship will be that the Ark will come to you containing a *Sakīna* from your Lord, and a relic of what was left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron, and the angels will bear it". It has been assumed that the reference is to the ark taken away from here (Le Strange, Thackston, Grabar<sup>3</sup>), but the ark is obviously, on the contrary, brought back (Schefer, Elad<sup>4</sup>).

**B146.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** No one may enter the gateway [from inside the wall, but only from outside]. (B146.3).

B146.6. People should, on their prayer-route, endeavour in prayer here.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,13-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 180) *wa dar dihlīz-ī ān masǧid-ī-st bā miḥrābhā-yi bisyār wa dar awwalaš basta ast kih kas-ī dar na-tawān šud*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 180) *gūyand Tābūt-i Sakīna kih Īzad-i tabāraka wa-ta'ālā dar Qur'ān yād karda ast ān-ǧā nihāda ast kih firištaǧān bar giriftandī* (cf. **Koran** 2.248).

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153.

<sup>4</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 110.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.67**: 78,18 (*ṭumma yantahī ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī mu'aḥḥari l-ǧāmi'ī mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbātī fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi'ī l-laḍī yuqālu lahu Kursīya Sulaymāna wa-yastaqbilu l-qiblata wa-yaǧtahidu fī d-du'a'ī ...*) *ṭumma yamḍī ilā Bābi s-Sakīnati fa-yaf'alu miṭla dālīka*.

**B147. The Gate of the Cave (with the Cave)<sup>1</sup>**

**B147.1. Names (Jewish):** The Gate of the Cave (*Bāb al-Maḡāra*)<sup>2</sup> and the Cave (*al-Maḡāra*,<sup>3</sup> *ha-Ma'ārāh*<sup>4</sup>). The gate is identical with the Gate of God's Presence (*Bāb as-Sakīna*) (B146.1.a).

**B147.2. Position:** We best locate the Cave at WARREN'S GATE.<sup>5</sup>

B147.2.a. The location of the Cave at the WEST ḤARAM WALL,<sup>6</sup> under the Gate of the Priest,<sup>7</sup> or at BARCLAY'S GATE<sup>8</sup> are possible, but require corroboration by the sources.

**B147.3. Physical shape:** The Cave is rebuilt (*niḥadšāh ha-Ma'ārāh*) [in about 1034, after the earthquake of 1033] and this rebuilding includes the covering [?] of the remaining [undestroyed] part [of the wall] at a height from 60 to 20 ells (29.88-9.96 m) (*\*lə-sittōr ha-niš'ār ašār ōrāk kəlalō qārōb lə-šēšim ammāh wə-qārōb lə-āsrīm ammāh*); the width of the beams

<sup>1</sup>For the Jewish Cave of the Fāṭimid period, see Gil, "Dhimmī Donations and Foundations" 170; Bahat, "Western Wall Tunnels I" 73f.; Gil, *Palestine* 244; 264; 536; 607-609; 639; 648-650; 683f.; 702; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 422; Bahat, "Western Wall Tunnels II" 182; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 81; Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 54-56; Gil, "Jewish Community" 174-176.

<sup>2</sup>The address **Gil Nr. 525v** bottom left,3 (see Gil, *Palestine* 639) *al-Qūds al-mun'amir Bāb al-Maḡāra*.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr. 190r**, right margin, 1-3 *wa-qad wazanuh* (I read *wazan luh*) *ḡumla wa-hiya māl al-Maḡāra 'azz 'alayya; Gil Nr. 409r*, 3-11 (see Gil, *Palestine* 683f.; 684f. n. 138) *al-ma[ḡ]lis al-ladī kān [fih] wa-huwa maḡlis rabbēnū Ēliyyāhu [ha-kōhēn bān] Šə[lōmōh] [...]mky fi ḡumlat al-qā[hāl] ilā l-Maḡāra wa-kān min qabl [...] šārāh bə-'ibbūr baḥūrē ha-mdināh; Gil Nr. 460v*, 9-11 (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 648; see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 128; Gil, *Palestine* 244; 264) (*sayyidatī l-uḥt tas'alak ta'ḥud lahā bi-rub' mitqāl kābuli ...*) *wa-ka-dālik taman al-maḡmal al-ladī 'ind Mardūk yuštār biḥ ḥuṣur samār min al-Iskandariya wa-la'alla man yatla' fi l-baḥr yunfidhum ma'uh fa-hiya li-l-Maḡāra muqaddasa*; the address **Gil Nr. 525v** bottom left,3 (see Gil, *Palestine* 639) *al-Qūds al-mun'amir Bāb al-Maḡāra*.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr. 79r**, 27-29 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 524; Gil, "Jewish Community" 175; partly Gil, *Palestine* 648) (*higgī' miḡtabkā zāh yōm kd bi-siwān*) *ū-b-yōm kh bō bə-yōm šēnī niḡlalnū ba-Ma'ārāh bə-qāhāl rab w-ḥōšēnū siprē Tōrōt wə-hāḥrimnū 'al kōl ḥōqēq 'hiqēqē āwān' (Isaiah 10.1) wə-'al kāl miḡtəbē šāw' wə-dābār kāzāb; Gil Nr. 120r*, 23-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 536; 607-609; 648) ... *ha-hōšā'āh ašār niṣrəkāh kī niḥadšāh ha-Ma'ārāh wə-l-ṭōbatō hāyāh [ma'āsāh ha-mappōlāt?] ašār hiṣriāk lə-sittōr ha-niš'ār ašār ōrāk kəlalō qārōb lə-šēšim [ammāh wə-qārōb] lə-āsrīm ammāh 'al rōḥab 'ōbē ha-kōtāl šetē ammōt wə-ammāh wə-ḥē[šī ...] wə-niṣrəkū li-šnayim wə-šēšī m qōrōt wə-[šēš] mō'ōt nəsārīm wə-pəsēypāsōt [ū-b-kāl] pa'am ka-ašār arā' atmāh ayk 'āzar ha-Ēl wa-lūlē aḥēnū Bənē Šūr ašār 'āzrū [...] zāhūbīm lā 'āltā aṛūḡā li-mlā'kāh*.

<sup>5</sup>Bahat, "Physical Infrastructure" 54.

<sup>6</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 607; 648.

<sup>7</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 607.

<sup>8</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 607 ("beneath the 'Priest's Gate' "; he locates the Gate of the Priest at BARCLAY'S GATE); 649 ("the underground hall behind Barclay's Gate, measuring 12 by 6 metres, called by recent generations of Muslims masjid al-Burāq"); Gil, "Jewish Community" 176 ("the hall behind 'Barclay's Gate' ... The dimensions of the hall - called by the Muslims of the last few generations Masjid al-Burāq - ...").

of the wall (*rōḥab ʿōbē ha-kōtāl*) is between 2 and 1.5 ells (1.00-0.75 m), and there are sixty-two beams (*šənayīm wə-šəšīm qōrōt*), six hundred planks (*šēš məʾot nəsarīm*), and mosaics (*pəsēypāsōt*) used; the expenses are partly paid by the [Jewish] inhabitants of Tyrus (*Bənē Šūr*).<sup>1</sup> A man orders that the money received from a certain load (*maḥmal*) be used to buy rush mats (*ḥuṣur samār*) from Alexandria and send them by sea [to Jerusalem] as a [pious gift] dedicated to the Cave (*muqaddasa li-l-Maḡāra*).<sup>2</sup> The Cave is obviously a pious foundation quite richly decorated, sustained from abroad.<sup>3</sup>

B147.3.a. Parallels to the mats dedicated to the Cave: The High ʿAbbāsīd Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) has an allowance (*waḡifā*) of 100 *qisṭ* of oil every month and 800,000 ells (532,000 m) of mats (*ḥuṣur*) [of a certain standard width] every year (B014.7.c). In the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock precious rush mats (*\*ḥuṣur as-sāmān an-nafisa*) and beautiful carpets, some even of silk (*faršhā-yi nīkū ... az abrišum wa-ḡayruh*), are spread (B184.9). The Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque has its floor covered by beautiful carpets (*faršhā-yi pākīza*) (B202.4), its *Maqṣūra* by North African mats (*ḥašīrhā-yi maḡribī*) (B207.3). The Fāṭimid Muslim *mašhad* in Hebron [the ḤARAM of HEBRON] has its floor and wall embellished with precious carpets and North African mats (*faršhā-yi qīmatī wa ḥašīrhā-yi maḡribī*), among them an extraordinary prayer rug (*muṣallā-yi namāz ḥašīr*) bought in Egypt for 30 North African gold *dīnār* (*dīnār-i zar-i maḡribī*), more precious than a rug of Byzantine brocade (*dībā-yi Rūmī*) of the same size would be, donated by the *amīr al-ḡuyūš* [i.e., Anūštakīn ad-Dizbirī<sup>4</sup>], official of the [Fāṭimid] sultān of Egypt (*banda-i sultān-i Mišr*);<sup>5</sup> in the same building are many vessels and carpets and decorations (*ālathā-yi bisyār ... wa farš wa ṭarḥ*) donated by al-Mahdī (Fāṭimid caliph 297-322/909-934).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr. 120r**, 23-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 536; 607-609; 648) ... *ha-hōṣāʾāh aššār niṣrākāh kī niṭhadšāh ha-Maʿārāh wə-l-tōbatō ḥāyāh [maʿšāh ha-mappōlāt?] aššār ḥiṣriāk lə-sittōr ha-nišʾār aššār ōrāk kəlalō qārōḥ lə-šəšīm [ammāh wə-qārōḥ lə-ʾāsrīm ammāh ʿal rōḥab ʿōbē ha-kōtāl šətē ammōt wə-ammāh wə-ḥē[šī ...] wə-niṣrākū li-šənayīm wə-šəšīm qōrōt wə-šəš məʾot nəsarīm wə-pəsēypāsōt [ū-b-kāl] paʿam ka-aššār arāʾ atmāh ayk ʿazar ha-Ēl wa-lūlē aḥenū Bənē Šūr aššār ʿazrū [...] zāhūḥīm lā ʿaltā aṛukā li-mlāʾkāh*.

For the rebuilding of the wall and the Cave, see Gil, *Palestine* 648f.. For the earthquake of 1033 and the subsequent rebuilding in Jerusalem, see A169.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr. 460v**, 9-11 (transl. partly Gil, *Palestine* 648; see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 128; Gil, *Palestine* 244; 264) (*sayyidatī l-uḥt tasʾalak taʾḥud lahā bi-rubʿ mitqāl kābulī ...*) *wa-ka-dālik taman al-maḥmal al-ladī ʿind Mardūk yuštārā biḥ ḥuṣur samār min al-Iskandariya wa-laʿalla man yaṭlaʿ fī l-baḥr yunfidhum maʿuh fa-hiya li-l-Maḡāra muqaddasa*.

<sup>3</sup>For Jewish pious foundations for the benefit of Jerusalem, see B147.5.

<sup>4</sup>Wiet, "Anushtakin" 395; Gil, *Palestine* 397.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāšīr** 47,8-14 (*ṣifāt-i Ḥalīl ṣalawātu Llāhi ʿalayhi ... mašhad bar kinār-i dīh-ast ...*) *wa dar īn mašhad za-mīn wa dīwār-rā ba-faršhā-yi qīmatī wa ḥašīrhā-yi maḡribī ārasta čun-ān-kih az dībā nīkūtār būd wa* (NP without *wa*) *muṣallā-yi namāz-i ḥašīr dīdam ān-ḡā kih guftand amīr al-ḡuyūš kih banda-i sultān-i Mišr ast firistāda ast guftand ān* (NP *īn*) *muṣallā dar Mišr ba-sī dīnār-i zar-i maḡribī ḥarīda and kih agar* (NP without *agar*) *ān miqdār-i dībā-yi Rūmī būdī badān bahā na-yarazīdī wa miṭl-i ān ḥiç ḡā-ī* (NP *ḡāy*) *na-dīdam*.

For Anūštakīn ad-Dizbirī, see B172.4.e.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāšīr** 48,21-49,1 (*ṣifāt-i Ḥalīl ṣalawātu Llāhi ʿalayhi ... mašhad bar kinār-i dīh-ast ...*) *ḡuyand* (NP *wa guftand*) *awwal īn mašhad-rā dar na-sāḥta būdand wa ḥiç kas dar na-tawānastī raftan illā az aywān az birūni ziyārat kardandī* čūn Mahdī *ba-mulk-i Mišr binišast farmūd tā ān-rā dar biguṣādand wa ālathā-yi bisyār binihādand wa farš wa ṭarḥ wa ʿimārat bisyār kardand*.

B147.3.b. It has been claimed that **Gil Nr. 119**,<sup>1</sup> speaking about the rebuilding of a wall, refers to the rebuilding of the wall with the Cave inside;<sup>2</sup> this may be, but cannot be taken for granted.

**B147.4. Contemporary events:** The Cave is rebuilt (*nithadšāh ha-Ma'ārāh*) [in about 1034, after the earthquake of 1033]; this includes the covering [?] of the remaining [undestroyed] part [of the wall] at a height from 60 to 20 ells (29.88-9.96 m) (*\*lə-sittōr ha-niš'ār ašār ōrāk kəlalō qārōb lə-šēšim ammah wə-qārōb lə-ʿāsrīm ammah*); the width of the beams of the wall (*rōḥab ʿōbē ha-kōtāl*) is between 2 and 1.5 ells (1.00-0.75 m), and there are sixty-two beams (*šənayīm wə-šēšim qōrōt*), 600 planks (*šēš mə'ōt nəsarīm*), and mosaics (*pəšēy-pāsōt*) used (B147.3).

**B147.5. Rituals and customs (Jewish):** The Cave serves a number of purposes. Here people assemble to take out the Torah scrolls (*siṣrē Tōrōt*) [for services] and to excommunicate other people.<sup>3</sup> The Cave is a pious foundation sustained from abroad, as money in Fustāt is considered the property of the Cave (*māl al-Magāra*),<sup>4</sup> and rush mats (*ḥuṣur samār*) from

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr. 119**, 1-5 (see Gil, *Palestine* 648) ([...] *mē-ḥēqāh yd zəhūbīm wə-yhī mē-māḥārāt wə-āqbošām wa-yēšū*) *wə-pānītī ha-aḇā[nīm]* *wə-ha-ʿāpār min ha-dārāk wa-yəḥillū ha-bōnīm lə-ḥēkīn yəsōd wa-ʿnī wa-bənī wə-roḥ min ha-ʿam šōqdīm ʿad li-sbūḥ ha-qīr wə-ʿad ʿālōt lə-pē ha-nāʿiṣāp wə-hānāḥ ha-məḥāʿkāh raḥ kī ha-nāḥʿarab māšak maqōmōt wə-gam yēš qīr ōrāk ʿāsrīm ammah ha-zōʿzēaʿ (wə-kātabtī ʿāl ha-maqōmōt lə-hezkīrām ū-l-ḥēʿīrām ūlay tədabbēr ʿāl ha-ʿam lə-hitnaddēḥ šūḥ ha-šēnīt).*

<sup>2</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 648; 649n. 118.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr. 79r**, 27-29 (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 524; partly Gil, *Palestine* 648) (*higgīʿ miḵtabkā zāh yōm kd bi-sīwān*) *ū-b-yōm kh bō bə-yōm šēnī niḵlalnū ba-Maʿārāh bə-qāḥāl rab w-ḥōšēnū siṣrē Tōrōt wə-hāḥrimnū ʿal kōl ḥōqēq ʿḥiqēqē āwān (Isaiah 10.1) wə-ʿal kāl miḵtəḇē šāwʿ wə-dāḥār kāzāḥ.*

For excommunications pronounced on the Mount of Olives, see Gil, *Palestine* 522-525; 629f.

Cf. **Gil Nr. 409r**, 3-11.12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 683f.; 684f. n. 138) *iʿlam mawlāya l-ḥābēr adām Allāh ʿizzuh anna fī yawm ʿašīyat laylat[ayn] min ramaḍān ʿarraḥuf barakat ma yal[īh min aš-šuhūr ...] al-ma[ḡ]lis al-ladī kān [fīh] wa-huwa maḡlis rabbēnū ʿĒliyyāhu [ha-kōhēn bān] Š[ʿ]lōmōh [...]mky fī ḡumlat al-qā[hāl] ilā l-Magāra wa-kān min qabl [...] šārāḥ bə-ʿibbūr baḥūrē ha-mdīnāh wə-nazil [to the Cave] sayyidnā r-rayyis rōš [yəšīḥat gaʿōn Yaʿqob] li-an kān qad akrazū taʿnīt aṭ-ṭāfiyatayn [Classical Arabic aṭ-ṭāʿifātayn] fa-lṭafat baʿd [...] wa-qāl mā hāda l-ān amr šaʿb yakūn mitl fulān aʿnī [...] kanī]sa fa-šaʿub ʿalā gāʿōn šəmōrō Šūr wa-qāl mā aštahī hāda l-amr [...] wa-taḥallafuh min al-inḥidār ilā l-kanīsa [the Cave] ... wa-ṣṭalaḥā baʿd dālik wa-ṣṭalaḥ ayḍan al-ḥazzān [...] bayn yaday sayyidnā r-rayyis wa-lam yanḥadir fī s-sabt al-ladī kān aš-ṣulḥ [lā anā wa-]lā š-šəlīšī fa-nazil [to the Cave?] waladuh ar-rəbīʿi wa-sippēr fī firāšat ʿwa-yəḥī ba-yōm' (**Leviticus** 9.1; Gil remarks that this is the lecture on the eighth day of the Feast of the Tabernacles).*

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr. 190r**, right margin, 1-3 (see Gil, *Palestine* 348f. (speaking of "Abraham b. David b. Sughmār blaming his rivals ..."); 702) (*wa-ḡarat alwān li-anna Banī l-kōhēn wa-Ibn aš-Šaffūrī ṭālabhum Allāh yunziluh (read yunzilūh) kull sabb ilā Kanīsiyat aš-Šāmīyīn wa-yasqīw [Classical Arabic wa-yasqū] qawm nabīd wa-yuʿṭāwhum [Classical Arabic yuʿtūhum] ad-darāhim ḥattā yashufū bi-n-nās) wa-qad wazanuh (I read wazan luh) ḡumla wa-ḥiya māl al-Magāra ʿazz ʿalayya (wa-la-qad taʿḡḡabtu min ḡāflat al-Maqādisa ḥarashum Allāh ʿannuh li-an ḡamaʿ lahum min asbāb luh nayyif [wa-]40 dīnār taʿrifhum wa-ṭālabūh bihā).*

For Jewish pious foundations for the benefit of the Cave, see Gil, *Palestine* 601-609; Gil, *Pious Foundations*; Gil, "Dimmī Donations and Foundations" 166-172, especially 170; Grossman, *Yeshiva of Eretz Israel*.

Alexandria are ordered to be sent by sea [to Jerusalem] as a [pious gift] dedicated to the Cave (*muqaddasa li-l-Maḡāra*) (B147.3). The Gate of the Cave (*Bāb al-Maḡāra*) may be used as a post address.<sup>1</sup>

B147.5.a. The Cave has been considered the synagogue of Jerusalem;<sup>2</sup> this may be, but sources do not explicitly say so.

### B148. The Gate of the Cattle<sup>3</sup>

#### B148.1. Names (Muslim): The Gate of the Cattle (*\*Bāb al-baqar*).<sup>4</sup>

B148.1.a. **Nāṣir**'s *Bāb as-Saqar* seems at first to refer to Koranic *Saqar* "the Hell" (**Koran** 54.48; 74.26f.; 74.42),<sup>5</sup> but *Saqar* never has the article. We may be inclined to assume an original *\*Bāb Saqar* "the Gate of Hell" (Schefer, Thackston) and to explain the addition of the article as an over-Arabisation similar to **Nāṣir**'s *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* (B142.1.a) instead of correct Arabic *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*. But to imagine that a gate of the ḤARAM may have been called *\*Bāb Saqar* "the Gate of Hell" would identify the ḤARAM with Hell - an impossible idea.

B148.1.b. There is more than one Gate of Hell known, but none on the area of the ḤARAM.<sup>6</sup> From the Pre-Marwānid Tower of David (*Turris David*) (the CITADEL), at midnight, the Christians hear the condemned speaking in the Valley of Josaphat (*vallis Iosaphat*) (the KIDRON VALLEY).<sup>7</sup> A Marwānid Muslim tradition has

<sup>1</sup>The address **Gil Nr.525** v bottom left,3 (see Gil, *Palestine* 639) *al-Qūds al-mun'amir Bāb al-Maḡāra*.

<sup>2</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 244; 264; 536; 607; 639; 648, 944 s.v. "ha-me'ārāh".

<sup>3</sup>For the Fāṭimid Gate of the Cattle, not the Gate of Hell, see Schefer, *Nassir* 74 n. 2; Le Strange, *Palestine* 187; 189; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 56f. n. 6; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 268 n. 30; 269f. n. 35; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) (*wa dar-ī dīgar ast ...*) *kih ān-rā Bāb as-Saqar* (I read *Bāb al-baqar*) *gūyand*.

<sup>5</sup>For Koranic *Saqar* "Hell", see Gimaret, "Saqar".

<sup>6</sup>For places in Jerusalem connected with Hell, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 218-22; 346f.; Sourdel-Thomine, *al-Harawī (texte)* 67 n. 6; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 145 n. 2; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 24-26; Milik, "Topographie" 168f. n. 2; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 67f.; Külzer, *Peregrinatio graeca* 189-193; 212-214; .

<sup>7</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 173,12-17: 21 (see Busse, "'Omar's Image" 166; Busse, "Tower of David" 152) *Quae turris quadrangulis* (G *turre quadrangolis*, R *in turribus quadrangulis*) *et opus calvum non habens tectum; in quo etiam Christiani* (G *Christianis*) *pro devotione* (G *pro devotionem*) *ad mansionem ascendunt. Et circa medium noctis surgentes* (G *et circa media nocte surgentis*) *audiunt voces murmurantium* (G *murmurantium*) *iusum* (R *iuso*) *in valle Iosafa* (Geyer reads *Iosapha*) *contra Iordanan in loca quae* (G *contra Iordana in loco qua*, R *contra Iordanem in locis quae*) *respiciunt ad Sodoma et Gomorra* (R *ad Sodomam et Gomurram*) *et vulgariter appellatur* (R *vocaliter appellatur*, G *vulgariter*) *ipsa vallis Iosapha* (G *ipsa valle Iosaphat*) *quae et Gessemani* (R *Gessamenī*) = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 205,14-19: 21 *Quae turris quadrangulis* (B *quadrangula*) *et opus sculptum* (B *sculptum*) *non habens tectum. In qua et Christiani* (B *in quam Christiani*) *pro devotione ad mansionem ascendunt et circa medio noctis spatio* (B *medium noctis spatium*) *surgentes audiunt voces murmurantium deorsum in valle Iosaphat* (B *Iosaphath*) *contra Iordanem ad loca quae respiciunt contra Sodoma et Gomorra* (B *contra Sodomam et Gomorram*).

one of the gates of Hell (*bāb min abwāb Ġahannum*) at the church which is in the Valley of Hell (*al-kanīsa l-latī fī Wādī Ġahannum* [at the CHURCH OF MARY in GETHSEMANE, in the KIDRON VALLEY];<sup>1</sup> another says that Hell opens from this valley, i.e., the Valley of Hell (*min hādā l-wādī ya'nī Wādī Ġahannum*) [the KIDRON VALLEY], and Paradise from the mosque, i.e., the Mosque of the Temple (*min al-masġid ya'nī Masġid Bayt al-Maqdis*) [at the ḤARAM].<sup>2</sup> A High 'Abbāsīd Jewish tradition has the Gate of Hell (*Ša'ar Gēhinnom*) opposite the Church of Jacob, brother of Messiah Jesus (*\*Kanīsat Ya'qūb aḥū l-Masīḥ Yəšūa'*), with a cave (*maġāra*) beneath and a date-palm tree next to it, as the Bible says, "Let the nations be wakened [and come up to the Valley of Jehoshaphat] (*Joel* 4.12).<sup>3</sup> The common [Muslim] people (*mardum-i 'awāmm*) of Fāṭimid Jerusalem say that at the upper end of the Valley of Hell (*ba-sar-i Wādī-i Ġahannum*) (the KIDRON VALLEY) the voices of the sinners may be heard, but **Nāṣir** hears nothing there.<sup>4</sup> Fāṭimid Christians hear a voice coming out of a hole (*yur'w*) in the cave with the Twelve Thrones in the Kidron Valley, and identify this as the weeping of the souls (of Hell) (*afl cuxa' (toĒ ÜAdou)*);<sup>5</sup> they locate the vent-hole of Hell (*≤ énapnoā tØw ge°nnhw*) (**Matthew** 5.22; 18.9) near the Church of Zion,<sup>6</sup> and another vent-hole of Hell (*≤ énapnoā toĒ ÜAdou*) near the Dead Sea, near a salt-column

Cf. the weeping of the Good Friday procession in Gethsemane heard in the whole city, **Etheria** 36,18-21: 36.3 (see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 158 s.v. "Gethsemane") (*Cum ergo perventum fuerit in Gessamani fit primum oratio apta sic dicitur ymnus; item legitur ille locus de evangelio ubi comprehensus est Dominus (Matthew 26.50; Mark 14.46; Luke 22.54; John 18.12). Qui locus ad quod lectus fuerit, tantus rugitus et mugitus totius populi est cum fletu ut forsitan porro ad civitatem gemitus populi omnis auditus sit. (Et iam ex illa hora hitur ad civitatem pedibus cum ymnis pervenitur ad portam ea hora qua incipit quasi homo hominem cognoscere).*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.384**: 253,9f. (see Busse, "Reflection of a Christian Belief" 288f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 138) ... *anna 'Umara bna l-Ḥaṭṭābi šallā fī l-kanīsatī l-latī fī Wādī Ġahannuma rak'atayni tumma qāla ba'da dālika kutiba 'alaynā an arka'a rak'atayni 'alā bābin min abwābi Ġahannuma*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.387**: 254,4 *tuftaḥu Ġahannumu min hādā l-wādī ya'nī Wādīya Ġahannuma wa-tuftaḥu l-Ġannatu mina l-masġidī ya'nī Masġida Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.2** 1v,1-5 (*wa-t-ṭariq li-l-qubūr Qabr [Ar]nān ha-Ybūsī ... yattašil aydan bi-maġāra* (Braslavi/Küchler read *mā ġāruh*, without *bi-*) ...) *wa-'alayhā kan[īsa ... yuqāl] lahā Kanīsat Ya'qūb aḥū l-Masīḥ Yə[šūa'] ... wa-ġānibhā naḥla nābita wa-naqālū l-ābā anna dālik al-mawḍi' yuwāzī Ša'ar Gēhinnom wa-'alā mā qāl 'kī šām ešēb li-špōt āt-kāl ha-gōyim' (Joel 4.12).*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 30,11-13 (see Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 100f.) *wa mardum-i 'awāmm čun-in gūyand (NP gūyand kih) har kas kih ba-sar-i ān wādī šawad āwāz-i dūzaḥiyān šanūd kih šadā (NP without šadā) az ān-ġā bar mīyāyad man ān-ġā šudam amma čiz-i na-sanīdam*.

<sup>5</sup>**Epiphanius V** VIII,16-19 (... τὸ ἅγιον σπήλαιον ἐνθα κατέφυγεν ὁ κύριος μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν· καὶ εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἔστιν ὁ θρόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ...) εἰς κεφαλὴν δὲ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θρόνου ἔστι θυρὶς μικρὰ ἀφανὴς εἰς τὸ βάθος (read βάθος)· καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἐξ αὐτῆς μυσμὸς ἥτοι βοασμὸς πολλὺς· καὶ μέλλουσι λέγειν ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσὶ = **Epiphanius M** VIII,16-19 (... τὸ ἅγιον σπήλαιον ἐν ᾧ ἐκατέφυγεν ὁ κύριος μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ· εἰς γὰρ τὸ σπήλαιον ἐκεῖνο ἔστιν ὁ θρόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ...) εἰς δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θρόνου ἔστιν θυρὶς μικρὰ ἀφανὴς εἰς τὸ βάθος· ἐξέρχεται δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς βασμὸς σφοδρὸς εἰς ὑπερβολὴν· φασὶ δὲ τινες ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσὶν = **Epiphanius J** VIII,16-19 (τὸ σπήλαιον εἰς ὃ κατέφυγεν ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ· ὅπερ μέλλει κρίναι) εἰς κέλευσιν τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θρόνου, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ τρυπη ἄφατος καὶ ἐξευγνή· καὶ βοασμὸς πολλῆς· καὶ μέλλουσι λέγειν ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ τοῦ Ἄδου εἰσὶν.

<sup>6</sup>**Epiphanius V** III,2-4 (... ἡ ἀγία Σιών ... καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην πύλην ἀριστερόν ἔστιν ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἔλουσαν οἱ ἄλαιοι (read ἄγιοι) ἀπόστολοι τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον μετὰ ἐξοδὸν αὐτῇ)· καὶ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης ἔστιν ἡ ἀναπνοὰ τῆς γεέννης τοῦ πυρὸς = **Epiphanius M** III,2-4 (...)



considered to be the wife of Lot.<sup>1</sup>

B148.1.c. *Bāb as-Saqar* is rather a misspelling of *\*Bāb al-baqar* "the Gate of the Cattle".<sup>2</sup> The assumed *\*al-baqar*, by losing the dot under *bā'*, becomes easily *as-Saqar*, especially in *ta'liq* (; Fāṭimid *\*Bāb al-baqar* thus continues High 'Abbāsīd *Bāb al-baqar* (also at BĀB AN-NĀẒIR) (B079.2). This solution is much more convincing, than associating any reference to Hell with the ḤARAM.

**B148.2. Position:** The Gate of the Cattle (*\*Bāb al-baqar*) is in the same wall (*dīwār*) as the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) (B144.2). It is immediately north of the arcade north of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) (B158.3.b). We locate the gate best at BĀB AN-NĀẒIR.<sup>3</sup>

B148.2.a. **Nāṣir** has *\*Bāb al-baqar* preceded by *Bāb-i Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA) and followed by *Bāb al-Asbāt* (at BĀB ḤITṬA) and *Bāb al-abwāb* (at BĀB AL-‘ATM). This fits with any gate of the WEST WALL north of BĀB AS-SILSILA, i.e., BĀB AL-QATṬĀNĪN, BĀB AL-ḤADĪD, BĀB AN-NĀẒIR or BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA.

#### Nāṣir

*Bāb al-abwāb* <- *Bāb al-Asbāt* <- ***\*Bāb al-baqar*** <- *Bāb-i Dāwūd*

B148.2.b. *\*Bāb al-baqar* is in the same wall as *Bāb-i Dāwūd*, in the WEST WALL. This is the only gate in the west wall north of *Bāb-i Dāwūd*. The only gate in the west wall with the characteristic features of the Marwānīd BURGOYNE'S GATES GROUP is BĀB AN-NĀẒIR (B020.3.b), and we therefore best locate *\*Bāb al-baqar* in BĀB AN-NĀẒIR. Ayyūbid or Mamlūk<sup>4</sup> BĀB AL-ḤADĪD is also at the intersection of the Roman street network with the ḤARAM WALL (B072.3.c). Nevertheless, location of *\*Bāb al-baqar* at BĀB AL-ḤADĪD<sup>5</sup> is less probable than at BĀB AN-NĀẒIR. The gate has been located generally in the west wall.<sup>6</sup>

B148.2.c. *\*Bāb al-baqar* is a double gate (B148.3). BĀB AN-NĀẒIR is a single gate and there is no evidence of a second door either to its north in the BUILDING OF THE AWQĀF-ADMINISTRATION (Mamlūk al-Manḡakī ya)<sup>7</sup> or to its south in DĀR AL-BUDAYRĪ (Mamlūk al-Wafā'īya).<sup>1</sup> BĀB AL-ḤADĪD is also a single gate with

ἡ ἀγία Σιών ... καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους ἔστιν ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἔλουσαν οἱ ἄλαιοι (read ἄγιοι) ἀπόστολοι τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτῆς·) εἰς γοῦν τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης ἔστιν ἡ ἀναπνοᾶ τῆς γεέννης τοῦ πυρός = **Epiphanius J** III,2-4 (see Donner, "Epiphanius" 54) καὶ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης ἔστιν ἡ ἀναπνοῇ τῆς γεέννης τοῦ πυρός.

<sup>1</sup>**Epiphanius V** XII,2-5 = **Epiphanius M** XII,2-5 (... ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Λῶτ στήλη ἀλός ...) καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν αὐτῆς ἔστιν ὁπῇ ἐκβάλλουσα καπνὸν· καὶ ἐξέρχεται φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς ὁπῆς λέγουσα οὐαὶ τὰ Σόδομα· καὶ φέρεται ὁ λόγος ὅτι ἡ ἀναπνοᾶ τοῦ Ἰδοῦ ἐστὶν ἐνθα εἰσὶ δεδεμένοι = **Epiphanius J** XII,2-5 (... ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Λῶτ ἀπομαρμαρωθεῖσα ...) καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς αὐτῆς ἔστιν ὁπῇ ἐβάλλουσα καπνὸν· καὶ ἐξέρχεται φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς ὁπῆς λέγουσα οὐαὶ τὰ Σώδωμα· ὥς μέλλουσι λέγειν ὅτι ἀναπνοὴ τοῦ Ἰδοῦ ἐστὶν, ὅπερ ἔναι [?] δεδεμένος.

<sup>2</sup>The similarity of *Bāb as-Saqar* and *Bāb al-baqar* is emphasised also by Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 268 n. 30; 269f. n. 35; Gil, *Palestine* 643 n. 115.

<sup>3</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 187; 189.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, "A New Inscription" 82.

<sup>5</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 74 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 56f. n. 6; Gil, *Palestine* 643-645 n. 115; 644.

<sup>7</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 384-398.

no evidence for a second door either to its north in DĀR AŠ-ŠIHĀBĪ (Mamlūk Ribāt Kurt al-Manṣūrī)<sup>2</sup> or to its south in DĀR AL-‘AFĪFĪ (Mamlūk al-Aḡūniya).<sup>3</sup> Apart from this, BĀB AN-NĀZIR is the best location of \**Bāb al-baqar*, and we may suppose that it is just the remaining half of an older double gate.

**B148.3. Physical shape:** This is a double gate (B151.3.b).

### B149. The north wall

**B149.1. Names (Muslim):** The north wall (*dīwār-i šamālī*),<sup>4</sup> the [north] broad side of the mosque (which goes eastwards) (*pahnā-yi masǧid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad*,<sup>5</sup> *pahnā-yi mas-ǧid*), a wall (*dīwār*).<sup>7</sup>

**B149.2. Position:** The prayer-direction [wall] (*qibla*) is in the south side wall opposite the north wall (*bar dīl‘-i ǧanūbī piš-i dīwār-i šamālī*) (B131.5). In the north side [of the mosque] (*bar ǧānib-i šamāl*) are two gates (*dū dargāh*) (B150.2); in the [north] broad side of the mosque which goes eastwards (*dar pahnā-yi masǧid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad*) are the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) and, further east, the Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*) (B150.2); in the north side [of the mosque] (*az ǧānib-i šamāl*), apart from the Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*), are two more doors (*dū dar-i dīgar*) [of a double gate] (B150.2). In the [north] broad side of the mosque (*bar pahnā-yi masǧid*), there is a third gate which leads only to two Šūfī convents (B152.2). There are rocks in the back [north] side of the Friday mosque (*fi mu‘aḥḥar al-ǧā-mi‘*), next to the Gate of the Tribes (*mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāt*); among these is the Throne of Solomon (*Kursī Sulaymān*) (B150.2). Between the two gates which are in the north side [of the mosque] (*miyān-i ān dū dargāh kih bar ǧānib-i šamāl ast*) is one arcade (B159.2), and in the [north] broad side of the mosque (*bar pahnā-yi masǧid*) [further east] another arcade (*ri-wāq*) (B152.2). This north wall is obviously the NORTH ḤARAM WALL.

<sup>1</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 456-459.

<sup>2</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 144-153.

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 356-367.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa qibla bar dīl‘-i ǧanūbī-st wa piš-i dīwār-i šamālī*.

The north wall is also mentioned in **Nāṣir** 33,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa miyān-i ān (NP in) dū dargāh kih bar ǧānib-i šamāl ast ...*; **Nāṣir** 33,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176f.) *wa-bar ān dīwār dar-i ast*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) (... *wa in dar-rā Bāb al-Asbāt gūyand*) *wa cūn az in dar bigudārī ham bar pahnā-yi masǧid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad bāz dargāh-i ‘azīm-i buzurg-ast*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176f.) *wa bar pahnā-yi masǧid riwāq-i-st*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176f.) *wa-bar ān dīwār dar-i ast*.

### B150. The Gate of the Tribes<sup>1</sup>

B150.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*).<sup>2</sup>

B150.2. **Position:** The Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*), with two doors (*dū dar*), is in the north side [of the mosque] (*az ġānib-i šamāl*).<sup>3</sup> In the [north] broad side of the mosque which goes eastwards (*dar pahnā-yi masġid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad*) are the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) and, further east, the Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*);<sup>4</sup> we thereby have two [double] gates (*dū dargāh*) in the north side [of the mosque] (*bar ġānib-i šamāl*).<sup>5</sup> Next to the Gate of the Tribes (*mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāt*), in the back [north] side of the Friday mosque (*fī mu'ahḥar al-ġāmi'*), are rocks, among them the Throne of Solomon (*Kursī Sulaymān*).<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-ʿArabī l-Išbīlī lives in a small cave (*ġuwayr*) between the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) and the Chamber of Zechariah (*Mihrāb Zakarīyā*) (B131.9). We best locate the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) at BĀB ḤITṬA, the Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*) at BĀB AL-ʿATM.<sup>7</sup>

B150.2.a. **Nāṣir's** imperfect *čūn az īn dar biguḍarī* "when you pass this gate" does not imply that the visitor enters the gate. His (*Bāb al-Asbāt ...*) *wa čūn az īn dar biguḍarī ham bar pahnā-yi masġid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad bāz dargāh-i ... ast ... wa īn dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand* "(the Gate of the Tribes ...) and when you pass this gate there is, still in the broad side of the mosque which runs eastwards, a ... gateway ... and they call this gate the Main Gate" starts from *Bāb al-Asbāt* as the point of reference, and moves on along the [north] broad side of the mosque in the direction of *Bāb al-abwāb*, which he wants to locate.<sup>8</sup> A close parallel is his (*Mahd-i ʿĪsī ...*) *wa čūn az dar-i īn masġid biguḍarī ham bar diwār-i šarqī čūn ba-ġūša-i masġid-i buzurg birasand masġid-i dīgar ast ... wa ān-rā Masġid al-Aqṣā gūyand* "(the Cradle of Jesus ...) and when you pass the gate of this mosque, when one arrives also in the east wall at the corner of the Friday Mosque, there is another mosque ... and they call that the

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Gate of the Tribes, see Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 199-203; 206; 208; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; Gil, *Palestine* 417; 418 n. 67; 423f.; Elad, *Jerusalem XXII*f.; 85-90; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140 fig. 70; 148; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.67:** 78,15f. (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 127 n. 256) *ṭumma yantahī ilā š-ṣuḥūri l-lati fī mu'ahḥari l-ġāmi' i mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāt; Nāṣir* 32,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa īn dar-rā Bāb al-Asbāt gūyand; Nāṣir* 32,20f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) ... *bāz dargāh-i ʿaẓīm-i buzurg-ast ... ham-ān miqdār kih Bāb al-Asbāt ast.*

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,17-19 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa az ġānib-i šamāl dū dar-i dīgar ast dar pahlū-yi yak-dīgar har yak haft gaz ʿarḍ (NP without ʿarḍ) dar dawāz dah gaz irtifāʿ wa īn dar-rā Bāb al-Asbāt gūyand.*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,18-23 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) ... *wa īn dar-rā Bāb al-Asbāt gūyand wa čūn az īn dar biguḍarī ham bar pahnā-yi masġid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad bāz dargāh-i ʿaẓīm-i buzurg-ast ... wa īn dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand.*

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa miyān-i ān (NP īn) dū dargāh kih bar ġānib-i šamāl ast ...*

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.67:** 78,15f. (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) *ṭumma yantahī ilā š-ṣuḥūri l-lati fī mu'ahḥari l-ġāmi' i mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāt i fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi' i l-laḍī yuqālu lahu Kursīya Sulaymāna.*

<sup>7</sup>Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120f. (by identifying **Nāṣir's** *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Abwāb al-Asbāt* with **al-Muqaddasī's** *Abwāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-Hāšimī*).

<sup>8</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 203.

Aqṣā Mosque" (B165.2), where he starts from the door of *Mahd-i ʿIsī* as the point of reference and moves in the direction of the corner, and sees from there the Aqṣā Mosque.

B150.2.b. **Nāṣir**'s perfect *čūn az īn dar dar rawand* "when they enter this gate" does, in contrast, stress that the visitor goes through the gate. His (*Bāb-i Dāwūd ...*) *čūn az īn dar dar rawand bar dast-i rāst dū riwāq ast ... wa čūn az dar dar rawand bar dast-i čap kih ān-i šamāl-ast riwāq-i ... kašīda ast* "(the Gate of David ...) and when one enters this gate, there are two arcades on the right side ... and when one enters by the gate, there is on the left side, which is the one north, an ... arcade set" (B158.3.a) presupposes that the visitors gets inside the area through *Bāb-i Dāwūd*. His *čūn az bāzār ba-mašǧid rawand rūy ba-mašriq bāšad dargāh-i ... bar āwarda and ... wa īn dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd ... gūyand* "And when one goes from the market to the mosque, eastwards, there is a large gate built ... and they call this gate the Gate of David" (B144.2) means that the visitor leaves the market and moves on to the gate. Less clear is *wa čūn ba-dargāh dar rawand rūy sū-yi mašriq az ān dū dar ān-čih bar dast-i rāst ast Bāb ar-raḥma gūyand wa diǧar-rā Bāb at-tawba* "and when one enters this gate, eastwards, of these two doors the one which is on the right [south] side is called the Gate of Mercy, and the other one, the Gate of Repentance" (B154.1.a). **Nāṣir** obviously differentiates between imperfect *čūn ... biguḍarī* "when you pass [and do not enter]" and perfect *čūn ... dar rawand* "when you enter".

B150.2.c. **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.52-69** mentions *Bāb al-Asbāt* in connection with the rocks in the north part of the mosque and with *Kursī Sulaymān*; these rocks are preceded by *Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* (at the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, inside the EAST ḤARAM WALL), and followed by *Bāb as-Sakīna* (at WARREN'S GATE) and *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). This locates the rocks, *Kursī Sulaymān* and *Bāb al-Asbāt* roughly in the region of BĀB ḤIṬṬA and BĀB AL-ʿATM.

#### **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.52-69**

*Bāb ar-raḥma* -> *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* -> *aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī muʾaḥḥar al-ǧāmiʿ mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāt*: *Kursī Sulaymān* -> *Bāb as-Sakīna* -> *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* -> *Bāb an-Nabī*

B150.2.d. **Nāṣir** has *Bāb al-Asbāt*, *Bāb al-abwāb* and the arcade between them, with *Qubba-i Yaʿqūb*, preceded by *\*Bāb al-baqar* (at BĀB AN-NĀZIR) and followed by a north arcade, the gate leading to the convents of the Šūfis (between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER) and the north[east] arcade (at BAYS 1-11 of the NORTHEAST ARCADE) with *Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā* (at the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, inside the EAST ḤARAM WALL), then *Bāb at-tawba/Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE). We would therefore like to locate *Bāb al-Asbāt* at the westerly north gate BĀB AL-ʿATM,<sup>1</sup> and *Bāb al-abwāb* at the easterly north gate at BĀB ḤIṬṬA<sup>2</sup> (figure 77.A).

#### **Nāṣir**

*Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* <- arcade at north[east] corner: *Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā* <- north arcade: gate, *\*dū duwayra-i šūfiyān* <- arcade between *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-abwāb*: *Qubba-i Yaʿqūb* <- *Bāb al-abwāb* <- *Bāb al-Asbāt* <- *\*Bāb al-baqar* <- *Bāb-i Dāwūd*

B150.2.e. But two points make one think instead that **Nāṣir** mentions these in the reverse order,<sup>3</sup> and that *Bāb*

<sup>1</sup>Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map 3*; Elad, *Jerusalem XXII*f.; 86; 89f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140 fig. 70; 148 (mentioning, from the west, first *Bāb al-Asbāt*, then *Bāb al-abwāb*); 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map 3*; Elad, *Jerusalem* 87 n. 48; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140 fig. 70; 148 (mentioning, from the west, first *Bāb al-Asbāt*, then *Bāb al-abwāb*); 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>3</sup>Thus also van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 203; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120, but their conclusions are different.

*al-Asbāṭ* is rather the easterly north gate BĀB ḤITTĀ and *Bāb al-abwāb* the westerly north gate BĀB AL-ʿATM. Fāṭimid *Bāb al-abwāb* may well have continued High ʿAbbāsid *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, which is either all north gates, i.e., both BĀB ḤITTĀ and BĀB AL-ʿATM (B080.2), or just BĀB ḤITTĀ (B083.2) - at least there is no rebuilding known for the north part of the ḤARAM. *Bāb al-abwāb* is a triple gate (B151.3), and therefore the main gate of the area, the Fāṭimid portal-minaret (B151.3); the place of this portal-minaret should rather be opposite the main prayer-niche and, in our case, opposite the Dome of the Rock, at BĀB AL-ʿATM (figure 77.B). Neither argument is conclusive.

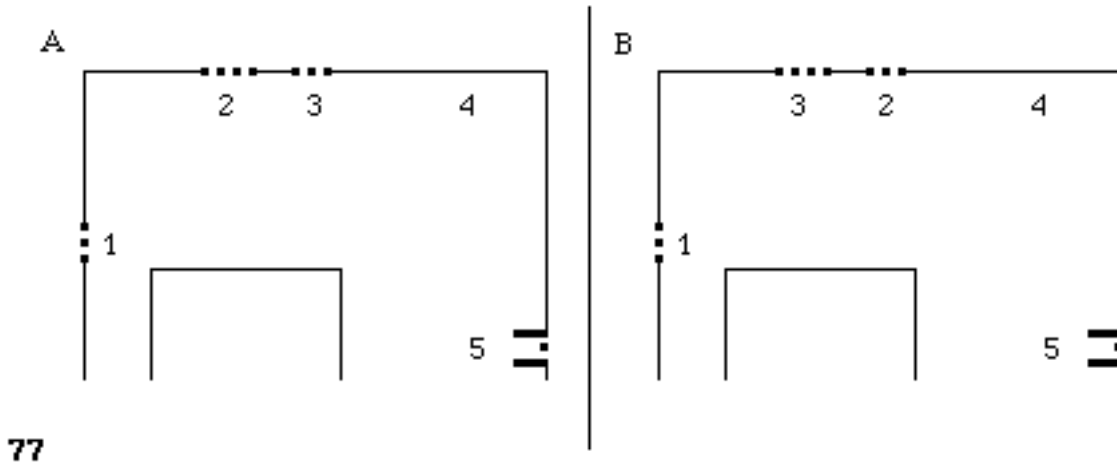


**Figure 77. The High Fāṭimid Main Gate and the Gate of the Tribes, in the sequence of Nāṣir:** A In the forward order (less probable). - B In the reverse order (preferable) / 1 The Gate of the Cattle. - 2 The Gate of the Tribes. - 3 The Main Gate. - 4 The gate to the two Ṣūfī convents. - 5 The double gate the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance.

B150.2.f. *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* is a double gate (B150.3) and *Bāb al-abwāb* a triple gate (B151.3), but both BĀB AL-ʿATM (B081.3.b) and BĀB ḤITTĀ (B083.3.a) were originally triple gates. This does not help us in locating them. But we may maintain that Fāṭimid *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* loses a door relative to the High ʿAbbāsid triple gate (B083.3) *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, while Fāṭimid *Bāb al-abwāb* keeps all three doors (B081.3) of the High ʿAbbāsid *Abwāb al-Hāšimīyīn*.

B150.2.g. High ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* has been located at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ (B083.2.e) and Fāṭimid *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* at the CITY GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ.<sup>1</sup> Fāṭimid *Bāb al-abwāb* has been identified with High ʿAbbāsid *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* and both have been located at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ;<sup>2</sup> this is not supported by the sources.

**B150.3. Physical shape:** The gate has two doors side by side (*dū dar dar pahlū-yi yak-dī-*

<sup>1</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 417 (locating it at "the Crusaders' gate of Jehoshaphat, on the northern side of the eastern wall").

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 185; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69.

*gar*) each 12 ells (7.98 m) high and 7 ells (4.66 m) wide.<sup>1</sup> This gate and the Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*) have [roughly] the same dimensions.<sup>2</sup>

B150.3.a. **Nāṣir**'s introductory *dū dar-i dīgar ast dar pahlū-yi yak-dīgar har yak haft gaz 'arḍ dar dawāzdah gaz irtifā'* "there are two other doors side by side, each 7 ells in width by 12 ells in height" has been related to the two gates *Bāb al-Asbāṭ* and *Bāb al-abwāb* (Schefer; Thackston), but the structure of the text shows that the remark refers to *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*.

|                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The Gate of the Tribes       | <i>wa az ḡānib-i šamāl<br/>dū dar-i dīgar ast dar pahlū-yi yak-dīgar<br/>har yak haft gaz 'arḍ<br/>dar dawāzdah gaz irtifā'<br/>wa-in dar-rā Bāb al-Asbāṭ gūyand</i>                                                                                                                                                                   | "And on the north side [of the mosque],<br>there are two other doors side by side,<br>each 7 ells in width<br>by 12 ells in height,<br>and they call this gate the Gate of the Tribes.                                                                                                                                                                            |
| The Main Gate                | <i>wa čūn az in dar bigudārī<br/>ham bar pahnā-yi masḡid<br/>kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad<br/>bāz dargāh-i 'azīm-i buzurg-ast<br/>wa-sih dar pahlū-yi ham bar ān-ḡā-st<br/>ham-ān miqdār kih Bāb al-Asbāṭ ast ...<br/>wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand<br/>az ān sabab kih mawāḍī-i dīgar darhā<br/>ḡuft ḡuft ast magar in sih dar ast</i> | And when you pass (see B150.2.a) this gate,<br>still in the mosque's broad side<br>which runs eastwards,<br>there is also a great and large gate,<br>and there are three doors side by side of<br>the same size as the Gate of the Tribes is ...,<br>and they call this gate the Main Gate<br>because all other doors<br>are two, except this, it is three doors. |
| The Dome of Jacob in between | <i>wa miyān-i ān dū dargāh<br/>kih bar ḡānib-i šamāl ast<br/>dar in riwāq<br/>kih ṭāqhā-yi ān bar pilpāyahā-st<br/>qubba-i-st ...<br/>wa-ān-rā Qubba-i Ya'qūb ... gūyand</i>                                                                                                                                                           | And between these two gates<br>which are in the north side,<br>in the arcade<br>of which the vaults are on pillars,<br>there is a dome,<br>and they call this the Dome of Jacob.                                                                                                                                                                                  |

B150.3.b. We should compare the dimensions of this gate to the dimensions **Nāṣir** gives for other doors, not other gates.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa az ḡānib-i šamāl dū dar-i dīgar ast dar pahlū-yi yak-dīgar har yak haft gaz 'arḍ* (NP without *'arḍ dar dawāzdah gaz irtifā'*.

Cf. also **Nāṣir** 32,22-33,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176; see B151.3.b) *wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand az ān sabab kih mawāḍī-i dīgar darhā ḡuft ḡuft ast magar in sih dar ast*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,20f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) ... *bāz dargāh-i 'azīm-i buzurg-ast wa sih dar pahlū-yi ham bar ān-ḡā-st ham-ān miqdār kih Bāb al-Asbāṭ ast*.

|                                  | Width<br>of gate | Height<br>of gate      | Number<br>of doors | Width<br>of each door | Height<br>of each door |
|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba</i> | 50 ells          | 30 ells                | 2                  | [< 15 ells]           | -                      |
| <i>Bāb-i Dāwūd</i>               | 30 ells          | 20 ells                | 2                  | 15 ells               | 8 ells                 |
| <i>Bāb an-Nabī</i>               | -                | 5-20 ells <sup>1</sup> | 2                  | 10 ells               | -                      |
| <i>Bāb al-abwāb</i>              | -                | -                      | 3                  | 12 ells               | 7 ells                 |
| <i>Bāb al-Asbāṭ</i>              | -                | -                      | 2                  | 12 ells               | 7 ells                 |
| Doors of Aqṣà Mosque             |                  |                        |                    | 10 ells               | 6 ells                 |

**B150.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The Gate(s) of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, *Abwāb al-Asbāṭ*) refers to the Koranic Tribes (*al-Asbāṭ*) (*Koran* 2.136; 2.140; 3.84; 4.163; 7.160), and may also be influenced by the eschatological Temple gates called after the Tribes of Israel (*Šibṭē Yisrāʾēl*) (*Ezekiel* 48. 30-35) (see B023.4), but neither explanation is explicit.

### B151. The Main Gate [the portal-minaret]<sup>2</sup>

**B151.1. Names (Muslim):** The Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*);<sup>3</sup> it is so called because it is three doors (*sih dar*), but all other gates [of the mosque] are twin doors (*mawāḍiʿ-i dīgar darhā ġuft ġuft ast*) (B151.3).

B151.1.a. The name may also refer to the function of the gate (B151.3.c) as main entry.

**B151.2. Position:** In the [north] broad side of the mosque which goes eastwards (*dar pah-nā-yi masġid kih sū-yi mašriq mīrawad*) are the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāṭ*) and, further east, the Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*); there are two gates (*dū dargāh*) in the north side [of the mosque] (*bar ġānib-i šamāl*) (B150.2). Apart from the Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*), in the north side [of the mosque] (*az ġānib-i šamāl*), are another two doors (*dū dar-i dīgar*), the two doors of the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāṭ*) (B150.2). We best locate the Main Gate at BĀB AL-<sup>c</sup>ATM (B150.2).

B151.2.a. Fāṭimid *Bāb al-abwāb* has been identified with High ʿAbbāsīd *Bāb Birkat Banī Isrāʾīl* and both have been located at the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ, but the sources do not support this (B150.2.g). The location in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL<sup>4</sup> may be made more precise.

<sup>1</sup>This refers to the height of the doorway.

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid *Bāb al-abwāb*, i.e., the Main Gate, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 185; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 199-203; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Gil, *Palestine* 644; Elad, *Jerusalem* 87; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140 fig. 70; 148; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>3</sup>*Nāṣir* 32,22f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand*.

<sup>4</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 644.

**B151.3. Physical shape:** The Main Gate (*Bāb al-abwāb*) is so called because it is three doors (*sih dar*), but all other gates [of the mosque] are twin doors (*mawāḍīʿ-i dīgar darhā ġuft ġuft ast*); this is a great and large gateway (*dargāh-i ʿaẓīm-i buzurġ*) where three doors are side by side (*sih dar pahlū-yi ham bar ān-ġā-st*), each 7 ells (4.66 m) wide and 12 ells (7.98 m) high and masterfully made (*ba-takallufāt karda*) with iron (*āhan*) and copper (*bi-ring*).<sup>1</sup> This gate and the Gate of the Tribes (*Abwāb al-Asbāt*) have [roughly] the same dimensions (B150.3). This is the monumental portal-minaret characteristic of Fāṭimid Friday mosques. No [other] minarets are mentioned.

B151.3.a. For parallels to the iron decoration of this gate, see B086.7.a.

B151.3.b. **Nāṣir**'s *wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand az ān sabab kih mawāḍīʿ-i dīgar darhā ġuft ġuft ast magar in sih dar ast* "and they call this gate the Main Gate, because all other places are twin doors, except this one, it is three doors" not only says that the gate is the only triple gate and is therefore called *Bāb al-abwāb*, but may also be used as evidence that all other Fāṭimid gates to the area are double gates.

B151.3.c. The ʿAbbāsīd Friday mosques have a single tower (minaret) in the centre of the back wall opposite the prayer-niche; instead of this, the Fāṭimid Friday mosques have as their official main entry a monumental portal-minaret at the same place, and the person calling the prayer-call stands inside or on top of this portal-minaret, as Shiʿite (Fāṭimid) doctrine stresses that the person calling the prayer-call should not rise above the roofs of the mosque.<sup>2</sup> (We may have to put in the same context **Nāṣir**'s (B167.3) remark that a person standing on the platform looks over the roof of the mosque.) The name *Bāb al-abwāb*, its place in the back wall of the mosque and its special dimensions suggest that this gate is the Fāṭimid main entry and portal-minaret described.

**B151.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** This is the monumental portal-minaret, the official main entry of Fāṭimid Friday mosques (B151.3.c). The prayer-call (*āwāz-i takbīr*)<sup>3</sup> is called from inside this gate or from its top (B151.3.c); the Šūfīs in the convent nearby usually make their ritual prayers in their convent, but when the prayer-call arrives at the convent on Friday [morning], they join the congregational prayer in the mosque (B152.5).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,20-33,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *bāz dargāh-i ʿaẓīm-i buzurġ-ast wa sih dar pahlū-yi ham bar ān-ġā-st ham-ān miqdār kih Bāb al-Asbāt ast wa hama-rā ba-āhan wa biring takallufāt karda cūn-ān-kih az ān nikūtar kam bāšad wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand az ān sabab kih mawāḍīʿ-i dīgar darhā ġuft ġuft ast magar in sih dar ast*.

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid portal-minarets, in general, see Bloom, *Minaret* 99-103.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) (*wa ḥalq-i az mutaṣawwifa hamīša ān-ġā muġāwir bāšand wa namāz ham-ān-ġā kunand*) *illā rūz-i ādīna ba-mašġid dar āyand kih āwāz-i takbīr ba-išān birasad*.



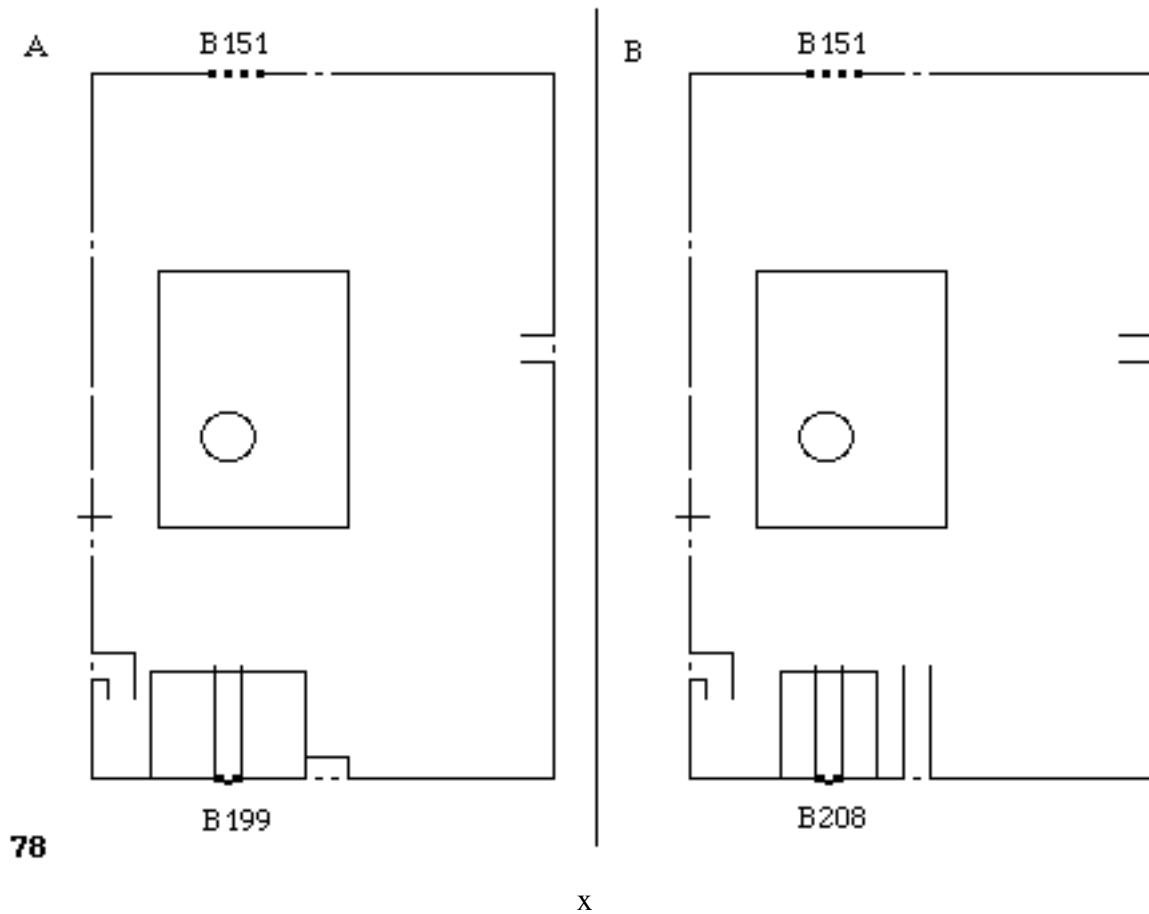


Figure 78. The position of the Fāṭimid Main Gate, the characteristic Fāṭimid portal-minaret opposite the [main] Prayer-niche: A The Early Fāṭimid period. - B The High Fāṭimid period / B151 The Main Gate. - B199 The Early Fāṭimid [main] Prayer-niche. - B208 The High Fāṭimid [main] Prayer-niche.

### B152. The gate leading to the two Ṣūfī convents, and the convents themselves<sup>1</sup>

B152.1. **Names (Muslim):** A gate (*dar*), and outside this gate two convents of Ṣūfīs (*\*bī-rūn-i ān dar dū duwayra-i ṣūfīyān*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Ṣūfī convents and the gate leading to them, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 131; 186; Wilson, "Gates of the Haram Area" 69; Ġānizāda 33 n. 8; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47 and n. 85 (suggestion of Gurney); 79; 168 n. 12; Richards, "Jerusalem Under the Mamlūks" 66; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 198; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 148; 160; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 395 n. 44.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176f.; see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47 n. 85 (suggestion of Gurney)) *wa bar pahnā-yi mašğid riwāq-ī-st wa-bar ān dīwār dar-ī ast bīrūn-i ān dar dū daryūza-i ṣūfīyān ast* (NP *bīrūn-i ān DRWD/DRWW daryūza ast az ṣūfīyān*; I read *bīrūn-i ān dū dar duwayra-i ṣūfīyān ast*).

B152.1.a. **Nāṣir** continues his *wa bar ān dīwār dar-ī ast bīrūn-i ān dar dū darwīza/daryūza-i ṣūfiyān* "and in this wall is a gate outside which are two beggars of the Ṣūfis" by *wa-ān-ḡā ḡāhā-yi namāz wa-miḥrābhā-yi nikū sāhta* "and there are nice prayer-places and prayer-niches" - the first remark obviously refers to places, not people.<sup>1</sup>

B152.1.b. It has been proposed that the original text may have been *\*wa bar ān dīwār dar-ī ast bīrūn-i ān dar dū dar wīza-i ṣūfiyān ast* "and in this wall is a gate outside which are two gates especially for the Ṣūfis";<sup>2</sup> the way from *\*dar wīza* to *darwīza* requires only losing two dots, but *bīrūn-i ān dar* is not "outside this gate", but rather "in addition to this gate", with the result that **Nāṣir** would have merely mentioned a gate without describing it, just to go on to the next place.

B152.1.c. It is better to assume original *\*wa bar ān dīwār dar-ī ast bīrūn-i ān dar dū duwayra-i ṣūfiyān ast* "and in this wall is a gate outside which are two convents of Ṣūfis" (Schefer, Thackston). The way from *\*duwayra* to both *darwīza* and *daryūza* is easy: in both cases, there is first the addition of a dot (*\*dawīza*); then there are, in the first case, the insertion of an additional *rā'* (*darwīza*), and in the second case, the misreading of *wāw* as *rā'* (making *\*darīza*) and the insertion of an additional *wāw* (*daryūza*); the similarity of the letters *dāl*, *rā'*, *zā'* and *wāw* is quite great, especially in *ta'liq*, and the misreading of *rā'* as *wāw* is also found in **Nāṣir** 32,7 *čūn az īn dar dar rawand*, misread in **Nāṣir NP** as *čūn az īn dū dar rawand* (B158.3.a). The meaning of our assumed *\*dū duwayra-i ṣūfiyān* "two convents of Ṣūfis"<sup>3</sup> fits well. This is the oldest reference for *duwayra-i ṣūfiyān*, the next oldest being the foundation inscription **RCEA Nr.2967** in Qazwīn from the beginning of the 12th century, mentioning the building of a convent (*duwayra*) for mystics (*ahl at-taṣawwuf, ṣūfiya*) in Mecca.<sup>4</sup>

B152.1.d. A parallel to the two Ṣūfī convents: Naṣr ad-dawla (Marwānid ruler of Diyār Bakr 401-453/1011-1061) establishes, in 445/1053-54, a pious foundation for the benefit of two adjacent houses (*dārān mutalāṣiqatān*) for all people arriving from Diyār Bakr (*alā ḡamī' al-wāridīn min Diyār Bakr*) [to Jerusalem], as we know from the founding inscription (= **Burgoyne Nr.1**) found at BĀB ḤIṬṬA.<sup>5</sup> **Nāṣir** describes the two Ṣūfī convents while visiting Jerusalem in 438-439/1047, some years before the establishment of the foundation; a direct identification is thus impossible. But Naṣr ad-dawla may have acted for the benefit of an already existing place.

<sup>1</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47 n. 85, less explicitly Ḡānizāda 33 n. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47 and n. 85 (suggestion of Gurney).

<sup>3</sup>For the rare term *duwayra-i ṣūfiyān* "convent of mystics", see Foruzānfar, *Risāla-i Quṣayriya* 19-21; Meier, *Abū Sa'īd* 304 n. 70; Chabbi, "Khānqāh" 1057b; Fernandes, *Khanqah* 21.

<sup>4</sup>**RCEA Nr.2967**, 3f.7f.26f. (see Fernandes, *Khanqah* 21; 119f. n. 5) (*yaqūlu ... Ḥumārtāšu bnu 'Abdi Llāhi l-Imādiyu ... waqaftu wa-taṣaddaqtu 'alā d-duwayrati l-latī amartu bi-binā'ihā wa-īmāratihā bi-Makkata ... ('alā t-tafṣīli l-maktūbi fī s-siḡilli n-nāṭiqi bi-l-waqfiyati) wa-sukkānuhā min ahli t-taṣawwufi l-laḏīna ta'addabu bi-ādābi Llāhi ta'ālā l-ahyāru minhum wa-l-abrāru l-muttaqīna ... wa-qad amartu l-mutawalliya bi-d-duwayrati l-latī baynahā 'alā bābi l-Ḡāmi'i l-Atīqi ṣ-ṣūfiyatu wa-aḡdaytu ilayhi (... wa-ahada l-wāqifu l-mutaṣaddiqu bi-hāḏihi ṣ-ṣadaqāti 'ahda Llāhi wa-miṭṭāqahu ilā kulli qaṣaymin wa-mutawalli [sic] yaqūmu bi-amri hāḏihi l-awqāfi l-mawāḏi'i l-maḡkūrati fīhi mina l-maḡṣūrati wa-l-madrasati wa-l-hāniqāhāti wa-ahli l-Harami wa-ḡayrihā).*

<sup>5</sup>**Burgoyne Nr.1**, 3-5 (see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47; 168 n. 12; Richards, "Jerusalem Under the Mamlūks" 66) (*... hāḏā mā waqafa wa-ḡasaba l-amīru s-sayyidu ... Naṣru d-dawlati wa-Imāduhā .. Abā [sic] Naṣrin Aḡmadu bnu Marwā[na] ...) hātayni d-dārayni l-mutalāṣiqatayni (read al-mutalāṣiqatayni) [bi-ḡamī'i] ḡudūdhimā wa-ḡuḡūqihimā 'alā ḡamī'i l-wāridīna min Diyāri Bakrin 'alā mā umira fī kitābi waḡfihimā ...*

The parallelism between **Nāṣir**'s Ṣūfī convents and these houses has been noticed by Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47.

**B152.2. Position:** In the [north] broad side of the mosque (*bar pahnā-yi masğid*) is an arcade (*riwāq*), in the same wall (*dīwār*) a gate (*dar*), outside the gate (*bīrūn-i ān dar*) two convents of Šūfīs (*\*dū duwayra-i šūfiyān*).<sup>1</sup> We best locate the arcade and the gate between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, the convents immediately north of the ḤARAM WALL between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER.

B152.2.a. The gate's position is ambiguous. We may deduce from Nāṣir's *wa miyān-i ān dū dargāh kih bar ḡānib-i šamāl ast ...* "and between those two gates which are in the north side" (B159.2) that the north wall has only two gates, i.e., *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-abwāb*, but Nāṣir's *wa bar pahnā-yi masğid riwāq-i-st wa-bar ān dī wār dar-i ast* "and in the [north] broad side of the mosque is an arcade, and in that wall is [also] a gate" leaves no doubt that the gate mentioned after those two is also a proper gate. We best assume that this third gate is a simpler gate which leads directly to the two Šūfī convents, but has no passage to further outside the wall.

B152.2.b. Nāṣir mentions this arcade with the gate and the two convents preceded by the arcade between *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-abwāb* (between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and BĀB AL-ʿATM) with *Qubba-i Yaʿqūb*, and followed by the arcade in the north[east] corner (at the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER) with *Miḥrāb-i Zakarīyā n-Nabī*. This fits best with a place between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER.

**Nāṣir**

*Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* <- arcade at north[east] corner: *Miḥrāb-i Zakarīyā n-Nabī* <- **north arcade: gate, \*dū duwayra-i šūfiyān** <- arcade between *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-abwāb*: *Qubba-i Yaʿqūb* <- *Bāb al-abwāb* <- *Bāb al-Asbāt* <- *\*Bāb al-baqar* <- *Bāb-i Dāwūd*

B152.2.c. The space outside the NORTH ḤARAM WALL between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER is mostly taken up by BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL, leaving space for just one row of buildings up to the WALL; the same is true for the Fāṭimid wall (at the NORTH ḤARAM WALL) and the Fāṭimid pool (basically at BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL, see B085.2.c). Both the gate and the convents are therefore either west of BIRKAT BANĪ ISRĀʾĪL (near BĀB ḤIṬṬA), east of it (near the ḤARAM GATE BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ), or in the narrow strip south of it.

B152.2.d. The High ʿAbbāsīd convents of the Karrāmīya (B056.2) may somehow be related to these Fāṭimid convents of the Šūfīs. The Karrāmī convent is only roughly located somewhere in the ḤARAM, so this does not help in location of the convents.

B152.2.e. Identification of the two Šūfī convents with the two houses for visitors arriving from Diyār Bakr (B152.1.d) also does not help, as the founding inscription of these houses (= **Burgoyne Nr.1**) was found in secondary use at BĀB ḤIṬṬA,<sup>2</sup> and there is no other evidence as to where they may have been.

B152.2.f. It has been supposed that the Crusader Dominican convents (possibly at the CHURCH OF ST. ANNE,

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 33.5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176f.; see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47 n. 85 (suggestion of Gurney)) *wa bar pahnā-yi masğid riwāq-i-st wa-bar ān dīwār dar-i ast bīrūn-i ān dar dū daryūza-i šūfiyān ast* (NP *bīrūn-i ān DRWD/DRWW daryūza ast az šūfiyān*; I read *bīrūn-i ān dū dar duwayra-i šūfiyān ast*).

<sup>2</sup>Burgoyne, "Marwānid Inscription" 118; pl. XIII.

i.e., AŞ-ŞALĀḤĪYA)<sup>1</sup> may have continued these Fāṭimid convents,<sup>2</sup> but the sources do not explicitly connect them.

B152.2.g. It has been claimed the Mamlūk Šūfī convent ad-Dawādārīya (today's AL-BAKRĪYA) may have continued the Fāṭimid Šūfī convents.<sup>3</sup> The Šūfī character of both is obviously insufficient to support the claim that they may have been at the same place. But the NORTH ARCADE has PILLAR 28 south of AL-BAKRĪYA pushed to the east, possibly to avoid blocking an important opening between PILLARS 27 and 28, opposite the CENTRAL WINDOW of AL-BAKRĪYA, an opening which would have been there when Mamlūk ad-Dawādārīya was built at the end of the 13th century.<sup>4</sup> This important opening may have been the entrance to our two convents, but of course this is far from certain.

B152.2.h. The gate to the convents has been identified with High 'Abbāsīd *Bāb al-Hāšimīyīn*, but the sources do not support this (B081.2.b).

**B152.3. Physical shape:** This is a gate (*dar*) (B152.1) which leads only to the two Šūfī convents (*\*dū duwayra-i šūfīyān*) outside the wall, but has no passage to further outside the wall (B152.2.a).

B152.4. The two Šūfī convents (*\*dū duwayra-i šūfīyān*) have nice prayer-places and prayer-niches (*ḡāhā-yi namāz wa miḥrābhā-yi nīkū*).<sup>5</sup> These are possibly two adjacent houses (*dārān mutalāšiqatān*) (B152.1.d).

**B152.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** At the two Šūfī convents (*\*dū duwayra-i šūfīyān*) are a number of Šūfīs (*ḥalq-ī az mutaṣawwifa*), living as adherents (sing. *muḡāwir*) and praying there, except on Fridays, when, upon hearing the prayer-call (*āwāz-i takbīr*), they enter the mosque (*masḡid*) and join the [congregational] prayer there.<sup>6</sup>

B152.5.a. It has been suggested that **Nāṣir**'s *šūfīyān* may refer to the Šūfīs, and his *mutaṣawwifa* to their disciples;<sup>7</sup> such a differentiation would require further evidence.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Idrīsī** 360,16-361,1: III.5.64 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 131); **al-Harawī** 25,14-16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 133).

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 131.

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 79; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 395 n. 44.

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 107; 156.

For the wider distance between PILLARS 27 and 28 of the NORTH ARCADE, see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 106 fig. 1.2; 107; 156; 159 fig. 8.3; 160 fig. 8.5. PILLARS are numbered as by Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 104-108.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176f.) *wa ān-ḡā ḡāhā-yi namāz* (NP *ḡāyhā-yi namāz*) *wa miḥrābhā-yi nīkū sāḥta*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa ḥalq-ī az mutaṣawwifa hamīša ān-ḡā muḡāwir bāšand wa namāz ham-ān-ḡā kunand illā rūz-i ādīna ba-masḡid dar āyand kih āwāz-i takbīr ba-iṣān birasad*.

<sup>7</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 214 n. 2.

B152.5.b. **Nāṣir**'s *kih āwāz-i takbīr ba-iṣān birasad* means "when the prayer-call reaches them", and thus neither "parce que le cri du Tekbir ne parvient pas jusqu' à leurs couvents" (Schefer in his translation) - this should be \*... *ba-iṣān na-rasad* rather than *birasad* of Schefer's Persian text - nor "in order to attend the service of prayer therein" (Le Strange), nor "to hear the exaltation" (Thackston).

B152.6. These convents are possibly transformed after 445/1053-54 into houses [hospices] for all people arriving from Diyār Bakr (‘*alā ḡamī‘ al-wāridīn min Diyār Bakr*), sustained by a pious foundation of Naṣr ad-dawla Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Marwān (Marwānid ruler of Diyār Bakr 401-453/1011-1061) (B152.1.d).

### B153. The east wall<sup>1</sup>

B153.1. **Names (Muslim):** The east wall (‘*al-ḥā’iṭ aš-šarqī*,<sup>2</sup> *dīwār-i šarqī*), the [east] wall of the Friday mosque (*bārū-yi ḡamī*) (B153.2), the [east] wall of the Holy Mosque (*sūr al-Masḡid al-Muqaddas*).<sup>4</sup>

B153.1.a. We may be inclined to identify **Nāṣir**'s *ān dīwār-rā kih bā wādī ast* "this wall facing the valley" with the east wall, but sequence shows that it is instead the south wall (B136.1.a).

B153.2. **Position:** This is the east wall of the mosque. The Friday mosque is [inside the city] in the east (*masriqī*) and the [east] wall of the Friday mosque (*bārū-yi ḡamī*) is at the same time the east wall of the city (*bārū-yi mašriqī-i šahr*).<sup>5</sup> This is the EAST ḤARAM WALL.

B153.3. **Physical shape:** In the east wall (*bar dīwār-i šarqī*) is the double gate the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba*) (B154.3), and one prays in it from inside the wall (*min dāḥil al-ḥā’iṭ*) (B154.8). One should pray at the Chamber of Ze-

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid east wall, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 15-18; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 69f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375 n. 5; Gil, *Palestine* 397f. For the High Fāṭimid rebuilding of the area's south, see A169.

<sup>2</sup>van Berchem Nr.147,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 101; see RCEA Nr.2404; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 69f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375 n. 5; Gil, *Palestine* 397f.; Burgoyne, "East Wall" 487) [...] *wa-l-aqbā’a wa-l-marrata* (Gil, *Palestine* 398 n. 52 reads *wa-l-mamarrata lahunna wa-[l-]ḥā’iṭa l-qibliya wa-l-ḥā’iṭa [š-šarqīya]*).

The east wall is also mentioned in **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.66: 77,14 *tumma yaqṣidu Bāba r-raḥmati fa-yuṣallī fī hi min dāḥili l-ḥā’iṭi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa bar dīwār-i šarqī dar miyān-i* (NP *ba-miyān-i*) *ḡā-yi masḡid dargāh-i ‘aẓīm ast*; **Nāṣir** 34,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa* (NP without *wa*) *bar dīwār-i šarqī cūn ba-ḡūša-i rasad kih ḡanūbī ast ... masḡid-i-st sardāb*; **Nāṣir** 35,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) (*wa-in masḡid ma’rūf-ast ba-Mahd-i ‘Isī ‘alayhi s-salām ...*) *wa cūn az dar-i in masḡid bigudārī ham bar dīwār-i šarqī cūn ba-ḡūša-i masḡid-i buzurg birasand masḡid-i dīgar ast* (.. *wa ān-rā Masḡid al-Aqṣā ḡuyand*).

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 129,14 *Bābu dīkri mā ḡā’a fī Bābi r-raḥmati wa-sūri l-Masḡidi l-Muqaddasi wa-Wādī Ḡahannuma*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 29,15f. *wa ḡāmi‘* (NP *ḡāmi‘-i ān*) *masriqī ast wa bārū-yi mašriqī-i šahr bārū-yi ḡāmi‘-ast*.

chariah because it is in the [east] wall of the mosque (*fī sūr al-masğid*) (B164.5). In High Fātimid times the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus (*Masğid-i Mahd-i 'Isī*) is in the east wall (*bar diwār-i šarqī*), at the corner which is [further] south (*ba-gūša kih ġanūbī ast*) (B165.2); if one passes the gate of this mosque and arrives thus in the east wall at the corner of the Friday Mosque (*wa čūn az dar-i in masğid bigudārī ham bar diwār-i šarqī čūn ba-gūša-i masğid-i buzurg birasand*), one sees the Aqşa Mosque (*Masğid al-Aqşa*) (B165.2).

**B153.4. Contemporary events:** *aḏ-Zāhir* rebuilds the south wall (*\*al-ḥā'it al-qiblī*), the [east] wall (*\*al-ḥā'it al-šarqī*) and the underground vaults (*al-aqbā'*) [as well as the corresponding underground gates and corridors] in 425/1037 (B135.5).

**B153.5. Traditions (Muslim):** The east wall with its Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) is the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (*Koran* 57.13) (B154.8).

**B153.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on their prayer-route, make ritual prayer at the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) inside the wall, say a certain prayer and ask God many times to grant Paradise and to protect from Hell, because the valley behind is the Valley of Hell (*Wādī Ġahannum*), and this is the wall mentioned in the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (*Koran* 57.13); they should endeavour here in personal prayer and, foremost, pray, "We ask God for Paradise and we take refuge with God from Hell" (B154.8). They should, on their prayer-route, make ritual prayer at the Chamber of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb Zakariyā*) and ask God many times to grant Paradise and to protect from Hell, because this place is also in the wall of the mosque (*fī sūr al-masğid*) [- the wall mentioned in the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (*Koran* 57.13)] (B164.5).

**B154. The Gate of Mercy**  
**= the double gate the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance<sup>1</sup>**

**B154.1. Names (Muslim):** The Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*),<sup>2</sup> the double gate the Gate of Repentance/the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb at-tawba/Bāb ar-raḥma*), with a north door, the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb at-tawba*), and a south door, the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*).<sup>3</sup>

B154.1.a. **Nāṣir** says explicitly *wa čūn ba-dargāh dar rawand rūy sū-yi mašriq az ān dū dar ān-čih bar dast-i rāst ast Bāb ar-raḥma gūyand wa dīgar-rā Bāb at-tawba* "and when one enters this gate, eastwards, of these two doors the one which is on the right [south] side is called the Gate of Mercy, and the other one, the Gate of Repentance"; for at least the Fāṭimid period, this is the only gate where the individual doors have separate names.

**B154.2. Names (Jewish):** The Gate(s) of Mercy (*Abwāb ar-raḥma*,<sup>4</sup> *Bāb ar-raḥma*<sup>5</sup>).

B154.2.a. The Jewish name is obviously just the Muslim name.

**B154.3. Position:** The Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) is one of the famous places of the mosque (*ma'ālim al-masğid*) [and thus part of the mosque] (B131.5). The Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) and the Chamber of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb Zakariyā*) are both in the [east] wall

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Gate of Mercy or Gate of Mercy/Gate of Repentance, respectively, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 177 n. ; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20; 163; 200f.; 205; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 78f.; Busink, *Tempe* 989; Gil, "Jewish Quarters" 267 n. 26; Braslavi/Küchler, "Ältester Jerusalem-Führer" 56-58; 76f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47; 278; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 44; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Burgoyne, "Gates" 120f.; Gil, *Palestine* 626; 640-644; 643-645 n. 115; Wightman, *Walls* 232; 245; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 148; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 200-204; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIII f.; XXII f.; 71; 95; 109; 127 n. 256; Busse, "Shape of the Holy" 100; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 77,1f. *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu mina d-du'ā'i 'inda Qubbati n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-Bābi r-raḥmati wa-ğayri dālīka min ma'ālimi l-masğidi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66**: 77,14; 78,6f. *tumma yaqšidu Bāba r-raḥmati ... wa-in lam ya'rif mā ruwiya fī dālīka fa-yanbağī an yağtahida fī d-du'ā'i fī Bābi r-raḥmati ka-mā dakarnāhu*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 129,14 *Bābu dīkri mā ḡā'a fī Bābi r-raḥmati wa-sūri l-Masğidi l-Muqaddasi wa-Wādī Ġahannuma*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,18-34,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa čūn ba-dargāh dar rawand rūy sū-yi mašriq az ān dū dar ān-čih bar dast-i rāst ast Bāb ar-raḥma gūyand wa dīgar-rā Bāb at-tawba*.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.290r**,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 623) (... fī hādā l-Quds [al-ma'jm[ūr] ...) *wa-ana in šā' Allāh mā uḥallik min ad-du'ā fī kull ṣalawāti wa-fī waqt šu'ūdī ilā Har ha-zētīm wa-'alā Abwāb ar-raḥma lā ḥa[lawtu] (fa-bi-Llāh du'ā'i fīk wa-fī ḡamī' man yaf'al al-ḥayr)*; **Gil Nr.469r**,16-19 (*wa-innā luh na'ḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq 'alā l-ladī yurīduh*) *wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt ad'ū lak wa-luh 'alā Abwāb ar-raḥma*.

<sup>5</sup>**Gil Nr.198**,43f. (see (wa-qad 'alim Allāh ḡall tanāh anna 'ind samā'i fī dār sādātī Banī š-šayḥ [...] Šū'a ḥarashum Allāh ḥabar waḡa' walad .. sayyidi l-kōhēn Yəḥəzqēl ...) [wa-maḡdaytu] ilā Bāb ar-raḥma wa-sa'altu Llāh ḡall tanāh yamunn 'alayh bi-l-'āfiya; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66**: 77,14; 78,6f. *tumma yaqšidu Bāba r-raḥmati ... fa-yanbağī an yağtahida fī d-du'ā'i fī Bābi r-raḥmati ka-mā dakarnāhu*.

of the mosque (*fī sūr al-masǧid*).<sup>1</sup> The double gate the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba*) is in the east wall [of the mosque] (*bar dīwār-i šarqī*) and protrudes into the mosque (*dar miyān-i ǧā-yi masǧid*).<sup>2</sup> Behind the Gate of Mercy (*warāʾ Bāb ar-raḥma*) is the Valley of Hell (*Wādī Ǧahannum*).<sup>3</sup> The location of the gate at the GOLDEN GATE is clear.

B154.3.a. The strong relation of the gate to the east wall (the EAST ḤARAM WALL) (B154.3) and the fact that this is the largest gate in the mosque (B154.4) make certain that this is the GOLDEN GATE.

B154.3.b. **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.52-69** has *Bāb ar-raḥma* preceded by *Qubbat al-Miʿrāǧ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) and *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MIʿRĀǦ), both on the platform, and followed by *Miḥrāb Zakarīyā* (in the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, inside the EAST ḤARAM WALL) and the rock in the back [north] part of the mosque next to *Bāb al-Asbāt* (at BĀB ḤIṬṬA), with *Kursī Sulaymān* (at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŠ-ŠAḤRA). This allows location at the GOLDEN GATE.

**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.52-69**

*Qubbat al-Miʿrāǧ -> Qubbat an-Nabī -> Bāb ar-raḥma -> Miḥrāb Zakarīyā -> aš-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī muʾaḥḥar al-ǧāmiʿ mim mā yalī Bāb al-Asbāt: Kursī Sulaymān*

B154.3.c. **Nāṣir** has the double gate *Bāb at-tawba/Bāb ar-raḥma*, on his clockwise tour, preceded by the north gates *Bāb al-Asbāt* (at BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and *Bāb al-abwāb* (at BĀB AL-ʿATM), mentioned in reverse order, and followed by the south gates *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and *Bāb al-ʿAyn* (at the TRIPLE GATE). This also allows its location at the GOLDEN GATE.

**Nāṣir**

*Bāb al-ʿAyn <- Bāb an-Nabī <- Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba <- Bāb al-abwāb <- Bāb al-Asbāt*

B154.3.d. Both **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.52-69** and **Nāṣir** approach the gate from inside the mosque and describe the gate's front towards the courtyard, not its front towards the Kidron Valley. This is also given by **Nāṣir**'s *wa cūn ba-dargāh dar rawand rūy sū-yi mašriq* "and when they enter the gate in the direction of east";<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.66**: 77,14; 78,15 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 127 n. 256) *ṭumma yaqṣidu Bāba r-raḥmati fa-yuṣallī fīhi min dāḥili l-ḥāʾiṭi (ṭumma yadʿū bi-d-duʿāʾi l-laḍi qaddamnā dīkrahū* (cf. **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.66**: 77,11-13) *wa-yasʿalu Llāha taʿālā fī dālīka l-mawḍiʿi l-ǧannata wa-yastaʿidu bihi mina n-Nāri ... ṭumma yamḍi ilā Miḥrābi Zakarīyā fa-yuṣallī fīhi wa-yafʿalu miṭla dālīka* (cf. **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr. 67**: 77,3-78,13) *yaǧtahidu fī d-duʿāʾi ʿindahū wa-yasʿalu Llāha taʿālā l-ǧannata wa-yastaʿidu bihi mina n-Nāri) li-annahū fī sūri l-masǧidi aydan.*

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,11f.; 34,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa bar dīwār-i šarqī dar miyān-i (NP ba-miyān-i) ǧā-yi masǧid dargāh-i ʿaẓīm ast ... az ān dū dar ān-čih bar dast-i rāst ast Bāb ar-raḥma gūyand wa dīgar-rā Bāb at-tawba.* The same strong connection between gate and wall is found in **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā** 129,14 *Bābu dīkri mā ǧāʾa fī Bābi r-raḥmati wa-sūri l-Masǧidi l-Muqaddasi wa-Wādī Ǧahannuma.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.66**: 77,15-78,1 (*ṭumma yaqṣidu Bāba r-raḥmati ...*) *fa-inna l-wādī l-laḍi warāʾahu Wādī Ǧahannuma.*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,18-34,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa cūn ba-dargāh dar rawand rūy sū-yi mašriq az ān dū dar ān-čih bar dast-i rāst ast Bāb ar-raḥma gūyand wa dīgar-rā Bāb at-tawba.*

For the difference between imperfect *cūn ... biguḍarī* and perfect *cūn ... (dar) rawand*, see B150.2.a.



he enters the gate moving towards the east, i.e., from the west.

**B154.4. Physical shape:** This is a gate (*dargāh*),<sup>1</sup> a large gate (*dargāh-i ʿazīm*) 50 ells (33.25 m) high and 30 ells (19.95 m) wide [and thus by far the largest gate of all], masterfully made (*ba-takalluf sāhta*) of hewn stone (*\*az sang-i muhandam*), seemingly cut out of one piece of stone (*az sang-i yak-pāra tarāšīda*), embellished with decoration and carving (*naqqāšī wa naqqārī*).<sup>2</sup> The gate has two doors (*dū dar*) with a distance of one foot (*yak-pāya*) between them, two beautiful doors (*dū dar-i nikū*) of iron and Damascene copper (*āhan wa biring-i Dimašqī*), with [additional] rings and nails (*ḥalqhā wa mīhhā*).<sup>3</sup>

B154.4.a. Parallels to the gate which seems to be hewn out of one piece of stone: Both the High ʿAbbāsīd Tomb of Arnān the Jebusite (*Qabr Arnān ha-Ybūsī*) (ABSALOM'S TOMB) and the cave next to it (ZECHARIAH'S TOMB) are said to be cut out of one piece of stone [and are actually cut out of the bedrock].<sup>4</sup>

B154.4.b. For parallels to the doors of iron, see B086.7.a.

B154.4.c. **Nāṣir**'s remark *wa dah dar-i nikū bar ān dargāh nihāda čun-ān-kih miyān-i har dū dar ba-yak-pāya biš nīst* "and there are ten beautiful doors put in this gate, so that between each two doors is one foot" should be corrected into *\*wa du dar-i nikū ... čun-ān-kih miyān-i har dū dar ...* "and there are two beautiful doors ... so that between the two doors ..." (Ġanīzāda, Thackston). The way from assumed *\*dū dar* to *dah dar* is very easy, just a misreading of *wāw* as *hā*, and from *\*miyān-i dū dar* to *miyān-i har dū dar*, the logical consequence. The existence of two doors is given by **Nāṣir**'s *az ān dū dar ān-čih bar dast-i rāst ast Bāb ar-raḥma gūyand wa dīgar-rā Bāb at-tawba* "of these two doors the one which is on the right [south] side is called the Gate of Mercy, and the other one, the Gate of Repentance" (B154.1.a), and his general statement on *Bāb al-abwāb* (at BĀB AL-ʿATM) *wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand az ān sabab kih mawāḍīʿ-i dīgar darhā guft guft ast magar in sih dar ast* "and they call this gate the Main Gate, because all other places are twin doors, except this one, it is three doors" (B151.3.b). With a total width of 30 ells (19.95 m), ten doors would have a width of less than 3 ells (2.00 m) each, but two doors would have the quite usual (B150.3.b) width of less than 15 ells (9.98 m).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa bar dīwār-i šarqī dar miyān-i* (NP *ba-miyān-i*) *ḡā-yi mašǧid dargāh-i ʿazīm ast*; **Nāṣir** 34,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa bar in dargāh mašǧid-i-st naǧz*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,11-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa bar dīwār-i šarqī dar miyān-i* (NP *ba-miyān-i*) *ḡā-yi mašǧid dargāh-i ʿazīm ast ba-takalluf sāhta and az sang-i munhadīm* (I read *az sang-i muhandam*, with NP) *kih gūyī az sang-i yak-pāra* (NP *az sang ba-yak-pāra*) *tarāšīda and ba-bālā-yi* (NP *wa ba-bālā*) *panǧāh gaz wa pahnā-yi* (NP *pahnā*) *sī gaz wa naqqāšī wa naqqārī karda*.

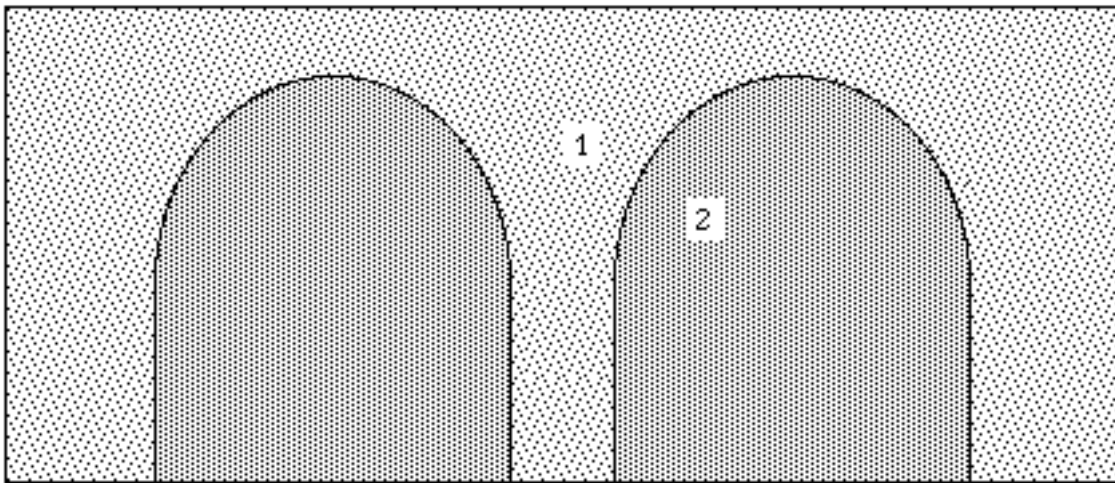
<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,14-34,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa dah dar-i nikū* (read *dū dar-i nikū*) *bar ān dargāh nihāda čun-ān-kih miyān-i har dū dar* (I read *miyān-i dū dar*) *ba-yak-pāya biš nīst wa bar darhā takalluf-i bisyār karda az āhan wa biring-i Dimašqī wa ḥalqhā wa mīhhā bar ān zada ... wa čūn ba-dargāh dar rawand rūy sū-yi mašriq az ān dū dar ān-čih bar dast-i rāst ast Bāb ar-raḥma gūyand wa dīgar-rā Bāb at-tawba*.

Cf. also **Nāṣir** 32,22-33,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176; see B151.3.b) *wa in dar-rā Bāb al-abwāb gūyand az ān sabab kih mawāḍīʿ-i dīgar darhā guft guft ast magar in sih dar ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr. 2** 1r, 18-1v, 1 *Qabr [Ar]nān hā-Ybūsī wa-huwa ḥaǧar wāḥid wa-l-ḥiṭān bimā tadūr aṭ-ṭūl 20 [dirāʿ wa-] fī ʿarḍ* (Gil reads *wa-fi ʿarḍ*; I read, with Braslavi/Küchler: *fī ʿarḍ*) 12 *wa-samk ka-min* (Braslavi/Küchler read *fā-min*) *ḥaǧar wāḥid yattašil ayḍan bi-maǧāra* (Braslavi/Küchler read *mā ḡāruh*, without *bi-*) *min ḥaǧar wāḥid saqfhā wa-suflhā wa-ḥiṭānhā wa-ʿumudhā [mi]n ḥaǧar wāḥid*.

B154.4.d. **Nāṣir**'s *dah dar-i nikū* has been considered "ten beautiful leaves" of five double-leaved doors, two west doors towards the courtyard, and two east doors and one door at today's SMALL SOUTH GATE next to the ḤA-RAM WALL;<sup>1</sup> but *dah dar-i nikū* is not "ten beautiful leaves", nor is the small SOUTH GATE wide enough for a double-leaved door with a middle piece of 1 foot (*yakpā*).

B154.4.e. **Nāṣir**'s *az sang-i munhadim* is obviously *\*az sang-i muhandam* "of hewn stone", parallel to *az sang-i muhandam* "of hewn stone" at the dome of the Gate of David (B144.3), the Ascent of the Prophet (B171.3) and the Ascent of Ġūrī (B172.3), parallel as well to *az sanghā-yi muhandam* "of hewn stones" at the pillars of the octagonal arcade in the Dome of the Rock (B188.3).



**79**

**Figure 79. The High Fāṭimid double gate the Gate of Mercy/the Gate of Repentance (view from the courtyard): 1 Gate of hewn stone. - 2 Two doors of iron and Damascene copper, with [additional] rings and nails.**

<sup>1</sup>Wightman, *Walls* 232.

B154.4.f. **Nāṣir**'s (*dargāh-i ... az sang-i \*muhandam*) *kih gūyī az sang-i yakpāra tarāšīda* and "(a gateway ... of hewn stone) so that one would say they had cut it out of one piece of stone" does not fit with the GOLDEN GATE.

B154.4.g. It has been assumed that the Fāṭimid gate (and perhaps its predecessors) was entered from the SMALL SOUTH GATE,<sup>1</sup> and that the gate had a monumental staircase on its outside;<sup>2</sup> neither suggestion is supported by the sources.

B154.5. Inside this gate (*bar īn dargāh*) the gateway (*dihlīz*) is [blocked and] made into a nice mosque (*mašǧid-i naǧz*) embellished with many kinds of carpets (*anwāʿ-i faršhā*).<sup>3</sup>

B154.5.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa bar īn dargāh mašǧid-i-st naǧz waqt-i čun-ān būda kih dihliṣ-i wa dihliṣ-rā mašǧid sāhta* and *wa ān-rā ba-anwāʿ-i faršhā biyārāsta* "And in this gate is a nice mosque. It had once been like a gateway, but they made the gateway a mosque and embellished it with many kinds of carpets" clearly locates the mosque inside the gate (Thackston). A close parallel is **Nāṣir**'s description (B146.3.a) of Fāṭimid *Bāb as-Sakīna* with the words *wa dar-ī dīgar ast wa ān-rā Bāb as-Sakīna gūyand wa dar dihliṣ-i ān mašǧid-i-st* "And there is another gate, and they call it the Gate of God's Presence. And in the gateway of that [gate] is a mosque.". It has been assumed that the mosque is outside the gate,<sup>4</sup> on top of it<sup>5</sup> (similar to later **Muǧīr ad-dīn**'s *Nāṣiriya* or *Ġazālīya*<sup>6</sup>), or in a building near KURSĪ SULAYMĀN,<sup>7</sup> but these are impossible.

B154.6. **Traditions (Muslim)**: At the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb at-tawba*), David knew through an inspiration that God had accepted his repentance (cf. **Koran** 38.17; 38.24f.); when David crossed the threshold of this gate, he received a divine inspiration that his repentance was accepted, and he settled down here and devoted himself to the worship [of God] (*ba-tāʿat mašǧūl šūd*), this is therefore a place where God accepts repentance.<sup>8</sup> The gate was built by Solomon in honour of his father David.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Wightman, *Walls* 232.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. with fig. 69f. and 72; 149 fig. 76.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa bar īn dargāh mašǧid-i-st naǧz waqt-i čun-ān būda kih dihliṣ-i wa dihliṣ-rā mašǧid sāhta* and *wa ān-rā ba-anwāʿ-i faršhā biyārāsta*.

<sup>4</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 76; Le Strange, *Palestine* 177 n. ; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47.

<sup>5</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 163 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup>**Muǧīr ad-dīn** 264; 265; 380; 386 (transl. Sauvaire, *Moudjir-ed-dyn* 64; 66; 128; 140).

<sup>7</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 177 n.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) (*az ān dū dar ān-čih bar dast-i rāst ast Bāb ar-raḥma gūyand wa dīgar-rā Bāb at-tawba*) *wa gūyand īn (NP ān) dar ast kih Īzād-i subḥānahu wa-taʿālā tawba-i Dāwūd ʿalayhi s-salām ān-ǧā pađiroft*; **Nāṣir** 34,6-13 (transl. and shortened Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) ... *badān-kih ān-ǧā tawba-i Dāwūd ʿalayhi s-salām qubūl uftāda hama-i ḥalq umīd dārand (NP umīdwār-and) wa az maʿšiyat bāz gardand wa gūyand Dāwūd ʿalayhi s-salām pāy az ʿataba-i dar andarūn nihāda būd kih waḥy āmad ba-bašarat kih Īzād-i subḥānahu wa taʿālā tawba-i ū pađiroft ū ham-ān-ǧā maqām kard wa ba-tāʿat mašǧūl šūd* (cf. **Koran** 38.17; 38.24f.).

For *tāʿat* "worship", cf. **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.67**: 79,10f. (*qumma yamḍī ilā Mihrābi Maryama wa-mawḍīʿi mutaʿabbadihā* (cf. **Koran** 3.43; 66.12) *wa-huwa yuʿrafu bi-Mahdi ʿĪsā ʿalayhi s-salāmu ...*) *wa-yaǧtahida fī t-tāʿati wa-ṣ-ṣalāti wa-d-duʿāʾi wa-ṣ-ṣadaqati fa-inna fī dālīka faḍlan kaṭīran*.

<sup>9</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa gūyand īn dargāh-rā Sulaymān ibn-i Dāwūd ʿalayhi s-salām sāhta ast az bahr-i pidaraš*.

B154.7. The east wall and the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) are the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (*Koran* 57.13) (B154.8).

B154.8. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on their prayer-route, make ritual prayer at the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) from inside the wall (*min dāḥil al-ḥā'it*), pray a certain prayer and ask God many times to grant Paradise and to protect from Hell, because the valley behind is the Valley of Hell (*Wādī Ġahannum*), and this is the wall mentioned in the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (*Koran* 57.13); they should endeavour in prayer, in the same prayer [as at the Dome of the Ascension (B182.6)] and, foremost, pray, "We ask God for Paradise and we take refuge with God from Hell".<sup>1</sup> Many people come here, pray and seek to come nearer to God, because here David knew through an inspiration that God had accepted his repentance (cf. *Koran* 38.17; 38.24f.) and he settled down here and worshipped [God] (*ba-ṭā'at mašgūl šūd*); *Nāṣir* prays here as well and asks God to help him to obey God and to liberate himself from his disobedience [to God].<sup>2</sup>

B154.9. The mosque (*mašgid*) in this gate has its own servants (*ḥuddām*), apart (*ḡudāḡāna*) [from the servants of the other mosques].<sup>3</sup>

B154.10. **Rituals and customs (Jewish):** This is a favourite place where people ask God

<sup>1</sup>*Ibn al-Muraḡḡā* 77,1f. *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu min d-du'ā'i 'inda Qubbati n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-Bābi r-raḥmati wa-ḡayri dālīka min ma'ālimi l-mašgidi*; *Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.66*: 77,14-78,2; 78,6f. *ṭumma yaqṣidu Bāba r-raḥmati fa-yuṣalli fihi min dāḥili l-ḥā'iti ṭumma yad'u bi-d-du'ā'i l-laḍi qaddamnā dīkrahu* (cf. *Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.66*: 77,11-13) *wa-yas'alu Llāha ta'ālā fī dālīka l-mawḍi'i l-Ġannata wa-yasta'i du bihi min n-Nāri yukṭiru min dālīka fa-inna l-wādī l-laḍi warā'ahu Wādī Ġahannuma wa-huwa l-mawḍi'u l-laḍi qāla Llāhu ta'ālā 'fa-ḡuriba baynahum bi-sūrin lahu bābun bāṭinuhu fihi r-raḥmatu wa-ḡāhiruhu min qibalihi l-'aḍābu' (Koran 57.13) ... fa-yanbaḡi an yaḡtahida fī d-du'ā'i fī Bābi r-raḥmati ka-mā ḡakarnāhu wa-yakūna aḡtaru du'ā'ihī nas'alu Llāha l-Ġannata wa-nasta'īdu bihi min n-Nāri.*

<sup>2</sup>*Nāṣir* 34,5-13 (transl. and shortened Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa mardum-i bisyār ān-ḡā rawand wa namāz kunand wa taqarrub ḡūyand ba-Ḥudā-yi tabāraka wa-ta'ālā badān-kih ān-ḡā tawba-i Dāwūd 'alayhi s-salām qubūl uftāda hama-i ḡalq umīd dārānd* (NP *umīdwār-and*) *wa az ma'ṣiyat bāz gardand* (wa *ḡūyand Dāwūd 'alayhi s-salām pāy az 'ataba-i dar andarūn nihāda būd kih waḡy āmad ba-bašarat kih Īzād-i subḡānahu wa ta'ālā tawba-i ū paḍīroft ū ham-ān-ḡā maqām kard wa ba-ṭā'at mašgūl šūd* (cf. *Koran* 38.17; 38.24f.) *wa man kih Nāṣir-am dar ān maqām namāz kardam wa az Ḥudā-yi subḡānahu wa ta'ālā tawfiq-i ṭā'at wa tabarrā az ma'ṣiyat ṭalabidam Ḥudā-yi subḡānahu wa-ta'ālā hama-i bandagān-rā tawfiq-i ān-čih* (NP *wa ān-čih*) *riḡā-yi ū dar ān-ast rūz-i kunād wa az ma'ṣiyat tawba dahād ba-ḡaqq-i Muḡammad wa ālihi ṭ-ṭāhirin.*

For *ṭā'at* "worship", see B154.6.

<sup>3</sup>*Nāṣir* 34,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) (*wa bar in dargāh mašgid-i-st ...*) *wa ḡuddām-i ān ḡudāḡāna bāšad.*

to benefit other people.<sup>1</sup> People visit the place regularly, Monday and Thursday.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.198**,43f. (see(wa-qad ‘alim Allāh ḡall tanāh anna ‘ind samā’i fī dār sādātī Banī š-šayḥ [...] Šū‘ā ḡarashum Allāh ḡabar waḡa‘ walad .. sayyidī l-kōhēn Yəḡhəzqēl ...) [wa-maḡaytu] ilā Bāb ar-raḡma wa-sa’altu Llāh ḡall tanāh yamunn ‘alayh bi-l-‘āfiya; **Gil Nr.290r**,7-9 (see Gil, Palestine 623) (... fī hādā l-Quds [al-ma’im[ūr] ...) wa-ana in šā’ Allāh mā uḡallik min ad-du‘ā fī kull ṣalawātī wa-fī waqt šu‘ūdī ilā Har ha-zētīm wa-‘alā Abwāb ar-raḡma lā ḡa[lawtu] (fa-bi-Llāh du‘ā’i fīk wa-fī ḡamī‘ man yaf‘al al-ḡayr); **Gil Nr.469r**,16-19 (wa-innā luh na’ḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq ‘alā l-ladī yurīduh) wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt ad‘ū lak wa-luh ‘alā Abwāb ar-raḡma li-annī amḡī ilayhim al-itnayn wa-l-ḡamīs wa-‘alā sā’ir al-abwāb Allāh yataqabbal minnī fikum ṣālīḡ ad-du‘ā.

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.469r**,16-19 (wa-innā luh na’ḡaz mawlāya š-šayḥ Abū Ishāq ‘alā l-ladī yurīduh) wa-ana fī kull al-awqāt ad‘ū lak wa-luh ‘alā Abwāb ar-raḡma li-annī amḡī ilayhim al-itnayn wa-l-ḡamīs wa-‘alā sā’ir al-abwāb Allāh yataqabbal minnī fikum ṣālīḡ ad-du‘ā.

## 4.3. THE COURTYARD

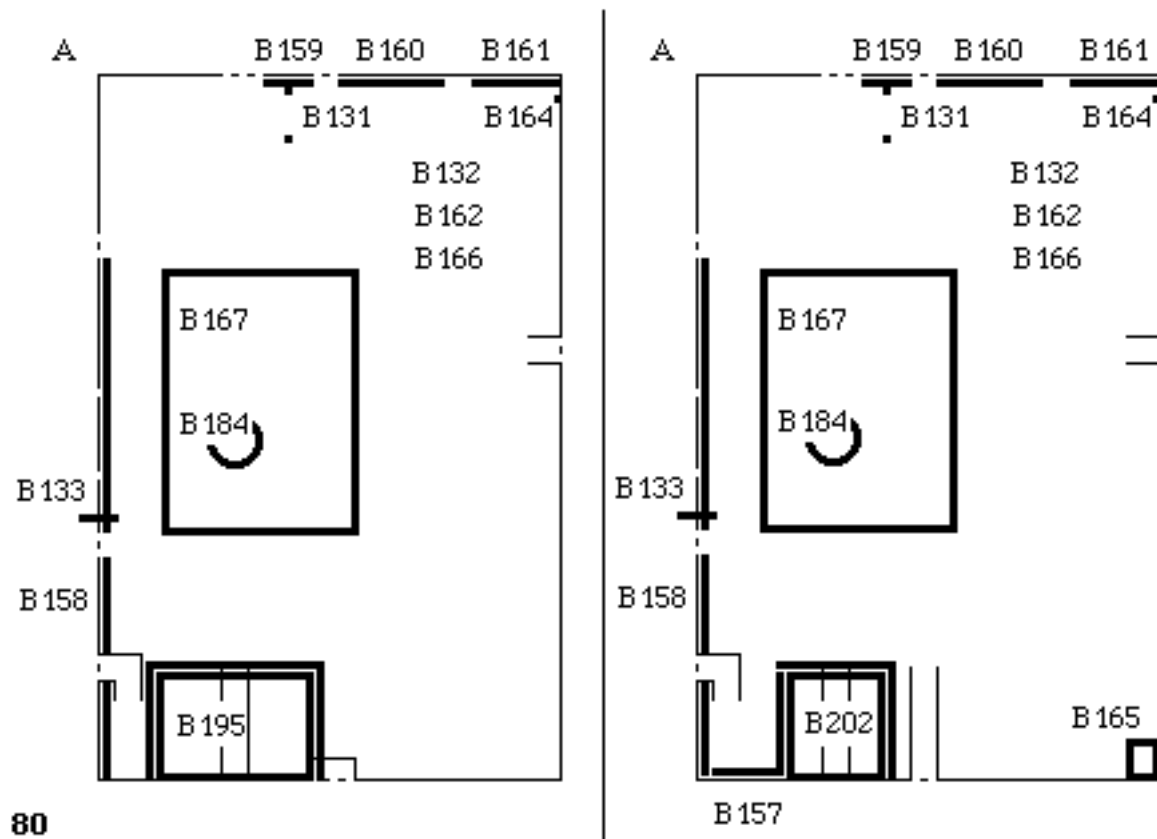


**Figure 80. The Fāṭimid courtyard:** A The Early Fāṭimid courtyard. - B The High Fāṭimid courtyard / B131 The inscription with the dimensions of the mosque. - B132 The cisterns and pools (partly in the courtyard). - B133 The aqueduct and the large pool from which it comes. - B157 The High Fāṭimid south arcade. - B158 The [triple] west arcade. - B159 The arcade between the two north gates (with the Dome of Jacob). - B160 The arcade east of the two north gates. - B161 The arcade of the northeast corner. - B162 The High Fāṭimid Chamber of David (in the north part of the mosque). - B163 The rocks in the north part of the mosque, among them the Throne of Solomon. - B164 The Chamber of the prophet Zechariah. - B165 The High Fāṭimid Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus (with the Cradle of Jesus, the Prayer-niche of Mary and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah). - B166 The myrtle tree (in the courtyard). - B167 The platform. - B184 The Dome of the Rock. - B195 The Early Fāṭimid Roofed Hall with arcades west, north and south. - B202 The High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall or Aqṣà Mosque with arcades west, north and south.

### B155. The courtyard

**B155.1. Names (Muslim):** The courtyard (of the (Friday) mosque) (*sāḥat-i ḡāmi*<sup>1</sup>, *sāḥat-i masḡid*,<sup>2</sup> *ṣaḥn*,<sup>3</sup> *sāḥat*<sup>4</sup> with the floor (of the courtyard (of the mosque)) (*zamīn-i sāḥat-i mas-ḡid*,<sup>5</sup> *zamīn-i masḡid*,<sup>6</sup> *zamīn*<sup>7</sup>).

**B155.2. Position:** This is the COURTYARD of the ḤARAM.

**B155.3. Physical shape:** The mosque (*masḡid*) was built such that in the centre of the courtyard (*ba-miyān-i sāḥat*) came the platform (*dukkān*), in the centre of the platform (*ba-miyān-i dukkān*) the Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*), and in the centre of the dome (*ba-miyān-i qubba*) the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*);<sup>8</sup> the centre of the courtyard of the Friday mosque (*miyān-i sāḥat-i ḡāmi*) is the platform (*dukkān*), and in the centre of this platform (*bar miyān-i ān duk-*

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,18 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *ṣifāt-i dukkān kih miyān-i sāḥat-i ḡāmi*<sup>1</sup>-ast; **Nāṣir** 44,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74) *ṣifāt-i daraḡāt rāh-i dukkān kih bar sāḥat-i ḡāmi*<sup>1</sup>-ast.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 38,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *masḡid-rā darḥā-st kih ham-čun-ān-kih naqb* (NP *laqab*) *bāšad burīda and wa ba-sāḥat-i masḡid bīrūn āwarda*; **Nāṣir** 41,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *pas az zamīn-i sāḥat-i masḡid tā sar-i gunbad ṣašt wa dū gaz bāšad*; **Nāṣir** 45,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa bar sāḥat-i masḡid nah bar dukkān ḡā-yī-st čand-ān-kih masḡid-i kūčak*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,11f. *wa-wasaṭu ṣ-ṣaḥni dikkatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati rtifā’uhā mina l-arḍi sittu adru’in wa-ṭūluhā mi-’atun wa-’iṣrūna dīrā’an fī ‘arḍin miṭliḥā*; **al-Muhallabī** 50,2-11 *wa-riwāqu l-masḡidi l-qibliyu* [the Aqṣā Mosque] *l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu ṣabihun bi-sudsihi fī d-dar’i wa-laysa r-riwāqu fī ‘arḍi ṣ-ṣaḥni kullihī bal huwa fī miqdāri ṭultayī ṣ-ṣaḥni wa-t-ṭultu l-āḥaru makšūfun lā riwāqa ‘alayhi wa-saḡfu r-riwāqi ‘alā kanā’isa ṣāhiqatin ‘alā ‘umudin ruḥāmin ‘alayhā ḥanāyā ma’qūdatun taḥmilu l-kanā’isa wa-awsaṭuhā kanisatun hiya a’zamuhā wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi fa-idā ṣāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanisati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musawī lahu ṣāra taḥta qubbatin taqta’u l-kanisata l-’uzmā sa’atuhā ‘iṣrūna dīrā’an fī miṭliḥā wa-r-riwāqu kulluhu muballaṭun bi-l-marmari wa-ḥiṭānuhu kulluhā manqūṣatun wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sā’iri ḡihātihi abwābun maṭwiyatun (I read wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sā’iri ḡihātihi bi-abwābin maṭliyatun) bayna yadayhā arwiqatun ‘alā ‘umudin min sā’iri ḡihāti l-masḡidi wa-ka-dālika ka-mā yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin ‘alā ‘umudin ‘arḍu r-riwāqi arba’a ‘aṣara dīrā’an.*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *ṣifāt-i Qubba-i Ṣaḥra banā-yi masḡid čun-ān nihāda ast kih dukkān ba-miyān-i sāḥat āmada*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *pas az zamīn-i sāḥat-i masḡid tā sar-i gunbad ṣašt wa dū gaz bāšad*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar zamīn-i masḡid hawḍhā wa ābgīrhā bisyār ast dar zamīn burīda*.

Cf. **Nāṣir** 38,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *ammā masḡid-rā zamīn hamwār wa mustawī ast*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 197) *wa dar zamīn-i masḡid hawḍhā wa ābgīrhā bisyār ast dar zamīn burīda*.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *ṣifāt-i Qubba-i Ṣaḥra banā-yi masḡid čun-ān nihāda ast kih dukkān ba-miyān-i sāḥat āmada wa Qubba-i Ṣaḥra ba-miyān-i dukkān wa Ṣaḥra ba-miyān-i qubba*.

*kān-i*) is the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*);<sup>1</sup> the centre of the courtyard (*wasat aṣ-ṣaḥn*) is the platform of (the Dome of) the Rock (*dikkaṭ aṣ-Ṣaḥra*);<sup>2</sup> the centre of the platform (*wasat ad-dikka*) the Dome of the Rock,<sup>3</sup> and the centre of the dome (*wasat al-qubba*) the Holy Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-muqaddasa*);<sup>4</sup> the platform (*dukkān*) is in the courtyard (*bar sāḥat-i ḡāmi*).<sup>5</sup> The courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥn bi-arwiqa ʿalā ʿumud*) (B156.2). The High Fāṭimid Chamber of David (*Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd*) has its place in the courtyard of the mosque, not on the platform (*bar sāḥat-i masḡid nah bar dukkān*) (B162.2). The long side of the mosque is from north to south, and if one deducts from the total length [the length of] the Roofed Hall (*Maqṣūra*), one gets a quadrangular (*murabba*) courtyard (*sāḥat*) (B131.5). The Early Fāṭimid south arcade of the mosque (*riwāq al-masḡid al-qibli*) [the Aqṣā Mosque] covers about the [south] sixth of the length of the mosque and the two [west] thirds of its width, while the remaining [east] third is uncovered (*makṣūf*) and has no arcade (*riwāq*) (B195.2); the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque is, from west to east, much narrower (B202.3).

B155.3.a. A parallel to the platform in the centre of the mosque: The Fāṭimid Yasmine-Mosque (*Masḡid-i Yāsmīn*) in Tiberias has a large platform (*dukkān-i buzurg*) in the centre of the mosque (*dar miyān-i masḡid*).<sup>6</sup>

B155.3.b. The Fāṭimid ḤARAM thus has a concentric structure, see figures 81; 82.<sup>7</sup>

B155.4. The floor of the courtyard is flat and even (*hamwār wa mustawī*) (B135.4), and the whole stone floor (*farš-i sang*) has its seams filled with lead.<sup>8</sup> In the floor of the mosque (*dar zamīn-i masḡid*) are many cisterns and pools (*ḥawḏhā wa ābgīrhā*), and all the rain falling onto the mosque is collected into them (B132.4). The city and the neighbourhoods [outside the city] (*ṣaḥr wa maḥallahā*) are next to the mosque, either on a much lower or on the same level, so some of the gates are like holes (sing. *naqb*) cut in the courtyard and connected by staircases with the courtyard, while all other gates are on the same level as the courtyard

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 39,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *ṣifat-i dukkān kih miyān-i sāḥat-i ḡāmi-ast wa sang-i Ṣaḥra kih piš az zuḥūr-i Islām ān qibla būda ast bar miyān-i ān dukkān-i nihāda ast.*

<sup>2</sup>al-Muhallabī 50,11f. *wa-wasaṭu ṣ-ṣaḥni dikkatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati rtifāʿuhā minā l-arḍi sittu adruʿin wa-tūluḥā mi-ʾatun wa-ʿiṣrūna dirāʿan fi ʿarḍin miṭliḥā.*

<sup>3</sup>al-Muhallabī 50,13 *wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun ʿāliyatun ...*

<sup>4</sup>al-Muhallabī 50,20 *wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasatu l-qubbatī.*

<sup>5</sup>Nāṣir 44,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74) *ṣifat-i daraḡāt rāh-i dukkān kih bar sāḥat-i ḡāmi-ast.*

<sup>6</sup>Nāṣir 24,20-25,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 337) (*kih ān-rā Masḡid-i Yāsmīn gūyand ...*) *dar miyān-i masḡid dukkān-i buzurg ast wa bar way (NP bar rū-yi) miḥrābhā sāḥta wa gird bar gird-i ān dukkān (NP dukkān-i) daraḡt-i yāsmīn nišānda kih masḡid-rā ba-ān bāz ḥwānand ... wa dar zīr-i ān dukkān qabr-i haftād payḡambar ast ʿalayhim as-salām kih Banī Isrāʾīl iṣān-rā kušta and.*

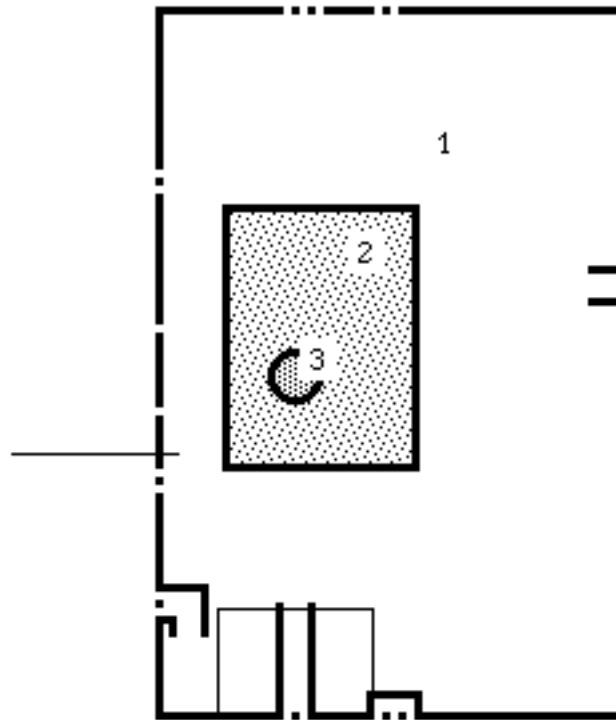
<sup>7</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 160f.

<sup>8</sup>Nāṣir 31,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *zamīn-i masḡid farš-i sang-ast wa darzhā ba-arzīr (read ba-arzī z) girifta.*



(B135.4).

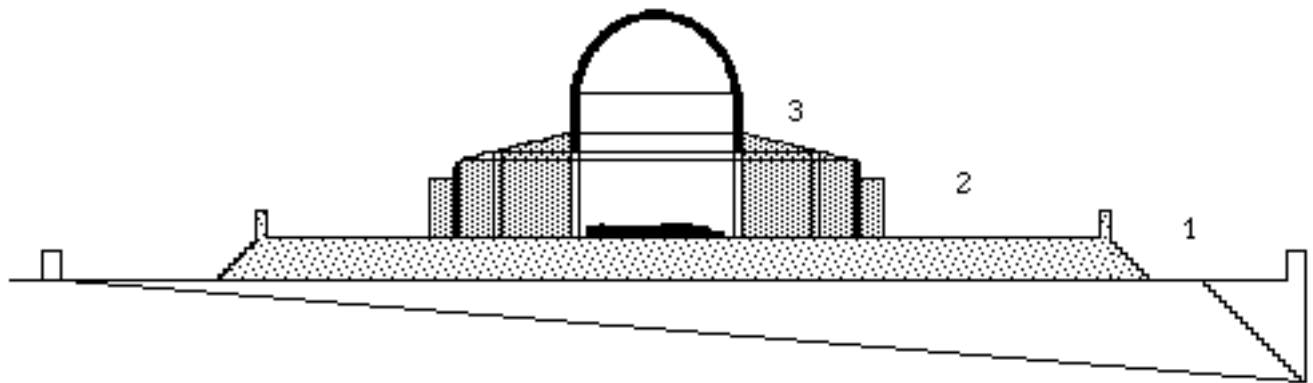
B155.4.a. Parallels to the lead-filled seams of the stone floor: The marble floor of the Fāṭimid platform (B167.3) and the polychrome marble floor of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣà Mosque (B202.4) have both their seams filled with lead.



81

**Figure 81. The concentric zones of the Fāṭimid area around the Rock (layout):** 1 The courtyard. - 2 The platform. - 3 The Dome of the Rock.

B155.5. **Contemporary events:** The south of the courtyard is drastically reshaped, from the Early to the High Fāṭimid period: The Early Fāṭimid south arcade of the mosque (*riwāq al-masğid al-qiblī*) [the Aqṣà Mosque] covers the [south] sixth of the length of the mosque and the two [west] thirds of its width (B195.2), but the High Fāṭimid Aqṣà Mosque covers, from west to east, a much smaller space (B202.3).



82

**Figure 82. The concentric zones of the Fāṭimid area around the Rock (side view):** 1 The courtyard. - 2 The platform. - 3 The Dome of the Rock.

### B156. The arcades

**B156.1. Names (Muslim):** The courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥn bi-arwiqa ‘alā ‘umud*) (B156.2). Among these, the west arcade (*riwāq-i maḡribī*) has its own name (B158.1). The Early Fāṭimid south arcade of the mosque, in which the prayer-niche is (*riwāq al-masḡid al-qiblī l-laḏī fihi l-miḥrāb*), is not an arcade, but rather the Roofed Hall (B195.1).

**B156.2. Physical shape:** The courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥn bi-arwiqa ‘alā ‘umud*).<sup>1</sup> These are: the High Fāṭimid [south] arcade (*riwāq*), from the southeast corner of the area to the Aqṣà Mosque (B157.2); the west arcade (*riwāq-i maḡribī*) (B158.1), with three parts, namely, two arcades (*dū riwāq*) south of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) (B158.3) and one arcade (*riwāq*) north of it (B158.4); and three north arcades (sing. *riwāq*), i.e., between the two north gates (B159.2), further east (B160.2) and in the northeast corner of the area (B161.2). There are no south arcades east of the Aqṣà Mosque (B195.2), and no east arcades.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,10 (*wa-riwāqu l-masḡidi l-qibliyyu* [the Aqṣà Mosque] *l-laḏī fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sā’iri ḡihātihi abwābun maṭwīyatun* (I read *wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sā’iri ḡihātihi bi-abwābin maṭlī yatin*) *bayna yadayhā arwiqatun ‘alā ‘umudin min sā’iri ḡihāti l-masḡidi wa-ka-dālika*) *ka-mā yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin ‘alā ‘umudin* (‘arḏu r-riwāqi arba’a ‘aṣara *ḏirā’an*).

**B157. The High Fāṭimid south arcade (1030s-1099)<sup>1</sup>**

**B157.1. Names (Muslim):** An arcade (*riwāq*) (B157.3).

**B157.2. Position:** One arcade (*riwāq*) is outside the Roofed Hall, in the great wall (*az bī-rūn-i pūšiš bar dīwār-i buzurg*), and is connected with the west arcade (*bā riwāq-i maḡribī paywasta ast*).<sup>2</sup> The two arcades south of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) are set until near the Roofed Hall (*kašīda ast tā nazdīk-i Maqšūra*).<sup>3</sup> The whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru š-ṣaḥn bi-arwiqa ‘alā ‘umud*) (B156.2). We best locate the south arcade at the part of ĠĀMI‘ AN-NISĀ’ which runs along the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL as well as in the WEST NAVE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

B157.2.a. **Nāṣir** has this arcade preceded by the Aqṣā Mosque (at AQṢĀ MOSQUE) and followed by the cistern inside it (at BĪR AL-WARAQA), the ablution place under it (at MAQĀM AL-ḤIDR inside the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR), a general digression about cisterns and water in Jerusalem, and underground *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE). This allows a location at ĠĀMI‘ AN-NISĀ’.

**Nāṣir**

*Masḡid al-Aqṣā* -> **south arcade** (west of the Aqṣā Mosque) -> cistern inside the Aqṣā Mosque -> ablution place in a south gate, cisterns of the mosque, water in Jerusalem -> the underground gates -> *Bāb an-Nabī* -> outside of the wall -> *Bāb al-‘Ayn* -> *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*

B157.2.b. We may compare the length of this forty-two-vault arcade (B157.3) to the length of the two twenty-nine-column arcades which run from south of *Bāb-i Dāwūd* (BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA) to the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER (B157.3). If we suppose that the south arcade has roughly the same width per vault as these two arcades, then it has a length of about 42:  $(2 \times 29) = 3/4$  the distance between BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA and the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER.

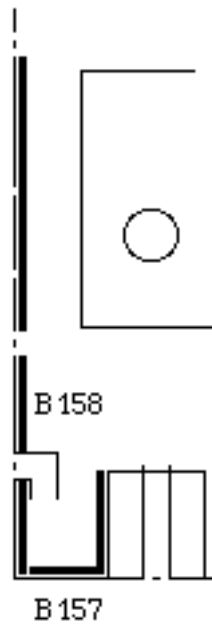
B157.2.c. But this length is definitely more than the distance from the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER to the prayer-niche of the Roofed Hall (at the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, B208.2). The arcade may not have had forty-two vaults, i.e., there may be a mistake in **Nāṣir**'s *riwāq-ī... ba-čihl wa dū ṭāq* "an arcade with forty-two vaults". But it is better to assume that the arcade continues along the west wall of the Roofed Hall.<sup>4</sup> This makes sense insofar as **Nāṣir**' Roofed Hall has only five north gates, but today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE, seven NORTH GATES all generally considered High Fāṭimid; we best assume that the Fāṭimid Roofed Hall had five naves, plus arcades both west and east (B203.2.b).

<sup>1</sup>For the High Fāṭimid south arcade, see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 269; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 147; 149; 150 fig. 78; 140f. fig. 69-72.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,20-37,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa az bīrūn-i pūšiš bar dīwār-i buzurg kih dīkr raft* (cf. **Nāṣir** 30,21-23; 35,13,21) *riwāq-ī-st ba-čihl wa dū ṭāq wa hama-i sutūnhāš az ruḥām-i mulawwan wa in riwāq bā riwāq-i maḡribī paywasta ast* (NP *paywasta*).

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) (*wa-in dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd-i ‘alayhi s-salām gūyand cūn az in dar dar* (NP *dū dar*) *rawand bar dast-i rāst dū riwāq ast buzurg ...*) *wa in riwāqhā kašīda ast tā nazdīk-i Maqšūra*.

<sup>4</sup>I owe this idea to Dr. Johannes Thomann who developed it in one of our many stimulating discussions.



83

**Figure 83. The High Fāṭimid arcades of the southwest corner:** B157 The south arcade. - B158 The triple west arcade.

**B157.3. Physical shape:** This is an arcade (*riwāq*)<sup>1</sup> on columns (*ʿumud*),<sup>2</sup> with columns

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,10 (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu* [the Aqṣà Mosque] *l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sāʾiri ġihātihi abwābun maṭwiyatun* (I read *wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sāʾiri ġihātihi bi-abwābin maṭli yatin*) *bayna yadayhā arwiqatun ʿalā ʿumudin min sāʾiri ġihāti l-masğidi wa-ka-ḍālika*) *ka-mā yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin ʿalā ʿumudin* (ʿarḍu *r-riwāqi arbaʿa ʿašara ḍirāʿan*; **Nāṣir** 36,20-37,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa az birūn-i pūšiš bar diwār-i buzurg kih ḍikr raft* (cf. **Nāṣir** 30,21-23; 35,13.21) *riwāq-i-st ba-čihil wa dū ṭāq wa hama-i sutūnhāš az ruḥām-i mulawwan wa in riwāq bā riwāq-i mağribi paywasta ast* (NP *paywasta*).

Cf. **Nāṣir** 32,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa in riwāqhā kašida ast tā nazdik-i Mağsūra*; **al-Muhallabī** 50,10 speaking generally on the arcades of the courtyard (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu* [the Aqṣà Mosque] *l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sāʾiri ġihātihi abwābun maṭwiyatun* (I read *wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sāʾiri ġihātihi bi-abwābin maṭliyatun*) *bayna yadayhā arwiqatun ʿalā ʿumudin min sāʾiri ġihāti l-masğidi wa-ka-ḍālika*) *ka-mā yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin ʿalā ʿumudin* (ʿarḍu *r-riwāqi arbaʿa ʿašara ḍirāʿan*).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,10 (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu* [the Aqṣà Mosque] *l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sāʾiri ġihātihi abwābun maṭwiyatun* (I read *wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sāʾiri ġihātihi bi-abwābin maṭliyatun*) *bayna yadayhā arwiqatun ʿalā ʿumudin min sāʾiri ġihāti l-masğidi wa-ka-ḍālika*) *ka-mā yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin ʿalā ʿumudin* (ʿarḍu *r-riwāqi arbaʿa ʿašara ḍirāʿan*).

Cf., speaking on the arcades of the courtyard, **al-Muhallabī** 50,10 (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu* [the Aqṣà Mosque] *l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sāʾiri ġihātihi abwābun maṭwiyatun* (I read *wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sāʾiri ġihātihi bi-abwābin maṭliyatun*) *bayna yadayhā arwiqatun ʿalā ʿumudin min sāʾiri*

(*sutūnhā*) all made of coloured marble (*az ruḥām-i mulawwan*), supporting forty-two vaults (sing. *ṭāq*).<sup>1</sup> The arcade has a [north-south] width of 14 ells (6.97 m).<sup>2</sup> The whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥn bi-arwiqa ‘alā ‘umud*) (B156.2).

**B157.4. Contemporary events:** The arcade reaches the High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall and is therefore most probably built together with the reduced High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall.

### B158. The [triple] west arcade<sup>3</sup>

**B158.1. Names (Muslim):** The west arcade (*riwāq-i maḡribī*).<sup>4</sup>

**B158.2. Position:** This triple west arcade has two arcades south of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) (B158.3) and one to its north (B158.4). The whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥn bi-arwiqa ‘alā ‘umud*) (B156.2).

**B158.3.** Two arcades (*dū riwāq*) are south of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*).<sup>5</sup> They are separated by *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*. They are set until near the Roofed Hall (*kašīda ast tā nazdīk-i Maq-ṣūra*); the arcade (*riwāq*) outside the Roofed Hall in the great wall (*az bīrūn-i pūšīš bar dī-wār-i buzurg*) is connected with the west arcade (*bā riwāq-i maḡribī paywasta ast*) (B157.2). We best locate these arcades at the part of ĠĀMI‘ AN-NISĀ’ which is along the WEST ḤARAM WALL, in AL-FAḤRĪYA and in the WEST ARCADE from BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA to BĀB AS-SAKĪNA/BĀB AS-SILSILA.

B158.3.a. The position of these arcades is given by Nāṣir's (*Bāb-i Dāwūd ...*) *čūn az īn dar dar rawand bar dast-i*

---

*ḡihāti l-masḡidi wa-ka-dālika*) *ka-mā yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin ‘alā ‘umudīn* (‘*arḍu r-riwāqi arba’a ‘ašara dīrā’an*).

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 36,20f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa az bīrūn-i pūšīš bar dīwār-i buzurg kih dīkr raft* (cf. Nāṣir 30,21-23; 35,13.21) *riwāq-i-st ba-čihil wa dū ṭāq wa hama-i sutūnhāš az ruḥām-i mulawwan*.

<sup>2</sup>al-Muhallabī 50,10 (*wa-riwāqu l-masḡidi l-qibliyu* [the Aqṣā Mosque] *l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sā’iri ḡihātihi abwābun maṭwīyatun* (I read *wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sā’iri ḡihātihi bi-abwābin maṭlī yatin*) *bayna yadayhā arwiqatin ‘alā ‘umudīn min sā’iri ḡihāti l-masḡidi wa-ka-dālika*) *ka-mā yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin ‘alā ‘umudīn* (‘*arḍu r-riwāqi arba’a ‘ašara dīrā’an*).

<sup>3</sup>For the Fāṭimid west arcades, see Schefer, *Nassir* 74 n. 2; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 116 n. 3; 2 116; Grabar, "A New Inscription" 81f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 147f.

<sup>4</sup>Nāṣir 36,21-37,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa īn riwāq bā riwāq-i maḡribī paywasta ast* (NP *pay-wasta*).

The west arcade is also mentioned in Nāṣir 32,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 175f.; see Le Strange 190) (*wa-īn dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd-i ‘alayhi s-salām gūyand*) *čūn az īn dar dar* (NP *dū dar*) *rawand bar dast-i rāst dū riwāq ast buzurg ... wa čūn az dar dar rawand bar dast-i čap kih ān-i šamāl-ast riwāq-i dirāz* (NP *riwāq-i dirāz*) *kašīda ast ...*

<sup>5</sup>Nāṣir 32,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) (*wa-īn dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd-i ‘alayhi s-salām gūyand*) *čūn az īn dar dar* (NP *dū dar*) *rawand bar dast-i rāst dū riwāq ast buzurg*.

*rāst dū riwāq ast ... wa čūn az dar dar rawand bar dast-i čap kih ān-i šamāl-ast riwāq-i ... kašīda ast* (the Gate of David ...) as one enters this gate, there are, on the right side, two arcades ... and as one enters the gate, there is, on the left side, which is the one north, an ... arcade set". For *čūn az (īn) dar dar rawand*, see B150.2.b.

B158.3.b. The two arcades from south of *Bāb-i Dāwūd* to the Aqṣā Mosque and the one north of *Bāb-i Dāwūd* are separated by *Bāb-i Dāwūd* proper, and we may suppose that *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* is between the two south arcades and *\*Bāb al-baqar* at the end of the north arcade. There are twenty-nine columns from the Aqṣā Mosque to *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*, another twenty-nine columns from *Bāb al-ḥiṭṭa* to *Bāb-i Dāwūd*, and sixty-four vaults from *Bāb-i Dāwūd* to *\*Bāb al-baqar*. This proportion of roughly 1: 1: 2 fits with the proportions of the distances from the AQSĀ MOSQUE to BARCLAY'S GATE<sup>1</sup> (or BĀB AL-MAGĀRIBA<sup>2</sup> on top of it), from there to BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA, and from there to BĀB AN-NĀZIR.<sup>3</sup> The last break has also been located at BĀB AL-ĠAWĀNIMA,<sup>4</sup> but this is rather too far.

B158.4. One long arcade (*riwāq-i dirāz*) is north of the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*).<sup>5</sup> It reaches the Gate of the Cattle (*\*Bāb al-baqar*) (B158.3.b). We best locate it at the WEST ARCADE, from BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA to BĀB AN-NĀZIR (B158.3.b).

B158.4.a. It has been supposed that the arcade begins only north of BĀB AL-QATṬĀNĪN,<sup>6</sup> but the sources do not support this.

B158.5. **Physical shape:** South of the Gate of David are two large arcades (*dū riwāq-i bu-zurg*), each on twenty-nine marble columns (*bīst wa nuh sutūn-i ruḥām*), with polychrome marble-covered capitals and bases (*sar-i sutūnhā wa na'lhā-yi muraḥḥam-i mulawwan*) and with lead-filled seams (*darzhā ba-arziz girifta*); on top of the columns (*bar sar-i sutūnhā*) are (stone) vaults (*tāqhā az-sang* sing. *ṭāq*) made of no more than four or five stones without any mortar (*gil wa gağ*).<sup>7</sup> North of the Gate of David is one long arcade (*riwāq-i dirāz*) with sixty-four vaults (*šast wa čahār ṭāq*), all on marble columns (*hama bar sar-i sutūnhā-yi ruḥām*).<sup>8</sup> The whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru š-šahṇ bi-arwiqa 'alā*

<sup>1</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 190.

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 190.

<sup>3</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 74 n. 2, calling the gate BĀB 'ALĀ' AD-DĪN AL-BAŠĪRĪ.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, "A New Inscription" 81f.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāšir** 32,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 190) (*wa-īn dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd-i 'alayhi s-salām gūyand ...*) *wa čūn az dar dar rawand bar dast-i čap kih ān-i šamāl-ast riwāq-i dirāz* (NP *riwāq-i dirāz*) *kašīda ast*.

<sup>6</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 74 n. 2.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāšir** 32,7-11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) (*wa-īn dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd-i 'alayhi s-salām gūyand*) *čūn az īn dar dar* (NP *dū dar*) *rawand bar dast-i rāst dū riwāq ast buzurg har yak bīst wa nuh sutūn-i ruḥām dārad bā sar-i sutūnhā wa na'lhā-yi muraḥḥam-i mulawwan darzhā* (NP *darz-i ān*) *ba-arziz girifta bar sar-i sutūnhā tāqhā az sang zādā bī gil wa gağ bar sar-i ham nihāda čūn-ān-kih har ṭāq-i čahār pang sang biš na-bāšad*.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāšir** 32,12-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) (*wa-īn dar-rā Bāb-i Dāwūd-i 'alayhi s-salām gūyand ...*) *wa čūn az dar dar rawand bar dast-i čap kih ān-i šamāl-ast riwāq-i dirāz* (NP *riwāq-i dirāz*) *kašīda ast šast* (NP *šast*) *wa čahār ṭāq hama bar sar-i sutūnhā-yi ruḥām* (NP *bar sutūnhā-yi ruḥām*).

‘umud) (B156.2).

B158.5.a. A parallel to the lead-filled seams of the columns of these arcades: The columns of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque have their seams filled with lead, so that nothing may be more solid (B204.3). The COLUMNS of the DOME OF THE ROCK are put on lead sheets 1 mm thick, possibly to balance the uneven ground.<sup>1</sup>

### B159. The arcade between the two north gates (with the Dome of Jacob)<sup>2</sup>

**B159.1. Names (Muslim):** The arcade (*riwāq*) which has its vaults (*tāqhā-yi ān*) on pillars [not columns] (*bar pīlpāyahā*) (B159.2), and the Dome of [the patriarch] Jacob (*Qubba-i Ya‘qūb ‘alayhi s-salām*,<sup>3</sup> *Qubbat Ya‘qūb*<sup>4</sup>).

B159.1.a. The identification with the patriarch Jacob is given by the eulogy for prophets in **Nāṣir**'s *Qubba-i Ya‘qūb ‘alayhi s-salām*.

**B159.2. Position:** This arcade, which has its vaults (*tāqhā-yi ān*) on pillars [not columns] (*bar pīlpāyahā*), is between the two gates which are in the north side (*miyān-i ān dū dargāh kih bar ḡānib-i šamāl ast*); in this arcade (*dar īn riwāq*) is the Dome of Jacob (*Qubba-i Ya‘qūb*).<sup>5</sup> It is in the north part [of the mosque] (*bar ḡānib-i šamālī*).<sup>6</sup> The whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru š-šaḥn bi-arwiqa ‘alā ‘umud*) (B156.2). In the north side [of the mosque] (*dar ḡānib-i šamālī*), next to the Dome of Jacob (*nazdik-i Qubba-i Ya‘qūb*), on a vault [of this arcade] (*bar tāq-i*), there is the inscription with the dimensions of the mosque (B131.8). In front [south] of the Dome of Jacob (*bayn yaday Qubbat Ya‘qūb*) is

<sup>1</sup>Richmond, *Dome of the Rock* 17f. (with fig. 12), quoted in Creswell, *EMA* 1 85 (with fig. 28).

For setting columns on lead sheets, see Creswell, *EMA* 1 40; 46; 58; 111f. with fig. 47; 136; 144; 665 s.v. "columns and column-drums bedded on lead".

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid north arcades and the Dome of Jacob, see Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170; Le Strange, *Palestine* 169; 176f.; 191; Schick, "Reports" 84; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 83; 90; 202; 206; 208-211; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 105; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 192; 2 441-443; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 86-90; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 143 fig. 73; 148; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 193 Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170) *pas dar ḡānib-i šamālī kih nazdik-i Qubba-i Ya‘qūb ‘alayhi s-salām ast bar tāq-i niwišta dīdam dar sang kih ...; Nāṣir* 33,4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) ... *wa ān-rā Qubba-i Ya‘qūb ‘alayhi s-salām gūyand*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 129,1 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 83) *Bābu faḍli Kursīyi Sulaymāna ‘alayhi s-salāmu l-ladī bayna yaday Qubbati Ya‘qūba*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa miyān-i ān (NP īn) dū dargāh kih bar ḡānib-i šamāl ast dar īn riwāq kih tāqhā-yi ān bar pīlpāyahā -st qubba ī-st*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170) *pas dar ḡānib-i šamālī kih nazdik-i Qubba-i Ya‘qūb ‘alayhi s-salām ast bar tāq-i niwišta dīdam dar sang kih ...*

the Throne of Solomon (*Kursī Sulaymān*).<sup>1</sup> We locate the arcade best at the NORTH ARCADE between BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤITṬA, and the Dome of Jacob in this arcade.

B159.2.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa miyān-i ān dū dargāh kih bar ġānib-i šamāl ast dar īn riwāq kih tāqhā-yi ān bar pīlpāyahā-st qubba ī-st ... wa ān-rā Qubba-i Ya‘qūb-i ‘alayhi s-salām gūyand* "and between these two gates which are in the north side, in the arcade where the vaults are standing on pillars, is a dome ... and they call it the Dome of Jacob" locates the arcade and the dome quite clearly between *Bāb al-abwāb* (at BĀB AL-‘ATM) and *Bāb al-Asbāt* (at BĀB ḤITṬA), but gives no details concerning the relation between dome and arcade.

B159.2.b. **Nāṣir** has this arcade and *Qubba-i Ya‘qūb* preceded by *Bāb al-abwāb* (at BĀB AL-‘ATM) and *Bāb al-Asbāt* (at BĀB ḤITṬA) - mentioned in the reverse order - and followed by the gate leading to the two Šūfī convents (between BĀB ḤITṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER) and *Mihrāb-i Zakariyā n-Nabī* (at the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, inside the EAST ḤARAM WALL). This suggests location in the NORTH ARCADE, between BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤITṬA.

#### **Nāṣir**

*Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* <- arcade at north[east] corner: *Mihrāb-i Zakariyā n-Nabī* <- north arcade: gate, \**dū duwayra-i šūfiyān* <- arcade between *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-abwāb*: *Qubba-i Ya‘qūb* <- *Bāb al-abwāb* <- *Bāb al-Asbāt* <- \**Bāb al-baqar* <- *Bāb-i Dāwūd*

B159.2.c. *Qubbat Ya‘qūb* has been located at QUBBAT SULAYMĀN south of the NORTH ARCADE,<sup>2</sup> and near BĀB AL-‘ATM;<sup>3</sup> both locations are possible, but would require further corroboration by the sources.

B159.2.d. It has been assumed that the arcade continues further west,<sup>4</sup> and **Nāṣir**'s *wa bar pahnā-yi masġid riwāq-ī-st* has been translated as "and further along the breadth (or Northern Wall) of the Haram Area is a colonnade", locating the arcade not between *Bāb al-abwāb* and *Bāb al-Asbāt*, but further east.<sup>5</sup> Both assumptions are unsupported by the sources.

B159.2.e. The suggestion that High ‘Abbāsīd *Mihrāb Ya‘qūb* may have been followed by Fāṭimid *Qubbat Ya‘qūb* = *Qubba-i Ya‘qūb* is very possible, but requires further corroboration (B095.d).

**B159.3. Physical shape:** The vaults (of the arcade) (*tāqhā-yi riwāq*<sup>6</sup> sing. *tāq*<sup>7</sup>) are on top

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā** 129,1 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 83) *Bābu faḍli Kursīyi Sulaymāna ‘alayhi s-salāmu l-ladī bayna yaday Qubbati Ya‘qūba*.

<sup>2</sup>Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 90; 202; 211.

Le Strange, *Palestine* 169, locates the Dome of Jacob at QUBBAT SULAYMĀN, but Le Strange, *Palestine* 167f. (where V has to be corrected into U) has the Chamber of David at QUBBAT SULAYMĀN.

<sup>3</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIII.; 89.

<sup>4</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 191.

<sup>5</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 176.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa miyān-i ān (NP īn) dū dargāh kih bar ġānib-i šamāl ast dar īn riwāq kih tāqhā-yi ān bar pīlpāyahā-st qubba ī-st*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 193; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 170) *pas dar ġānib-i šamālī kih nazdik-i Qubba-i Ya‘qūb ‘alayhi s-salām ast bar tāq-ī niwišta didam dar sang kih ...*



of pillars (*bar pīlpāyahā*) [not columns] (B159.2). In this arcade (*dar īn riwāq*) is the Dome of Jacob (*Qubba-i Ya'qūb*) (B159.2). The inscription with the measurements of the mosque is placed on a vault (*bar ṭāq-i*) [of this arcade] (B131.8).

B159.4. The Dome of Jacob (*Qubba-i Ya'qūb*) is a dome on high columns (*qubba ba-sutūn-hā-yi murtafi'*), and is decorated [inside] with [burning] lamps and lanterns (*ba-qindīl wa masraḡahā biyārāsta*).<sup>1</sup>

B159.4.a. For parallels to the lamps and lanterns, see B014.7.c.

B159.5. **Traditions (Muslim):** The Dome of Jacob (*Qubba-i Ya'qūb*) apparently was the prayer-place of Jacob (*ḡā-yi namāz-i Ya'qūb*).<sup>2</sup>

### B160. The arcade east of the two north gates<sup>3</sup>

B160.1. **Names (Muslim):** The arcade (*riwāq*) in the [north] broad side of the mosque (*bar pahnā-yi masḡid*) (B160.2).

B160.2. **Position:** This arcade (*riwāq*) is in the [north] broad side of the mosque (*bar pahnā-yi masḡid*); in the same wall (*dīwār*) is a gate (*dar*); outside the gate (*bīrūn-i ān dar*) are two Ṣūfī convents (*\*dū duwayra-i ṣūfiyān*) (B152.2). The whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru ṣ-ṣaḡn bi-arwiqa 'alā 'umud*) (B156.2). We best locate the arcade in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL, east of BĀB ḤIṬṬA (B152.2).

B160.3. **Physical shape:** The courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru ṣ-ṣaḡn bi-arwiqa 'alā 'umud*) (B156.2), and we may suppose that this arcade is also on columns, but this is by no means certain.

### B161. The arcade of the northeast corner<sup>4</sup>

B161.1. **Names (Muslim):** The arcade (*riwāq*) in the north[east] corner of the mosque (*bar rukn-i šamālī-i masḡid*) (B161.2).

B161.2. **Position:** This arcade and the Chamber of the prophet Zechariah (*Miḡrāb Zakariyā*

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,2-4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) (*qubba ī-st*) *wa īn-rā ba-sutūnhā-yi murtafi' bar dāšta wa ān-rā ba-qindīl* (NP *ba-qindīlhā*) *wa masraḡahā biyārāsta*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 176) *wa ān ḡā-yi namāz-i ū būda ast*.

<sup>3</sup>For the Fāṭimid north arcades, see B159.

<sup>4</sup>For the Fāṭimid north arcades, see B159.

*n-Nabī*) are both in the north[east] corner of the mosque (*bar rukn-i šamālī-i masğid*).<sup>1</sup> The whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru š-šaḥn bi-arwiqa ‘alā ‘umud*) (B156.2). We best locate the arcade at BAYS 1-11 of the NORTHEAST ARCADE.<sup>2</sup>

B161.2.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa bar rukn-i šamālī-i masğid riwāq-ī ... ast wa qubba-ī ... wa bar qubba niwišta ast kih 'hādā Miḥrābu Zakariyā n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu*""And in the north corner of the mosque is an ... arcade and a ... dome. And on the dome is written "This is the Chamber of the prophet Zechariah - peace be upon him"" allows, at first glance, location in either the northwest<sup>3</sup> or the northeast corner.

B161.2.b. **Nāṣir** has this arcade and *Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā n-Nabī* preceded by the arcade between the two north gates (at the NORTH ARCADE between BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) with *Qubba-i Ya‘qūb* and the gate leading to the two Šūfī convents (between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER), and followed by *Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* (at the GOLDEN GATE). This locates both in the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER.

#### **Nāṣir**

*Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* <- **arcade at north[east] corner:**  
*Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā n-Nabī* <- north arcade: gate, *\*dū duwayra-i šūfī-yān* <- arcade between *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-abwāb*: *Qubba-i Ya‘qūb* <- *Bāb al-abwāb* <- *Bāb al-Asbāt*

B161.2.c. BAYS 1-11 of the NORTHEAST ARCADE are built before 475/1345; as Early Mamlūk, Ayyūbid and Crusader buildings in Jerusalem usually have stones with Crusader tooling or mason's marks and these BAYS have none, it has been rightly proposed that they are Pre-Crusader,<sup>4</sup> i.e., Iḥšīdīd or Fāṭimīd.<sup>5</sup> The average distance from the centre of each pier to the next is about 5.28 m, the average distance between the series of ROCK HOLES at the west end of the NORTH ḤARAM WALL about 3.89 m, and it has been claimed that the HOLES further west possibly are simultaneous, i.e., Iḥšīdīd or Fāṭimīd;<sup>6</sup> this may be. The arcade may in any case have reached further west than BAY 11 of the NORTHEAST ARCADE.

**B161.3. Physical shape:** This is a beautiful arcade (*riwāq-i nīkū*).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa bar rukn-i šamālī-i masğid riwāq-ī nīkū ast*.

<sup>2</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 105; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 192; 2 441.

For the NORTHEAST ARCADE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* pl. LXXI; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 105; 106 fig. 1.2; 527 fig. 54.2; Burgoyne, "Gates" 112; Elad, *Jerusalem* 76 n. 119.

<sup>3</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 177.

Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 148, locates the Chamber of [the prophet] Zechariah and the arcade next to it explicitly in the northeast corner. Nevertheless, his figures have a north portico joining the northeast corner [obviously the arcade next to the Chamber of Zechariah], but a dome [obviously the Chamber of Zechariah, again] in the northwest corner (Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; less clearly 159 fig. 84) and an additional arcade [obviously the arcade next to the Chamber of Zechariah, again] along the north wall west of the Main Gate and the Gate of the Tribes (Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 143 fig. 73; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84).

<sup>4</sup>Burgoyne, "Gates" 112. BAYS are counted as in Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 104-108.

<sup>5</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 105.

<sup>6</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 105; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 2 441.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) *wa bar rukn-i šamālī-i masğid riwāq-ī nīkū*.

## B162. The High Fāṭimid Chamber of David (1030s-1099)<sup>1</sup>

### B162.1. Names (Muslim): The Chamber of David (*Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd*).<sup>2</sup>

B162.2. **Position:** The Chamber of David (*Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd*) has its place in the courtyard of the mosque, not on the platform (*bar sāḥat-i mašǧid nah bar dukkān*), in the north side [of the mosque] (*bar ġānib-i šamālī*).<sup>3</sup> The Throne of Solomon (*Kursī-i Sulaymān*) has its place near the fence [of the Chamber of David mentioned before] (*nazdīk-i ḥaḏīra*).<sup>4</sup> We may locate the Chamber of David roughly in the north part of the ḤARAM.

B162.2.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa nazdīk-i ḥaḏīra sang-ī-st (... wa ġūyand in Kursī-i Sulaymān būda ast)* "and next to the fence is a stone (... and it is said this was the Throne of Solomon)" is best referred to the preceding (*wa bar sāḥat-i mašǧid nah bar dukkān ġā-yī-st ...*) *kih ān-rā cūn ḥaḏīra sāḥtah and az sang-i tarāšīda (... wa ānrā Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd ġūyand)* "(and in the courtyard of the mosque, not on the platform, is a place ...) for which a fence of hewn stone was made (... and that is called the Chamber of David)".<sup>5</sup> We would like to assume that *ḥaḏīra* is the wall of the whole area, but **Nāṣir** calls the wall of the mosque and its different parts *dīwār* many times, and uses the term *ḥaḏīra* only for the fence around the platform (B169.3), the fence around the Rock (B190.3) and here in connection with *Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd* and *Kursī-i Sulaymān*.

B162.2.b. **Nāṣir** deals with *Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd* and *Kursī-i Sulaymān* (near the NORTH ARCADE between BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) in a first appendix to his description of Jerusalem; they are preceded by the staircases to the platform and followed by the concluding remark *in ma‘nī dar Ġāmi‘-i \*Bayt al-Maqdis dīda būdam wa tašwīr karda wa ham-ān-ġā bar rūznāma kih dāštam ta‘līq zada* "This I saw in the Friday Mosque of the Temple, and I drew it and noted it there in the diary I had with me".<sup>6</sup> Then follows a second appendix on *daraḥt-i mūr* "the myrtle tree". Here sequence does not help us to locate the place.

### Nāṣir

*Maqām an-Nabī -> Maqām-i Ġūrī -> the two west staircases -> Maqām-i Šarqī -> Maqām-i Šāmī -> Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd -> Kursī-i Sulaymān -> \*daraḥt-i mūr*

B162.2.c. *Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd* has been located at QUBBAT SULAYMĀN<sup>7</sup> or at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŠ-

<sup>1</sup>For the High Fāṭimid Chamber of David, see Schefer, *Nassir* 97f. n. 2; Le Strange, *Palestine* 167-169; 171; Le Strange, *Palestine* 167f; 171; Schick, "Reports" 83f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 208; 210 n. 2; Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 116; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 90; 137.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa ānrā Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd* (cf. *Koran* 38.21) *ġūyand*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,12-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa bar sāḥat-i mašǧid nah bar dukkān ġā-yī-st čand-ān-kih mašǧid-i kūčak bar ġānib-i šamālī*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa nazdīk-i ḥaḏīra sang-ī-st*.

<sup>5</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 97f. n. 2; Le Strange, *Palestine* 167-169; 171.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,19-21 *in ma‘nī dar Ġāmi‘-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *dar Ġāmi‘-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) *dīda būdam wa tašwīr karda wa ham-ān-ġā bar rūznāma kih dāštam ta‘līq zada*.

<sup>7</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 167f. (instead of "at V" read "at U"); van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 208 n. 1.

ŞAHRA;<sup>1</sup> there is no explicit support of these by the sources.

**B162.3. Physical shape:** This is a place (*ğā-yī*) as large as a small mosque (*čand-ān-kih masğid-i kūčak*), with a wall (*ḥaḏīra, dīwār*) of hewn stone (*az sang-i tarāšīda*) higher than a man's height (*ba-bālā-yi mard-ī biš*) (1.99 m).<sup>2</sup>

B162.3.a. **Nāṣir**'s *ğā-yī-st kih ān-rā čūn ḥaḏīra sāhtah* and is not "une construction peu importante ... elle a la forme carrée d' un enclos" (Schefer), but just "a place ... for which a fence was made ...".

B162.3.b. **Nāṣir**'s *wa dīwār-i ū ba-bālā-yi mard-ī biš bāšad* "and its wall is more [high] than a man's height" refers to the measure *qāma* "a man's height" (1.99 m). His text is not ... *biš na-bāšad* "... is not more [high] ..." (Schefer, Thackston).

**B162.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The Chamber of David (*Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd*) possibly refers to the Koranic *miḥrāb*, "sanctuary" or "palace", where the two enemies came to have their cause judged by David (*Koran* 38.21), but the reference is not explicit.

### B163. The rocks in the north part of the mosque and the Throne of Solomon<sup>3</sup>

**B163.1. Names (Muslim):** The rocks in the back [north] part of the Friday mosque (*aş-şuḥūr fī mu'aḥḥar al-ğāmi*) (B163.2), and the Throne of Solomon (*Kursī Sulaymān*,<sup>4</sup> *Kursī-i Sulaymān*<sup>5</sup>).

B163.1.a. A parallel to the Throne of Solomon: A Fāṭimid Jewish throne (*kursī*) is found on the Mount of Olives (*Har ha-zētīm*),<sup>6</sup> and a Fāṭimid Jewish Staircase of the Throne (*Darağ al-Kursī*)<sup>7</sup> possibly leads to this throne.

<sup>1</sup>Schick, "Reports" 84.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,12-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa bar sāḥat-i masğid ... ġā-yī-st čand-ān-kih masğid-i kūčak ... kih ān-rā čūn ḥaḏīra sāhtah and az sang-i tarāšīda wa dīwār-i ū ba-bālā-yi mard-ī biš bāšad*.

<sup>3</sup>For the Fāṭimid Throne of Solomon, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 169; 171; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202; 205-211; Gil, *Palestine* 630f. n. 106; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIff.; 82f.; 86f.; 91-93; 127 n. 256; 137; 165; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 78,16 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) (*tumma yantahī ilā ş-şuḥūri l-lati fī mu'aḥḥari l-ğāmi'i mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi*) *fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḏi'i l-ladi yuqālu lahu Kursiya Sulaymāna; Ibn al-Murağğā* 127,16 *Bābu faḏli ş-şuḥūri l-lati fī mu'aḥḥari l-Masğidi l-Muqaddasi wa-mā ġā'a fihā; Ibn al-Murağğā* 129,1 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 83) *Bābu faḏli Kursiyi Sulaymāna 'alayhi s-salāmu l-ladi bayna yaday Qubbati Ya'qūba*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa gūyand in Kursī-i Sulaymān būda ast*.

<sup>6</sup>**Gil Nr.433r**, 12f. *ḥalī' ū ilā Har ha-zētīm wa-kasar ū l-Kursī [...]* *qālū ḥattā lā yaṭla' Rabbān ilā l-Quds*.

For the Fāṭimid Jewish Throne on the Mount of Olives, see Gil, *Palestine* 630; 630f. n. 106.

<sup>7</sup>**Gil Nr.398v**, 9 [...] *al-ladi li-d-dār fī Darağ al-Kursī yatafaḏḏal ya'ḥudhā yaḥtafiḏhā 'induh wa-šlōmō yigda*.

B163.1.b. It has been assumed that *Kursī Sulaymān* and this Jewish *kursī* (B163.1.a) are one and the same;<sup>1</sup> the sources do not support this.

**B163.2. Position:** These are the rocks in the back [north] part of the Friday mosque (*aṣ-ṣuḥūr fī muʾaḥḥar al-ġāmiʿ*), next to the Gate of the Tribes (*mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ*).<sup>2</sup> The Throne of Solomon (*Kursī Sulaymān*) is in front [south] of the Dome of Jacob (*bayn yaday Qubbat Yaʿqūb*) (B159.2), and the Dome of Solomon (*Kursī-i Sulaymān*) near the fence [of the Chamber of David] (*nazdīk-i ḥaḏīra*) (B162.2). We best locate these rocks, together with the Throne of Solomon, near the NORTH ARCADE between BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA, at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŞAḤRA.<sup>3</sup>

B163.2.a. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** mentions, under the heading *aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī muʾaḥḥar al-ġāmiʿ mimma yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ* "the rocks which are in the back [north] part of the Friday mosque, next to the Gate of the Tribes", *Kursī Sulaymān* as the place in which to pray at these rocks; this is his usual method of giving first the name of the place, then further details. We may conclude that *Kursī Sulaymān* is part of these rocks.

|                                                         |                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The Dome of the Prophet                                 | <i>wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqṣida ilā Qubbati n-Nabīyi ... wa-yuṣalliya fihā ...</i>                                                                          | "And it is recommended for him [the visitor] that he heads for the Dome of the Prophet ... and prays there ...,                                                                     |
| The Gate of Mercy                                       | <i>tumma yaqṣida ilā Bābi r-raḥmati fa-yuṣalliya fihī min dāḥili l-ḥāʾiṭi ...</i>                                                                            | then heads for the Gate of Mercy and prays there inside the wall ...,                                                                                                               |
| The Chamber of Zechariah                                | <i>tumma yaqṣida ilā Miḥrābi Zakariyā fa-yuṣalliya fihī ...</i>                                                                                              | then heads for the Chamber of Zechariah and prays in it ...,                                                                                                                        |
| The rocks in the back [north] part of the Friday mosque | <i>tumma yantahiya ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī muʾaḥḥari l-ġāmiʿi mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi fa-yuṣalliya fī l-mawḍiʿi l-ladī yuqālu lahu Kursīya Sulaymāna ...</i> | then ends up at the rocks which are in the back [north] part of the Friday mosque next to the Gate of the Tribes, and prays in the place which is called the Throne of Solomon ..., |
| The Gate of God's Presence                              | <i>tumma yamḍiya ilā Bābi s-Sakīnati fa-yafʿala miṭla dālika</i>                                                                                             | then heads for the Gate of God's Presence, and does this there as well,                                                                                                             |
| The Ḥiṭṭa Gate                                          | <i>wa-ka-dālika ʿinda Bābi ḥiṭṭata</i>                                                                                                                       | and just so at the Ḥiṭṭa Gate."                                                                                                                                                     |

B163.2.b. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has *aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī muʾaḥḥar al-ġāmiʿ mimma yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ* "the rocks in the back [north] part of the Friday mosque", and among them *Kursī Sulaymān*, preceded by *Bāb ar-*

<sup>1</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 630f. n. 106 referring to **Ibn al-Murağğā** manuscript 47b, i.e., to the Marwānid tradition **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.158**: 128,1-13 and to the Fāṭimid title of a chapter **Ibn al-Murağğā** 129,1f.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67**: 78,15f. (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) *tumma yantahī ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī muʾaḥḥari l-ġāmiʿi mimma yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi fa-yuṣalli fī l-mawḍiʿi l-ladī yuqālu lahu Kursīya Sulaymāna*.

<sup>3</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIIff.; 91-93; 137.

*rahma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and *Mihrāb Zakariyā* (at NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER, inside the EAST ḤARAM WALL), and followed by *Bāb as-Sakīna* (at WARREN'S GATE) and *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE). This positions *Kursī Sulaymān* in the north part of the ḤARAM.

#### Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69

*Bāb ar-rahma* -> *Mihrāb Zakariyā* -> *aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī mu'ahḥar al-ğāmi'* *mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ*: ***Kursī Sulaymān*** -> *Bāb as-Sakīna* -> *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*

B163.2.c. **Nāṣir** deals with *Mihrāb-i Dāwūd* (in the north part of the ḤARAM) and *Kursī-i Sulaymān* in a first appendix to his description of Jerusalem; they are preceded by the staircases to the platform and followed by a concluding remark (B162.2.b). This does not help us in location.

#### Nāṣir

*Maqām an-Nabī* -> *Maqām-i Ġūrī* -> the two west staircases -> *Maqām-i Šarqī* -> *Maqām-i Šāmī* -> *Mihrāb-i Dāwūd* -> ***Kursī-i Sulaymān*** -> *\*daraḥt-i mūrd*

B163.2.d. **al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** locates *Kursī Sulaymān* in front [south] of *Qubbat Ya'qūb* (in the NORTH ARCADE between BĀB AL-'ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA). A location at KURSĪ SULAYMĀN<sup>1</sup> is out of the question. We best locate the place at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŠAḤRA.

**B163.3. Physical shape:** The Throne of Solomon (*Kursī-i Sulaymān*) is an irregular stone (*sang-i nā-hamwār*) with a man's height (*bālā-yi mard-i*) (1.99 m); the top of the stone (*sar-i sang*) is such that a [prayer] rug would be smaller than this place (*zīlūy kūčaktar az ān mawḍi' uftad*).<sup>2</sup>

B163.3.a. **Nāṣir** has (*sang-i ...*) *sar-i way čun-ān ast kih zīlūy kūčaktar az ān mawḍi' uftad* "(a stone ...) its upper part is such that a [prayer] rug would be smaller than this place". It has been understood that the place is smaller than a rug (Schefer, Le Strange), but it is, on the contrary, larger than a rug (van Berchem,<sup>3</sup> Thackston).

**B163.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This was the Throne of Solomon (*Kursī Sulaymān*), where Solomon prayed (***Koran*** 38.34f.) after he had built the mosque [the Temple] (*al-masğid*), and where God answered his prayer;<sup>4</sup> this was the Throne of Solomon (*Kursī-i Sulaymān*), where Solomon sat while the mosque (*masğid*) was built.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 167-169; 171; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 202; 208 n. 1; 211.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,15-17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa nazdik-i ḥazīra sang-i-st ba-bālā-yi mard-i kih sar-i way čun-ān ast kih zīlūy kūčaktar az ān mawḍi'* (NP kih RYLWLY kūčak bar ān mawḍi') *uftad sang-i nā-hamwār*.

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 205f.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67**: 78,17f. (*fā-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi' i l-ladī yuqālu lahu Kursiya Sulaymāna ...*) *fā-huwa l-mawḍi' u l-ladī da'ā fīhi Sulaymānu 'alayhi s-salāmu lammā fariğa min binā'i l-masğidi fā-stağāba Llāhu ta'ālā lahu fīhi*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,17-19 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa gūyand īn Kursī-i Sulaymān būda ast wa guftand kih Sulaymān 'alayhi s-salām bar ān-ğā ništastī badān waqt kih 'imārat-i masğid hamī kardand*.

B163.5. Prayers said at the Throne of Solomon are answered.<sup>1</sup>

B163.6. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on the prayer-route, make ritual prayer at these rocks and endeavour in prayer at the Throne of Solomon, while orienting themselves in the prayer-direction (*istaqbal al-qibla*).<sup>2</sup> Prayers said at the Throne of Solomon are answered (B163.5).

### B164. The Chamber of (the prophet) Zechariah<sup>3</sup>

B164.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Chamber of (the prophet) Zechariah (*Mihrāb-i Zakarīyā n-Nabī*,<sup>4</sup> *Mihrāb Zakarīyā*).

B164.1.a. For parallels to the Chamber of Zechariah, see B012.4.a.

B164.2. **Position:** The Chamber of the prophet Zechariah (*Mihrāb-i Zakarīyā n-Nabī*) and the north[east] arcade are both in the north[east] corner of the mosque (*bar rukn-i šamālī-i masğid*) (B161.2). The Chamber of Zechariah (*Mihrāb Zakarīyā*) and the Gate of Mercy (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) are both in the [east] wall of the mosque (*fī sūr al-masğid*) (B154.3). Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Išbīlī lives in a small cave (*ḡuwayr*) between the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāṭ*) and the Chamber of Zechariah (*Mihrāb Zakarīyā*) (B131.9). We locate the place in the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER,<sup>6</sup> inside the EAST ḤARAM WALL.

B164.2.a. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has *Mihrāb Zakarīyā* preceded by *Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and followed by *aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī mu’ahḥar al-ḡāmi’ mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ* "the rocks which are in

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 129,1f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 83) *Bābu faḍli Kursiyi Sulaymāna ‘alayhi s-salāmu l-laḍī bayna yaday Qubbati Ya‘qūba wa-anna d-du‘ā’ fihī mustaḡābun*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67**: 78,15-18 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 82) *tumma yantahī ilā ṣ-ṣuḥūri l-latī fī mu’ahḥari l-ḡāmi’i mimmā yalī Bāba l-Asbāṭi fa-yuṣallī fī l-mawḍi’i l-laḍī yuqālu lahu Kursiya Sulaymāna wa-yastaqbilu l-qiblata wa-yaḡtahidu fī d-du‘ā’i*.

<sup>3</sup>For the (Early) Fāṭimid Chamber of the prophet Zechariah, see Le Strange, *Nāsir* 32; Schick, "Reports" 84; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIff.; 71; 126f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 148; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu" 126; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32.

For Muslim traditions about the killing of Zechariah in the Temple, see A056.a.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāsir** 33,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447 n. 3) *wa bar qubba niwišta ast kih ḥādā Mihrābu Zakarīyā n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu’* (= **van Berchem Nr.149C**).

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67**: 78,13f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 127 n. 256) *tumma yamḍī ilā Mihrābi Zakarīyā*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 136,16-138,19 (see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f. n. 5) *Bābu mā ḡā’a fī Mihrābi Zakarīyā ‘alayhi s-salāmu wa-ḥidmati Yaḥyā li-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>6</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIff.; 126f.

the back [north] part of the Friday mosque, next to the Gate of the Tribes" (near BĀB AL-‘ATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) and *Kursī Sulaymān* (nearby at QUBBAT ŠAQAFAT AŞ-ŞAḤRA). This allows a location in the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER. A place in the NORTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER<sup>1</sup> is impossible, a rough location just in the north part of the courtyard<sup>2</sup> can be made more precise.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*Bāb ar-raḥma* -> **Miḥrāb Zakariyā** -> *aş-şuḥūr al-latī fī mu‘aḥḥar al-ğāmi‘ mim mā yalī Bāb al-Asbāt. Kursī Sulaymān* -> *Bāb as-Sakī na* -> *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*

B164.2.b. **Nāṣir** has the two places in the north[east] corner, the arcade and *Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā*, preceded by the gate which leads to the Šūfī convents (in the NORTH ḤARAM WALL between BĀB ḤIṬṬA and the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER), and followed by the double gate *Bāb at-tawba/Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE). This is also in favour of a location in the NORTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER.

**Nāṣir**

*Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* <- arcade at north[east] corner: **Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā** <- north arcade: gate, *\*dū duwayra-i šūfīyān* <- arcade between *Bāb al-Asbāt* and *Bāb al-abwāb*: *Qubba-i Ya‘qūb* <- *Bāb al-abwāb* <- *Bāb al-Asbāt* <- *\*Bāb al-baqar* <- *Bāb-i Dāwūd*

B164.2.c. The order of **Ibn al-Murağğā**'s chapters on *Miḥrāb Maryam* and *Miḥrāb Zakariyā*<sup>3</sup> has been used as evidence that *Miḥrāb Maryam* and *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* are near each other;<sup>4</sup> but we do not know what principles determine the order of **Ibn al-Murağğā**'s chapters, and we should not use this as an argument until the point is clarified.

**Ibn al-Murağğā**

*Miḥrāb ‘Umar* -> *Ğubb al-waraqā* -> *Miḥrāb Maryam* -> **Miḥrāb Zakariyā** -> *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*

B164.3. **Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*),<sup>5</sup> a large and beautiful dome (*qubba-i bu-zurg-i nīkū*).<sup>6</sup> On the dome (*bar qubba*) is the inscription, *ḥādā Miḥrābu Zakariyā n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu* "This is the Chamber of the prophet Zechariah - peace be upon him".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Le Strange, *Nāsir* 32; Le Strange, *Palestine* 150 (plan); 161; 164-166; 169f.; 170; 177; the small dome in the northwest corner in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>2</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.166-168:** 133,8-136,15 *Bābu mā ḡā’a fī Miḥrābi Maryama ‘alayhā s-salāmu wa-naḍri mra’ati ‘Imrāna mā fī baṭniḥā muḥarraran li-ḥidmati l-masğidi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 136,16-138,19 (see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f. n. 5) *Bābu mā ḡā’a fī Miḥrābi Zakariyā ‘alayhi s-salāmu wa-ḥidmati Yahyā li-Masğidi Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447f. n. 5.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447 n. 3) *wa bar qubba niwišta ast kih* ...

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447 n. 3) *wa bar rukn-i šamālī-i masğid riwāq-i nīkū ast wa qubba-i bu-zurg-i nīkū*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 447 n. 3) *wa bar qubba niwišta ast kih ‘ḥādā Miḥrābu Zakariyā n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu’* (= **van Berchem Nr.149C**).



**B164.4. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Chamber of the prophet Zechariah (*Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā n-Nabī*), where he used to pray.<sup>1</sup>

**B164.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on their prayer-route, make ritual prayer at the Chamber of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb Zakariyā*) and do the same [as at the previous stations, i.e., say the prayer mentioned for the Dome of the Ascension (B182.6)], endeavour in prayer, and ask God [foremost] for Paradise and protection from Hell, because the Chamber of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb Zakariyā*) is also in the wall of the mosque (*fī sūr al-masğid*) [mentioned in the Koranic, "Between them will be set a wall with a door in it; inside it will be mercy, and outside it, in front of it, the punishment" (*Koran* 57.13)].<sup>2</sup>

**B165. The High Fāṭimid (Mosque of the) Cradle of Jesus  
(with the Cradle of Jesus, the Prayer-niche of Mary  
and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah) (1030s-1099)<sup>3</sup>**

**B165.1. Names (Muslim):** (The Mosque of) the Cradle of Jesus (*Masğid-i Mahd-i Īsī*,<sup>4</sup> *Mahd-i Īsī*), with the Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd-i Īsī*) proper,<sup>6</sup> the Prayer-niche of Mary (*Miḥrāb-i Maryam*)<sup>7</sup> and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah (of the Temple/Jerusalem) (*Miḥrāb*

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 33,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 177) (*wa bar qubba niwišta ast kih 'hādā Miḥrābu Zakariyā n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu'* (= **van Berchem Nr.149C**)) *wa gūyand ū in-ğā namāz kardī paywasta*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66:** 77,14; 78,15 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 127 n. 256) *tumma yaqşidu Bāba r-raḥmati fa-yuṣallī fīhi min dāhili l-ḥā'iti* (*tumma yad'ū bi-d-du'ā'i l-ladī qaddamnā dīkrahū* (cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66:** 77,11-13) *wa-yas'alu Llāha ta'ālā fī dālīka l-mawḍi'i l-Ġannata wa-yasta'īdu bihi mina n-Nāri ... tumma yamḍi ilā Miḥrābi Zakariyā fa-yuṣallī fīhi wa-yaf'alu miṭla dālīka* (cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 67:** 77,3-78,13) *yağtahidu fī d-du'ā'i 'indahū wa-yas'alu Llāha ta'ālā l-Ġannata wa-yasta'īdu bihi mina n-Nāri*) *li-annahū fī sūri l-masğidi ayḍan*.

<sup>3</sup>For the High Fāṭimid Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus, with the Prayer-niche of Mary and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 15-18; 447-449; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40f.; 43; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIII; XVIII; XXIII; 96; 126-128; 128f. n. 261; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 148; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu"; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32f.; Soucek, "Maryam bint 'Imrān and Her Miḥrāb" 36-38; Myres, "Overview" 338; Myres, "Masjid Mahd 'Isa" 525f.; 535.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *masğid-i dīgar ast 'azīm-i nikū dū bāra* (NP *bāra*, without *dū*; I read *dah bāra*, with Schefer) *buzurgtar az Masğid-i Mahd-i Īsī*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 43) *wa in masğid ma'rūf-ast ba-Mahd-i Īsī 'alayhi s-salām*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 43) *wa Mahd-i Īsī* (NP *wa Mahd-i Īsī 'alayhi s-salām*) *ān-ğā nihāda ast* (*wa ān mahd-i sangīn* (NP *bah sangīn*) *ast*).

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa Miḥrāb-i Maryam 'alayhā s-salām dar in masğid-ast bar ḡānib-i mašriq*.

*Zakariyā min al-Bayt al-Muqaddas,<sup>1</sup> Mihrāb-i Zakariyā<sup>2</sup>).*

B165.1.a. The term *Mahd-i ʿĪsī* is ambiguous, as it refers to both the whole room and the cradle within it.

B165.2. **Position:** [The Mosque of] the Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd-i ʿĪsī*) is in the east wall [of the mosque] (*bar diwār-i šarqī*) at the corner which is [further] south (*ba-gūša kih ḡanūbī ast*).<sup>3</sup> If one passes the gate of this mosque and arrives, in the same wall, at the corner of the Friday Mosque (*wa čūn az dar-i īn masġid bigudārī ham bar diwār-i šarqī čūn ba-gūša-i masġid-i buzurg birasand*), one sees the Aqṣā Mosque (*Masġid al-Aqṣā*).<sup>4</sup> We locate this underground mosque best in the SOUTHEAST ḤARAM CORNER at MASĠID MAHD ʿĪSĀ.<sup>5</sup>

B165.2.a. In **Nāṣir**'s *wa bar diwār-i šarqī čūn ba-gūša-i rasad kih ḡanūbī ast / wa qibla bar dīl-i ḡanūbī-st wa pīš-i diwār-i šamālī / masġid-i-st sardāb* "and in the east wall when it arrives at the corner which is south - the qibla is in the south side and opposite the north wall - there is an underground mosque", the insertion about the prayer-direction has mistakenly been taken as referring to the underground mosque (B131.5.a).

B165.2.b. **Nāṣir** has (*Masġid-i*) *Mahd-i ʿĪsī* preceded by *Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and followed by *Masġid al-Aqṣā* (at MASĠID AL-AQṢĀ); this fits with today's MASĠID MAHD ʿĪSĀ.

**Nāṣir**

*Bāb an-Nabī* <- the underground gates <- cisterns of the mosque, water in Jerusalem <- ablution place in a south gate <- cistern inside the Aqṣā Mosque <- south arcade (west of the Aqṣā Mosque) <- *Masġid al-Aqṣā* <- (***Masġid-i***) ***Mahd-i ʿĪsī*** <- *Bāb ar-raḥma/Bāb at-tawba*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-ʿArabī, Tafsīr** ed. Cairo 1387/1968 3 1126 (quoted in Elad, *Jerusalem* 128f. n. 261) *wa-qad šahadtu l-imāma bi-Mihrābi Zakariyā min al-Bayt al-Muqaddasi taḥharahu Llāhu yasġudu fī ḥaḍā l-mawḍiʿi*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,22f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa mihrāb-i dīgar az ān-i Zakariyā ʿalayhi s-salām dar īn-ḡā-st*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa (NP without wa) bar diwār-i šarqī čūn ba-gūša-i rasad kih ḡanūbī ast) wa qibla bar dīl-i ḡanūbī-st wa pīš-i diwār-i šamālī masġid-i-st sardāb*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,5-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *(wa-īn masġid maʿrūf-ast ba-Mahd-i ʿĪsī ʿalayhi s-salām ...) wa čūn az dar-i īn masġid bigudārī ham bar diwār-i šarqī čūn ba-gūša-i masġid-i buzurg birasand masġid-i dīgar ast .. wa ān-rā Masġid al-Aqṣā gūyand*.

For the formula *wa čūn az dar-i īn masġid bigudārī*, see B150.2.a.

<sup>5</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 15-18; 447-449; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197; Elad, *Jerusalem* XIII; XVIII; XXIII; 96; 126-128; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 148; Soucek, "Maryam bint ʿImrān and Her Mihrāb" 36.

For today's MASĠID MAHD ʿĪSĀ, see Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* 1 139f.; Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 7; 15-18; 112; Busink, *Tempel* 961f.; 963 fig. 218; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 193-195; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 203 fig. 91; 261 fig. 120; 274 fig. 126; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu" 128; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32 n. 91; Soucek, "Maryam bint ʿImrān and Her Mihrāb" 36-38 (with fig. 1f.); Myres, "Overview" 336-338; 341; Myres, "Masjid Mahd ʿIsa"; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 607f.

B165.2.c. The order of **Ibn al-Murağğā**'s chapters on *Miḥrāb Maryam* and *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* has been used as evidence that *Miḥrāb Maryam* and *Miḥrāb Zakariyā* are near each other (B164.2.c), but without further research, the argument has no weight (B164.2.c).

**Ibn al-Murağğā**

*Miḥrāb 'Umar* -> *Ġubb al-waraqā* -> *Miḥrāb Maryam* -> ***Miḥrāb Zakariyā*** -> *Bāb ḥiṭṭa*

**B165.3. Physical shape:** This is a mosque (*masğid*),<sup>1</sup> an underground mosque (*masğid-i sardāb*) entered [from the courtyard] by [a staircase with] many steps (*darağahā-yi bisyār*).<sup>2</sup> It measures [from north to south and from east to west] 20 by 15 ells (13.30 by 9.98 m);<sup>3</sup> the Aqṣā Mosque is ten times (*\*dah bāra*) as large.<sup>4</sup> Its roof (*saqf*) - possibly a dome<sup>5</sup> - is stone-made (*sangīn*) and rests on marble columns (*sutūnhā-yi ruḥām*),<sup>6</sup> one of the columns has imprints like those of two fingers, as if someone had seized it with two fingers.<sup>7</sup> There are many copper and silver lamps (*qindīlā-yi bisyār-i biringīn wa nuqragīn*) suspended which burn all night.<sup>8</sup>

B165.3.a. Parallels to the column with the imprints of two fingers of Mary: The Pre-Marwānid Church of Zion has a column with the imprints of the hand of Jesus, who was bound to this column and beaten,<sup>9</sup> and of his hands,

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa* (NP without *wa*) *bar diwār-i šarqī ... masğid-i-st sardāb*; **Nāṣir** 34,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa Miḥrāb-i Maryam 'alayhā s-salām dar īn masğid-ast bar ḡānib-i mašriq*; **Nāṣir** 34,24-35,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *gūyand mawlid-i 'Īsī* (NP *mawlūd- 'Īsī*) *'alayhi s-salām* (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *dar-īn masğid būda*; **Nāṣir** 35,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 43) *wa īn masğid ma'rūf-ast ba-Mahd-i 'Īsī 'alayhi s-salām*; **Nāṣir** 35,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa čūn az dar-i īn masğid bigudārī ham bar diwār-i šarqī čūn ba-gūša-i masğid-i buzurg birasand masğid-i dīgar ast* (.. *wa ān-rā Masğid al-Aqṣā gūyand*).

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,14-16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa* (NP without *wa*) *bar diwār-i šarqī ... masğid-i-st sardāb kih ba-darağahā-yi bisyār furū bāyad šudan*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa ān bist gaz dar pānzdah bāšad*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,6-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) ... *masğid-i dīgar ast 'aẓīm-i nikū dū bāra* (NP *bāra*, without *dū*; I read *dah bāra*, with Schefer) *buzurgtar az Masğid-i Mahd-i 'Īsī wa ān-rā Masğid al-Aqṣā gūyand*.

<sup>5</sup>Myres, "Masjid Mahd 'Isa" 535.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa* (NP without *wa*) *saqf sangīn bar sutūnhā-yi ruḥām*.

Cf. **Nāṣir** 35,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *sang-ī az īn sutūnhā nišān-i dū angušt dārad*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *sang-ī az īn sutūnhā nišān-i dū angušt dārad kih gū'ī kas-ī ba-dū angušt ān-rā girifta ast* (NP *bigirifta ast*) *gūyand ba-waqt-i waq'-i ḥaml Maryam* (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *ān sutūn-rā* (NP *ān sutūn*) *ba-dū angušt girifta būd* (NP *bigirifta būd*).

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,4f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa qindīlā-yi bisyār-i biringīn wa nuqragīn āwiḥta čun-ān-kih hama-i šabhā sūzad*.

<sup>9</sup>**Breviarius A** 86-92: 4 *Deinde vadis ad sanctae none* (read *ad sanctae Sion*) *basilicam magnam nimis ubi est illa columna ubi cesus est Dominus Iesus* (**Matthew** 26.67; 27.30; **Mark** 14.65; 15.15; **Luke** 22.63f.; **John** 19.3). *Apparet ibi quomodo manu amplexavit quasi in cera designasset* = **Breviarius B** 86-91: 4 *Et vadis inde ad alia basilica ubi flagellatus est Dominus* (**Matthew** 26.67; 27.30; **Mark** 14.65; 15.15; **Luke** 22.63f.; **John** 19.3) *et misit manum suam super coronam* (read *super columnam*).

fingers, his face, chin, nose and eyes,<sup>1</sup> and of his breast, hands, fingers and palms.<sup>2</sup> A Marwānid Christian house in Ludd (*Diospolis*) has a column to which Saint George was bound and beaten - and the column has the imprints of ten fingers of a man who at first did not believe.<sup>3</sup> The Fāṭimid Christian Church of Zion has in its doors the imprints of [the hands of] Jesus [who was bound to them and ] judged by Pilate.<sup>4</sup>

B165.3.b. For parallels to the lamps burning here all night, see B014.7.c.

B165.3.c. It has been claimed that this mosque measures 10 by 20 m,<sup>5</sup> but Nāṣir's *wa ān bist gaz dar pānzdah bāšad* "and that [mosque] is 20 by 15 ells" (13.30 by 9.98 m) is quite clear. We may suppose the first number

<sup>1</sup>**Theodosius** 141,12-18: 7 *columna* (H *ibi est columna*) *quae fuit in domo Caiphae ad quam dominus Christus* (G *Ihesus Christus*) *flagellatus est modo in sancta Sion* (GH *Syon*) *iusso* (PGH *iussu*) *Domni ipsa columna secuta est et quomodo eam dum flagellaretur* (H *flagelaretur*) (**Matthew** 26.67; **Mark** 14.65; **Luke** 22.63f.) *amplexavit sicut in cera sic brachia eius manus vel digiti* (H *brachii eius manus vel digiti*, G *brachia eius manusque vel digita*, O *brachia eius manus vel digita*) *in eam haeserunt* (H *in eum haeserunt*) *et hodie paret sed et facies* (P *fax*, G *facies eius*) *omnis mentus* (P *mentum*) *nasus vel oculi eius sicut in caera designavit* (H *without et hodie ... designavit*).

<sup>2</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 174,5-10: 22 *In ipsa ecclesia est columna ubi flagellatus est Dominus* (**Mark** 14. 65; 15.15). *In qua columna tale est signum* (G *talis est signus*): *dum eam amplexasset* (G *amplexas sic*) *pectus eius inhesit* (G *inest*) *in ipsa marmore et manus ambas apparent et digiti et palmae in ipsa petra* (G *et digitas et palmas in ipsa petra apparent*, R *digiti et palmae*) *ita ut pro singulis languoribus mensura tollatur* (G *tollitur*) *exinde; et circa collum habent et sanantur* (G *colla habit et sanatur*) = **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 205,27-206,4: 22 *In ipsa ecclesia est colomna* (B *columna*) *ubi Dominus flagellatus est* (**Mark** 14.65; 15.15) *in qua columna* (Br *without ubi ... columna*) *tale est signum* (B *signum est*) *ut dum eam* (B *ea*) *amplexus fuisset in ipsa pectus eius adhaesit et apparent in ea* (B *ipsa*) *palmae et digiti ita ut per singulis languoribus tollatur et circa collum habent et sanantur* (B *ut singulis languoribus mensura tollatur et circa collum habeant et sanatur*; I read ... *mensura tollatur*, with B).

<sup>3</sup>**Adomnanus** III 4,7-10.49-54: III.4.2/12 (see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 36 n. 61) (*Arculfus homo sanctus ... aliam nobis de alio* (Y *quodam*, B *aliquo*) *confessore Georgius* (PZ *Georgio*, B *Geurgio*) *nomine relationem contulit ...*) *In Diospoli civitate cuiusdam confessoris Georgii in quadam domu* (Y *quadeam domu*, without *in*) *statuta marmorea in columna contra quam alligatus persecutionis tempore flagellatus est formola depicta est* (P *without domu ... depicta est*) ...) *Mirum dictu usque in hodiernum diem* (Z *in hodiernam diem*; P *without mirum ... hodiernum*) *eadem bis quinquorum* (I read *quingorum*) *eius vestigia digitolorum* (Z *digitulorum*, P *digitorum*) *apparent usque ad radices in marmorea insertorum columna; in quorum loco* (B *loca*) *sanctus Arculfus suos denos proprio inseruit digitos similiter ad radices usque intrantes*.

<sup>4</sup>**Epiphanius V** III,5-7 (... ἡ ἀγία Σιών ... καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην πύλην ἀριστερόν ἐστιν ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἔλουσαν οἱ ἄλλιοι (read ἄγιοι) ἀπόστολοι τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον μετὰ ἔξοδον αὐτῇ· καὶ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης ἐστιν ἡ ἀναπνοὰ τῆς γεέννης τοῦ πυρός ...) καὶ εἰς τὰ ἅγια θυρία τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσὶ τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἔνθα ἴστατο κρινόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πιλάτου = **Epiphanius M** III,5-7 (... ἡ ἀγία Σιών ... καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους ἐστιν ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἔλουσαν οἱ ἄλλιοι (read ἄγιοι) ἀπόστολοι τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτῆς· εἰς γοῦν τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης ἐστιν ἡ ἀναπνοὰ τῆς γεέννης τοῦ πυρός ...) εἰς δὲ τὰς ἁγίας θύρας τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσὶ τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔνθα ἴστατο κρινόμενος ὑπὸ Πιλάτου = **Epiphanius J** III,5-7 (see Donner, "Epiphanius" 54) (καὶ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης ἐστιν ἡ ἀναπνοὴ τῆς γεέννης τοῦ πυρός ... καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην πύλην ἀριστερόν ...) θύρη [?] τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου εἰσὶν τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅπερ ἴστατο καὶ ἐκρίνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Πιλάτου.

<sup>5</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 148.

means the length in the prayer-direction [from north to south], the other one the width [from east to west]. The dimensions fit with those of today's MASĠID MAHD ĪSĀ (10.3 by 5.5 m).

B165.3.d. **Nāṣir**'s ... *masġid-i dīgar ast 'aẓīm-i nīkū dū bāra buzurgtar az Masġid-i Mahd-i Īsī wa ān-rā Masġid al-Aqṣā gūyand* "... another large and beautiful mosque, twice as large as the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus and they call it the Aqṣā Mosque" obviously does not fit with the proportion of the two mosques, which measure 20 by 15 ells (13.30 by 9.98 m) and \*120 by \*150 ells (79.80 by 99.75 m) (B202.3). It is better to assume an original \**dah bāra buzurgtar* "ten times larger" (Schefer). A misreading of *wāw* into *hā*' is very easy; the proportion thus fits much better.

B165.4. There is the Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd-i Īsī*) proper, a stone cradle (*mahd-i sangīn*) with a surface large enough so that people make [ritual] prayer on it, and it is firmly attached to the floor (*dar zamīn saht karda*) so that it may not move;<sup>1</sup> this stone is here [in the centre of the south wall], instead of a prayer-niche (*miḥrāb*).<sup>2</sup> The Prayer-niche of Mary (*Miḥrāb-i Maryam*) and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā*) are prayer-niches (*miḥrāb-hā* sing. *miḥrāb*) decorated with Koranic verses which relate to Mary and Zechariah;<sup>3</sup> the Prayer-niche of Mary is in this mosque (*dar īn masġid*) in the east side (*bar ġānib-i mašriq*),<sup>4</sup> and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah is in the west side.

B165.4.a. The Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd-i Īsī*) is a rather large stone, possibly an upturned conch as today.<sup>5</sup>

B165.4.b. The position of *Mahd-i Īsī*, *Miḥrāb-i Maryam* and *Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā* relative to each other is unclear. *Miḥrāb-i Maryam* and *Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā* are definitely not rooms, but prayer-niches, and therefore in the south wall.<sup>6</sup> The position of *Miḥrāb-i Maryam* in the east part of a room which is next to the east wall of the whole mosque may be because of **Koran** 19.16f. *wa-dkur fī l-kitābi Maryama idī ntabadat min ahlihā makānan šarqīyan fa-ttaḥadat min dūnihā ḥiḡāban* "make mention in the Book of Mary, when she withdrew from her people to a place, eastward, and took between herself and them a curtain". Today's MASĠID MAHD ĪSĀ has a stone-carved PRAYER-NICHE with lies horizontally on a raised PLATFORM under a stone CANOPY, further a crudely shaped PRAYER-NICHE in the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL and two similar, but smaller PRAYER-NICHES east and west. The horizontal PRAYER-NICHE has been identified with **Nāṣir**'s Cradle *Mahd-i Īsī*, the two smaller PRAYER-NICHES with **Nāṣir**'s *Miḥrāb-i Maryam* and *Miḥrāb-i Zakariyā*,<sup>7</sup> but this leaves the crudely shaped PRAYER-NICHE unexplained and the two similar, but smaller PRAYER-NICHES have no inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,17-19 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa Mahd-i Īsī* (NP *wa Mahd-i Īsī 'alayhi s-salām*) *ān-ḡā nihāda ast wa ān mahd-i sangīn* (NP *bah sangīn*) *ast čūn-ān-kih mardum dar ān-ḡā namāz kunand wa man dar ān-ḡā namāz kardam wa ān-rā dar zamīn saht karda and čūn-ān-kih na-ḡunbad*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,20f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa mahd dar īn masġid ba-ḡā-yi miḥrāb nihāda and*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,23f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa āyāt-i Qur'ān kih dar ḥaqq-i Zakariyā wa Maryam āmada ast nīz* (NP *bīštar*) *bar ān miḥrābhā niwišta and*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa Miḥrāb-i Maryam 'alayhā s-salām dar īn masġid-ast bar ḡānib-i mašriq*.

<sup>5</sup> Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 193.

<sup>6</sup>Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu" 129.

<sup>7</sup>Soucek, "Maryam bint 'Imrān and Her Miḥrāb" 36-38.

B165.4.c. Being curiously near to the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL, the south side of the CANOPY had to be broken out to fit around an existing stone of the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL. This might be due to the fact that these COLUMNS were built on earlier column bases as described by Nāṣir.<sup>1</sup>

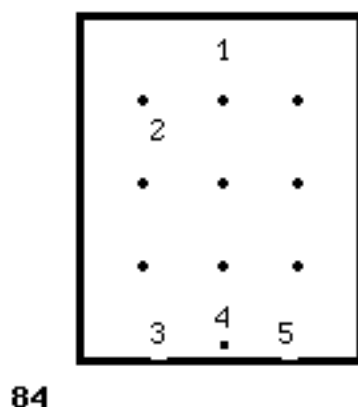


**Figure 84. The High Fāṭimid Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus:** 1 The staircase from the courtyard. - 2 An unknown number of marble columns, one of them with an imprint, supporting the stone roof. - 3 The Prayer-niche of Zechariah. - 4 The Cradle of Jesus. - 5 The Prayer-niche of Mary.

B165.5. **Contemporary events:** az-Zāhir rebuilds the south wall, the [east] wall, the corridors and the underground vaults [and all corresponding underground gates and their corridors] in 425/1037 (B135.5); during this reshaping, this room is built, or at least connected with the tradition of Mary (B140.4.a). Ibn al-‘Arabī l-Iṣḥābī sees the *imām* [of the mosque of Jerusalem] prostrating himself at the Prayer-niche of Zechariah at the Temple (*bi-Miḥrāb Zakarīyā bi-l-Bayt al-Muqaddas*) during his *Ramaḍān* readings (‘*ind qirā’atihi fī tarāwīḥ ramaḍān*’), and Ibn al-‘Arabī prostrates himself with him, but the crowds of scholars (*ḡamāhīr al-‘ulamā’*) do not see the *imām*.<sup>2</sup>

B165.6. **Traditions (Muslim):** The Prayer-niche of Mary (*Miḥrāb-i Maryam*) and the Prayer-niche of Zechariah (*Miḥrāb-i Zakarīyā*) are two prayer-niches decorated with relevant Koranic verses (B165.4), and refer to the place where the angel announced to Mary the birth of Jesus (*Koran* 3.42-48; 19.17-21; 21.91) and to the place where they announced to Zechariah the birth of John (*Koran* 3.39)]. Here Jesus was born, and the imprints in a column, like those of two fingers (B165.3), are from Mary when she was in labour with him

<sup>1</sup>Myres, "Masjid Mahd ‘Isa" 535.

<sup>2</sup>Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tafsīr* ed. Cairo 1387/1968 3 1126 (quoted in Elad, *Jerusalem* 128f. n. 261) *wa-qad šāhadu l-imāma bi-Miḥrābi Zakarīyā min al-Bayti l-Muqaddasi taḥharahu Llāhu yasḡudu fī hādā l-mawḍi’i ‘inda qirā’atihi fī tarāwīḥi ramaḍāna wa-saḡadu ma’ahu fīhā wa-lam yarahū ḡamāhīru l-‘ulamā’i*.

[under the palm tree] (cf. **Koran** 19.23-25).<sup>1</sup> This is the (Mosque of the) Cradle of Jesus ((*Masğid-i Mahd-i Īsī*) (B165.1); the stone Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd-i Īsī*) (B165.4) is the cradle from which baby Jesus spoke to the people to defend his mother against their accusations (**Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29).<sup>2</sup>

B165.6.a. Parallels to the Fāṭimid Birthplace of Jesus in Jerusalem:<sup>3</sup> The Pre-Marwānid Christians know, in Bethlehem, the cave where Christ is born (*spelunca ubi natus est Dominus*).<sup>4</sup> The Marwānid Christian Birthplace of Jesus (*locus nativitatis Dominicae*) is in a certain part of the cave under the Church of Bethlehem.<sup>5</sup> The Marwānid Muslim birthplace of Jesus is in [the region of] Jerusalem,<sup>6</sup> in the valley of Bethlehem,<sup>7</sup> in Bethlehem.<sup>8</sup> The High 'Abbāsīd Christian "place where it pleased our Lord to be born" (*locus ubi dignatus nasci*

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,24-35,3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *gūyand mawlid-i Īsī* (NP *mawlūd- Īsī*) 'alayhi s-salām (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *dar-in masğid būda sang-ī az in sutūnhā nišān-i dū angušt dārad kih gū'ī kas-ī ba-dū angušt ān-rā girifta ast* (NP *bigirifta ast*) *gūyand ba-waqt-i waq'-i ḥaml Maryam* (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *ān sutūn-rā* (NP *ān sutūn*) *ba-dū angušt girifta būd* (NP *bigirifta būd*).

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 43) *wa ān mahd-i -st kih Īsī ba-tufūliyat dar ān-ğā būd wa bā mardum suḥan mīguft* (NP *guft*) (cf. **Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29).

<sup>3</sup>For Jesus' birth in [the region of] Jerusalem, in Muslim tradition, see Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 146 n. 9; Busse, "Kultstätten" 123; 138f.; Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 55f.; Busse, "Night Journey and Ascension" 33 n. 175; Elad, *Jerusalem* 93f.; 95; 128 n. 259; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu" 127-129; Soucek, "Maryam bint 'Imrān and Her Mihrāb". For Jesus' birth in Bethlehem in Muslim tradition, see Busse, "Kultstätten" 121f.; Sourdel-Thomine, "Bayt Laḥm" 1175b; Kaplony, "Moschee der Wiege Jesu" 127. Generally on Jesus' birth in Muslim tradition, see Paret, *Koran-Kommentar* ad **Koran** 19.16-29; Anawati, "Īsā" 85b-86a; Wensinck/Johnstone, "Maryam".

<sup>4</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum AB**: 29 (*et Bethlehem est locus splendidus ...*) *Ibi est spelunca ubi natus est Dominus in qua est praesepe ex auro et argento ornatum.*

<sup>5</sup>**Adomnanus** II 2,2-12: II.2.1-4 (*Bethlem ...*) *In eiusdem vero civitatis orientali et extremo angulo quasi quaedam naturalis dimedia inest spelunca cuius interior ultima pars presepe Domini nominatur in quo natum puerum reclinavit mater. Alius vero supradicto contiguus presepio introeuntibus propior locus propriae nativitatis Dominicae (B Dominicae nativitatis) traditur fuisse. Illa ergo Bethlemitica (Y Bethlemitica) spelunca presepis Dominici tota intrinsecus ob ipsius Salvatoris honorificentiam marmore adornata est pretioso. Cui utique semianthro super (possibly read superstructum super) lapideum caenaculum sanctae Mariae (B Mariae semper virginis) ecclesia supra (Y super) ipsum locum ubi Dominus natus specialius (YPZ specialiter) traditur grandi structura fabricata fundata est (B fabricata est, without fundata) = **Beda, De locis sanctis** 7,5-11: 7.1 (*Bethlehem ...*) *in cuius orientali angulo quasi quoddam (P quodam) naturale semiantrum est cuius exterior pars (MNB cuius exterior) nativitatis dominicae fuisse dicitur locus (A locus vero) interior praesepe Domini (B Domini praesepe) nominatur. Haec spelunca tota interius pretioso marmore tecta supra ipsum locum ubi Dominus natus specialis traditus sanctae Mariae (A sancteq Mariae) grandem gestat ecclesiam.**

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.396**: 257,3f. (... *an Qutādata*) *fī qawlihi 'rabwatin dāti qarārīn wa-ma'īnin' (Koran 23.50) qāla dāti ṭimārīn wa-mā'īn wa-hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi; Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.399: 260,9; 260,10; 262,1f. *wa-anbata n-naḥlata li-Maryama* (cf. **Koran** 19.23) *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-wulida Īsā bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-qawluhu ta'ālā 'wa-ğā'alnā bna Maryama wa-ummahu āyatan wa-āwaynāhumā ilā rabwatin dāti qarārīn wa-ma'īnin' (Koran 23.50) hiya Baytu l-Maqdisi.**

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.166**: 134,15.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Wāsiṭī Nr.98**: 62,1; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.99**: 62,8f.; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.380**: 252,5f.; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.117**: 72,7f; **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.162**: 100,7f. = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.378**: 251,11f..

*dominus noster*) or "where it pleased Christ to be born" (*ubi Christus dignatus est nasci*) is in Bethlehem, in the cave under the Church of the Nativity.<sup>1</sup> The High 'Abbāsid Muslim Birth-place of Jesus (*Mawlid 'Īsā b. Maryam*,<sup>2</sup> *Mawlid 'Īsā*,<sup>3</sup> *Mawlid al-Masīh*<sup>4</sup>) is in Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*),<sup>5</sup> in [the region of] Jerusalem,<sup>6</sup> 3 miles (*amyāl*) (6 km) from the mosque [of Jerusalem],<sup>7</sup> either in the mosque of Jerusalem (B064.2) or in Bethlehem;<sup>8</sup> the Hill of Jesus (*Rabwat 'Īsā*) [on which he was born] (**Koran** 23.50) is in Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*);<sup>9</sup> the Palm Tree (*an-naḥla*) [under which he was born (**Koran** 19.23)]<sup>10</sup> is in Bethlehem,<sup>11</sup> and a piece of this palm tree is in

<sup>1</sup>**Iacintus** 323: 4f. *Item ab illo loco ubi dignatus nasci Dominus noster usque ad presepe tres passos habentur; grados vero per quos descendimus ad praesepe XII m sunt. Duo ostea erea ibi sunt. Domus ubi presepe stat et ubi Christus dignatus est nasci ....*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,21 (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *wa-Mawlidu 'Īsā bni Maryama 'alā talātati amyālin mina l-masğidi.*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,12f. (*qaryatun tu'rafu bi-Bayti Laḥmin* (E *bi-Bayti l-Luḥamī*) *wa-hiya* (CD *wa-huwa*) *mawlidu 'Īsā 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-yuqālu inna fī kanīsatīn minhā qit'atun mina n-naḥlati l-lati akalat minhā Maryamu* (E adds *wa dar Qur'an dīkr-i ān-i daraht mī āyad* (**Koran** 19.23)) *hiya marfū'atun 'indahum yašūnūnahā*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.407**: 268,18f. (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 128 n. 259) (*... ḥaddatānī Abū Muḥammadīn 'Abdu Llāhi bnu Muḥammadīn l-Ḥawliyu ... qāla ...*) *ṭumma sa'altu 'an Mawlidu 'Īsā 'alayhi s-salāmu* (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *fa-qīla lī man ṣallā fihā* (I read *fihī*) *daḥala l-Ġannata wa-man daḥala ilayhā* (I read *ilayhī*) *fa-ka-annamā naẓara ilā 'Īsā wa-Maryama* (*wa-ka-dālika Miḥrābu Zakariyā 'alayhi s-salāmu*); **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,21 (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *wa-Mawlidu 'Īsā bni Maryama 'alā talātati amyālin mina l-masğidi.*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 151,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40) (*iqlīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *mawlidu l-Masīhi* (C *mawlūdu l-Masīhi*) (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *wa-Mahduhu* (cf. **Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29).

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 151,8.9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 148 n. 16) (*iqlīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Mawlidu l-Masīhi* (C *mawlūdu l-Masīhi*) (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *wa-Mahduhu* (cf. **Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29) *... wa-Rabwatu 'Īsā* (cf. **Koran** 23.50).

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 93,15f. *wa-qawluhu 'wa-āwaynāhumā ilā rabwatin dāti qarārīn wa-ma'inin' (**Koran** 23.50) qāla ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi.*

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** 7 256,21 (*ātāru l-anbiyā'i 'alayhimi ṣ-ṣalātu wa-s-salāmu bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi ... wa-fī l-masğidi ...*) *wa-Mawlidu 'Īsā bni Maryama 'alā talātati amyālin mina l-masğidi.*

<sup>8</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,12f. (*qaryatun tu'rafu bi-Bayti Laḥmin* (E *bi-Bayti l-Luḥamī*) *wa-hiya* (CD *wa-huwa*) *mawlidu 'Īsā 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-yuqālu inna fī kanīsatīn minhā qit'atun mina n-naḥlati l-lati akalat minhā Maryamu* (E adds *wa dar Qur'an dīkr-i ān-i daraht mī āyad* (**Koran** 19.23)) *hiya marfū'atun 'indahum yašūnūnahā*; **al-Muqaddasī** 172,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 298) (*wa-Baytu Laḥmin ...*) *bihā wulida 'Īsā wa-ṭamma kānati n-naḥlatu* (cf. **Koran** 19.23) *wa-laysa yarṭabu n-naḥīlu* (C *wa-lā yarṭabu n-naḥlu*, B *wa-lā yarṭabu n-naḥīlu*) *bi-hādā r-rustāqi wa-lākin ḡu'ilat lahā āyatan.*

<sup>9</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 151,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40) (*iqlīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Rabwatu 'Īsā* (cf. **Koran** 23.50).

<sup>10</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 172,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 298) (*wa-Baytu Laḥmin ...*) *bihā wulida 'Īsā wa-ṭamma kānati n-naḥlatu* (**Koran** 19.23) *wa-laysa yarṭabu n-naḥīlu* (C *wa-lā yarṭabu n-naḥlu*, B *wa-lā yarṭabu n-naḥīlu*) *bi-hādā r-rustāqi wa-lākin ḡu'ilat lahā āyatan.*

<sup>11</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 172,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 298) (*wa-Baytu Laḥmin ...*) *bihā wulida 'Īsā wa-ṭamma kānati n-naḥlatu* (**Koran** 19.23) *wa-laysa yarṭabu n-naḥīlu* (C *wa-lā yarṭabu n-naḥlu*, B *wa-lā yarṭabu n-naḥīlu*) *bi-hādā r-rustāqi wa-lākin ḡu'ilat lahā āyatan.*



the High ‘Abbāsid Church of the Nativity [in Bethlehem].<sup>1</sup> Muslims pray, first individually, then collectively, in the Bethlehem Church, because of High ‘Abbāsid *Mawlid ʿĪsā* and *Mahd ʿĪsā* there;<sup>2</sup> a High ‘Abbāsid Muslim tradition says that praying at *Mawlid ʿĪsā* in Jerusalem is like entering Paradise, and entering it is like looking at Jesus and Mary [in Paradise] (B064.7). The Fāṭimid Christian birthplace of Jesus is in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.<sup>3</sup>

B165.6.b. Parallels to the Cradle of Jesus in Jerusalem:<sup>4</sup> The Pre-Marwānid Christian Cradle (*praesepe*) of Jesus is in a cave (*spelunca*) in Bethlehem; this is a decorated cradle of gold and silver (*praesepe ex auro et argento ornatum*);<sup>5</sup> this is a silver cradle (*praesepe argenteum*) which replaces Christ's original clay cradle (*praesepe luteum*).<sup>6</sup> The Marwānid Christian Cradle of Jesus (*presepe Domini*) is next to the Birth-place of Jesus (*locus nativitatis Dominicae*) in the cave under the Church of Bethlehem.<sup>7</sup> The Marwānid Muslim cradle of Jesus is in

<sup>1</sup>**al-Iṣṭaḥrī** 57,12f. (*qaryatun tuʿrafu bi-Bayti Laḥmin* (E *bi-Bayti l-Luḥamī*)) *wa-hiya* (CD *wa-huwa*) *mawlidu ʿĪsā ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-yuqālu inna fī kanīsatin minhā qīʿatun mina n-naḥlati l-latī akalat minhā Maryamu* (E adds *wa dar Qurʾān dīkr-i ān-i daraḥt mī āyad* (**Koran** 19.23)) *hiya marfūʿatun ʿindahum yaṣūnūnahā; **Ibn Hauqal** 171,23-172,2.*

<sup>2</sup>**Saʿīd b. Biṭriq, Taʿrīḥ** 2 18,17-22 *tumma dahaba ʿUmaru ilā Bayti Laḥma li-yanṣurahā fa-ḥaḍarathu ṣ-ṣalātu fa-ṣallā dāḥila l-kanīsati ʿinda l-ḥanīyati l-qibliyati wa-kānati l-ḥanīyatu kulluhā manqūṣatan bi-l-fusayfisati wa-kataba ʿUmaru li-l-baṭraki siḡillan an lā yuṣalliya fī hādā l-Mawḍiʿi mina l-Muslimīna illā raḡulun wāḥidin baʿda wāḥidin wa-lā yuḡmaʿa fīhi ṣalātun wa-lā yuʿaddana fīhi wa-lā yuḡayyara fīhi ṣayʿun wa-fī ʿaṣrinā hādā ḥālafa l-Muslimīna [sic] siḡilla ʿUmaru bni l-Ḥaṭṭābi fa-qalaʿu l-fusayfisata mina l-ḥanīyati wa-katabū fihā mā aḥabbū wa-ḡamaʿū ṣ-ṣalāta wa-ʿaddānū fihā*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,2-4 *wa-qāla ahlu l-kitābi mina n-Naṣārā: wulida l-maṣīhu ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-Bayti Laḥmin ʿalā arbaʿati amyālin min Bayti l-Maqdisi fī l-ḥaddi l-qibliyi minhā. fa-banaw ʿalā mawḍiʿi mawlidihī kanīṣatan laysa ʿalā waḡhi l-arḍi miṭluhā*.

<sup>4</sup>For the Cradle of Jesus the Christians have in Bethlehem, see Klameth, *Lokaltraditionen* 1 38-52; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 151 s.v. "Bethlehem. 1".

<sup>5</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum AB**: 29 (*et Bethlehem est locus splendidus ...*) *Ibi est spelunca ubi natus est Dominus in qua est praesepe ex auro et argento ornatum*.

<sup>6</sup>**Hieronymus, Hom. de nativitate Domini** 31-40 *O si mihi liceret illud praesepe videre in quo Dominus iacuit? Nunc nos Christi quasi pro honore tulimus luteum et posuimus argenteum: sed mihi pretiosius illud est quod ablatum est. Argentum et aurum meretur gentilitas: Christiana fides meretur luteum illud praesepe. Qui in isto praesepe (N in isto praesaepi) natus est aurum condempnat et argentum. Non condempno eos qui honoris causa fecerunt (neque enim illos cocondempno qui in Templo fecerunt vasa aurea): sed admiror Dominum qui creator mundi non inter aurum et argentum, sed in luto nascitur*.

<sup>7</sup>**Adomnanus** II 2,2-12: II.2.1-4 (*Bethlem ...*) *In eiusdem vero civitatis orientali et extremo angulo quasi quaedam naturalis dimedia inest spelunca cuius interior ultima pars presepe Domini nominatur in quo natum puerum reclinavit mater. Alius vero supradicto contiguus presepio introeuntibus propior locus propriae nativitatē Dominicae (B Dominicae nativitatē) traditur fuisse. Illa ergo Bethlemitica (Y Bethleemitica) spelunca presepi Dominici tota intrinsecus ob ipsius Salvatoris honorificentiam marmore adornata est pretioso. Cui utique semianthro super (possibly read superstructum super) lapideum caenaculum sanctae Mariae (B Mariae semper virginis) ecclesia supra (Y super) ipsum locum ubi Dominus natus specialius (YPZ specialiter) traditur grandi structura fabricata fundata est (B fabricata est, without fundata) = **Beda, De locis sanctis** 7,5-11: 7.1 (*Bethlehem ...*) *in cuius orientali angulo quasi quoddam (P quodam) naturale semiantrum est cuius exterior pars (MNB cuius exterior) nativitatē dominicae fuisse dicitur locus (A locus vero) interior praesepe Domini (B Domini praesepe) nominatur. Haec spelunca tota interiori pretioso marmore tecta supra ipsum locum ubi Dominus natus specialis traditus sanctae Mariae (A sancteq Mariae) grandem gestat ecclesiam*.*

[the region of] Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The High 'Abbāsīd Christian Cradle (*praesepe*) of Jesus is next to "the place where it pleased our Lord to be born" (*locus ubi dignatus nasci dominus noster*) or "where it pleased Christ to be born" (*ubi Christus dignatus est nasci*), in the cave under the Church of the Nativity.<sup>2</sup> The High 'Abbāsīd Muslim Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd al-Masīh*)<sup>3</sup> is in Syria-Palestine (*aš-Ša'm*),<sup>4</sup> in [the region of] Jerusalem;<sup>5</sup> as just mentioned, Muslims pray, first individually, then collectively, in the Bethlehem Church (B165.6.a).

B165.6.c. For parallels to the Prayer-niche of Zechariah, see B012.4.a.

**B165.7. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Cradle of Jesus (*Mahd-i 'Īsā*) proper is stone-made (*sangīn*), with a surface large enough so that people make [ritual] prayer on it, and firmly attached to the floor [of this mosque] (*zamīn*) (B165.4), and **Nāṣir** himself makes ritual prayer there.<sup>6</sup> **Ibn al-ʿArabī l-Iṣbīlī** sees the *imām* [of the mosque of Jerusalem] prostrating himself at the Prayer-niche of Zechariah at the Temple (*bi-Miḥrāb Zakarīyā bi-l-Bayt al-Muqaddas*) during his *Ramaḍān* readings (*'ind qirā'atihi fī tarāwīḥ ramaḍān*), and Ibn al-ʿArabī prostrates himself with him, but the crowds of scholars (*ḡamāhīr al-ʿulamā'*) do not see the *imām* (B165.5). There are many copper and silver lamps (*qindīlḥā-yi bisyār-i biringīn wa nuqragīn*) suspended which burn all night (B165.3).

B165.7.a. For parallels to the lamps burning all night, see B014.7.c.

## B166. The myrtle tree<sup>7</sup>

**B166.1. Name (Muslim):** The myrtle tree (*\*daraḥt-i mūr*d).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** Nr.399: 260,9f. *wa-takallama 'Īsā fī l-mahdi ṣabīyan* (cf. **Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29) *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi*.

<sup>2</sup>**Iacintus** 323: 4f. *Item ab illo loco ubi dignatus nasci Dominus noster usque ad presepem tres passos habentur; grados vero per quos descendimus ad praesepe XII.m sunt. Duo ostea erea ibi sunt. Domus ubi presepe stat et ubi Christus dignatus est nasci ....*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 151,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 148 n. 16) (*iqlīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Mawlidu l-Masīhi* (C *mawlūdu l-Masīhi*) (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *wa-Mahduhu* (cf. **Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29).

Cf. **Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,13f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 326) (*Baytu l-Masḡidi ...*) *wa-kallama 'Īsā n-nāsa fī l-mahdi* (cf. **Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29) *bihā*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muqaddasī** 151,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166f.; see Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 40; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 148 n. 16) (*iqlīmu š-Ša'mi ... bihi ...*) *Mawlidu l-Masīhi* (C *mawlūdu l-Masīhi*) (cf. **Koran** 19.23-26) *wa-Mahduhu* (cf. **Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29).

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Faqīh** 95,13f. (transl. Hirschberg, "Sources" 326) (*Baytu l-Masḡidi ...*) *wa-kallama 'Īsā n-nāsa fī l-mahdi* (cf. **Koran** 3.46; 5.110; 19.29) *bihā*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 34,17-19 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 166) *wa ān mahd-i sangīn* (NP *bah sangīn*) *ast čūn-ān-kih mardum dar ān-ḡā namāz kunand wa man dar ān-ḡā namāz kardam wa ān-rā dar zamīn saḥt karda and čūn-ān-kih na-ḡunbad*.

<sup>7</sup>For this myrtle tree, see Elad, *Jerusalem* 48 n. 114 ("the Tree of the Girls of Paradise"); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 159.

B166.1.a. **Nāṣir** has *\*az nawādir ba-Masğid-i Bayt al-Maqdis daraht-i ḥūr dīdam* "Of rare objects, I have seen, in the Mosque of the Temple, the Tree of the virgins of Paradise"; **Nāṣir NP** has *\*az nawādir ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Maqdis daraht-i ḥwurd dīdam* "Of rare objects, I have seen, in the Friday Mosque of the Temple, a small tree". The introductory *az nawādir* makes one expect for a wonder of nature, or at least an object uncommon in Syria-Palestine. A Tree of the virgins of Paradise fits nicely with the ambiance of Jerusalem, but is no wonder of nature, and is neither explained nor known anywhere else; a small tree is nothing special.

B166.1.b. It has been proposed reading instead *\*daraht-i mūrđ* "a myrtle tree" (Ġanīzāda). This is quite easy, as *\*mūrđ* becomes, by misreading the initial *mīm* as *ḥāʾ*, *ḥwurd*, and by the additional dropping of the final *dāl*, the attractive *ḥūr* "virgins of Paradise". The sense is much better.

B166.1.c. The term has been translated as "a walnut tree" (Thackston), which presupposes reading *\*daraht-i ḡawz*. This is also quite easy, as *\*ḡawz* becomes, by dropping the dots of both *ḡīm* and *zāʾ*, the attractive *ḥūr* "virgins of Paradise", and by addition of a final *dāl*, *ḥwurd*.

**B166.2. Position:** This tree has its place in the (Friday) Mosque of the Temple (*\*ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Maqdis*,<sup>2</sup> *\*ba-Masğid-i Bayt al-Maqdis*<sup>3</sup>). This gives only a location somewhere in the courtyard.

B166.2.a. **Nāṣir** mentions *\*daraht-i mūrđ* as the second and last appendix to his description of Jerusalem, after a first appendix on *Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd* (at the CITADEL) and *Kursī-i Sulaymān* (near the NORTH ARCADE between BĀB AL-ʿATM and BĀB ḤIṬṬA) which is concluded by *\*in maʿnī dar Ḡāmiʿ-i Bayt al-Maqdis dīda būdam wa taṣwīr karda wa ham-ān-ḡā bar rūznāma kih dāštām taʿlīq zada* "This I have seen in the Friday Mosque of the Temple, and drawn and added there in the diary I had". This is no help for location.

**Nāṣir**

*Maqām an-Nabī* -> *Maqām-i Ġūrī* -> the two west staircases ->  
*Maqām-i Šarqī* -> *Maqām-i Šāmī* -> *Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd* -> *Kursī-i Sulaymān* -> *\*daraht-i mūrđ*

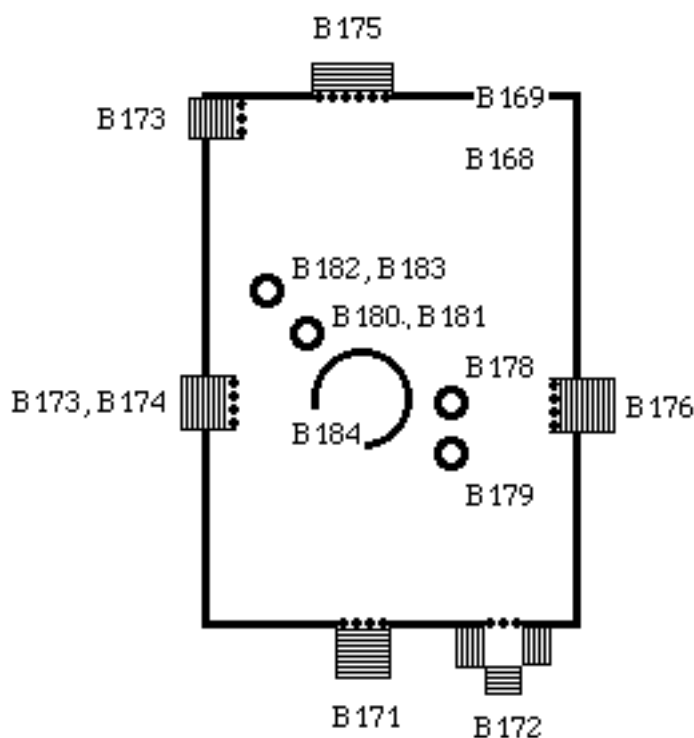
**B166.3. Physical shape:** This is obviously a real myrtle tree (*\*daraht-i mūrđ*).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,21 (see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 159) *az nawādir ba-Masğid-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ba-Masğid-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) (NP *ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Maqdis*)) *daraht-i ḥūr* (NP *daraht-i ḥwurd*) *dīdam*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir NP** 45,21 *az nawādir ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) *daraht-i ḥwurd dīdam*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,21 (see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 159) *az nawādir ba-Masğid-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ba-Masğid-i Bayt al-Maqdis*) (NP *ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Muqaddas* (I read *ba-Masğid-i Ādīna-i Bayt al-Maqdis*)) *daraht-i ḥūr* (NP *daraht-i ḥwurd*) *dīdam*.

## 4.4. THE PLATFORM



85

**Figure 85. The Fāṭimid platform:** B168 The cistern under the platform. - B169 The fence around the platform. - B171 The Ascent of the Prophet. - B172 The Ascent of Ġūrī. - B173 The two west staircases, the south one being the West Ascent (with the rock *Baḥ-baḥ*, or Place of al-Ḥiḍr). - B174 The place where al-Ḥiḍr prays every day just before noon. - B175 The North Ascent. - B176 The East Ascent. - B178 The Dome of the Chain. - B179 The Early Fāṭimid Dome of the Gathering. - B180 The Dome of the Prophet, or Dome of the Messenger. - B181 The Dome of the Balance. - B182 The Dome of the Ascension. - B183 The Dome of Gabriel. - B184 The Dome of the Rock.

B167. The platform<sup>1</sup>

B167.1. **Names (Muslim):** The platform (of the Rock) (*dikkaṭ aṣ-Ṣaḥra*,<sup>2</sup> *dukkān*<sup>3</sup>).

B167.2. **Position:** The mosque (*masğid*) was built such that in the centre of the courtyard (*ba-miyān-i ṣāḥat*) came the platform (*dukkān*), in the centre of the platform (*ba-miyān-i dukkān*) the Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*), and in the centre of the dome (*ba-miyān-i qubba*) the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) (B155.3); the centre of the courtyard of the Friday mosque (*miyān-i sāḥat-i ḡāmi*<sup>4</sup>) is the platform (*dukkān*), and in the centre of this platform (*bar miyān-i ān dukkān-i*) is the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) (B155.3); the centre of the courtyard (*wasat aṣ-ṣaḥn*) is the platform of (the Dome of) the Rock (*dikkaṭ aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), the centre of the platform (*wasat ad-dikka*) the Dome of the Rock, and the centre of the dome (*wasat al-qubba*) the Holy Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-muqaddasa*) (B155.3); the platform (*dukkān*) is in the courtyard (*bar sāḥat-i ḡāmi*<sup>5</sup>) (B155.3). The platform includes the southwest corner of today's PLATFORM (B031.2.a). This is clearly the PLATFORM.

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid platform, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-80; 185; Bagatti, *Temple de Jérusalem* 31f.; Busink, *Tempel* 994-997; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 342a; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153f.; 157; 160.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,11f. *wa-wasatu ṣ-ṣaḥni dikkatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati rtifā'uhā mina l-arḍi sittu adru'in wa-ṭūluhā mi-atun wa-ṣṣrūna dirā'an fī 'arḍin miṭliḥā.*

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,18-22 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *ṣifat-i dukkān kih miyān-i sāḥat-i ḡāmi'-ast wa sang-i Ṣaḥra kih piš az zuḥūr-i Islām ān qibla būda ast bar miyān-i ān dukkān-i nihāda ast wa ān dukkān (NP wa dukkān-i) az bahr-i ān karda and kih Ṣaḥra buland būda ast wa na-tawānasta (NP na-tawānasta and) kih ān-rā ba-pūšiš dar āwarand in dukkān (NP dukkān-i) asās nihāda and; Nāṣir* 40,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa in dukkān (NP dukkān-i) čun-ān ast kih ḡuz badān rāhhā kih ba-ḡihat-i ān sāḥta and ba-hiç ḡā-yi dīgar bar ān-ḡā na-tawān šud; Nāṣir* 40,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa ḥawḍ-i dar miyān-i in dukkān (NP dukkān-i) dar zīr-i zamīn sāḥta and; Nāṣir* 40,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa čahār qubba dar in dukkān-ast; Nāṣir* 40,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *ṣifat-i Qubba-i Ṣaḥra banā-yi masğid čun-ān nihāda ast kih dukkān ba-miyān-i sāḥat āmada wa Qubba-i Ṣaḥra ba-miyān-i dukkān (wa Ṣaḥra ba-miyān-i qubba); Nāṣir* 41,13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa ḥāna bar dukkān nihāda ast; Nāṣir* 43,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) *wa ham bar-in dukkān qubba-i dīgar ast; Nāṣir* 44,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74f.) *ṣifat-i daraḡāt rāh-i dukkān kih bar sāḥat-i ḡāmi'-ast ba-šiš mawḍi' rāh bar dukkān-ast ... az ḡānib-i qibla dū rāh-i-st (NP rāh-ast) kih ba-ān daraḡahā bar rawand kih čūn bar miyān-i ḡā-yi (NP ḡā-yi) ḍil'-i dukkān bi-īstand ...; Nāṣir* 44,6-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental Stairway" 166f.) *wa Maqām an-Nabī az ān gūyand kih kih (I read az ān gūyand kih) šab-i Mi'rāḡ payḡambar 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām bar ān daraḡāt bar dukkān rafta ast; Nāṣir* 44,19f. (transl. *wa dārāfazīn-i dukkān hama sang-i ruḥām-i sabz-i munaqqaṭ ast; Nāṣir* 44,21-23 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75) *wa Maqām-i Ġūrī čun-ān ast kih bar yak mawḍi'sih daraḡa basta ast yak-i muḥāḍi-i dukkān wa dū bar ḡānib-i dukkān čun-ān-kih az siḥ ḡāy mardum bar rawand; Nāṣir* 45,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa ḡānib-i maḡribī-i dukkān ham dū ḡāyḡāh daraḡahā basta ast; Nāṣir* 45,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 167) *wa bar sāḥat-i masğid nah bar dukkān ḡā-yi-st čand-ān-kih masğid-i kūčak.*

**B167.3. Physical shape:** The platform of the Rock (*dikkat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) measures 120 by 120 ells (59.76 m) [?] and is 6 ells (2.99 m) high;<sup>1</sup> the platform (*dukkān*) is 330 by 300 ells (164.34 by 149.4 m) and [from the courtyard up to the top of the fence] 12 ells (5.97 m) high;<sup>2</sup> the platform (*dukkān*) is so high that from it one looks over the roof of the mosque (*bām-i masġid*).<sup>3</sup> The courtyard of the platform (*ṣaḥn-i dukkān*) is paved and beautiful with marble (*hamwār wa nīkū ba-sang-i ruḥām*), and its seams are filled with lead.<sup>4</sup> In the centre of this platform (*dar miyān-i in dukkān*) is, under the floor (*dar zīr-i zamīn*), is a cistern (*ḥawḍ*) (B168.2). The platform is reached only by the [stair]ways (*rāhhā*) to the platform (*ba-ġihat-i dukkān*) (B170.2). On all four sides of the platform (*čahār sū-yi dukkān*) is the fence of the platform (*darāfazīn-i dukkān*), the wall of the platform (*dīwār-i dukkān*) (B169.1). The Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*) is the largest (*az hama buzurgtar*) of the four domes on this platform (*čahār qubba dar in dukkān*) (B184.4). On the platform in Early Fāṭimid times are four minor domes, and in High Fāṭimid times three minor domes (B177.1): the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) (B178.2); the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ*) (B182.2) or Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ġabra'īl*) (B183.2); the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*) (B181.2) or Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) or Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) (B180.2); and, only in Early-Fāṭimid times, the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*) (B179.2). The High Fāṭimid Chamber of David (*Miḥrāb-i Dāwūd*) has its place in the courtyard of the mosque, not on the platform (*bar sāḥat-i masġid nah bar dukkān*) (B162.2)

B167.3.a. For parallels to the lead-filled seams, see B155.4.a

B167.3.b. For the implications of looking over the roof of the mosque, see B151.3.c.

B167.3.c. **Nāṣir's** (*ān dukkān ... ṣaḥn-i ān hamwār wa nīkū ba-sang-i ruḥām wa dīwārḥāš ham-čun-in darzhā-yi ān \*ba-arzīz girifta*) "(That platform ... its courtyard is even and beautiful, made of marble stone, and its wall as well.) Its seams are made of lead" has been related to the wall of the platform (Thackston). But *darzhā-yi ān* refers rather to the courtyard; a reference to the wall would be *\*darzhā-yi in*. Today's PLATFORM is paved, and there are no traces of lead in its seams.<sup>5</sup>

B167.3.d. **Nāṣir's** (*... in dukkān asās nihāda and*) *sīṣad wa sī araš dar sīṣad araš irtifā'-i ān dawāzdah gaz* "this

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,11f. *wa-wasaṭu ṣ-ṣaḥni dikkatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati rtifā'uhā mina l-arḍi sittu adru'in wa-ṭūluhā mi-ʾatun wa-ʾiṣrūna dirā'an fi ʾarḍin miṭlihā*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 157; Busink, *Tempel* 995) (*... in dukkān* (NP *dukkān-i*) *asās nihāda and*) *sīṣad wa sī araš dar sīṣad araš irtifā'-i ān dawāzdah gaz*; **Nāṣir** 41, 13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa ḥāna bar dukkān nihāda ast kih ān dawāzdah gaz irtifā' dārad*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,4f. *wa čūn bar dukkān rawand bar bām-i masġid mušrif bāšand*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) (*... in dukkān* (NP *dukkān-i*) *asās nihāda and* ...) *ṣaḥn-i ān hamwār wa nīkū ba-sang-i ruḥām wa dīwārḥāš ham-čun-in darzhā-yi* (NP *wa darzhā-yi*) *ān ba-arzīz* (read *ba-arzīz*) *girifta*.

<sup>5</sup>For the PLATFORM of today, see B098.3.a.

platform has been founded [measuring] 330 by 300 ells (219.45 by 199.50 m), its height is 12 ells (7.98 m)" does not fit with today's PLATFORM (B098.3.a) 162-166 m long, 129-159 m wide and 4.00 m high and it has been suggested that he does not describe the platform itself, but a wider fence round the platform.<sup>1</sup> But we suppose he exceptionally uses the legal ell (*ad-dirā' aš-šar'iya*) of 0.498 m instead of the king's ell (*gaz-i malik*) of 0.665 m (B131.8.f). This results in a length of 164.34 m and a width of 149.4, both perfectly fitting. The height of 5.97 m possibly includes the height of the fence.<sup>2</sup>

B167.3.e. **al-Muhallabī** has *wa-wasaṭu ṣ-ṣaḥni dikkatu ṣ-Ṣaḥrati rtifā'uhā mina l-arḍi sittu adru'in wa-tūluḥā mi'atun wa-ṣiṣrūna dirā'an fī 'arḍin miṭliḥā* "and the centre of the courtyard is the platform of (the Dome of) the Rock. Its height above the ground is 6 ells, its length 120 ells by the same width." The height of 6 ells (2.99 m) fits with the height of today's PLATFORM, but the length and the width of 120 ells (59.76 m) are obviously wrong.

**B167.4. Traditions (Muslim):** The platform (*dukkān*) was built [by the **Umayyads**], because the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) was too large to be integrated into the Roofed Hall (*pūšiš*).<sup>3</sup> **al-Walīd** built the mosque on its old foundation (*'alā asāsihi l-qadīm*) and the dome over the Rock; he embellished and levelled the Place (*al-Mawḍi'*) [the Dome of the Rock], and built in the mosque (*fī l-masḡid*) the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāḡ*), the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*), the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*) (B131.10).

**B167.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** No ritual or custom is known for the platform.

B167.5.a. It has been claimed that the platform may have been the place where the Night Journey was celebrated, and the Aqṣā Mosque the place of its official acknowledgment;<sup>4</sup> this may be, but there is no evidence for either one.

## B168. The cistern under the platform

**B168.1. Names (Muslim):** The cistern (*ḥawḍ*) in the centre of the platform (*dar miyān-i dukkān*), is under the floor (*dar zīr-i zamīn*) (B168.2).

**B168.2. Position:** The cistern has its place in the centre of the platform (*dar miyān-i dukkān*), under the floor (*dar zīr-i zamīn*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Busink, *Tempel* 995.

<sup>2</sup>Busink, *Tempel* 995.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 39,18-22 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *ṣifat-i dukkān kih miyān-i sāḥat-i ḡāmi'-ast wa sang-i Ṣaḥra kih pīš az zuḥūr-i Islām ān qibla būda ast bar miyān-i ān dukkān-i nihāda ast wa ān dukkān (NP wa dukkān-i) az bahr-i ān karda and kih Ṣaḥra buland būda ast wa na-tawānasta (NP na-tawānasta and) kih ān-rā ba-pūšiš dar āwarand in dukkān (NP dukkān-i) asās nihāda and.*

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 157.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa ḥawḍ-i dar miyān-i in dukkān (NP dukkān-i) dar zīr-i zamīn sāḥta and.*

**B168.3. Physical shape:** This is a cistern (*ḥawḍ*) fed by drains (*mağrāyhā*) which collect all the rain falling onto the platform into this cistern.<sup>1</sup>

B168.3.a. **Nāṣir**'s (*dukkān ...*) *hama-i bārānhā kih bar ān-ğā bārad āb ba-mağrāyhā dar in ḥawḍ rawad* means "(the platform ...) all rains which are falling on this place go by drains down into this cistern". His *mağrāyhā* is neither to be corrected into *mağrīhā* (Ġanīzāda) nor to be understood as "niches" (Thackston).

**B168.4. Traditions (Muslim):** Of all the water which is in this mosque (*az hama-i ābhā kih dar in masğid ast*) the water of this cistern is the purest and best (*pākīzatar wa ḥūštar*).<sup>2</sup>

B168.4.a. For parallels to the special character of the water of this cistern, see B045.6.a.

### B169. The fence around the platform<sup>3</sup>

**B169.1. Names (Muslim):** The wall of the platform (*dīwār-i dukkān*),<sup>4</sup> the fence of the platform (*darāfazīn-i dukkān*),<sup>5</sup> made like a fence (*ham-čūn ḥaḏīra karda*) (B169.3).

B169.1.a. A parallel to the term *darāfazīn-i dukkān*: Marwānīd **al-Wāsiṭī Nr.136** = **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.47** calls the fence around the Rock *darābazīn* (B044.1).

**B169.2. Position:** The fence is on all four sides of the platform (*čahār sū-yi dukkān*).<sup>6</sup> We best locate it around the PLATFORM.

---

For the CISTERNS under the PLATFORM, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 216-225; Le Strange, *Palestine* 197-200; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 104f.; Milik, "Topographie" 178f.; Miquel, *al-Muqaddasī* 190 n. 178; Busink, *Tempel* 1004; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 286 n. 52; Wightman, *Walls* 83 fig. 16; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 218; 3 66; 70f.; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 163 fig. 1; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 135-185: Nr.28-38 and 220-222 (Nr.33-42) (with figures); Myres, "Overview" 339; St.Laurent "Dome of the Rock" 418 n. 10.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,5-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa ḥawḍ-i dar miyān-i in dukkān* (NP *dukkān-i*) *dar zīr-i zamīn sāḥta and kih hama-i bārānhā kih bar ān-ğā bārad āb* (NP *āb-i ān*) *ba-mağrāyhā dar in ḥawḍ rawad wa āb-i in ḥawḍ az hama-i ābhā kih dar in masğid ast pākīzatar wa ḥūštar ast*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa āb-i in ḥawḍ az hama-i ābhā kih dar in masğid ast pākīzatar wa ḥūštar ast*.

<sup>3</sup>For the fence around the Fāṭimid platform, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; 132; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153-156; 160.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) (... *in dukkān* (NP *dukkān-i*) *asās nihāda and ... ṣaḥn-i ān hamwār wa nikū ba-sang-i ruḥām wa diwārḥāš ham-čūn-in*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,19f. *wa dārāfazīn-i dukkān hama sang-i ruḥām-i sabz-i munaqqaṭ ast*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) (... *in dukkān* (NP *dukkān-i*) *asās nihāda and ...*) *wa čahār sū-yi ān ba-taḥta-i sanghā-yi ruḥām ham-čūn ḥaḏīra karda*.



B169.2.a. It has been suggested that **Nāṣir**'s (... *in dukkān asās nihāda and*) *sīṣad wa sī araš dar sīṣad araš irtifāʿ-i ān dawāzdah gaz* "this platform has been founded [measuring] 330 by 300 ells, its height is 12 ells" does not refer to the platform, but to a wider fence round it; this may be excluded (B167.3.d).

**B169.3. Physical shape:** The wall of the platform (*dīwār-i dukkān*) is made like a fence (*ham-čūn ḥaṣīra karda*).<sup>1</sup> It is beautifully made of marble (*ba-sang-i ruḥām*), marble slabs (*taḥta-i sanghā-yi ruḥām*),<sup>2</sup> is all made of green marble, with dots [in all colours] (*hama sang-i ruḥām-i sabz-i munaqqaṭ*), like flowers which just opened in a meadow (*bar murǧzār gulhā šikufta*).<sup>3</sup> The platform (*dukkān*) is [from the courtyard up to the top of the fence] 12 ells (5.97 m) high (B167.3).

B169.3.a. Parallels to the green marble of the fence, with dots [in all colours]: The Pre-Marwānīd Church of the Holy Sepulchre has, near Golgotha, a place described as *ilomargarogurŌxroun* "all of pearl colour".<sup>4</sup> The Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī* has four columns of green marble like emerald, with many dots in all colours (B171.4).

B169.3.b. **Nāṣir**'s *ḥaṣīra* has been interpreted such that the platform is "a special and restricted area with collectively accepted meanings and with many opportunities for individual religious practice";<sup>5</sup> this is true not only for the platform (the PLATFORM), but also for the whole mosque (the whole ḤARAM).

## B170. The staircases to the platform<sup>6</sup>

**B170.1. Names (Muslim):** The ways which were made for the platform (*ān rāhhā kih ba-ǧihat-i dukkān sāḥta and*), the staircases to the platform (*daraǧāt rāh-i dukkān*) (B170.2) Each of the staircases has its own name;<sup>7</sup> these are the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) (B171.2), the Ascent of Ġūrī (*Maqām-i Ġūrī*) (B172.2), the West Ascent (*al-Maqām al-Ġarbī*) and another west staircase (B173.2), the East Ascent (B176.2) and the North Ascent (B175.2).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 153-156; 160) (*ān dukkān ...*) *wa čahār sū-yi ān ba-taḥta-i sanghā-yi ruḥām ham-čūn ḥaṣīra karda*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) (... *in dukkān* (NP *dukkān-i*) *asās nihāda and ...*) *wa čahār sū-yi ān ba-taḥta-i sanghā-yi ruḥām ham-čūn ḥaṣīra karda*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,19-21 *wa dārāfāzīn-i dukkān hama sang-i ruḥām-i sabz-i munaqqaṭ ast wa čun-ān ast kih gūʾī bar murǧzār gulhā šikufta ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Sophronios, Anakr.20** 23-26: 6E' Ἐπὶ τριστῶν (read τρίστοον) παρέλθω / ὁλομαργαρογυρόχροον / περικαλλέως γε παῦλον (read γ' ἑπαυλον) / Κρανίου τόπον προέρπειν.

<sup>5</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 156; see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 160.

<sup>6</sup>For the staircases to the Fāṭimid platform, in general, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-80.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74f.) (*šifat-i daraǧāt rāh-i dukkān kih bar sāhat-i ḡāmiʿ-ast ba-šiš mawḍiʿ rāh bar dukkān-ast*) *wa har yak-i-rā nām-i-st*.

**B170.2. Position:** These are six ways (*šiš rāh*);<sup>1</sup> only at [these] six places (*ba-šiš mawḍiʿ*) are ways to the platform (sing. *rāh bar dukkān*).<sup>2</sup> These are the staircases to the platform (*daraḡāt rāh-i dukkān*),<sup>3</sup> the ways which were made for the platform (*ān rāhhā kih ba-ḡihat-i dukkān sāhta and*), and there is no other entry to the platform.<sup>4</sup> For location, see the particular places below.

**B170.3. Physical shape:** These are ways (to the platform) (*rāhhā* sing. *rāh bar dukkān*), ways which were made for the platform (*rāhhā kih ba-ḡihat-i dukkān sāhta and*), staircases (to the platform) (*daraḡāt rāh-i dukkān*) (B170.2). The North Staircase (*Maqām-i Šāmī*) is the highest and largest of all [these staircases] (*az hama ʿālī tar wa buzurgtar*) (B175.3). The building of the stairways may have cost of [about] 100,000 *dīnār* (*ṣad hazār dīnār ḡarḡ*).<sup>5</sup>

### B171. The Ascent of the Prophet<sup>6</sup>

**B171.1. Names (Muslim):** The Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*).<sup>7</sup>

B171.1.a. Identification of the north staircase leading to the Fāṭimid platform with High ʿAbbāsīd *Qubbat an-Nabī* is impossible (B108.1.a).

B171.1.b. The "*al-Maqām al-Qiblī*" - i.e., *Maqām an-Nabī* - and *Maqām al-Ġūrī* have been considered identical and have been located at the SOUTH STAIRCASE;<sup>8</sup> this contradicts **Nāṣir**'s description of two south staircases, one

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa taqdīr kardam kih badīn šiš rāh kih sāhta and ṣad hazār dīnār ḡarḡ suda bāšad*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74f.) *ba-šiš mawḍiʿ rāh bar dukkān-ast*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74) *šifāt-i daraḡāt rāh-i dukkān kih bar sāhat-i ḡāmi ʿast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *wa īn dukkān (NP dukkān-i) čun-ān ast kih ḡuz badān rāhhā kih ba-ḡihat-i ān sāhta and ba-hič ḡā-yi dīgar bar ān-ḡā na-tawān šud*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa taqdīr kardam kih badīn šiš rāh kih sāhta and ṣad hazār dīnār ḡarḡ šuda bāšad*.

<sup>6</sup>For the Fāṭimid Ascent of the Prophet, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 10f.; 43; 74-78; 79 n. 2; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIIf. (speaking of *Maqām an-Nabī* and *al-Maqām al-Qiblī*); XXIIIf.; 71-73; 74f. n. 111; 168 n. 12; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166-168; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 158; 159 fig. 84; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 71,1 *Bābu mā yustaḡabbu mina d-duʿāʾi fī Maqāmi n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.60**: 71,2 *wa-yustaḡabbu lahu an yaqifa ʿalā Maqāmi n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*; **Nāṣir** 44,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *ān-rā kih bar dast-i rāst būd Maqām an-Nabī ʿalayhi s-salām gūyand*; **Nāṣir** 44,6-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa Maqām an-Nabī az ān gūyand kih kih (I read az ān gūyand kih) šab-i Mi ʿrāḡ payḡambar ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām bar ān daraḡāt bar dukkān rafta ast wa az ān-ḡā dar Qubba-i Ṣaḡra rafta*.

<sup>8</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIIIIf.

further west, one further east (B171.2).

**B171.2. Position:** On the south side (*az ġānib-i qibla*) [of the platform] are two ways (*dū rāh*) or staircases (*daraġahā, daraġāt*); the one further west is the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*), the one further east the Ascent of Ġūrī (*Maqām-i Ġūrī*).<sup>1</sup> On the same side as the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) is the road to the Ḥiġāz (*rāh-i Ḥiġāz*).<sup>2</sup> We best locate the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) at the SOUTH STAIRCASE (and the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE),<sup>3</sup> the Ascent of Ġūrī (*Maqām-i Ġūrī*) at the SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE.<sup>4</sup>

B171.2.a. **Nāṣir** locates the two south staircases as being oriented towards the prayer-direction [towards the south], *Maqām an-Nabī* to the right [west] and *Maqām-i Ġūrī* to the left [east].<sup>5</sup>

|                                  |                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                       |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The two south staircases         | <i>az ġānib-i qibla dū rāh-i-st<br/>kih ba-ān daraġahā bar rawand</i>                                                                  | "On the south side [of the platform] are two ways, i.e., staircases, on which one enters.                                             |
| Definition of right and left     | <i>kih čūn bar miyān-i ġā-yī<br/>ḍil'-i dukkān bi-īstand<br/>yak-i az ān daraġāt bar dast-i rāst bāšad<br/>wa dīgar bar dast-i čap</i> | When one stands in the middle of the side of the platform, one of these ways is on the right side and the other one on the left side. |
| Right: the Ascent of the Prophet | <i>ān-rā kih bar dast-i rāst būd<br/>Maqām an-Nabī 'alayhi s-salām gūyand</i>                                                          | The one which is on the right side, is called the Ascent of the Prophet.                                                              |
| Left: the Ascent of Ġūrī         | <i>wa ān-rā kih bar dast-i čap būd<br/>Maqām-i Ġūrī</i>                                                                                | And the one which is on the left side is called the Ascent of Ġūrī."                                                                  |

B171.2.b. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.52-69** has *Maqām an-Nabī* preceded by the cave under the Rock (the CAVE under the ROCK) and followed by *Qubbat as-Silsila* with *Bāb Isrāfīl* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA and the EAST

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,2-6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *az ġānib-i qibla dū rāh-i-st* (NP *rāh-ast*) *kih ba-ān daraġahā bar rawand kih čūn bar miyān-i ġā-yī* (NP *ģā-yī*) *ḍil'-i dukkān bi-īstand yak-i az ān daraġāt bar dast-i rāst bāšad wa dīgar* (NP *dīgar-i*) *bar dast-i čap ān-rā kih bar dast-i rāst būd Maqām an-Nabī 'alayhi s-salām gūyand wa ān-rā kih bar dast-i čap būd Maqām-i Ġūrī*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) (*wa Maqām an-Nabī az ān gūyand kih ...*) *wa rāh-i Ḥiġāz nīz bar ān-ġānib ast*.

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158.

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46f.; 219; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158.

For the SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 73-82; pl. XLIV top; pl. CIV top (in the background); pl. CIX top; Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" 115-117; pl. XI.B-XII.A; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46f.; 49; 219; Rosen-Ayalon, "Ayyūbid Jerusalem" 309; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 153f.; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166-168; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 163 (plate).

<sup>5</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76f.

GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK). *Maqām an-Nabī* is thus either inside the Dome of the Rock or outside on the platform.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*: entry, a kind of *ṭawāf* around the Rock, *al-mawḍiʿ al-laḍī yadʿū n-nās fihi*, *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ*, *taḥt aṣ-Ṣaḥra* -> **Maqām an-Nabī** -> *Qubbat as-Silsila*, *Bāb Isrāfīl* -> *Qubbat al-Miʿrāğ* -> *Qubbat an-Nabī*

B171.2.c. **Nāṣir** mentions *Maqām an-Nabī* and *Maqām-i Ġūrī* in his paragraph on the staircases to the platform; they are the first two staircases, followed by the west staircases (at the WEST STAIRCASE and the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE), *Maqām-i Šarqī* (at the EAST STAIRCASE) and *Maqām-i Šāmī* (at the NORTH STAIRCASE). This also positions them in the south, possibly at the SOUTH STAIRCASE and the SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE.

**Nāṣir**

the six staircases to the platform -> the two south staircases: **Maqām an-Nabī**, *Maqām-i Ġūrī* -> the two west staircases -> *Maqām-i Šarqī* -> *Maqām-i Šāmī*

B171.2.d. At the upper end of Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī* are four columns with three vaults in between, the central vault being opposite the [South] Gate [of the Dome of the Rock] (B171.4). Today's SOUTH STAIRCASE ARCADE has three columns and two lateral pillars, and so four vaults. Its position relative to the DOME OF THE ROCK and AQṢĀ MOSQUE is asymmetric, as a line running from the SOUTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK to the CENTRAL GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE does not pass through the central column, but through VAULT 2 from the east.<sup>1</sup> The east sides of the SOUTH STAIRCASE ARCADE and of the SOUTH STAIRCASE are in line with the east side of the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR under the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.<sup>2</sup> Both facts make one think that a three vaults-arcade as described by **Nāṣir** may have had its central vault in line with the SOUTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK and with the CENTRAL NORTH GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and that this three-vault arcade may have been at the place of the three east VAULTS of the SOUTH STAIRCASE ARCADE,<sup>3</sup> and that the whole arcade was later rebuilt with an additional vault to the west.

B171.2.e. Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī* is smooth enough to be used on horseback (B171.3). This does not fit with the SOUTH STAIRCASE with its steep rise; a simple identification of Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī* with the SOUTH-EAST STAIRCASE<sup>4</sup> is therefore out of the question. But the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE<sup>5</sup> southeast of the SOUTH STAIRCASE, which disappeared between 1887 and 1903, was rather smooth, with steps 0.45-0.50 m high and 0.76 m deep. Prolongation of the smooth ascent of the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE brings us to the edge of the PLATFORM. We best identify Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī* with this MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE, and locate its upper end at the SOUTH STAIRCASE ARCADE.

B171.2.f. Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī* has a width of 20 ells (13.30 m) (B171.3); this does not fit with the MO-

<sup>1</sup>This is obvious on the plates in Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 23; 32f.; 34; 146.

<sup>2</sup>Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 167 n. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 167 n. 23.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 388.

For the rise of staircases, in general, see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 169f.

<sup>5</sup>For the SOUTH STAIRCASE and the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE, see B099.2.

NUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE, about 24-34 m wide.<sup>1</sup>

B171.2.g. The west end of this MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE was intersected by the WAY leading to the SOUTH STAIRCASE; we may have to deduce from this that the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE was much wider up to a point west of the SOUTH STAIRCASE, and was later replaced by the SOUTH STAIRCASE.<sup>2</sup> The east end of the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE leads to a number of FLAT STONES on a lower level than the PLATFORM, probably remains of an ancient pavement;<sup>3</sup> this does not exclude the possibility that the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE went on further west to the height of the PLATFORM.

B171.2.h. The transition from the smooth staircase with three vaults to the steep SOUTH STAIRCASE of today with its four vaults happened later than **Nāṣir**. It has been assumed that the Umayyads largely replaced the wide and smooth staircase with the narrow and steep SOUTH STAIRCASE, and that the three vaults received, in a later period, the addition of a fourth west vault;<sup>4</sup> but the Umayyad dating of this change is out of the question.

B171.2.i. *Maqām an-Nabī* has been located inside the Dome of the Rock at QADAM AN-NABĪ,<sup>5</sup> and *Maqām-i Ġūrī* either at the SOUTH STAIRCASE<sup>6</sup> or at the SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE on the west edge of the PLATFORM;<sup>7</sup> all these locations may be excluded. The location of both "*al-Maqām al-Qiblī*" - i.e., *Maqām an-Nabī* - and *Maqām al-Ġūrī* at the SOUTH STAIRCASE is impossible (B171.1.b).

**B171.3. Physical shape:** There are, all in all, six ways (to the platform) (*rāhhā* sing. *rāh bar dukkān*), ways which were made for the platform (*rāhhā kih ba-ġihat-i dukkān sāhta and*), staircases to the platform (*daraġāt rāh-i dukkān*) (B170.2), and on the south side of the platform two ways (*dū rāh*) or staircases (*daraġahā, daraġāt*) (B171.2). The Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) has staircases (*daraġāt, daraġahā*) 20 ells (13.30 m) wide; all steps (*hama-i daraġahā*) are of hewn stone (*az sang-i muhandam*); each step (*daraġa*) is composed of one or two quadrangular blocks (*pāra sang-i murabba*), and the staircase is so smooth that one could even use it on horseback.<sup>8</sup>

B171.3.a. The width of *Maqām an-Nabī* is given by **Nāṣir**'s *aknūn in daraġāt-rā pahnā-yi bīst araš bāšad* "now,

<sup>1</sup>Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 163 n. 7 (24 m); 165f. (34 m).

<sup>2</sup>Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166-168.

<sup>3</sup>Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166.

<sup>4</sup>Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166-168.

<sup>5</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIII f.; 71 f.; 166.

<sup>6</sup>Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 388f.

<sup>7</sup>Thackston, *Nāṣir* 31 (commenting upon a photograph of the SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE).

For today's SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 59 fig. 9; 74-80; 156-159; 185, pl. XLIII; LXXXI right; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; 570f. (with plates); Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur* 2 403; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 66f.; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 16 (plate).

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,9-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158f.; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *aknūn in daraġāt-rā pahnā-yi* (NP *pahnā*) *bīst araš bāšad hama-i daraġahā az sang tarāšīda muhandam čun-ān-kih har daraġa ba-yak-pāra* (NP *yak-pāra*) *yā dū pāra sang-ast murabba<sup>c</sup> burīda wa čun-ān tartīb* (NP *ba-tartīb*) *sāhta kih agar hūwāhand bā sutūr ba-ān-ġā bar tawānand* (NP *tawānad*) *šud*.

these staircases have a width of 20 ells", ca.13.30 m. The width has been estimated at about 9-12 m.<sup>1</sup>

B171.4. At the upper end of the staircase (*bar sar-i daraġāt*)<sup>2</sup> are four<sup>3</sup> columns (*sutūn*,<sup>4</sup> *‘amūd*) 10 ells (6.65 m) high, with a circumference so large that two men may just embrace them.<sup>6</sup> These columns are made of green marble (*sang-i ruḥām-i sabz*) like emerald, except that these slabs (*ruḥāmhā*) have many dots in all colours (*nuqṭa-i bisyār ast az har rang*).<sup>7</sup> On top of these columns is an arcade with three<sup>8</sup> vaults (*ṭāqhā*<sup>9</sup> sing. *ṭāq*<sup>10</sup>), one opposite the [south] Gate [of the Dome of the Rock] (*muqābil-i dar*), the others left and right;<sup>11</sup> the vaults are beautifully all over decorated with gold and mosaic (*hama ba-zar wa mīnā munaqqaš*

<sup>1</sup>Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 167.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i daraġāt čahār sutūn ast*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i daraġāt čahār sutūn ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i daraġāt čahār sutūn ast*; **Nāṣir** 44,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i in čahār ‘amūd sih ṭāq zada ast čun-ān-kih yak-i muqābil-i dar (NP daraġa) wa dū bar dū ġānib*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bālā-yi har ‘amūd-i az-in dah araš bāšad wa siṭabrī čand-ān-kih dar āġūš-i dū mard gunġad*; **Nāṣir** 44,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i in čahār ‘amūd sih ṭāq zada ast čun-ān-kih yak-i muqābil-i dar (NP daraġa) wa dū bar dū ġānib*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bālā-yi har ‘amūd-i az-in dah araš bāšad wa siṭabrī čand-ān-kih dar āġūš-i dū mard gunġad*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,12-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i daraġāt čahār sutūn ast az sang-i ruḥām-i sabz kih ba-zumurrud šabih ast illā bar ān-kih (read illā ān-kih) bar-in ruḥāmhā nuqṭa-i bisyār ast az har rang*.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i in čahār ‘amūd sih ṭāq zada ast čun-ān-kih yak-i muqābil-i dar (NP daraġa) wa dū bar dū ġānib*.

<sup>9</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa pušt-i ṭāqhā rāst karda wa in-rā šurfā wa kungura bar nihāda čun-ān-kih murabba‘-i mīnamāyad*.

<sup>10</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i in čahār ‘amūd sih ṭāq zada ast čun-ān-kih yak-i muqābil-i dar (NP daraġa) wa dū bar dū ġānib*.

<sup>11</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i in čahār ‘amūd sih ṭāq zada ast čun-ān-kih yak-i muqābil-i dar (NP daraġa) wa dū bar dū ġānib*.

*karda*).<sup>1</sup> The upper part of the vaults (*pušt-i tāqhā*) is even, has a cornice and a crenellation (*šurfa wa kungura*), and looks quadrangular [if seen from in front].<sup>2</sup>

B171.4.a. For a parallel to the green marble columns with dots of all colours: The Fāṭimid fence around the platform is made of green marble slabs with dots [in all colours] (B169.3).

B171.4.b. Parallels to the cornice and crenellation of Fāṭimid *Maqām an-Nabī*: Fāṭimid *Maqām-i Ġūrī* has a cornice (B172.4), Fāṭimid *Maqām-i Šarqī* a crenellation (B176.3).

B171.4.c. **Nāṣir**'s (*čahār sutūn ...*) *az sang-i ruḥām-i sabz kih ba-zumurrud šabīh ast illā ān-kih bar-in ruḥāmhā nuqṭa-i bisyār ast az har rang* "(four columns ...) of green marble which is similar to emerald, except that on these marble slabs are many dots of every colour" mentions marble columns; his *wa in 'amūdhā wa tāqhā-rā hama ba-zar wa mīnā munaqqaš karda and čun-ān-kih an ān hūbtar na-bāšad* "and one made these columns and vaults decorated with gold and mosaic so that there is nothing better" mentions columns decorated with gold or mosaic. There are no gold- or mosaic-decorated columns known, and we best shorten the second passage down into *\*wa ī n tāqhā-rā ...*, so that just the vaults are decorated with gold and mosaic.

B171.4.d. **Nāṣir** has *wa bar sar-i in čahār 'amūd sih tāq zada ast čun-ān-kih yak-ī muqābil-i dar wa dū bar dū ḡānib* "and on top of these four columns are three vaults, placed so that one is opposite the gate and [the other] two on both sides", but **Nāṣir NP** has *... yak-ī muqābil-i daraḡa wa dū bar dū ḡānib* "... that one is opposite the staircase and [the other] two on both sides." The first text (preferred by Le Strange and van Berchem<sup>3</sup>) puts the central vault in line with the [south] gate [of the Dome of the Rock] and the central gate of the Roofed Hall, which makes a great deal of sense. The second text (preferred by Schefer and Thackston) assumes, much less convincingly, that opposite the central vault is just a very small staircase.

#### B171.5. Contemporary events: We do not know when the staircase was built.

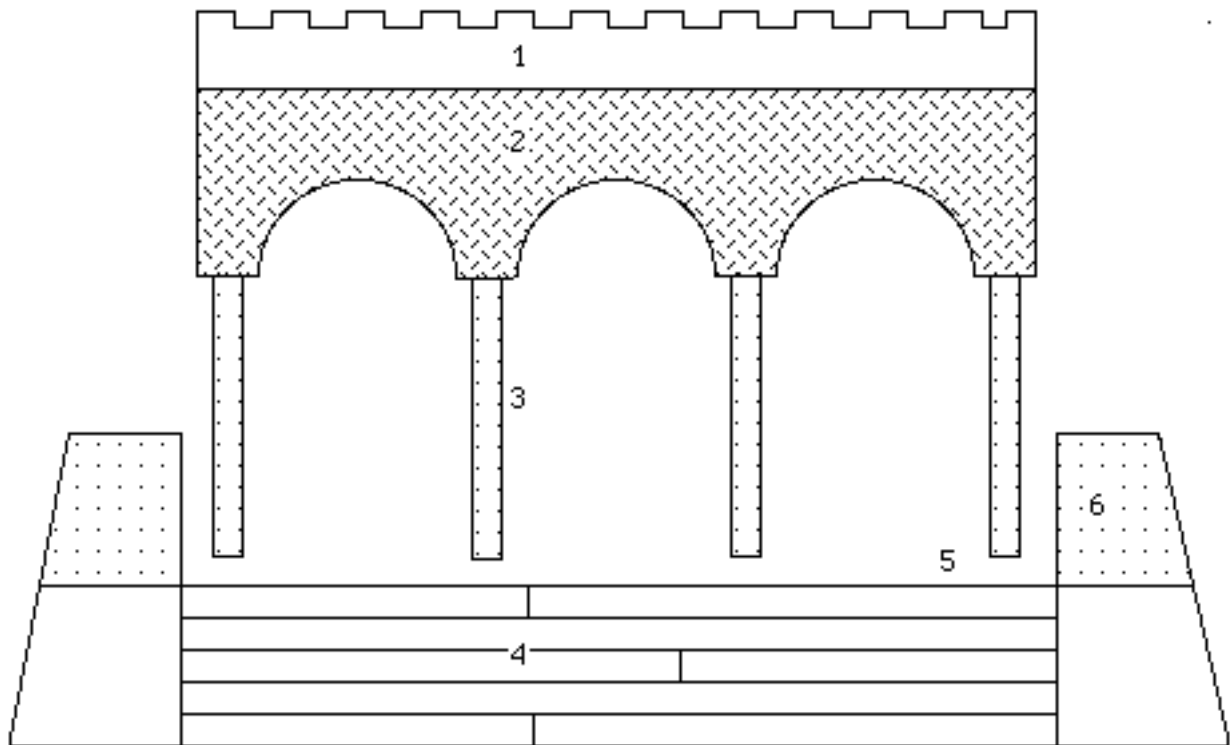
B171.5.a. It has been assumed that the Fāṭimids remake the two south staircases;<sup>4</sup> however, *Maqām-i Ġūrī* is built (not rebuilt) in the Fāṭimid period (B172.4), and a Fāṭimid remaking of *Maqām an-Nabī* is nowhere mentioned.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75) *wa in 'amūdhā wa tāqhā-rā* (I read *wa in tāqhā-rā*, without *'amūdhā*) *hama ba-zar* (NP instead of *ba-zar*: *bar* [sic]) *wa mīnā munaqqaš karda and čun-ān-kih an ān hūbtar na-bāšad*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa pušt-i tāqhā rāst karda wa in-rā šurfa wa kungura bar nihāda čun-ān-kih murabba'-ī mīnamāyad*.

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 77 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158.



## 86

**Figure 86. The Fātimid Ascent of the Prophet (side view):** 1 The cornice and the crenellation. - 2 The arcade with gold- and mosaic-decorated vaults. - 3 Four columns of green marble with dots in all colours. - 4 The staircase of hewn stone. - 5 The marble-paved platform. - 6 The fence of green marble with dots in all colours.

**B171.6. Traditions (Muslim):** Muḥammad entered the platform on the Night of the Ascension at the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*), and went from here to the Dome of the Rock.<sup>1</sup>

**B171.7. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on the prayer-route, stand here and pray:

- a) the prayer Muḥammad used to pray almost every time he rose from a meeting (*maḡlis*),  
 "Oh God, grant us the fear of you which makes us distinct from all who disobey you, the obedience to bring us to your mercy, the certitude to lighten for us the calamities of the

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,6-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa Maqām an-Nabī az ān gūyand kih kih* (I read *az ān gūyand kih*) *šab-i Mi'rāğ payğambar 'alayhi š-šalāt wa-s-salām bar ān darağāt bar dukkān rafta ast wa az ān-ğā dar Qubba-i Šaḥra rafta (wa rāh-i Hiğāz nīz bar ān-ğānib ast).*



world. Provide us our ears and eyes, make this our heir [?]. Help us against everyone who has oppressed us, prepare no calamity for us in our religion, do not make the world our greatest care nor the goal of our knowledge, and do not let rule over us he who has no mercy on us."<sup>1</sup>

- b) or the prayer which Muḥammad prayed at his death, "Oh God, Lord of the Seven Heavens and Lord of the Greatest Throne, Lord of us and Lord of everything, Revealer of the Torah, the Gospel and the *Furqān* [the Koran], Divider of the Seed and the Atom. There is no God but you. I seek my refuge with you from the evil of everything - you are master over it. You are the first one, there is nothing before you; you are the last one, there is nothing after you; you are the manifest one, there is nothing above you; you are the hidden one, there is nothing behind you. Judge in our favour and make us free from poverty."<sup>2</sup>

### B172. The Ascent of Ġūrī<sup>3</sup>

#### B172.1. Names (Muslim): The Ascent of Ġūrī (*Maqām-i Ġūrī*).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.60:** 71,2-20 *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqifa ‘alā Maqāmi n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-yad‘uwa bi-d-du‘ā’i l-ladī kāna Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama lā yakādu yaqūmu min maṣḡlisin illā da‘ā yh (read bihi) bihi wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi Aḥmadu bnu ‘Abdi Llāhi bi-Dimašqa bi-qirā’atī ‘alayhi qāla ... kāna Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama lā yakādu yaqūmu min maḡlisin illā da‘ā bi-hā’ulā’i d-da‘awāti Llāhumma qsim lanā min ḥaṣyatika mā yaḥūlu bihi baynanā wa-bayna mu‘āṣika wa-min ṭā’atika mā tubliḡunā bihi ilā raḥmatika wa-mīna l-yaqīni mā tuhawwinu bihi ‘alaynā maṣā’iba d-dunyā wa-matti’nā bi-asmā’inā wa-abṣārinā wa-ḡ‘al dālīka l-wārīṭa minnā wa-nṣurnā ‘alā man ḡalamanā wa-lā taḡ‘al muṣī batanā fī dīninā wa-lā taḡ‘ali d-dunyā aḡṭara hamminā wa-lā mablaḡa ‘ilminā wa-lā tusalliṭ ‘alaynā man lā yarḥamunā.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.61:** 72,1-9 (*wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqifa ‘alā Maqāmi n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-yad‘uwa bi-d-du‘ā’i l-ladī kāna Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama lā yakādu yaqūmu min maṣḡlisin illā da‘ā yh (read bihi) bihi wa-huwa ...*) *aw yad‘uwa bi-du‘ā’i Rasūli Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama l-ladī da‘ā bihi ‘inda l-mawti fa-huwa du‘ā’un mubārakun wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi š-ṣayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Muḥammadu bnu ‘Awfin bi-qirā’atī ‘alayhi qāla ... kāna Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama yad‘ū ‘inda l-mawti Llāhumma rabba s-samawāti s-sab‘i wa-rabba l-‘Arṣi l-‘Aẓimi rabbanā wa-rabba kulli ṣay’in munzila t-Tawrāti wa-l-Inḡīli wa-l-Furqāni fāliqi l-ḥabbi wa-n-nawā lā ilāha illā anta a‘ūdū bika min šarri kulli ṣay’in anta āḥidun bi-nāṣiyatihi anta l-awwalu laysa qablaka ṣay’un wa-l-āḥiru laysa ba’daka ṣay’un wa-ḡ-ḡāhiru laysa fawqaka ṣay’un wa-l-bāṭinu laysa warā’aka ṣay’uni qdī (read qdī) ‘annā d-dīna wa-aḡninā mīna l-faqrī.*

<sup>3</sup>For the Fāṭimid Ascent of Ġūrī, see Schefer, *Nassir* 97 n. 1; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 19-21; 74-80; Wiet, "Anushtakin" 406f.; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 249; Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" 115-117; Bosworth, "Observations on Inscriptions"; Thackston, *Nāṣir* 31; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46f.; 219; Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* 400 n. 1; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Gil, *Palestine* 397; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197 ("zwei Bauinschriften ... an der südöstlichen Arkade der Plattform"); 3 153f.; Elad, *Jerusalem XXIII*.; 168 n. 12; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 158; 159 fig. 84; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 388f.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) (*ān-rā kih bar dast-i rāst būd Maqām an-Nabī ‘alayhi s-salām gūyand*) *wa ān-rā kih bar*

B172.1.a. The name *Maqām-i Ġūrī* is derived either from the builder (B172.4) of the place, Layt ad-dawla Nūštakī n al-Ġūrī [ad-Dizbirī], or from the inscription on its arcade (B172.4) which mentions him.

B171.1.b. "*al-Maqām al-Qiblī*" - i.e., *Maqām an-Nabī* - and *Maqām al-Ġūrī* have erroneously been considered identical (B171.1.b).

**B172.2. Position:** On the south side (*az ġānib-i qibla*) [of the platform] are two ways (*dū rāh*) or staircases (*daraġahā, daraġāt*); the one further west is the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*), the one further east the Ascent of Ġūrī (*Maqām-i Ġūrī*) (B171.2). We best locate the Ascent of Ġūrī (*Maqām-i Ġūrī*) at the SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE (B171.2).

B172.2.a. The location of both "*al-Maqām al-Qiblī*" - i.e., *Maqām an-Nabī* - and *Maqām al-Ġūrī* at the SOUTH STAIRCASE is out of the question (B171.1.b).

**B172.3. Physical shape:** There are, all in all, six ways (to the platform) (*rāhhā* sing. *rāh bar dukkān*), ways which were made for the platform (*rāhhā kih ba-ġihat-i dukkān sāhta and*), staircases to the platform (*daraġāt rāh-i dukkān*) (B170.2), and on the south side of the platform two ways (*dū rāh*) or staircases (*daraġahā, daraġāt*) (B171.2). The Ascent of Ġūrī (*Maqām-i Ġūrī*) has three<sup>1</sup> staircases (*daraġāt* sing. *daraġa*)<sup>3</sup> or ways (*rāhhā*);<sup>4</sup> three staircases, the central one running towards the platform (*muḥādī-i dukkān*), and the other two being beside [parallel with] the platform (*bar ġanb-i dukkān*).<sup>5</sup> The staircases (*daraġāt*) are all made of stone (*hama az sang-i muhandam*), each step (*har daraġa*) is made of two or three

*dast-i čap būd Maqām-i Ġūrī; Nāšir 44,21 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 159; van Berchem, Jérusalem 2 75) wa Maqām-i Ġūrī čun-ān ast kih ...*

<sup>1</sup>**Nāšir** 44,21f. (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 159; van Berchem, Jérusalem 2 75) *wa Maqām-i Ġūrī čun-ān ast kih bar yak mawḍi'sih daraġa basta ast (yak-i muḥādī-i dukkān wa dū bar ġanb-i dukkān čun-ān-kih az siḥ ġāy mardum bar rawand); Nāšir 44,23-45,1 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 159; van Berchem, Jérusalem 2 75f.) wa az in-ġā nīz bar siḥ daraġa ham-čun-ān 'amūdḥā nihāda ast ...*

<sup>2</sup>**Nāšir** 45,2 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 159) *wa daraġāt ham badān tartīb kih ān-ġā guftam (NP guftim) (cf. Nāšir 44,9-19) az sang tarāšīda; Nāšir 44,4-6 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 158; van Berchem, Jérusalem 2 76; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) wa guftand in Layt ad-dawla banda-i sulṭān-i Mišr būda (NP būda ast)) wa in rāhhā wa daraġāt way sāhta ast.*

<sup>3</sup>**Nāšir** 44,21-45,3 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 159; van Berchem, Jérusalem 2 75f.) *wa Maqām-i Ġūrī čun-ān ast kih bar yak mawḍi'sih daraġa basta ast ... wa az in-ġā nīz bar siḥ daraġa ham-čun-ān 'amūdḥā nihāda ast ... har daraġa dū yā siḥ pāra sang-i ūlānī.*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāšir** 44,4-6 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 158; van Berchem, Jérusalem 2 75f.; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *(az ġānib-i qibla dū rāh-i-st (NP rāh-ast) kih ba-ān daraġahā bar rawand ... ān-rā kih bar dast-i rāst būd Maqām an-Nabī 'alayhi s-salām gūyand wa ān-rā kih bar dast-i čap būd Maqām-i Ġūrī ...) wa guftand in Layt ad-dawla banda-i sulṭān-i Mišr būda (NP būda ast)) wa in rāhhā wa daraġāt way sāhta ast.*

<sup>5</sup>**Nāšir** 44,21-23 (transl. Le Strange, Palestine 159; van Berchem, Jérusalem 2 75) *wa Maqām-i Ġūrī čun-ān ast kih bar yak mawḍi'sih daraġa basta ast yak-i muḥādī-i dukkān wa dū bar ġanb-i dukkān čun-ān-kih az siḥ ġāy mardum bar rawand.*

oblong stones (*dū yā siḥ pāra sang-i tūlān*).<sup>1</sup> These staircases are again smooth enough to be used on horseback.

B172.3.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa Maqām-i Ġūrī čun-ān ast kih bar yak mawḍi' siḥ darağa basta ast yak-i muḥāḍi-i dukkān wa dū bar ġanb-i dukkān čun-ān-kih az siḥ ġāy mardum bar rawand* "and the Ascent of Ġūrī is thus: there are, on one spot, three staircases combined; one is opposite the platform and two beside the platform, so that people may enter from three places" has been understood as suggested above, or as three parallel staircases, possibly even with three arcades on top.<sup>2</sup> Opposition of the centripetal staircase *muḥāḍi-yi dukkān* "opposite the platform" versus the lateral staircases *bar ġanb-i dukkān* "beside the platform" is strongly in favour of the first solution.

B172.3.b. The steps of *Maqām-i Ġūrī* have two-three blocks per step, as *Maqām an-Nabī* has one-two blocks per step; both have the same smooth rise. **Nāṣir**'s *wa darağāt ham badān tartīb kih ān-ğā guftam* "and the staircases are of the kind I mentioned there" refers directly to his remark on *Maqām an-Nabī*, *čun-ān tartīb sāḥta kih agar ḥwāhand bā sutūr ba-ān-ğāh bar tawānand šud* "and it is made of the kind that if they want to, they may enter there by horse". This does not fit with the SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE, and we may conclude that the staircase is rebuilt after **Nāṣir**.

B172.4. There are [at the upper end of the ascent] columns (*amūdhā*) with vaults (*\*ṭāqhā*) and a cornice (*šurfā*).<sup>3</sup> On the front of the arcade (*bar piš-i aywān*) is written, in gold, in an elegant writing (*niwišta ba-zar wa kitāba-i laṭīf*), *amara bihi l-amīr Layṭ ad-dawla Nūštakīn Ġūrī* "the amīr Layṭ ad-dawla Nūštakīn Ġūrī ordered it [to be built]"; this inscription refers to its builder, Layṭ ad-dawla Nūštakīn al-Ġūrī [ad-Dizbirī], officer of the [Fāṭimid] sulṭān of Egypt (*banda-i sulṭān-i Mišr*).<sup>4</sup>

B172.4.a. For parallels to the cornice of Fāṭimid *Maqām-i Ġūrī*, see B171.4.b.

B172.4.b. **Nāṣir**'s *wa az in-ğā nīz bar siḥ darağa ham-čun-ān amūdhā nihāda ast wa ṭāq bar sar-i ān zādā wa šurfā nihāda* "and there are, at the three staircases, also columns set, and a vault is placed on top, and a cornice set" mentions one vault, but his *wa bar piš-i aywān niwišta ba-zar wa kitāba-i laṭīf* "and on front of the arcade is written, in gold and in an elegant writing" may refer to more than one vault. A one-vault arcade on top of a triple staircase is

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159) *wa darağāt ham badān tartīb kih ān-ğā guftam* (NP *guftim*) (cf. **Nāṣir** 44,9-12) *az sang tarāšīda har darağa dū yā siḥ pāra sang-i tūlān*.

The reference is to **Nāṣir** 44,9-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158f.; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *aknūn in darağāt-rā pahnā-yi* (NP *pahnā*) *bīst araš bāšad hama-i darağahā az sang tarāšīda muhandam čun-ān-kih har darağa ba-yak-pāra* (NP *yak-pāra*) *yā dū pāra sang-ast murabba' burīda wa čun-ān tartīb* (NP *ba-tartīb*) *sāḥta kih agar ḥwāhand bā sutūr ba-ān-ğāh bar tawānand* (NP *tawānad*) *šud*.

<sup>2</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75f. n. 5.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 44,23-45,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75f.) *wa az in-ğā nīz bar siḥ darağa ham-čun-ān amūdhā nihāda ast wa ṭāq* (I read *wa ṭāqhā*) *bar sar-i ān zādā wa šurfā nihāda*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,3-6 (transl. Le Strange 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76; partly Wiet, "Anushtakin" 406; see Bosworth, "Observations on Inscriptions" 266) *wa bar piš-i aywān niwišta ba-zar wa kitāba-i laṭīf kih 'amara bihi l-amīru Layṭu d-dawlati Nūštakīn* (NP *Tūškīn*) *Ġūrī' wa guftand in Layṭ ad-dawla banda-i sulṭān-i Mišr būda* (NP *būda ast*) *wa in rāhhā wa darağāt way sāḥta ast*.

quite hard to imagine. The first sentence had originally *\*tāqhā* instead of *tāq*. Original *\*tāqhā* standing between plural *‘amūdhā* and singular *šurfā* may have been influenced by the subsequent singular *šurfā*. (For a similar correction to be made for *Maqām-i Šarqī*, see B176.3.b) Each of the staircases may have had its own arcade (Schefer, *Le Strange*), or all three staircases may have had one common arcade (van Berchem,<sup>1</sup> Thackston); there are no details available.

B172.4.c. **Nāṣir**'s *wa bar pīš-i aywān niwišta ba-zar wa kitāba-i laṭīf ...* "and on front of the arcade is written, in gold and in an elegant writing ..." may refer to an inscription in mosaic<sup>2</sup> or to an inscription cut in stone and gilded.<sup>3</sup>

B172.4.d. Today, the SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE ARCADE has two inscriptions. These are **Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.IX.A**,<sup>4</sup> *bi-smi Llāhi tafaḍḍala Llāhu ḡalla smuhu bi-takmīli hādā l-‘amali fī raḡabi sanati yiḥdā ‘ašrata wa-arba‘imi’atīn* "In the name of God. God has granted finishing this work in Raḡab 411 [21 October-19 November 1020]" and **Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.IX.B**,<sup>5</sup> *bi-smi Llāhi aḍīna Llāhu ta‘ālā bi-binā hādā l-maqāmi ‘alā yadi ‘abdihi Nūštakīn ayyadahu Llāhu* "In the name of God. God allowed this ascent to be built by his servant Nūštakīn". Where both inscriptions are today is not necessarily where they were in Fāṭimid times, and they may have been brought here later by al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā (Ayyūbid sultan of Damascus 615-624/1218-1227).<sup>6</sup> It has been assumed that **Nāṣir** may have summarised these inscriptions, as he continues with *wa guftand ...* "and they said ...",<sup>7</sup> but he quotes the inscription in Arabic, and what follows in Persian, introduced by *wa guftand ...* "and they said ...", is just an additional remark. There is no need to identify **Nāṣir**'s inscription on Fāṭimid *Maqām-i Ġūrī* with these two inscriptions.

B172.4.e. **Nāṣir**'s *Layt ad-dawla Nūštakīn-i Ġūrī* is the Fāṭimid general Anūštakīn ad-Dizbirī.<sup>8</sup> *Nūštakīn*, instead of Anūštakīn, is also found in **Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.IX.B**. *Ġūrī* is a *nisba* otherwise unknown for Anūštakīn ad-Dizbirī,<sup>9</sup> this may be *Ġūrī* (from Ġūr in Afghanistan),<sup>10</sup> *Ġawrī* (from *Ṭabaqat al-ḡawr*, one of the groups teaching the *mamlūks* of the *sulṭān* the reading of the Koran),<sup>11</sup> or a misspelling of *\*Dizbirī*.<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75f. n. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 96; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 78; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 249.

<sup>3</sup>Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" 116.

<sup>4</sup>**Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.IXA** (see Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* 400 n. 1; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219 n. 5; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 153) *bi-smi Llāhi tafaḍḍala Llāhu ḡalla smuhu bi-takmīli hādā l-‘amali fī raḡabi sanati yiḥdā ‘ašrata* [Classical Arabic *ḥdā ‘ašrata*] *wa-arba‘imi’atīn*.

<sup>5</sup>**Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj Nr.IXB** (see Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* 400 n. 1; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 153) *bi-smi Llāhi aḍīna Llāhu ta‘ālā bi-binā hādā l-maqāmi ‘alā yadi ‘abdihi Nūštakīn ayyadahu Llāhu*.

<sup>6</sup>Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" 115f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46f.; 219.

<sup>7</sup>Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" 116.

<sup>8</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 97 n. 1; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 78f. n. 3; Burgoyne/Abul-Hajj, "Inscriptions" 116; Bosworth, "Observations on Inscriptions" 267; Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* 400 n. 1; Gil, *Palestine* 397; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIIIf.; 168 n. 12. The identification has been rejected by Wiet, "Anushtakin" 406f.

For Anūštakīn ad-Dizbirī/az-Duzbarī, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 78f. n. 3; Wiet, "Anushtakin"; Bosworth, "Observations on Inscriptions"; Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* 389-523; Gil, *Palestine* 387-398; 551f.; 556; 561; 561f. n. 56; 714-716; 824f.

<sup>9</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 78f. n. 3.

<sup>10</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 378 n. 1; 78f. n. 3.

<sup>11</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 1 378 n. 1.

<sup>12</sup>Gil, *Palestine* 397 n. 51.

honorary title *Layṭ ad-dawla* or *Layṭ ad-dīn* is not only unknown for ad-Dizbirī,<sup>1</sup> but generally unknown;<sup>2</sup> we would best check **Nāṣir**'s *Layṭ ad-dawla* in the manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

**B172.5. Contemporary events:** The Ascent of Ġūrī (*Maqām al-Ġūrī*) was built by the amīr Layṭ ad-dawla Nūštakīn Ġūrī [**ad-Dizbirī**], officer [and general] of the [Fāṭimid] sulṭān of Egypt (*banda-i sulṭān-i Miṣr*) (B172.4).

**B173. The two west staircases, one of them the West Ascent  
(with the rock *Baḥ-baḥ* = the Place of al-Ḥiḍr)<sup>4</sup>**

**B173.1. Names (Muslim):** Staircases attached and a way made (*darağahā basta wa rāh karda*) at two places (*dū ġāygāh*) at the west side of the platform (*ġānib-i mağribī-i dukkān*) (B173.2); one of them is the West Ascent (*al-Maqām al-Ġarbī*), with the rock called *Baḥ-baḥ*, the Place of [the prophet] al-Ḥiḍr (*Mawḍi' al-Ḥiḍr 'alayhi s-salām*).<sup>5</sup> The latter place is possibly identical with the place where al-Ḥiḍr prays every day before noon.

B173.1.a. Identification of *al-Ḥiḍr* with the prophet al-Ḥiḍr is only by the eulogy '*alayhi s-salām* "peace upon him".

B173.1.b. **Ibn al-Murağğā**'s *al-Maqām al-Ġarbī* is west of the platform, as are **Nāṣir**'s west staircases; **Ibn al-Murağğā**'s *al-Maqām al-Ġarbī* is therefore necessarily one of **Nāṣir**'s west staircases.

**B173.2. Position:** At two places (*dū ġāygāh*) at the west side of the platform (*ġānib-i mağribī-i dukkān*) staircases are attached and a way made (*darağahā basta wa rāh karda*).<sup>6</sup> Under the West Ascent (*taḥt al-Maqām al-Ġarbī*), next to the Dome of the Prophet (*mimmā yalī*

<sup>1</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 78f. n. 3; Wiet, "Anushtakin" 394f.; Gil, *Palestine* 387f.

<sup>2</sup>Kramers, "Noms composés avec Dīn"; Dietrich, "Personennamen mit ad-dīn"; Bosworth, "Observations on Inscriptions" 266.

<sup>3</sup>Bosworth, "Observations on Inscriptions" 266.

<sup>4</sup>For the Fāṭimid west arcades, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 10f.; 40; 43; 74-78; 79 n. 2; 185; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 75; 117 n. 205; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 158; 159 fig. 84. For the Fāṭimid Place of al-Ḥiḍr, see Elad, *Jerusalem* 117; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 893 n. 1. For *Baḥ-baḥ*, see Natsheh, "Catalogue" 893 n. 2.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 144,4f. *Bābu mā ḡā'a fī ṣ-ṣaḥrati l-latī tusammā Baḥ-baḥ wa-hiya l-latī taḥta l-Maqāmi l-Ġarbīyi mimmā yalī Qubbata n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-annahā Mawḍi'u l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu.*

The West Ascent is also mentioned in **Nāṣir** 45,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa ḡānib-i mağribī-i dukkān ham dū ġāygāh darağahā basta ast wa rāh karda ham-čun-ān ba-takalluf kih ṣarḥ-i dīgarhā-rā guftam* (NP *guftim*) (cf. **Nāṣir** 44,9-19).

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa ḡānib-i mağribī-i dukkān ham dū ġāygāh darağahā basta ast wa rāh karda.*

*Qubbat an-Nabī*), is the rock called *Baḥ-baḥ* or Place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Mawḍiʿ al-Ḥiḍr*).<sup>1</sup> We best locate the West Ascent at the WEST STAIRCASE,<sup>2</sup> the other west staircase at the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE,<sup>3</sup> and the rock *Baḥ-baḥ* or Place of al-Ḥiḍr under the WEST STAIRCASE.

B173.2.a. **Nāṣir** mentions the two west staircases in his chapter on the staircases to the platform; they are preceded by the two south staircases *Maqām an-Nabī* (at the SOUTH STAIRCASE and the MONUMENTAL SOUTH STAIRCASE) and *Maqām-i Ġūrī* (at the SOUTHEAST STAIRCASE), and followed by *Maqām-i Šarqī* (at the EAST STAIRCASE) and *Maqām-i Šāmī* (at the NORTH STAIRCASE). This fits with all three west staircases to the platform, i.e., the SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE, the WEST STAIRCASE and the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE.

#### **Nāṣir**

the six staircases to the platform -> the two south staircases: *Maqām an-Nabī*, *Maqām-i Ġūrī* -> **the two west staircases** -> *Maqām-i Šarqī* -> *Maqām-i Šāmī*

B173.2.b. The SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE was a very narrow staircase until the 15th century when it was made into the broad staircase it is today<sup>4</sup> and there is no evidence that before the narrow staircase a wider staircase may have been here; only the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE and the WEST STAIRCASE are pre-15th century.<sup>5</sup> It has been assumed that one of the two west Fāṭimid staircases may have been opposite the main entrance from the market, *Bāb-i Dāwūd* (at BĀB AS-SILSILA/BĀB AS-SAKĪNA),<sup>6</sup> but the sources do not support this. We best locate **Nāṣir**'s two west staircases at the WEST STAIRCASE and the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE.

B173.2.c. Both of **Nāṣir**'s west staircases are similar to *Maqām an-Nabī* and *Maqām-i Ġūrī* and so have a rather smooth rise (B173.3); this fits with the WEST STAIRCASE and the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE, but not the SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE.

B173.2.d. The rock called *Baḥ-baḥ* or *Mawḍiʿ al-Ḥiḍr* is under *al-Maqām al-Ġarbī*, *mimmā yalī Qubbata n-Nabī yi* "next to the Dome of the Prophet" (at QUBBAT AL-MIʿRĀĠ). The WEST STAIRCASE is nearer to

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 144,4f. *Bābu mā ḡāʾa fī ṣ-ṣaḥrati l-latī tusammā Baḥ-baḥ wa-hiya l-latī taḥta l-Maqāmi l-Ġarbīyi mimmā yalī Qubbata n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu wa-annahā Mawḍiʿu l-Ḥiḍri ʿalayhi s-salāmu.*

<sup>2</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 43; 76; 185; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 90; Elad, *Jerusalem* 75; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 158; 159 fig. 84.

For the WEST STAIRCASE, see B100.2.

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76; 185; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 90; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 158; 159 fig. 84.

For the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-80; 183-186; 191; pl. LXI bottom; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* colour plate 4; 219; Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem" 261; fig. 4; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 90; Elad, *Jerusalem* 168; Nuseibeh/Grabar, *Dome of the Rock* 40f.; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 88 fig. 43.

<sup>4</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 158f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; 570; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur* 2 403.

For the SOUTHWEST STAIRCASE, see B171.2.i.

<sup>5</sup>Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 90.

<sup>6</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. with fig. 69 and 71f.; 149 fig. 76; 158; 159 fig. 84.

QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĠ than the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE, and we locate *al-Maqām al-Ġarbī* better at the WEST STAIRCASE. The similarity of the names of **Ibn al-Murağğā's** *Mawḍi' al-Ḥiḍr* (under one of his west staircases) and of today's QUBBAT AL-ḤIḌR (next to the WEST STAIRCASE) has been used in favour of this location,<sup>1</sup> but has no weight.

**B173.3. Physical shape:** There are, all in all, six ways (to the platform) (*rāhhā* sing. *rāh bar dukkān*), ways which were made for the platform (*rāhhā kih ba-ğihat-i dukkān sāhta and*), staircases to the platform (*darağāt rāh-i dukkān*) (B170.2). Each of the two west staircases are as masterfully built (*ba-takalluf sāhta*) as the two south staircases, with a staircase (plur. *darağāt*) [and columns, vaults, a cornice and a relatively smooth ascent].<sup>2</sup>

B173.3.a. *al-Maqām al-Ġarbī* has been considered to be only the arcade;<sup>3</sup> it is better to take *maqām* as referring, as usual, to the whole system of arcade and staircase(s).

**B173.4.** Under the West Ascent (*taḥt al-Maqām al-Ġarbī*), next to the Dome of the Prophet (*mimmā yalī Qubbat an-Nabī*), is a rock (*ṣaḥra*) called *Baḥ-baḥ* or Place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Mawḍi' al-Ḥiḍr*) (B173.2).

**B173.5. Traditions (Muslim):** The Place of [the prophet] al-Ḥiḍr (*Mawḍi' al-Ḥiḍr*) is obviously connected with al-Ḥiḍr,<sup>4</sup> but this is not explicit.

#### **B174. The place where al-Ḥiḍr prays every day just before noon**

**B174.1. Names (Muslim):** The place where al-Ḥiḍr prays every day just before noon (B174.4). The place is possibly identical with the Place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Makān al-Ḥiḍr 'alayhi s-salām*) (B173.1.c).

**B174.2. Position:** If the place is identical with the Place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Makān al-Ḥiḍr*), we locate it best under the WEST STAIRCASE.

**B174.3. Contemporary events:** **Abū l-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥimsī** arrives one day just before noon at the Temple (*Bayt al-Maqdis*), and hears there an increasing and decreasing voice praying, "Oh my Lord, I am miserable and I am afraid and seeking refuge; oh Lord, do not change my name, do not change my body and do not probe me too hard"; Abū l-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥimsī is afraid

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 75.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa ḡānib-i mağribī-i dukkān ham dū ḡāyḡāh darağāhā basta ast wa rāh karda ham-čun-ān ba-takalluf kih šarḥ-i diğarhā-rā guftam* (NP *guftim*) (cf. **Nāṣir** 44,9-12).

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 43; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158.

<sup>4</sup>For al-Ḥiḍr, see A141.

of this voice, but people [sitting] at the door of the mosque (‘*alā bāb al-masğid*’) explain to him that this is al-Ḥiḍr praying as usual every day at this time<sup>1</sup> - possibly he is a kind of adherent of this place who prays at the same place every day before noon.

**B174.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** At this place a man prays every day before noon, "Oh my Lord, I am miserable and I am afraid and seeking refuge; oh Lord, do not change my name, do not change my body and do not probe me too hard" (B174.3); possibly he is a kind of adherent of this place.

### B175. The North Ascent<sup>2</sup>

**B175.1. Names (Muslim):** The North Ascent (*Maqām-i Šāmī*).<sup>3</sup>

**B175.2. Position:** The North Ascent (*Maqām-i Šāmī*) is on the north side [of the platform] (*az ġānib-i šamālī*).<sup>4</sup> We locate it best at the NORTH STAIRCASE.<sup>5</sup>

B175.2.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa az ġānib-i šamālī rāh-i-st* "and from the north side is a way" and his name *Maqām-i Šāmī* "the North Ascent" identify the staircase as one of the north staircases. This leaves us with the NORTH STAIRCASE and the NORTHEAST STAIRCASE.<sup>6</sup>

B175.2.b. **Nāṣir** has *Maqām-i Šāmī* as the last of the staircases leading to the platform; it is preceded by the staircases from the south, the west and the east. This corroborates the identification with the NORTH STAIRCASE and the NORTHEAST STAIRCASE.

**Nāṣir**

the six staircases to the platform -> the two south staircases: *Maqām*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.182:** 144,8-14 *anba'anā s-Sarīyu ... 'an Abī Ḥaṣṣini l-Ḥimṣiyyi qāla* daḥaltu Bayta l-Maqdisi wa-dālīka qubayla aw qabla niṣfi n-nahāri li-uṣalliya fa-idā ana bi-ṣawtin yaḥāfat ahyānan wa-yaḡharu ahyānan wa-huwa yaqūlu yā rabbī innī faqīrun wa-innī ḥā'ifun mustaḡīrun yā rabbu lā tabduli smī wa-lā tuḡayyir ḡismī wa-lā taḡhad balā'ī qāla fa-ḥaraḡtu maḍ'ūran fa-marartu 'alā nāsīn 'alā bābi l-masğidi fa-qālū mā laka yā 'abda Llāhi fa-aḡbartuhum fa-qālū: lā taḡhaf hādā l-Ḥiḍru 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-hādīhi sā'atu ṣalātihi wa-hādā d-du'a'u yustaḡabbu an yud'a (Livne-Kafri reads an yud'a) bihi fī dālīka l-mawḍi'i wa-fī sā'iri l-masāğidi fa-innahū du'a'un mustaḡābun in šā'a Llāhu ta'alā.

<sup>2</sup>For the Fātimid North Ascent, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-78; 79 n. 2; 121f.; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 91f.; 157; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 117 n. 205; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 158; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa ān-rā Maqām-i Šāmī* (NP *Maqām as-Sāmī*) *gūyand*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa az ġānib-i šamālī rāh-i-st*.

<sup>5</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76; 122; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 91f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>6</sup>For the NORTHEAST STAIRCASE, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-80; 119-123; 185; pl. LXI top; pl. CVIII top (in the background); Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 219; 221f. (with plates); 570; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 157.



*an-Nabī, Maqām-i Ġūrī* -> the two west staircases -> *Maqām-i Šarqī* -  
 > ***Maqām-i Šāmī***

B175.2.c. The existence of a High ‘Abbāsīd staircase at the NORTH STAIRCASE (B101.2) favours locating a Fāṭimid staircase at the NORTH STAIRCASE. The extraordinary dimensions of *Bāb al-abwāb* (at BĀB AL-‘ATM) (B151.3) and *Maqām-i Šāmī* (B175.3) suggest a straight line from *Bāb al-abwāb* through *Maqām-i Šāmī* to the Dome of the Rock, and this favours locating *Maqām-i Šāmī* at the NORTH STAIRCASE rather than at the NORTHEAST STAIRCASE.<sup>1</sup>

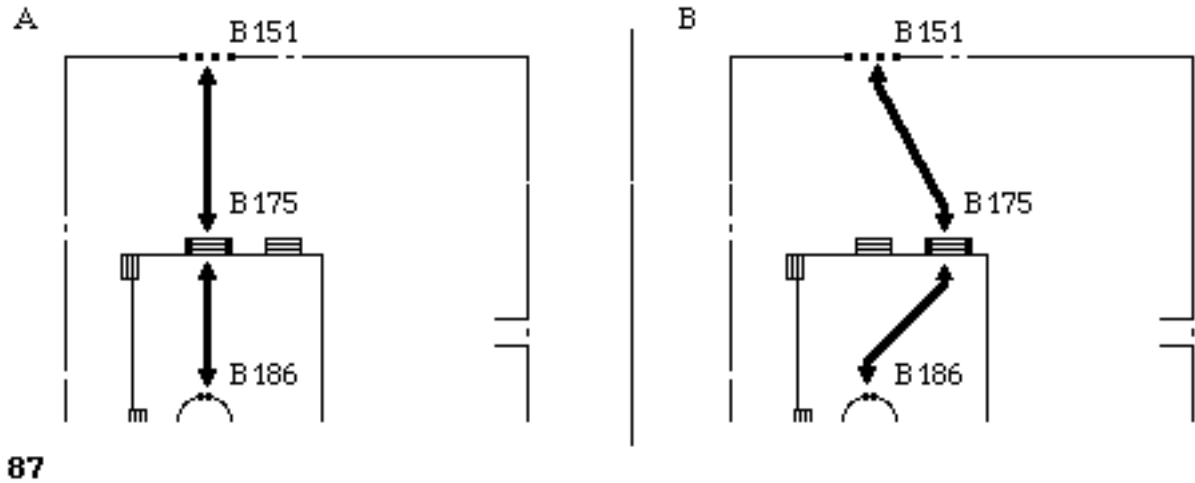


**Figure 87. The position of the Fāṭimid North Ascent:** A With assumed position at the NORTH STAIRCASE. - B With assumed position at the NORTHEAST STAIRCASE / B151 The Main Gate, the Fāṭimid portal-minaret. - B175 The North Ascent, the largest ascent to the platform. - B186 The north gate of the Dome of the Rock.

B175.3. **Physical shape:** There are, all in all, six ways (to the platform) (*rāhhā* sing. *rāh bar dukkān*), ways which were made for the platform (*rāhhā kih ba-ġihat-i dukkān sāhta and*), staircases to the platform (*daraġāt rāh-i dukkān*) (B170.2). This is a way (*rāh*) with columns (‘*amūdihā*) and vaults (*tāqhā*) [and obviously a cornice], the highest and largest of all

<sup>1</sup>The Mamlūk al-Amīniya (today called DĀR AL-IMĀM) has its main façade on top of BĀB AL-‘ATM thus centred to face the DOME OF THE ROCK (Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 248).

[staircases] (*az hama ʿālī tar wa buzurgtar*).<sup>1</sup>

B175.3.a. **Nāṣir**'s *wa az ġānib-i šamālī rāh-ī-st az hama ʿālī tar wa buzurgtar* "and from the north side there is a way higher and larger than all" has been taken to refer to the width of the staircase and the arcade (Le Strange, van Berchem, Thackston); but *ʿālī tar* "higher" obviously refers to the height, not to the width (Schefer). The only stairway we know some details about, *Maqām an-Nabī*, has four columns and three vaults; we may therefore suppose that *Maqām-i Šāmī* has at least five columns and four vaults, if not more. This does not fit with the NORTH STAIRCASE, and we may deduce that the NORTH STAIRCASE was built after **Nāṣir**.<sup>2</sup>

### B176. The East Ascent<sup>3</sup>

B176.1. **Names (Muslim):** The East Ascent (*Maqām-i Šarqī*).<sup>4</sup>

B176.2. **Position:** The East Ascent (*Maqām-i Šarqī*) is on the east side [of the platform] (*bar ġānib-i mašriqī*).<sup>5</sup> We locate it best at the EAST STAIRCASE.<sup>6</sup>

B176.3. **Physical shape:** There are, all in all, six ways (to the platform) (*rāhhā* sing. *rāh bar dukkān*), ways which were made for the platform (*rāhhā kih ba-ġihat-i dukkān sāhta and*), staircases to the platform (*daraġāt rāh-i dukkān*) (B170.2). This is also [like the other staircases] a masterfully built way (*rāh-i ham-čun-ān ba-takalluf sāhta*) [with a staircase], with columns (*ʿamūdḥā*), vault[s] (*\*tāqhā*) and a crenellation (*kungura*).<sup>7</sup>

B176.3.a. For parallels to the crenellation of Fāṭimid *Maqām-i Šarqī*, see B171.4.b.

B176.3.b. This is a staircase with a multiple, not a single, arcade on top. **Nāṣir**'s *rāh-ī ... wa ʿamūdḥā zada wa tāq* "a way ... and columns and a vault" was originally rather *\*... wa tāqhā* "... and vaults". For a similar correction made for *Maqām-i Ġūrī*, see B172.4.b.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,9-11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa az ġānib-i šamālī rāh-ī-st az hama ʿālī tar wa buzurgtar wa ham-čun-ān ʿamūdḥā wa tāqhā sāhta wa ān-rā Maqām-i Šāmī* (NP *Maqām as-Sāmī*) *gūyand*.

<sup>2</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 122.

<sup>3</sup>For the Fāṭimid East Ascent, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 74-78; 79 n. 2; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 156; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 117 n. 205; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 158; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *ān-rā Maqām-i Šarqī gūyand*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa bar ġānib-i mašriqī ham rāh-ī-st*.

<sup>6</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 45,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 76) *wa bar ġānib-i mašriqī ham rāh-ī-st ham-čun-ān ba-takalluf sāhta wa ʿamūdḥā zada wa tāq* (I read *wa tāqhā*) *sāhta wa kungura bar nihāda ān-rā Maqām-i Šarqī gūyand*.

### B177. The minor domes<sup>1</sup>

**B177.1. Names (Muslim):** On the platform in Early Fāṭimid times are four minor domes (*qibāb*),<sup>2</sup> in High Fāṭimid times, three minor domes (sing. *qubba*):<sup>3</sup> the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) (B178.2), the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*) (B182.1), which is the same as the Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ğabra'il*) (B183.1), the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*) (B181.1) which is the same as the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) and the Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) (B180.2), and the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*), which is Early-Fāṭimid only (B179.2).

B177.1.a. **al-Muhallabī** has four minor domes: *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*, *Qubbat al-Mizān*, *Qubbat as-Silsila* and *Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*. Both **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148** and **Nāṣir** have three domes: *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*, *Qubbat an-Nabī* and *Qubbat as-Silsila*, and *Qubba-i Ğabra'il*, *Qubba-i Rasūl* and *Qubba-i Silsila*, respectively.

|                              |                         |                       |                         |                     |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| <b>al-Muhallabī</b>          | <i>Q. al-Mi'rāğ</i> ->  | <i>Q. al-Mizān</i> -> | <i>Q. as-Silsila</i> -> | <i>Q. al-Maḥṣar</i> |
| <b>Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148</b> | <i>Q. al-Mi'rāğ</i> ->  | <i>Q. an-Nabī</i>     | <i>Q. as-Silsila</i> -> |                     |
| <b>Nāṣir</b>                 | <i>Q.-i Ğabra'il</i> -> | <i>Q.-i Rasūl</i>     | <i>Q.-i Silsila</i> ->  |                     |

B177.1.b. We may identify domes with identical or similar names, i.e., **al-Muhallabī**'s *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* with **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**'s *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*, **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**'s *Qubbat an-Nabī* with **Nāṣir**'s *Qubba-i Rasūl*, **al-Muhallabī**'s *Qubbat as-Silsila* with **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**'s *Qubbat as-Silsila* and **Nāṣir**'s *Qubba-i Silsila*. This allows further identification of **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.148**'s *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* with **Nāṣir**'s *Qubba-i Ğabra'il*, and - less certain - of **al-Muhallabī**'s *Qubbat al-Mizān* with **Murağğā Nr.148**'s *Qubbat an-Nabī* and **Nāṣir**'s *Qubba-i Rasūl*.

B177.1.c. Two further features favour the identity of *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* and *Qubba-i Ğabra'il*. Both are connected with the same tradition: Muḥammad rose from *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* to heaven (B182.4), and al-Burāq was brought to *Qubba-i Ğabra'il* so that Muḥammad could mount her [for his ascension to heaven] (B183.4). Both are near *Qubbat an-Nabī* or *Qubba-i Rasūl*; behind [north of] *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* is *Qubbat an-Nabī*, and *Qubba-i Ğabra'il* is at a distance of 20 ells (13.30 m) from *Qubba-i Rasūl* (B180.2).

**B177.2. Traditions (Muslim):** **al-Walīd** built the mosque on its old foundation (*'alā asāsihi l-qadīm*) and the dome over the Rock; he embellished and levelled the Place (*al-Mawḍi'*) [the Dome of the Rock], and built in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) the Dome of the Ascension

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid minor domes on the platform, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 47; 39; 41f.; 47; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 157f.; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida 'alā asāsihi l-qadīmi wa-banā l-qubbata 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi'a wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fīhi qibāban ḡayrahā sammā ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāği wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥṣari*.

<sup>3</sup>Three minor domes and the Dome of the Rock are the four domes of **Nāṣir** 40,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa čahār qubba dar īn dukkān-ast az hama buzurgtar Qubba-i Ṣaḥra ast*.

(*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*), the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*), the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*) (B131.10).

### B178. The Dome of the Chain<sup>1</sup>

**B178.1. Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*,<sup>2</sup> *Qubba-i Silsila*<sup>3</sup>), [the Dome of] the Chain (*as-Silsila*);<sup>4</sup> the dome received its name from the chain David suspended here, a chain which, in a lawsuit, only the one in the right was able to touch, but not the one in the wrong, as is commonly known by [all] scholars (*'ulamā'*) (B178.4).

B178.1.a. The prayer-niche of the dome (B178.3) has been identified with *Mihrāb Dāwūd* (*Koran* 38.21);<sup>5</sup> this is not mentioned in the sources.

**B178.2. Position:** The Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) is in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) (B131.10). It is on the platform, near the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*). We best locate it at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

B178.2.a. **al-Muhallabī, Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** and **Nāṣir** have *Qubbat as-Silsila* or *Qubba-i Silsila* in their paragraphs on the minor places on the platform. **al-Muhallabī** has *Qubbat as-Silsila* preceded by *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) and *Qubbat al-Mizān* (at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ), and followed by *Qubbat al-Maḥṣar* (possibly south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA). **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has *Qubbat as-Silsila* (with *Bāb Isrāfīl*) preceded by *Maqām an-Nabī* (at the SOUTH STAIRCASE) and followed by *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) and *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ); this points out the immediate proximity of *Qubbat as-Silsila* to *Bāb Isrāfīl* (the EAST GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK). **Nāṣir** has *Qubba-i Silsila* as the first of the minor domes; it is followed by *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) and *Qubba-i Rasūl* (at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ). We best locate the dome next to the EAST GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK, at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Dome of the Chain, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 174-180; Creswell, *EMA* 1 202 n. 7; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 48 n. 120; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I* 17; Rosen-Ayalon, *Monuments* 26; Bieberstein, *Jerusalem Map* 3; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 154-156; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIII. 71; 73; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 157f.; 159 fig. 84.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fā-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdī l-Maliki ... banā l-qubbata 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi'a wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fihī qibāban ḡayrahā sammā ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāğī wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥṣari*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 73,1 *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu mina d-du'a'i 'inda Qubbati s-Silsilati*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.62**: 73,2 *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fī Qubbati s-Silsilati ...*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 124,12 *Bābu faḍli Qubbati s-Silsilati*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 42,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 152; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176) *wa ba'd az in ḥāna qubba i-st kih ān-rā Qubba-i Silsila gūyand*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.152**: 126,11 (*lammā usriya bi-n-Nabiyyi Muḥammadin 'alayhi s-salāmu qāla lahu Ġibrī lu a-turīdu yā Muḥammadu an yanzura* (read *an tanzura*) *ilā l-ḥūri l-'ayni qāla na'am ... fa-qulna naḥnu ḥayrātun ḥasanātun azwāḡun aḥyārūn abrārūn nanzuru ilā qawmin a'yānin*) *wa-kāna ḍālika 'inda s-Silsilati*.

<sup>5</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 158.

**al-Muhallabī**

*al-qubba 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra -> Qubbat al-Mi'rāḡ -> Qubbat al-Mizān -> Qubbat as-Silsila -> Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*

**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-Ṣaḥra: entry, a kind of ṭawāf around the Rock, al-mawḡi' al-laḡi yad'ū n-nās fihi, al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā', taḥt aṣ-Ṣaḥra -> Maqām an-Nabī -> Qubbat as-Silsila, Bāb Isrāfīl -> Qubbat al-Mi'rāḡ -> Qubbat an-Nabī*

**Nāṣir**

*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra -> Qubba-i Silsila -> Qubba-i Ġabra'īl -> Qubba-i Rasūl*

**B178.3. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*<sup>1</sup> plur. *qibāb*<sup>2</sup>) on eight marble columns and six stone pillars (*bar sar-i hašt 'amūd-i ruḡām wa šiš sutūn-i sangīn*) [set in two concentric circles].<sup>3</sup> The dome is open on all sides except the south side (*ḡānib-i qibla*), which is closed to its top [by a wall] and which has a beautiful prayer-niche (*miḡrāb-i nīkū*).<sup>4</sup>

B178.3.a. A parallel to this dome on columns, open on all sides, but closed on the south side by a wall with a prayer-niche: The Fāṭimid Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ġabra'īl*) has four marble columns, and is open on all sides except the south side, which has [a wall with] a prayer-niche (B183.3).

B178.3.b. The dome is in **Nāṣir** *bar sar-i hašt 'amūd-i ruḡām wa šiš sutūn-i sangīn* "on eight marble columns and six stone pillars"; these fourteen items are most probably arranged in two concentric circles.<sup>5</sup> Today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA has seventeen columns, eleven in an outer circle and six in an inner circle. It has been assumed that **Nāṣir** may originally have had *\*bar sar-i hafdah 'amūd-i ruḡām ...* "on seventeen marble columns ...".<sup>6</sup> The supposed *\*hafdah* is not easily misread as *hašt*, but it is possible; however, 17 columns + 6 pillars are 23 items, far more than the 17 COLUMNS of today.

B178.3.c. *Qubba-i Silsila* is closed on the south side with a wall, and there is a prayer-niche there. Today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA is also open on all sides, except a SOUTH WALL with a PRAYER-NICHE made by Baybars and covered with Ottoman tiles covering an earlier PRAYER-NICHE with COLUMNS and Crusader CAPITALS - this earlier PRAYER-NICHE has been considered as Early Ayyūbid, but may also be earlier, i.e.,

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 152; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 202 n. 7) *wa ān qubba bar sar-i hašt 'amūd-i ruḡām-ast wa šiš sutūn-i sangīn*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masḡida 'alā asāsihi l-qadīmi wa-banā l-qubbata 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-ḡassana l-Mawḡi'a wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fihi qibāban ḡayrahā sammā ba'ḡahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāḡi wa-ba'ḡahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba'ḡahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba'ḡahā Qubbata l-Maḥṣari*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 152; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176; Creswell, *EMA* 1 202 n. 7) *wa ān qubba bar sar-i hašt 'amūd-i ruḡām-ast wa šiš sutūn-i sangīn*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 152; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176; see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 48 n. 120) *wa hama-i ḡawānib-i qubba ḡuṣāda ast illā ḡānib-i qibla kih tā sar basta ast wa miḡrāb-i nīkū dar ān-ḡā sāḡta*.

<sup>5</sup>The reconstruction of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Chain is given in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140f. fig. 69-72; 149 fig. 76; 159 fig. 84 is plainly today's QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

<sup>6</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 179 n. 4.

Fāṭimid.<sup>1</sup>

B178.3.d. The prayer-niche has been mistakenly identified with *Mihrāb Dāwūd* (**Koran** 38.21) (B178.1.a).

**B178.4. Traditions (Muslim):** In the time of the **Children of Israel**, the people who had sinned prayed at [the place of] the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) until God forgave them.<sup>2</sup> The place received its name from the chain **David** suspended here, a chain which, in a lawsuit, only the one in the right was able to touch, but not the one in the wrong, as is commonly known by [all] scholars (‘*ulamā*’).<sup>3</sup> Here **Muḥammad**, on his Night Journey, met the virgins of Paradise (*al-ḥūr al-‘ayn*).<sup>4</sup> **al-Walīd** built in the mosque (*fī l-masgid*) the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi‘rāğ*), the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*), the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*) (B131.10).

B178.5. Prayer at the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-silsila*) and the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) is answered, as has been tried by more than one.<sup>5</sup>

**B178.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on the prayer-route:

a) make ritual prayer at the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-silsila*), and stand at the Gate of

<sup>1</sup>Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 48 n. 120.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.62:** 73,2-4 (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32; partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 81; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 16 n. 74) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fī Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa ‘inda bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḍī yud‘ā* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud‘ā*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad‘uwa fa-huwa l-mawḍi‘u l-laḍī kāna Banū Isrā‘īla idā aḍnaba aḥaduhum ḍanban qaṣadahu wa-da‘ā Llāha ta‘ālā fīhi ḥattā yatūba ‘alayhi*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 42,20-43,2 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 152; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176) (*Qubba-i Silsila ...*) *wa ān ān-ast kih Dāwūd* (NP *silsila-i Dāwūd*) *‘alayhi s-salām ān-ğā āwīḥta ast kih ġayr az ḥudāwand-i ḥaqq-rā* (NP *ḥudāwand-i ṣāḥib-i ḥaqq-rā*) *dast badān na-rasidī wa ṣālīm wa ġāṣib-rā dast badān na-rasidī wa īn ma’nī nazdik-i ‘ulamā maṣḥūr ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.152:** 126,6-11 *lammā usriya bi-n-Nabīyi Muḥammadin ‘alayhi s-salāmu qāla lahu Ġibrīlu a-turīdu yā Muḥammadu an yanḏura* (read *an tanḏura*) *ilā l-ḥūrī l-‘ayni qāla na‘am ... fa-qulna naḥnu ḥayrātun ḥasanātun azwāğun aḥyārūn abrārūn nanḏuru ilā qawmin a‘yānin wa-kāna ḍālīka ‘inda s-Silsilati*.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.64:** 75,5f. (*wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fī Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa ‘inda bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḍī yud‘ā* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud‘ā*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad‘uwa ...*) *wa-yağtahid fī d-du‘ā’i fī l-mawḍi‘i mā staṭā’a fa-innahu yuqālu inna d-du‘ā’a* (add *fīhi*) *mustağābun wa-qad ġarrabahu ġayru wāḥidin fa-wağadahu ka-ḍālīka*.

Cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.63:** 74,3f.; 75,9 *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fī Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa ‘inda bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḍī yud‘ā* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud‘ā*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad‘uwa fa-huwa l-mawḍi‘u l-laḍī kāna Banū Isrā‘īla idā aḍnaba aḥaduhum ḍanban qaṣadahu wa-da‘ā Llāha ta‘ālā fīhi ḥattā yatūba ‘alayhi* (*wa-mina l-ad‘iyati l-mustaḥabbati fī ḍālīka l-mawḍi‘i mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi ṣ-ṣayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Aḥmadu bnu ‘Abdi Llāhi bi-Dimaṣqa bi-qirā’atī ‘alayhi qāla ... wa-yad‘uwa bi-d-du‘ā’i l-laḍī kāna Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama yad‘ū bihi ‘inda l-hammī wa-l-ḥuzni ... fa-yanbağī li-man aḍnaba ḍanaban an yaqṣida l-mawḍi‘ wa-yuṣalliya rak‘atayni wa-yad‘uwa bi-ḥaḍā d-du‘ā’i) fa-inna Llāha ta‘ālā yastağību lahu wa-yağfaru ḍanbahu*.

Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) and pray a prayer 'Alī used to pray, "Oh KHY'Ş (*Koran* 19.1), oh Light of Light, oh Holy, oh God, oh Merciful [to be repeated three times]. 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 uncover the veil."<sup>1</sup>

- b) or use the prayer Muḥammad used to pray when he was in distress; people who have committed a sin should make ritual prayer here with two *rak'a* and endeavour in this prayer, one of the most glorious prayers, a prayer Muḥammad liked to teach other people, a prayer which God always answers, "Oh God, I am your servant, son of your servant son of your People, you are my master, your judgement is over me, make your decision on me. I ask you by every name you have, by which you have named yourself or which you have revealed somewhere in your book or which you have taught one of your people or which you have taken for yourself in the knowledge of the veiled, make the Koran the ease of my heart, the light of my breast, the lighting up of my sadness and the dispatch of my sorrow." [and then they will become free of their sins].<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.62:** 73,2-14 (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32; partly Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 16 n. 74) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fī Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa 'inda bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḍī yud'a* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud'a*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad'uwa fa-huwa l-mawḍi'u l-laḍī kāna Banū Isrā'īla idā aḍnaba aḥaduhum ḍanban qaṣadahu wa-da'a Llāha ta'ālā fīhi ḥattā yatūba 'alayhi wa-mina l-ad'iyati l-mustaḥabbati fī ḍālīka l-mawḍi'i mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi ṣ-ṣayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Aḥmadu bnu 'Abdi Llāhi bi-Dimašqa bi-qirā'ati 'alayhi qāla ... anna raḡulan sa'ala l-Ḥasana bna 'Alīyin 'alayhimā s-salāmu yasta'īnu bihi 'alā abihi fī ḥaḡḡatin fa-qāla lahu l-Ḥasanu ...) fa-danawtu mina l-bābi fa-sami'tuhu ['Alī] yaqūlu 'yā khy'ş (*Koran* 19.1) yā nūra n-nūri yā qaddūsu yā Llāhu yā raḥmānu raddadahā talāṭan tumma qāla ḡfar lī d-ḍunūba l-lati tahtiku l-ṣmāta wa-ḡfar lī d-ḍunūba l-lati tunzilu l-balā'a wa-ḡfar lī d-ḍunūba l-lati tuḥbisu l-qasama wa-ḡfar lī d-ḍunūba l-lati tuzidu l-a'dā'a wa-ḡfar lī d-ḍunūba l-lati taruddu d-du'a'a wa-ḡfar lī d-ḍunūba l-lati tu'ḡilu l-fanā'a wa-ḡfar lī d-ḍunūba l-laḍī (read l-laṭī) l-lati takšifu l-ḡiṭā'a.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.63:** 75,6f. *(wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fī Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa 'inda bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḍī yud'a* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud'a*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad'uwa fa-huwa l-mawḍi'u l-laḍī kāna Banū Isrā'īla idā aḍnaba aḥaduhum ḍanban qaṣadahu wa-da'a Llāha ta'ālā fīhi ḥattā yatūba 'alayhi wa-mina l-ad'iyati l-mustaḥabbati fī ḍālīka l-mawḍi'i mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi ṣ-ṣayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Aḥmadu bnu 'Abdi Llāhi bi-Dimašqa bi-qirā'ati 'alayhi qāla ...) wa-yad'uwa bi-d-du'a'i l-laḍī kāna Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama yad'u bihi 'inda l-hammi wa-l-ḥuzni wa-huwa min aḡalli d-du'a'i wa-ḥaṣṣa n-Nabīyu 'alayhi s-salāmu 'alā ta'līmīhi wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi ṣ-ṣayḥu Abū Ishāqa Ibrāhīmu bnu 'Abdi Llāhi bni Ibrāhīma qāla ... qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama mā qāla 'abdun qaṭṭu aṣābahu (Livne-Kafri reads in aṣābahu) hammun wa-ḥuznuni Llāhumma inni 'abduka bnu 'abdika bni ummatika nāṣiyati bi-yadika māḍin fī ya ḥukmuka 'addil fīya qaḍā'aka as'aluka bi-kulli smin huwa laka sammayta bihi nafsaka aw anzaltahu fī ṣay'in min kitābika aw 'allamtahu aḥadan min ḥalqika awi sta'tarta bihi fī 'ilmi l-ḡaybi 'indaka an taḡ'ala l-Qur'āna rabī 'a qalbī wa-nūra ṣadri wa-ḡalā'a ḥuznī wa-ḍahāba ḡammī illā aḍhaba Llāha ta'ālā hammahu wa-abdalahu makāna ḥuznahu farāḥan ... fa-yanbaḡi li-man aḍnaba ḍanaban an yaḡsida l-mawḍi' wa-yuṣalliya rak'atayni wa-yad'uwa bi-hāḍā d-du'a'i fa-inna Llāha ta'ālā yastaḡību lahu wa-yaḡfaru ḍanbahu.*

B178.7. Prayer here is answered, as has been tried by more than one (B178.5).

### B179. The Early Fāṭimid Dome of the Gathering (969-1030s)

B179.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*).<sup>1</sup>

B179.2. **Position:** The Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*) is in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) (B131.10). We locate it best south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA.

B179.2.a. **al-Muhallabī** mentions *Qubbat al-Maḥṣar* as the last one in his paragraph on the minor domes of the platform; it is preceded by *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ), *Qubbat al-Mizān* (at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ) and *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA). The dome is therefore rather near QUBBAT AS-SILSILA, east of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

**al-Muhallabī**

*al-qubba 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra -> Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ -> Qubbat al-Mizān -> Qubbat as-Silsila -> Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*

B179.2.b. The High 'Abbāsid platform has two places east of the Dome of the Rock, *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) and *Mawḍi' al-Ḥiḍr* (south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA). We may suppose that these two domes east of the Dome of the Rock are continued by Fāṭimid *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) and *Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*.

B179.3. **Physical shape:** This is one of the domes (*qibāb*) (B131.10).

B179.4. **Contemporary events:** The dome disappears between the Early and the High Fāṭimid period.

B179.5. **Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Dome of the Gathering (B179.1) [where **Muḥammad** gathered the former prophets and angels and led their ritual prayer]. **al-Walīd** built in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*), the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*), the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*) (B131.10).

---

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fā-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida 'alā asāsihi l-qadīmi ... banā l-qubbata 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi'a wa-sawwāhu) wa-banā fihi qibāban ḡayrahā sammā ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāğī wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥṣari.*



### B180. The Dome of the Prophet = the Dome of the Messenger<sup>1</sup>

B180.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*),<sup>2</sup> the Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*).<sup>3</sup> It is identical with the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*) (B177.1).

B180.2. **Position:** The Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) is one of the famous places of the mosque (*ma'ālīm al-masğid*) (B131.5). The Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) is behind [north of] the Dome of the Ascension (*warā' Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*);<sup>4</sup> the Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) [the same building] is 20 ells (13.30 m) behind [north of] the Dome of Gabriel (*az pas-i Qubba-i Ġabra'īl*).<sup>5</sup> Next to the Dome of the Prophet (*mimmā yalī Qubbat an-Nabī*), under the West Ascent (*taḥt al-Maqām al-Ġarbī*), is the rock *Baḥ-baḥ* or Place of al-Ḥiḍr (*Mawḍi' al-Ḥiḍr*) (B173.2). We locate the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) or Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) or Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*) best at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ, and the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*) or Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ġabra'īl*)<sup>6</sup> at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ.

B180.2.a. **al-Muhallabī's** ... *ilā Qubbati n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu l-latī warā'a Qubbati l-Mi'rāğ* " ... to the Dome of the Prophet - peace be upon him - which is behind [north of] the Dome of the Ascension" considers *Qubbat an-Nabī* and *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* as a kind of pair, probably because they are next to each other, and positions *Qubbat an-Nabī* behind [north of] *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*. **Nāṣir's** (*Qubba-i Ġabra'īl* ...) *wa az pas-i ān*

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Dome of the Prophet, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; 154; 170; Ġanīzāda, *Nāṣir* 43 n. 7; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 47; 49; 170-172; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 87f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIII f.; XXIII f.; 71; 74f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 157f. and fig. 83; Myres, "Masjid Mahd 'Isa" 535; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 702.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 77,1f. *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu mina d-du'ā'i 'inda Qubbati n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-Bābi r-raḥmati wa-ğayri ḍālīka min ma'ālīmi l-masğidi*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66:** 77,3 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 75) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqṣida ilā Qubbati n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu l-latī warā'a Qubbati l-Mi'rāğ*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 123,12 *Bābu faḍli Qubbati n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 144,4f. *Bābu mā ḡā'a fī ṣ-ṣaḥrati l-latī tusammā Baḥ-baḥ wa-hiya l-latī taḥta l-Maqāmi l-Ġarbīyi mimmā yalī Qubbata n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-annahā Mawḍi'u l-Ḥiḍri 'alayhi s-salāmu*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *kih ān-rā Qubba-i Rasūl* (NP *Qubba-i rusul*) *'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām gūyand*.

Cf. **Nāṣir** 43,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *wa Rasūl ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam az ān-ğā ba-ān* (NP *ba-īn*) *qubba āmad kih badū mansūb-ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66:** 77,3-13 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 75) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqṣida ilā Qubbati n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu l-latī warā'a Qubbati l-Mi'rāğ*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) (*ānrā Qubba-i Ġabra'īl 'alayhi s-salām gūyand* ...) *wa az pas-i ān* (NP *wa az pas-i īn*) *qubba-i dīgar-ast kih ān-rā Qubba-i Rasūl* (NP *Qubba-i rusul*) *'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām gūyand miyān-i īn qubba wa Qubba-i Ġabra'īl bīst araṣ bāṣad*.

<sup>6</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 154; 170.

*qubba-i dīgar-ast kih ān-rā Qubba-i Rasūl ... gūyand* "(the Dome of Gabriel ...) and behind [north of] that, there is another dome they call the Dome of the Messenger" quite similarly considers *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* as a kind of pair with *Qubba-i Rasūl*; it either locates *Qubba-i Rasūl* behind [north of] *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* (Schefer), or just enumerates them "(the Dome of Gabriel ...) and then, there is another dome they call the Dome of the Messenger" (Le Strange; Thackston). The proximity of *Qubbat an-Nabī* = *Qubba-i Rasūl* to *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* = *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* reminds one of the layout proposed for High 'Abbāsīd *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ) and *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ), and we best locate the two Fāṭimid domes at the places of their High 'Abbāsīd counterparts, i.e., *Qubbat an-Nabī* = *Qubba-i Rasūl* at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ, *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* = *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ. The distance of 20 ells (13.30 m) between *Qubba-i Rasūl* and *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* fits with the distance between QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ and QUBBAT AN-NABĪ.

B180.2.b. **al-Muhallabī**, **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** and **Nāṣir** mention the two domes *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* -> *Qubbat al-Mizān*, *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* -> *Qubbat an-Nabī*, and *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* -> *Qubba-i Rasūl*, respectively, in their paragraphs on the minor structures of the platform; they do not separate the two. **al-Muhallabī** has *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* and *Qubbat al-Mizān* as the first two minor domes, followed by *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) and *Qubbat al-Maḥṣar* (south of QUBBAT AS-SILSILA). **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* and *Qubbat an-Nabī* as the last two minor structures on the platform, preceded by *Maqām an-Nabī* (at the SOUTH STAIRCASE), *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) and *Bāb Isrāfīl* (at the EAST GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK). **Nāṣir** also has *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* and *Qubba-i Rasūl* as the last two minor domes, preceded by *Qubba-i Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA). The two domes are next to each other, not on the east side like QUBBAT AS-SILSILA, but rather on the other [northwest] side. Locating *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* at about QUBBAT AN-NABĪ and *Qubbat an-Nabī* further north next to the NORTHWEST STAIRCASE<sup>1</sup> is possible as well.

**al-Muhallabī**

*al-qubba 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra* -> ***Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*** -> ***Qubbat al-Mizān***  
-> *Qubbat as-Silsila* -> *Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*: entry, a kind of ṭawāf around the Rock, *al-mawḍi' al-ladī yad'u n-nās fihi*, *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā'*, *taḥt aṣ-Ṣaḥra* -> *Maqām an-Nabī* -> *Qubbat as-Silsila*, *Bāb Isrāfīl* -> ***Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*** -> ***Qubbat an-Nabī***

**Nāṣir**

*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra* -> *Qubba-i Silsila* -> ***Qubba-i Ġabra'il*** -> ***Qubba-i Rasūl***

B180.2.c. Locating High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* and *Qubbat an-Nabī* at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ and QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĞ is out of the question (B106.2.i).

**B180.3. Physical shape:** The Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) is a dome (*qubba*).<sup>2</sup> The Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) rests on four marble columns [*sic*] (*bar ṣāḥar sutūn-i ruḥām*), as the Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ġabra'il*) rests on four marble columns

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIff.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,10-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *wa az pas-i ān* (NP *wa az pas-i in*) *qubba-i dīgar-ast kih ān-rā Qubba-i Rasūl* (NP *Qubba-i rusul*) *'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām gūyand miyān-i in qubba wa Qubba-i Ġabra'il bīst araṣ bāṣad wa in qubba nīz* (cf. **Nāṣir** 43,5f.) *bar ṣāḥar sutūn-i ruḥām-ast*, **Nāṣir** 43,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *wa Rasūl ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam az ān-ğā ba-ān* (NP *ba-in*) *qubba āmad kih badū mansūb-ast*.

(*bar čahār 'amūd-i ruḥām*).<sup>1</sup>

B180.3.a. **Nāṣir** defines *sutūn* "pillar" as *ān-čih murabba' ast wa banā karda and* "what is quadrangular and constructed", and *uṣṭuwāna* "column" as *ān-čih tarāšīda wa az yak pāra sang sāḥta mudawwar* "what is hewn and made of one round piece of stone".<sup>2</sup> He mostly maintains the distinction between *sutūn* "pillar" on the one hand, and *uṣṭuwāna*<sup>3</sup> or *'amūd*<sup>4</sup> "column" on the other hand, and considers *uṣṭuwāna* and *'amūd* as synonyms.<sup>5</sup>

B180.3.b. But **Nāṣir**'s (*Qubba-i Rasūl ...*) *wa in qubba nīz bar čahār sutūn-i ruḥām-ast* "(The Dome of the Messenger ...) And this dome is also on four marble pillars" refers back to *qubba-i dīgar ast bar čahār 'amūd-i ruḥām (... wa ān-rā Qubba-i Ġabra'il 'alayhi s-salām gūyand)* "And there is another dome on four marble pillars. (... And they call that the Dome of Gabriel)." (B183.3). Here *čahār 'amūd-i ruḥām* obviously are "four marble columns", not "four marble pillars";<sup>6</sup> this is clear both from the reference to *Qubba-i Ġabra'il* and from the mention of marble, used for columns and decoration, but not for constructed pillars.

**B180.4. Traditions (Muslim):** At the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) Muḥammad led the ritual prayer of the prophets and angels;<sup>7</sup> Muḥammad prayed on the Night of the Ascension first at the Rock, where the Rock rose in honour of him and was put back by him; then he came to the Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) and mounted al-Burāq [to ascend to heaven].<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,10-12 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *wa az pas-i ān* (NP *wa az pas-i in*) *qubba-i dīgar-ast kih ān-rā Qubba-i Rasūl* (NP *Qubba-i rusul*) *'alayhi s-salāt wa-s-salām gūyand miyān-i in qubba wa Qubba-i Ġabra'il bīst araš bāšad wa in qubba nīz* (cf. **Nāṣir** 43,5f.) *bar čahār sutūn-i ruḥām-ast*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 270) *a'nī ān-čih murabba' ast wa banā karda and sutūn mīgūyam* (NP *mīgū'im*) *wa ān-čih tarāšīda wa az yak pāra sang sāḥta mudawwar ān-rā uṣṭuwāna mīgūyam* (NP *mīgū'im*).

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,18-21 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa ba-čahār ḡānib-i Ṣaḥra čahār sutūn banā karda and murabba' ba-bālā-yi dīwār-i ḥāna-i maḍkūr wa miyān-i har dū sutūn az čahār gāna ḡuft-i* (I read *sih*) *uṣṭuwāna-i ruḥām qāyim karda hama ba-bālā-yi ān sutūnhā*; **Nāṣir** 40,22-41,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa miyān-i dīwār-i ḥāna wa in sutūnhā wa uṣṭuwānahā ...*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,3-6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) *aknūn miyān-i in sutūnhā* (I read *sutūnhā wa uṣṭuwānahā*) *wa dīwār-i ḥāna šīš* (I read *hašt*) *sutūn-i dīgar banā karda ast az sanghā-yi muhandam wa miyān-i har dū sutūn sih 'amūd-i ruḥām-i mulawwan ba-qīsmat-i rāst nihāda čun-ān kih dar šaff-i awwal miyān-i dū sutūn dū* (I read *sih*) *'amūd būd in-ḡā miyān-i dū sutūn sih* (I read *dū*) *'amūd ast*; **Nāṣir** 41,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 272) *wa sar-i sutūnhā-rā ba-čahār šāḥ karda kih har šāḥ-i pāya-i ṭāq-i ast wa bar sar-i 'amūd-i* (NP *wa bar sar-i har 'amūd-i*) *dū šāḥ čun-ān-kih bar sar-i 'amūd-i pāya-i dū ṭāq wa bar sar-i sutūn-i pāya-i čahār ṭāq uftāda ast*; **Nāṣir** 41,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 271) *wa bar sar-i sutūnhā wa 'amūdhā wa dīwār ba-šan'at-i* (I read *šan'at-i*) *kih miṭl-i ān kam uftad*.

<sup>5</sup>Ġanizāda, *Nāṣir* 41 n. 3; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 270f.

<sup>6</sup>Ġanizāda, *Nāṣir* 43 n. 7.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 123,12 *Bābu faḍli Qubbati n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu wa-ṣalātuḥu bi-l-anbiyā'i wa-l-malā'ikati 'indahā*.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,12-18 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *wa gūyand šab-i Mi'rāḡ Rasūl 'alayhi s-salām wa-ṣ-salāt* (NP *'alayhi s-salāt wa-s-salām*) *awwal ba-Qubba-i Ṣaḥra namāz kard wa dast bar*

**B180.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on their prayer-route, make ritual prayer here and endeavour in the same prayer [as they did in the Dome of the Ascension (B182.6)], or in the prayer which Muḥammad was taught when he was asked, "About what quarrels the Highest Assembly (*fī-mā yaḥtaṣimu l-Mala'u l-A'la*), oh Muḥammad?", "Oh God, I ask you the pleasant things, the leaving of the reprehensible things and the love of the poor, that you forgive me, have mercy upon me and change your mind about me. If you want to tempt people, let me rather die untempted."<sup>1</sup>

### B181. The Dome of the Balance<sup>2</sup>

**B181.1. Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*).<sup>3</sup> It is identical with the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) or Dome of the Messenger (*Qubbat ar-Rasūl*) (B177.1).

**B181.2. Position:** The Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*) is in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) (B131.10). We best locate it at QUBBAT AL-MI'RĀĠ (B180.2).

**B181.3. Physical shape:** The Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*) is one of the domes (*qibāb*) (B131.10).

**B181.4. Traditions (Muslim):** al-Walīd built in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāġ*), the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*), the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*) (B131.10).

---

*Ṣaḥra nihād wa ċūn bīrūn miyāmad Ṣaḥra az barā-yi ġalālat-i ū bar ḥāst wa Rasūl 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām dast bar Ṣaḥra nihād tā bāz ba-ġā-yi ḥūd šud wa qarār girift wa hanūz ān (NP girift hanūz ān, without wa) nīma mu'allaq ast wa Rasūl ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam az ān-ġā ba-ān (NP ba-ān) qubba āmad kih badū mansūb-ast wa bar Burāq nišast wa ta'zīm-i īn (NP ān) qubba az ān-ast.*

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.66:** 77,3-13 *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqšida ilā Qubbati n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu l-lati warā'a Qubbati l-Mi'rāġi wa-yuṣalliya fihā wa-yaġtahida fī d-du'a'i fa-in da'a bi-d-du'a'i l-ladī qaddamnā dīkrahū* (cf. **Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.65:** 75,8-76,22) *fa-ḥasuna fa-huwa du'a'un 'aẓimu l-barakati wa-in aḥabba an yad'uwa bi-d-du'a'i l-ladī 'allamahu Llāhu ta'ālā li-Nabīyihi Muḥammadin 'alayhi s-salāmu ḥabba* (read *ḥīna*) *qāla lahu fī-mā yaḥtaṣimu l-Mala'u l-A'la yā Muḥammadu? wa-huwa mā ḥaddatanā bihi Abū l-Faraġi qāla ... qāla Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ra'aytu rabbī wa-dakara l-ḥadiṯa ilā an qāla quli Llāhumma abī* (read *innī*) *as'aluka t-tayyibāti wa-tarka l-munkarāti wa-ḥubba l-masākīni wa-an taġfara lī wa-tarḥamanī wa-tatūba 'alayya wa-idā aradta bi-qawmin fitnatan fa-tawaffānī ġayra maftūnin ...*

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid Dome of the Balance, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 185 n. 7.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida 'alā asāsihi l-qadīmi ... banā l-qubbata 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi'a wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fihī qibāban ġayrahā sammā ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāġi wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥṣari.*

## B182. The Dome of the Ascension<sup>1</sup>

**B182.1. Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*).<sup>2</sup> It is identical with the Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ğabra'īl*) (B177.1).

**B182.2. Position:** The Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*) is in the mosque (*fī l-masğid*) (B131.10). Behind [north of] the Dome of the Ascension (*warā' Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*) is the Dome of the Prophet (*Qubbat an-Nabī*) (B180.2). The Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) is at a distance of 20 ells (13.30 m) behind [north of] the Dome of Gabriel (*az pas-i Qubba-i Ğabra'īl*). We best locate the Dome of the Ascension at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ (B180.2).

**B182.3. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*<sup>3</sup> plur. *qibāb*<sup>4</sup>).

**B182.4. Traditions (Muslim):** As God rose to heaven (*istawā ilā s-samā'*) from the Rock (*aş-Şahra*) (cf. **Koran** 2.29; 41.11), **Muḥammad** was raised to heaven (*'uriğā bihi ilā s-samā'*) from the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ*); therefore all prayer said here is

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Dome of the Ascension, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 154; 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 38-43; 47; 49; 170-172; Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 38; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims Before the Crusades* 41; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 22f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 87f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; XXIIIff.; 49; 71; 73f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 113; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muḥallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida 'alā asāsihi l-qadīmi ... banā l-qubbata 'alā ş-Şahratī wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi'a wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fīhi qibāban ġayrahā sammā ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāğī wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥşari*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 75,7 *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu min d-du'ā'i 'inda Qubbati l-Mi'rāğī*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.65:** 75,8 *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqşida Qubbata l-Mi'rāğī*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.66:** 77,3 (transl. Elad, *Jerusalem* 75) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqşida ilā Qubbati n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu l-latī warā'a Qubbati l-Mi'rāğī*; **Ibn al-Murağğā** 119,5 *Bābu mā ḡā'a fī Qubbati l-Mi'rāğī wa-şu'ūdi n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu minhā ilā s-samā'i*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.144:** 122,4f. *wa-lam yaḥtalifi ṭnāni annahu şallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'uriğā bihi min 'inda l-qubbati l-latī yuqālu lahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāğī*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.144:** 122,4-7 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 49) *wa-lam yaḥtalifi ṭnāni annahu şallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'uriğā bihi min 'inda l-qubbati l-latī yuqālu lahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāğī wa-anna d-du'ā'a (add fīhā) mustağābun li-anna min ş-Şahratī stawā Llāhu ta'ālā ilā s-samā'i* (cf. **Koran** 2.29; 41.11) *wa-min 'inda ḥādīhi l-qubbati 'uriğā bi-n-Nabīyi şallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ilā s-samā'i fa-huwa mawḍi'un mubārakun wa-d-du'ā'u fīhi muğābun*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muḥallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida 'alā asāsihi l-qadīmi wa-banā l-qubbata 'alā ş-Şahratī wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi'a wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fīhi qibāban ġayrahā sammā ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāğī wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥşari*.

answered.<sup>1</sup> **al-Walīd** built in the mosque (*fī l-masǧid*) the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāǧ*), the Dome of the Balance (*Qubbat al-Mizān*), the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Dome of the Gathering (*Qubbat al-Maḥṣar*) (B131.10).

B182.5. It is generally accepted that prayer here is answered.<sup>2</sup>

**B182.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Dome of the Ascension is part of the Muslim prayer-route.<sup>3</sup> People should, on their prayer-route, make ritual prayer here and endeavour in prayer, in the prayer Muḥammad prayed in the middle of the night, "Oh God, I ask you your mercy, by which you guide my heart, unite my affairs, settle my disorder, restore my friendship, guard my eyes, purify my deeds, inspire me that I might be right-guided, and protect me from every evil. I ask you faith which is not repelled, certitude which leaves no unbelief, mercy from you by which I may reach the honour of your favour in this and the other world. I ask you the good outcome at the meeting [in the battle against the infidels], the dwellings of the martyrs [in Paradise], the life of the blessed and the company of the prophets - you are the one who listens to prayer. Oh God, I ask you, oh Judge of Affairs, oh Healers of Hearts, as you protect between the seas, let me go from the pain of the Fire [of Hell], from the trial of the tombs, from the call of destruction. Oh God, what my work misses and my longing does not reach, some good you promised some of your people - you give it to one of your righteous and I ask you for it and implore you, Lord of the universe, oh God, make us well-guided, right-guided, not misguided nor misguiding, make me the peace of your supporters and the sadness of your enemies, make me love him who loves you and oppose with your hostility him who opposes you. Oh God, I ask you by your magnanimous face, Lord of strong splendour and magnanimity, [I ask you] security on the day of threat, Paradise on the day of eternity, and together with your intimates [the angels], the martyrs - you are merciful and friendly, you do as you wish. Oh God, here is this prayer, upon you is the answer; here is my effort, upon you is confidence; there is no force and no

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.144:** 122,4-6 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 49) *wa-lam yaḥtalifī ṭnāni annahu ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'uriǧa bihi min 'inda l-qubbati l-latī yuqālu lahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāǧi wa-anna d-du'ā'a (add fihā) mustaǧābun li-anna mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati stawā Llāhu ta'ālā ilā s-samā'i* (cf. **Koran** 2.29; 41.11) *wa-min 'inda hādīhi l-qubbati 'uriǧa bi-n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ilā s-samā'i*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.65:** 75,8f. (*wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqṣida Qubbata l-Mi'rāǧi ...*) *fa-huwa mawḍi'un yuǧma'u 'alā iǧābati d-du'ā'i fihī*; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr.144:** 122,4-7 (transl. partly Elad, *Jerusalem* 49) *wa-lam yaḥtalifī ṭnāni annahu ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'uriǧa bihi min 'inda l-qubbati l-latī yuqālu lahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāǧi wa-anna d-du'ā'a (add fihā) mustaǧābun li-anna mina ṣ-Ṣaḥrati stawā Llāhu ta'ālā ilā s-samā'i* (cf. **Koran** 2.29; 41.11) *wa-min 'inda hādīhi l-qubbati 'uriǧa bi-n-Nabīyi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama ilā s-samā'i fa-huwa mawḍi'un mubārakun wa-d-du'ā'u fihī muǧābun*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā** 75,7 *Bābu mā yustaḥbbu mina d-du'ā'i 'inda Qubbati l-Mi'rāǧi*; **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā Nr. 65:** 75,8f. *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqṣida Qubbata l-Mi'rāǧi fa-yuṣalliya fihā wa-yaǧtahida fī d-du'ā'i fa-huwa mawḍi'un yuǧma'u 'alā iǧābati d-du'ā'i fihī wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yad'uwa ...*

strength but with you. Oh God, make for me a light in my ears, my eyes, my brain, my bones, my hair, my skin, in front of me, behind me, on my right and on my left. Oh God, give me a light and increase us with light. Praised be He who dresses in might and it befits him. Praised be He who is attributed glory and magnificent by it. Praised be He who is the only one to be praised. Praised be He who counts everything in his knowledge. Praised be He, Lord of grace and highness. Praised be He, Lord of favour and grace. Praised be He, Lord of might and magnanimity."<sup>1</sup> It is generally accepted that prayer here is answered (B182.4).

### B183. The Dome of Gabriel<sup>2</sup>

**B183.1. Names (Muslim):** The Dome of [the angel] Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ġabraʾīl-i ʿalayhi s-salām*,<sup>3</sup> *Qubba-i Ġabraʾīl*). It is identical with the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Miʿrāġ*)

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraġġā Nr.65:** 75,8-76,22 *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yaqṣida Qubbata l-Miʿrāġi fa-yuṣalliya fihā wa-yaġtahida fī d-duʿāʾi fa-huwa mawḍiʿun yuġmaʿu ʿalā iġābati d-duʿāʾi fihī wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yadʿuwa bi-duʿāʾi Rasūli Llāhi ʿalayhi s-salāmu l-ladī kāna yadʿu bihi fī ġawfi l-layli wa-huwa mā ḥaddatanā bihi š-šayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani ʿAlīyu bnu Mūsā l-maʿrūfu bi-Bni s-Simsāri bi-Dimašqa bi-qirāʾatī ʿalayhi qāla ... ʿan ġaddihi ʿAbdi Llāhi bni ʿAbbāsi qāla bittu ʿinda Maymūnata ʿLʿLY (read ʿinda Maymūnata zawġi n-Nabīyi ʿalayhi s-salāmu) fa-samīʿtuhu yaqūlu fī qunūtihi fī s-saḥari Llāhumma innī asʿaluka raḥmatan min ʿindika tuḥdī bihā qalbī wa-taġmaʿu bihā amrī wa-talummu bihā šaʿatī wa-taruddu bihā ulfatī wa-tuḥanniṭu (read wa-taḥfaẓu) bihā ʿaynī wa-tuzakkī bihā ʿamalī wa-tulhimunī bihā ruṣdī wa-taʿšimunī bihā ʿan kulli sūʾin asʿaluka imānan lā tartaddu (read lā yartaddu) wa-yaqīnan laysa baʿdahu kufrun wa-raḥmatan min ʿindika anālu bihā šarafa karāmatika fī d-dunyā wa-l-āḥirati wa-asʿaluka l-fawza ʿinda l-liqāʾi wa-manāzila š-šuhadāʾi wa-ʿayša s-suʿadāʾi wa-murāfaqata l-anbiyāʾi innaka samīʿu d-duʿāʾi Llāhumma innī asʿaluka yā qāḍiya l-umūri wa-yā šāfiya š-sudūri ka-mā tuġīru bayna l-buḥūri aġrinī min ʿadābi s-saʿīri wa-min fitnati l-qubūri wa-daʿwati t-tubūri Llāhumma mā qaṣura ʿanhu ʿamalī wa-lam tabluġhu masʿalatī min ḥayri waʿdatihi aḥadan min ḥalqika wa-anta muʿtihi aḥadan min ʿibādika š-šālīḥi na fa-asʿaluka wa-aḡabu ilayka fihī rabba l-ʿālamīna Llāhumma ġʿalnā ḥudātan muḥadāna ġayra ḍallīna wa-lā muḍillīna silman li-awliyāʾika wa-ḥuznan li-aʿdāʾika nuḥibbu (read nuḥibbu bi-ḥubbika man aḥabbaka) wa-nuʿādī bi-ʿadāwatika man ḥalafaka Llāhumma innī asʿaluka bi-waġhika l-karīmi dī l-ġalālī š-šadīdi wa-l-ikrāmi l-amna yawma l-waʿdi wa-l-Ġannata yawma l-ḥulūdi wa-maʿa l-muqarrabīna š-šuhūdi l-mūfīna bi-l-uhūdi innaka raḥī mun wadūdun taʿālu mā turīdu Llāhumma ḥādā d-duʿāʾu wa-ʿalayka l-iġābatu wa-ḥādā l-ġaḥdu wa-ʿalayka t-tiklānu wa-lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bika Llāhumma ġʿal lī nūran fī samʿī wa-baṣarī wa-muḥḥī wa-ʿizāmī wa-šarī wa-baṣarī wa-min bayni yadayya wa-min ḥalfī wa-ʿan yamīnī wa-ʿan šīmālī Llāhumma aʿtīnī twrʾ (read nūran) wa-zidnā nūran tumma qāla subḥāna man labisa l-ʿizza wa-lāqa bihi subḥāna l-ladī yuʿafu bi-l-maġdi wa-takarrama bihi subḥāna man lā yanbaġī t-tasbiḥu illā lahu subḥāna man aḥṣā kulla šayʾin bi-ʿilmīhi subḥāna dī l-faḍli wa-t-tūli subḥāna dī l-manni wa-n-niʿami subḥāna dī l-qudrati wa-l-karami tumma saġada Rasūlu Llāhi ʿalayhi wa-sallama (read šallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama) wa-kāna farāġuhu min witrīhi waqta rakʿatayī l-faġri farakiʿa fī manzilihi wa-ḥaraġa wa-šallā bi-aṣḥābihi.*

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid Dome of Gabriel, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 154; 170; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39-42; 47; 170-172; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 38; 157f. and fig. 83; Myres, "Masjid Mahd ʿIsa" 535; Natsheh, "Catalogue" 889 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) *ān-rā Qubba-i Ġabraʾīl ʿalayhi s-salām ġūyand*.

(B177.1).

B183.1.a. The identification of Gabriel with the angel Gabriel is just by **Nāṣir's** eulogy *Qubba-i Ġabraʿīl ʿalayhi s-salām* "the Dome of Gabriel, peace be upon him".

B183.2. **Position:** The Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ġabraʿīl*) is on the platform (*bar duk-kān*).<sup>2</sup> At a distance of 20 ells (13.30 m) behind [north of] the Dome of Gabriel (*az pas-i Qubba-i Ġabraʿīl*) is the Dome of the Messenger (*Qubba-i Rasūl*) (B180.2) We best locate the Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ġabraʿīl*) at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ (B180.2).

B183.3. **Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*,<sup>3</sup> *gunbad*<sup>4</sup>) with four marble columns (*ʿamūd-i ruḥām*), closed on the south side (*ġānib-i qibla*) by [a wall with] a beautiful prayer-niche (*miḥrāb-i nīkū*) [but open on all other sides]; the floor (*zamīn*) has no carpet (*farš*), but is bare bedrock made even (*ḥūd-i sang kih hamwār karda and*).<sup>5</sup>

B183.3.a. A parallel to this dome on columns open on all sides but closed on the south side by [a wall with] a prayer-niche: The Fāṭimid Dome of the Chain (*Qubba-i Silsila*) has eight marble columns and six stone pillars, and is open on all sides except the south, where it is enclosed to its top [by a wall] with a prayer-niche (B178.3).

B183.3.b. It has been assumed that the dome is open on all four sides;<sup>6</sup> however, **Nāṣir's** *wa ān-rā nīz ġānib-i qibla basta ast miḥrāb-i nīkū bar ān sāḥta* "And it is as well closed on the south side, and a beautiful prayer-niche is put there" makes clear that the dome is closed on its south side.

B183.3.c. **Nāṣir's** *wa farš dar īn gunbad nīst bal-kih zamīnaš ḥūd-i sang-ast kih hamwār karda and* "And there is no carpet in this dome, but its floor is the rock itself, which they made even" has been interpreted as referring to stone slabs (Thackston), but obviously levelled bedrock is meant. Bedrock made even is found today in QUBBAT AL-ARWĀḤ.

B183.4. **Traditions (Muslim):** The name of the Dome of Gabriel (*Qubba-i Ġabraʿīl*) refers to Gabriel [taking part, as Muḥammad's guide,<sup>7</sup> in the ritual prayer of all prophets and

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *miyān-i īn qubba wa Qubba-i Ġabraʿīl bist araš bāšad*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) *wa ham bar-īn dukkān qubba-ī dī gar ast*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39) *wa ham bar-īn dukkān qubba-ī dī gar ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39f.) *wa farš dar īn gunbad nīst*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,5-8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39f.) *wa ham bar-īn dukkān qubba-ī dīgar ast bar čahār ʿamūd-i ruḥām (NP ruḥāmīn) wa ān-rā nīz ġānib-i qibla basta ast miḥrāb-i nīkū bar ān sāḥta ... wa farš dar īn gunbad nīst bal-kih zamīnaš ḥūd-i sang-ast kih hamwār karda and*.

<sup>6</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 157f. and fig. 83.

<sup>7</sup>For Gabriel as Muḥammad's guide on the Night Journey, see A101.c.



angels Muḥammad led]. Here al-Burāq was brought so that Muḥammad might mount her [for his ascension to heaven].<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 155; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) (*ān-rā Qubba-i Ġabra'il 'alayhi s-salām gūyand ...*) *gūyand šab-i Mi'rāğ Burāq-rā ān-ğā āwarda and tā payğambar* (NP *payğambar-i mā*) *'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām rukūb kard.*

## 4.5. THE DOME OF THE ROCK

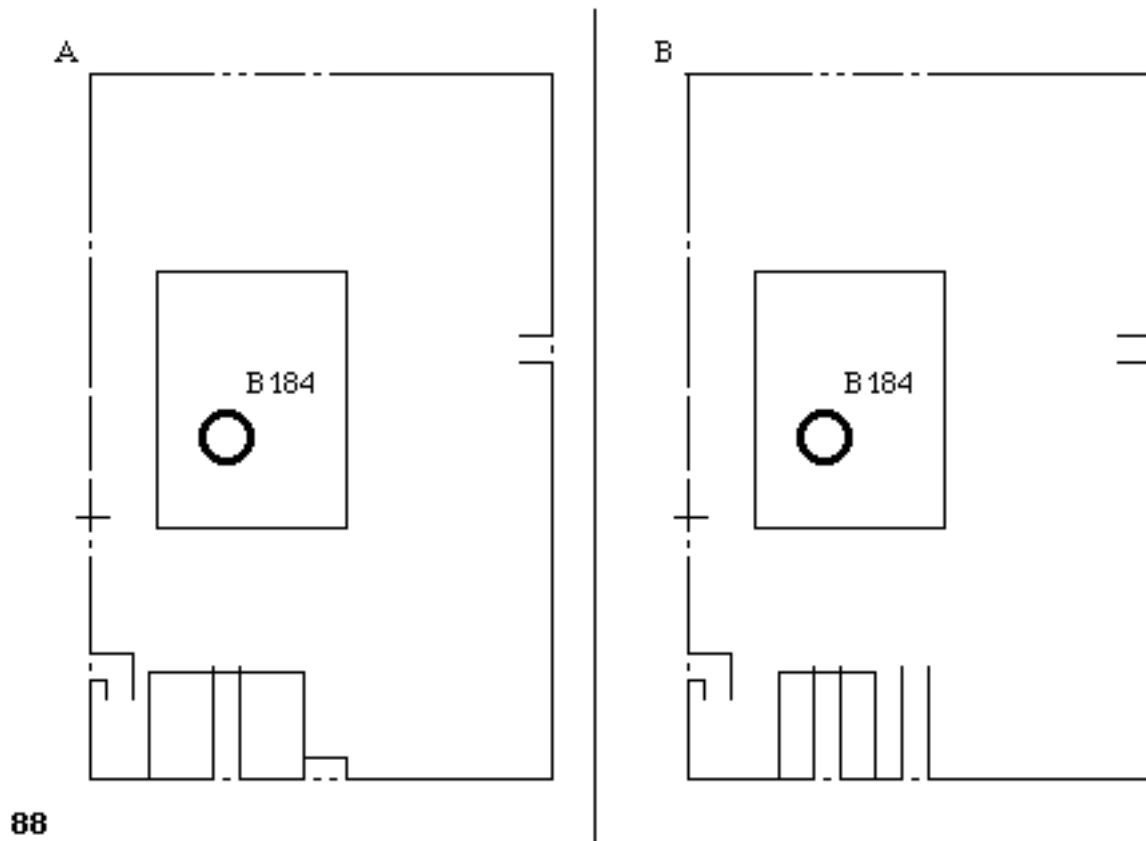
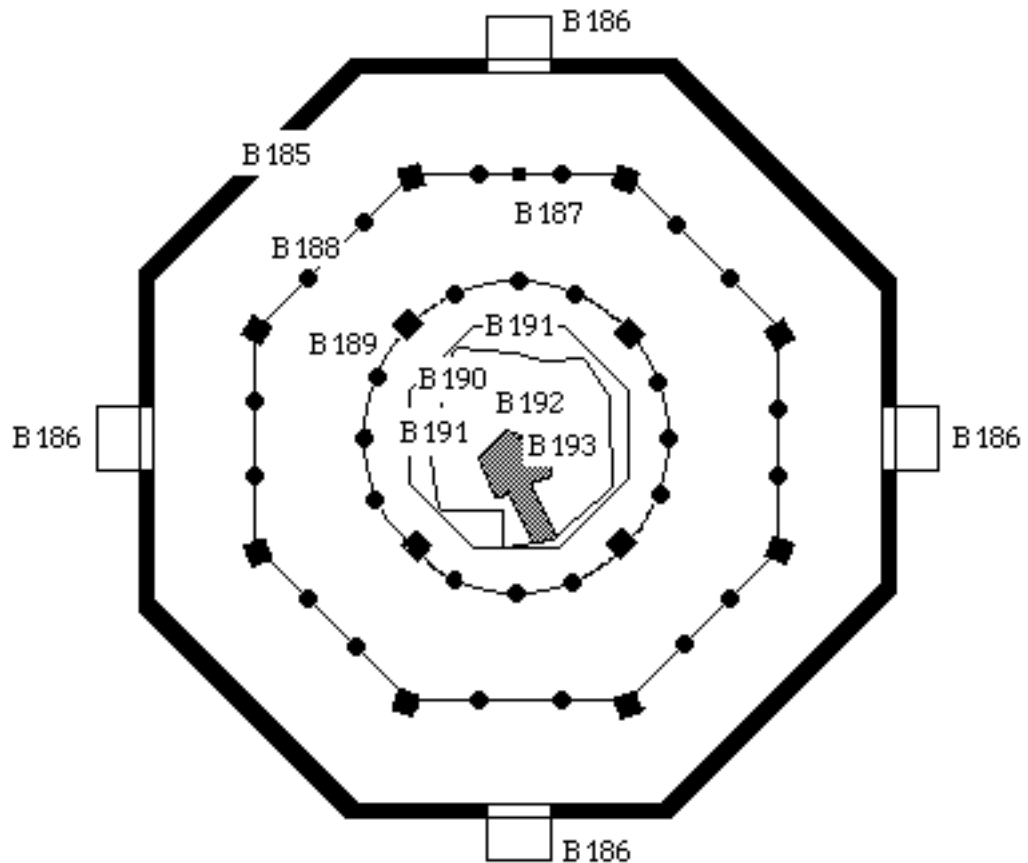
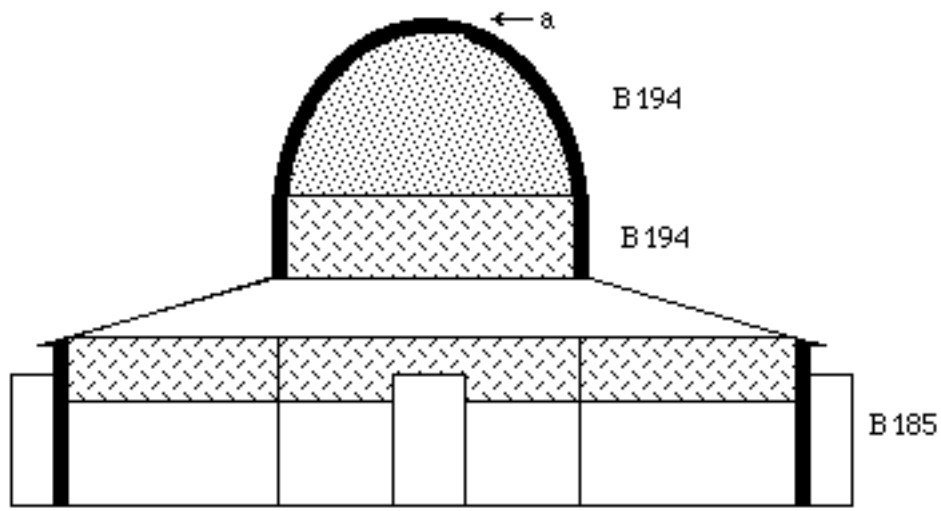


**Figure 88. The position of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock (B184): A In the Early Fāṭimid area. - B In the High Fāṭimid area.**



89

**Figure 89. The Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock (layout):** B185 The wall. - B186 The gates, among them the Gate of Isrāfil or Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (southwards). - B187 The Black Paving-stone. - B188 The outer arcade. - B189 The arcade next to the Rock. - B190 The fence around the Rock. - B191 The place where people pray and touch [and kiss] the Rock (west or north of the Rock). - B192 The Rock. - B193 The cave under the Rock.



90

**Figure 90. The Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock (side view):** B185 The wall, with the gates and the lobbies in front of them. - B194 The dome, with its top (a) and the drum.

B184. The Dome of the Rock<sup>1</sup>

B184.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Dome of the Rock (which used to be the prayer-direction) (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra kih ān qibla būda ast*,<sup>2</sup> *Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*<sup>3</sup>), [the Dome of] the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>4</sup> the Dome of the Rock which is in the Temple/Jerusalem (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-latī bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*),<sup>5</sup> the Sanctuary of the Rock (*Hāna-i Ṣaḥra*),<sup>6</sup> the Holy [Dome of the] Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa*),<sup>7</sup> the dome [which is] over the rock (*al-qubba 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B131.10), the Place (of the Rock) (*Mawḍi' aṣ-Ṣaḥra*,<sup>8</sup> *al-Mawḍi'*), the Place where is now [the Dome of] the Rock (*al-*

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 261-289; Schneider, "Epiphanius" 152f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 65-131; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 227f.; 300-308; 314; Sharon, "Inscriptions from the Western Wall" 215; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Gil, *Palestine* 386; 397f.; 406; 407 n. 58; 408; 408f. n. 60; 647; 827f.; 828f. n. 2; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣir" 271f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197; 3 74; 79f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIII f.; 42-44; 70-72; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 156f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,8-10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa ṣaḥār qubba dar in dukkān-ast az hama buzurgtar Qubba-i Ṣaḥra kih ān qibla būda ast*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *ṣifat-i Qubba-i Ṣaḥra banā-yi masḡid čun-ān nihāda ast kih dukkān ba-miyān-i sāḥat āmada wa Qubba-i Ṣaḥra ba-miyān-i dukkān wa Ṣaḥra ba-miyān-i qubba; Nāṣir 43,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *wa gūyand šab-i Mi'rāḡ Rasūl 'alayhi s-salām wa-ṣ-ṣalāt* (NP *'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām*) *awwal ba-Qubba-i Ṣaḥra namāz kard*.*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.54:** 66,10 *yustaḥabbu li-man daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *an yaḡ'alāhā* [the Rock] *'alā yamīnihi ...; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.57: 69,11f. *wa-bi-ayyi du 'ā'in da 'ā fi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *yustaḥabbu lahu in šā'a Llāhu lā siyyamā idā kāna ma'tūran 'ani n-Nabīyi 'alayhi s-salāmu; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.62: 73,2f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fi Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa 'inda bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḍi yud 'ā* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud 'ā*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad 'uwa; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.164: 131,16 *aḥbarānā* [Ibn al-Muraḡḡā] *Abū l-Ḥasani 'Abdu l-Wahhābi bnu Muḥammadin bi-qirā'atī 'alayhi 'alā Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock]; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.278:** 193,10-12 (... *Abū Bakrīn Muḥammadu bnu l-Ḥasani š-Širāziyu qāla*) *amlā* (Livne-Kafri reads *amlā*) *'alayya Muḥammadu bnu l-Ḥasani bni 'Alīyini l-Muqri'u 'alā Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi sanata tamānin wa-sab'ina wa-ṭalāṭimi'atin qāla ...****

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Bannā', Ta'rīḡ** 2 239,9: 3 (see Gil, *Palestine* 408; 408f. n. 60) (*wa-warada l-ḥabaru ... bi-annahu ḥadaṭa bi-Filasṭīna wa-r-Ramlati zilzilātun 'aẓīmatun ...*) *wa-nṣada'ati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-niṣṣayni tumma lta'amat bi-idni Llāhi ta'ālā*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,24-42,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa dar ān* (NP *in*) *Hāna-i Ṣaḥra hamīša mardum bāšand* (NP *bāšad*) *az muḡawirān wa 'ābidān*.

<sup>7</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 66,9 *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu mina d-du 'ā'i idā daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata l-Muqaddasata* [the Dome of the Rock].

<sup>8</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,13f. (*wa-yaqūlu ahlu l-kitābi ...*) *inna mā'a ṭ-ṭūfāni taḡāfā 'an Mawḍi'i ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* (*wa-innahu awwalu maḡbahin kāna ba'da ṭ-ṭūfāni; al-Muhallabī* 54,11-15 (transl. partly Soucek, "Temple of Solomon" 89) *wa-lammā banat Halānātu ummu Quṣṭāntīna l-maliki Kanīsata Qumāmata wa-ḡayrahā mina l-kanā'isi ... amarat bi-taḡaṣṣi hadmi l-Bayti wa-ḡa'alat Mawḍi'a ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ḥuṣūša l-baladi wa-mazābilahu fa-daṭara fa-lammā fataḥa 'Umaru l-balada ḡā'ahu l-Yahūdu fa-'arraḡūhu bi-l-Mawḍi'i fa-amara l-Muslimīna bi-tanzīfihi wa-'āwanahu l-Yahūdu 'alā dālīka fa-kaṣafa 'ani l-Mawḍi'i wa-banā l-Muslimūna 'alayhi masḡidan*.

*Mawḍiʿ al-ladī fihi l-ān aṣ-Ṣaḥra*),<sup>1</sup> a dome (*qubba*), a sanctuary (*bayt*, *ḥāna*) (B184.5).

B184.1.a. Terminology is difficult insofar, as *aṣ-Ṣaḥra* is both the Rock proper (B192.1) and the Dome of the Rock and the two meanings are even used side by side;<sup>2</sup> also, *al-qubba* is both the dome of the building (B194.3) and the whole Dome of the Rock.

B184.1.b. A parallel to *Ḥāna-i Ṣaḥra* "the Sanctuary of the Rock": Quite similarly, **Nāṣir** calls the Ka'ba *Ḥāna-i Ka'ba* "the Sanctuary of the Ka'ba".<sup>3</sup>

B184.1.c. There is no evidence of *Miḥrāb Dāwūd* meaning the Dome of the Rock (B131.1.a).

**B184.2. Name (Christian):** The Holy of Holies (τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων).<sup>4</sup>

B184.2.a. For identification of τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων with the Dome of the Rock, see B134.2.b.

**B184.3. Name (Jewish):** The Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*), a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock (*ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) (B131.13).

**B184.4. Position:** The Holy of Holies (τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων) [the Dome of the Rock] is next to the Bethesda Pool (πλησίον τῆς προβατικῆς κολυμβήθρας) (the BETHESDA POOL).<sup>5</sup> The Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*) is the largest (*az hama buzurgtar*) of the

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,3-11 *wa-yazʿumu ahlu l-kitābi anna awwala zuhūri ḥādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati anna Ishāqa bna Ibrāhīma ʿalayhimi* [sic] *s-salāmu ḥaṣṣa bnaḥu Yaʿqūba bi-duʿāʾin wa-barakatin fa-ḥasadahu aḥūhu l-Iṣu ʿalā ḍālika wa-kāna ṣarisan šadīdan fa-ḥāfat ʿalayhi ummuhumā Rifqā min aḥīhi fa-ašarat ʿalayhi bi-l-masīri ilā Ḥarrāna li-yaʿḥuḍa bnata ḥālīhi Rābāna wa-kānati mraʾatuhu hunāka wa-yastadfīʿu* (possibly read *tastadfīʿu*) *maḡabbata šarri aḥīhi ʿanhu fa-sāra ḥattā idā šāra ilā l-Mawḍiʿi l-ladī fihi l-āna ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *ḡašiyahu l-laylu fa-nāma hunālika, wa-qad ḡaʿala taḥta raʾsihi tṇay ʿasāra ḡaḡaran fa-raʾā fī manāmihi ka-anna bāban fī s-samāʾmi nfataḥa wa-ʿalayhi sullamun mawḍūʿun wa-l-malāʾikatu taṭlaʿu minhu wa-tanzilu fa-qāla fī nafsīhi ḥādā Bābu s-samāʾi wa-šarufa l-Mawḍiʿu ʿindahū tṇmma waḡada l-ḡiḡārata l-latī kānat taḥta raʾsihi qad šarat ḡaḡaran wāḥīdan fa-zdāda šarafu l-Mawḍiʿi fī nafsīhi.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr. 54:** 66,10f. *yustaḥabbu li-man daḡala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *an yaḡʿalahā* [the Rock] *ʿalā yamīnihi ḥattā yakūna bi-ḥilāfi ṭ-ṭawāfi ḡawla Bayti Llāhi l-Ḥarāmi wa-yaḡtʾa ilā mawḍiʿin yadū li-n-nāsi* (read *ilā l-mawḍiʿi l-ladī yadū n-nāsu fihi*) *fa-yadaʿa yadahu ʿalayhā* [on the Rock] *wa-lā yuqabbilahā* ....

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,9f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 130) ... *tā ān-gāh kih Īzad-i tabāraka wa-taʿalā farmūd kih qibla Ḥāna-i Kaʿba bāšad.*

<sup>4</sup>**Epiphanius V** II,17 (see Schneider, "Epiphanius" 152f.) (... ἡ προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα ...) καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἔστι τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων = **Epiphanius M** II,17 (... ἡ προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα ...) καὶ πλησίον δὲ ταύτης εἰσὶ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων = **Epiphanius J** II,17 (... ἡ προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα ...) καὶ πλησίον αὐτῶν τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων.

<sup>5</sup>**Epiphanius V** II,17 (see Schneider, "Epiphanius" 152f.) (... ἡ προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα ...) καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἔστι τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων (ἐνθα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα πέπηκται καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος ιδιότειχα) = **Epiphanius M** II,17 (... ἡ προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα ...) καὶ πλησίον δὲ ταύτης εἰσὶ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων (ἐνθα τοῦ προφήτου Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα καὶ

four domes on this platform (*čahār qubba dar īn dukkān*).<sup>1</sup> The mosque (*masğid*) was built such that in the centre of the courtyard (*ba-miyān-i šāḥat*) came the platform (*dukkān*), in the centre of the platform (*ba-miyān-i dukkān*) the Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Šaḥra*), and in the centre of the dome (*ba-miyān-i qubba*) the Rock (*Šaḥra*) (B155.3); the centre of the courtyard of the Friday mosque (*miyān-i šāḥat-i ġāmi*) is the platform (*dukkān*), and in the centre of this platform (*bar miyān-i ān dukkān-i*) is the Rock (*Šaḥra*) (B155.3); the centre of the courtyard (*wasat aš-šāḥn*) is the platform of (the Dome of) the Rock (*dikkat aš-Šaḥra*), the centre of the platform (*wasat ad-dikka*) the Dome of the Rock, and the centre of the dome (*wasat al-qubba*) the Holy Rock (*aš-Šaḥra l-Muqaddasa*) (B155.3). This is basically the DOME OF THE ROCK.

B184.4.a. The Fāṭimid building is over the Rock (the ROCK), as the Marwānid (B038.2) and High 'Abbāsīd (B118.3) buildings were. This, and the Marwānid character of a number of elements (B038.2.a), leave no doubt that the DOME OF THE ROCK as we have it today is basically the same as the Marwānid, High 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock.

**B184.5. Physical shape:** This is a dome (*qubba*),<sup>2</sup> a building with a dome (*qubba*) proper (B194.2), a sanctuary (*bayt*,<sup>3</sup> *ḥāna*<sup>1</sup>). This is a plain octagonal sanctuary (*ḥāna-i muṭamman-i*

---

<sup>1</sup>Ελισάβετ ἀννηρτήθειν καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος) = **Epiphanios J** II,17 (... ἡ προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα ...) καὶ πλησίον αὐτῶν τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων (ὅπου τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἶμα ἀπόκειται καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐξ ἀοράτου καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἰδιότυχος).

For the BETHESDA POOL, see Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 43; 157; 3 162-170; 227; Küchler, "Die Probatische und Betesda".

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa čahār qubba dar īn dukkān-ast az hama buzurgtar Qubba-i Šaḥra ast*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida 'alā asāsīhi l-qadīmi wa-banā l-qubbata 'alā š-Šaḥrati wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi'a wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fīhi qibāban ḡayrahā sammā ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mi'rāği wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba'ḍahā Qubbata l-Maḥšari*; **Gil Nr. 1r,10** (*'Umar ... fa-amar bi-an yubnā sūr al-Qūds*) *wa-yubnā 'alā š-Šaḥra qūbba (wa-[tu]tlā bi-d-dahab)*; **Nāṣir** 40,8f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa čahār qubba dar īn dukkān-ast az hama buzurgtar Qubba-i Šaḥra ast*; **Nāṣir** 40,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *šifat-i Qubba-i Šaḥra banā-yi masğid čun-ān nihāda ast kih dukkān ba-miyān-i sāḥat āmada wa Qubba-i Šaḥra ba-miyān-i dukkān wa Šaḥra ba-miyān-i qubba*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,15f. (*wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyatun ... bi-arba'ati abwābin fī arba'ī ḡihāti l-qubbati yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin ...*) *wa-tufḍi ḡami'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍi l-qubbatu fī wasatihi*.

Cf. al-Bayt "the Sanctuary" built by Solomon (B131.10), **al-Muhallabī** 51,1 ... *wa-lammā btada'a Sulaymānu 'alayhi s-salāmu bi-binā'i l-Bayti ... wa-banā Sulaymānu 'alayhi s-salāmu l-Bayta fī ṭalāta 'ašrata sanatan*; **al-Muhallabī** 52, 1-3.6f.9 (transl. Vajda, "al-Muhallabī" 194f.) (*wa-kāna Ṭālūtu ... wa-malaka ba'ḍahu Dāwūdu 'alayhi s-salāmu fa-aqāma fī l-mulki arba'ina sanatan*) *fa-arāda fī ba'ḍihā an yabniya l-Bayta l-laḍi huwa l-masğidu l-āna fa-awḥā Llāhu ta'ālā ilayhi anna bnahu Sulaymānu huwa l-laḍi yabnihi fa-banā Dāwūdu l-asāsa l-laḍi dakartuhu* (cf. **al-Muhallabī** 51,1) ... *wa-lammā btada'a Sulaymānu 'alayhi s-salāmu bi-binā'i l-Bayti ... wa-banā Sulaymānu 'alayhi s-salāmu l-Bayta fī ṭalāta 'ašrata sanatan*.

*rāst*), an octagon (*hašt-gāna*) with eight sides, each 33 ells (21.95 m) long<sup>2</sup> or 55 ells (27.39 m) long.<sup>3</sup> There are four gates in the four sides of the dome (*fī arba' ġihāt al-qubba*),<sup>4</sup> in the four sides of the sanctuary (*bar čahār ġānib-i hāna*): an east, a west, a north and a south one (*mašriqī maġribī šamālī ġānūbī*); between each two [sides with] gates (*miyān-i har dū dar*) is a side (*ḍil'*) [without a gate].<sup>5</sup> In the centre of the sanctuary (*fī wasaṭ al-bayt*) is the dome (*al-qubba*);<sup>6</sup> in the centre of the sanctuary (*az miyān-i hāna*) is a silver lamp (*qindil-i nuqra*) suspended over the Rock (*bar sar-i Šaḥra*) on a silver chain (*silsila-i nuqragīn*) [attached to the

<sup>1</sup>**Nāšir** 40,12-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) (*Qubba-i Šaḥra ...*) *wa in hāna ī-st muṭamman-i rāst čun-ān-kih har ḍil'-i az in hašt-gāna sī wa sih araš ast* (Schefer, erroneously, *trente-neuf ârech*); **Nāšir** 40, 18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa ba-čahār ġānib-i Šaḥra čahār sutūn banā karda and murabba' ba-bālā-yi dīwār-i hāna-i madkūr*; **Nāšir** 40,22-41,1.3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) *wa miyān-i dīwār-i hāna wa in sutūnhā wa uštuwānahā ... aknūn miyān-i in sutūnhā* (I read *sutūnhā wa uštuwānahā*) *wa dīwār-i hāna šiš* (I read *hašt*) *sutūn-i dīgar banā karda ast*; **Nāšir** 41,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) (*ān qubba ... zī-rā kih az bun-i gunbad tā sar-i gunbad sī araš bāšad*) *wa bar sar-i bīst gaz-i dīwār wa sutūn* (I read *sutūn wa uštuwāna*) *nihāda ast kih ān-i dīwār-i hāna ast wa hāna bar dukkān nihāda ast*; **Nāšir** 41,15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa bām wa saqf-i in hāna ba-niġārat pūšida ast*; **Nāšir** 42,1-4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa hāna* (NP *wa hāna-rā*) *ba-faršhā-yi nikū biyārāsta and az abrišum wa-ġayruh wa az miyān-i hāna bar sar-i Šaḥra qindil-i nuqra bar āwihta ast* (NP *āwihta ast*, without *bar*) *ba-silsila-i nuqragīn* (NP *nuqra gīn*) *wa dar in hāna bisyār qanādīl-i nuqra ast*; **Nāšir** 42,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129) *wa ba-čahār ġānib-i hāna darhā-yi buzurg bar nihāda ast dū mišrā' az čūb-i sāġ*; **Nāšir** 42,19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 152; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 176) *wa ba'd az in hāna qubba ī-st kih ān-rā Qubba-i Silsila ġuyand*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāšir** 40,12-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa in hāna ī-st muṭamman-i rāst čun-ān-kih har ḍil'-i az in hašt-gāna sī wa sih araš ast wa čahār dar bar čahār ġānib-i ān nihāda ya'nī mašriqī wa maġribī wa šamālī wa ġānūbī wa miyān-i har dū dar ḍil'-i-st*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,13-16 *wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyatun 'alā arkānin murabba'atin bi-ḥiṭānin tadūru bayna l-arkāni ṭulu kulli wāḥidin ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā'an bi-arba'ati abwābin fī arba'i ġihāti l-qubbatu yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin ... wa-tufḍi ġamī'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍi l-qubbatu fī wasatihi wa-hiya 'alā 'umudin bi-taqṭi'in muṭammanin*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,14-16 (*wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyatun ...*) *bi-arba'ati abwābin fī arba'i ġihāti l-qubbatu yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin ... wa-tufḍi ġamī'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍi l-qubbatu fī wasatihi*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāšir** 40,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) (*wa in hāna ī-st muṭamman-i rāst čun-ān-kih har ḍil'-i az in hašt-gāna sī wa sih araš ast*) *wa čahār dar bar čahār ġānib-i ān nihāda ya'nī mašriqī wa maġribī wa šamālī wa ġānūbī wa miyān-i har dū dar ḍil'-i-st*.

The south gate is also mentioned in **Nāšir** 44,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i in čahār 'amūd sih ṭāq zada ast čun-ān-kih yak-i muqābil-i dar* (NP *daraġa*) *wa dū bar dū ġānib*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,13-19 *wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyatun 'alā arkānin murabba'atin bi-ḥiṭānin tadūru bayna l-arkāni ṭulu kulli wāḥidin ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna ḍirā'an bi-arba'ati abwābin fī arba'i ġihāti l-qubbatu yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin ... wa-tufḍi ġamī'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍi l-qubbatu fī wasatihi wa-hiya 'alā 'umudin bi-taqṭi'in muṭammanin irtifā'uhā nayyifun wa-sittūna ḍirā'an min 'arḍihi* (I read *min 'arḍihā*) *li-l-arḍi mulabbasatun bi-qarāmida nuḥāsin muḍahhabin wa-min taḥtiḥā 'umudun ruḥāmun mulawwahun wa-muġazza'un wa-l-qubbatu wa-ḥiṭānuhā manqūšatun bi-l-fasāfisi l-mulawwani l-muḍahhabi*.



dome].<sup>1</sup>

B184.5.a. For parallels to the lamp suspended over the Rock, see B014.7.c.

B184.5.b. The wall of the Fāṭimid dome is eight times 55 ells (27.39 m) or 33 ells (21.95 m) long - not 39 ells (Schefer); this fits with the side length of the WALL of today's DOME OF THE ROCK.

B184.5.c. The Fāṭimid dome and the arcade next to the Rock have a circumference of 120 ells (79.80 m); this fits with the diameter of about 20 m that the DOME and CIRCULAR ARCADE<sup>2</sup> of today have. The dome of the Fāṭimid Church of the Holy Sepulchre,<sup>3</sup> and today the DOME of the CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE and the DOME of QUBBAT AṢ-ṢU'ŪD on the Mount of Olives,<sup>4</sup> have the same circumference.

B184.6. The building is more than 60 ells (29.88 m) high from the broad side of the dome which faces the ground (*\*min 'arḍ al-qubba li-l-arḍ*),<sup>5</sup> 62 ells (41.23 m) high from the floor of the courtyard of the mosque to the top of the dome (*az zamīn-i sāḥat-i masǧid tā sar-i gunbad*), i.e., 30 ells (19.95 m) from the drum of the dome to the top of the dome (*az bun-i gunbad tā sar-i gunbad*), 20 ells (13.30 m) of the wall of the sanctuary (*dīwār-i ḥāna*) and the pillars [and columns] next to the Rock, and 12 ells (7.98 m) of the platform (*dukkān*);<sup>6</sup> the dome appears [because of its height] from the distance of a *farsang* (6 km) like the peak of a mountain (*sar-i kūh*).<sup>7</sup> The Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*) is the largest (*az hama buzurgtar*) of the four domes on this platform (*čahār qubba dar in dukkān*) (B184.4).

B184.6.a. Parallels to the dome seen from a *farsang*'s distance: A Fāṭimid Jewish author thanks God, who allowed

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 42,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa az miyān-i ḥāna bar sar-i Ṣaḥra qindil-i nuqra bar āwīḥta ast* (NP *āwīḥta ast*, without *bar*) *ba-silsila-i nuqragīn* (NP *nuqra gīn*).

<sup>2</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 68; 71 fig. 21; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 658-660.

<sup>3</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 105-107.

<sup>4</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 107f.

<sup>5</sup>al-Muhallabī 50,16f. (*wa-tuḥḍi ḡamī'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍi l-qubbatu fī wasaṭihi wa-hiya 'alā 'umudīn bi-taqṭi 'in muṭammanin*) *irtifā'uhā nāyifun wa-sittūna dirā'an min 'arḍihi* (I read *min 'arḍihā*) *li-l-arḍi*.

<sup>6</sup>Nāṣir 41,11-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) (*ān qubba ...*) *zī-rā kih az bun-i gunbad tā sar-i gunbad sī araš bāšad wa bar sar-i bīst gaz-i dīwār wa sutūn* (I read *sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) *nihāda ast kih ān-i dīwār-i ḥāna ast wa ḥāna bar dukkān nihāda ast kih ān dawāzdah gaz irtifā' dārad pas az zamīn-i sāḥat-i masǧid tā sar-i gunbad šašt wa dū gaz bāšad*; Nāṣir 40,18-21 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa ba-čahār ḡānib-i Ṣaḥra čahār sutūn banā karda and murabba' ba-bālā-yi dīwār-i ḥāna-i maḍkūr wa miyān-i har dū sutūn az čahār ḡāna ḡuft-i* (I read *sih*) *uṣṭuwāna-i ruḥām qāyim karda hama ba-bālā-yi ān sutūnhā*.

The height of the wall is also mentioned in Nāṣir 40,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa hama dīwār ba-sang-i tarāšīda* (NP *az sang-i tarāšīda*) *karda and miqdār-i bīst araš*.

<sup>7</sup>Nāṣir 41,9-11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *ān-waqt in gunbad-i 'azīm bar sar-i in dawāzdah sutūn* (I read *bar sar-i in šānzdah sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) *kih ba-Ṣaḥra nazdīk ast čun-ān-ast kih az farsang-i binīgari ān qubba čūn sar-i kūh-i paydā bāšad (zī-rā kih az bun-i gunbad tā sar-i gunbad sī araš bāšad wa bar sar-i bīst gaz-i dīwār wa sutūn* (I read *sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) *nihāda ast kih ān-i dīwār-i ḥāna ast wa ḥāna bar dukkān nihāda ast kih ān dawāzdah gaz irtifā' dārad pas az zamīn-i sāḥat-i masǧid tā sar-i gunbad šašt wa dū gaz bāšad*).

him to see "that exalted view" (*dālik* [sic] *al-mušāhada l-ǧalīla*) [of Jerusalem];<sup>1</sup> another left his homeland a long while ago to have the view of Jerusalem (*naẓar Yērūšālayīm*) and then depart;<sup>2</sup> he is now waiting for the conquest of the city by the Fāṭimid sultān, to go there and to see it (*al-masīr ilayhā ušāhidhā*), and promises to come back in any case, either after having seen Jerusalem (*baʿd naẓar al-Quds*) or without that.<sup>3</sup>

B184.6.b. In **al-Muhallabī's** (*al-qubbatu ...*) *irtifāʿuhā nayyifun wa-sittūna ǧirāʿan min ʿarḍihi li-l-arḍi* "(the dome ...) its height is more than 60 ells from its broad side which faces the ground", *min ʿarḍihi* (with the masculine suffix) does not refer to feminine *al-qubba* or to any of the preceding masculine nouns. We best suppose original *\*min ʿarḍihā* "from its [the dome's] broad side". The way from *\*min ʿarḍihā* to *min ʿarḍihi* is easy, especially as pronouns are quite numerous in the paragraph, and the meaning is much better.

B184.6.c. The wall is 20 ells (13.30 m) high. This is given by **Nāṣir's** (*ān qubba ...*) *bar sar-i bīst gaz-i dīwār wa sutūn nihāda ast kih ān-i dīwār-i hāna ast* "(that dome ...) is laid on top of the 20 ells of the wall and the columns, which is the [height] of the wall of the sanctuary" and his *wa hama dīwār ba-sang-i tarāšīda karda and miqdār-i bīst araš* "and the whole wall is made of hewn stone 20 ells high". But *ān qubba* "the dome" of the first passage, i.e., the dome and the drum, rests on the circular arcade with its vaults, not directly on the columns; therefore, 20 ells is either: (a-b) the height of the columns, but the distance from the drum to the ground is more than 20 ells, or (c) the height of the arcade, i.e., of the columns plus the vaults on top. In the first case, the exterior wall is either: (a) 20 ells high, like the columns, but lower than the arcade, or (b) at least as high as the arcade, and more than 20 ells.

B184.6.d. **Nāṣir's** (*gunbad ...*) *bar sar-i bīst gaz-i dīwār wa sutūn nihāda ast kih ān-i dīwār-i hāna ast* has been translated "the dome sits on top of the octagonal structure's straight walls twenty ells high with buttresses forming the angles of the supporting walls" (Thackston); however, the dome and the drum are on top of the arcade next to the Rock, not on top of the octagonal arcade, and "with buttresses forming the angles of the supporting walls" is not part of the Persian text.

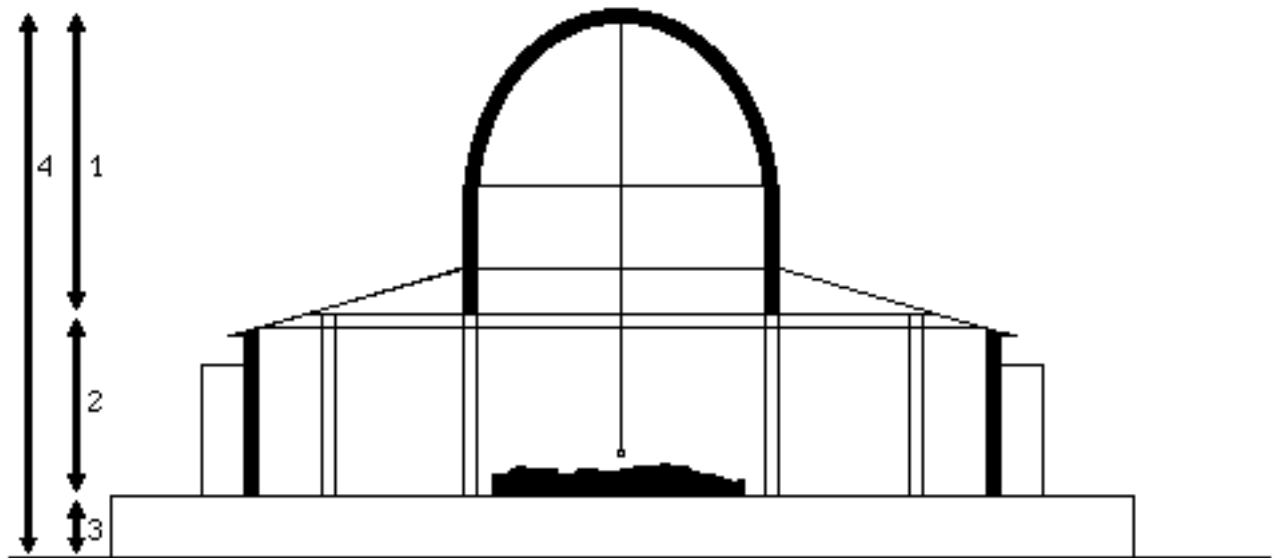
B184.6.e. The Fāṭimid pillars and columns are 20 ells (13.30 m) high; this fits with the WALL<sup>4</sup> of the DOME OF THE ROCK, 9.50 m high.

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.490r**,3f. (*kitābī ... min al-Quds al-Mubārak darraknā Llāh wa-ıyyāk bināh wa-ımāratuh bə-kāl Yisrāʿil* [sic] *yawm a-ǧumʿa li-y baqīna min ıēbēt ʿan hāl salāma wa-niʿma*) *wa-šukr li-Llāh [al-ladī] darraknī dālik al-waqt wa-dālik al-mušāhada al-ǧalīla* [the view of Jerusalem].

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.575**,5f.8-10 *mā ḥafi* [Classical Arabic ḥafiya] *ʿannak yā mawlāya annī ḥaraǧtu min as-sinīn al-katīr faqī ran rāǧiyan raḥmat Allāh wa-maʿūnatuh wa-naẓar Yērūšālayīm tumma l-ʿawda ilā l-waṭan*.

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.575**,33.37f. (*as-sultān* [the Fāṭimid caliph] *ʿazza Llāh našruh ... fa-in našarnā Llāh ʿalā yadayh wa-fataḥ al-Quds wa-ka-dī ya[k]ūn in šāʾ Allāh*) *fa-ana l-ladī lā albat* [Classical Arabic lā albat] *ʿan al-masīr ilayhā ušāhidhā* (*wa-aʿūd qāšidan ilaykum in šāʾ Allāh ... fa-ana aʿūd ʿalā kull waǧh wa-sabab maʿ al-ḥayāt*) *immā baʿd naẓar al-Quds aw baʿd al-yāsmīn dālik* (*wa-kallā yakūn dālik*).

<sup>4</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 68; 70 fig. 20.



## 91

**Figure 91. The height of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock:** 1 Height of the dome: 30 ells. - 2 Height of the wall of the sanctuary or the pillars and columns next to the Rock: 20 ells. - 3 Height of the platform: 12 ells. - 4 Total height above the courtyard: 62 ells.

B184.7. In this sanctuary (*dar in ḥāna*), there are (many silver) lamps (*qindilhā*,<sup>1</sup> *bisyār qanādīl-i nuqra*<sup>2</sup>) [burning], each with a mark mentioning its [silver] weight, made [and donated] by the [Fāṭimid] sulṭān of Egypt (*sulṭān-i Miṣr*), with a total weight of all silver vessels (*nuqra ālāt*) of about 1000 mann [about 260 kg].<sup>3</sup>

B184.7.a. Parallels to the silver vessels donated by the Fāṭimid caliph: In the Fāṭimid Muslim *mašhad* of Hebron [the ḤARAM of HEBRON] are many vessels, carpets and decorations (*ālathā-yi bisyār ... wa farš wa ʿarḥ*) donated by al-Mahdī (B147.3.a).

B184.7.b. For parallels to the lamps burning, see B014.7.c.

B184.8. There is also a quite large candle (*šamʿ-i bas buzurg*), 7 ells (4.66 m) high and 3 inches thick, [of wax] mixed with ambergris (*ʿanbar*) [as white] as *zabāḡī* camphor (*kāfūr-i zabāḡī*), with the name of the [Fāṭimid] sulṭān [of Egypt] (*nām-i sulṭān*) in gold (*ba-zar*) written on it; this is one of the many candles (*bisyār šamʿ*) the [Fāṭimid] sulṭān of Egypt (*sulṭān-i*

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 42,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa ān qindilhā* (NP *qindilhā-rā*) *sulṭān-i Miṣr sāḥta ast*.

<sup>2</sup>Nāṣir 42,3f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa dar in ḥāna bisyār qanādīl-i nuqra ast*.

<sup>3</sup>Nāṣir 42,3-6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa dar in ḥāna bisyār qanādīl-i nuqra ast bar har yak-i niwišta* (= **van Berchem Nr. 149E**) *kih wazn-i ān čand ast wa ān qindilhā* (NP *qindilhā-rā*) *sulṭān-i Miṣr sāḥta ast čun-ān-čih ḥisāb miḡiriftam yak-hazār mann nuqra ālāt* (NP *ālāt*) *dar ān-ḡā būd*.

For the *mann* of about 260 g usual at least in the Geniza documents, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 1 360.

*Miṣr*) sends here every year.<sup>1</sup>

B184.8.a. A possible parallel to the large candle in the Dome of the Rock: A Marwānid Muslim tradition says that the Temple had, in the time of the Children of Israel, the Greatest Lamp (*al-Qindīl al-Akbar*), which was suspended by Gabriel, was originally from Paradise and was burning day and night without ever being extinguished, and the Gate of Repentance (*Bāb at-tawba*) next to the Greatest Temple and to the Lamp of Paradise (*mimmā yalī l-Miḥrāb al-Akbar wa-Qindīl al-Ġanna*), and "the Temple of our prophet Muḥammad" (*Miḥrāb nabīyīnā Muḥammad*), opposite the Lamp of God, the Lamp of Paradise (*mustaqbil Qindīl Allāh Qindīl al-Ġanna*) (B014.7).

B184.8.b. For parallels to the burning of the large candle, see B014.7.c.

B184.8.c. **Nāṣir**'s (*šam<sup>ʿī</sup> ...*) *wa nām-i ṣulṭān ba-zar bar ān niwišta* "(a candle ...) and the name of the sulṭān is written in gold on it" does not place the inscription at the bottom of the candle, as has been claimed (Thackston).

B184.9. From the floor of the dome (*min arḍ al-qubba*) the Rock measures about 3 ells (1.49 m), from the floor [of the dome] (*az zamīn*) more than a man's height (1.99 m) [?] (B192.5). There are precious rush mats (*\*ḥuṣur as-sāmān an-naḥīsa*) spread<sup>2</sup> and beautiful carpets, some even of silk (*faršhā-yi nīkū az abrišum wa-ḡayruh*).<sup>3</sup>

B184.9.a. For parallels to the precious mats, see B147.3.a.

B184.10. **Contemporary events:** The [Fāṭimid] sulṭān of Egypt (*ṣulṭān-i Miṣr*) makes [and donates] lamps (*qindīlḥā*) which are in this sanctuary (*dar in ḥāna*) (B184.7), and he sends here every year many candles (*bisyār šam<sup>ʿ</sup>*), among them the large white candle on which his name is written in gold (B184.8).

B184.11. **Traditions (Muslim):** The Place of the Rock (*Mawḍi<sup>ʿ</sup> aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) was not reached by the **Flood**; after the Flood this was the first altar (*maḍbaḥ*).<sup>4</sup> From **Abraham**

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 42,6-10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128f.) *šam<sup>ʿī</sup>-ī* (NP *wa šam<sup>ʿī</sup>-ī*) *dīdam ham-ān-ḡā bas buzurg čun-ān-kih haft araš darāzī-i ū būd siṭabrī* (NP *wa siṭabrī*) *sih šibr čun kāfūr-i zabāḡī wa ba-ʿanbar sirišta būd* (NP *sirišta*, without *būd*) *wa guftand har sāl sulṭān-i Miṣr bisyār šam<sup>ʿ</sup>* (NP *šam<sup>ʿī</sup>-i bisyār*) *badān-ḡā firistad wa yak-ī az ānhā in buzurg bāšad* (NP *wa yak-ī az ānhā buzurg bāšad*) *wa nām-i sulṭān ba-zar bar ān niwišta*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,23 *wa-hāḍihi l-qubbatu kulluhā mafrūṣatun bi-ḥuṣuri l-bayāmāni* (I read *bi-ḥusuri s-sāmāni*) *n-naḥīṣati*.

For *ḥuṣur as-sāmān* "rush mats", see de Goeje, *BGA* 4 257 s.v. "sāmān"; Dozy, *Supplément* 2 622 s.v. "sāmān"; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 4 128; Gil, *Palestine* 230; 231 n. 5; Diem/Radenberg, *Dictionary* 94 s.v. "sāmān"; Olszowy-Schlanger, *Karaite Marriage Documents* 236. Generally on the use of mats in Palestine, see A194.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 42,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa ḥāna* (NP *wa ḥāna-rā*) *ba-faršhā-yi nīkū biyārāsta and az abrišum wa-ḡayruh*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,13f. (*wa-yaqūlu ahlu l-kitābi ...*) *inna mā'a ṭ-ṭūfāni taḡāfā ʿan Mawḍi<sup>ʿ</sup>i ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-innahu awwalu maḍbaḥin kāna ba'ḍa ṭ-ṭūfāni*.

until the arrival of the Children of Israel from Egypt into Syria-Palestine, the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) was noble (*šarīf*) and God made this known to his holy men (*awliyāʾuhu*), and Abraham was ordered to pray on the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*).<sup>1</sup> The Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) was first known when **Jacob** came on his flight from Esau to the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) where the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) is now, slept here on twelve stones, and saw in his dream a gate of heaven open, and angels descending and ascending on a ladder; he called this the Gate of Heaven (*Bāb as-samāʾ*) and esteemed the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*); then the twelve stones became one stone and this made him esteem the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) even more.<sup>2</sup> When **Helena**, the mother of Constantine, built the Anastasis [the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] and a number of other churches, she destroyed the Sanctuary (*al-Bayt*) thoroughly and made the Place of the Rock (*Mawḍiʿ aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) the city's privies and garbage dumps; but when **ʿUmar** conquered, he was informed by Jews where the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) was; he ordered the Muslims to clean it with the help of the Jews; the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) was uncovered and the Muslims built on it a mosque (*masǧid*) (B131.10). When **Muḥammad** came on the Night of the Ascension to Jerusalem, he first prayed in the Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*) [*sic*] and put his hand on the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*); then he left, but the Rock rose in honour of him and Muḥammad put his hand on the Rock to make it retake its place, and the Rock has since remained half-suspended, with a cave beneath.<sup>3</sup> **al-Walīd** built the dome over the Rock, embellished and levelled the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) [the Dome of the Rock] (B131.10); he tried to turn the simple people of Syria-Palestine (*aṭ-ṭaḡām min ahl aṣ-Šaʿm*) away from the pilgrimage (*al-ḥaǧǧ*) to the Ḥiǧāz and to alienate them from Muḥammad's family, and told them therefore that the gathering and judgement of the last days would be in that Place (*dālika l-Mawḍiʿ*), in this mosque (*masǧid*), and that Muḥammad rose from that Place (*dālika l-Mawḍiʿ*) to heaven (B131.10).

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,15-17 (*wa-yaqūlu ahlu l-kitābi ...*) inna Llāha taʿālā qad kāna amara Ibrāhīma ʿalayhi s-salāmu bi-ṣ-ṣalāti fī hādā l-Mawḍiʿi wa-lam yazali l-Mawḍiʿu šarīfan yaḥuṣṣu Llāhu ʿazza wa-ḡalla bi-maʿrifatihi awliyāʾahu ilā an daḥala Banū Isrāʾīla š-Šaʿma min Miṣra.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,3-11 *wa-yazʿumu ahlu l-kitābi anna awwala zuḥūri hādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati anna Iṣḥāqa bna Ibrāhīma ʿalayhimi* [*sic*] *s-salāmu ḥaṣṣa bnahu Yaʿqūba bi-duʿāʾin wa-barakatin fa-ḥasadahu aḥūhu l-Īṣu ʿalā dālika wa-kāna šarīsan šadīdan fa-ḥāfat ʿalayhi ummuhumā Rifqā min aḥīhi fa-ašarat ʿalayhi bi-l-masīri ilā Ḥarrāna li-yaʿḥuda bnata ḥālīhi Rābāna wa-kānati mraʾatuhu hunāka wa-yastadfiʿu* (possibly read *tastadfiʿu*) *maḡabbata šarri aḥīhi ʿanhu fa-sāra ḥattā idā šāra ilā l-Mawḍiʿi l-ladī fīhi l-āna ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *ḡašiyahu l-laylu fa-nāma hunālika, wa-qad ḡaʿala taḥta raʾsihi tṇay ʿašara ḡaḡaran fa-raʾa fī manāmihi ka-anna bāban fī s-samāʾmi nfataḥa wa-ʿalayhi sullamun mawḍūʿun wa-l-malāʾikatu taṭlaʿu minhu wa-tanzilu fa-qāla fī nafsīhi wa-šarufa l-Mawḍiʿu ʿindahū tumma waḡada l-ḥiǧārata l-lati kānat taḥta raʾsihi qad šarat ḡaḡaran wāḥidan fa-zdāda šarafu l-Mawḍiʿi fī nafsīhi.*

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,12-16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *wa gūyand šab-i Miʿrāǧ Rasūl ʿalayhi s-salām wa-ṣ-ṣalāt* (NP *ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām*) *awwal ba-Qubba-i Ṣaḥra namāz kard wa dast bar Ṣaḥra nihād wa čūn birūn miyāmad Ṣaḥra az barā-yi ḡalālāt-i ū bar ḥāst wa Rasūl ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām dast bar Ṣaḥra nihād tā bāz ba-ḡā-yi ḥūd šud wa qarār girift wa hanūz ān* (NP *girift hanūz ān*, without *wa*) *nīma muʿallaq ast; Nāṣir* 43,19f. (transl. *wa gūyand čūn Ṣaḥra ḥarakat-i bar ḥāstan kard ziraš ḥālī šud wa čūn qarār girift ham-čūn-ān bimānd.*

B184.12. The Dome of the Rock is the Third Sanctuary of God (*Siwwum Ḥāna-i Ḥudā*), as the scholars of religion (*‘ulamā-yi dīn*) know that ritual prayer made in the Temple (*\*Bayt al-Maqdis*) [Jerusalem] is equivalent to 25,000 prayers, but in Medina, to 50,000, and in Mecca, to 100,000 prayers (B131.11). All prayers said in [the Dome of] the Rock (*fī ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) are answered.<sup>1</sup>

B184.13. **Traditions (Christian):** In the Holy of Holies [of the Temple] (τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων), the blood of the prophet Zechariah fell [onto the ground] (**Matthew** 23.35; **Luke** 11.51).<sup>2</sup>

B184.13.a. For parallels to the blood of the prophet Zechariah in the Holy of Holies, see B012.4.a.

B184.14. **Traditions (Jewish):** After the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem, ‘Umar searched for the Foundation Stone (*Āḥān Ṣetiyāh*) (**Mishna Yoma** 5.2) [the stone from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, in the Holy of Holies]; he asked the elders of the Jews (*\*šuyūḥ al-Yahūd*) about it and was helped by one or more of the [Jewish] scholars (*ba‘ḍ al-‘ulamā*) to discover the Place (*al-Mawḍi‘*); he cleaned the Temple (*al-Quds*), built the wall of the Temple (*sūr al-Quds*), built a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock (*‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and gilded it (B131.13).

B184.15. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Dome of the Rock is part of the Muslim prayer-route;<sup>3</sup> inside the Dome of the Rock the prayer-route includes the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Rock (B192.8), the prayer at the place where one prays and touches the Rock (B191.2), the Black Paving-stone (B187.4) and the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) (B186.7). All prayers said in [the Dome of] the Rock (*fī ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) are answered (B184.12). Upon entering [the Dome of] the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), people should circumambule the Rock clockwise, contrary to the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) around the Ka‘ba, come to the place where people

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.57:** 69,11f. ... *wa-bi-ayyi du‘ā’in da‘ā fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *yustaḥabbu lahu in šā’a Llāhu la siyyamā idā kānā ma’tūran ‘ani n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu*.

<sup>2</sup>**Epiphanius V** II,18 (see Schneider, "Epiphanius" 152f.) (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἐνθα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα πέπηκται = **Epiphanius M** II,18 (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἐνθα τοῦ προφήτου Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα ἀπόκειται. = **Epiphanius J** II,18 (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὅπου τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἷμα ἀπόκειται.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 66,9 *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu mina d-du‘ā’i idā daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata l-Muqaddasata* [the Dome of the Rock]; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.54:** 66,10 *yustaḥabbu li-man daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *an yağ‘alahā* [the Rock] *‘alā yamīnihi ...*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.57:** 69,11f. *wa-bi-ayyi du‘ā’in da‘ā fī ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *yustaḥabbu lahu in šā’a Llāhu lā siyyamā idā kānā ma’tūran ‘ani n-Nabīyi ‘alayhi s-salāmu*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.62:** 73,2f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fī Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa ‘inda bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-ladī yud‘ā* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud‘ā*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad‘uwa*.

pray, put their hand on the Rock without kissing it, and use:

- a) a prayer Muḥammad recommended for angels, prophets and [all] faithful, "Oh God, by your knowledge of the hidden and your power upon people. Let me live as long as you know life is better for me and let me die when you know death is better for me. I ask you the fear of you in the hidden and in public, the word of wisdom in anger and contentment, the [right] intention in poverty and wealth. I ask you happiness which does not fade, delight of the eye which is not interrupted, coolness of life after death. I ask you that I may look at your face, that I may long to meet you with no distress harming, no sedition misleading. Oh God, embellish us with decoration of faith and make us right-guided and well led.",<sup>1</sup>
- b) or the three prayers the Children of Israel said when they were in distress: "Oh God, oh Lord, you have revealed in the Torah, which you revealed to Moses - you ordered us that if we own a slave we should release him. But we are your slaves, so release us from what has befallen us."; "Oh God, oh Lord, you have revealed in the Torah, which you revealed to Moses - you ordered us to forgive him who has ill-treated us. But we have ill-treated ourselves, so forgive us." and "Oh God, oh Lord, you have revealed in the Torah, which you revealed to Moses - you ordered us that if a poor man stands at our doors we should not reject him. But we are people asking you and your poor men, and we stand at your door, do not reject us.",<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 66,9 *Bābu mā yustaḥabbu mina d-du‘ā’i idā daḥala š-Šaḥrāta* [the Dome of the Rock] *I-Muqaddasata*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.54**: 66,10-67,10 *yustaḥabbu li-man daḥala š-Šaḥrāta* [the Dome of the Rock] *an yağ‘alahā* [the Rock] *‘alā yamīnihi ḥattā yakūna bi-ḥilālī t-tawāfī ḥawla Bayti Llāhi l-Ḥarāmi wa-yağī’a ilā mawḍi‘in yad‘ū li-n-nāsi* (read *ilā l-mawḍi‘i l-laḍī yad‘ū n-nāsu fīhi*) *fa-yaḍa‘a yadahu ‘alayhā* [on the Rock] *wa-lā yuqabbilahā*) *ṭumma yad‘uwa bi-d-du‘ā’i l-laḍī ḥaddaṭanā bihi š-šayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Muḥammadu bnu ‘Awfini l-Mazanīyu bi-qirā’atī ‘alayhi qāla ... anna ‘Ammāra bna Yāsirin ṣallā bi-qawmin fa-staḥaffū ṣalātahu fa-qāla wa-Llāhi mā nšaraftu ḥattā da‘awtu bi-du‘ā’in kāna yad‘ū bihi n-Nabīyu ‘alayhi s-salāmu wa-yaqūlu innahu lan yada‘ahu* (read *lan yad‘uwahu*) *malakun muqarrabun wa-lā nabīyun mursulun wa-lā ‘abdun ṣāliḥun illā kāna min du‘ā’ihi Llāhumma bi-‘ilmika l-ğayba wa-quḍratika ‘alā l-ḥalqī aḥyini mā ‘alimta anna l-ḥayāta ḥayrun li wa-tawaffanī idā ‘alimta l-wafāta ḥayran li wa-as’aluka ḥašyataka fī l-ğaybi wa-š-šahādati wa-kalimata l-ḥilmi fī l-ğadabi wa-r-riḍā wa-l-qaṣḍa fī l-faqrī wa-l-ğinā wa-as’aluka na‘īman lā yanfuḍu wa-qurrata ‘aynin lā yanqaṭi‘u* (read *lā tanqaṭi‘u*) *wa-barda l-‘ayši ba‘da l-mawti wa-as’aluka n-naḥara ilā wağhika wa-š-šawqa ilā liqā’ika min ġayri ḍarr’a muḍirratin wa-lā-fitnatin muḍillatini Llāhumma zayyinnā bi-zaynati l-imāni wa-ğ‘alnā hudātan muhtadina.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.55**: 67,11-68,4 (*yustaḥabbu li-man daḥala š-Šaḥrāta* [the Dome of the Rock] *an ... ṭumma yad‘uwa bi-d-du‘ā’i l-laḍī ḥaddaṭanā bihi š-šayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Muḥammadu bnu ‘Awfini l-Mazanīyu bi-qirā’atī ‘alayhi qāla ...*) *wa-in aḥabba an yad‘uwa bi-d-du‘ā’i l-laḍī ḥaddaṭanā bihi Muḥammadu bnu ‘Awfin ayḍan qāla ... ‘anba’anā l-Haytamu bnu ‘Imrāna l-‘Absīyu qāla sami‘tu ġaddī ‘Abda Llāhi bna Abī ‘Abdi Llāhi yaqūlu ḥalla bi-Banī Isrā’īla balā’un murratunu fa-ğtama’ū fī mağma’in lahum fa-qālū li-rağulin min ‘uḏamā’ihim qum fa-d‘u lanā rabbaka fa-qāma fa-qāla Llāhumma yā rabbi innaka anzalta fī t-Tawrāti l-latī anzalta ‘alā Mūsā ‘alayhi s-salāmu ta’murunā idā malaknā l-‘abda an nu’tiqahu wa-innā ‘abīduka fa-a’tiqnā mimma ḥalla binā ṭumma qālū li-āḥara qum fa-qāla Llāhumma ay rabbi innaka anzalta fī t-Tawrāti l-latī anzalta ‘alā Mūsā ta’murunā an na’fuwa ‘amman ḡalamanā wa-innā qad ḡalamnā anfusanā fa-‘fu ‘annā ṭumma qālū li-āḥara qum fa-qāma fa-qāla Llāhumma*

- c) or the prayer [every] praying person of the Children of Israel (*da‘ā’ Banī Isrā’īl*) used to pray in the Temple and their other prayer-places (*fī l-Quds wa-ġayrihi min muta‘abbadātihim*) when in distress, "Oh God, do not chastise me by your punishment, do not deceive me because I left you, do not take in consideration my shortcoming in pleasing you. Great is my fault - forgive, make my work light and accept it. As you wish shall your will be, if you have decided let your decision proceed. Neither what is best do I ask from you or from your help, nor what is worst for you. I believe that nothing transcends your power. How may I find any [other] help - help is only found with you. Oh God of [all] prophets and friend of [all] the God-fearing, new and never-fading, guarding and never-forgetting, lasting and never-passing, living and never-dying, awake and never-sleeping. Through you I knew you, and through you I was guided to you; if you had not been, I would not have known what you are. Praised be you, and exalted.",<sup>1</sup>
- d) or the prayer which [the prophet] Idrīs used to pray and which he forbade to be taught to stupid people (*sufahā’*) for fear they might use it [and force God to answer their foolish prayers], "Oh you who have glory and magnificence, you who are lasting [for ever]. There is no God but you. You are the help of people seeking asylum, the patron of people asking for help, and the friendly one to people in fear. I ask you that if I am registered in the mother of books as miserable [if my destiny is to be miserable], remove my misery and fix me firmly with you as happy; if I am registered as being deprived, far from all income, remove my deprivation and my being far from all income, and fix me firmly with you as being happy, successful in everything good."<sup>2</sup>

---

*innaka anzalta t-Tawrāta* (read *fī t-Tawrāti*) *l-latī anzalta ‘alā Mūsā ta’murunā idā qāma l-miskīnu bi-abwānibā* (I read *bi-abwānibā*) *an lā naruddahu wa-naḥnu sālilūka wa-masākīnuka qad qumnā l-yawma ‘alā bābika fa-lā taruddanā* (wa-*ḥādā d-du‘ā’u da‘ā bihi Dāwūdu ‘alayhi s-salāmu ‘alā Ṣaḥrati Bayti l-Maqdisi ḥattā kaṣafa Llāhu ta’ālā t-tā’ūna ‘an Banī Isrā’īla*).

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.56:** 68,6-15 (*yustaḥabbu li-man daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *an ... tumma yad‘uwa bi-d-du‘ā’i l-laḍi ḥaddaṭanā bihi ṣ-ṣayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Muḥammadu bnu ‘Awfīni l-Mazanīyu bi-qirā’atī ‘alayhi qāla ...*) *wa-in aḥabba an yad‘uwa bi-mā kāna yad‘u bihi da‘ā’u Banī Isrā’īla idā unzilat bihimi ṣ-ṣadā’ida fī l-Qudsi wa-ġayrihi min muta‘abbadātihim wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi ṣ-ṣayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Muḥammadu bnu ‘Awfin ... kāna da‘ā’u Banī Isrā’īla wa-yad‘u* (I read *kāna da‘ā’u Banī Isrā’īla yad‘ūna*) *fa-yaqūlu Llāhumma lā tu’addibnī bi-‘uqūbatika wa-lā tamkurnī fī taḥliyatika wa-lā tu’ahidnī bi-taqṣīrī fī riḍāka* (read *‘an riḍāka*) *‘aẓī matun ḥaṭī’atī fa-ġfar wa-yasīr* (I read *wa-yassīr*) *‘amālī fa-taqabbal ka-mā šī’ta yakūnu mašīyatuka* (Livne-Kafri reads *takūnu mašī’atuka*) *wa-idā ‘azamta tumdī ‘azmaka fa-lā l-laḍi aḥsanu astağnī ‘inda* (read *‘anka*) *wa-lā ‘an ‘awnika wa-lā l-laḍi asā’a ‘alayka wa-lā astabaddu* (read *wa-stabadda*) *bi-ṣay’in yuḥraḡu bihi ‘an qudratika fa-kayfa lī bi-n-nağāti wa-lā tūğadu illā ladayka ilāhu l-anbiyā’i wa-waliyu l-atqiyā’i ḡadīdun lā yablī ḥafīẓun lā yansā dā’imun lā yabīdu ḥattā* (read *ḥayyun*) *lā yamūtu yaqzānu lā yanāmu bika ‘araftuka wa-bika htadaytu ilayka wa-law lā anta lam adri mā anta tabārakta wa-ta’ālayta*.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.57:** 69,1-10 (*yustaḥabbu li-man daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *an ... tumma yad‘uwa bi-d-du‘ā’i l-laḍi ḥaddaṭanā bihi ṣ-ṣayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani Muḥammadu bnu ‘Awfīni l-Mazanīyu bi-qirā’atī ‘alayhi qāla ...*) *wa-in da‘ā bimā kāna Idrīsu ‘alayhi s-salāmu yad‘u bihi rağawta lahu an ystğb* (read *an yastağība*) *Llāhu ta’ālā lahu wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi Muḥammadu bnu ‘Awfin ayḍan qāla ... kāna Idrīsu n-Nabīyu ‘alayhi*



B184.16. In the Dome of the Rock people are always staying, adherents [of the Dome of the Rock] and [other] faithful (*muğāwirān wa ʿābidān*).<sup>1</sup>

B184.16.a. For parallels to the adherents of the Dome of the Rock, see B038.11.a.

B184.17. The [Fāṭimid] sultān of Egypt (*sultān-i Miṣr*) makes [and donates] lamps (*qindilhā*) which are placed in this sanctuary (*dar īn ḥāna*) (B184.7). The [Fāṭimid] sultān of Egypt (*sultān-i Miṣr*) sends candles (*bisyār šamʿ*) here every year, among them the large white candle which carries in gold the name of the [Fāṭimid] sultān [of Egypt] (*nām-i sultān*) (B184.8).

B184.18. **Rituals and customs (Jewish):** People pray at (the gates of) this Noble Temple (*fī abwāb ḥādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf*,<sup>2</sup> *fī ḥādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf*) [the whole area], in front of this Glorious Sanctuary (*quddām ḥādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl*),<sup>4</sup> in front of this Great Sanctuary (*quddām*

---

*s-salāmu yadʿū bi-daʿwatin kāna yaʿmuru an lā yuʿallimūhā s-sufahāʾa faj-yadʿū* (read *fā-yadʿūna*) *bihā fa-kāna yaqūlu yā dā l-ḡalālī wa-l-ikrāmi yā dī ṭ-ṭūli* (read *yā dā ṭ-ṭūli*) *lā ilāha illā anta ṭahru l-lāḡina* (I read *ṭahru l-lāḡiʿi na*; Livne-Kafri reluctantly reads *ṭahru l-lāḡiʿina*) *wa-ḡāru l-mustaḡirīna wa-ānisu l-ḡāʾifīna innī asʾaluka in kuntu fī ummi l-kitābi šaqīyan an tamḥuwa min ummi l-kitābi šaqāʾi wa-yuṭbitanī* (read *wa-yuṭbitanī*) *ʿindaka saʿī dan wa-in kuntu fī ummi l-kitābi maḥrūman muṭṭaran alayya fī rizqī an tamḥuwa min ummi l-kitābi ḥurmāni wa-iqtāra rizqī wa-yuṭbitanī ʿindaka saʿīdan muwaffaqan li-l-ḥayri kullihī.*

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,24-42,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa dar ān* (NP *īn*) *Ḥāna-i Ṣaḥra hamīša mardum bāšand* (NP *bāšad*) *az muğāwirān wa ʿābidān.*

<sup>2</sup>**Gil Nr.301**,7-9.12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ḡalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiḡābat mā ana muwāṣiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ min al-adʿiyya* [sic] *š-šāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb ḥādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām ḥādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ... wa-sababuh inqītāʿuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yarḏih taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā š-šalāt fī abwāb ḥādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām ḥādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl ʾĀlōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōlō b-īmēnū b-ḥayyay w-ʿal yedē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ḡādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū.*

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.298r**,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ḡalla surʿat al-istiḡāba bimā ana muwāṣilhumā min al-adʿiyya* [sic] *š-šāliḥa fī ḥādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām ḥādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl ʾĀlōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū.*

<sup>4</sup>**Gil Nr.298r**,7-9 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ʿazza wa-ḡalla surʿat al-istiḡāba bimā ana muwāṣilhumā min al-adʿiyya* [sic] *š-šāliḥa fī ḥādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām ḥādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl ʾĀlōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōl binyānō b-īmānō ū-b-ḥayyēnū*; **Gil Nr.300**,18-20 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fa-asaluh Allāh yaʿal luh ḡalīk bayn yadayh zəkūt maqōbēl kēmō qurbān maqōbēl*) *wa-an yastaḡib minnī fih dāyiman kull daʿwa šāliḥa l-latī ana dāʿihā luh quddām ḥādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl bi-raḥmatuh*; **Gil Nr.301**,7-9.12-14 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) *wa-asaluh ḡalla ismuh bi-l-minna bi-stiḡābat mā ana muwāṣiluh li-mawlāya š-šayḥ min al-adʿiyya* [sic] *š-šāliḥa laylī wa-nahārī fī abwāb ḥādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām ḥādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ... wa-sababuh inqītāʿuh min at-tašarruf wa-tafarruduh fī l-bayt li-ṭalabuh mā yarḏih taʿālā wa-li-tawaffuruh ʿalā š-šalāt fī abwāb ḥādā l-Quds aš-Šarīf quddām ḥādā l-Bayt al-Ġalīl ha-Ēl ʾĀlōhēnū yeqarrēb šiklōlō b-īmēnū b-ḥayyay w-ʿal yedē ha-zāqēn ha-ḥāsīd ha-ḡādōl adīrnū wa-rabbēnū.*

*hādā l-Bayt al-‘Azīm*)<sup>1</sup> [the Dome of the Rock].

### B185. The wall of the Dome of the Rock<sup>2</sup>

**B185.1. Names (Muslim):** The wall (of the sanctuary) (*dīwār-i ḥāna*,<sup>3</sup> *dīwār*<sup>4</sup>), and the eight side walls (of the dome) (*ḥiṭān al-qubba*,<sup>5</sup> *ḥiṭān*,<sup>6</sup> sing. *ḍil*<sup>7</sup>).

**B185.2. Position:** The wall of the sanctuary (*dīwār-i ḥāna*) is the outermost circle of the building, followed towards the inside by the [octagonal] arcade and the arcade next to the Rock (B188.2). This is the WALL of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

**B185.3. Physical shape:** This building is a plain octagonal sanctuary (*ḥāna-i muṭamman-i rāst*), an octagon (*hašt-gāna*) with eight sides 55 ells (27.39 m) or 33 ells (21.95 m) long (B184.5). There are four gates in the four sides of the dome (*fī arba ‘ḡihāt al-qubba*), in the four sides of the sanctuary (*bar ṣāḥār ḡānib-i ḥāna*): an east, west, north and south one (*maš-riqī maḡribī šamālī ḡānūbī*) (B184.5). Between each two [sides with] gates (*miyān-i har dū dar*) is a side (*ḍil*) [without a gate] (B184.5). The building rests on quadrangular [semi-]pillars (*arkān murabba‘a*), with side walls which are in a round configuration in between the pillars (*bi-ḥiṭān tadūru bayn al-arkān*).<sup>8</sup> The wall is 20 ells (13.30 m) high, like the pillars and columns of the arcade next to the Rock (B184.6); the whole wall (*hama dīwār*) is [in its lower layer, outside and inside] 20 ells (13.30 m) high, of hewn stone (*ba-sang-i tarāšīda*).<sup>9</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>**Gil Nr.300**,26-28 (see Gil, *Palestine* 621; 622f. n. 100) (*fā-asal Allāh yaḥrus ḥayātuh ...*) *wa-staḡāb minnī fih wa-fihim* [the addressee and his children] *kull da‘wa ṣāliḥa l-latī ana dā‘ihā dāyman fī hāda l-Quds quddām hādā l-Bayt al-‘Azīm*.

<sup>2</sup>For the wall of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 285f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 97 and n. 12 (the remark by the abbot Daniel in 1106); Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 156.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa ba-ṣāḥār ḡānib-i Ṣaḥra ṣāḥār sutūn banā karda and murabba‘ ba-bālā-yi dīwār-i ḥāna-i maḡkūr*; **Nāṣir** 41,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) (*ān qubba ...*) *wa bar sar-i bīst gaz-i dīwār wa sutūn* (I read *sutūn wa usṭuwāna*) *nihāda ast kih ān-i dīwār-i ḥāna ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa hama dīwār ba-sang-i tarāšīda* (NP *az sang-i tarāšīda*) *karda and miqdār-i bīst araš*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,18f. *wa-l-qubbatu wa-ḥiṭānuhā manqūṣatun bi-l-fasāfisi l-mulawwani l-muḍahhabi*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,13f. *wasafu d-dikkati qubbatun ‘āliyatun ‘alā arkānin murabba‘atin bi-ḥiṭānin tadūru bayna l-arkāni ṭūlu kulli wāḥidin ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dīrā‘an*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,12-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa in ḥāna ī-st muṭamman-i rāst čun-ān-kih har ḍil‘-i az in hašt-gāna sī wa sih araš ast wa ṣāḥār dar bar ṣāḥār ḡānib-i ān nihāda ya‘nī mašriqī wa maḡribī wa šamālī wa ḡānūbī wa miyān-i har dū dar ḍil‘-i-st*.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,13 *wasafu d-dikkati qubbatun ‘āliyatun ‘alā arkānin murabba‘atin bi-ḥiṭānin tadūru bayna l-arkāni (ṭūlu kulli wāḥidin ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dīrā‘an)*.

<sup>9</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa hama dīwār ba-sang-i tarāšīda* (NP *az sang-i tarāšīda*) *karda and miqdār-i bīst araš*.

dome is [on its outside] covered with gilded copper tiles (*qarāmīd nuḥās muḍahhab*).<sup>1</sup> The dome and [the upper layer of] the side walls (*al-qubba wa-l-ḥiṭān*) are [on their inside] covered with polychrome gilded mosaic (*bi-l-fasāfīs al-mulawwan al-muḍahhab*),<sup>2</sup> with glass [mosaic] (*billawr*);<sup>3</sup> on top of the pillars and columns and on the wall (*bar sar-i sutūnhā wa ʿamūdhā wa-dīwār*) is [mosaic] craftsmanship (*ṣanʿat*) of a rare quality.<sup>4</sup>

B185.3.a. We best consider **al-Muhallabī**'s *arkān murabbaʿa* in his (*wasafu d-dikkati qubbatun ʿāliyatun*) *ʿalā arkānin murabbaʿatin bi-ḥiṭānin tadūru bayna l-arkāni ṭulu kulli wāḥidin ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dīrāʿan* "The centre of the platform is a high dome which is on quadrangular pillars, with side walls which are in a round configuration in between the pillars. The length of each is 55 ells." as the HALF-PILLARS of the SIDE WALLS of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

B185.3.b. **al-Muhallabī** has the quadrangular pillars and the side walls between them as the first item in his description of the Dome of the Rock; they are followed by the gates, the dome with its gilded copper tiles, the columns under it, the mosaics on the dome and the walls, the Rock, and the cave under it. We therefore locate the pillars and the side walls connected to them at the WALL of the DOME OF THE ROCK, the gilded copper tiles obviously on the outside of the DOME of the DOME OF THE ROCK, and the walls with mosaics inside of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

#### **al-Muhallabī**

*arkān murabbaʿa, ḥiṭān -> arbaʿat abwāb: dihliz -> al-qubba: ʿumud bi-taqīʿ muṭamman, irtifāʿuhā, mulabbasa bi-qarāmīd nuḥās muḍahhab, taḥtahā ʿumud ruḥām, al-qubba wa-ḥiṭānuhā manqūša bi-l-fasāfīs ... -> aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa: ḥiṣār -> maḡāra*

B185.3.c. **Nāṣir** has the wall all of hewn stones preceded by the layout of the building and its four gates, and followed by the Rock, the inner arcade and the outer arcade. His description may therefore refer either to the outside or to the inside of the wall.

#### **Nāṣir**

*ḥāna-i muṭamman, ṣāḥār dar -> hama dīwār ba-sang-i tarāšīda karda and -> Ṣaḥra -> inner arcade -> outer arcade*

B185.3.d. **Nāṣir**'s *wa bām wa-saqf-i īn ḥāna ba-niḡārat pūšīda ast* "and the roof and the ceiling of this sanctuary are covered with worked wood" and the subsequent *wa bar sutūnhā wa ʿamūdhā wa-dīwār \*ba-ṣanʿat-i kih miṭl-i ān kam uftad* "and on top of the pillars and columns and the wall is craftsmanship which occurs rarely" are two general remarks on the decoration of the building; they are preceded by the Rock, the inner arcade, the outer

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,17 (*al-qubbatu ...*) *mulabbasatun bi-qarāmīda nuḥāsin muḍahhabin*.

Cf. **Gil Nr.1r,10f.** (*ʿUmar ... fa-amar bi-an yubnā sūr al-Qūds*) *wa-yubnā ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥra qūbba wa-[tu]ṭlā bi-d-dahab*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,18f. *wa-l-qubbatu wa-ḥiṭānuhā manqūšatun bi-l-fasāfīsi l-mulawwani l-muḍahhabi*.

<sup>3</sup>*Billawr* "glass [mosaic]" is mentioned in the DRUM itself in **van Berchem Nr.223** (see *RCEA* Nr. 2359; Creswell, *EMA* 1 95; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 248) *wa-marammatu ḥāḍā l-billawri fī sanati ṭamāni ʿašrata* [sic] *wa-arba ʿimiʿatin*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,15f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 128; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣir" 271) (*wa bām wa-saqf-i īn ḥāna ba-niḡārat pūšīda ast*) *wa bar sar-i sutūnhā wa ʿamūdhā wa dīwār ba-ṣanʿat-i* (I read *ṣanʿat-i*) *kih miṭl-i ān kam uftad*.

arcade, the dome and the height of the building, and followed by another, longer description of the Rock. We best take both general remarks to refer to the inside of the building.

**Nāṣir**

*Ṣaḥra* -> inner arcade -> outer arcade -> dome -> height of the building -> *bām wa-saqf-i in ḥāna* -> *bar sutūnhā wa ‘amūdhā wa-dīwār: \*ṣan‘at ...* -> *Ṣaḥra*

### B186. The gates of the Dome of the Rock, among them the Gate of Isrāfīl<sup>1</sup>

**B186.1. Names (Muslim):** The gates (*abwāb* sing. *bāb*, *darhā* sing. *dar*) of the Dome of the Rock (B186.3). Among these are the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*)<sup>2</sup> and the Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (in the Temple) (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*, *Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) where teaching is done (B186.4).

**B186.2. Position:** There are gates in the four sides of the dome (*fī arba‘ ḡihāt al-qubba*), in the four sides of the sanctuary (*bar ṣaḥār ḡānib-i ḥāna*): an east, a west, a north and a south one (*mašriqī maḡribī šamālī ḡanūbī*) (B184.5). All these four gates lead into the sanctuary, which has the dome in its centre (*al-bayt al-laḏī l-qubba fī wasaṭihi*).<sup>3</sup> The Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) is near the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) (B178.2). The central vault of the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) is opposite a gate [of the Dome of the Rock] (*muqābil-i dar*) (B171.4). We best locate these four gates at the four GATES of the DOME OF THE ROCK, the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) at the EAST GATE,<sup>4</sup> and the gate opposite the central vault of the Ascent of the Prophet (*Maqām an-Nabī*) and the Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (in the Temple) (*Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*, *Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) where teaching is done at the SOUTH GATE.

B186.2.a. In **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.52-69**, *Qubbat as-Silsila* (at QUBBAT AS-SILSILA) and *Bāb Isrāfīl* are a kind of double entry, preceded by *Maqām an-Nabī* (at the SOUTH STAIRCASE) and followed by *Qubbat al-Mi‘rāḡ* (at QUBBAT AN-NABĪ) and *Qubbat an-Nabī* (at QUBBAT AL-MI‘RĀḠ). *Bāb Isrāfīl* is obviously in the immediate vicinity of *Qubbat as-Silsila*, on the way from *Qubbat as-Silsila*, east of the Dome of the Rock, to

<sup>1</sup>For the gates of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 253-255; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; 71; 81f.; Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32; Busse, "Bāb Ḥiṭṭa" 16 n. 74.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.62:** 73,2f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fī Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa ‘inda bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḏī yud‘ā* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud‘ā*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad‘uwa*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,15 (*wasatu d-dikkati qubbatur ‘āliyatun ... bi-arba‘ati abwābin fī arba‘i ḡihāti l-qubbati*) *yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin miqdāru ṭūlihi ḥamsu adru‘in* (*wa-tufḏi ḡamī‘uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḏī l-qubbatu fī wasaṭihi*).

<sup>4</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; 71 (the Gate of Isrāfīl).

*Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* and *Qubbat an-Nabī*, both north of it. We locate *Bāb Isrāfīl* best at the EAST GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aş-Şaḥra*: entry, a kind of *ṭawāf* around the Rock, *al-mawḍi' al-laḍī yad'ū n-nās fihi*, *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā'*, *taḥt aş-Şaḥra* -> *Maqām an-Nabī* -> *Qubbat as-Silsila*, ***Bāb Isrāfīl*** -> *Qubbat al-Mi'rāğ* -> *Qubbat an-Nabī*

B186.2.b. Inside the Marwānīd South Gate (at the SOUTH GATE of the DOME OF THE ROCK), Muqātil b. Sulaymān prays and teaches (B038.11). We may assume a local continuity and locate the Fāṭimid teaching as well at the SOUTH GATE.

B186.3. **Physical shape:** These are four<sup>1</sup> gates (*arba'at abwāb*<sup>2</sup> sing. *bāb*,<sup>3</sup> *darhā*<sup>4</sup> sing. *dar*<sup>5</sup>); the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) is a gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (*bāb aş-Şaḥra*).<sup>6</sup> These are [four] large gates (*darhā-yi buzurg*), each with two teak wings (*dū mişrā' az cūb-i sāğ*).<sup>7</sup> These are four [outer] gates (*abwāb*); upon entering them one arrives from each of them at a kind of gateway (*miṭl dihliz*) [a kind of lobby] 5 ells (2.49 m) long [with four inner gates which lead into the building proper].<sup>8</sup> Above the east gate is an arch (*'aqd*) with an in-

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,14-16 (*wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyatun ... bi-arba'ati abwābin fi arba'i ḡihāti l-qubbatu yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin ... wa-tuḍḍi ḡami'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍī l-qubbatu fi wasaṭihi*; **Nāṣir** 40, 14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *wa ḡahār dar bar ḡahār ḡānib-i ān nihāda ya'nī maşriqī wa maḡribī wa šamālī wa ḡanūbī*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,14-16 (*wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyatun ... bi-arba'ati abwābin fi arba'i ḡihāti l-qubbatu yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin ... wa-tuḍḍi ḡami'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍī l-qubbatu fi wasaṭihi*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,14-16 (*wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyatun ... bi-arba'ati abwābin fi arba'i ḡihāti l-qubbatu yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin ... wa-tuḍḍi ḡami'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍī l-qubbatu fi wasaṭihi*); **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.62**: 73,2f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fi Qubbatu s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa 'inda bābi ş-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḍī yud'ā* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud'ā*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad'uwa*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.164**: 131,16 *aḡbaranā* [Ibn al-Murağğā] *Abū l-Ḥasani 'Abdu l-Waḥḥābi bnu Muḥammadin bi-qirā'ati 'alayhi 'alā Bābi ş-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock].

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 42,17-19 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129) *wa ba-ḡahār ḡānib-i ḡāna darhā-yi buzurg bar nihāda ast ... wa ān darhā paywasta basta bāšad*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) (*wa in ḡāna i-st muṭamman-i rāst ...*) *wa ḡahār dar bar ḡahār ḡānib-i ān nihāda ya'nī maşriqī wa maḡribī wa šamālī wa ḡanūbī wa miyān-i har dū dar ḍil'-i-st*.

A gate of the Dome of the Rock is apparently also mentioned in **Nāṣir** 44,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 159; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 75; see Jacobson/Gibson, "Monumental stairway" 166f.) *wa bar sar-i in ḡahār 'amūd siḥ ṭāq zada ast cūn-ān-kih yak-i muqābil-i dar* (NP *daraḡa*) *wa dū bar dū ḡānib*.

<sup>6</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.62**: 73,2f. (transl. Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32) *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya fi Qubbatu s-Silsilati wa-yaqifa 'inda bābi ş-Şaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *l-laḍī yud'ā* (Livne-Kafri reads *yud'ā*) *Bāba Isrāfīla wa-yad'uwa*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 42,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129) *wa ba-ḡahār ḡānib-i ḡāna darhā-yi buzurg bar nihāda ast dū mişrā' az cūb-i sāğ*.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,15 (*wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyatun ... bi-arba'ati abwābin fi arba'i ḡihāti l-qubbatu yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin miqdāru ṭūlihi ḡamsu adru'in* (wa-tuḍḍi ḡami'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍī l-qubbatu fi wasaṭihi).

scription mentioning al-Qā'im (Fātimid caliph 322-334/934-946), **Koran** 112, and formulas praising and glorifying God (*taḥmīd wa-tamğīd*); above the other three gates are similar inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

B186.3.a. For parallels to the inscriptions of the Fātimid caliph al-Qā'im, see B040.3.a.

B186.3.b. The inscriptions of al-Qā'im are described by Crusader-period **al-Harawī** (and, much later, **Johannes von Würzburg** and **Muğir ad-dīn**), and we should mention these references, although they are post-Fātimid. **al-Harawī**, who visits the Dome of the Rock *fī zamān al-Firaṅğ* "in the time of the Franks", in 659/12 August 1173-1 August 1174,<sup>2</sup> emphasises that the Franks did not change these inscriptions.

B186.4. **Contemporary events**: At the Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock in the Temple (*ʿalā Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*), **Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī l-Muqri** dictates, in 378/988, a tradition to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣirāzī.<sup>3</sup> At the Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (*ʿalā Bāb aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) Ibn al-Murağğā reads a tradition to [his teacher] **Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb b. Muḥammad**.<sup>4</sup>

B186.5. **Traditions (Muslim)**: In the time of the Children of Israel, people who had sinned used to pray at [the place of] the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-Silsila*) and the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) until God forgave them (B178.4).

B186.6. Prayer at the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-silsila*) and the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) is answered, as has been tried by more than one (B178.5).

B186.7. **Rituals and customs (Muslim)**: People should, on the prayer-route:

- a) make ritual prayer at the Dome of the Chain (*Qubbat as-silsila*), and stand at the Gate of Isrāfīl (*Bāb Isrāfīl*) and pray a prayer ʿAlī used to pray, "Oh KHYʿŞ (**Koran** 19.1), oh Light of Light, oh Holy, oh God, oh Merciful [to be repeated three times]. Forgive me the

<sup>1</sup>**al-Harawī** 25,8.11-13 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 132f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 254; see Sourdél-Thomine, *al-Harawī (texte)* 63 n. 4; Creswell, *EMA* 1 81 n. 8) *wa-hāḍihi l-qubbatu lahā arbaʿatu abwābin ... al-bābu š-šarqīyu ilā ǧānibi Qubbati s-Silsilati wa-ʿalayhi ʿaqdun ʿalayhi maktūbuni smu l-Qāʿimi bi-amri Llāhi amīri l-muʿminīna wa-sūratu l-iḥlāši* (**Koran** 112) *wa-taḥmīdun wa-tamğīdun wa-ʿalā sāʿiri l-abwābi ka-ḡālīka wa-lam tuḡayyirhu l-Firaṅğu*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Harawī** 24,17 *wa-hāḍihi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu raʾaytuḥā fī zamāni l-Firaṅği*; **al-Harawī** 25,8f. (*wa-taḥta Qubbati ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] ...) *wa-hāḍihi l-qubbatu lahā arbaʿatu abwābin wa-daḡaltuḥā fī zamāni l-Firaṅği sanata tisʿin wa-sittīna wa-ḡamsimiʿatin*.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.278**: 193,10-12 (... *Abū Bakrin Muḥammadu bnu l-Ḥasani ṣ-Ṣirāzīyu qāla*) *amlā* (Livne-Kafri reads *amlā*) *ʿalayya Muḥammadu bnu l-Ḥasani bni ʿAlīyini l-Muqriʿu ʿalā Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi sanata tamānin wa-sabʿīna wa-ṭalāṭimiʿatin qāla ...*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.164**: 131,16 *aḡbaranā* [Ibn al-Murağğā] *Abū l-Ḥasani ʿAbdu l-Waḥḥābi bnu Muḥammadin bi-qirāʿati ʿalayhi ʿalā Bābi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* [the Dome of the Rock] *qāla ...*

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 annihilation and forgive me the sins which uncover the veil (B178.6), and

- b) people who have committed a sin should make ritual prayer here with two *rakʿa* and endeavour in the prayer which Muḥammad used to say in sorrow and sadness, "Oh God, I am your servant, son of your servant son of your People; you are my master, your judgement is over me, make your decision on me; I ask you by every name you have, by which you have named yourself, which you have revealed somewhere in your book, which you have taught one of your People or which you have taken for yourself in the knowledge of the veiled, make the Koran the spring of my heart, the light of my breast, the lighting up of my sadness and the dispatch of my sorrow." (B178.6).

B186.8. Prayer here is answered, as has been tried by more than one (B178.5).

B186.9. These gates are always shut [and never left open].<sup>1</sup>

B186.10. There is some teaching at the Gate of [the Dome of] the Rock (in the Temple) (B186.4).

### B187. The Black Paving-stone<sup>2</sup>

B187.1. **Names (Muslim):** The Black Paving-stone (*al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ*).<sup>3</sup>

B187.2. **Position:** We best locate this paving-stone under the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, next to the NORTH GATE.<sup>4</sup>

B187.2.a. **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.52-69** has *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ* inside the Dome of the Rock, on his way clockwise from the place where one prays and touches the Rock (possibly at the WEST or the SOUTH EDGE of the ROCK) to the cave under the Rock (at the CAVE, with the entry from the southeast, at the STAIRCASE TO THE CAVE). We locate *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ* best clockwise between the WEST or the SOUTH EDGE of the ROCK and the STAIRCASE TO THE CAVE.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 42,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129) *wa ān darhā paywasta basta bāšad*.

<sup>2</sup>For the Fāṭimid Black Paving-stone, see Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; 71; Busse, "The Temple and Its Restitution" 32.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.58:** 69,12 *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya ʿalā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi rakʿatayni aw arbaʿan aw mā aḥabba*.

<sup>4</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff. (in the north part of the Dome of the Rock).

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*: entry, a kind of *ṭawāf* around the Rock, *al-mawḍiʿ al-ladī yadʿū n-nās fīhi*, ***al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ***, *taḥt aṣ-Ṣaḥra* -> *Maqām an-Nabī* -> *Qubbat as-Silsila*, *Bāb Isrāfīl* -> *Qubbat al-Miʿrāğ* -> *Qubbat an-Nabī*

B187.2.b. Marwānīd *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ* is under the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, next to the NORTH GATE (B041.2). This is possibly also the place of Fātimīd *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ*.

**B187.3. Physical shape:** This is a black paving-stone.

B187.3.a. *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdāʾ* is probably really a kind of black paving-stone; this should be supposed both because of its name and because people perform ritual prayer on it.

**B187.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** On the Black Paving-stone, people should, while on their prayer-route:

- a) say the prayer Muḥammad used when he prayed with his companions, "Oh God, I take my refuge with you from [all] work which brings shame upon me. Oh God, I take my refuge with you from all wealth which dominates me. Oh God, I take my refuge with you from every companion who troubles me. Oh God, I take my refuge with you from all work which dominates me. Oh God, I take my refuge with you from all poverty which makes me forget",<sup>1</sup> and
- b) use God's greatest name, because Muḥammad said that all prayer with this name will be answered: "Oh God, I ask you are worthy of praise. There is no God but you, the benefactor. Oh Creator, oh King of earth and heavens, oh you who have glory and magnificence, oh Living, oh Eternal (cf. ***Koran* 2.255**)."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.58:** 69,12-70,5 *wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya ʿalā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi rakʿatayni aw arbaʿan aw mā aḥabba tumma yadʿuwa bi-d-duʿāʾi l-ladī kāna n-Nabīyu ʿalayhi s-salāmu yadʿū bihi idā ṣallā bi-aṣḥābihi wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi š-ṣayḥu Abū l-Ḥasani ʿAliyu bnu Mūsā l-maʿrūfu bi-bni s-Simsāri bi-Dimašqa bi-qirāʾati ʿalayhi qāla ... ṣallā Anasu bnu Mālikin ... fa-qāla kāna rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama idā ṣallā bi-aṣḥābihi aqbala ʿalā l-qawmi fa-qāla Llāhumma innī aʿūdū bika min ʿamalin yaḥzīnī Llāhumma innī aʿūdū bika min ġinan yuṭġīnī Llāhumma innī aʿūdū bika min ṣāḥibin yuʿḏīnī Llāhumma innī aʿūdū bika min ʿamalin yulhīnī Llāhumma innī aʿūdū bika min faqrin yunsīnī.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.59:** 70,6-14 *(wa-yustaḥabbu lahu an yuṣalliya ʿalā l-Balāṭati s-Sawdāʾi rakʿatayni aw arbaʿan aw mā aḥabba tumma yadʿuwa bi-d-duʿāʾi l-ladī kāna n-Nabīyu ʿalayhi s-salāmu yadʿū bihi idā ṣallā bi-aṣḥābihi wa-huwa ...) aw yadʿuw bi-smi Llāhi l-aʿẓami l-ladī qāla n-Nabīyu ʿalayhi s-salāmu man daʿā Llāha taʿālā bihi aḡābahu wa-man saʿalahu bihi aʿṭāhu wa-huwa mā ḥaddaṭanā bihi š-ṣayḥu Abū l-Farağī qāla ... ʿan Anasin qāla bayna-mā rağulun ḥalafa n-Nabīya ʿalayhi s-salāmu fī ṣ-ṣalāti id qāla Llāhumma innī asʿaluka bi-anna laka l-ḥamda lā ilāha illā anta l-mannānu yā badīʿu yā malika s-samawāti wa-l-arḍi yā dī l-ğalālī wa-l-ikrāmi (read yā dī l-ğalālī wa-l-ikrāmi) yā ḥayyu yā qayyūmu (cf. ***Koran* 2.255**) fa-qāla n-Nabīyu ʿalayhi s-salāmu mani d-dāʿī la-qad saʿala Llāha taʿālā bi-smihi l-aʿẓami l-ladī idā duʿiya bihi aḡāba wa-idā suʿila bihi aʿṭā.*



### B188. The outer arcade and the ceilings of the outer and inner ambulatories<sup>1</sup>

**B188.1. Names (Muslim):** [An arcade with] eight pillars (*\*hašt sutūn*), and between each two pillars two columns (*\*dū 'amūd*) (B188.3).

**B188.2. Position:** This arcade is between the wall of the sanctuary (*dīwār-i ḥ āna*) (the WALL of the DOME OF THE ROCK) and the [circular] arcade next to the dome (the CIRCULAR ARCADE).<sup>2</sup> This is the OCTAGONAL ARCADE.

B188.2.a. **al-Muhallabī** twice mentions columns inside the Dome of the Rock:

|                                     |                                                                                           |                                                                                            |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                     | ( <i>wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun 'āliyaton ...</i> )                                        | "The platform's centre is a high dome                                                      |
| a. Gates                            | <i>bi-arba'ati abwābin ... wa-tufḍī ḡamī'uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍī l-qubbatu fī wasaṭihi</i> | with four gates ... All of them lead into the sanctuary, which has the dome in its centre. |
| b. Columns of the dome              | <i>wa-hiya 'alā 'umudin bi-taqī'in muṭammanin</i>                                         | It [the dome] is on columns in an octagonal layout.                                        |
| c. Height of the dome               | <i>irtifā'uhā nayyifun wa-sittūna ḍirā'an min *arḍihā li-l-arḍi</i>                       | Its height is more than 60 ells from its broad side which faces the ground.                |
| d. Covering of the dome             | <i>mulabbasatun bi-qarāmida nuḥāsīn muḍahhabin</i>                                        | It is covered with gilded copper tiles.                                                    |
| e. Columns under the dome           | <i>wa-min taḥtiḥā 'umudun ruḥāmun mulawwaḥun wa-muḡazza'un</i>                            | Under it are pillars of sparkling veined marble.                                           |
| f. Mosaics of the dome and the drum | <i>wa-l-qubbatu wa-ḥiṭānuhā manqūṣatun bi-l-fasāfisi l-mulawwani l-muḍahhabi</i>          | The dome and its walls are decorated by polychrome gilded mosaic.                          |
| (g. The Rock)                       | ( <i>wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-Muqaddasatu ...</i> )                                                 | (And the Holy Rock ...)"                                                                   |

B188.2.b. The columns in paragraph b are supporting the dome and have an octagonal layout; the columns in e

<sup>1</sup>For the outer arcade of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock, see Schefer, *Nassir* 90 n. 1; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 239; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78; 107f.; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 271f.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,22-41,1.3-6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) (*wa ba-ḥāḥ ḡānib-i Ṣaḥra ḥāḥ sutūn banā karda and murabba' ... wa miyān-i har dū sutūn az ḥāḥ ḡāna ḡuft-i* (I read *sih*) *uṣṭuwāna-i ruḥām qāyim karda ...*) *wa miyān-i dīwār-i ḥāna wa in sutūnhā wa uṣṭuwānahā ... aknūn miyān-i in sutūnhā* (I read *sutūnhā wa uṣṭuwānahā*) *wa dīwār-i ḥāna šiš* (I read *hašt*) *sutūn-i dīgar banā karda ast az sanghā-yi muhandam wa miyān-i har dū sutūn sih 'amūd-i ruḥām-i mulawwan ba-qīsmat-i rāst nihāda čun-ān kih dar šaff-i awwal miyān-i dū sutūn dū* (I read *sih*) *'amūd būd in-ḡā miyān-i dū sutūn sih* (I read *dū*) *'amūd ast*.

are under the dome and of a special kind of marble. At first, one identifies the columns in both b and e with the CIRCULAR ARCADE, as the preceding and subsequent paragraphs (a, c, d, f) all refer to the dome. But the columns in b have the octagonal layout of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, and the columns in e are directly under the dome as in the CIRCULAR ARCADE. We therefore locate *‘alā ‘umudin bi-taqī‘in muṭammanin* in b in the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, and *‘umudun ruḥāmun mulawwaḥun wa-muḡazza‘un* in e at the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

**B188.3. Physical shape:** These are columns in an octagonal layout (*‘umud bi-taqī‘ muṭamman*),<sup>1</sup> with eight pillars built of hewn stones (*\*hašt sutūn banā karda az sanghā-yi muhandam*); between each two pillars are two columns (*\*dū ‘amūd*) of polychrome marble erected [not built] in a regular pattern (*az ruḥām-i mulawwan ba-qismat-i rāst nihāda*).<sup>2</sup> On top of the pillars and columns and on the wall (*bar sar-i sutūnhā wa ‘amūdhā wa-dīwār*) is [mosaic] craftsmanship (*šan‘at*) of a rare quality (B185.3). There is an inscription ascribing the building of the Dome of the Rock to [the ‘Abbāsīd caliph] al-Ma’mūn (= **van Berchem Nr.215**).<sup>3</sup>

B188.3.a. For **Nāṣir**'s distinction between *sutūn* "pillar" and *uṣṭuwāna* or *‘amūd* "column", see B180.3.a.

B188.3.b. The Fāṭimid outer arcade is octagonal,<sup>4</sup> with eight pillars, and between each two pillars are two columns;<sup>5</sup> the inner arcade next to the Rock is circular, with four pillars, and between each two pillars are three columns. This is given by the basically Marwānīd character of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE (with eight PILLARS and sixteen COLUMNS), of the CIRCULAR ARCADE (with its PILLARS and sixteen COLUMNS) and of the inscription **van Berchem Nr.215**, which the replacement of even a single column would have badly damaged. It has been claimed that the octagonal layout may have been kept, but the number of pillars and columns changed;<sup>6</sup> this is impossible.<sup>7</sup>

B188.3.c. **Nāṣir**'s text is as follows:<sup>8</sup>

|                 |                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. Inner arcade | <i>wa ba-čahār ḡānib-i Šaḥra<br/>čahār sutūn banā karda and murabba‘<br/>ba-bālā-yi dīwār-i ḥāna-i maḍkūr</i>       | "And on the four sides of the Rock<br>were four quadrangular pillars built,<br>of the height of the mentioned sanctuary;       |
|                 | <i>wa miyān-i har dū sutūn az čahār ḡāna<br/>ḡuft-i uṣṭuwāna-i ruḥām qāyim karda<br/>hama ba-bālā-yi ān sutūnhā</i> | between each two pillars at the four corners<br>were <i>two</i> marble columns erected,<br>all of the height of those pillars; |

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muhallabī** 50,16 (*al-qubbatu ...*) *wa-hiya ‘alā ‘umudin bi-taqī‘in muṭammanin*.

<sup>2</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78.

<sup>3</sup>For the inscription of ‘Abd al-Malik, see B042.3. For the attribution of the inscription to al-Ma’mūn, see B115.3.

<sup>4</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 90 n. 1; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 271.

<sup>5</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 271.

<sup>6</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 121-123; 126.

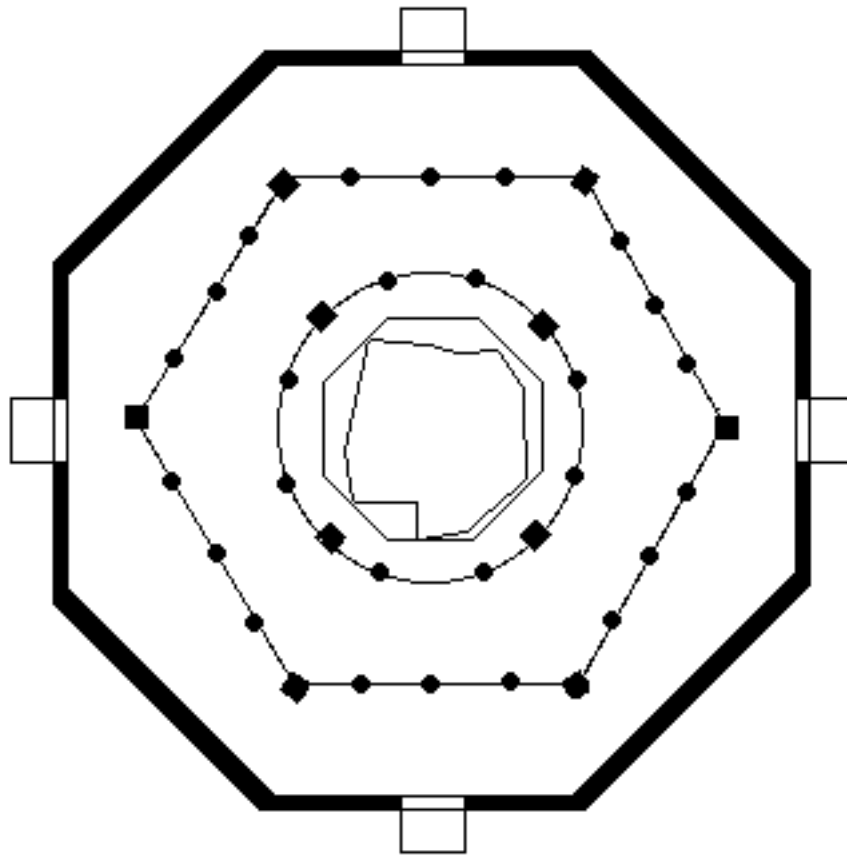
<sup>7</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 271.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,18-41,1.3-6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 271).

|                 |                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                 | <i>wa bar sar-i ān dawāzdah sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna<br/>bunyād-i gunbad-i-st<br/>kih Ṣaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast ...</i>                     | on top of those <i>twelve</i> pillars and<br>columns is the drum of the dome<br>under which is the Rock ...                                              |
| b. Outer arcade | <i>wa miyān-i dīwār-i ḥāna<br/>wa īn sutūnhā wa uṣṭuwānahā ...</i>                                                                | Between the wall of the sanctuary<br>and these pillars and columns ...                                                                                   |
|                 | <i>aknūn miyān-i īn sutūnhā *wa uṣṭuwānahā<br/>wa dīwār-i ḥāna<br/>šiš sutūn-i dīgar banā karda ast<br/>az sanghā-yi muhandam</i> | So, between these pillars [and columns]<br>and the wall of the sanctuary<br><i>six</i> other pillars were built<br>of hewn stones,                       |
|                 | <i>wa miyān-i har dū sutūn<br/>sih 'amūd-i ruḥām-i mulawwan<br/>ba-qismat-i rāst nihāda</i>                                       | and between each two pillars<br>were three columns of polychrome<br>marble erected in a regular pattern.                                                 |
| c. Summary      | <i>čun-ān kih dar šaff-i awwal<br/>miyān-i dū sutūn dū 'amūd būd<br/>īn-ğā miyān-i dū sutūn sih 'amūd ast ...</i>                 | Thus there were, in the first row,<br>between each two pillars <i>two</i> columns,<br>but here were between each two<br>pillars <i>three</i> columns ... |
| d. The dome     | <i>ān-waqt īn gunbad-i 'aẓīm<br/>bar sar-i īn dawāzdah sutūn *wa uṣṭuwāna<br/>kih ba-Ṣaḥra nazdīk ast čun-ān-ast kih ...</i>      | At this time this large dome is<br>on top of the twelve pillars [and columns]<br>which are next to the Rock, so that ..."                                |

B188.3.d. The first of two interwoven problems is the number of pillars of the outside arcade (b). **Nāṣir**'s *šiš sutūn-i dīgar banā karda ast az sanghā-yi muhandam* "six other pillars were built of hewn stones" means an impossible hexagonal layout. His text may have originally been "*hašt sutūn-i dīgar banā karda ast az sanghā-yi muhandam*" "eight other pillars were built of hewn stones".<sup>1</sup> Original *\*hašt* may have been misread by a copyist as *šiš* - not an easy assumption, but at least possible. This meaning would fit with the other evidence we have. The following layout would be the result:

<sup>1</sup>Schefer, *Nassir* 90 n. 1; Creswell, *EMA* 1 77f.; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 271.



92

**Figure 92. The layout of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock as described by Nāṣir, without any conjecture:** Outer arcade hexagonal, three columns between each two pillars of the outer arcade, two columns between each two pillars of the inner arcade.

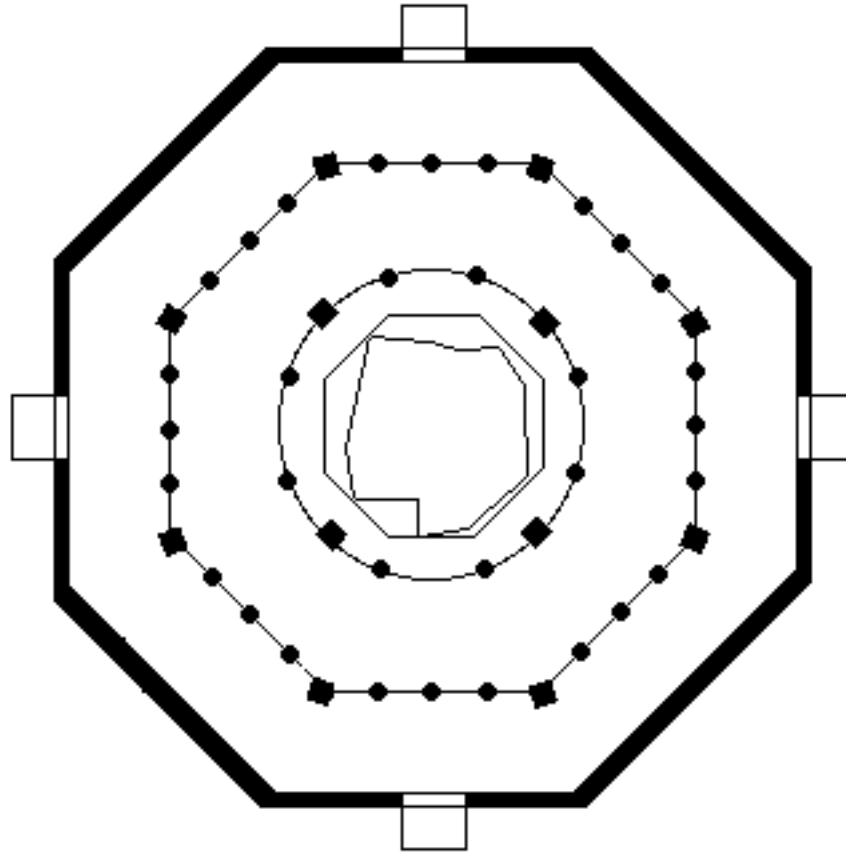
B188.3.e. The other problem is the number of columns between the pillars, in both the outside (b) and inside (a) arcades. The text itself is coherent and gives, for the inside arcade, even the sum of all pillars and columns (c, d), but results nevertheless in an impossible layout. But the number of pillars in both arcades fits perfectly if we exchange the number of columns in the two arcades<sup>1</sup> so that the outer arcade has three, and the inner arcade two, intermediate columns. We may assume that **Nāṣir** mistrusted his own notes that the outer [longer] arcade had only two columns between each two pillars, but the inner [shorter] arcade three, and that he erroneously exchanged these numbers, then reckoned the total number of pillars and columns in the inner arcade.

B188.3.f. The circumference of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE is the same as that of the enclosing wall of QUBBAT AṢ-ṢU'ŪD on the Mount of Olives.<sup>2</sup>

B188.3.g. The inscription **van Berchem Nr.215** we see today is definitely Umayyad (B042.3), with a High 'Abbāsīd modification (B115.3), and therefore was at the same place in the Fāṭimid period.

<sup>1</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78; Busink, *Tempel* 995; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣir" 271.

<sup>2</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 107f.



93

**Figure 93.** The layout of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock as described by Nāṣir, with conjecture: Outer arcade octagonal, three columns between each two pillars of the outer arcade, two columns between each two pillars of the inner arcade.

B188.4. Each capital of a column (*sar-i 'amūd*) has two projections (*dū šāḥ*), all capitals of pillars (*sar-i sutūnhā*) have four projections (*čahār šāḥ*), each projection (*šāḥ*) being the base of a vault (*pāya-i ṭāq*); therefore, on each capital of a column (*bar sar-i 'amūd*) is the base of two vaults (*pāya-i dū ṭāq*), and on each capital of a pillar (*bar sar-i sutūn*), the base of four vaults (*pāya-i čahār ṭāq*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 41,7-9 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 272) *wa sar-i sutūnhā-rā ba-čahār šāḥ karda kih har šāḥ-i pāya-i ṭāq-i ast wa bar sar-i 'amūd-i* (NP *wa bar sar-i har 'amūd-i*) *dū šāḥ čun-ān-kih bar sar-i 'amūd-i pāya-i dū ṭāq wa bar sar-i sutūn-i pāya-i čahār ṭāq uftāda ast.*

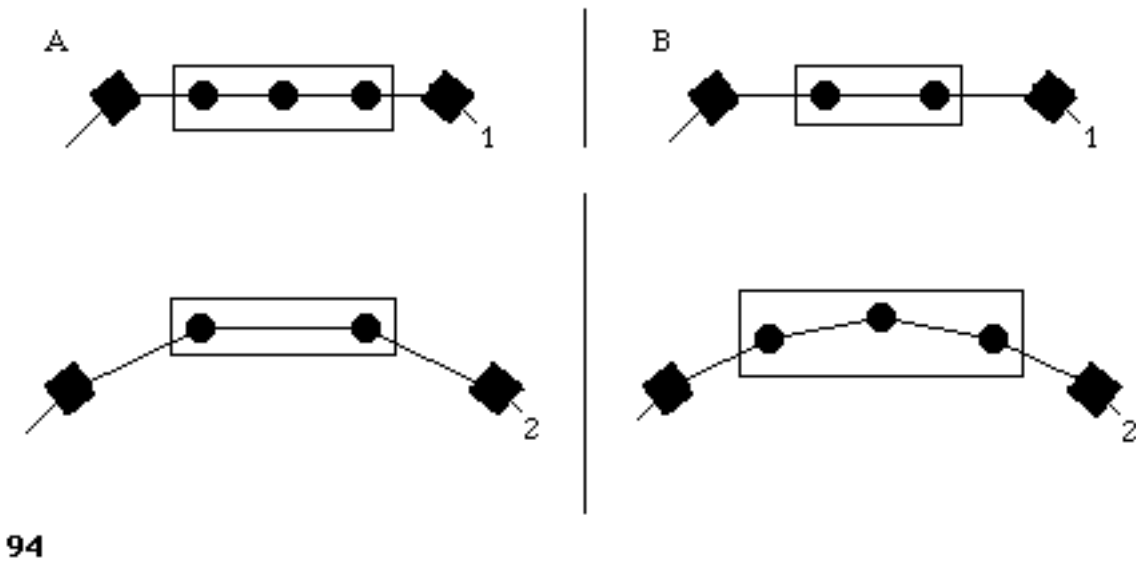


**Figure 94.** The columns between each two pillars of the outer and inner arcades of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock (layout): A As described by Nāṣir: three columns between each two pillars of the outer arcade, two columns between each two pillars of the inner arcade. - B With conjecture: two columns between each two pillars of the outer arcade, three columns between each two pillars of the inner arcade / 1 Outer arcade. - 2 Inner arcade.

B188.4.a. Nāṣir says unambiguously *wa sar-i sutūnhā-rā ba-čahār šāḥ karda kih har šāḥ-i pāya-i ṭāq-i ast wa bar sar-i 'amūd-i dū šāḥ čun-ān-kih bar sar-i 'amūd-i pāya-i dū ṭāq wa bar sar-i sutūn-i pāya-i čahār ṭāq uftāda ast* "And the capital of the pillars is made with four projections - each projection is the base of a vault - and on the capital of a column are two projections. Therefore, on the capital of [each] column is the base of two vaults, and on the capital of [each] pillar is the base of four vaults", but the meaning of the sentence remains unclear. Today the PILLARS and COLUMNS of the OCTAGONAL ARCADE carry, without any difference, two VAULTS; the PILLARS are covered up to the CEILING on all sides with Marwānid MOSAICS and have the **inscription** of 'Abd al-Malik under the TOP CORNICE next to the CEILING, so that any additional pillar would have started only at the level of the CEILING; but the High 'Abbāsīd BEAMS with the **inscriptions** of [Šaḡab] the mother of al-Muqtadir ('Abbāsīd caliph 295-320/908-932) (B115.4) have to be kept in mind. Nāṣir's text gives no hint whether the orientation of the additional vaults is parallel to the arcade or perpendicular to it, connecting it with the exterior wall or the inner circular arcade. Šāḥ "beam" has been considered a volute (Schefer, *Le Strange*); this is not supported by the sources.

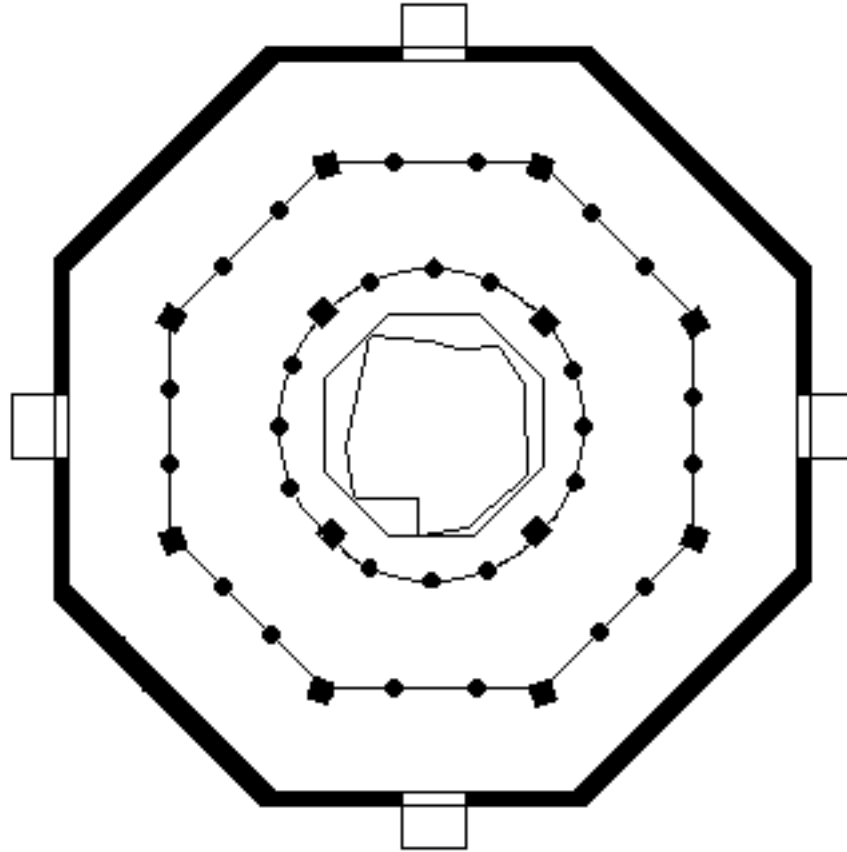
B188.5. The roof and the ceiling of this sanctuary (*bām wa saqf-i īn ḥāna*) are covered with worked wood (*niḡārat*).<sup>1</sup>

B188.5.a. Nāṣir remarks on *bām wa saqf-i īn ḥān* "the roof and the ceiling" and on the [mosaic] decoration are both part of his description of the building's interior (B185.3.d). We therefore locate *bām wa saqf-i īn ḥān* best at

<sup>1</sup>Nāṣir 41,15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa bām wa saqf-i īn ḥāna ba-niḡārat pūšīda ast*.

the CEILING of today's OUTER AMBULATORY and INNER AMBULATORY.

B188.5.b. **Nāṣir's** *ba-niğārat pūšīda* has been understood as "covered with geometric designs" (Thackston) instead of "in woodwork" (Le Strange), i.e., covered with worked wood.



95

**Figure 95. The layout of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock as described by Nāṣir, with double conjecture:** Outer arcade octagonal, two columns between each two pillars of the outer arcade, three columns between each two pillars of the inner arcade.

### B189. The arcade next to the Rock<sup>1</sup>

B189.1. **Names (Muslim):** [An arcade with] four pillars (*čahār sutūn*), and between each two pillars, three columns (*\*sih uštuwāna*, *\*sih ʿamūd*) (B189.3).

B189.2. **Position:** This arcade is next to the Rock (*ba-Šaḥra nazdīk*),<sup>1</sup> on the four sides of

<sup>1</sup>For the inner arcade of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 239; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 272.

the Rock (*ba-čahār ġānib-i Šaḥra*), in the first row (*dar šaff-i awwal*) [as seen from the Rock] and inside the octagonal arcade and the wall of the sanctuary (*dīwār-i ḥāna*).<sup>2</sup> It is under the dome (*taḥt al-qubba*);<sup>3</sup> on top of its sixteen pillars and columns (*\*bar sar-i šānzdah sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) is the dome (*gunbad*),<sup>4</sup> the dome under which is the Rock (*gunbad-i kih Šaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast*).<sup>5</sup> This is the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

B189.2.a. The place of the arcade next to the Rock, inside both the octagonal arcade (the OCTAGONAL ARCADE) and the wall of the building (the WALL of the DOME OF THE ROCK), and under the dome (the DOME) leaves no doubt that it is at the CIRCULAR ARCADE.

**B189.3. Physical shape:** These are four quadrangular constructed pillars (*sutūn banā kardā murabba*) and between each two pillars are three (marble) columns (erected) (*\*sih uṣṭuwāna-i ruḥām qāyim karda, \*sih 'amūd*) (B188.3.e), columns of sparkling veined marble (*'umud ruḥām mulawwaḥ wa-muğazza*).<sup>6</sup> Both pillars and columns are 20 ells (13.30 m) high, as is the wall of the sanctuary (*dīwār-i ḥāna*) (B184.6). On top of the pillars and columns and on the wall (*bar sar-i sutūnhā wa 'amūdhā wa-dīwār*) is [mosaic] craftsmanship (*šan'at*) of a rare quality (B185.3). There is an inscription ascribing the building of the Dome of the Rock to al-Ma'mūn (= **van Berchem Nr.215**) (B188.3).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *ān-waqt in gunbad-i 'azīm bar sar-i in dawāzdah sutūn* (I read *bar sar-i in šānzdah sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) *kih ba-Šaḥra nazdīk ast čun-ān-ast kih ...*

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,18-41,1.3-6 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) *wa ba-čahār ġānib-i Šaḥra čahār sutūn banā karda and murabba' ... wa miyān-i har dū sutūn az čahār gāna ġuft-i* (I read *sih*) *uṣṭuwāna-i ruḥām qāyim karda hama ba-bālā-yi ān sutūnhā wa bar sar-i ān dawāzdah* (I read *šānzdah*) *sutūn wa uṣṭuwān bunyād-i gunbad-i-st kih Šaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast ... wa miyān-i dīwār-i ḥāna wa in sutūnhā wa uṣṭuwānahā ... aknūn miyān-i in sutūnhā* (I read *sutūnhā wa uṣṭuwānahā*) *wa dīwār-i ḥāna šis* (I read *hašt*) *sutūn-i dīgar banā karda ast az sanghā-yi muhandam wa miyān-i har dū sutūn sih 'amūd-i ruḥām-i mulawwan ba-qismat-i rāst nihāda čun-ān kih dar šaff-i awwal miyān-i dū sutūn dū* (I read *sih*) *'amūd būd in-ğā miyān-i dū sutūn sih* (I read *dū*) *'amūd ast.*

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,17f. (*al-qubbatu ... wa-hiya 'alā 'umudin bi-taqṭi'in muṭammanin ...*) *wa-min taḥtiḥā 'umudun ruḥāmun mulawwaḥun wa-muğazza'un.*

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *ān-waqt in gunbad-i 'azīm bar sar-i in dawāzdah sutūn* (I read *bar sar-i in šānzdah sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) *kih ba-Šaḥra nazdīk ast čun-ān-ast kih ...*

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,18-22 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) *wa ba-čahār ġānib-i Šaḥra čahār sutūn banā karda and murabba' ba-bālā-yi dīwār-i ḥāna-i maḍkūr wa miyān-i har dū sutūn az čahār gāna ġuft-i* (I read *sih*) *uṣṭuwāna-i ruḥām qāyim karda hama ba-bālā-yi ān sutūnhā wa bar sar-i ān dawāzdah* (I read *šānzdah*) *sutūn wa uṣṭuwān bunyād-i gunbad-i-st kih Šaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast.*

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,17f. (*al-qubbatu ... wa-hiya 'alā 'umudin bi-taqṭi'in muṭammanin ...*) *wa-min taḥtiḥā 'umudun ruḥāmun mulawwaḥun wa-muğazza'un.*



### B190. The fence around the Rock

B190.1. **Names (Muslim):** A fence (*ḥiẓār, ḥaẓīra*) (B190.3).

B190.2. **Position:** This fence is around the (Holy) Rock (*ḥawl aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa*,<sup>1</sup> *bar gird-i Ṣaḥra*<sup>2</sup>), i.e., on the Holy Rock (*‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa*) and it is [in its layout] octagonal (*muṭamman*).<sup>3</sup> We may locate it at an octagon made of a first square drawn between the four PILLARS of the CIRCULAR ARCADE and a second square drawn between its MIDDLE COLUMNS.

B190.2.a. The Fāṭimid fence has an octagonal layout, possibly at the same place assumed for the Marwānid fence (B044.2), an octagon made of a first square drawn between the four pillars of the circular arcade and a second square drawn between its middle columns.

B190.3. **Physical shape:** This is a fence (*ḥiẓār mabnī*,<sup>4</sup> *ḥiẓār*<sup>5</sup>), a fence of marble (*ḥaẓīra az ruḥām*).<sup>6</sup>

B190.4. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The fence prevents people from touching the Rock.<sup>7</sup>

### B191. The place where people pray and touch [and kiss] the Rock

B191.1. **Names (Muslim):** None.

B191.2. **Position:** This place is inside the Dome of the Rock, so near the Rock that people

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,22 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbati ‘alayhā ḥiẓārun mabnīyun ...*) *wa-l-ḥiẓāru l-ladī ḥawlahā ayḍan muṭammanun*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,20.22 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbati ‘alayhā ḥiẓārun mabnīyun ... wa-l-ḥiẓāru l-ladī ḥawlahā ayḍan muṭammanun*; **Nāṣir** 41,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) (*wa Ṣaḥra ...*) *wa ḥaẓīra-ī az ruḥām bar gird-i ū karda and*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,22 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbati ‘alayhā ḥiẓārun mabnīyun ...*) *wa-l-ḥiẓāru l-ladī ḥawlahā ayḍan muṭammanun*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,20 *wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbati ‘alayhā ḥiẓārun mabnīyun ...*

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,20.22 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbati ‘alayhā ḥiẓārun mabnīyun ... wa-l-ḥiẓāru l-ladī ḥawlahā ayḍan muṭammanun*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) (*wa Ṣaḥra ...*) *wa ḥaẓīra-ī az ruḥām bar gird-i ū karda and*.

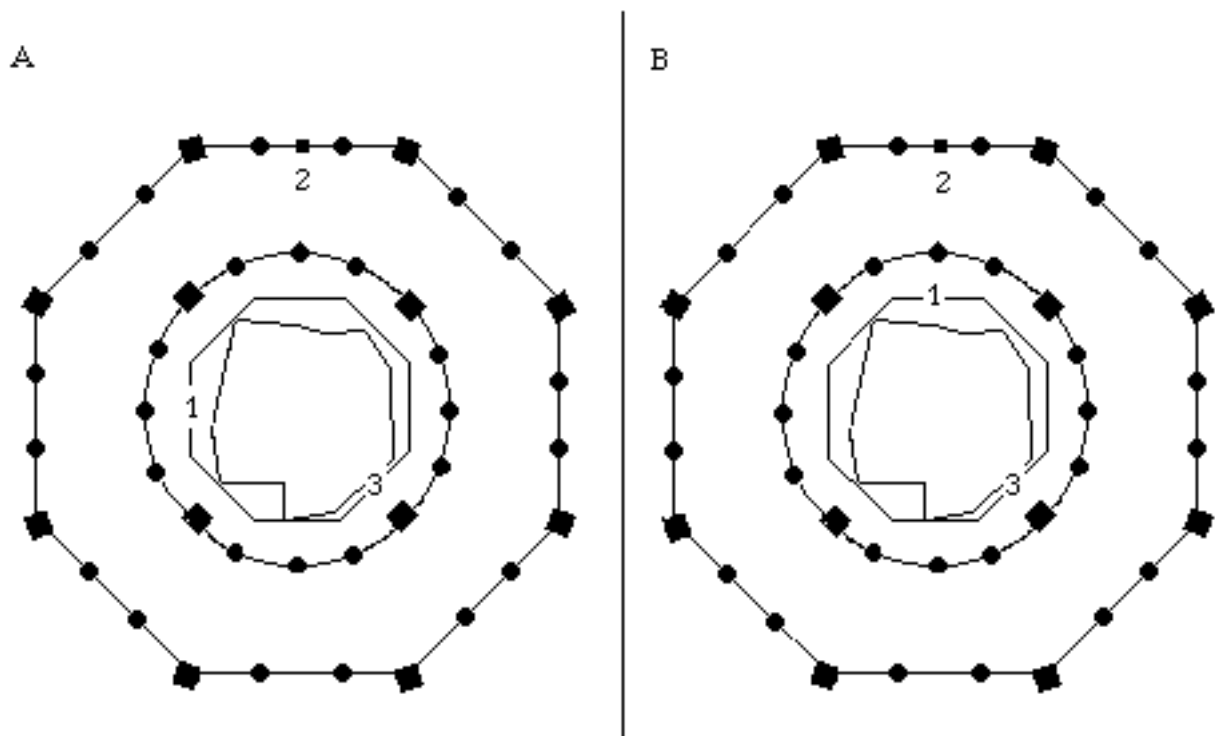
<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) (*wa Ṣaḥra ...*) *wa ḥaẓīra-ī az ruḥām bar gird-i ū karda and tā dast ba-way na-rasad*.

may touch it - some have to be forbidden to kiss it - and pray there.<sup>1</sup> We locate the place best at the WEST or at the NORTH EDGE of the ROCK.

B191.2.a. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has this place inside the Dome of the Rock; it is preceded by the entry to the Dome of the Rock and a general statement that movement around the Rock should be clockwise, and followed by *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā'* (possibly under the OCTAGONAL ARCADE, next to the NORTH GATE) and the cave under the Rock (at today's CAVE, with the entry from the southeast). We locate the place best on the west or on the north edge of the Rock.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*: entry, a kind of *ṭawāf* around the Rock, ***al-mawḍi' al-laḍī yad'ū n-nās fīhī***, *al-Balāṭa s-Sawdā'*, *taḥt aṣ-Ṣaḥra*



96

**Figure 96. The Early Fāṭimid place where people pray and touch [and kiss] the Rock, in the sequence of Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69: A West of the Rock. - B North of the Rock / 1 The Black Paving-stone. - 2 The place where people pray and touch [and kiss] the Rock. - 3 The staircase to the cave under the Rock.**

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.54**: 66,10f. *yustaḥabbu li-man daḥala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *an yağ'alāhā* [the Rock] *'alā yamīnihi ḥattā yakūna bi-ḥilāfi ṭ-ṭawāfi ḥawla Bayti Llāhi l-Ḥarāmi wa-yağ'a ilā mawḍi'in yad'ū li-n-nāsi* (read *ilā l-mawḍi'i l-laḍī yad'ū n-nāsu fīhī*) *fa-yaḍa'a yadahu 'alayhā* [on the Rock] *wa-lā yuqabbilahā ...*

**B191.3. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** Part of the prayer-route is to pray at this place where one should pray and touch the Rock, but not kiss it as they do (B191.2). The fence around the Rock (B190.2) is obviously no obstacle.

### B192. The Rock<sup>1</sup>

**B192.1. Names (Muslim):** The Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*,<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥra*,<sup>3</sup> *sang-i Ṣaḥra*<sup>1</sup>), the Holy Rock

<sup>1</sup>For the Fāṭimid Rock, see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72; Elad, *Jerusalem* 72.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,3f.7f. *wa-yaz'umu ahlu l-kitābi anna awwala zuḥūri ḥādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati anna Ishāqa bna Ibrāhī ma 'alayhimi* [sic] *s-salāmu ḥaṣṣa bnahu Ya'qūba bi-du'ā'in wa-barakatin ... fa-sāra ḥattā idā sāra ilā l-Mawḍi'ī l-ladī fihi l-āna ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock], *ḡaṣiyahu l-laylu fa-nāma hunālika, wa-qad ḡa'ala taḥta ra'siḥi tṇay 'ašara ḥaḡaran (... tṇmma waḡada l-ḥiḡārata l-latī kānat taḥta ra'siḥi qad šarat ḥaḡaran wāḥidan); al-Muhallabī 51,12 *wa-yaqūlu ahlu l-kitābi inna awwala ḡuz'in ḥuliqa mina l-arḍi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu; al-Muhallabī 54,16f. (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) *fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni 'Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masḡida 'alā asāsiḥi l-qadīmi wa-banā l-qubbata 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-banā fihi qibāban ḡayrahā; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā* 66, 10f. *yustaḡabbu li-man daḡala ṣ-Ṣaḥrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *an yaḡ'alāhā* [the Rock] *'alā yamīniḥi ḥattā yakūna bi-ḥilāfi t-tawāfi ḥawla Bayti Llāhi l-Harāmi wa-yaḡī'a ilā mawḍi'in yad'ū li-n-nāsi* (read *ilā l-mawḍi'ī l-ladī yad'ū n-nāsu fihi*) *fa-yaḡa'adahu 'alayhā* [on the Rock] *wa-lā yuqabbilāhā; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.59:* 70,14-17 *wa-in aḡabba an yanzila taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-l-yaf'al ... aḡabbu lahu an yaḡtahida fī d-du'ā'i taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ...; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā* 111,6 *Bābu qawli Llāhi ta'ālā 'yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin' (Koran 50.41) wa-annahu ṣ-Ṣaḥratu.***

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,5-7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129f.) ... *tā ba-rūzgār-i Sulaymān 'alayhi s-salām kih cūn qibla Ṣaḥra būd masḡid dar gird-i Ṣaḥra bisāḡtand cūn-ān-kih Ṣaḥra dar miyān-i masḡid būd wa-miḡrāb-i ḡalq; Nāṣir 39,18-22 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *ṣifat-i dukkān kih miyān-i sāḡat-i ḡāmi'-ast wa sang-i Ṣaḥra kih piš az zuḥūr-i Islām ān qibla būda ast bar miyān-i ān dukkān-i nihāda ast wa ān dukkān (NP wa dukkān-i) az bahr-i ān karda and kih Ṣaḥra buland būda ast wa na-tawānasta (NP na-tawānasta and) kih ān-rā ba-pūšiš dar āwarand in dukkān (NP dukkān-i) asās nihāda and; Nāṣir* 40,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *az hama buzurgtar Qubba-i Ṣaḥra kih ān qibla būda ast; Nāṣir* 40,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *ṣifat-i Qubba-i Ṣaḥra banā-yi masḡid cūn-ān nihāda ast kih dukkān ba-miyān-i sāḡat āmada wa Qubba-i Ṣaḥra ba-miyān-i dukkān wa Ṣaḥra ba-miyān-i qubba; Nāṣir* 40,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa Ṣaḥra-rā ba-miqdār-i šad gaz dawr bāšad; Nāṣir* 40,18f.21f. transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) *wa ba-čahār ḡānib-i Ṣaḥra čahār sutūn banā karda and murabba' (... wa miyān-i har dū sutūn az čahār ḡāna ḡuft-i (I read siḥ) uṣtuwāna-i ruḡām qāyim karda ...) wa bar sar-i ān dawāzdah (I read šānzdah) sutūn wa uṣtuwān bunyād-i gunbad-i-st kih Ṣaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast ...; Nāṣir* 41,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *ān-waqt in gunbad-i 'aḡi m bar sar-i in dawāzdah sutūn (I read bar sar-i in šānzdah sutūn wa uṣtuwāna) kih ba-Ṣaḥra nazdik ast cūn-ān-ast kih ...; Nāṣir* 41,16-18 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa Ṣaḥra miqdār-i bālā-yi mard-i az zamīn bartar ast ... wa Ṣaḥra sang-i kabūd-i rang-ast; Nāṣir* 42,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa az miyān-i ḡāna bar sar-i Ṣaḥra qindīl-i nuqra bar āwiḡta ast (NP āwiḡta ast, without bar) ba-silsila-i nuqragīn (NP nuqra gīn); Nāṣir* 43,12-16 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) *wa ḡuyand šab-i Mi'rāḡ Rasūl 'alayhi s-salām wa-ṣ-ṣalāt (NP 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām) awwal ba-Qubba-i Ṣaḥra namāz kard wa dast bar Ṣaḥra nihād wa cūn bīrūn miyāmad Ṣaḥra az barā-yi ḡalālat-i ū bar ḡāst wa Rasūl 'alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām dast bar Ṣaḥra nihād tā bāz ba-ḡā-yi ḡud šud wa qarār girift wa hanūz ān (NP girift hanūz ān, without wa) nīma mu'allaq**

(*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa*).<sup>2</sup>

B192.1.a. The terminology is ambiguous, as *aṣ-Ṣaḥra* is both the Dome of the Rock (B184.1) and the Rock itself, and the two meanings are even used side by side (B184.1).

B192.2. **Names (Christian):** The Invisibly Suspended Rock (ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐξ ἀοράτου).<sup>3</sup>

B192.3. **Names (Jewish):** The Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) which is the Foundation Stone (*Āḥan Šēti-yāh*) [the stone from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, in the Holy of Holies] (B192.7).

B192.4. **Position:** The mosque (*masǧid*) was built around the Rock (*dar gird-i Ṣaḥra*), and in the centre of the mosque (*dar miyān-i masǧid*) came the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) (B131.10); the mosque (*masǧid*) was built such that in the centre of the courtyard (*ba-miyān-i ṣāḥat*) came the platform (*dukkān*), in the centre of the platform (*ba-miyān-i dukkān*) the Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*), and in the centre of the dome (*ba-miyān-i qubba*) the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) (B155.3); the centre of the courtyard of the Friday mosque (*miyān-i sāḥat-i ḡāmi*) is the platform (*dukkān*), and in the centre of this platform (*bar miyān-i ān dukkān-i*) is the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) (B155.3); the centre of the courtyard (*wasat aṣ-ṣaḥn*) is the platform of (the Dome of) the Rock (*dikkat aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), the centre of the platform (*wasat ad-dikka*) the Dome of the Rock, and the centre of the dome (*wasat al-qubba*) the Holy Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa*) (B155.3). Around the (Holy) Rock (*ḥawl aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa*, *bar gird-i Ṣaḥra*), on the Holy Rock (*‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra l-Muqaddasa*), is the fence (B190.2). On the four sides of the Rock (*ba-čahār ḡānib-i Ṣaḥra*), next to the Rock (*ba-Ṣaḥra nazdīk*), in the first row (*dar šaff-i awwal*) [as seen from the Rock] (B189.2), are the four pillars of the inner arcade (B189.2). Over the Rock (*bar sar-i Ṣaḥra*), in the centre of the sanctuary (*az miyān-i ḥāna*), is a silver lamp (*qindil-i nuqra*) suspended on a silver chain (*silsila-i nuqragīn*) (B184.5). The dome (*al-*

---

*ast*; **Nāṣir** 43,18-20 *wa dar zīr-i Ṣaḥra ḡār-i-st buzurg ... wa gūyand čūn Ṣaḥra ḥarakat-i bar ḥāstan kard zīraš ḥālī šud wa čūn qarār girift ham-čūn-ān bimānd*.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa az barā-yi sang-i Ṣaḥra kih ān-ḡā būda ast masǧid ham ān-ḡā banā nihāda and*; **Nāṣir** 31,2-4 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) *wa īn sang-i Ṣaḥra ān-ast kih Ḥudā-yi ‘azza wa-ḡalla Mūsī ‘alayhi s-salām-rā farmūd (NP Mūsī-rā farmūd ‘alayhi s-salām) tā ān-rā qibla sāzad*; **Nāṣir** 39,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *ṣifat-i dukkān ... wa sang-i Ṣaḥra kih piš az zuhūr-i Islām ān qibla būda ast*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,20f. *wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasatu l-qubbatī*.

<sup>3</sup>**Epiphanius** V II,18 (see Schneider, "Epiphanius" 152f.) (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἐνθα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἶμα πέπηκται)· καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος = **Epiphanius** J II,18 (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὅπου του Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἶμα ἀπόκειται)· καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐξ ἀοράτου (but not = **Epiphanius** M II,18 (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἐνθα τοῦ προφήτου Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἶμα)· καὶ Ἐλισάβετ ἀνηρτήθειν).

*qubba*) is over the Rock (‘*alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*’);<sup>1</sup> this is the dome under which is the Rock (*gunbad-i kih Ṣaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast*) (B189.2). Under the Rock (*taḥt aṣ-Ṣaḥra*,<sup>2</sup> *dar zīr-i Ṣaḥra*,<sup>3</sup> *zīr-i Ṣaḥra*<sup>4</sup>) is a cave; the Rock is [because of this cave] half suspended (*nīma mu‘allaq*);<sup>5</sup> this is the Invisibly Suspended Rock (ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐξ ἀοράτου).<sup>6</sup> This is the ROCK.

**B192.5. Physical shape:** This Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*, *Ṣaḥra*, *sang-i Ṣaḥra*) (B192.1) is (one) stone (*ḥaḡār wāḥid*,<sup>7</sup> *sang*<sup>8</sup>). It has no regular shape (*ṣakl-i rāst*), neither quadrangular (*mu-rabba*) nor round (*mudawwar*), but is a stone of irregular shape (*sang-i nā-munāsib-i an-dām*) like the mountain stones (*sanghā-yi kūhī*), with a circumference (*dawr*) of 100 ells

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 54,17-19 (see Gildemeister, "Nachrichten" 18f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 39; 185 n. 7) (*fa-lammā kāna fī ayyāmi l-Walīdi bni ‘Abdi l-Maliki banā l-masğida ‘alā asāsihi l-qadīmi wa-banā l-qubbata ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati wa-ḥassana l-Mawḍi‘a wa-sawwāhu*) *wa-banā fīhi qibāb an ḡayrahā sammā ba‘dahā Qubbata l-Mi‘rāği wa-ba‘dahā Qubbata l-Mizāni wa-ba‘dahā Qubbata s-Silsilati wa-ba‘dahā Qubbata l-Maḡṣari*; **Gil Nr. 1r,5-11** (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 71; see Gil, *Palestine* 71-74) (*tumma innuh [‘Umar] amarhum bi-kans al-Qūds wa-tanzīfuh ... fa-kull mā nkaṣafat ṣadwa* [Classical Arabic ṣadwa] *yas‘al li-ṣuyūḥ al-al-Yahūd* (read *li-ṣuyūḥ al-Yahūd*) *‘an as-Ṣaḥra l-ladī hiya ‘Ābān Ṣeṭiyāh* (**Mishna Yoma** 5.2) *fa-kān ba‘d al-‘ulamā yuḥaddid luh al-Mawḍi‘ ilā an inkaṣaf fa-amar bi-an yubnā sūr al-Qūds wa-yubnā ‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra qubba wa-[tu]tlā bi-d-dahab*).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,22 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbati ‘alayhā ḥizārun mabniyun ... wa-l-ḥizāru l-ladī ḥawlahā ayḍan muṭammanun*) *wa-taḥtahā maḡāratun yanzilu n-nāsu ilayhā bi-darağin*; **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr. 59**: 70, 14-17 *wa-in aḥabba an yanzila taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-l-yaf‘al ... aḥabbu lahu an yağtahida fī d-du‘ā’i taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati ...*

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,18 *wa dar zīr-i Ṣaḥra ḡār-i-st buzurg*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,19f. (transl. *wa gūyand cūn Ṣaḥra ḥarakat-i bar ḥāstan kard zīraṣ ḥālī šud* (wa cūn qarār girift ham-čun-ān bimānd).

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,16 (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 129; partly van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 40) (*wa gūyand ṣab-i Mi‘rāğ Rasūl ‘alayhi s-salām wa-ṣ-ṣalāt* (NP *‘alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām*) *awwal ba-Qubba-i Ṣaḥra namāz kard wa dast bar Ṣaḥra nihād wa cūn bīrūn miyāmad Ṣaḥra az barā-yi ḡalālat-i ū bar ḥāst wa Rasūl ‘alayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām dast bar Ṣaḥra nihād tā bāz ba-ḡā-yi ḥūd šud wa qarār girift*) *wa hanūz ān* (NP *girift hanūz ān*, without *wa*) *nīma mu‘allaq ast*.

Cf. **Nāṣir** 43,18-20 *wa dar zīr-i Ṣaḥra ḡār-i-st buzurg ... wa gūyand cūn Ṣaḥra ḥarakat-i bar ḥāstan kard zīraṣ ḥālī šud wa cūn qarār girift ham-čun-ān bimānd*.

<sup>6</sup>**Epiphanius V** II,18 (see Schneider, "Epiphanius" 152f.) (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων ἐνθα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἶμα πέπηκται)· καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος = **Epiphanius J** II,18 (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων ὅπου του Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἶμα ἀπόκειται)· καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐξ ἀοράτου (but not = **Epiphanius M** II,18 (... τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων ἐνθα τοῦ προφήτου Ζαχαρίου τὸ αἶμα)· καὶ Ἐλισάβετ ἀνηρτήθειν).

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,10f. (*wa-yaz‘umu ahlu l-kitābi anna awwala zuḥūri ḥādīhi ṣ-Ṣaḥrati anna Ishāqa bna Ibrāhīma ‘alayhimi* [sic] *s-salāmu ḥaṣṣa bnahu Ya‘qūba bi-du‘ā’in wa-barakatin ... fa-sāra ḥattā idā sāra ilā l-Mawḍi‘i l-ladī fīhi l-āna ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* [the Dome of the Rock] *ḡaṣiyahu l-laylu fa-nāma hunālika wa-qad ḡa‘ala taḥta ra‘sihi tḡay ‘aṣara ḥaḡaran ...*) *tumma waḡada l-ḥiḡārata l-lati kānat taḥta ra‘sihi qad ṣārat ḥaḡaran wāḥidan fa-zdāda ṣārafu l-Mawḍi‘i fī nafsīhi*.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,17f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 127) (*wa Ṣaḥra-rā ba-miqdār-i ṣad gaz dawr bāṣad ...*) *bal sang-i nā-munāsib-i andām ast cūn-ān-kih sanghā-yi kūhī* (NP *sanghā-yi kūh bāṣad*); **Nāṣir** 41,18 *wa Ṣaḥra sang-i kabūd-i rang-ast*; **Nāṣir** 41,20f. (transl. *Le Strange, Palestine* 128; see Busink, *Tempel* 909) (*wa Ṣaḥra ... wa cūn-ān-ast kih gū’i bar ān-ḡā kas-i rafta ast*) *wa pāyaṣ badān sang furū rafta ast*.

(66.50 m).<sup>1</sup> It has a length and width of about 12 ells (5.98 m)<sup>2</sup> and a height of about 3 ells (1.49 m) above the floor of the dome (*min arḍ al-qubba*);<sup>3</sup> it is higher than a man's height (1.99 m) (*bālā-yi mard-i* [?]) from the floor (*az zamīn*).<sup>4</sup> On the side which is south (*az ān sū kih qibla ast*) is a kind of descent (*nišīb*), with seven imprints as if someone had walked over soft clay (*gil-i narm*) and had left in it the imprints of his toes.<sup>5</sup> This is a blue stone (*sang-i kabūd-i rang*).<sup>6</sup>

B192.5.a. A parallel to the irregular shape of the Rock: The High 'Abbāsid cave under the Rock has an irregular shape, neither round nor rectangular (B119.3).

B192.5.b. The Fāṭimid Rock has a height of 3 ells (1.49 m), of *bālā-yi mard-i* "a man's height" (1.99 m); this fits roughly with the height of today's ROCK.

B192.5.c. The Fāṭimid Rock has a spot on its south edge where it becomes lower, and there are seven traces identified as footprints of Isaac; today's ROCK has several places on the ROCK's south side where it becomes lower, and of the many holes in the surface, seven may have been considered footprints.

B192.5.d. **Nāṣir**'s *wa az ān sū kih qibla ast yak ḡāy nišīb-i dārad ...* "and from the side which is [towards] the prayer-direction [the south side], one place has a descent ..." seems to suggest that this is the only place where the Rock becomes lower - quite a surprising statement, as today's ROCK has a general descent towards the north; but **Nāṣir** locates the traces and does not speak about the other sides of the Rock.

**B192.6. Traditions (Muslim):** At the **creation** the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) was the first part of the Earth (*al-arḍ*) created;<sup>7</sup> Adam was created at the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*).<sup>8</sup> God rose [after the creation] from the Rock to heaven, and thus did Muḥammad from the Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat al-Mi'rāḡ*) to heaven (B182.4). Never did anyone [human] put his foot on the

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,16-18 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127) *wa Ṣaḥra-rā ba-miqdār-i ṣad gaz dawr bāṣad wa nah šakl-i rāst dārad ya'nī murabba' yā mudawwar bal sang-i nā-munāsib-i andām ast čun-ān-kih sanghā-yi kūhī* (NP *sanghā-yi kūh bāṣad*).

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,21 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbatu ...*) *wa-ṭūluhā naḥwa tṇay 'ašara dīrā'an fī miṭliḥā*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,20f. (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbatu ...*) *wa-rtifā'uhā min arḍi l-qubbatu naḥwa ṭalāṭi adru'in*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128) *wa Ṣaḥra miqdār-i bālā-yi mard-i az zamīn bartar ast*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,18-24 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128; see Busink, *Tempel* 909) (*wa Ṣaḥra ...*) *wa az ān sū kih qibla ast yak ḡāy nišīb-i dārad wa čun-ān-ast kih ḡū'ī bar ān-ḡā kas-i rafta ast wa pāyaš badān sang furū rafta ast čun-ān-kih ḡū'ī gil-i narm būda kih nišān-i anguštān-i pāy dar ān-ḡā bimānda ast wa haft pay čun-īn baraš ast (wa čun-ān šanīdam kih Ibrāhīm 'alayhi s-salām ān-ḡā būda ast wa Iṣḥāq 'alayhi s-salām kūdak būda ast bar ān-ḡā rafta wa ān nišān-i pā-yi ū-st)*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,18 *wa Ṣaḥra sang-i kabūd-i rang-ast*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,12 *wa-yaqūlu ahlu l-kitābi inna awwala ḡuz'in ḥuliqa mina l-arḍi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu*.

<sup>8</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 51,12f. (*wa-yaqūlu ahlu l-kitābi inna awwala ḡuz'in ḥuliqa mina l-arḍi ṣ-Ṣaḥratu*) *wa-inna Ādama 'alayhi s-salāmu hunālika ḥuliqa*.

Rock (*bar Ṣaḥra*), but the traces on the Rock are said to go back to the time when **Abraham** came here with little Isaac [for the sacrifice] and little Isaac walked over the Rock and left the imprints of his feet in it.<sup>1</sup> The Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*) was first known when **Jacob** came on his flight from Esau to the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) where now is the Rock (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra*), slept here on twelve stones and saw in his dream a gate of heaven open, and angels descending and ascending on a ladder; he called this the Gate of Heaven (*Bāb as-samāʿ*) and esteemed the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*); then the twelve stones became one stone and this made him esteem the Place (*al-Mawḍiʿ*) even more (B184.11). The rock was **the [first] prayer-direction**<sup>2</sup> and set up as such by **Moses** shortly before his death.<sup>3</sup> **Solomon** built the mosque (*masǧid*) here because of the Rock (B131.10); in the time of Solomon the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) was the prayer-direction; he therefore built the mosque (*masǧid*) around the Rock, so that the Rock came in the centre of the mosque (*dar miyān-i masǧid*) and became the prayer-niche of [all] people (*miḥrāb-i ḥalq*) (B131.10). **Muḥammad** as well first had the Rock as prayer-direction, but then introduced the Kaʿba as prayer-direction;<sup>4</sup> when he came on the Night of the Ascension to Jerusalem, he first prayed in the Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḥra*) [*sic*] and put his hand on the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*); then he left, but the Rock rose in honour of him and Muḥammad put his hand on the

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,18-24 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 128; see Busink, *Tempel* 909) (*wa Ṣaḥra ...*) *wa har-gaz kas-i pāy bar ān na-nihāda ast wa az ān sū kih qibla ast yak ḡāy nišīb-i dārad wa čun-ān-ast kih gūʾi bar ān-ḡā kas-i rafta ast wa pāyaš badān sang furū rafta ast čun-ān-kih gūʾi gil-i narm būda kih nišān-i anguštān-i pāy dar ān-ḡā bimānda ast wa haft pay čun-īn baraš ast wa čun-ān šanidam kih Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi s-salām ān-ḡā būda ast wa Iṣḥāq ʿalayhi s-salām kūdak būda ast bar ān-ḡā rafta wa ān nišān-i pā-yi ū-st.*

For the footprints of Muḥammad, see A127.b.

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā** 7,8f. (*al-ḥamdu li-Llāhi l-ladī ḥalaqa l-arḍa wa-ḥtāra minhā mawāḍiʿa ...*) *wa-qāwata baynahumā* (I read *wa-qārana baynahumā* [Mecca and Jerusalem]; Livne-Kafri reads *wa-qārana baynahā*) *fī t-taqbilī wa-abāna lanā dālīka mufaṣṣalan fī t-tanzīlī* (**Koran** 2.142-152); **Ibn al-Muraǧǧā** 96,7f. *Bābu kam ṣallā n-Nabī yu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-l-Muslimūna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-annahā kānat qiblatan*; **Nāṣir** 31,2-4.7-10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129f.; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) *wa īn sang-i Ṣaḥra ān-ast kih Hudā-yi ʿazza wa-ḡalla Mūsī ʿalayhi s-salām-rā farmūd* (NP *Mūsī-rā farmūd ʿalayhi s-salām*) *tā ān-rā qibla sāzad wa čun īn ḥukm biyāmad wa Mūsī ān-rā qibla kard ... wa tā ʿahd-i payǧambar-i mā Muḥammad-i muṣtafā* (NP *al-muṣtafā*) *ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām ham qibla ān mīdānastand* (NP *mīdāstand*) *wa namāz-rā rūy badān-ḡānib* (NP *badān-ḡā*) *mikardand tā ān-ḡāh kih Īzād-i tabāraka wa-taʿalā farmūd kih qibla Ḥāna-i Kaʿba bāšad* (*wa šifat-i ān ba-ḡā-yi ḥūd biyāyad* (cf. **Nāṣir** 103,8-111,7); **Nāṣir** 39,18f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 158) *šifat-i dukkān ... wa sang-i Ṣaḥra kih piš az zuḥūr-i Islām ān qibla būda ast*; **Nāṣir** 40,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 126) *az hama buzurgtar Qubba-i Ṣaḥra kih ān qibla būda ast.*

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 31,2-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) *wa īn sang-i Ṣaḥra ān-ast kih Hudā-yi ʿazza wa-ḡalla Mūsī ʿalayhi s-salām-rā farmūd* (NP *Mūsī-rā farmūd ʿalayhi s-salām*) *tā ān-rā qibla sāzad wa čun īn ḥukm biyāmad wa Mūsī ān-rā qibla kard bas-i na-zīst wa ham dar ān zūd-i wafāt kard.*

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraǧǧā** 96,7f. *Bābu kam ṣallā n-Nabī yu ṣallā Llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-l-Muslimūna ilā Bayti l-Maqdisi wa-annahā kānat qiblatan*; **Nāṣir** 31,7-10 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 129f.; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" 45 n. 72) (*wa īn sang-i Ṣaḥra ... wa Mūsī ān-rā qibla kard ...*) *wa tā ʿahd-i payǧambar-i mā Muḥammad-i muṣtafā* (NP *al-muṣtafā*) *ʿalayhi ṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām ham qibla ān mīdānastand* (NP *mīdāstand*) *wa namāz-rā rūy badān-ḡānib* (NP *badān-ḡā*) *mikardand tā ān-ḡāh kih Īzād-i tabāraka wa-taʿalā farmūd kih qibla Ḥāna-i Kaʿba bāšad* (*wa šifat-i ān ba-ḡā-yi ḥūd biyāyad* (cf. **Nāṣir** 103,8-111,7).

Rock to make it retake its place, and the Rock has since remained half-suspended, with a cave beneath (B184.11). Because the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) was too large to be integrated into the Roofed Hall (*pūšiš*), the platform (*dukkān*) was built [by the **Umayyads**] (B167.4); **al-Walīd** built the dome (*al-qubba*) over the Rock (*‘alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*), and embellished and levelled the Place (*al-Mawḍī‘*) [the Dome of the Rock] (B131.10).

B192.6.a. Parallels to the creation of Adam at the Rock: A Pre-Marwānid Christian tradition locates the creation of Adam at Golgotha.<sup>1</sup>

B192.6.b. A kind of parallel to the death of Moses shortly after he set up the Rock as prayer-direction: In a Marwānid Muslim tradition, Solomon made the Tomb of Moses and Aaron (*Tābūt Mūsā wa-Hārūn*) in the Temple (*fi Bayt al-Maqdis*) (B014.7).

B192.6.c. Parallels to the sacrifice of Isaac on the Rock: Pre-Marwānid Christian tradition locates the sacrifice of Isaac at Golgotha,<sup>2</sup> at the foot of the Rock of Golgotha,<sup>3</sup> at the Altar of (the patriarch) Abraham (*altare patriarchae Abraham/Abrahae*<sup>4</sup>) there. Marwānid Christian tradition has the sacrifice at the Marwānid Golgotha, with a large

<sup>1</sup>**Breviarius A** 54f.: 2 (*Et inde intrans in Golgotha est ibi atrium grande ubi crucifixus est Dominus. In circuitu in ipso monte ...*) Ubi blasmat (read *plasmatus*) Adam = **Breviarius B** 54f.: 2 (*Et deinde in Golgotha intrans et est ibi altarius grandis (read atrium grande). Et est ibi montis Calvariae (read mons Calvariae) ubi crucifixus Dominus fuit. Et in circuitu montis ...*) Et ibi *plasmatus* est Adam.

<sup>2</sup>**Breviarius A** 54-58: 2 (*Et inde intrans in Golgotha est ibi atrium grande ubi crucifixus est Dominus. In circuitu in ipso monte ...*) Ubi obtulit Abraham Ysaac filium suum in sacrificium (read *sacrificium*) in ipso loco ubi crucifixus est Dominus (but not = **Breviarius B** 56-58: 2).

<sup>3</sup>**Theodosius** 140,16-141,1: 7 *In civitate Hierusalem (G intra civitatem Hierosolimam) ad sepulcrum (H sepulchrum) Domini ibi (H ubi est) est Calvariae locus; ibi Abraham (G ubi Abraam, H ubi Hābraham) obtulit (H optulit) filium suum holocaustum (P holocaustum, GO in holocaustum) et quia mons petreus est (H et que mons petreus) in ipso monte hoc (H oc) est ad pedem montis (H ad pedes montes) ipsius fecit Abraham altario (GP fecit Abraham altarium, H Abraham fecit altaria); super altare eminet (G et super altare eminet, H subtus eminet, O super altarium enim est) mons ad quem montem per gradus scalatur (P per grados collocatur, G per gradus collatur, H per gradus colatur);* **Itinerarium Placentinum A** 171,20-172,5: 19 *Ab una parte (G ab alia parte) ascenditur per gradus (G per grados) unde Dominus noster ascendit ad crucifigendum. Nam et locus ubi crucifixus fuit (R crux fixa fuit) paret et cruor sanguinis paret in ipsa petra (G parit et cruor sanguinis paret in ipsa petra, R paret et in ipsa petra). In latere est altarium (G altario) Abrahae ubi ibat Isaac (R ubi Isaac) offerre obtulit (G eum obtulit) et Melchisedech sacrificium. Ad ipsum altarium (G ad altarium) est creptura ... =* **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 204,5-13: 19 *Ab una parte ascenditur per gradus unde (B per ascenditur gradus ubi) Dominus ascendit ad crucifigendum. Nam et in loco ubi fuit (B in loco fuit, without ubi) crucifixus apparet cruor sanguinis et in ipso latere petrae (B petri) est altare patriarchae Abraham. In quo (B in quod) ibat offerre Isaac quando temptavit eum deus. Ibi et Melchisedec obtulit (B obtulit) sacrificium Abrahae quando revertebatur cum victoria a caede Amalech (B Amalec). Tunc ibidem dedit ei Abraa (B ei, without Abraa) omnem decimationem in hostias. Iuxta ipsum (B illud) altare est cripta ...*

<sup>4</sup>**Itinerarium Placentinum A** 171,20-172,5: 19 *Ab una parte (G ab alia parte) ascenditur per gradus (G per grados) unde Dominus noster ascendit ad crucifigendum. Nam et locus ubi crucifixus fuit (R crux fixa fuit) paret et cruor sanguinis paret in ipsa petra (G parit et cruor sanguinis paret in ipsa petra, R paret et in ipsa petra). In latere est altarium (G altario) Abrahae ubi ibat Isaac (R ubi Isaac) offerre obtulit (G eum obtulit) et Melchisedech sacrificium. Ad ipsum altarium (G ad altarium) est creptura ... =* **Itinerarium Placentinum B** 204,5-13: 19



table where donations for the poor (*pauperum elemosinae*) are laid down.<sup>1</sup>

B192.6.d. For parallels to the imprints of Isaac's feet on the Rock, see B045.5.a.

B192.6.e. **Ibn al-Murağğā**'s heading<sup>2</sup> *Bābu qawli Llāhi ta'ālā 'yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin' wa-annahu ṣ-Ṣaḥratu* "The chapter on God's word 'the day when the herald will make proclamation from a place near at hand' (**Koran** 50.41) and that it is the Rock" and his heading *Bābu faḍli man ḡama'a ṣ-ṣalāta fī l-masāğidi t-talātati wa-mā yukrahu mina ṣ-ṣalāti 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati* "The chapter on the virtue of whoever combines prayer in the three [large] mosques [of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem] and which prayer is reprehensible on the Rock" introduce chapters with Marwānid traditions. They do not refer to the Fāṭimid Rock.

**B192.7. Traditions (Jewish):** This is the rock which is the Foundation Stone (*Ābān Šṭīyāh*) (**Mishna Yoma** 5.2) [the stone from which the Ark of the Covenant had been taken away, in the Holy of Holies].<sup>3</sup> After the conquest, 'Umar searched for the Foundation Stone (*Ābān Šṭīyāh*); he asked the elders of the Jews (*\*šuyūḥ al-Yahūd*) and was helped by one or more of the [Jewish] scholars (*ba'd al-'ulamā*) to discover the Place (*al-Mawḍi'*); he cleaned the Temple (*al-Quds*), built the wall of the Temple (*sūr al-Quds*), built a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock (*'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and gilded it (B131.13).

**B192.8. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The fence around the Rock prevents touching the Rock (B190.4). Nevertheless, near the Rock is a place, part of the prayer-route, where people should pray and touch the Rock, but not kiss the Rock as they do (B191.2). Part of the

---

*Ab una parte ascenditur per gradus unde (B per ascenditur gradus hubi) Dominus ascendit ad crucifigendum. Nam et in loco ubi fuit (B in loco fuit, without ubi) crucifixus apparet cruor sanguinis et in ipso latere petrae (B petri) est altare patriarchae Abraham. In quo (B in quod) ibat offerre Isaac quando temptavit eum deus. Ibi et Melchisedec hobtulit (B obtulit) sacrificium Abrahae quando revertebatur cum victoria a caede Amalech (B Amalec). Tunc ibidem dedit ei Abraa (B ei, without Abraa) omnem decimationem in hostias. Iuxta ipsum (B illud) altare est cripta ...*

<sup>1</sup>**Adomnanus** I 6,11-16; I.6.2 *Inter has itaque duales ecclesias [between Golgotha and the Basilica of Constantine] ille famosus occurrit locus in quo Abraham patriarcha altare composuit super illud inponens lignorum struem et ut Isaac (P Isac) suum immolaret filium evaginatum arripuit gladium; ubi nunc mensa habetur lignea non parva super quam pauperum elemosinae a populo offeruntur = Beda, De locis sanctis 2,43-46; 2.2 (< Arculfus) In loco autem illo quo (A in quo) Abraham altare ad immolandum filium construxit mensa est lignea non parva in qua pauperum elemosinae solent a populo deferri.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 111,6 *Bābu qawli Llāhi ta'ālā 'yawma yunādī l-munādī min makānin qarībin' (Koran 50.41) wa-annahu ṣ-Ṣaḥratu; Ibn al-Murağğā 161,5f. *Bābu faḍli man ḡama'a ṣ-ṣalāta fī l-masāğidi t-talātati wa-mā yukrahu mina ṣ-ṣalāti 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥrati.**

<sup>3</sup>**Gil Nr.1r,5-11** (transl. Gil, *Palestine* 71; partly Gil, "Jewish Community" 167; see Gil, *Palestine* 71-74) (*tumma innuh ['Umar] amarhum bi-kans al-Qūds wa-tanẓīfuh ... fa-kull mā nkašafat šadwa [Classical Arabic šadwa] yas'al li-šuyūḥ al-al-Yahūd (read li-šuyūḥ al-Yahūd) 'an as-Ṣaḥra l-ladī hiya Ābān Šṭīyāh (Mishna Yoma 5.2) fa-kān ba'd al-'ulamā yuḥaddid luh al-Mawḍi' ilā an inkašaf fa-amar bi-an yubnā sūr al-Qūds wa-yubnā 'alā ṣ-Ṣaḥra qubba wa-[tu]tlā bi-d-dahab.*

For the Foundation Stone, see A205.a.

prayer-route is to circumambule the Rock clockwise, opposite the circumambulation of the Ka'ba (*bi-ḥilāf aṭ-ṭawāf ḥawl Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām*), [from the entry] to the place where one prays and touches the Rock.<sup>1</sup>

### B193. The cave under the Rock<sup>2</sup>

B193.1. **Names (Muslim):** A cave (*maḡāra, ḡār*) (B193.3).

B193.2. **Position:** The cave is under the Rock (*taḥt aṣ-Ṣaḡra, dar zīr-i Ṣaḡra*) (B192.4) and one descends there by a staircase (B193.3); the Rock is [because of the cave] half suspended (*nīma mu'allaq*); this is the Invisibly Suspended Rock (ὁ λίθος ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐξ ἀοράτου) (B192.4). This is the CAVE under the ROCK.

B193.3. **Physical shape:** This is a (large) cave (*ḡār-i buzurg*,<sup>3</sup> *maḡāra*<sup>4</sup>), and the space under the Rock is empty (*ḥālī*).<sup>5</sup> One descends there<sup>6</sup> by a staircase (*daraḡ*).<sup>7</sup> In this room are candles (*šam*<sup>8</sup>) always burning.<sup>8</sup>

B193.3.a. For parallels to the candles always burning here, see B014.7.c.

B193.4. **Traditions (Muslim):** The cave under the Rock was created when Muḥammad came on the Night of the Ascension to Jerusalem, first prayed in the Dome of the Rock (*Qubba-i Ṣaḡra*) [*sic*] and put his hand on the Rock (*Ṣaḡra*); then he left, but the Rock rose in honour of him and Muḥammad put his hand on the Rock to make it retake its place, and the Rock has since remained half-suspended, with a cave beneath (B184.11).

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā:** 66,10f. *yustaḥabbu li-man daḡala ṣ-Ṣaḡrata* [the Dome of the Rock] *an yaḡ'alahā* [the Rock] *'alā yamīnihi ḥattā yakūna bi-ḥilāfi ṭ-ṭawāfi ḥawla Bayti Llāhi l-Ḥarāmi wa-yaḡi'a ilā mawḍi'in yad'u li-n-nāsi* (read *ilā l-mawḍi'i l-laḍi yad'u n-nāsu fihi*) *fa-yaḍa'a yadahu 'alayhā* [on the Rock] *wa-lā yuqabbilahā*.

<sup>2</sup>For the Fātimid cave under the Rock, see Gil, *Palestine* 649; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIIIff.; 71f.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,18 *wa dar zīr-i Ṣaḡra ḡār-i-st buzurg*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,22 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḡratu l-muqaddasatu ...*) *wa-taḥtahā maḡāratun yanzilu n-nāsu ilayhā bi-daraḡin*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,18-20 *wa dar zīr-i Ṣaḡra ḡār-i-st buzurg čun-ān-čih* (NP *čun-ān-kih*) *hamiša šam' dar ān-ḡā afrūḡta bāšad wa gūyand čūn Ṣaḡra ḥarakat-i bar ḥāstan kard ziraš ḡālī šud wa čūn qarār girift ham-čun-ān bimānd*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,22 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḡratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbati 'alayhā ḥižārun mabnīyun ... wa-l-ḥižāru l-laḍi ḥawlahā ayḍan muṭammanun*) *wa-taḥtahā maḡāratun yanzilu n-nāsu ilayhā bi-daraḡin*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** **Nr.59**: 70, 14f. *wa-in aḡabba an yanzila taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḡrati fa-l-yaf'al*.

<sup>7</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,22 (*wa-ṣ-Ṣaḡratu l-muqaddasatu wasaṭu l-qubbati 'alayhā ḥižārun mabnīyun ... wa-l-ḥižāru l-laḍi ḥawlahā ayḍan muṭammanun*) *wa-taḥtahā maḡāratun yanzilu n-nāsu ilayhā bi-daraḡin*.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 43,18f. *wa dar zīr-i Ṣaḡra ḡār-i-st buzurg čun-ān-čih* (NP *čun-ān-kih*) *hamiša šam' dar ān-ḡā afrūḡta bāšad*.

<sup>9</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** **Nr.59**: 70,17 (*wa-in aḡabba an yanzila taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḡrati fa-l-yaf'al ... aḡabba lahu an yaḡtahida fi d-du'a'i taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḡrati*) *fa-inna d-du'a'a fi dālīka l-mawḍi'i mustaḡābun in šā'a Llāhu ta'ālā*.

B193.5. God answers all prayers said in this cave (B193.6).<sup>9</sup>

**B193.6. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People descend to this cave (B193.3) and there are always candles (*šamʿ*) burning (B193.3). People may, on their prayer-route, descend here; if they do so, they should first formulate their intention, repent and endeavour in worship and prayer (*iğtahad fī ṭ-ṭāʿa wa-ṣ-ṣalāt*), then make ritual prayer here and pray the same prayers [as on the Black Paving-stone, B187.4], prayers said here are answered.<sup>1</sup>

### B194. The dome and the drum of the Dome of the Rock<sup>2</sup>

**B194.1. Names (Muslim):** The dome [of the Dome of the Rock] (*qubba, gunbad*) and the drum [of the dome] (*bunyād-i gunbad, bun-i gunbad*) (B194.3).

B194.1.a. The terminology is ambiguous insofar as *al-qubba* is both the whole Dome of the Rock (B184.1) and its dome alone.

**B194.2. Position:** The dome (*al-qubba*) is in the centre of the sanctuary (*fī wasaṭ al-bayt*) (B184.5). Under the dome (*dar zīr-i qunbad*) is the Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) (B189.2); the silver lamp (*qindīl-i nuqra*) suspended in the centre of the sanctuary (*az miyān-i ḥāna*) over the Rock (*bar sar-i Ṣaḥra*) by a silver chain (*silsila-i nuqragīn*) is attached to the dome (B184.5). The dome is on top of the sixteen pillars and columns (*\*bar sar-i šānzdah sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) of the inner arcade - the inner arcade is under the dome (*taḥt al-qubba*) (B189.2). We best locate the dome at the DOME of the DOME OF THE ROCK of today.

**B194.3. Physical shape:** This is a drum (*bunyād-i gunbad*,<sup>3</sup> *bun-i gunbad*<sup>4</sup>) and a (large)

<sup>1</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.59:** 70,14-17 *wa-in aḥabba an yanzila taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-l-yafʿal wa-lākin yanbağī lahu an yataqaddama* (I read *an yuqaddima*) *n-nīyata wa-yatūba ilā Llāhi taʿālā wa-tağtahida* (read *yağtahida*) *fī ṭ-ṭāʿati wa-ṣ-ṣalāti fa-idā nazala ṣallā mā badā lahu, wa-daʿā bi-l-adʿiyati l-muqaddamu dīkruhā* (cf. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.54-59:** 66,9-70,14) *aḥabbu lahu an yağtahida fī d-duʿāʾi taḥta ṣ-Ṣaḥrati fa-inna d-duʿāʾa fī dālīka l-mawḍiʿi mustağābun in šāʾa Llāhu taʿālā*.

For *ṭāʿat* "worship", see B154.6.

<sup>2</sup>For the dome and the drum of the Fāṭimid Dome of the Rock, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 125f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 261-288; 381-392; 421f.; 443f.; 452f. (remark by Wiet); pl. XXVII top; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 38-47; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78; 94-96; 375f.; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 228; 307-309; fig. 366; fig. 369f.; fig. 376; Gil, *Palestine* 385f.; 397f.; 647; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197; 3 51; 74; 81; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 149-153 (with fig. 79f.); 154f. fig. 81f.; 156.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) *wa bar sar-i ān dawāzdah* (I read *šānzdah*) *sutūn wa uṣṭuwān bunyād-i gunbad-ī-st kih Ṣaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *zī-rā kih az bun-i gunbad tā sar-i gunbad sī araš bāšad*.

dome (*gunbad-i ‘aẓīm*,<sup>1</sup> *gunbad*,<sup>2</sup> *qubba*<sup>3</sup>) with a circumference (*dawr*) of 120 ells (79.80 m),<sup>4</sup> a high dome (*qubba ‘āliya*),<sup>5</sup> more than 60 ells (29.88 m) high from the broad side of the dome which faces the ground (*\*min ‘arḍ al-qubba li-l-arḍ*) (B184.6), 62 ells (41.23 m) high from the floor of the courtyard of the mosque to the top of the dome (*az zamīn-i sāḥat-i mas-ğid tā sar-i gunbad*), i.e., 30 ells (19.95 m) from the dome's drum to the dome's top (*az bun-i gunbad tā sar-i gunbad*), 20 ells (13.30 m) of the wall of the sanctuary (*dīwār-i ḥāna*) and the pillars [and columns] next to the Rock, and 12 ells (7.98 m) of the platform (*dukkān*) (B184.6); the dome appears [because of this height] from the distance of a *farsang* (6 km) like the peak of a mountain (*sar-i kūh*) (B184.6). The dome is covered [outside] with gilded copper tiles (*qarāmīd nuḥās muḍahhab*) (B185.3), [inside] with polychrome gilded mosaic (*bi-l-fasāfis al-mulawwan al-muḍahhab*), with glass [mosaic] (*billawr*) (B185.3).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 41,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *ān-waqt īn gunbad-i ‘aẓīm bar sar-i īn dawāzdah sutūn* (I read *bar sar-i īn šānzdah sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) *kih ba-Ṣaḥra nazdik ast čun-ān-ast kih ...*

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,21f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) *wa bar sar-i ān dawāzdah* (I read *šānzdah*) *sutūn wa uṣṭuwān bunyād-i gunbad-i-st kih Ṣaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast*; **Nāṣir** 41,11-15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) *zī-rā kih az bun-i gunbad tā sar-i gunbad sī araš bāšad wa bar sar-i bī st gaz-i dīwār wa sutūn* (I read *sutūn wa uṣṭuwāna*) *nihāda ast kih ān-i dīwār-i ḥāna ast wa ḥāna bar dukkān nihāda ast kih ān dawāzdah gaz irtifā‘ dārad pas az zamīn-i sāḥat-i masğid tā sar-i gunbad šašt wa dū gaz bāšad*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,13-19 *wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun ‘āliyatun ‘alā arkānin murabba‘atin bi-ḥiṭānin tadūru bayna l-arkāni ṭūlu kulli wāḥidin ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dīrā‘an bi-arba‘ati abwābin fī arba‘i ḡihāti l-qubbatī yudḥalu min kulli bābin minhā ilā miṭli dihlizin ... wa-tuḥḍi ḡami‘uhā ilā l-bayti l-laḍī l-qubbatu fī wasaṭihi wa-ḥiya ‘alā ‘umudin bi-taqṭi‘in muṭammanin irtifā‘uhā nayyifun wa-sittūna dīrā‘an min ‘arḍihi* (I read *min ‘arḍihā*) *li-l-arḍi mulabbasatun bi-qarāmīda nuḥāsin muḍahhabin wa-min taḥtiḥā ‘umudun ruḥāmun mulawwahun wa-muḡazza‘un wa-l-qubbatu wa-ḥiṭānuhā manqūšatun bi-l-fasāfisi l-mulawwani l-muḍahhabi*; **al-Muhallabī** 50,20f. *wa-ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-muqaddasatu wasatu l-qubbatī ‘alayhā ḥiṣārūn mabniyūn wa-rtifā‘uhā min arḍi l-qubbatī naḥwa ṭalāṭi adru‘in*; **van Berchem Nr.220** [amara bi-‘imārati ḥādīhi l-qubbatī l-imāmu Abū l-Ḥasani ‘Alīyu ṣ-Ṣaḥiru li-i‘zāzi dīni Llāhi bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīru l-mu‘minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi ‘alayhi wa-‘alā ābā‘ihi ṭ-ṭāhirīna] *l-akramīna* (this should be *wa-abnā‘ihi l-akramīna*) *wa-ḡarā dālīka ... fī sanati ṭalātata ‘ašrata wa-arba‘i mi‘atin*; **van Berchem Nr.221** amara bi-‘imārati ḥādīhi l-qubbatī l-imāmu Abū l-Ḥasani ‘Alīyu ṣ-Ṣaḥiru li-i‘zāzi dīni Llāhi bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīru l-mu‘minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi ‘alayhi wa-‘alā ābā‘ihi ṭ-ṭāhirīna [wa-abnā‘ihi l-akramīna wa-ḡarā dālīka ... wa-dālīka fī sanati ṭalātata ‘ašrata wa-arba‘i mi‘atin]; **van Berchem Nr.222** amara bi-‘imārati ḥādīhi l-qubbatī mawlānā l-imāmu Abū l-Ḥasani ‘Alīyu [ṣ-Ṣaḥiru li-i‘zāzi dīni Llāhi bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīru l-mu‘minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi ‘alayhi wa-‘alā ābā‘ihi ṭ-ṭāhirīna wa-abnā‘ihi l-akramīna wa-ḡarā dālīka ... wa-dālīka fī sanati ṭalātata ‘ašrata wa-arba‘i mi‘atin]; **Nāṣir** 41,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127f.) (*ān-waqt īn gunbad-i ‘aẓīm ...*) *čun-ān-ast kih az farsang-i binigari ān qubba čun sar-i kūh-i paydā bāšad*.

For the inscriptions **van Berchem Nr.220**, **van Berchem Nr.221** and **van Berchem Nr.222**, see B194.4.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 40,22 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 127; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 126; Creswell, *EMA* 1 76-78) (*wa bar sar-i ān dawāzdah* (I read *šānzdah*) *sutūn wa uṣṭuwān bunyād-i gunbad-i-st kih Ṣaḥra dar zīr-i ān-ast*) *wa dawr šad wa bīst araš bāšad*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,13 *wasatu d-dikkati qubbatun ‘āliyatun ‘alā arkānin murabba‘atin bi-ḥiṭānin tadūru bayna l-arkāni* (*ṭūlu kulli wāḥidin ḥamsun wa-ḥamsūna dīrā‘an*).

B194.4. **Contemporary events:** The dome is damaged in 1015 by an earthquake.<sup>1</sup> **aḏ-Zāhir** remakes [a part of] the glass [mosaic] (*billawr*) inside the building in 418/1027-1028;<sup>2</sup> he rebuilds the [whole] dome in 413/1022-1023<sup>3</sup> and concludes the rebuilding at the end of the month of *Dū l-qa'da* 426/6 October 1035.<sup>4</sup> During the earthquake of 24 *Rağab*/29 May 1068, [the dome of] the Dome of the Rock which is in the Temple/Jerusalem (*aṣ-Ṣaḥra l-latī bi-Bayt al-Maqdis*) splits into two parts, but settles back into its place (*inṣada'at tūmma lta'amat*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Gil Nr.54,28-30.

For the earthquakes of 1015 and 1033 and the subsequent High Fāṭimid rebuilding in Jerusalem, see A169.

<sup>2</sup>In the DRUM proper, **van Berchem Nr.223** (see *RCEA* Nr.2359; Creswell, *EMA* 1 95; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 248) *wa-marammatu hādā l-billawri fī sanati tamāni 'ašrata* [sic] *wa-arba'imī'atin*.

<sup>3</sup>**van Berchem Nr.220** [*amara bi-'imārati hādīhi l-qubbatī l-imāmu Abū l-Ḥasani 'Alīyu ḏ-Zāhiru li-i'zāzi dī ni Llāhi bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīru l-mu'minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhi wa-'alā ābā'ihī ṭ-ṭāhirīna*] *l-akramī na* (this should be: *wa-abnā'ihī l-akramīna*) *wa-ğarā dālīka ... fī sanati ṭalātata 'ašrata wa-arba'imī'atin*; **van Berchem Nr.221** *amara bi-'imārati hādīhi l-qubbatī l-imāmu Abū l-Ḥasani 'Alīyu ḏ-Zāhiru li-i'zāzi dīni Llāhi bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīri l-mu'minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhi wa-'alā ābā'ihī ṭ-ṭāhirīna* [*wa-abnā'ihī l-akramīna wa-ğarā dālīka ... wa-dālīka fī sanati ṭalātata 'ašrata wa-arba'imī'atin*]; **van Berchem Nr.222** *amara bi-'imā[rati hādī]hi l-qubbatī mawlānā l-imāmu Abū l-Ḥasani 'Alīyu [ḏ-Zāhiru li-i'zāzi dīni Llāhi bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīru l-mu'minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhi wa-'alā ābā'ihī ṭ-ṭāhirīna wa-abnā'ihī l-akramīna wa-ğarā dālīka ... wa-dālīka fī sanati ṭalātata 'ašrata wa-arba'imī'atin*.

For the inscriptions **van Berchem Nr.220**, **van Berchem Nr.221** and **van Berchem Nr.222**, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 125; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 261-274; *RCEA* Nr.2328-2330; Creswell, *EMA* 1 94-96; Gautier-van Berchem 308 n. 2; Sharon, "Inscriptions from the Western Wall" 215; Gil, *Palestine* 397f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 81; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 156.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Harawī** 25,21-26,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 102; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 381-383; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 43-45) *wa-qara'tu fī saqfi qubbatī l-Aqṣā mā hādīhi ṣūratuhu 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi subḥāna l-ladī asrā bi-'abdihi laylan minā l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi ilā l-Masğidi l-Aqṣā l-ladī bāraknā min ḥawlihi* (**Koran** 17.1) *naṣrun minā Llāhi* (**Koran** 61.13) *li-'abdi Llāhi wa-waliyihī Abī l-Ḥasani 'Alīya* (Var. *'Alīya bni l-Ḥasani*; *'Alīya bni Abī l-Ḥasani*) *l-imāmi* (Var. without *l-imāmi*) *ḏ-Zāhiri li-i'zāzi dīni Llāhi amīri l-mu'minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhi wa-'alā ābā'ihī ṭ-ṭāhirīna wa-abnā'ihī l-akramīna amara bi-'amali hādīhi l-qubbatī wa-idḥābihā sayyidunā l-wazīru* (Var. *l-'azīzu*) *l-ağallu ṣafīyu amīri l-mu'minīna wa-ḥālīṣatuhu Abū l-Qāsimi 'Alīyu bnu Aḥmada ayyadahu Llāhu wa-naṣaruhu wa-kumila ġamī'u dālīka ilā salḥi dī l-qa'dati sanata sittin wa-'iṣrīna wa-arba'imī'atin ...* (= **van Berchem Nr.275**).

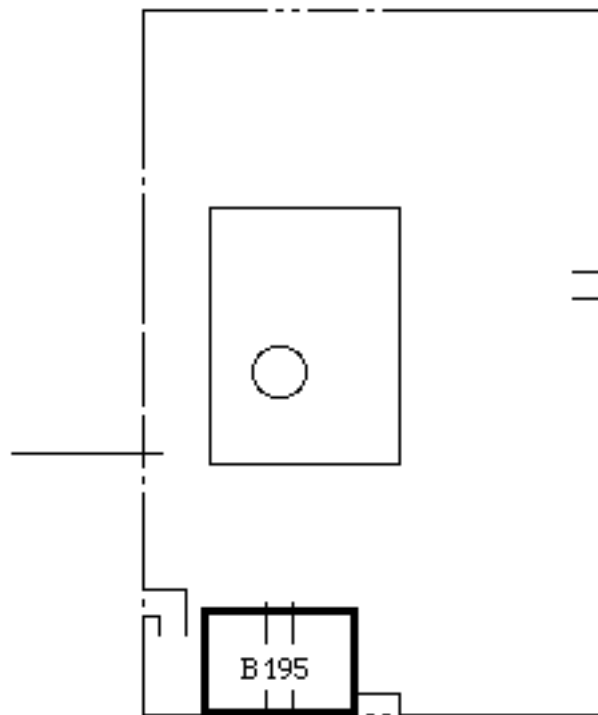
For the inscription **van Berchem Nr.275**, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 381-392; 453 (addition by Wiet); *RCEA* Nr.2409; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 9 n. 1; Sourdel-Thomine, *al-Harawī* (texte) 64f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 376; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 248f.; Busse, "Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram" 22; Gil, *Palestine* 398 n. 52; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 151.

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Bannā', Ta'rīḥ** 2 239,9: 3 (see Gil, *Palestine* 408; 408f. n. 60) (*wa-warada l-ḥabaru fī yawmi l-ḥamisi ilā dāri ṣ-ṣayḥi l-ağalli bni Ġaradata fī kutubīn minā t-tuğğārī bi-annahu ḥadaṭa bi-Filasṭīna wa-r-Ramlati zilzilātun 'aẓīmatun fī r-rābi'i wa-l-iṣrīna min rağaba fī hādīhi s-sanati aḏḥabat ġamī'a dūriḥā illā dārayni wa-halaka naḥwa ḥamsata 'ašara alfa nasamatin*) *wa-nṣada'ati ṣ-Ṣaḥratu l-latī bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi bi-niṣṣayni tūmma lta'amat bi-idni Llāhi ta'ālā* (*wa-ğara l-baḥru yawman wa-laylatan wa-nazala n-nāsu ilayhi yaltaqītūna minhu wa-'āda 'alayhim fa-ahlaka ġamā'atun*).

B194.4.a. A parallel to the dome's opening and closing during the earthquake: The Marwānīd dome of the Dome of the Rock opens during an earthquake, then closes again (B046.5).

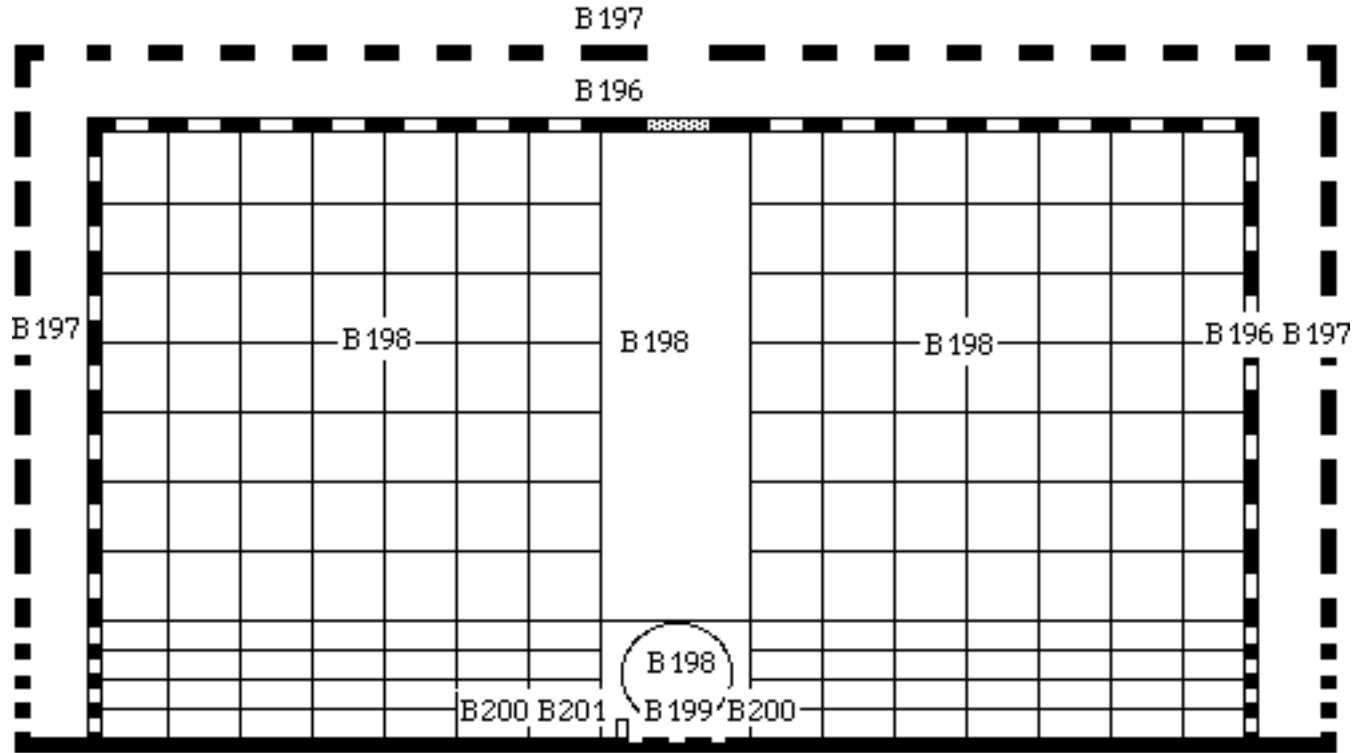
B194.5. **Traditions (Jewish):** ʿUmar built a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock (*ʿalā ṣ-Ṣaḥra*) and gilded it (B131.13).

4.6. THE EARLY FĀṬIMID ROOFED HALL (969-1030s)



**97**

**Figure 97. The position of the Early Fāṭimid Inner Roofed Mosque (B195).**



98

**Figure 98. The Early Fāṭimid Inner Roofed Mosque (layout):** B196 Fifteen north gates, among them the central gate opposite the [main] Prayer-niche, and eleven gates both west and east. - B197 West, north and east arcades. - B198 The roof with fifteen naves north-south, among them the larger central nave with the dome, and eleven vertical naves west-east. - B199 The [main] Prayer-niche. - B200 The Prayer-niche of ‘Umar and the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya. - B201 The pulpit.



### B195. The Inner Roofed Mosque<sup>1</sup>

**B195.1. Names (Muslim):** The south arcade of the mosque, in which the prayer-niche is (*riwāq al-masğid al-qiblī l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrāb*),<sup>2</sup> the Inner Roofed Mosque (*al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf*),<sup>3</sup> a [kind of] arcade [?] (*riwāq*) (B195.3), a mosque (*masğid*) (B195.4).

B195.1.a. The terminology mirrors the building's ambivalent status. It is part of a mosque encompassing the whole ḤARAM; this gives *riwāq al-masğid al-qiblī l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrāb* "the south arcade of the mosque, in which the prayer-niche is" and an arcade (*riwāq*). It is a mosque, an inner mosque [inside another outer mosque, the ḤARAM]; this gives *al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf* "the Inner Roofed Mosque".

**B195.2. Position:** The south arcade of the mosque, in which the prayer-niche is (*riwāq al-masğid al-qiblī l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrāb*), obviously part of the south wall of the mosque, covers the [south] sixth of the courtyard's length and the two [west] thirds of its width; the remaining [east] third is uncovered (*makšūf*) and has no arcade (*riwāq*).<sup>4</sup> The Inner Roofed Mosque [the Roofed Hall] (*al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf*) is on the highest level of three, [the exit of] the Gate of the Prophet (*Bāb an-Nabī*) and the Chamber of Mary (*Miḥrāb Maryam*) or Cradle of Jesus (*Masğid-i Mahd-i Īsī*) on an intermediate level, and the Kneeling-place of the she-camel (*Mabrak an-nāqa*) on the lowest level (B137.2). We best locate the building roughly at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

B195.2.a. The length [from north to south] of the building is one-sixth of the whole mosque; this fits with the one-to-six proportion between the distance from the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL to the CENTRAL NORTH DOOR of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE (B124.5) and the length of the whole ḤARAM.

B195.2.b. The width of the Early Fāṭimid building is two-thirds of the width of the mosque, whereas the High 'Abbāsid building reached towards the east over half the width of the ḤARAM, up to about the EAST WALL of ĠĀMI' 'UMAR (B124.5). There is no evidence that the Early Fāṭimid building may have been wider than the High 'Abbāsid building.

B195.2.c. **al-Muhallabī's** *riwāq al-masğid al-qiblī* is preceded by the underground corridors (at least at BI'R AL-MAGĀRIBA and the DOUBLE GATE CORRIDOR) and the walls of the mosque, and followed by the platform (at the PLATFORM) and the Dome of the Rock (at the DOME OF THE ROCK). This favours a location

<sup>1</sup>For the Early Fāṭimid Inner Roofed Mosque, see Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXII f.; 71.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,2 *wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu (šabihun bi-sudsihi fī d-dar'ī. wa-laysa r-riwāqu fī 'arḍi š-šaḥni kullihī, bal huwa fī miqdāri tuṭṭayi š-šaḥni, wa-t-tuṭṭu l-āḥaru makšūfun lā riwāqa 'alayhi).*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 78,19 *ṭumma yadhulu l-Masğida d-Dāḥilāniya l-Musaqqafa.*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,2-4 *wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu šabihun bi-sudsihi fī d-dar'ī. wa-laysa r-riwāqu fī 'arḍi š-šaḥni kullihī, bal huwa fī miqdāri tuṭṭayi š-šaḥni, wa-t-tuṭṭu l-āḥaru makšūfun lā riwāqa 'alayhi.*

in the south of the ḤARAM.

**al-Muhallabī**

*aṭ-ṭuruqāt al-mustaḡilla taḥt al-masğid -> ḥiṭān al-masğid -> riwāq al-masğid al-qiblī l-laḡī fīhi l-miḥrāb -> wasaṭ aṣ-ṣaḥn dikkat aṣ-Ṣaḥra -> wasaṭ ad-dikka qubba ʿāliya*

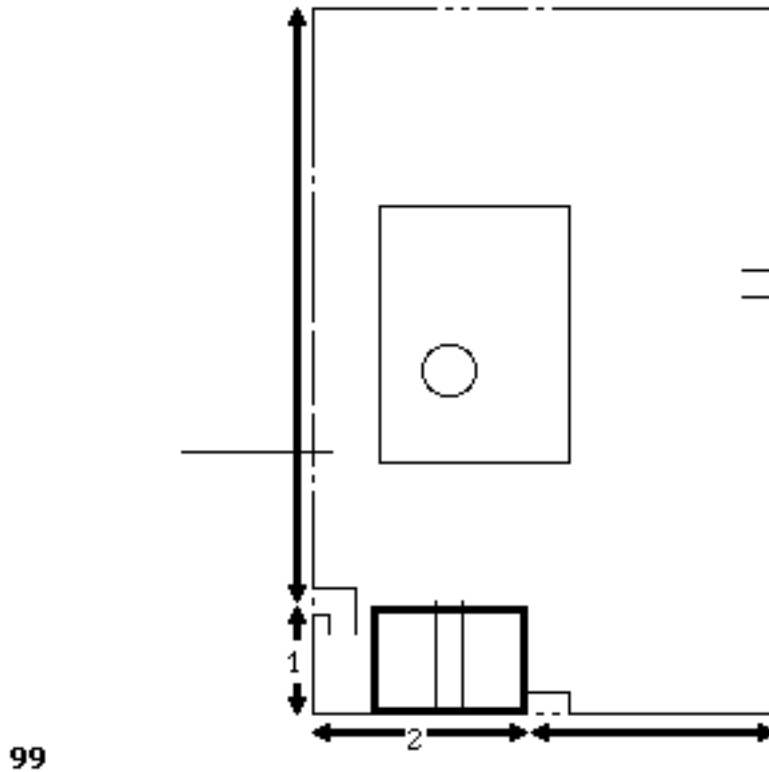


**Figure 99. The Early Fāṭimid Inner Roofed Mosque and the whole area:** 1 North-south length of the Roofed Hall, one-sixth of the whole area's. - 2 East-west width of the Roofed Hall, two-thirds of the whole area's.

B195.2.d. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has *al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf* preceded by *Bāb as-Sakīna* (at WARREN'S GATE) and *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* (at BARCLAY'S GATE) and followed by *Miḥrāb ʿUmar* and *\*Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya* inside the building, and then descends first to *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE) and *Miḥrāb Maryam* = *Mahd Īsā* (at MASĞID MAHD ĪSĀ), then further down to *Mabrak an-nāqa* (possibly at the HOLE in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER). The building is therefore between BARCLAY'S GATE and the DOUBLE GATE, in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī muʾaḥḥar al-masğid mim mā yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ: Kursī Sulaymān -> Bāb as-Sakīna -> Bāb ḥiṭṭa -> al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf: Miḥrāb ʿUmar, \*Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya, ḡamīʿ al-maḥārīb al-latī dāḥil al-masğid -> Bāb an-Nabī -> Miḥrāb Maryam = Mahd-i Īsī -> Mabrak an-nāqa*

B195.3. **Physical shape:** This is a mosque (*masğid*) (B195.4), a [kind of] arcade (*riwāq*) [?].<sup>1</sup> It has a number of naves, with a larger central nave and a dome (B196.2). The [south] arcade of the mosque [the Roofed Hall] is, on all other sides (*min sā'ir ġihāt ar-riwāq*) [west, north and south], surrounded by gates with arcades in front (B196.2). There is a [main] Prayer-niche (B199.2), further prayer-niches (B200.1) and a pulpit (B201.2). The floor is all paved with marble (*muballaṭ bi-l-marmar*), the side walls of the arcade [of the building] (*ḥiṭān ar-riwāq*) are [inside or outside?] all decorated.<sup>2</sup>

B195.4. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on the prayer-route, enter the Inner Roofed Mosque (*al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf*), make ritual prayer at the Prayer-niche of 'Umar (*Miḥrāb 'Umar*) and endeavour in prayer, as well as at the Prayer-niche of Mu'āwiya (*\*Miḥrāb Mu'āwiya*) and all [other] prayer-niches in the mosque [in this Roofed Hall] (*ġamī' al-maḥārīb al-latī dāḥil al-masğid*).<sup>3</sup>

#### B196. The gates of the Inner Roofed Mosque

B196.1. **Names (Muslim):** The gates [of the south arcade of the mosque, in which the prayer-niche is] (*abwāb* sing. *bāb*) (B196.3), among them the gate opposite the [main] Prayer-niche (*al-bāb al-musāwī li-l-miḥrāb*) (B196.2).

B196.2. **Position:** The [south] arcade [the Roofed Hall] is, on all other sides [west, north and south], surrounded by covered gates (*\*yadūru r-riwāq min sā'ir ġihātihi bi-abwāb maṭliya*), and in front of these doors (*bayn yaday al-abwāb*) are, from all other sides of the mosque [west, north and south] (*min sā'ir ġihāt al-masğid*), arcades on columns (*arwiqa 'alā 'umud*), so that the Roofed Hall is surrounded by arcades on columns as the whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥn bi-arwiqa 'alā 'umud*).<sup>4</sup> One of these gates is the gate opposite the [main] Prayer-niche (*al-bāb al-musāwī li-l-miḥrāb*); the dome

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,2 *wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu (ṣabīhun bi-sudsihi fī d-ḍar'ī. wa-laysa r-riwāqu fī 'arḍi ṣ-ṣaḥni kullihi, bal huwa fī miqdāri tuṭṭayi ṣ-ṣaḥni, wa-t-tuṭṭu l-āḥaru makšūfun lā riwāqa 'alayhi).*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,8 (*wa-r-riwāqu kulluhu muballaṭun bi-l-marmari*) *wa-ḥiṭānuhu kulluhā manqūṣatun.*

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.67:** 78,19-79,2 *tumma yadḥulu l-Masğida d-Dāḥilāniya l-Musaqqafa yaqṣidu Miḥrāba 'Umara wa-yuṣallī u'indahu wa-yaḡtahidu fī d-du'ā'i wa-ka-dālika fī miḥrābiin FṢLWBH (read fī Miḥrābi Mu'āwiyata) wa-fī ḡamī'ī l-maḥārībī l-latī dāḥila l-masğidi.*

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,9 (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍī fihi l-miḥrābu ...*) *wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sā'iri ġihātihi abwābun maṭwiyatun (I read wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sā'iri ġihātihi bi-abwābin maṭliyatun) (bayna yadayhā arwiqatun 'alā 'umudin min sā'iri ġihāti l-masğidi wa-ka-dālika ka-mā yadūru ṣ-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin 'alā 'umudin 'arḍu r-riwāqi arba'a 'aṣāra ḍirā'an).*

(*qubba*) is in the middle of the [central] nave (*fī wasaṭ al-kanīsa*), between the [main] Prayer-niche and the gate opposite it; it splits the nave into two.<sup>1</sup> We best locate the gates roughly in the east and west walls of the building, parallel to the eleven VERTICAL NAVES of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE but further east and west, and in the north wall at the seven NORTH GATES of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and another four gates further east and west; we locate the gate opposite the [main] Prayer-niche at the CENTRAL NORTH GATE.

B196.2.a. **al-Muhallabī's** (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fihi l-miḥrābu ...*) *wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sā'iri ġihātihi abwābun maṭwīyatun* is twice corrupted. *Abwāb maṭwīya* "folded gates" makes no sense and we should assume an original *\*abwāb maṭliya* "gates covered [with metal]". Misreading *\*maṭliya* as *maṭwīya* may easily occur in a defective manuscript. (However, we would rather like to have *maṭliya bi-...* "covered with ...".) The sentence thus becomes either "(And the south arcade of the mosque, in which the prayer-niche is ...) It is surrounded by the arcade. From all other sides are doors covered [with metal]." or "... Gates covered [with metal] are surrounded from all other sides by the arcade." - two interpretations not really satisfying. It is better to assume an original *\*... wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sā'iri ġihātihi bi-abwābin maṭliyatun* "... The arcade is surrounded from all other sides by doors covered [with metal]". The change from *\*ar-riwāqu ... bi-abwābin maṭwīyatun* to *bi-r-riwāqi ... abwābun maṭwīyatun* is not easy, but possible, and the meaning is definitely better.

B196.2.b. We may suppose that the gates continue the gates of the High 'Abbāsīd building (B125.2); locations of the gates given in the main text are based on this assumption.

**B196.3. Physical shape:** These are gates (*abwāb*<sup>2</sup> sing. *bāb*<sup>3</sup>), gates covered [with metal] (*\*abwāb maṭliya*) (B196.2). The central north gate is made of copper and carries an inscription with the name of al-Ma'mūn.

B196.3.a. For parallels to the inscription with the name of al-Ma'mūn, see B040.3.a.

B196.3.b. Both the 'Abbāsīd central gate (B125.3) and the High Fāṭimid central gate (B203.3) are made of copper and carry an inscription with the name of al-Ma'mūn. We may therefore assume that the Early Fāṭimid central gate is also made of copper and carries the same inscription.

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,6f. (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-saqfu r-riwāqi 'alā kanā'isa šāhiqatin 'alā 'umudin ruḥāmin ... wa-awsaṭuhā kanīsatun hiya a'zamuhā, wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi*) *fa-idā šāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanīsati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musāwī lahu šāra taḥta qubbatin taqṭa'u l-Kanī sata l-'Uzmā.*

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,9 (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fihi l-miḥrābu ...*) *wa-yadūru bi-r-riwāqi min sā'iri ġihātihi abwābun maṭwīyatun* (I read *wa-yadūru r-riwāqu min sā'iri ġihātihi bi-abwābin maṭliyatun*) (*bayna yadayhā arwiqatun 'alā 'umudin min sā'iri ġihāti l-masğidi wa-ka-dālika ka-mā yadūru š-ṣaḥnu bi-arwiqatin 'alā 'umudin 'arḍu r-riwāqi arba'a 'ašara dirā'an*).

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,6f. (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-saqfu r-riwāqi 'alā kanā'isa šāhiqatin 'alā 'umudin ruḥāmin ... wa-awsaṭuhā kanīsatun hiya a'zamuhā, wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi*) *fa-idā šāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanīsati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musāwī lahu šāra taḥta qubbatin taqṭa'u l-Kanī sata l-'Uzmā.*

### B197. The arcades of the Inner Roofed Mosque

B197.1. **Names (Muslim):** The arcades [of the south arcade of the mosque, in which the prayer-niche is] (*arwiqa* sing. *riwāq*) (B197.3).

B197.2. **Position:** These arcades on columns are in front of the doors (*bayn yaday al-ab-wāb*) which surround the [south] arcade [the Roofed Hall] from all other sides [west, north and south], the arcades are from all other sides of the mosque [west, north and south] (*min sā'ir ġihāt al-masğid*), the Roofed Hall is surrounded by arcades on columns as the whole courtyard is surrounded by arcades on columns (*yadūru š-ṣaḥn bi-arwiqa 'alā 'umud*) (B196.2). We best locate these arcades at the NORTH ARCADE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and at two arcades east and west of the building.

B197.3. **Physical shape:** These are arcades on columns (*arwiqa 'alā 'umud*) (B196.2), each arcade being 14 *dirā'* (6.97 m) wide.<sup>1</sup>

### B198. The naves, the roof and the dome of the Inner Roofed Mosque

B198.1. **Names (Muslim):** The naves (*kanā'is* sing. *kanīsa*) [of the south arcade, i.e., of the Roofed Hall] (B198.3), among them the Largest Nave (*al-Kanīsa l-'Uẓmā*),<sup>2</sup> the roof of the [south] arcade [the Roofed Hall] (*saqf ar-riwāq*)<sup>3</sup> and a dome (*qubba*) (B198.3).

B198.2. **Position:** The building has [fifteen] naves (*kanā'is* sing. *kanīsa*) (B198.3). The largest nave (*a'ẓam al-kanā'is*) is the central nave (*awsaṭ al-kanā'is*), a nave (*kanīsa*) opposite the prayer-niche (*muqābila li-l-miḥrāb*).<sup>4</sup> The dome (*qubba*) is in the middle of the [central] nave (*fī wasaṭ al-kanīsa*), between the [main] Prayer-niche and the gate opposite it; it splits the nave

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,11 *'arḍu r-riwāqi arba'a 'ašara dirā'an*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,7f. *fā-iḍā šāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanīsati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musāwī lahu šāra taḥta qubbatin taqṭa'u l-Kanīsata l-'Uẓmā*.

Cf. **al-Muhallabī** 50,5f. (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-saqfu r-riwāqi 'alā kanā'isa šāhiqatin 'alā 'umudin ruḥāmin 'alayhā ḥanāyā ma'qūdatun taḥmilu l-kanā'isa*) *wa-awsaṭuhā kanīsatin hiya a'ẓamuhā wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,4f. (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fihi l-miḥrābu ...*) *wa-saqfu r-riwāqi 'alā kanā'isa šāhiqatin*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,5f. (*wa-riwāqu l-masğidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-saqfu r-riwāqi 'alā kanā'isa šāhiqatin 'alā 'umudin ruḥāmin 'alayhā ḥanāyā ma'qūdatun taḥmilu l-kanā'isa*) *wa-awsaṭuhā kanīsatin hiya a'ẓamuhā, wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi*.

into two.<sup>1</sup> We locate the assumed seven east naves at the three EAST NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and four naves further east (partly at the four NAVES of ĠĀMI‘ ʿUMAR), the assumed seven west naves at the three WEST NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and another four naves further west, the central nave at the CENTRAL NAVE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and the dome at the DOME of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

B198.2.a. The High ʿAbbāsid Roofed Hall has seven naves both east and west (B126.2) and we may assume that this continues in the Early Fāṭimid period until the rebuilding of the whole Roofed Hall.

B198.3. **Physical shape:** These are (high) naves (*kanāʾis šāhiqa*, *kanāʾis* sing. *kanāʾis*).<sup>2</sup> The roof of the [south] arcade (*saqf ar-riwāq*) rests on these high naves (ʿalā *kanāʾis šāhiqa*), the naves rest on marble columns (ʿalā *ʿumud ruḥām*), and [between the columns and the naves] there are arched vaults (*ḥanāyā maʿqūda*) which rest on the columns (ʿalā *l-ʿumud*) and support the naves (*al-kanāʾis*).<sup>3</sup> The central nave (*awsaṭ al-kanāʾis*) is the largest nave (*aʿzam al-kanāʾis*) (B198.2). The width of the dome (*saʿat al-qubba*) is 20 by 20 ells (9.96 m).<sup>4</sup>

### B199. The [main] Prayer-niche

B199.1. **Names (Muslim):** The [main] Prayer-niche (*al-miḥrāb*).<sup>5</sup> It is possibly identical with the Prayer-niche of ʿUmar (*Miḥrāb ʿUmar*), but this is not certain (B200.2.a).

B199.2. **Position:** The [main] Prayer-niche (*al-miḥrāb*) is inside the south arcade of the mosque [the Roofed Hall] (*fī riwāq al-masǧid al-qibli*),<sup>6</sup> obviously in its south wall. Opposite the prayer-niche is the gate which is opposite the prayer-niche (*al-bāb al-musāwī li-l-miḥrāb*);

<sup>1</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,6f. (*wa-riwāqu l-masǧidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fīhi l-miḥrābu ... wa-saqfu r-riwāqi ʿalā kanāʾisa šāhiqatin ... wa-awsaṭuhā kanisatun hiya aʿzamuḥā, wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi*) *fa-idā šāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanisati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musāwī lahu šāra taḥta qubbatin taqṭaʿu l-Kanisata l-ʿUzmā*.

<sup>2</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,4-7 (*wa-riwāqu l-masǧidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fīhi l-miḥrābu ... wa-saqfu r-riwāqi ʿalā kanāʾisa šāhiqatin ʿalā ʿumudin ruḥāmin ʿalayhā ḥanāyā maʿqūdatun taḥmilu l-kanāʾisa wa-awsaṭuhā kanisatun hiya aʿzamuḥā, wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi*) *fa-idā šāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanisati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musāwī lahu šāra taḥta qubbatin taqṭaʿu l-Kanisata l-ʿUzmā*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,4f. (*wa-riwāqu l-masǧidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fīhi l-miḥrābu ...*) *wa-saqfu r-riwāqi ʿalā kanāʾisa šāhiqatin ʿalā ʿumudin ruḥāmin ʿalayhā ḥanāyā maʿqūdatun taḥmilu l-kanāʾisa*.

<sup>4</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,7f. (*wa-riwāqu l-masǧidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fīhi l-miḥrābu ... fa-idā šāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanisati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musāwī lahu šāra taḥta qubbatin taqṭaʿu l-Kanisata l-ʿUzmā*), *saʿatuhā ʿiṣrūna ḍirāʿan fī miṭliḥā*.

<sup>5</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,2 *wa-riwāqu l-masǧidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fīhi l-miḥrābu ...*; **al-Muhallabī** 50,5-7 (*wa-riwāqu l-masǧidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fīhi l-miḥrābu ... wa-saqfu r-riwāqi ʿalā kanāʾisa šāhiqatin ʿalā ʿumudin ruḥāmin ...*) *wa-awsaṭuhā kanisatun hiya aʿzamuḥā, wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi fa-idā šāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanisati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musāwī lahu šāra taḥta qubbatin taqṭaʿu l-Kanisata l-ʿUzmā*.

<sup>6</sup>**al-Muhallabī** 50,2 *wa-riwāqu l-masǧidi l-qibliyu l-laḍi fīhi l-miḥrābu ...*

in between the two is the dome (*qubba*) (B196.2). We best locate the [main] Prayer-niche at the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE.

B199.2.a. The place of the prayer-niche is precisely defined by its opposition to the central north gate (at the CENTRAL NORTH DOOR) and its place in the wall most towards Mecca, the south wall (the SOUTH WALL of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE). This is the place of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE.

B199.2.b. **al-Muhallabī** uses the [main] Prayer-niche as the point of reference for other places;<sup>1</sup> this may mirror the fact that the prayer-niche is one of the area's main foci of interest.

**B199.3. Physical shape:** This is a true prayer-niche.

**B199.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The [main] Prayer-niche indicates the prayer-direction for congregational prayer; standing next to it, the *imām* leads the congregational prayer. It is not part of the Muslim prayer-route.<sup>2</sup>

### **B200. The Prayer-niche of ‘Umar, the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya and all [other] prayer-niches<sup>3</sup>**

**B200.1. Names (Muslim):** The Prayer-niche of ‘Umar (*Miḥrāb ‘Umar*),<sup>4</sup> the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya (*\*Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya*) and all [other] prayer-niches which are inside the mosque [inside this building] (*ḡamī‘ al-maḥārīb al-latī dāḥil al-masḡid*).<sup>5</sup> The prayer-niche of ‘Umar (*Miḥrāb ‘Umar*) is possibly identical with the [main] Prayer-niche (*al-miḥrāb*), but this is not certain (B200.2.a).

<sup>1</sup>**Muhallabī** 50,5-7 (*wa-riwāqu l-masḡidi l-qibliyu l-ladī fihi l-miḥrābu ... wa-saqfu r-riwāqi ‘alā kanā’isa šāhiqatin ‘alā ‘umudin ruḥāmin ...*) *wa-awsaṭuhā kanisatun hiya a‘zamuhā wa-hiya l-muqābilatu li-l-miḥrābi fa-idā šāra l-insānu fī wasaṭi l-kanisati bayna l-miḥrābi wa-l-bābi l-musāwī lahu šāra taḥta qubbatin taqṭa‘u l-Kanisata l-‘Uzmā.*

<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.52-69:** 64,14-81,22 mentions *Miḥrāb ‘Umar* and *\*Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya*, but not this prayer-niche.

<sup>3</sup>For the Prayer-niche of ‘Umar, the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya and the other prayer-niches in the Early and High Fāṭimid periods, see Busse, "‘Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 90 n. 67; Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIII f.; XXII f.; 71; 76.

<sup>4</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.67:** 78,19-79,2 *ṭumma yadhulu l-Masḡida d-Dāḥilāniya l-Musaqqafa yaqṣidu Miḥrāba ‘Umara wa-yuṣallī ‘indahu wa-yaḡtahidu fī d-du‘ā’i wa-ka-dālika fī miḥrābin FṢLWBH* (read *fī Miḥrābi Mu‘āwiyata*) *wa-fī ḡamī‘i l-maḥārībi l-latī dāḥila l-masḡidi*; **Ibn al-Muraḡḡā** 131,1f. (see Busse, "‘Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 91 n. 67) *Bābu dīkri mā ḡā’a fī Miḥrābi ‘Umara raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu wa-huwa l-miḥrābu l-ladī ‘inda l-Minbari l-yawma wa-qawlu ‘Umara lanā muqaddamu l-masḡidi.*

<sup>5</sup>**Ibn al-Muraḡḡā Nr.67:** 78,19-79,2 *ṭumma yadhulu l-Masḡida d-Dāḥilāniya l-Musaqqafa yaqṣidu Miḥrāba ‘Umara wa-yuṣallī ‘indahu wa-yaḡtahidu fī d-du‘ā’i wa-ka-dālika fī miḥrābin FṢLWBH* (read *fī Miḥrābi Mu‘āwiyata*) *wa-fī ḡamī‘i l-maḥārībi l-latī dāḥila l-masḡidi.*

B200.1.a. **Ibn al-Muraġġà Nr.52-69** has the following text:



|                                    |                                                                                   |                                                                                                      |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. The building                    | <i>tumma yadhulu l-Masğida<br/>d-Dāhilāniya l-Musaqqafa</i>                       | "He [the visitor] then enters the Inner Roofed Mosque,                                               |
| b. The Prayer-niche of 'Umar       | <i>yaqšidu Miḥrāba 'Umara<br/>wa-yuṣalli 'indahu<br/>wa-yağtahidu fī d-du'ā'i</i> | heading for the Prayer-niche of 'Umar and performing ritual prayer at it and endeavouring in prayer, |
| c. Another prayer niche?           | <i>wa-ka-dālika fī miḥrābi<br/>FṢLWBH</i>                                         | and [does this] also in a prayer-niche and [...]                                                     |
| d. All prayer-niches in the mosque | <i>wa-fī ḡami'i l-maḥārībi<br/>l-latī dāhila l-masğidi</i>                        | and in all prayer-niches which are inside the mosque."                                               |

B200.1.b. At c, *wa-ka-dālika fī miḥrābi FṢLWBH*, the text is obviously in disorder. It may originally have been *\*wa-ka-dālika fī Miḥrābi ... fa-yuṣalli bihi* "and [does this] also in the Prayer-niche of ... and makes ritual prayer in it"; this assumed original *\*Miḥrāb ...* would have lost the name following, and *\*fa-yuṣalli* (FYṢLY) would have lost the first *yā'* and changed its second *yā'* into *wāw*.

B200.1.c. We may also assume an original *\*wa-ka-dālika fī Miḥrābi Mu'āwiya* "and [does this] also in the Prayer-niche of Mu'āwiya".<sup>1</sup> *\*Mu'āwiya* would have lost one dot of two-dot *yā'*, and the letters *mīm- 'ayn-wāw* would have been misread. All this is not impossible in a very faded manuscript; the meaning would convenient insofar as High Fāṭimid *Miḥrāb 'Umar* and *Miḥrāb Mu'āwiya* are inside this building side by side (B209.2). But one problem remains. Early Fāṭimid *Miḥrāb 'Umar* is next to the pulpit and therefore on the west side of the main prayer-niche (B200.2), but High Fāṭimid *Miḥrāb 'Umar* is to the east, and *Miḥrāb Mu'āwiya* to the west (B209.2).

B200.1.d. It has been claimed that *Miḥrāb 'Umar* received its name from 'Umar's prayer, in the time when the building was erected, most probably as early as the reign of Mu'āwiya;<sup>2</sup> this may be the case.

**B200.2. Position:** These are the Prayer-niche of 'Umar (*Miḥrāb 'Umar*), the Prayer-niche of Mu'āwiya (*\*Miḥrāb Mu'āwiya*) and all prayer-niches which are inside the mosque [inside this building] (*al-maḥārīb al-latī dāhil al-masğid*) (B200.1). The Prayer-niche of 'Umar (*Miḥrāb 'Umar*) is the prayer-niche which is next to the pulpit (*al-miḥrāb al-laḍī 'inda al-minbar*).<sup>3</sup> All prayer-niches are certainly in the south wall of the building. We best locate them in the SOUTH WALL of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and the Prayer-niche of 'Umar west of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE.

B200.2.a. *Miḥrāb 'Umar* is a prayer-niche in the south wall, next to the pulpit which is right [west] of the [main]

<sup>1</sup>Livne-Kafri, *Ibn al-Murağğā* 79 n. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 76.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 131,1f. (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 91 n. 67) *Bābu dīkri mā ḡā'a fī Miḥrābi 'Umara raḍiya Llāhu 'anhu wa-huwa l-miḥrābu l-laḍī 'inda l-Minbari l-yawma wa-qawlu 'Umara lanā muqaddamu l-masğidi*.

Prayer-niche; we may suppose that *Miḥrāb ʿUmar* is not to the east, but either in the building's centre and therefore identical with the [main] Prayer-niche, or to its west. \**Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya* and all other prayer-niches are in the south wall, but we know no details. *Miḥrāb ʿUmar* is probably west of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, and *Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya* east of it,<sup>1</sup> similar to their High Fāṭimid successors (B209.2), but this is not certain.

B200.2.b. **Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69** has, inside *al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf*, first *Miḥrāb ʿUmar*, then \**Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya* and *ğamīʿ al-maḥārīb al-latī dāḥil al-masğid* "all prayer-niches which are inside the mosque", between arriving to the building from *Bāb ḥiṭṭa* and leaving it in the direction of *Bāb an-Nabī*; the sequence does not help for location inside the building.

**Ibn al-Murağğā Nr.52-69**

*aṣ-ṣuḥūr al-latī fī muʿaḥḥar al-masğid mimmā yalī Bāb al-Asbāṭ: Kursī Sulaymān -> Bāb as-Sakīna -> Bāb ḥiṭṭa -> al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf: Miḥrāb ʿUmar, \*Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya, ġamīʿ al-maḥārīb al-latī dāḥil al-masğid -> Bāb an-Nabī -> Miḥrāb Maryam = Mahd ʿĪsā -> Mabrak an-nāqa*

B200.3. **Physical shape:** These are true prayer-niches, but no details are known.

B200.4. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** People should, on the prayer-route, enter the Inner Roofed Mosque (*al-Masğid ad-Dāḥilānī l-Musaqqaf*), make ritual prayer at the Prayer-niche of ʿUmar (*Miḥrāb ʿUmar*) and endeavour in prayer there, as well as at the Prayer-niche of Muʿāwiya (\**Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya*) and all [other] prayer-niches in the mosque (*ğamīʿ al-maḥārīb al-latī dāḥil al-masğid*) (B195.4).

## B201. The pulpit

B201.1. **Names (Muslim):** The pulpit (*al-minbar*).<sup>2</sup>

B201.2. **Position:** The Prayer-niche of ʿUmar (*Miḥrāb ʿUmar*) is the prayer-niche which is next to the pulpit (*al-miḥrāb al-laḍī ʿinda al-minbar*) (B200.2). The pulpit is, like all pulpits, on the right [west] side of the [main] Prayer-niche. This is roughly the place of the PULPIT of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

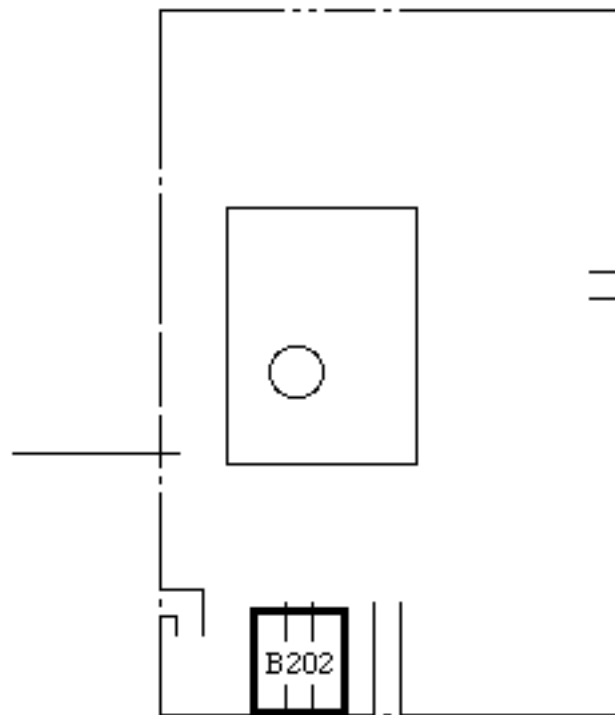
B201.3. **Physical shape:** The pulpit (*al-minbar*) is a true pulpit, but no details are given.

B201.4. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** From the pulpit the *imām* gives his sermon.

<sup>1</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* XVIII f.

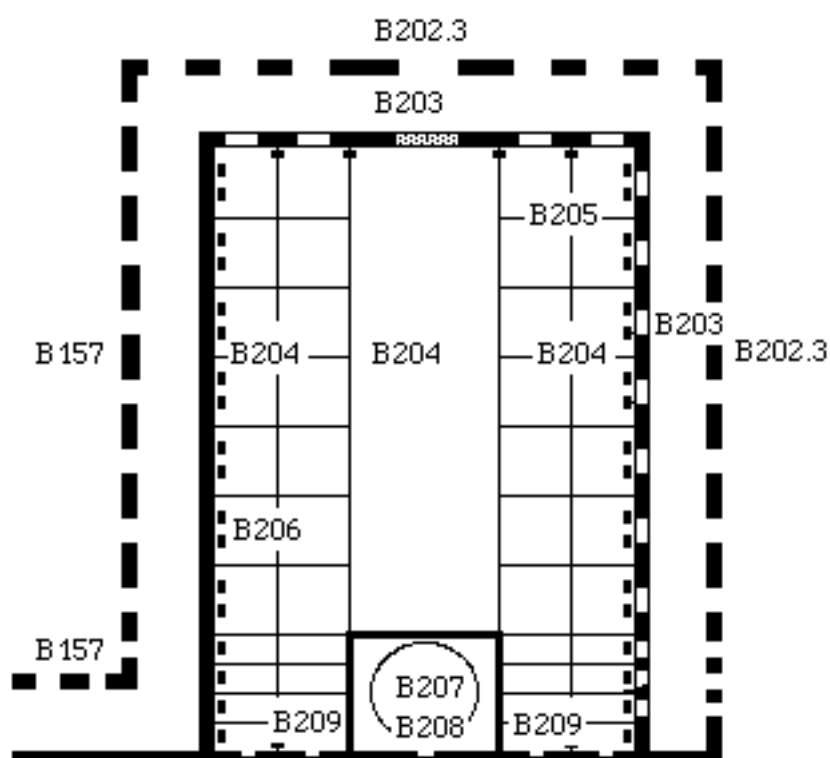
<sup>2</sup>**Ibn al-Murağğā** 131,1f. (see Busse, "Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb" 91 n. 67) *Bābu dīkri mā ġāʾa fī Miḥrābi ʿUmar raḍiya Llāhu ʿanhu wa-huwa l-miḥrābu l-laḍī ʿinda l-Minbari l-yawma wa-qawlu ʿUmar lanā muqaddamu l-masāğidi*.

4.7. THE HIGH FĀṬIMID AQṢĀ MOSQUE (1030s-1099)



**100**

**Figure 100.** The position of the High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall or Aqṣā Mosque (B202).



## 101

**Figure 101. The High Fāṭimid Roofed Hall or Aqṣā Mosque:** B157 The south arcade of the whole area, partly along the west side of the Aqṣā Mosque. - B202.3 The north and the east arcades of the Aqṣā Mosque. - B203 Five north gates, among them a copper gate, and ten east gates. - B204 Five naves north-south, among them a wider central nave, and eleven vertical naves west-east. - B205 The cistern inside the Aqṣā Mosque. - B206 The boxes of the cities of Syria-Palestine and Iraq. - B207 The *Maqṣūra* and the dome. - B208 The [main] Prayer-niche. - B209 The Prayer-niche of ‘Umar (east) and the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya (west).

## B202. The Aqṣà Mosque<sup>1</sup> and the courtyard east of it

**B202.1. Names (Muslim):** The Roofed Hall (of the Friday Mosque in which the *Maqṣūra* is) (*pūšiš-i masġid-i buzurg kih Maqṣūra dar-ū-st* (B202.2), *pūšiš*<sup>2</sup>), the Furthest Mosque (*Masġid al-Aqṣà*) (B202.6), the *Maqṣūra* (of the mosque in Jerusalem) (*Maqṣūrat al-masġid bi-Bayt a-Maqdis*,<sup>3</sup> *Maqṣūra*<sup>4</sup>), and the courtyard (*sāḥat*) east of it (B202.2).

B202.1.a. The terminology is ambiguous insofar as *Maqṣūra* is both the whole south building and the *Maqṣūra* proper, i.e., the space near the prayer-niche inside the south building.<sup>5</sup>

**B202.2. Position.** The Roofed Hall of the Friday Mosque in which the *Maqṣūra* is (*pūšiš-i masġid-i buzurg kih Maqṣūra dar-ū-st*) has its place in the southwest [corner of the mosque's] wall (*bar dīwār-i ġanūbī-i ġarbi*).<sup>6</sup> Between the Aqṣà Mosque (*Masġid al-Aqṣà*) and the southeastern corner of the mosque, for a length of 200 ells (133.00 m) along the south wall [of the mosque] (*ba-dīwār-i ġanūbī*), is no roofed hall, but a courtyard (*pūšiš nīst wa sāḥat ast*).<sup>7</sup> If one deducts from the length of the whole mosque [the length of] the Roofed Hall

<sup>1</sup>For the High Fāṭimid Aqṣà Mosque, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100-104; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 19-21; 268 n. 4; 269f. n. 3; 276 n. 5; 282; 381-392; 421f.; 443f.; 452f. (remark by Wiet); Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 9; 23; 36f.; 71-73; 89-92; Sourdel-Thomine, *al-Harawī (texte)* 64f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 33; 38-47; Creswell, *EMA* 1 373-380 (with fig. 445 and fig. 446); Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 228; 230 n. 7; 303f.; 307-309; fig. 366-370; 367f.; fig. 376; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaique au Saint-Sépulchre" 248f.; Busink, *Tempel* 926-930; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 328b; Burgoyne/Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 46; Grabar, *al-Masdjid al-Aqṣà* 696ab; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II"; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣà"; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣir" 269-271; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197; 3 51-54; 58; Schick, *Christian Communities* 348; Elad, *Jerusalem* XXIII; 41-44; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 148-155; Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture" 408; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 388.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105; see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 23; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; 377) *in pūšiš-rā ḥāḥar ṣad wa bīst* (I read *in pūšiš-rā ṣad wa bīst*) *araš ūl-ast dar ṣad wa paṅgāḥ araš 'arḍ*; **Nāṣir** 36, 17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 107) *wa bar ḥāḥar ḡānib-i in pūšiš az ān-i har ṣahr-i az ṣahrhā-yi Šām wa 'Irāq šun-dūqhā-st*.

<sup>3</sup>**al-Bīrūnī**, **Āṭār** 298,4f. (see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100) (... *wa-ka-dālika yūḡadu fī l-ma'ādini ašyā'u ṭabī'ī yatun 'aġibatun*) *fa-innahu yuḥkà anna fī maqṣūratī l-masġidi bi-Bayti l-Maqdisi kitābatan ḥilqatan fī ḥaġarīn wa-hiya 'Muḥammadun Rasūlu Llāhi ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama'*. The statement itself is to be considered High 'Abbāsīd (B129.3.b).

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 32,15-17 *wa dirāzī-i masġid az šamāl ba-ġanūb ast tā cūn Maqṣūra az ān bāz burīda ast sāḥat murabba' āmada kih qibla dar ḡanūb uftāda ast*; **Nāṣir** 36,8 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 23) *wa bar dar wa dīwār-i Maqṣūra* (read *wa bar dū dīwār-i Maqṣūra*) *kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast ...*

<sup>5</sup>Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣir" 269.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,14f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa pūšiš-i masġid-i buzurg kih Maqṣūra dar-ū-st bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī ast wa ġarbi*.

<sup>7</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,13f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105; see Creswell, *EMA* 1 377) (*wa-in masġid ma'rūf-ast ba-Mahd-i 'Īsī 'alayhi s-salām ... wa cūn az dar-i in masġid biguḍarī ham bar dīwār-i šarqī cūn ba-ġūša-i masġid-i buzurg*

(*Maqṣūra*) in its south, one gets a quadrangular (*murabbaʿ*) courtyard (*sāḥat*) (B131.5). We best locate the building at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and the courtyard east of it between the AQṢĀ MOSQUE and the EAST ḤARAM WALL.

B202.2.a. In **Nāṣir**'s *wa ḥūn ba-dīwār-i ḡanūbī bāz gardī az ān gūša miqdār-i duwīst gaz pūšīš nīst wa sāḥat ast* "And when you turn back in the south wall from this corner, there is, for about 200 ells, no roofed hall, there is a courtyard", *az ān gūša* refers to the southeast corner, and *ḥūn ba-dīwār-i ḡanūbī bāz gardī* stresses that the distance is measured along the south wall. His 200 ells (133.00 m) fit with the roughly 120 m<sup>1</sup> from the EAST ḤARAM WALL to the AQṢĀ MOSQUE.

B202.2.b. Another passage of **Nāṣir** may be structured in two ways: Either we read *wa pūšīš-i maṣḡid-i buzurḡ kih Maqṣūra dar-ū-st bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī ast / wa ḡarbī-i īn pūšīš-rā \*čahār ṣad wa bīst araš ṭūl-ast wa paṅḡāh araš 'arḍ* "The Friday Mosque's Roofed Hall, in which the *Maqṣūra* is, is in the south wall. The west [side] of this Roofed Hall has a length of \*120 by a width of 150 ells" (Le Strange, Thackston), or ... *bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī ast wa ḡarbī / īn pūšīš-rā \*čahār ṣad wa bīst araš ṭūl-ast wa paṅḡāh araš 'arḍ* (Ġanīzāda) "... is in the southwest wall. This Roofed Hall has a length of \*120 by a width of 150 ells". The second interpretation is preferable. **Nāṣir** very often uses formulas like *bar dīwār-i ḡanūbī ast wa ḡarbī* with a second *epitheton* after *ast*, and there is no need to specify that the building's length and width do not apply to the west side of the building, but rather to the whole building. *Pūšīš* in the same passage has been restricted to the *Maqṣūra* proper inside the building (Le Strange), but there is no reason for this.

B202.2.c. The passage has been published as *wa pūšīš-i maṣḡid-i buzurḡ čahār ṣad wa hašt araš ṭūl-ast kih Maqṣūra az dast-i rāst sar-i dīwār-i ḡanūbī / wa ḡarbī-i ān pūšīš-rā čahār ṣad wa paṅḡāh araš 'arḍ* and translated "La partie de la mosquée couverte d' un toit, qui a la Maqṣoureh à sa droite, est attenante à la partie méridionale du mur. La partie couverte de la mosquée qui fait face à l' occident a quatre cent vingt [sic] ārech de long sur cent cinquante de large" (Schefer, similarly Thackston); however, the manuscripts do not have this text.<sup>2</sup>

B202.2.d. **Nāṣir** has *Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā*, the south arcade [west of it] and the cistern inside it preceded by *Bāb at-tawba/Bāb ar-raḥma* (at the GOLDEN GATE) and (*Maṣḡid-i*) *Mahd-i Īsī* (at MASĠID MAHD ĪSĀ), and followed by the ablution place in a south gate (at MAQĀM AL-ḤIDR), a general remark on the cisterns of the whole mosque (the whole ḤARAM), the water of the city and the underground gates, then *Bāb an-Nabī* (at the DOUBLE GATE). This gives a general location of *Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā* in the SOUTHWEST ḤARAM CORNER.

**Nāṣir**

*Bāb at-tawba/Bāb ar-raḥma* -> (*Maṣḡid-i*) *Mahd-i Īsī* -> **Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā** -> south arcade (west of *Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā*) -> cistern inside **Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā** -> ablution place in a south gate, cisterns of the mosque, water in Jerusalem -> the underground gates -> *Bāb an-Nabī*

B202.3. **Physical shape:** This is a (large and beautiful) mosque (*maṣḡid-i 'aẓīm-i nikū*,<sup>3</sup>

---

*birasand maṣḡid-i dīgar ast .. wa ān-rā Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā gūyand) wa ḥūn ba-dīwār-i ḡanūbī bāz gardī az ān gūša miqdār-i duwīst gaz pūšīš nīst wa sāḥat ast.*

<sup>1</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 377 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ġanīzāda, *Nāṣir* 35 n. 7.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,5-7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa ḥūn az dar-i īn maṣḡid bigudārī ham bar dīwār-i šarqī ḥūn ba-gūša-i maṣḡid-i buzurḡ birasand maṣḡid-i dīgar ast 'aẓīm-i nikū (... wa ān-rā Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā gūyand).*

*masğid*),<sup>1</sup> is a building (*‘imārat*) masterfully built (*ba-takalluf karda*).<sup>2</sup> It is 120 ells (*\*šad wa bīst araš*) (79.80 m) long and 150 ells (*šad wa paṅğāh araš*) (99.75 m) wide,<sup>3</sup> ten times (*\*dah bāra*) larger than the Mosque of the Cradle of Jesus (*Masğid-i Mahd-i ‘Īsī*) (B165.3). In the two walls of the Roofed Hall [the Aqṣā Mosque] which are on the side of the courtyard (*\*bar dū dīwār-i Maqṣūra kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast*) are fifteen gates (*dargāh*), ten in the [east] wall 120 ells (79.80 m) long, five in the [north] wall 150 ells (99.75 m) long (B203.2); one of these gates, the central north gate, has a copper door (*dar-i biringī*) (B203.2). The building has arcades on its west side (B157.2) and its east and north sides. The *Maqṣūra* is in the Roofed Hall of the mosque (*dar pūšīš-i masğid*) (B202.2), in the centre of the south wall [of the Roofed Hall] (*bar wasaṭ-i dīwār-i ḡanūbī*) (B207.2); this *Maqṣūra* is next to the [main] Prayer-niche; above the *Maqṣūra* is the dome (B207.2). Next to the *Maqṣūra* are the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya (*Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya*) and the Prayer-niche of ‘Umar (*Miḥrāb ‘Umar*) (B209.2). Inside the Roofed Hall (*dar andarūn-i pūšīš*) is a cistern (B205.2). Along the four sides of the Roofed Hall (*bar čahār ḡānib-i pūšīš*) are boxes, each of which belongs to a city of Syria-Palestine or Iraq (B206.2). No pulpit is mentioned.

B202.3.a. **Nāšir** gives the size of the building in his *in pūšīš-rā čahār šad wa bīst araš ṭūl-ast dar šad wa paṅğāh araš ‘arḍ* "The Roofed Hall has a length of 420 by a width of 150 ells" and (*pānzdah dargāh ...*) *dah az ān-ḡumla bar ān dīwār kih čahār šad wa bīst gaz ast wa paṅḡ bar ān-kih šad wa paṅğāh gaz ast* "(fifteen doors ...) ten of them are in the wall which is 420 ells [long] and five in the one which is 150 ells [long]". But the whole mosque measures 784 by 455 king's ells (521.36 by 302.58 m), and this precludes a length of 420 ells (279.30 m) for its Roofed Hall.<sup>4</sup>

B202.3.b. **Nāšir**'s length of 420 ells (279.30 m) has been considered so corrupt that we may not reconstruct the original.<sup>5</sup> But we may assume that the original *\*šad wa bīst araš* = *\*šad wa bīst gaz* "120 ells" mistakenly became *čahār šad wa bīst araš* = *čahār šad wa bīst gaz* "420 ells".<sup>6</sup> There is no reason for the addition of *čahār*, but confusion is, as with numbers in general, very possible. A length of 120 ells (79.80) fits with the length of 784 king's ells (521.36 m) for the Fāṭimid mosque (B131.8).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāšir** 35,5-7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa čūn az dar-i in masğid biguḍarī ham bar dīwār-i šarqī čūn ba-ḡūša-i masğid-i buzurg birasand masğid-i dīgar ast ‘aẓīm-i nikū (... wa ān-rā Masğid al-Aqṣā ḡuyand)*; **Nāšir** 36,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 91f.; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāšir" 270f.) *wa saqf-i in masğid ba-čūb pūšīda ast munaqqaš wa mutakallif*; **Nāšir** 36,15 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 107) *wa čūn hama-i darhā bāz kunand andarūn-i masğid čūn-ān rawšan šawad*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāšir** 35,11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) (*wa ān-rā Masğid al-Aqṣā ḡuyand ...*) *wa ān-ḡā-rā ‘imārat-i ba-takalluf karda and*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāšir** 35,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105; see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 23; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; 377) *in pūšīš-rā čahār šad wa bīst* (I read *in pūšīš-rā šad wa bīst*) *araš ṭūl-ast dar šad wa paṅğāh araš ‘arḍ*; **Nāšir** 36,10f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 23; Creswell, *EMA* 1 377) (*wa bar dar wa dīwār-i Maqṣūra* (read *wa bar dū dīwār-i Maqṣūra*) *kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast pānzdah dargāh ast ...*) *dah az ān-ḡumla bar ān dīwār kih čahār šad wa bīst gaz* (read *kih šad wa bīst gaz*) *ast wa paṅḡ bar ān-kih šad wa paṅğāh gaz*.

<sup>4</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 104; Creswell, *EMA* 1 377; Busink, *Tempel* 927.

<sup>5</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 375.

<sup>6</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 104; Busink, *Tempel* 927.

B202.3.c. There are definitely Fāṭimid elements in the AQṢĀ MOSQUE NORTH ARCADE and the AQṢĀ MOSQUE NORTH FAÇADE. We may definitely locate a Fāṭimid north arcade in this AQṢĀ MOSQUE NORTH ARCADE and assume that the Fāṭimid mosque was between the AQṢĀ MOSQUE NORTH FAÇADE and the SOUTH ḤARAM WALL. The length of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE, about 69.45-69.80 m,<sup>1</sup> fits quite well with the 120 ells (79.80 m) mentioned. The ten east gates correspond with the eleven VERTICAL NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE (B203.2.c).

B202.3.d. **Nāṣir**'s width of 150 ells (99.75 m) fits with both the width of the Fāṭimid mosque of 455 king's ells (302.58 m) (B131.8)<sup>2</sup> and the width of today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE. It has been assumed that **Nāṣir**'s width of 150 ells may have been originally \*120 ells,<sup>3</sup> but this is not necessary.

B202.3.e. The building has a width of 150 ells (99.75 m), and the courtyard east of it a width of 200 ells (133.00 m). If we assume that the building is symmetric, having its central axis from the ROCK to the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, the distance between the east wall and the Rock is 150: 2 + 200 ells = 275 ells (182.86 m).

B202.4. All of the floor (*hama farš*) is paved with polychrome marble (*ruḥām-i mulawwan*), and seams are filled with lead;<sup>4</sup> when the cap (*sar*) of the cistern inside the building is put on, the cistern is level with the floor (*ba-zamīn mustawī*) (B205.2). There are beautiful carpets (*faršhā-yi pākīza*) spread,<sup>5</sup> except in the *Maqṣūra* with its North African mats (*ḥaṣīrhā-yi maḡribī*) (B207.3).

B202.4.a. For parallels to the lead-filled seams of the Aqṣā Mosque, see B155.4.a.

B202.4.b. For parallels to the beautiful carpets in the Aqṣā Mosque, see B147.3.a.

**B202.5. Contemporary events:** This building was built by **aḏ-Zāhir**.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 378 n. 4; 380 n. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Busink, *Tempe* 1927.

<sup>3</sup>Le Strange, *Nāṣir* 64.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,20f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa hama farš ruḥām-i mulawwan* (NP *ḥām-i mulawwan*) *andāḥta wa darzhā-rā ba-arzīr* (read *ba-arzīz*, with NP) *girifta*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) (*wa ān-rā Maṣḡid al-Aqṣā gūyand ... wa ān-ḡā-rā 'imārat-i ba-takalluf karda and*) *wa faršhā-yi pākīza afkanda*.

<sup>6</sup>**van Berchem Nr.301**,1f.[*bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi 'subḥāna l-laḏī aṣrā bi-'abdihi laylan mina l-maṣḡidi l-ḥa[rāmi ilā l-Maṣḡidi l-Aqṣā l-laḏī bāraknā ḥawlahu'* (**Koran** 17.1) ...]*'imāratahu mawlānā 'Alīyu Abī [sic] l-Ḥasani l-imāmu ḏ-Zāhiru li-i'zāzi dī[ni Llāhi] amīru l-mu'[minīna bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīri] l-mu'minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhi wa-'alā ābā'ihi ṭ-ṭāhirīna wa-abnā'ihi l-akramīna*]; **al-Harawī** 25,21-26,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 102; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 381-383; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 43-45; partly Creswell, *EMA* 1 376 n. 4; see Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 248f.; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 141f.) *wa-qara'tu fī saqfi qubbatī l-Aqṣā mā ḥāḏīhi šūratuhu 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi subḥāna l-laḏī asrā bi-'abdihi laylan mina l-Maṣḡidi l-Ḥarāmi ilā l-Maṣḡidi l-Aqṣā l-laḏī bāraknā min ḥawlihi'* (**Koran** 17.1) *naṣrun mina Llāhi* (**Koran** 61.13) *li-'abdi Llāhi wa-walīyīhi Abī l-Ḥasani 'Alīya* (Var. *'Alīya bni l-Ḥasani; 'Alīya bni Abī l-Ḥasani*) *l-imāmi* (Var. without *l-imāmi*) *ḏ-Zāhiri li-i'zāzi dīni Llāhi amīri l-mu'minīna ṣalawātu*



**B202.6. Traditions (Muslim):** This is the Furthest Mosque (*al-Masğid al-Aqṣà*), where on the Night of the Ascension Muḥammad was brought from Mecca and from where he rose to heaven, as mentioned in Koranic, "Glory be to Him who journeyed by night with His servant from the Sacred Mosque to the Furthest Mosque around which We have bestowed blessing" (*Koran* 17.1).<sup>1</sup> The Rock (*Ṣaḥra*) was too large to be integrated into the Roofed Hall (*pūšiš*), and therefore the platform (*dukkān*) was built [by the Umayyads] (B167.4).

B202.6.a. **Nāṣir** calls this building *al-Masğid al-Aqṣà*; the inscription **van Berchem Nr.301** on the arch in front of the *Maqṣūra* connects the *Maqṣūra* with *al-Masğid al-Aqṣà*. It has been claimed that they thus locate the Night Journey at this building,<sup>2</sup> but the building is nowhere integrated into the list of the stations of Muḥammad's Night Journey. Rather, the name *al-Masğid al-Aqṣà*, which in the Marwānid (B014.7) and High 'Abbāsid (B052.8) sources refers to the whole area, is from Fāṭimid times on, restricted to the south building. This emphasises the importance of this south building - this is the most important part of the mosque, the mosque per se.

B202.6.b. Marwānid *al-Masğid al-Aqṣà* has erroneously been taken to refer to the south building;<sup>3</sup> however, the

---

*Llāhi 'alayhi wa-'alā ābā'ihī ṭ-ṭāhirīna wa-abnā'ihī l-akramīna amara bi-'amali hādihī l-qubbati wa-idhābihā sayyidunā l-wazīru* (Var. *l-'azīzu*) *l-ağallu ṣafīyu amīri l-mu'minīna wa-ḥālīṣatuhu Abū l-Qāsimi 'Alīyu bnu Aḥmada ayyadahu Llāhu wa-naṣaruhu wa-kumila ḡamī'u dālīka ilā ṣalḥi dī l-qa'dati sanata sittin wa-'īsrīna wa-arba'i mi'atin ṣan'atu 'Abdi Llāhi bni l-Ḥasani l-Miṣrīyi l-muzawwiqī'* (= **van Berchem Nr.275**) *wa-ḡamī'u l-kitābati wa-l-awraqī* (Le Strange *porticoes* and Creswell *aisles*, they erroneously read *wa-l-arwāqī*) *bi-l-faṣṣi l-mudahhabi wa-ḡamī'u mā 'alā l-abwābi min āyāti l-Qur'āni l-'azīzi wa-asāmī l-ḥulafā'i lam tuḡayyirhu l-Firaṅḡu..*

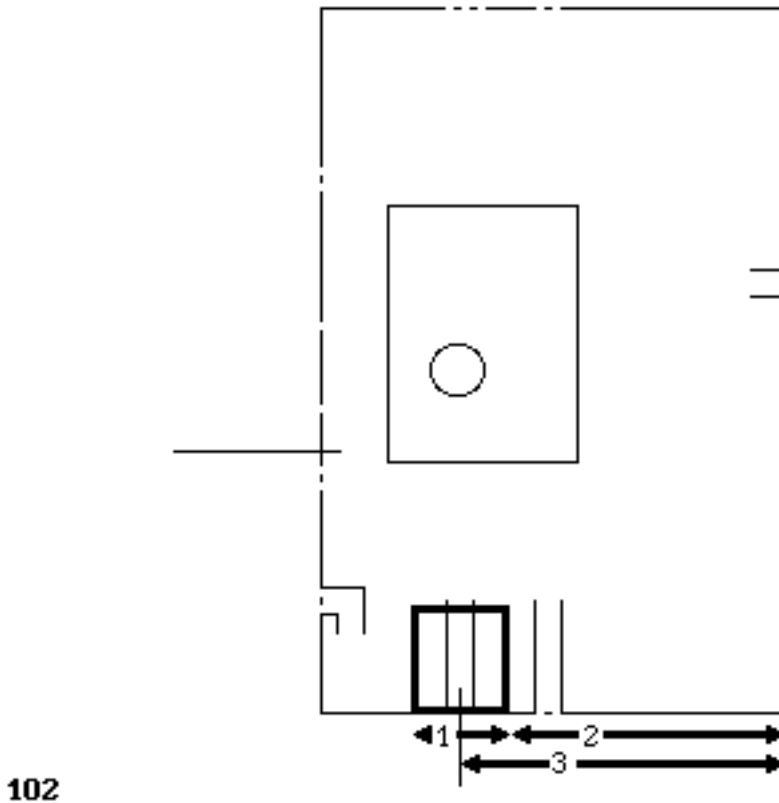
For the inscription **van Berchem Nr.301**, see RCEA Nr.2410; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 9; pl. 2-3; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 39f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 376; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 308; 230 n. 7; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 249; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 141f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 149-151; 152 fig. 79.

<sup>1</sup>**van Berchem Nr.301**, 1f. *[bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi 'subḥāna l-laḍī a]srā bi-'abdihi laylan mina l-masğidi l-ḥarāmi ilā l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà l-laḍī bāraknā ḥawlahu'* (*Koran* 17.1) ... *['imāratahu mawlānā 'Alīyu Abī [sic] l-Ḥasani l-imāmu ṣ-Zāhiru li-i'zāzi dī[ni Llāhi] amīru l-mu'minīna bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīri] l-mu'minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhi wa-'alā ābā'ihī ṭ-ṭāhirīna wa-abnā'ihī l-akramīna]; Nāṣir* 35,7-11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa ān-rā Masğid al-Aqṣà ḡuyand wa ān ān-ast kih Ḥudā-yi 'azza wa-ḡalla Muṣṭafā-rā ṣallā Llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam ṣab-i Mi'rāḡ az Makka ān-ḡā āward wa az ān-ḡā ba-āsmān šud čun-ān-kih dar Qur'an ān-rā yād karda ast 'subḥāna l-laḍī asrā bi-'abdihi laylan mina l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi ilā l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà' l-āyata* (cf. *Koran* 17.1); **al-Harawī** 25,21-26,7 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 102; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 381-383; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 43-45; see Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 248f.; Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 141f.) *wa-qara'tu fī saqfi qubbati l-Aqṣà mā hādihī šūratuhu 'bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi subḥāna l-laḍī asrā bi-'abdihi laylan mina l-Masğidi l-Ḥarāmi ilā l-Masğidi l-Aqṣà l-laḍī bāraknā min ḥawlihi'* (*Koran* 17.1) *naṣrun mina Llāhi (Koran 61.13) li-'abdi Llāhi wa-walīyihī Abī l-Ḥasani 'Alīya* (Var. *'Alīya bni l-Ḥasani*; *'Alīya bni Abī l-Ḥasani*) *l-imāmi* (Var. without *l-imāmi*) *ṣ-Zāhiri li-i'zāzi dīni Llāhi amīri l-mu'minīna ṣalawātu Llāhi 'alayhi wa-'alā ābā'ihī ṭ-ṭāhirīna wa-abnā'ihī l-akramīna ...'* (= **van Berchem Nr.275**).

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 151 (but not Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 157).

<sup>3</sup>Elad, *Jerusalem* 23-44.

Marwānid, High ʿAbbāsīd and possibly also Early Fāṭimid terms (B014.7, B052.8, B131.14) aim at the whole area, and only the High Fāṭimid term refers to the south building.<sup>1</sup>



102

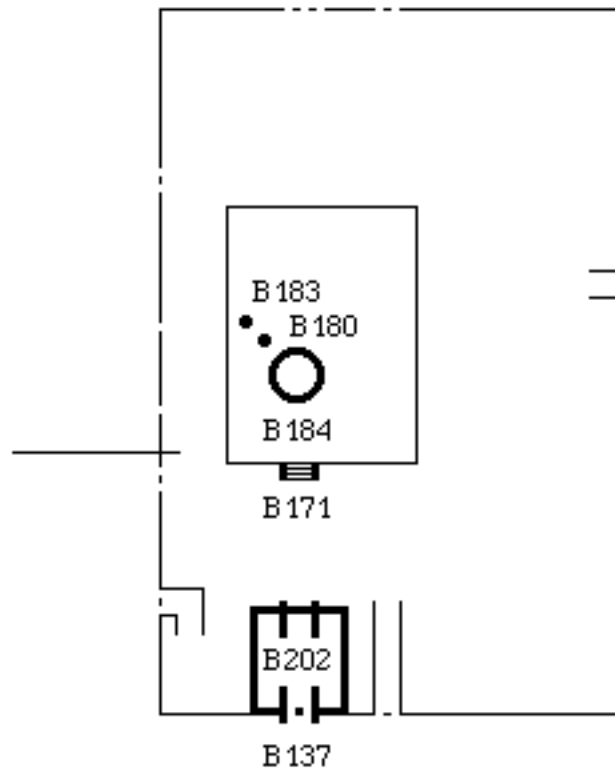
**Figure 102. Dimensions of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque and the open courtyard east of it:** 1 The width of the Aqṣā Mosque. - 2 The width of the open courtyard east of the Aqṣā Mosque. - 3 The distance from the main prayer-niche of the Aqṣā Mosque to the east wall of the area.

**B202.7. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The Aqṣā Mosque has its own servants (*ḥādimān-i ǧudāgāna istāda*).<sup>2</sup> Adherents [of the Aqṣā Mosque] (*muǧāwirān*) sit on or next to the boxes (*ṣundūqhā*), each of which belongs to a city of Syria-Palestine or Iraq (*az ān-i har šahr-ī az šahrhā-yi Šām wa ʿIrāq*) (B206.4).

B202.7.a. It has been claimed that the platform may have been the place where the Night Journey was celebrated, and the Aqṣā Mosque the place of its official acknowledgment, but neither is supported by the sources (B167.5.a).

<sup>1</sup>For the term *al-Masǧid al-Aqṣā* referring to the whole area, see A084.a.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,12f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) (*wa ān-rā Masǧid al-Aqṣā gūyand ...*) *wa ḥādimān-i ǧudāgāna ī stāda hamīša ḥidmat-i ān-rā kunand* (NP *wa ḥādimān-i ǧudāgāna istāda ḥidmat-i ān-rā*).



**103**

**Figure 103. High Fāṭimid places connected by Nāṣir with Muḥammad's Night Journey:**  
 B137 The Gate of the Prophet. - B171 The Ascent of the Prophet. - B180 The Dome of the Prophet or Dome of the Messenger. - B183 The Dome of Gabriel. - B184 The Dome of the Rock, with the Rock and the Cave. - B202 The Aqṣà Mosque.

### B203. The gates of the Aqṣā Mosque<sup>1</sup>

B203.1. **Names (Muslim):** The gates (*dargāh*) of the Roofed Hall (*Maqṣūra*) [the Aqṣā Mosque], one of them with a copper door (*dar-i biringī*) (B203.3).

B203.2. **Position:** In the two walls of the Roofed Hall (*Maqṣūra*) [the Aqṣā Mosque] which are on the side of the courtyard (*\*bar dū dīwār-i Maqṣūra kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast*) are fifteen gates (sing. *dargāh*), ten in the [east] wall 120 ells (79.80 m) long, five in the [north] wall 150 ells (99.75 m) long.<sup>2</sup> The building has an arcade on its east side. We best locate the five north gates in the central five NORTH GATES, the copper gate (*dar-i biringī*) in the CENTRAL NORTH GATE of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, and the ten east gates in the east wall of the building parallel to the north ten of the eleven EAST GATES.

B203.2.a. **Nāṣir's** introductory *wa bar dar wa dīwār-i Maqṣūra kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast pānzdah dargāh ast* "and in the door and the wall of the Roofed Hall which is next to the courtyard are fifteen gateways" makes no sense. We may assume an original *\*wa bar dū dīwār-i Maqṣūra kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast ...* "and in the two walls of the Roofed Hall which is next to the courtyard ...". The addition of the letter *rā'*, which makes out of *\*wa bar dū d...* the text's *wa bar dar wa d...*, may easily have happened, as the letters *rā'* and *wāw* (and *dāl*) are very similar to each other; two walls with doors are indeed mentioned twice. Neither "outside the doors and walls of the Maksûrah" (Le Strange) nor "along the wall of the maqsurah" (Thackston) fits with the text, as the Aqṣā Mosque is meant.

B203.2.b. It has been assumed that the [north] wall 150 ells (99.75 m) long (B202.3) had seven naves,<sup>3</sup> but the five gateways lead rather into five naves.<sup>4</sup> These five doors and five naves fit with the central five NORTH DOORS and NAVES of today. The part of the forty-two-column southwest arcade along the west wall of the Aqṣā Mosque (B157.2.c) fits with the westernmost NORTH DOOR and the westernmost NAVE, and the existence of the easterly NORTH DOOR and NAVE makes us assume an arcade along the east wall of the Aqṣā Mosque. Today's CENTRAL NAVE is wider than the others; the Fāṭimid building also had a wider central nave. To assume the reverse, that the building had seven gates, and that the two gates most east and west were walled up in Fāṭimid times<sup>5</sup> and then reopened, is less probable. The fifteen doors of the High Fāṭimid building towards the north and the east have mistakenly been identified with the fifteen north doors of the High 'Abbāsīd building (B125.2.d).

<sup>1</sup>For the gates of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 19-21; 379; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 23; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378 n. 2; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 269f.; Elad, *Jerusalem* 41f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 150 fig. 77.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,8-11 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 23; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; 377) *wa bar dar wa dīwār-i Maqṣūra* (read *wa bar dū dīwār-i Maqṣūra*) *kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast pānzdah dargāh ast wa darhā-yi ba-takalluf bar ān-ḡā nihāda har yak dah gaz 'ulūw dar šiš gaz 'arḍ dah az ān-ḡumla bar ān dīwār kih ḥāḥār ṣad wa bīst gaz* (read *kih ṣad wa bīst gaz*) *ast wa paṅḡ bar ān-kih ṣad wa paṅḡāh gaz*.

<sup>3</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 102; Creswell, *EMA* 1 377-379; fig. 446; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; Goitein, "al-Ḳuds" 328b; Grabar, "al-Masjdīd al-Aqṣā" 696b; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140 fig. 70; 149; 150 fig. 77f.

<sup>4</sup>Hamilton, *Aqṣā Mosque* 23; 71.

<sup>5</sup>Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9.

B203.2.c. It has also been assumed that the [east] wall 120 ells (79.80 m) long (B202.3) had five naves,<sup>1</sup> but the ten gateways make us think first of ten vertical naves. Today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE has eleven VERTICAL NAVES which correspond to the eleven High 'Abbāsīd vertical naves (B125.2). We therefore should assume that the Fāṭimid building with its ten east gates had eleven vertical naves.<sup>2</sup> One of the High 'Abbāsīd east gates, possibly the southernmost gate, may have been closed, or two gates may have been combined into one.

B203.2.d. It has been assumed that the building had five north gates leading into eleven naves, i.e., a wider central nave and three west and seven east naves;<sup>3</sup> this asymmetric layout is very implausible.

B203.2.e. The High Fāṭimid building has far fewer doors than the High 'Abbāsīd building. This is due to the smaller width of the High Fāṭimid building and the addition of the wider NORTH VERTICAL NAVES (Hamilton's AQṢĀ MOSQUE III) to the remaining narrower SOUTH VERTICAL NAVES (the remains of Hamilton's AQṢĀ MOSQUE II).

**B203.3. Physical shape:** These gates (sing. *dargāh*) (B203.2) have doors (*darhā*)<sup>4</sup> each 10 ells (6.65 m) high and 6 ells (3.99 m) wide, and masterfully (*ba-takalluf*) made.<sup>5</sup> One of the doors [the central north door] is a copper gate (*dar-i biringī*) made with such extraordinary mastery and beauty (*bīš az ḥadd ba-takalluf wa nikū'i*) that it seems to be made of gold (*zar-rīn*); it is decorated with pure silver (*sīm-i sūhta*) and carries an inscription with the name of al-Ma'mūn.<sup>6</sup> The doors are opened [in fair weather] and the inside of the mosque becomes as bright as a courtyard without a roof (*sāḥat-i bī saqf*); during wind and rainfall they are

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 150 fig. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Le Strange, *Palestine* 102; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140 fig. 70; 149; 150 fig. 77f.

<sup>3</sup>Busink, *Tempel* 928-930 (with fig. 210); 940.

Grabar claims that the former west naves are abandoned and calls the building asymmetric (Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 149), but nevertheless shows a symmetrical building with seven naves (Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140 fig. 70; 150 fig. 77f.).

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 23) (*wa bar dar wa dīwār-i Maqṣūra* (read *wa bar dū dīwār-i Maqṣūra*) *kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast pānzdah dargāh ast*) *wa darhā-yi ba-takalluf bar ān-ḡā nihāda har yak dah gaz 'ulūw dar šiš gaz 'arḍ*; **Nāṣir** 36,11f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378 n. 2) *wa az ḡumla-i ān darhā yak-i biringī* (NP *biringī ast*); **Nāṣir** 36,15-17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 107; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 270) *wa čūn hama-i darhā bāz kunand andarūn-i maṣḡid čun-ān rawšan šawad kih ḡū'i sāḥat-i bī saqf ast ammā waqt-i kih bād wa bārān* (NP *bārandagī*) *bāšad wa darhā bāz na-kunand rawšanī az rawzanhā bāšad*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,9f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 23) (*wa bar dar wa dīwār-i Maqṣūra* (read *wa bar dū dīwār-i Maqṣūra*) *kih bā ḡānib-i sāḥat-ast pānzdah dargāh ast*) *wa darhā-yi ba-takalluf bar ān-ḡā nihāda har yak dah gaz 'ulūw dar šiš gaz 'arḍ*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,11-14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378 n. 2) *wa az ḡumla-i ān darhā yak-i biringī* (NP *biringī ast*) *bīš az ḥadd ba-takalluf wa nikū'i* (NP *nikū*) *sāḥta and čun-ān-kih ḡū'i zarrīn ast ba-sīm-i sūhta naqš karda wa nām-i Ma'mūn-i ḥalīfa bar ān-ḡā-st* (= **van Berchem** Nr.149D = **van Berchem** Nr.274).

closed, and then windows (*rawzanhā*) in the roof of the central nave light the interior.<sup>1</sup>

B203.3.a. For parallels to the inscription with the name of al-Ma'mūn, see B040.3.a.

B203.3.b. **Nāṣir**'s *wa az ġumla-i ān darhā yak-ī biringī biš az ḥadd ba-takalluf wa nikū'ī sāḥta and ...* "and of all those gates one is copper, made with extraordinary mastery and beauty ..." stresses the beauty of the one copper gate and makes clear that only one gate is made of copper. It has been assumed that all the north gates are copper doors,<sup>2</sup> but this is out of the question.

B203.3.c. The doors' height of 10 ells (6.65 m) and width of 6 ells (3.99 m) are the usual dimensions of doors in the mosque (B150.3.b).

B203.4. **Traditions (Muslim)**: The copper gate (*dar-i biringī*) with the name of al-Ma'mūn was sent by him from Baġdād.<sup>3</sup>

B203.5. **Rituals and customs (Muslim)**: The doors are opened [in fair weather] so that the inside of the mosque becomes as bright as a courtyard with no roof (*sāḥat-i bī saqf*), but are closed during wind and rainfall (B203.3).

## B204. The naves of the Aqṣā Mosque<sup>4</sup>

B204.1. **Names (Muslim)**: None.

B204.2. **Position**: These are five naves from north to south with a wider central nave (B203.2.b), and eleven vertical naves from east to west (B203.2.c). We best locate the five naves at the central five of the seven NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE (B203.2.b), and the eleven vertical naves at the eleven VERTICAL NAVES of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE (B203.2.c).

B204.3. **Physical shape**: There are eighty-eight (*\*hašt wa haštād*) columns (*uṣṭuwānahā*),<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,15-17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 107; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 270) *wa čūn hama-i darhā bāz kunand andarūn-i masġid čun-ān rawšan šawad kih gū'ī sāḥat-i bī saqf ast am mā waqt-i kih bād wa bārān (NP bārāndagī) bāšad wa darhā bāz na-kunand rawšanī az rawzanhā bāšad*.

<sup>2</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 152.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,14 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106f.; van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 379; Creswell, *EMA* 1 378 n. 2) (*wa az ġumla-i ān darhā yak-ī biringī (NP biringī ast) biš az ḥadd ba-takalluf wa nikū'ī (NP nīkū) sāḥta and ... wa nām-i Ma'mūn-i ḥalifa bar ān-ġā-st (= van Berchem Nr.149D = van Berchem Nr.274)) gūyand Ma'mūn az Baġdād firistāda ast*.

<sup>4</sup>For the naves of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque, see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100-104; Hamilton, *Aqṣā Mosque* 1; 23; 36f.; 71-73; 91f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 30 n. 9; 33; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375-380 (with fig. 445 and fig. 446); Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I*; Grabar, "al-Masdjid al-Aqṣā" 696ab; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 270f.; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 1 197; 3 51-54; Elad, *Jerusalem* 43f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 140 fig. 70; 149; 150 fig. 77f.

*sutūnhā*<sup>2</sup> sing. *sutūn*<sup>3</sup>), [pseudo]-marble columns (sing. *sutūn-i ruḥāmī*),<sup>4</sup> with both capital and shaft (*sar wa tan*) decorated (*munaqqaš*), the seams filled with lead so that they are really solid, and set with a [north-south] distance of 6 ells (3.99 m) between each two columns.<sup>5</sup> On top of the columns (*bar sar-i uṣṭuwānahā*) are stone vaults (sing. *ṭāq az sang*).<sup>6</sup> Windows (*rawzanhā*) in the central nave<sup>7</sup> light the building when doors are closed during wind and rainfall (B203.3). The ceiling of this mosque (*saqf-i in masḡid*) is wood-covered (*ba-čūb pū-šīda*), decorated and masterfully made (*munaqqaš wa mutakallif*).<sup>8</sup>

B204.3.a. For parallels to the lead-filled seams of these columns, see B158.5.a.

B204.3.b. **Nāṣir**'s *wa duwīst wa haštād sutūn-i ruḥāmī ast* "and there are two hundred eighty marble columns" is suspicious, as the transition from the immediately preceding *\*in pūšīš-rā ṣad wa bīst araš ṭūl-ast dar ṣad wa pangāh araš* 'arḍ "this Roofed Hall has a length of \*120 by a width of 150 ells" is quite abrupt and we would expect rather a connecting *\*wa ān-ḡā* ... "and there is ..." or something similar. 280 columns are just too many, and it has even been thought that the original text cannot be reconstructed.<sup>9</sup> The 280 columns have been explained as 20 x 14 columns and related to the 14 lateral north doors of the High 'Abbāsīd building, but as the High Fāṭimid building is much smaller, this is impossible (B125.2.d).

B204.3.c. We may assume an original text *\*wa dar-ū hašt wa haštād sutūn-i ruḥāmī ast* "and in it are eighty-eight marble columns". The way from assumed original *\*wa dar-ū hašt* to *wa duwīst* is rather easy, as we have to add a *rā* between *dāl* and *wāw* - all three letters are quite similar to each other - and to misread *hā*, written in *ta'liq* with a subscribed diacritical sign, as *yā*, in *ta'liq* with two subscribed diacritical dots. The number eighty-eight fits much better with a building with five naves and eleven vertical naves.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100-104; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 1) *wa bar sar-i uṣṭuwānahā* (NP *bar sar-i in uṣṭuwānahā*) *ṭāq-i az sang dar zada*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,18 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100-104; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 1) *wa hama sar wa tan-i sutūnhā* (NP *hama sar wa bun-i sutūnhā*) *munaqqaš ast*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,16f.19f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100-104; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 1) *wa duwīst* (I read *wa dar-ū hašt*) *wa haštād sutūn-i ruḥāmī ast ... wa miyān-i dū sutūn šīš gaz ast*.

Cf. **Nāṣir** 35,21-36,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa Maqṣūra bar wasaṭ-i dīwār-i ḡanūbī ast bisyār buzurg čun-ān-kih šānzdah sutūn dar ān-ḡā-st*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,16f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100-104; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 1) *wa duwīst wa haštād* (read *wa dar-ū hašt wa haštād*) *sutūn-i ruḥāmī ast*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,18-20 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100-104; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 1) *wa hama sar wa tan-i sutūnhā* (NP *hama sar wa bun-i sutūnhā*) *munaqqaš ast wa darzhā-rā* (NP *wa darzhā*) *ba-arzīr* (I read *ba-arzīz*, with NP) *girifta čun-ān-kih az ān muḥkamtar na-tawānad būd wa miyān-i dū sutūn šīš gaz ast*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,17 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; see Le Strange, *Palestine* 100-104; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 1) *wa bar sar-i uṣṭuwānahā* (NP *bar sar-i in uṣṭuwānahā*) *ṭāq-i az sang dar zada*.

<sup>7</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 151-153.

<sup>8</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,7f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 91f.; see Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣer" 270f.) *wa saqf-i in masḡid ba-čūb pūšīda ast munaqqaš wa mutakallif*.

<sup>9</sup>Creswell, *EMA* 1 375; 377.

B204.3.d. **Nāṣir** speaks of *sutūn-i ruḥāmī* "marble columns", but the columns of the **Aqṣā Mosque III** are, strictly speaking, not marble, but coated with plaster and painted in imitation of marble;<sup>1</sup> **al-Muqaddasī**'s remark about *asāṭin muṣayyada* "columns coated with plaster" in the High 'Abbāsīd Roofed Hall (B126.3) is more precise.<sup>2</sup>

B204.3.e. **Nāṣir**'s *wa hama-i sar wa tan-i sutūnhā munaqqaš ast* "and all the capitals and shafts of the columns are decorated" fits exactly with the decorated Pre-Crusader CAPITALS<sup>3</sup> and SHAFTS<sup>4</sup> found in the AQṢĀ MOSQUE. It has been assumed that we should instead follow **Nāṣir NP**'s *wa hama-i sar wa bun-i sutūnhā munaqqaš ast* "and all the capitals and bases of the columns are decorated" (Thackston), but bases are seldom embellished.

B204.3.f. Stabilising the columns with lead as reported by **Nāṣir**'s *\*darzhā-rā ba-arziz girifta čun-ān-kih az ān muḥkamtar na-tawānad būd* "the seams are made with lead so that nothing may be more solid" may be a reaction to the earthquake which made the Early Fāṭimid building collapse; how effective the measure would have been in the event of another earthquake is unknown. This, with the passage before, has been translated "and both the shafts and the capitals are riveted with lead" (Le Strange); this evidently is *wa hama-i sar wa tan-i sutūnhā munaqqaš ast wa darzhā-rā ba-arziz girifta* with the words *munaqqaš ast wa darzhā-rā* left out.

B204.3.g. How the ceiling may have looked is unknown. The decorated WOODEN BEAM 4 of the CENTRAL NAVE, removed during the renovation of 1938-1942, may have been part of the ceiling of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>5</sup>

## B205. The cistern inside the Aqṣā Mosque

B205.1. **Names (Muslim):** The water cistern (*ḥawḍ ḡihat-i āb*) inside the Roofed Hall (B205.3).

B205.2. **Position:** This cistern is inside the Roofed Hall in the ground (*dar andarūn-i pū-šiš*), in the floor (*dar zamīn*), level with the floor (*ba-zamīn mustawī*) when its cap (*sar*) is put on.<sup>6</sup> We best locate it at B1R AL-WARAQA.

B205.2.a. A parallel to the cistern's cap put level with the floor: The Fāṭimid cisterns of the mosque have a top (*sar-i ḥawḍhā*) like an oven (*tanūr*), closed by a stone cap (*sar-čāh-i sangīn*) lest anything may fall into them (B132.3).

<sup>1</sup>Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143.

<sup>2</sup>Hamilton, "Once Again the Aqṣā" 143.

<sup>3</sup>Wilkinson, *Column Capitals I*.

<sup>4</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 3.

<sup>5</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 91.

For the decoration of the CEILING prior to the restoration of 1938-1942, see Marçais, "Panels" (with figures and plates 25-27); Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 10; 74-104; Milik, "Topographie" 139f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 33-35; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 266f.; 274; 334; fig. 181-183.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 37,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa dar andarūn-i pūšiš ḥawḍ-i dar zamīn ast kih čūn sar nihāda bāšad bā zamīn mustawī bāšad*.



B205.2.b. Today's BI'R AL-WARAQA, the only cistern inside the AQṢĀ MOSQUE, has a limestone well head<sup>1</sup> contemporary with the EARLY PAVEMENT of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE;<sup>2</sup> this fits quite well with the cap of the Fāṭimid cistern which is level with the floor.

B205.2.c. Nāṣir's remark has been taken as referring to the CISTERNS, the CHANNEL, and the POOLS in front [north] of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE;<sup>3</sup> but his *wa dar andarūn-i pūšiš ḥawḍ-ī ... ast* "and inside the Roofed Hall is a cistern" leaves no doubt that it is inside the Roofed Hall.

B205.3. **Physical shape:** This is a water cistern (*ḥawḍ ḡihat-i āb*) fed by rain water.<sup>4</sup>

### B206. The boxes of the cities of Syria-Palestine and Iraq

B206.1. **Names (Muslim):** Boxes (*ṣundūqhā*) (B206.3).

B206.2. **Position:** These boxes (*ṣundūqhā*) are at the four sides of the Roofed Hall (*bar ṣahār ḡānib-i pūšiš*).<sup>5</sup> We locate them best inside, along the four walls of the Roofed Hall.

B206.3. **Physical shape:** These are some kind of actual boxes; no details are given.

B206.4. **Rituals and customs (Muslim):** Each of these boxes belongs to a city of Syria-Palestine or Iraq (*az ān-i har šahr-ī az šahrhā-yi Šām wa 'Irāq*), as each of the boxes (*ṣundūqhā*) in the Roofed Hall (*pūšiš*) of the *Ḥaram* of Mecca belongs to a city of North Africa, Egypt, Syria-Palestine, Asia Minor [?], the two Iraqs, *Ḥurāsān*, Transoxania and so on (*az ān-i har šahr-ī az Bilād-i Maḡrib wa Mišr wa Šām wa Rūm wa 'Irāqayn wa Ḥurāsān wa Mā warā' an-nahr wa-ḡayruh*), and adherents [of the Aqṣā Mosque] (*muḡāwirān*) sit on or next to them.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For BI'R AL-WARAQA, see Warren/Conder, *SWP Jerusalem* 220; Le Strange, *Palestine* 198-200; 292; Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 63-65; fig. 30; Busse, "Sanctity" 457; Shalem, "Bi'r al-Waraqā"; Gibson/Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount* 54-57: Nr.8.

<sup>2</sup>Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 63; 65; Shalem, "Bi'r al-Waraqā" 50; 51 fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 152.

<sup>4</sup>Nāṣir 37,1-3 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 178) *wa dar andarūn-i pūšiš ḥawḍ-ī dar zamīn ast ... ḡihat-i āb tā čūn bārān āyad dar ān-ḡā rawad*.

<sup>5</sup>Nāṣir 36,17f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 107) *wa bar ṣahār ḡānib-i īn pūšiš az ān-i har šahr-ī az šahrhā-yi Šām wa 'Irāq ṣundūqhā-st*.

<sup>6</sup>Nāṣir 36,17-19 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 107) *wa bar ṣahār ḡānib-i īn pūšiš az ān-i har šahr-ī az šahrhā-yi Šām wa 'Irāq ṣundūqhā-st wa muḡāwirān nišasta čun-ān-kih andar Masḡid-i Ḥarām-ast ba-Makka šarrafahā Llāhu ta'ālā* (cf. Nāṣir 112,5-7).

Cf. Nāṣir 112,5-7 (*wa-ḡumla-i ḥānahā kih dar Masḡid al-Ḥarām ast ba-ḡuz Ka'ba-i mu'azzama šarrafahā Llāhu ta'ālā sih ḥāna ast ...*) *wa andar pūšiš kih bar gird-i masḡid ast pahlū-yi dīwār ṣundūqhā-st az ān-i har šahr-ī az Bilād-i Maḡrib wa Mišr wa Šām wa Rūm [sic] wa 'Irāqayn wa Ḥurāsān wa Mā warā' an-nahr wa-ḡayruh*.

B206.4.a. For parallels to the adherents of the Aqṣā Mosque, see B038.11.a.

### **B207. The *Maqṣūra* and the dome of the Aqṣā Mosque<sup>1</sup>**

**B207.1. Names (Muslim):** The *Maqṣūra*<sup>2</sup> and the dome (*qubba*).<sup>3</sup>

B207.1.a. The terminology is ambiguous insofar as *Maqṣūra* is both the whole south building and the *Maqṣūra* proper (B202.1.a).

**B207.2. Position:** The *Maqṣūra* (*Maqṣūra*) is in the Roofed Hall of the mosque (*dar pūšīš-i masǧid*) (B202.2), and in the centre of the south wall [of the Aqṣā Mosque] (*bar wasaṭ-i dīwār-i ǧanūbī*).<sup>4</sup> It is reached from the central nave through an arch with mosaics (B207.4). The fence around the *Maqṣūra*, the dome with its mosaics above the *Maqṣūra* (B207.4), and the [main] Prayer-niche with its mosaics are all part of the *Maqṣūra* (B208.2). The Prayer-niche of Muʿāwiya (*Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya*) and the Prayer-niche of ʿUmar (*Miḥrāb ʿUmar*) are both outside the *Maqṣūra* (B209.2). We best locate the *Maqṣūra* under the AQṢĀ MOSQUE DOME<sup>5</sup> between the NORTH ARCH of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE DOME<sup>6</sup> and the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, and the dome at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE DOME.

B207.2.a. The *Maqṣūra* is very large and includes sixteen columns (B207.3); it therefore embraces at least all the four corners with pillars which support the dome (the PILLARS supporting the DOME).

<sup>1</sup>For the *maqṣūra* and the dome of the High Fāṭimid Aqṣā Mosque, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 20f.; 276 n. 5; 282; 381-392; 452f. (remark by Wiet); Hamilton, *Aqsa Mosque* 9; Sourdell-Thomine, *al-Harawī (texte)* 64f.; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 39f.; 43f.; Creswell, *EMA* 1 376f.; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 228; 230 n. 7; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 248f.; Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343a; Grabar, *al-Masdjid al-Aqṣā* 696b; Wilkinson, "Column Capitals II" 138; Richter-Bernburg, "Nāṣir" 270; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 58; Elad, *Jerusalem* 43; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 149-151; 152 fig. 79; Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 388.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,15f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 105) *wa pūšīš-i masǧid-i buzurǧ kih Maqṣūra dar-ū-st bar dīwār-i ǧanūbī ast wa ǧarbī*; **Nāṣir** 35,21 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa Maqṣūra bar wasaṭ-i dīwār-i ǧanūbī ast bisyār buzurǧ*; **Nāṣir** 36,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa tamāmat-i izāra-i Maqṣūra* (NP *izār-i Maqṣūra*) *ruḥāmā-yi mulawwan*.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) (*wa Maqṣūra ba-wasaṭ-i dīwār-i ǧanūbī ast ...*) *wa qubba-i nīz ʿaẓī m-i buzurǧ-i munaqqaš ba-mīnā*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,21 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa Maqṣūra bar wasaṭ-i dīwār-i ǧanūbī ast*.

<sup>5</sup>For the AQṢĀ MOSQUE DOME and its MOSAICS, see B130.

<sup>6</sup>For the NORTH ARCH of the AQṢĀ MOSQUE DOME and its MOSAICS, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 452f. (note by Wiet); Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 38-47; Creswell, *EMA* 1 375f.; Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 230 n. 7; 303; 306-309; 310 n. 2; 311; 360; fig. 366; fig. 369f.; fig. 376; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* 3 51; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 149-153 (with fig. 79f.).

B207.2.b. **Nāṣir** frames his paragraph on the *Maqṣūra* by its position and size and by its fence; he mentions in the paragraph the dome, the mats *dar ān-ḡā* "therein", the lamps and lanterns, the prayer-niche and, last, the fence of the *Maqṣūra*; the whole paragraph is preceded by the columns of the whole building and followed by *Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya* and *Miḥrāb ʿUmar* (next to the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, west and east of it) and the building's roof. This does not locate the place of the *Maqṣūra* more precisely than we already have.

**Nāṣir**

columns of the building -> ***Maqṣūra: qubba, ḥaṣīrhā-yi maḡribī, qindīlhā wa masraḡahā, miḥrāb, izāra-i Maqṣūra***  
-> *bar dast-i rāst: Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya* -> *bar dast-i čap: Miḥrāb ʿUmar*  
-> roof of the building

B207.3. **Physical shape:** The *Maqṣūra* is very large (*bisyār buzurg*) and includes sixteen columns (*šānzdah sutūn*).<sup>1</sup> There are North African mats (*ḥaṣīrhā-yi maḡribī*) spread and lamps and lanterns (*qindīlhā wa masraḡahā*) suspended one by one on chains (*silsilahā*).<sup>2</sup>

B207.3.a. For parallels to the North African mats spread under the dome, see B147.3.a.

B207.3.b. A parallel to the number of lamps suspended here one by one on a chain: The Marwānid Christian Church of the Holy Sepulchre has items - lamps? - suspended one by one on chains (B014.7.c). For parallels to the lamps burning here, see B014.7.c.

B207.4. The *Maqṣūra* is reached from the central nave through an arch with mosaics which recall the mosaics of the Marwānid Dome of the Rock;<sup>3</sup> a mosaic inscription mentions the Night Journey, the Fāṭimid caliph az-Zāhir as builder of this new Aqṣā Mosque, and his ancestors and descendants.<sup>4</sup> The whole fence of the *Maqṣūra* (*tamāmat-i izāra-i Maqṣūra*) [around the *Maqṣūra*] is made of polychrome marble slabs (*ruḥāmhā-yi mulawwan*).<sup>5</sup> There is [on top of the *Maqṣūra*] a large and great dome decorated with mosaic (*qubba-i ʿaẓīm-i buzurg-i munaqqaš ba-mīnā*),<sup>6</sup> like the Gate of David (*Bāb-i Dāwūd*) (B144.4).

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 35,21-36,1 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa Maqṣūra bar wasaṭ-i dīwār-i ḡanūbī ast bisyār buzurg čun-ān-kih šānzdah sutūn dar ān-ḡā-st*.

<sup>2</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,2f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) (*wa Maqṣūra ...*) *wa dar ān-ḡā ḥaṣīrhā-yi maḡribī andāḥta wa qindīlhā wa masraḡahā ḡudā ḡudā ba-silsilahā āwiḥta ast* (NP *wa masraḡahā-rā ḡudā-st ba-silsilahā āwiḥta*).

<sup>3</sup>van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 275; Stern, "Mosquée al-Aqṣā" 40f.; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 149-153. The similarity between the Fāṭimid mosaics in the Aqṣā Mosque and the Marwānid mosaics in the Dome of the Rock is rejected by Gautier-van Berchem, "Mosaics" 307f.

<sup>4</sup>**van Berchem Nr.301**,1f. [*bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi 'subḥāna l-laḏī a]srā bi-'abdihi laylan mina l-masḡidi l-ḥa[rāmi ilā l-Masḡidi l-Aqṣā l-laḏī bāraknā ḥawlahu'* (**Koran** 17.1) ...] ʿimāratahu mawlānā ʿAlīyu Abī [sic] l-Ḥasani l-imāmu z-Zāhiru li-iʿzāzi dī[ni Llāhi] amīru l-muʿ[aminina bnu l-Ḥākimi bi-amri Llāhi amīri] l-muʿmi[nīna ṣalawātu Llāhi ʿalayhi wa-ʿalā ābāʾihi ṭ-ṭāhirīna wa-abnāʾihi l-akramīna].

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa tamāmat-i izāra-i Maqṣūra* (NP *izār-i Maqṣūra*) *ruḥāmhā-yi mulawwan*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,1f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) (*wa Maqṣūra ba-wasaṭ-i dīwār-i ḡanūbī ast ...*) *wa qubba-i nīz ʿaẓīm-i buzurg-i munaqqaš ba-mīnā čun-ān-kih šifat karda āmad* (cf. **Nāṣir** 31,20-32,3).

B207.4.a. For parallels to the mosaic inscription with the name of the Fāṭimid caliph aẓ-Zāhir, see B040.3.a.

B207.4.b. The polychrome marble fence which separates the *Maqṣūra* from the other parts of the building, the mats spread, the lamps and lanterns suspended one by one on a chain, the mosaic-decorated dome on top and the marble decorated prayer-niche all mark the *Maqṣūra* as the most richly decorated space inside the mosque.<sup>1</sup>

B207.4.c. The arch has been interpreted as a symbolic gate to the Ka'ba which links the arch and its mosaics to the Rock and the quite similar mosaics around it;<sup>2</sup> this may be, but the sources do not mention it.

B207.4.d. Nāṣir's *wa qubba-ī nīz 'aẓīm-i buzurg-i munaqqaš ba-mīnā čun-ān-kih šifat karda āmad* "and the dome is great and large, and decorated by mosaic as has been described" most probably refers<sup>3</sup> to the polychrome mosaic and inscription with the title of the [Fāṭimid] sultān of Egypt on *Bāb Dāwūd* (see B144.4). We may deduce that the mosaic on the dome of the Aqṣā Mosque is polychrome as well, set in plaster, and possibly even has an inscription with the title of the Fāṭimid caliph. All this, apart from the inscription, fits with today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE DOME, with its inside, pendentives and drum covered by MOSAICS.

**B207.5. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** This is the *Maqṣūra* [the place reserved inside a mosque for distinguished people]. There are North African mats (*ḥaṣīrhā-yi mağribī*) spread and lamps and lanterns (*qindilhā wa masrağahā*) one by one suspended on chains (B207.3).

## B208. The [main] Prayer-niche<sup>4</sup>

**B208.1. Names (Muslim):** The [main] Prayer-niche (*miḥrāb*) (B208.3).

**B208.2. Position:** The [main] Prayer-niche is in the south wall of the building, between the Prayer-niche of Mu'āwiya (*Miḥrāb Mu'āwiya*) to its right [west] (*bar dast-i rāst*) and the Prayer-niche of 'Umar (*Miḥrāb 'Umar*) to its left [east] (*bar dast-i čap*) (B209.2). It is part of the *Maqṣūra*. We best locate the [main] Prayer-niche at the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, and the dome at the AQṢĀ MOSQUE DOME.

B208.2.a. The [main] Prayer-niche is, like all prayer-niches, in the wall towards Mecca, in the south wall.

B208.2.b. Nāṣir has the [main] Prayer-niche in his paragraph on the *Maqṣūra* which is introduced by its position and size and concluded by its fence; within the paragraph the [main] Prayer-niche is preceded by the dome, the mats and the lamps and lanterns, and followed by the fence. We therefore locate the [main] Prayer-niche best in the *Maqṣūra*.

<sup>1</sup>Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 151 emphasises that the most remarkable feature of the Aqṣā Mosque is the extensive mosaic decoration of this part.

<sup>2</sup>Jarrar, "Construction Plans" 388.

<sup>3</sup>Grabar, "al-Ḳuds" 343a; Rosen-Ayalon, "Mosaïque au Saint-Sépulchre" 249.

<sup>4</sup>For the High Fāṭimid [main] Prayer-niche, see van Berchem, *Jérusalem* 2 411 n. 1.

**Nāṣir**

columns of the building -> *Maqṣūra: qubba, ḥaṣīrhā-yi maḡribī, qindī lhā wa masraḡahā, miḥrāb, izāra-i Maqṣūra* -> *bar dast-i rāst: Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya* -> *bar dast-i čap: Miḥrāb ‘Umar* -> roof of the building

**B208.3. Physical shape:** The [main] Prayer-niche is large (*buzurg*) and all decorated with mosaic (*hama munaqqaš ba-mīnā*); at the two sides of the [main] Prayer-niche (*dū ḡānib-i miḥrāb*) there are two marble columns of the colour of red agate (*dū ‘amūd-i ruḡām ba-rang-i ‘aqīq-i surḥ*),<sup>1</sup> i.e., one column on the left and on the right, respectively.

**B208.4. Rituals and customs (Muslim):** The [main] Prayer-niche indicates the prayer-direction for congregational prayer; standing next to it, the *imām* leads the congregational prayer.

### **B209. The Prayer-niche of ‘Umar and the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya<sup>2</sup>**

**B209.1. Names (Muslim):** The Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya (*Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya*)<sup>3</sup> and the Prayer-niche of ‘Umar (*Miḥrāb ‘Umar*).<sup>4</sup>

**B209.2. Position:** The Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya (*Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya*) is on the right [west] side (*bar dast-i rāst*) of the [main] Prayer-niche,<sup>5</sup> the Prayer-niche of ‘Umar on its left [east] side (*bar dast-i čap*).<sup>6</sup> Both are outside the *Maqṣūra*. We best locate the Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya at the WINDOW or at the DOOR west of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, preferably at the WINDOW, and the Prayer-niche of ‘Umar at the WINDOW east of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE.

**B209.2.a.** *Miḥrāb ‘Umar* and *Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya* are on the right [west] and left [east] sides of the [main] prayer-niche (at the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE). They are therefore west and east of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE.

<sup>1</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,3-5 (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa miḥrāb-i buzurg sāḥta and hama munaqqaš ba-mīnā wa dū ḡānib-i miḥrāb dū ‘amūd-i ruḡām-ast ba-rang-i ‘aqīq-i surḥ*.

<sup>2</sup>For the High Fāṭimid Prayer-niche of ‘Umar and Prayer-niche of Mu‘āwiya, see B200.1.

<sup>3</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) *wa bar dast-i rāst Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya ast*.

<sup>4</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) (*wa bar dast-i rāst Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya ast*) *wa bar dast-i čap Miḥrāb ‘Umar-ast raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu*.

<sup>5</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,5f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) (*wa miḥrāb-i buzurg sāḥta and ... wa tamāmat-i izāra-i Maqṣūra ...*) *wa bar dast-i rāst Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya ast*.

<sup>6</sup>**Nāṣir** 36,6f. (transl. Le Strange, *Palestine* 106) (*wa miḥrāb-i buzurg sāḥta and ... wa tamāmat-i izāra-i Maqṣūra ...*) *wa bar dast-i rāst Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya ast*) *wa bar dast-i čap Miḥrāb ‘Umar-ast raḍiya Llāhu ‘anhu*.

B209.2.b. **Nāṣir** has *Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya* and *Miḥrāb ‘Umar* preceded by the paragraph on the *Maqṣūra* and followed by the building's roof. *Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya* and *Miḥrāb ‘Umar* are therefore not part of the *Maqṣūra*.

**Nāṣir**

*Maqṣūra* -> *qubba: ān-ğā ḥaṣīrhā-yi mağribī, qindīlhā wa masrağahā* -  
 > *miḥrāb* -> *izāra-i Maqṣūra* -> ***bar dast-i rāst: Miḥrāb***  
***Mu‘āwiya*** -> ***bar dast-i čap: Miḥrāb ‘Umar***

B209.2.c. Today's AQṢĀ MOSQUE has, next to the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, a DOOR in the FIRST NAVE west of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE and a WINDOW in each of the SECOND NAVES east and west of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE. We therefore locate *Miḥrāb ‘Umar* best at the WINDOW east of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, and *Miḥrāb Mu‘āwiya* at the WINDOW or the DOOR west of the MAIN PRAYER-NICHE, and on the ground of symmetry, probably rather at the WINDOW.

B209.3. **Physical shape:** These are two prayer-niches, but no details are known.

**B221. The two [Pre-Marwānid] statues:** see following B011.

**B222. The [Marwānid] northwest gate:** see following B022.