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THE PLACE OF THE END OF DAYS: ESCHATOLOGICAL GEOGRAPHY IN JERUSALEM

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The End of Time, or End of Days, the conclusion of the present phase of human history, has always occupied the attention of people of different faiths and cultures. Eschatological calculations were a common preoccupation of both Jews and Christians; as Paul Alexander has written, they "serve as a kind of barometer for the measuring of eschatological pressures at a given time in history,"¹ that is, a measure of human expectations of redemption and sudden shifts in the course of history. Quite naturally, the imminence of the year 2000 has aroused some anticipation in Christian chiliastic circles, as one learns from various reports – mainly in the American press.

While the precise date of the End is a matter of controversy and varies from time to time, the venue of the events is almost universally agreed. All three monotheistic religions – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – agree that the Last Judgment will take place in Jerusalem, and that is where the Kingdom of Heaven on earth will be launched.² Thus, while most holy places, whether in the Holy Land or elsewhere, derive their sanctity from past events, Jerusalem's sanctity is nourished by a dual source. On the one hand, its holiness is rooted in the distant past, in the formative events that linked the three faiths to the Holy City; on the other, this sanctity, though created by the past, is magnified by the expectation of sublime events to take place in Jerusalem in the future.³ It is, therefore, a sanctity at once historical and eschatological. In Christian terms, at the End of Days, when "the holy city, new Jerusalem, [comes]

down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (Revelation 21:2), it will come down to the site of the earthly Jerusalem.⁴ Though certain other places compete for the honor, there is generally little doubt as to the seniority of Jerusalem as the arena of the eschatological events.

"Mountains are round about Jerusalem" (Psalms 125:2) – and also within Jerusalem. Each mountain has its particular significance, its own role to play. In late Antiquity, after the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity, when Jerusalem's sanctity had crystallized in a definite geographical and liturgical mold, four mountains (or, rather, hills) emerged as foci of this sanctity for Christians: Golgotha, the site of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection; Mount Zion, where the Church had been founded; the Temple Mount, whose ruinous state symbolized its abandonment by the Divine Presence; and the Mount of Olives, the site of the Ascension, where Jesus had departed this world after his first sojourn among the living, and where he would return upon his Second Coming.⁵ In this paper I shall concentrate mainly on the role of the Mount of Olives in Christianity and on the formation of a Christian eschatological map covering the entire mount – on its summit and its slopes, and at its foot. The whole hill was considered holy in an eschatological sense. As I aim to show, the churches built on the Mount of Olives, and their traditions, also derived their significance from the primeval myth of the mount, a messianic and eschatological myth, to the extent that the

¹ P.J. Alexander, "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources," *American Historical Review* 73 (1968), 1002.

² O. Limor, "Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives in the Byzantine and Moslem Periods" (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1978), 124–52 (in Hebrew).

³ G. Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten Jerusalems in altkirchlicher Zeit," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (ZDPV) 87 (1971), 167–205; J. Prawer, "Jerusalem in the Jewish and Christian Perspective of the Early Middle Ages," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1980), 739–95.

⁴ On the concepts of the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem, see B. Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1987).

⁵ On Golgotha, see C. Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (London, 1974); V.C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme, I–III* (Jerusalem, 1981); on Mount Zion, Y. Tsafrir, "Zion – The South-Western Hill of Jerusalem and its Place in the Urban Development of the City in the Byzantine Period" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1975) (in Hebrew); on the Mount of Olives, Limor, "Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives."

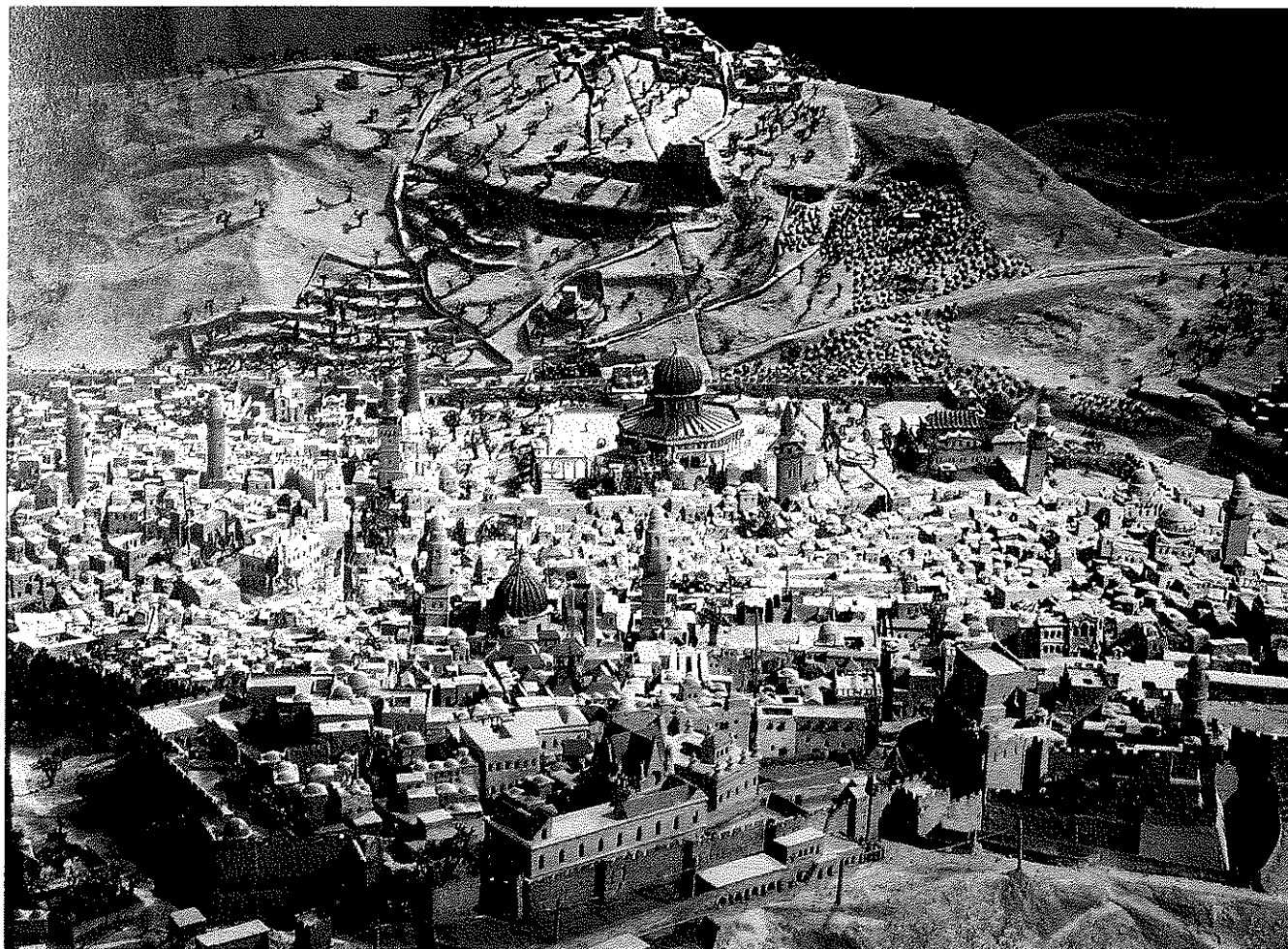


Fig. 1. S. Illes, *Model of Jerusalem, 1872–1873*, in the Citadel of David Museum for the History of Jerusalem, Jerusalem (after Y. Ben Arie, *Painting Palestine in the Nineteenth Century*, Jerusalem, 1993, p. 55).

hill as a whole and its various churches became components of a complete, well-formed eschatological complex.

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The Russian traveler Daniel, who visited Jerusalem at the very beginning of the Crusader period, around 1105, wrote of the Mount of Olives:

The Mount of Olives stands high above the city of Jerusalem; you can see the Holy of Holies and all the country as far as the Sea of Sodom and the Jordan and even beyond the Jordan you can see from that place, for the Mount of Olives is the highest of all the hills around Jerusalem.⁶

To an observer looking east from Jerusalem, toward the rising sun, the Mount of Olives is indeed the most prominent feature. The Kidron Valley, sharply separating the city and the hill, brings out its height and isolation. Throughout most of history, the western slope, facing the city, was not settled. However, its geological composition has made it one of Jerusalem's major burial grounds for most of the city's history. Thus, though very close to the city, the Mount of Olives is an entirely independent element of the landscape.⁷ While part of the city, it is also detached from it, rises above it, looks down upon it as if in rebuke and wonderment. Its position in the east, a barrier between human habitation and the threatening desert, and the multitude of graves scattered on its slopes, surely had their effect on its long association with resurrection and redemption and its definition as a sacred mountain. Throughout the Byzantine era, the Mount of Olives was the Holy Mount *par excellence*.⁸ As

such it also attracted mountain traditions which belonged to other – far and remote – sacred places, such as the transfiguration and the beatitude.⁹

Theodosius, who visited the holy places around the year 530, saw twenty-four churches on the Mount of Olives.¹⁰ The anonymous traveler misnamed "Antoninus" mentions having seen "a multitude of nuns and monks" on the Mount.¹¹ Some of the churches seen there in the Byzantine era are still there today; of some only a few remains have survived; and some have disappeared without trace.¹² The Mount of Olives was already granted official ecclesiastical and imperial recognition during Constantine the Great's reign. The Church of Eleona ("olives" in Greek) was built at the same time as the Church of Golgotha and the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem.¹³ These three churches, built by Constantine over three sacred caves or grottos, are the three sides of a Christian theological triangle, symbolizing the three important stations in Christ's life: his birth (Bethlehem), his resurrection (Golgotha), and his Ascension and Second Coming (Mount of Olives).

As for monasteries and convents, from the very beginning of the Christian period, monks, nuns and hermits were attracted to the Mount of Olives. Large monasteries and convents were built on the summit and the slopes by famous women of means, becoming centers of theological and intellectual activity.¹⁴ The many caves and ancient rock-cut tombs gave refuge to hermits, of whom the most famous was Pelagia, a beautiful *danseuse* from late-fourth-century Antioch, who repented her sins, came to Jerusalem disguised as a man, shut herself up in a cave by the Church of the Ascension and never left it again.¹⁵ The list of Chris-

⁶ Daniel the Abbot, in J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (London, 1988), 135.

⁷ S. Ben Yosef, "The Geography of the Mount of Olives," in E. Schiller, ed., *The Mount of Olives* (Jerusalem, 1977), 13–19 (in Hebrew).

⁸ F.M. Abel & H. Vincent, *Jérusalem*, vol. II, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1914), 377. See the prominent place of the Mount of Olives in the Jerusalem liturgy of the Byzantine period: *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. Aet. Franceschini and R. Weber, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (CCSL) 175: *Itineraria et alia Geographica* (Turnholt, 1965), 67–90; A. Renoux, *Le Codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 36, 2, no. 168 (Turnholt, 1971), 195.

⁹ *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, CCSL 175, p. 18; Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Matheum* I, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77 (Turnholt, 1969), 23–24.

¹⁰ Theodosius, *De locis sanctis*, ed. P. Geyer, CCSL 175, p. 117.

¹¹ Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, ed. P. Geyer, CCSL 175, p. 137.

¹² The various churches of the Mount of Olives are described in

detail in Limor, "Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives," 20–42.

¹³ Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) 20, col. 1102; H. Vincent, "L'église de l'Eleona," *Revue biblique* 20 (1911), 219–65; Limor, "Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives," 20–22, 72–81.

¹⁴ Both Melania the Elder and Melania the Younger built monasteries on the Mount of Olives. Cf. F.X. Murphy, "Melania the Elder, A Biographical Note," *Traditio* 5 (1947), 59–87; N. Moine, "Melaniana," *Recherches augustiniennes* 15 (1980), 3–79; E.A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger* (Lewiston, 1984); E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (Oxford, 1982), 160–71, 199–202.

¹⁵ *Bibliographia Hagiographica Graeca*, 1477–1479m; *Bibliographia Hagiographica Latina*, 6605–6611; J.M. Sauget, "Pelagia di Gerusalemme," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 10, pp. 432–39; *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, trans. S.P. Brock and S. Ashbrook Harvey (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1987), 40–62.

tians killed in Jerusalem during the Persian invasion includes 1,207 hermits on the Mount of Olives.¹⁶

The vigorous Christian activities on the mount must have added to its aura of sanctity. It had always been, as we have said, a preferred burial place. During the Byzantine period the bishops of Jerusalem were all buried in a burial chapel attached to a cave in the Eleona Church.¹⁷ The most important churches on the mount – in particular, St. Lazarus on the east, Eleona and the Church of the Ascension on the summit, and Gethsemane at the foot of the hill¹⁸ – were important stations in the liturgy of the Jerusalem church, whether in regular, day-to-day worship, or on major festivals. The liturgy of Jerusalem that emerged during the fourth century was theatrical in nature; it staged and reenacted the sacred events on their historical stage, taking maximum dramatic advantage of the link between place, time and text. The Mount of Olives had a central place in this complex of ceremonies.¹⁹

The hum of Christian activity on the Mount of Olives during Byzantine times arouses one's curiosity as to the source of its sanctity. Was the Mount of Olives the Holy Mount *par excellence*, because it was the site of so many churches, monastic institutions and ceremonies? Or is the opposite true – was the primeval, almost "immanent" holiness of the Mount of Olives like a magnetic force, attracting traditions, beliefs, churches and ceremonies to itself? The answer is probably a combination of the two. It is the nature of a holy site to invite further sanctification, and its traditions multiply and proliferate in time.²⁰ There is nevertheless still room for the question: What was the nature of the mount's sanctity, what was its distinct character?

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Only one verse in the Old Testament, in the book of

Zechariah (14:3–4), mentions the Mount of Olives by name:

Then the Lord will go forth and fight against those nations as when he fights on a day of battle. On that day his feet shall stand on the Mount of Olives which lies before Jerusalem on the east; and the Mount of Olives shall be split in two from east to west by a very wide valley... (Fig. 1).

This single passage launched the long career of the Mount of Olives as the stage for the events of the End of Days.²¹ It was the direct result of this passage and its countless interpretations that the Mount of Olives became a permanent fixture of eschatological accounts in both Judaism and Christianity, and later also in Islam. Zechariah is the only prophet to refer to the mount by name, but Christian Bible exegesis consistently understands it as the venue of various other prophecies concerning "the Day of the Lord" that do not explicitly name a place. Examples are "the lofty battlements" [thus RSV; NJPS: "corner towers"] of Zephaniah 1:16;²² "the glorious holy mountain" on which the evil king of the south will pitch his tents at the End of Time (Daniel 11:45);²³ and "the mountain which is on the east side of the city" of Ezekiel 11:23, where the glory of the Lord will pause after being exiled from the city.²⁴ Incidentally, these interpretations are not specifically Christian; they have parallels in Jewish midrash, such as the celebrated legend of the ten journeys of the Divine Presence (the *Shekhinah*), which is based on the same verse from Ezekiel.²⁵ In an exact parallel to the description of the stages in Jesus' earthly life, which ends on the Mount of Olives – the legend is most probably influenced by the Christian homily – the Mount of Olives is portrayed as the last station of the Divine Presence, exiled from the Temple, before it ascends to heaven. For three and a half years the Divine Presence sits on the mount, waiting in vain for the Jews to repent. Like Christ's Ascension to

¹⁶ G. Garitte, *Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 614, Recensiones Arabicae, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 340–41, 347–48, vols. 26–29 (Louvain, 1973), XIII, 33; Eutichius Alexandrinus Patriarcha, *Annales*, PG 111, col. 1083; G. Garitte, *Le calendrier Palestino-Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)* (Brussels, 1958), 71, 243–44.

¹⁷ G. Garitte, "La sépulture de Modeste de Jérusalem," *Le Muséon* 73 (1960), 127–33.

¹⁸ St. Lazarus: S. Saller, *Excavations in Bethany (1949–1953)* (Jerusalem, 1957); The Church of the Ascension: V. Corbo, "Scavo archeologico a ridosso basilica del l'Ascensione," *Studi Biblici Franciscani, Liber Annus* 10 (1959/60), 205–48; Eleona: Limor, "Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives," 20–22, 72–81; Gethsemane: G. Orfali, *Gethsemani* (Paris, 1924).

¹⁹ See especially Egeria's description of the Jerusalem Liturgy, *Itin-*

erarium Egeriae (note 8 above), 67–90; J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (Jerusalem, 1971), 54–88.

²⁰ V.W. Turner and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (Oxford, 1978), 20–29.

²¹ On the Mount of Olives in Christian eschatology, see Limor, "Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives," 126–61.

²² Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Sophoniam* 1, 15–16, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 76A (Turnholt, 1970), 673.

²³ Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Daniele* II, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 75A (Turnholt, 1964), 933.

²⁴ Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem* III, XI: 22–23, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 75 (Turnholt, 1964), 125.

²⁵ *Midrasch Eicha Rabbati*, ed. S. Buber (Vienna, 1899), *Petichta* 25, pp. 29–30.

heaven from the Mount of Olives, the *Shekhinah's* exile from the Temple to the mount creates an immediate contrast between the sinful city and the holy mountain facing it.

Another passage of the Bible that should be added to the many prophecies supposedly referring to the Mount of Olives is Joel's prediction of the Judgment of the Nations:

For behold, in those days and at that time, when I restore the fortunes of Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather all the nations and bring them down to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will enter into judgment with them there... (Joel 3:1-2).

The identification of the Valley of Jehoshaphat with the Kidron valley, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, is Christian, first attested in Eusebius's *Onomasticon*: "The Valley of Jehoshaphat lies between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives."²⁶ In time the identification was also accepted by the Jews, despite the homily in *Midrash Psalms*: "There is no valley called Jehoshaphat, but a valley where the Lord will judge all the nations."²⁷ Thus, the Mount of Olives and the valley at its foot became a single geographical unit, heavily charged with eschatological significance: death, the Last Judgment and the Resurrection of the Dead.

It is not my intention to review here the development of the eschatological myth of the Mount of Olives in the early centuries of Christianity. It was the outcome of a convergence of several different beliefs, which received their full literary expression in a work of Adso of Montier en Der, written in the middle of the tenth century.²⁸ Adso did not create the various elements of the myth, but only organized them, weaving them into a single, continuous literary unit. His work became the basic, authoritative text for anything to do with the End of Days in the Christian West.²⁹ So great was its literary and political influence that it was ascribed to Augustine or to Rabanus Maurus. The work was concerned with three motifs: the birth and activities of the antichrist; the Last Emperor; and the Lord's coming to judge His creatures. The last motif is the best known; its subject is

the *parousia*, the Second Coming of Christ to judge the living and the dead.³⁰ Following the book of Zechariah, Christians believed that Jesus would return to the very place of his departure, to the Mount of Olives. Zechariah's prophecy, "On that day his feet shall stand on the Mount of Olives," was explained in two ways: it referred both to Jesus' Ascension to Heaven and to his return, to the past and to the future.

But that was not all. The mount also received a prominent role in the events that were to prepare the Second Coming: the exploits of the antichrist and the rule of the Last Emperor. Christian eschatological literature describes the final struggle between God and His emissary, on the one hand, and the antichrist, on the other – a figure originating in the book of Daniel and already so named in the New Testament, in the letters attributed to John (1, 2:22, 4:3; 2, 7). Adso succinctly summarized the events as follows: The antichrist, descended from the tribe of Dan, would be born in Babylon. He would be born in sin: Satan would enter his mother's womb, just as the Holy Spirit had impregnated Mary. He would be educated by magicians, sorcerers and criminals and would be Jesus' opposite in every respect: arrogant, sinful, he would distort Holy Scripture. His aim would be to destroy humankind. Upon reaching maturity, he would come to Jerusalem and seduce the people to believe in him. He would perform omens and miracles, even reviving the dead, and the wonders he would perform would arouse doubts even in the elect. Those who remained unconvinced would be subdued by threats, and he would slay any Christians who refused to surrender. Upon coming to Jerusalem, he would rebuild the ruined Temple, circumcise himself and declare himself the son of God. Messengers would stream from Jerusalem to all parts of the world to persuade nations and kings of his authenticity, and he would rule from ocean to ocean, from west to east and from north to south.³¹

Before the advent of the antichrist, the world would be ruled by the Last Emperor – a human monarch, who would defeat his enemies, rule over all kingdoms

²⁶ Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. E. Klostermann, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 11, 1 (Leipzig, 1904), 119.

²⁷ *Midrash Psalms*, *Midrash Shocher Tov* (Vilna, 1891), 79.

²⁸ Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D.M. Verhelst, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis (CCCM)* 45 (Turnholt, 1976); R.K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature* (Washington, D.C., 1981); B. McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, 1994); cf. Limor, "Christian Tra-

ditions of the Mount of Olives," 136-39.

²⁹ It was the basis for the *Ludus de Antichristo*, one of the most famous dramas of medieval literature, written in the 12th century. Cf. K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), vol. 2, 369-96; J. Wright, *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto, 1967).

³⁰ B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979); S.G.F. Brandon, *The Judgment of the Dead* (London, 1967).

³¹ Adso, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, 23-29.

and expand the Roman and Christian Empire to its farthest extent.³² After defeating his foes and consolidating his rule, he would come to Jerusalem and place his insignia – the crown and the scepter – on the Mount of Olives. This would signify the end of human domination of the world.³³ Immediately thereafter, the antichrist would come and crown himself in the Temple. He, too, would pitch his tent and establish his kingdom on the Mount of Olives, but later he would die by divine intervention, and Adso adds: “Learned people say that he will die on the Mount of Olives, in his tent and upon his throne, opposite the place from which Jesus ascended to heaven.”³⁴ Shortly after that the Lord will come to render judgment.

We have already pointed out that the figure of antichrist is ancient. It is identified with the false Christ predicted by Jesus in the “Little Apocalypse” (Matt. 24:24), and ultimately with Satan himself, who will come to the world to seduce the believers and corrupt them before the Last Judgment. The main features of the figure are shaped in Jerome’s commentary to Daniel 11:44–45 and in the Sibylline Oracle, written in the fourth century.³⁵ Both sources mention the Mount of Olives as the scene of the battle between Christ and the antichrist. According to Jerome, the antichrist will be subdued by Jesus himself on the Mount of Olives, but the sibyl entrusts this task to the angel Michael.

However, the most dynamic element of the legend is the second – the Last Emperor. This motif has its roots in Byzantine culture and its dynamic nature may be attributed to the fact that the figure of the Last Emperor was identified over the years with various European rulers; in each such case, the antichrist was identified with that ruler’s enemies.³⁶ Jerusalem is the invariable geographical venue of these tales, though in some versions the Last Emperor places his insignia not on the Mount of Olives but on Golgotha.

Thus, all the eschatological motifs of Christianity cluster together in Jerusalem, in general, and on the

Mount of Olives, in particular. The climax of the drama of human history – the last Emperor’s abdication of his earthly crown in favor of the divine one – was to take place in Jerusalem, on the Mount of Olives. There, too, the satanic kingdom of the antichrist would be crushed and the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth established. But Christian eschatology was not content merely to place the events of the End of Time in a vague, general geographical context; it aspired to designate their exact sites. The natural choice fell on the stone of the Ascension, on the assumption that Jesus would return to Earth where he had left it. The roots of this assumption may be traced to the account of the Ascension in the book of Acts (1:11), in the angels’ promise: “This Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven.” Thus, Jesus would return as he had departed, and to the very same place. The Mount of Olives was the site of the *parousia*, divine territory on earth, “the gate of Heaven,” “God’s footstool.”³⁷ Some pilgrims explicitly locate the Last Judgment in the Church of the Ascension, and the pilgrim known as Antoninus of Piacenza writes, “...and high up on the Mount of Olives, whence the Lord ascended heavenward to his Father, there will he come to pass judgment.”³⁸

The other two religions that revere Jerusalem as a holy city, Judaism and Islam, concur in locating the eschatological scenario on the Mount of Olives. Jewish redemption homilies, written after the Persian conquest and on the background of the Muslim occupation, describe the events of the End of Days and designate the Mount of Olives as the location of the Resurrection of the Dead and God’s Last Judgment. These homilies were strongly influenced by Christian eschatology. During the Early Arab period, when Jews and Muslims also observed certain rituals on the Mount of Olives, they competed with Christianity in identifying the precise seat of the Judge during the Last Judgment.³⁹ An eleventh-century Jewish work known as the

³² On the figure of the last emperor, see R. Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, trans. S.A. Ogilvie (London, 1969), 114–18, 162–67.

³³ Adso, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, 26.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁵ Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Daniele* II, 933; E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), 185–86; A. Kurfess, “Christian Sibyllines,” in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha* (Philadelphia, 1964), II, 703–45; McGinn, *Visions of the End*.

³⁶ See for example McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 246–52; R. Folz, *Le*

souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne (Genève, 1973); M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), 320–31; M. Cahume, “Une prophétie relative à Charles VI,” *Revue du Moyen-Age Latin* 3 (1947), 34.

³⁷ See for example Paulinus of Nola, Epistola 31, ed. G. de Hartel, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 29 (Vienna, 1893), 271–72.

³⁸ Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, recensio alter, CCL 175, p. 163.

³⁹ Y. Even Shmuel, *Midrashei Geula* (Jewish Apocalypses) (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, 1954), 84–87, 97, 114, 124, 197, 225–28, 338.

"Genizah Guide to Jerusalem" refers to a stone on the Mount of Olives upon which the Glory stood for three and a half years, as prophesied by Zechariah ("On that day his feet shall stand...").⁴⁰ The stone was known as the "stone of the *hazzanim*," and it was there that the head of the Yeshivah of Geon Yaakov sat during the ceremonies observed on the Mount of Olives.⁴¹ This stone, too, was known as "our God's footstool," and just as the stone of Ascension was a focus for Christian eschatological expectations, the stone of *hazzanim* emulated it and became a focus for Jewish eschatological hopes. As to Muslim tradition, it, too, accepted the Mount of Olives as the location of the Last Judgment and the Resurrection. The Muslim traveler Mukkadasi wrote, at the end of the tenth century, that near the Church of the Ascension there is a place called Es-Sahira (the flat place), where the event of the Resurrection will take place. The soil there is white and no blood has ever been spilt upon it.⁴²

Thus, all three monotheistic faiths assigned the Mount of Olives a unique role as the stage of the eschatological events. Jews, Christians and Muslims agreed that the Last Judgment would take place on the Mount of Olives and the Valley of Jehoshaphat. They disagreed over details: Who would the judge be – the God of Israel, Jesus, or perhaps Muhammad? And in parallel they were also divided as to the precise spot: the stone of Ascension, the stone of *hazzanim*, or Es-Sahira?

It should be noted here that such agreements on principle, coupled with differences as to details, are a familiar feature of sites in the Holy Land. Jerusalem is the navel of the universe – but is the exact spot the Jewish Temple or Golgotha? David's Tomb is on Mount Zion – but is it within the Church of Sion, as claimed by the Christians, or elsewhere, at a point known to the Jews alone?⁴³ The Tombs of the Patriarchs were in the Cave of Machpelah at Hebron; but where – at the site shown there by the Christians, or at some concealed, inner site known only to the Jews?⁴⁴ General agreement on a tradition, with a general location, as against disagreement over the specific site, is characteristic of the

relations between the religions that held Palestine sacred – and especially between Christianity and Judaism. It is the geographical aspect of a textual controversy concerning the Bible – there, too, both faiths agreed on the sanctity of the whole, but differed as to precise meanings.

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The emphatically eschatological inclinations of early Christianity made the Mount of Olives one of the major Christian sites in Jerusalem, second only to Golgotha; it attracted various apocalyptic traditions, some of canonical origin, others apocryphal and popular.⁴⁵ In this context it is worthwhile to look at some of the Christian traditions that were associated with the Mount of Olives in Byzantine times. It is my thesis that these traditions, though linked at first sight not with an eschatological future but with the historical past, were also heavily charged with an apocalyptic tension, and that they assumed their final forms under the influence of the messianic myth that pervaded the mount.

It was on the Mount of Olives that Jesus revealed himself as the Messiah. His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, riding on an ass (Matt. 21:1–11), began on the Mount of Olives and ended in the Temple. According to the Gospels, this was a fulfillment of Zechariah's prophecy (9:9): "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter of Jerusalem! Lo, your king comes to you; triumphant and victorious is he, humble and riding on an ass, on a colt the foal of an ass." The crowd accompanying Jesus greeted him with tree branches and palm leaves, shouting: "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!" At this point, according to Luke, Jesus, upon sighting the city, wept over it and predicted its destruction: "For the days shall come upon you, when your enemies will cast up a bank about you and surround you... and they will not leave one stone upon another in you; because you did not know the time of

⁴⁰ M. Gil, *Palestine During the First Muslim Period (634–1099)*, 2 (Tel Aviv, 1983), 5–6.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1, pp. 512–515; *Sepher Chasidim*, ed. J. Wistinetzky (Berlin, 1891), chap. 630, p. 169.

⁴² *Mukhadasi's Description of Syria*, English translation by G. Le Strange, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (PPTS)* 3 (London, 1897), 49. Cf. O. Livneh, "Jerusalem in Moslem Eschatology," *Cathedra* (forthcoming, in Hebrew).

⁴³ O. Limor, "The Origins of a Tradition: King David's Tomb on

Mount Zion," *Traditio* 45 (1988), 453–62.

⁴⁴ E. Reiner, "A Jewish Response to the Crusades: The Dispute over Sacred Places in the Holy Land" (forthcoming); O. Limor, "Christian Sanctity – Jewish Authority," *Cathedra* 80 (1996), 57 (in Hebrew).

⁴⁵ See for example the *Pistis Sophia* in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha* (Philadelphia, 1963), I, 251–53; *The Gospel of Bartholomew*, ibid., 495; *Acts of John*, ibid., II, 232–33.

your visitation" (Luke 19:43–44). An interesting element in this passage is the unique position of the Mount of Olives relative to Jerusalem: it is at one and the same time part of the city, but also detached from it, and when Jesus rebukes the city for its stubborn refusal to recognize him as the Messiah, he does so from the Mount of Olives, which is therefore beyond the range of the curse. As a rule, the Gospels make a clear distinction between the city of Jerusalem itself, which rejected Jesus and his message, and whose inhabitants betrayed him to the Romans, and the Mount of Olives, which served him as a refuge at night: "And every day he was teaching in the temple, but at night he went out and lodged on the mount called Olivet" (Luke 21:37).

Not far from the site of the Ascension, in a grotto in the Church of Eleona, Jesus gave his disciples his eschatological testament, including his promise to return at the End of Days (Matt. 24:3–25). This testament, known as the "Little Apocalypse," appears in all three Synoptic Gospels, and all three name the Mount of Olives as the scene. Thus the Mount of Olives was the right place for the revelation of "secret mysteries" that could not be divulged in the city itself. In various apocryphal works, especially those written in a gnostic vein, when Jesus wishes to tell his disciples special mysteries, he invariably summons them to the Mount of Olives. This happens both before and after the Resurrection.⁴⁶ The Church of Eleona, where the mysteries were told, was the most important church on the Mount of Olives, until it was supplanted by the nearby Church of the Ascension.

It was on the Mount of Olives that Jesus performed his greatest miracle: the resurrection of Lazarus four days after the latter's death (John 11). Lazarus, whose fate prefigures that of Jesus – death and resurrection – also symbolizes all of mankind, embodying the promise that all men, too, will ultimately be resurrected, and at the very same place – the Mount of Olives – provided they believe that Jesus was the Messiah. "I am the resurrection and the life; he who believes in me, though he die, yet shall he live..." (John 11:25).

Since the fifth century visitors have been shown the Tomb of Mary at the foot of the Mount of Olives;⁴⁷ there her body was laid and from there it was "assumed" or taken to Heaven by her son Jesus, untouched in death as in life. The tradition of Mary's death is reported in a series of apocryphal works named *Transitus Mariae*,⁴⁸ but this was no obstacle to the dissemination of the legend, as a result of which the site became a favorite of Christian pilgrims. During the Crusader period a dome was built over the tomb, resting on twelve marble columns; around it was a Latin inscription, rendered in English as follows:

Joshaphat this valley's called
The path to Heaven is here installed.
In God she trusted, Heaven's queen,
Here Mary would have buried been.
But hence she was raised up on high,
She sought, inviolate, the sky:
The Captives' Hope, their Light to see,
Who can their Way, their mother be.⁴⁹

The sacred traditions of the Mount of Olives are many and diverse. As with all holy sites, these traditions have multiplied and proliferated over the centuries. This is particularly true of the traditions relating to the End of Days, the Resurrection and mystical predictions of the Second Coming. Although the Church of the Ascension is generally seen as the place to which God will descend to judge His creatures, and Jesus' footprint in the rock there is irrefutable proof of his departure and future return, the prestige of the Last Day of Judgment and the Resurrection of the Dead hovers over the mount as a whole and, in a sense, wanders from one church to another. At different times, pilgrims were shown the place of the Last Trump at different sites, sometimes in the grotto of Gethsemane,⁵⁰ sometimes in the Valley of Jehoshaphat,⁵¹ sometimes on the Mount of Olives.⁵²

Looking at the Christian map of the Mount of Olives, one gets the impression that the whole mount is a temple (Fig. 2). The entire area, summit and

⁴⁶ See note 45.

⁴⁷ B. Bagatti, M. Piccirillo, and A. Prodomo, *New Discoveries at the Tomb of Virgin Mary in Gethsemane* (Jerusalem, 1975).

⁴⁸ The text was preserved in several languages: Latin, Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian and more. See Limor, "Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives," 99–101.

⁴⁹ John of Würzburg, in *Peregrinationes Trex*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 139 (Turnholt, 1994), 128; English translation: J. Wilkin-

son, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (London, 1988), 270–71.

⁵⁰ See the description of Epiphanius Monachus: H. Donner, "Die Palästina-Beschreibung des Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita," ZDPV 87 (1971), 88.

⁵¹ See for example the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, ed. R. Weber, CCSL 175, p. 112.

⁵² Antoninus's description is a good example: Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, Recensio alter, CCSL 175, p. 163.

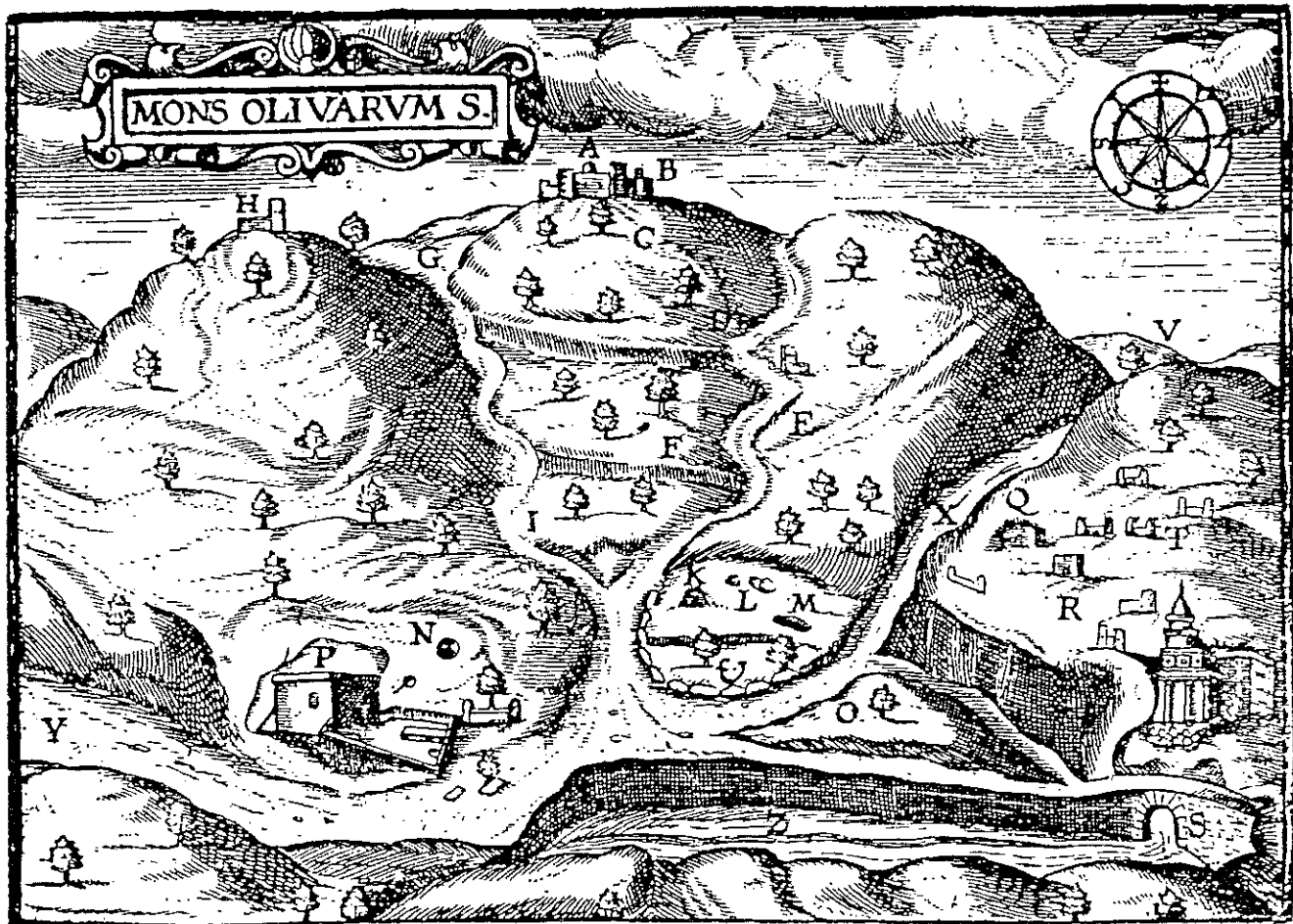


Fig. 2. The Mount of Olives in the 16th century according to Zuallardo (1587) (after E. Schiller; ed., *The Mount of Olives, Jerusalem*, 1977, p. 51).

A. The church of the Ascension, B. Pelagia's grotto, C. The place of the eschatological prophecy (Eleona), D. "Pater Noster," E. The place where the Apostles composed the Credo, F. The place where Jesus wept, G. The place where Mary met the angel, H. Viri Galilei, I. The place where Thomas received the belt from Mary, K. The place where Mary rested, L. The place of the agony, M. The place where Jesus was arrested, N. The place where Jesus was sweating blood, O. Gethsemane, P. Tomb of Mary, Q. The place where Judas killed himself, R. Yad Avshalom, S. Bridge on the Kidron Valley, T. Jewish Cemetery, V. The place of the Fig Tree, X. Road to St. Lazarus, Y. Road to Jerusalem, Z. Kidron Valley.

slopes, are seen as a natural monument through which celestial and terrestrial touch, with openings according access to the heavens. The whole mount is covered with graves; but two of these are of particular significance: the empty tombs of Lazarus and Mary – two doors to Resurrection, western and eastern, offering the righteous hope of resurrection at the End of Time. On the summit stand the two churches that proclaim the Second Coming: Eleona, where the promise of the Second Coming was granted, and the Church of the Ascension, the very gate of heaven. Here is the beginning of the

glorious path, the ladder to heaven. And down the slopes winds Jesus' messianic trail to Jerusalem. Thus, the eschatological myth radiates its aura to the traditions of the mount and to its system of holy places. The mount is occupied by its religious significance; its geography is the geography of redemption.

The map of future events is built up, by means of symbols, from past events; but those past events themselves are shaped by the myth of the future, the mount itself becoming a well-defined, grandiose, eschatological monument.

The historian Rodulf Glaber tells us of an eleventh-century pilgrim to Jerusalem, named Lethbald, of Burgundy, who reached the Mount of Olives after having visited all the other holy places:

There he threw himself down flat on the ground, spread out like a cross, and rejoiced in the Lord with unspeakable joy. Then, standing up there, he raised his hands toward heaven, strained to reach it as close as he could, and said: "Lord Jesus, who condescendest for our sake to come down from the throne of thy majesty to the earth to be the Saviour of mankind, who didst also from this place which mine eyes behold, robed in flesh, return to the heaven from which thou hadst come: I pray the supreme goodness of thine almighty power that if my soul is to depart from my body this year, I may not go away from this place, but that it may happen with sight of the place of this Ascension. For I believe that as I have followed thee in the body in order to reach this place, so my soul, unscathed and joyful, is going to follow thee into Paradise."⁵³

Lethbald died there that very night, and the story was told by his traveling companions upon their return home.

Lethbald, asking to die on the Mount of Olives, was expressing his faith – and that of all Christians – that it was the closest place to heaven on earth. It was an eschatological space, a link between heaven and earth – a point of departure on the final journey to Paradise.

Little wonder, then, that the real topography and geographical dimensions of the stage of the Last Judgment troubled people from distant climes. Felix Fabri, a Dominican friar from Swabia visited the East in the fifteenth century; his reactions are recounted as follows:

Now as is commonly believed and taught, all kindreds of the earth will be assembled together in this valley. Wherefore men are wont to inquire of those

who have been in the Holy Land, how large that valley is, whether it be so wide that therein all men can stand on the day of judgment. Simple folk care for nothing else, but are anxious about the size of the valley of Jehoshaphat. And sometimes it has happened, and does still happen, that pilgrims pile up stones for themselves in that valley, wishing before the day of judgment to secure a place for themselves whereon they may sit on the day of judgment. And sometimes simple folk give money to pilgrims about to set out to Jerusalem to mark a place for them with a stone in the valley of Jehoshaphat, to which place they believe that they will come on the day of judgment.

When such men question one about the size of the valley, in good sooth one is forced to answer that the valley is of no great size, and that in its present form it would hardly be able to take in one nation, for all the Swabians who are now actually alive could barely find standing room in it, without mentioning those who have been, or who will hereafter be. But on the day of judgment the shape of that valley will be different, as will be that of the whole earth also...⁵⁴

Felix Fabri explains in detail how the Valley of Jehoshaphat would be enlarged for the occasion, so it "could contain all the people in the world." He gives also an alternative explanation, that those who have spent their lives well "will have altogether unmolested places to stand in prepared for them by their angels. But the vicious and wicked will have very cramped and wretched places, and will stand in great misery..."⁵⁵

All citizens of the world, alive and dead, seek a place in Jerusalem. Perhaps that is what the modern Hebrew poet Yehuda Amichai meant when he wrote:

Jerusalem, the only city in the world
Where the right to vote is granted even to the dead.⁵⁶

⁵³ Rodulf Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, *Patrologia Latina* 142, col. 680. English translation: J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Jerusalem, 1979), 147.

⁵⁴ Frater Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. C.D. Hauler (Stuttgart, 1843), 2, pp. 392–94. English

translation by A. Stewart, *PPTS 8* (London, 1896), 491–93.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 493.

⁵⁶ Y. Amichai, "Jerusalem 1967," trans. S. Mitchell, *Poems of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, 1987), 59.

THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM AND ITS RESTITUTION BY 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN

Heribert Busse

I

Looking at the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf one has to ask why the Muslims built on this site, and what was the purpose of the building activities of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. The discussion of these questions has centered, in the past, around the Dome of the Rock. The caliph's motives to erect that sumptuous building have been explained differently.¹ In general, the Dome of the Rock was treated as an isolated unit, without regard to other buildings on the site. As Myriam Rosen-Ayalon has shown recently, the Dome of the Rock, the Aqsa Mosque and other, minor architectural elements have to be considered as an ensemble of buildings, executed by 'Abd al-Malik's architects along the lines of a plan which comprised the Ḥaram al-Sharīf as a whole.² In the light of this knowledge the question of 'Abd al-Malik's intentions acquires a new dimension. It is, from this point of view, of minor importance whether the Ṣakhra was considered as the Foundation Stone (*even shtiya*) of the Jews, as the site of the Altar of Holocaust, or of the Holy of Holies itself.³ Apart from that, one must take into consideration that the Aqsa Mosque had a predecessor, that is, the mosque described by Bishop Arculf, and that the Aqsa Mosque, which was not completed before the reign of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, was included in 'Abd al-Malik's plans right from the beginning.

To understand the true meaning of 'Abd al-Malik's building activities one has to remember what had happened to the Temple Mount prior to the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem. The city was thoroughly Christian.

Contrary to the Jews who had repeatedly tried to occupy the Temple Mount and to rebuild the sanctuary, the Church exhibited perfect disregard of the site. The Christians saw themselves as the new people of Israel, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the new Temple. Consequently, the Temple Mount lost its sacredness, and became a dump, even a public convenience. As is well known, Hieronymus described the site as being a *sterquilinium*, the play area of nocturnal demons.⁴ To justify their contempt the Christians referred to the prophecy of Jesus when his disciples drew his attention to the beauty of the Temple: "I tell you solemnly, not a single stone here will be left on another: everything will be destroyed" (Matthew 24:2, and parallels).

There was a different understanding of the Temple Mount in Christian popular belief. We have good reason to assume that various sites related to the early life of Jesus were visited and venerated. These were the annunciation of the birth of John to the priest Zechariah, and the story of Mary, the mother of Jesus, who served the sanctuary as a temple virgin. These legends were told in the apocryphal gospels of the childhood of Jesus, as for instance in the Gospel of James.⁵ The Church did not accept the veneration of these sites officially. They are not mentioned in the liturgical books of the period, or in the reports of Christian pilgrims who visited Jerusalem before the Muslim conquest. Their existence, however, has to be assumed since the Muslims knew them, and one has to remember that the legends found their way into the Qur'ān.⁶

¹ For a survey of the discussion see Amikam Elad, "Why Did 'Abd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock? A Re-examination of the Muslim Sources," Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, eds., *Bayt al-Maqdis, 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem, Part One*. Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, vol. IX (Oxford University Press, 1992), 33–58.

² See Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf: An Iconographical Study*. Qedem, Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 28 (Jerusalem, 1989).

³ The subject has been exhaustively discussed by Herbert Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

(ZDPV) 93 (1977), 2–11. According to him, the Temple stood on the Rock. Josef van Ess, "Abd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock: An Analysis of Some Texts," Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis*, 89–103, put forward the thesis that the Dome of the Rock was built because the Ṣakhra was God's throne whence he ascended to heaven when he had finished the creation of the world.

⁴ Hieronymus, *In Isaiam*, see Donatus Baldi, *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum* (Jerusalem, 1982), 446 (no. 676).

⁵ See Edgar Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 4th ed., Wilhelm Schneemelcher, vol. I (Tübingen, 1968), 277–90.

⁶ Sūrah 3:33–47; 19:1–21.

The situation on the Temple Mount changed profoundly when the Arabs arrived in Jerusalem. At first the Jews tried to occupy the site and to rebuild the Temple of Solomon, if we credit the report delivered by the Armenian Sebēos. The Jews were, however, ousted by the Muslims, who claimed the Temple Mount for themselves.⁷ We do not know how long the Jews enjoyed the recovery of the sacred site. It seems that the Muslims did not occupy the Temple Mount immediately after their conquest of the city. According to what we know they at first established a mosque in the Eastern atrium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁸ It was only later that the Temple Mount became the preferred site for building a mosque. They built it on the southern side of the Ḥaram. Legend connects the founding of this mosque with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a reminder of which is the so-called Jāmi' 'Umar, the eastern annex of the Aqsa Mosque, with a Mihrāb which is situated exactly in the middle of the southern wall of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf.⁹ It is this mosque which Arculf saw when he visited Jerusalem in about 680.¹⁰ We may assume that its erection was initiated by Mu'āwīya, governor of Syria since 639, later caliph. When 'Abd al-Malik started his building activities he took care to relate the Aqsa Mosque to the Qubbat al-Ṣakhra in such a way as to place the Mihrāb of the former in line with the Ṣakhra. The axial alignment of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque is essential for the understanding of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in the time of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

II

There are several early Christian and Islamic sources in which the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf are defined as the restituted Temple of the Jews. The Christians tried to counter the Muslims' assertion that they rebuilt the Temple. They maintained that demons were working on the site when the Muslims started their building activities.¹¹ What the Muslims declared to be the rebuilding of

the Temple was, in the eyes of the Christians, the devil's work. According to Theophanes, Patriarch Sophronius commented on 'Umar's appearance in Jerusalem by quoting a saying of Jesus: "In truth, this is the abomination of desolation established in the holy place, which the prophet Daniel spoke of."¹² The building on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, in his view, was not the true Temple.

The evidence in the Islamic sources is couched in prophecies taken from the Torah and put into the mouth of Jewish converts to Islam. The oldest dated testimony is found in Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845*): "Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī said: God revealed to Jacob: I shall rouse kings and prophets from among your progeny until I shall rouse the prophet of Mecca [*al-nabī al-ḥaramī*] who will rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem [*ḥaikal bait al-maqdis*]. He is the seal of the prophets, his name is Aḥmad."¹³

Next in chronology is a prophecy quoted by Ṭabarī (d. 311/923). When 'Umar took possession of the Temple Mount and was clearing away the refuse to establish a mosque, the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Aḥbār who served him as a guide said: "Prince of the believers! A prophet has predicted five hundred years ago what you are doing now... God sent a prophet who foretold with regard to the refuse: Rejoice, Jerusalem! Al-Fārūq will come to you, and clean you from what is within your precincts."¹⁴

Another of Ka'b's sayings, this time not related to 'Umar, was transmitted by al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā (first half of the 5th/11th century): "When this house [*al-bait*] complained to God about its destruction, God revealed to it: 'I shall send you a new Torah, that is, the Qur'ān, and new worshipers (*'ummār*), that is, the community of Muḥammad. They will flock to you like eagles, and yearn for you like the dove yearns for its egg. They will enter you prostrating themselves [*sujjadan*] [see Surah 2:58].' Then Jerusalem was satisfied."¹⁵ There is another version of the same tradition:

⁷ Sebēos, *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebēos*, trans. and ed. Frédéric Macler (Paris, 1904), 102ff.

⁸ See my article "Die 'Umar-Moschee im östlichen Atrium der Grabeskirche," *ZDPV* 109 (1993), 73–82.

⁹ For the present state of the Mihrāb see Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments*, fig. 16 (p. 29).

¹⁰ See John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Jerusalem, 1977), 95. Herbert Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land* (Stuttgart, 1979), 337, with commentary.

¹¹ Bernard Flusin, "L'Esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des arabes d'après deux récits byzantins," Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis*, 17–31.

¹² *The Chronicle of Theophanes*. An English translation of *anni mundi*

6095–6305 (A.D. 602–813), with introduction and notes, by Harry Turtledove (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 39. Cf. Matthew 24:15.

* Dates are given first according to the Muslim calendar and then according to the Christian.

¹³ Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau (Leiden, 1904), I, 107, lines 12–15.

¹⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, I, 2409. For its foundation in the Bible see Zechariah 2:11 ff., and Zephaniah 3:14.

¹⁵ Al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalil wa-faḍā'il al-Sham*, ed. with an introduction by Ofer Livne-Kafri (Sha-