Oxford Archaeological Guides
General Editor: Barry Cunliffe

The Holy Land

Jerome Murphy-O'Connor is Professor of New Testament at the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, and author of *Paul: A Critical Life* (1996) and *Paul: His Story* (2004), both also published by Oxford University Press.

Barry Cunliffe is Professor of European Archaeology at the University of Oxford. The author of over forty books, including *The Oxford Illustrated Prehistory of Europe* and *The Ancient Celts*, he has served as President of the Council for British Archaeology and the Society of Antiquaries, and is currently a member of the Ancient Monuments Board of English Heritage.

'a brilliant accomplishment . . . the one book you must bring with you when you visit Israel.'
WALTER ZANGER

'Always respectful, yet never gullible or preachy, Father Murphy O'Connor's *The Holy Land* is by far the best popular guide to its subject ever written. Every entry bears the indelible mark of having been written by someone who knows the place it describes, and has seen it with an expert intelligence and an open mind. In short, it's that rare thing, an excellent, up-to-date, well-written guide book.'
JOHN ROMER

Walls and Gates

The walls of the Old City enclose without dominating, limit but do not define. The impression of strength is an illusion; the city is not a fortress and its walls are not a barrier but a veil. The visitor is drawn forward, challenged, and finally embraced. The city inspires passion, and the expansion and contraction of its walls (Fig. 1) show how it has struggled to accommodate the expectations it has aroused.

The city of David [**1**] was a small settlement on the eastern hill, close to the only spring and defended on two sides by deep valleys. By bringing the Ark of the Covenant within its walls, David made it the symbol of a religious ideal which transcended the petty jealousies of the twelve tribes of Israel. To underline this dimension his son Solomon (965–928 BC) built the first temple to enshrine the Ark. He had to extend the city, and the valleys gave him no choice but to move northwards along the ridge [**2**].

In subsequent centuries suffering caused the city first to expand and then to contract. The Assyrian invasion of the north in the latter part of the C8 BC sent refugees flooding towards Jerusalem. Failing to find space, many built outside the city wall to the west. They had to be protected when Sennacherib menaced the city in 701 BC, and a new wall was built to enclose the western hill [**3**], quadrupling the size of the city. This was the city devastated by the Babylonians in 586 BC. After its inhabitants returned from exile some 50 years later they were refused authority to rebuild the walls; it was accorded to Nehemiah (445–443 BC) but a greatly reduced population forced him to revert to a line which encompassed less than the city of Solomon [**4**].

Only after the Maccabean revolt in the first part of the C2 BC had restored Jewish independence did the city grow again. Under powerful Hasmonean kings, such as John Hyrcanus (134–104 BC) and Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BC), it spread first to the west [**5**] and then to the north [**6**]. It was destined to grow further to the north, but the lines of the eastern and western walls have remained constant ever since.

Herod (37–4 BC), surprisingly, does not appear to have touched the walls; he concentrated his attention on buildings within the city. One of these, the Temple, naturally affected the eastern wall; it was replaced by one side of his great platform. According to Josephus (*War* 5: 147–55), Herod Agrippa I (AD 37–44) laid the foundations of a new north wall which was completed only during the First Revolt (AD 66–70), but his directions are so vague and the archaeological evidence so ambiguous that the exact trace of this famous 'Third Wall' continues to exercise scholars. It is most probable, however, that it followed the line of the

present north wall [7]. After his victory in AD 70 Titus ordered the walls of Jerusalem to be razed, 'leaving only the loftiest of the towers, Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamme, and the portion of the wall enclosing the city on the west; the latter as an encampment for the garrison that was to remain and the towers to indicate to posterity the nature of the city and the strong defences which had yet yielded to Roman prowess' (*War* 7: 1–2). The destruction begun by Titus was completed by Hadrian in AD 135. In his new city, Aelia Capitolina, only the camp of the Tenth Legion was walled [**8**]. A wall became necessary only when the Legion left at the end of the C3. The area it enclosed [**9**] was very close to that of the present Old City whose street plan (such as it is) is conditioned by the layout of Aelia; the main arteries are still the same.

The small city, deadened by the absence of Jews, who were forbidden to enter it, received a new lease of life when Christianity received the public support of the emperor in 313. The places made holy by contact with Jesus drew pilgrims from all over the known world. The city was forced to expand; in the C5 the empress Eudokia confirmed this development by walling in the Christian Mount Sion and the original city of David [**10**]. Jerusalem submitted peacefully to the caliph Omar in 637, but it never became as central to Islam as it was to Judaism and Christianity. Pilgrimage continued, but the stable population decreased steadily, so that when the Fatimid caliph el-Aziz (975–96) felt that the Byzantine emperor John Zimisces was threatening the city in 975 he abandoned the area included by Eudokia, retaining only the northern portion of the Byzantine city [**11**].

The city thus acquired the dimensions that it has today [**12**], but a whole series of walls was built and torn down before the Ottoman sultan Suliman the Magnificent (1520–66) erected the present 4.3 km (2.7 miles) rampart. His chief architect, Kosa Sinan Pasha (1490–1588) began in the north in 1537 and continued down the east and west sides. The south wall was completed only in 1541, apparently because there was a dispute as to whether Mount Sion should be included. The authorities objected to the expense involved in extending the wall for the sake of one building, the Cenacle, and tried to get the Franciscans to bear the cost. They had no money, and so were left outside. Suliman's anger—he had the architects executed—shows that he intended his wall to honour and protect all the places of popular veneration. The depredations of modern urban development reveal more clearly every day that no one ever gave Jerusalem a finer gift.

Visit (Fig. 2). It is possible to walk round most of the Old City on top of the rampart. Not only is it the best way to appreciate its negligible defensive value, but it provides a unique perspective on the life of the city. The walk is protected by railings and provided with explanatory displays.

▲ **Fig. 2.** Jerusalem. The gates and quarters of the Old City.

Women, however, are advised not to go alone. The access points (open: 9 a.m.–4 p.m.; Fridays 2 p.m.) are at Damascus Gate, Jaffa Gate, and below the Citadel at the south end of the saluting platform; descent only is permitted at St Stephen's Gate, Herod's Gate, New Gate, Sion Gate, and just west of Dung Gate.

Suliman the Magnificent set six gates in his wall, and it is obvious that all were designed by the same hand; a straight or slightly curved joggled lintel, above which is an Arabic inscription, is set slightly inside a higher broken arch. Only Herod's Gate, Damascus Gate, Jaffa Gate, and Sion Gate retain their original L-shaped entry. Such entrances worked well as long as all goods were carried on pack animals, but once wheeled traffic developed, modifications became inevitable. During the British Mandate St Stephen's Gate and Herod's Gate became direct entrances. The Dung Gate was originally only a postern, but was widened after the Second World War. Suliman gave all six gates official names, but in fact the names vary according to language and religious community.

Herod's Gate and its Vicinity

The official name of this gate is Bab ez-Zahr, 'the Flowered Gate'. It got its present name only in the C16 or C17 because pilgrims believed a Mamluk house inside near the Franciscan Monastery of the Flagellation to be the palace of Herod Antipas. The original entrance is in the east face of the tower. It was at this point that the Crusaders first established a bridgehead on the walls at noon on 15 July 1099.

Just beside the west face of the first tower going towards Damascus Gate the channel of an **aqueduct** is marked by a series of irregular covering slabs. Pottery embedded in the plaster of the last repair show it to have been in use until the late C3 AD or early C4. The ditch in which the present road runs must therefore be subsequent to this date, because it cuts the aqueduct. This suggests that the earliest wall on the present line at this point must be dated to the last years of Aelia Capitolina.

Slightly further west the wall makes a curve inward and follows the rim of an **ancient quarry** which extended across the road into what is now the bus station; for details see SOLOMON'S QUARRIES (p. 162). The weight of the wall caused part of the roof of the quarry to cave in. The small walled section in the centre at ground level enshrines part of a sloping glacis of uncertain date. The wall of Herod Agrippa I (AD 41–4) linking Damascus Gate with the East Gate in the ECCE HOMO CONVENT (p. 35), must have turned south on the highest point to the west now occupied by the Spafford Hospital.

Damascus Gate

This is the most elaborate of the city gates, and is the finest example of Ottoman architecture in the region; it is the only one to have been excavated.

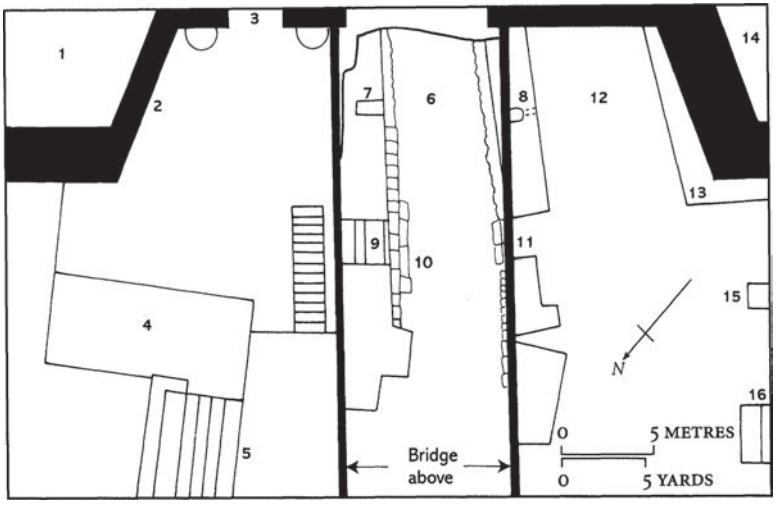
Medieval Jerusalem

'The city has seven gates, of which six are firmly locked every night until after dawn. But the seventh [the Golden Gate] is blocked with a wall, and only on the Day of Palms and at the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is it opened. Even though the city is oblong, it has five angles, of which one goes inward. Underfoot nearly all its streets are made with closely lodged large stones, and up above there are many with stone roofs, and everwhere among these there are windows arranged to let in light. The houses have carefully made walls stretching up to a considerable height, but their roofs are not raised up in our manner with beams, but are a flat shape, and of equal height. The rain which falls on them is led into cisterns, and they use no other water, because they have none.' (Theoderic (C12), *The Holy Places*, 11; trans. J. Wilkinson).

The first gate on this site was founded by Herod Agrippa I (AD 41–4). Rebuilt by Hadrian in AD 135 as the free-standing monumental entrance to Aelia Capitolina, it gave on to a semicircular plaza from which ran the two principal roads of the city corresponding to the present Tariq el-Wad and Suq Khan ez-Zeit. This arched gate, with a pedestrian entrance on either side (similar to that at the ECCE HOMO, p. 35) was integrated into a wall following the line of the present north wall only at the end of the C3; it remained in use at least until the C5. By the C8 debris had blocked the two side entrances and Umayyads sank a cistern in front of each. The central entrance must have been raised. Certainly the medieval gate was on a higher level and 20 m outside the present entrance. This gate opened to the east between two towers and the roadway ran west for some 15 m before turning south, roughly on the axis of the present bridge.

Visit (Fig. 3). The rough modern steps [**16**] lead down, past a wall [**15**] of uncertain date to the Crusader chapel of St Abraham [**12**]. The lavabo [**8**] just beside the emplacement of the altar communicates with the water trough reached from the road outside [**6**]. The heavy masonry revetment [**13**] is medieval. It does not go completely round the tower [**14**], and excavations against the west face revealed the same moulding which is visible at the base of the east tower [**2**]. The mid-C12 chapel rests on a Umayyad cistern.

▼ **Fig. 3.** Excavations at Damascus Gate (after Hennessy). 1. Tower; 2. Moulding; 3. Pedestrian entrance; 4. Medieval tower; 5. Medieval steps; 6. Crusader Road; 7 and 8. Troughs; 9. Entrance; 10. Tenth Legion mark; 11. Chapel entrance; 12. Chapel of St Abraham; 13. Medieval revetment; 14. Tower; 15. Undated wall; 16. Modern access to site.



The kerbstones of the medieval roadway [**6**] are clearly visible in the café beneath the modern bridge, whose extent is marked by the heavy lines in Fig. 3. Opposite the entrance to the chapel of St Abraham [**11**] a flight of steps [**9**] led up to another building; one stone [**10**] bears the mark of the Tenth Legion Fretensis. The two water troughs [**7** and **8**] could be closed by hinged doors. The present paved area with a seat [**4**] reveals the emplacement and size of the south tower of the medieval gate; one hinge stone remains in place and its height above the line of stones [**5**] means that the entrance must have been stepped.

The iron steps lead down to what was once an Umayyad cistern: its collapse and clearance permits appreciation of the magnificent workmanship of Herod Agrippa's tower [**2**] and pedestrian gate [**3**]; the arch and capping stone date, however, from the Hadrianic restoration in the C2 AD. Hadrian also reconstructed the tower, which underwent internal modifications in the Byzantine and Early Arab periods.

The tower is open 9 a.m.–5 p.m. (Fridays 3 p.m.). Inside the visitor has two options: (a) to visit the guardroom and climb the stairs to the rampart walk, or (b) to explore the Hadrianic plaza. The great paving stones of the plaza resemble those in the ECCE HOMO CONVENT (p. 35) even to the engraved gaming board; the striations were to facilitate horse traffic on the slight slope. In the Middle Ages houses encroached on the plaza.

The exhibition of maps of Jerusalem from the C7 to the C16 repays attention. A unique feature is the holograph representing what is thought to have been the central feature of the plaza, a tall column supporting a statue of Hadrian. The representation of such a column in the C6 Madaba Map is no proof that one existed there four centuries earlier. The Arabic name of the gate is Bab el-Amud, 'the Gate of the Column', but since all the Ottoman gates take their names from things outside them, it is possible that the point of reference is the huge column drums just inside the entrance to ST STEPHEN'S CHURCH (p. 159) on Nablus Road some 200 m to the north. These imply a Roman commemorative column almost 14 m high, and are unlikely to have been moved far from their original position. A head of Hadrian and an inscription were found not far away.

New Gate and its Vicinity

This gate was not in Suliman's plan, as its form clearly indicates. It was opened only in 1887 by the Ottoman sultan Abdul Hamid II to facilitate access to the Old City from the new suburbs developing to the north outside the city wall.

Just west of the gate there is a little park in an inset of the wall. In it one can see the base of a **great tower** projecting out beneath Suliman's wall. It is known by the Arabs as Qasr Jalud, 'Goliath's Castle', because of

a legend (attested in the C11 AD) that David killed the Philistine a bow-shot away; in Crusader maps it is identified as Tancred's Tower. It is in fact a C11 tower (35 × 35 m) constructed of blocks dating from the Herodian period. It stands 3 m inside the **Fatimid forewall,** which was protected by a ditch 19 m wide. A portion of the ditch was left unquarried in order to carry an **aqueduct** that passed beneath the wall. The two channels coming from the north join on the rock bridge; irregular slabs in the modern paving mark the line of the channel.

If one moves around the north-west corner to a point where Jaffa Gate becomes visible, the footpath roughly marks the line of the Fatimid forewall, of which a segment is visible just outside Jaffa Gate.

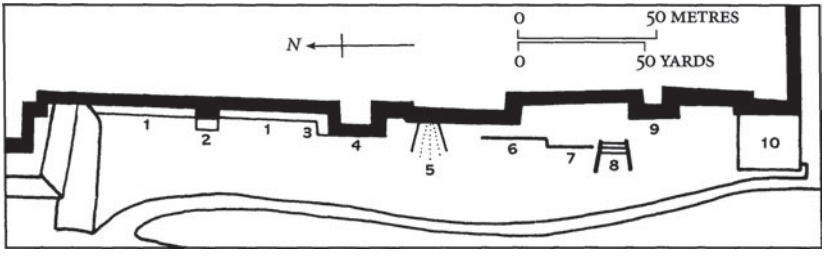
Jaffa Gate to the South-West Corner

Arabs still call Jaffa Gate by its official name, Bab el-Khalil, 'the Gate of the Friend', the reference being to HEBRON, which takes its Arabic name from Abraham, 'the Friend of God' (Isa. 41: 8). The wall between the L-shaped gate and the CITADEL (p. 23) was torn down and the moat filled by the Ottoman sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1898 in order to permit Kaiser Wilhelm II and his suite to ride into the city along the route followed by the present motor road. According to legend, the two graves behind the wrought-iron fence just inside the gate to the left are those of the architects executed by Suliman the Magnificent for leaving MOUNT SION (p. 115) outside the walls. In fact they belong to a peaceful burger and his wife.

The two mounted figures on the saluting platform outside the Citadel represent very accurately the equipment of Crusader and Muslim cavalry during the period of the Latin Kingdom (1099–1187). A surcoat protected the chain mail from the sun, and the need to save weight dictated a smaller shield than the shoulder-to-heel version common in Europe.

From Jaffa Gate to the south-west corner (Fig. 4) the area outside the wall has been well excavated; it is a privileged spot in which to appreciate the vicissitudes of the wall from the C2 BC to the C16 AD.

▼ **Fig. 4.** Jaffa Gate to the south-west corner (after Broshi). 1. Herodian wall; 2 and 3. Hasmonean wall; 4. Tower; 5. Baulk; 6. Herodian wall; 7. Herodian tower; 8. City gate; 9. Turkish tower; 10. Medieval tower.



The C16 Turkish wall is built on the line of the late C2 BC Hasmonean wall, which is visible as a slight projection at the base of the present tower [**2**] and in the corner [**3**], where it blocks a door in a tower of the early C2 BC. Herod the Great (37–4 BC) built a wall [**1**] with a tower [**2**] immediately outside the Hasmonean wall, both to protect the foundations and to buttress the wall against the pressure of the fill inside on which he built his palace. The three metal grilles mark the entrances to C8 BC tombs which were cleared when the Hasmonean wall was built.

The face of the next tower [**4**] offers a panorama of the history of the wall. The stonework between the rock bulges is Herodian; above it is a medieval tower which slopes in to become the present Turkish tower. On either side the Herodian wall lies outside the elements of the Hasmonean wall projecting beneath the actual rampart. One baulk [**5**] was left to show the ground level before the excavations.

The Herodian wall [**6**] continues to become a tower [**7**] which flanked a gate [**8**] of the C1 AD; a corresponding tower was excavated on the other side but is no longer visible. In the trench just in front of the tower [**7**] were found the remains of a C7 BC house. It was in this sector that the Romans, after a month of desperate effort, finally broke through into the Upper City (*War* 6: 374–99) in late September AD 70.

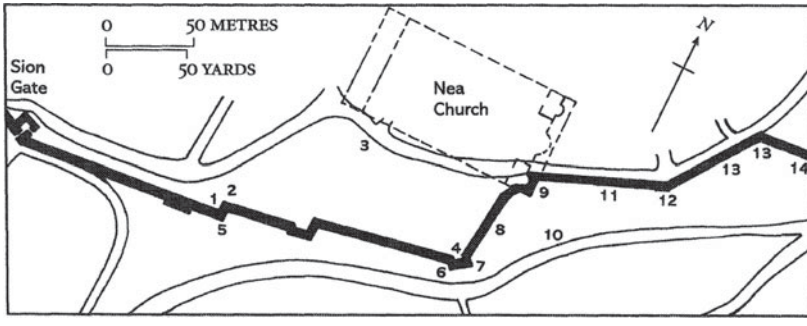
The next tower [**9**] is entirely Turkish, as is its companion on the corner (**10**). The latter pales into insignificance beside the well-preserved base of a gigantic medieval tower on the same site; it was thrown down with the rest of the city's fortifications in 1219 by el-Melek el-Mouadzam (1218–27), the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus and nephew of Saladin, only seven years after he had repaired them. He had insufficient troops to garrison the city and refused to hand the Crusaders a well-fortified site should they advance on Jerusalem.

Sion Gate to Dung Gate

Sion Gate owes its name to the fact that it is the exit to MOUNT SION (p. 115). In Arabic it is known as Bab Nabi Daud, 'the Gate of the Prophet David', because his tomb is located, according to legend, on Mount Sion. Its pockmarked outer face bears mute testimony to the fierce fighting in 1948 for the JEWISH QUARTER (p. 75).

Extensive excavations on both sides of the wall between Sion Gate and Dung Gate (Fig. 5) have brought to light interesting remains of virtually all periods in the city's history, which are readily accessible.

Inside the wall. The great square tower (23 × 23 m) with a central pillar [**1**] is an **Ayyubid tower** built in 1212 and destroyed only five years later, when it seemed clear that the Crusaders would return; part of it projects outside the present wall [**5**]. Running east is a C11 **Fatimid wall** (restored) with a city gate [**2**]. The large building [**3**] just below the interior road is medieval. The **four-columned hall** is particularly impressive.



▲ **Fig. 5.** Excavations along the South Wall. 1. Ayyubid tower; 2. Fatimid wall; 3. Crusader building; 4. Byzantine cistern; 5. Ayyubid tower; 6 and 7. Herodian aqueduct; 8. Byzantine hostel; 9. Corner of the Nea; 10. Herodian house; 11. Aqueduct channel; 12. Medieval tower; 13. Ritual baths; 14. Medieval tower.

The outer ends of the vaults were supported by stylized Corinthian capitals resting on elbow-shaped consoles embedded in the wall. In the Mamluk period the hall served some craft necessitating great quantities of water. The eastern part of this building served as a bathhouse.

The stepped flower beds [**4**] built in the corner of the present wall cover an enormous **cistern** dated to AD 549 by an inscription that reads, 'This is the work which our most pious emperor Flavius Justinian carried out with munificence, under the care and devotion of the most holy Constantine, priest and superior, in the thirteenth year of the indiction.' From another source we know that this Constantine was the monastic superior of the Nea, the 'New Church' built by Justinian in 543, and depicted in the Madaba Map ([**1**] in Fig. 28). The great height of the cistern was not a function of the volume of water required, but was dictated by the need to level the space just south of this church (see box), one of the most splendid in the empire; its eastern wall is profiled in stones in the tarmac road and the south lateral apse is tucked into the corner of the Turkish wall. The corresponding south-east corner projects outside the rampart [**9**]. The north lateral apse is visible in the JEWISH QUARTER (p. 75).

Outside the wall. The **Ayyubid tower** [**5**] projects outside the wall just beside the path. Widening to the east the south-east corner is ruined, but two courses are visible beneath the inward turn of the C16 wall. Part of the C1 BC lower **aqueduct** bringing water from SOLOMON'S POOLS near Bethlehem is visible [**6**] near the tower Burj el-Kibrit [**7**]. The signs of frequent repair are obvious. The ceramic pipe was placed in the channel during the early Ottoman period. The aqueduct can also be picked up again in the deep narrow channel with capstones [**11**] running under the wall to the Temple area. This section also contains part of a house [**10**] destroyed by the Romans in AD 70, but the most significant remains are on a higher level right under the wall [**8**]; they represent a **hospice**

associated with the Nea Church. The massive blocks in the five courses of the **corner of the Nea** [**9**] projecting out beneath the present wall are highly suggestive of the grandeur of the edifice, and go somewhat to confirming the account of Procopius of Caesarea (see box).

The Construction of the Nea Church

'The emperor Justinian had given orders to build a sanctuary to the Mother of God on a prominent hill, and among other things had specified its breadth and length. But there was not enough space on the hill for the building the emperor wanted, and a quarter of the site area was missing on the south, and also on the east at the very place where it is the custom of the priests to celebrate. Those in charge of the work therefore contrived this plan: they laid their foundations right to the edge of the high ground, and then added to the hill an artificial platform of the same height as the rock. After they had built this up to the level of the hill-top they set vaults on the walls, and joined this construction on to the rest of the sanctuary buildings. Thus this church has its foundations partly on solid rock and partly on air, on account of the extension which the mighty emperor added to the area of the hill.

The stones used for this building were unusually large. Those directing the works had to overcome the natural disadvantages of the site, and to achieve a construction the height of the rock. All the ordinary methods proved useless, and they had to resort to unconventional, indeed, unprecedented measures. First they quarried enormous blocks from the large mountains which stand in front of the city. Then they dressed them neatly. And this is how they transported them to the site. They made special wagons the size of the stones, put a stone in each wagon and had it drawn up by forty oxen which the emperor had specially selected for their strength. The roads in to the city were not wide enough to take the wagons, so they cut away large sections of the mountains to give access to the wagons coming in. And that is how they succeeded in building the church to the dimensions specified by the emperor.

Even though they had made it the correct width they found themselves quite unable to roof the church. So they went around inspecting all the groves and woods, indeed, anywhere they were told there were specially tall trees. Finally they discovered a thick forest containing some cedars of unusual height. Using these to construct the roof of the church they succeeded in making its width proportionate to its length and height.' (Procopius of Caesarea (C6), *Buildings* 5: 342–46; trans. J. Wilkinson)

The rock surface running towards Dung Gate has been cut to create a great number of baths and cisterns, which formed part of the basements of **dwelling houses** of the Herodian period. East of the medieval tower [**12**] are two **ritual baths** [**13**]. Beside Dung Gate is another medieval tower [**14**] in whose western face is the **Tanners' Postern Gate**, so called because the cattle market just inside furnished hides to pungent tanneries nearby. This tower rests on a paved **Byzantine street** going down to the POOL OF SILOAM (p. 130). It continues to the north beneath the city wall.

The Arabic name of the next gate is Bab el-Magharbeh, 'the Gate of the Moors', because Muslim immigrants from North Africa settled in that part of the city in the C16. Jews called it the Dung Gate after a gate in the south wall of Nehemiah (Neh. 2: 13). The pointed gadroon arch above the modern (1985) lintel shows that the original gate was only a postern. In 1953 the Jordanians widened it in order to get motor vehicles to the CITADEL. For nearly 20 years (1948–67) Jaffa Gate was sealed by a de facto frontier. For the area east of Dung Gate see the section EXCAVATIONS AT THE WESTERN WALL PLAZA (p. 106).

St Stephen's Gate

Suliman called the east gate of the city Bab el-Ghor, 'the Jordan Valley Gate', but this name never took root. An earlier gate on roughly the same spot was called St Stephen's Gate, and this was the name that remained among the Christian communities. According to Byzantine pilgrims, however, the C6 gate of this name was in the north wall (today Damascus Gate). The shift illustrates the tendency of places in Jerusalem to move to suit the convenience of visitors. After the fall of the Latin Kingdom (1187), Christian pilgrims were not permitted near the north wall, militarily the weakest point of the city. They had to leave the city by the east gate to visit the Mount of Olives and Jericho and returned via the Dung Gate. The local guides simply moved to the Kidron valley certain holy places, notably the church of St Stephen, which in reality were north of the city, and business went on as before.

The current Hebrew name, 'Lions' Gate', is due to a mistake. The pairs of animals are in fact panthers, the heraldic emblem of the Mamluk sultan Baybars (1260–77), which Suliman's architects set on either side of the gate to celebrate the Ottoman defeat of the Mamluks in 1517. Evidently pride overrode the prohibition of images! Very quickly an explanation more acceptable to the popular mind emerged. At this point the first Ottoman sultan, Selim I (1512–20) encountered two lions who were prepared to eat him because he planned to level the city. He escaped by promising that he would protect Jerusalem by building a surround wall. Thus the lion has become the heraldic symbol of the Jerusalem Municipality.

▲ **Jerusalem**. St Stephen's/Lions' Gate from outside. The panther was the heraldic embelm of the C13 Mamluk sultan Baybars.

Originally on entering the gate one was forced to go left, where another arch is still to be seen. The original back wall of the gate was removed under the British Mandate to facilitate traffic.

For the series of sealed gates, the Golden Gate, the Triple Gate, and the Double Gate, see the sections HARAM ES-SHARIF (p. 87) and EXCAVATIONS AT THE WESTERN WALL PLAZA (p. 106).

The Citadel ★★

The west side of the Old City is dominated by the minaret and towers of the Citadel, which has been its bastion since the time of Herod the Great (37–4 BC). The instinct of artists, who have used it to symbolize Jerusalem girt about with walls, has been validated by archaeologists; it encapsulates the history of the city.

Israelite settlement in this area is attested as early as the C7 BC, but it was definitively brought within the city walls only in the late C2 BC, when the Hasmonean dynasty reached the apogee of its power under John Hyrcanus (134–104 BC). The Hasmonean wall is mentioned by Josephus in his description of the three towers which Herod erected in memory of his friend Hippicus, his brother Phasael, and his wife Mariamne: 'while such were the proportions of these three towers, they seemed far larger owing to their site. For the old wall in which they stood was itself built upon a lofty hill, and above the hill rose as it were a crest 30 cubits higher still' (*War* 5: 173). 'Adjoining and on the inner side of these towers, which lay to the north of it,' he continues 'was the king's palace, wondrous beyond words' (*War* 5: 176). Excavations in the Armenian garden have shown that the palace reached almost to the present south wall.

When the Romans assumed direct control in Palestine in AD 6 the Procurator, who lived in CAESAREA, used the palace as his Jerusalem residence. It was the praetorium in which Pontius Pilate judged Jesus (John 18: 28–19: 16). A similar murderous farce was played out on the same spot under another Procurator: 'Florus took up his quarters at the palace, and on the next day had his tribunal set before it and sat upon it . . . The soldiers caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first scourged and then crucified' (*War* 2: 301–8). Such brutality was one of the causes of the First Revolt, and in September AD 66 Jewish revolutionaries attacked and burnt the palace (*War* 2: 430–40). The Roman general Titus, after his victory four years later, preserved the gigantic towers as a monument to the valour of his troops, whom he garrisoned in the area of the old palace (*War* 7: 1–2); it remained the camp of the Tenth Legion Fretensis for over 200 years.

Considering the western hill to be Mount Sion, the Byzantines inevitably identified the site with the palace of David. The remains of the great tower became known as David's Tower; in the C19 this name moved to the minaret in the south-west corner. It is not clear when the fortress was first rebuilt, but one certainly existed in the C8. The Fatimid defenders were permitted to march out with honour when the Crusaders took the city in July 1099. In 1128 it became the residence of the Crusader kings of Jerusalem, who extended it to the west. From those battlements,

on an October day in 1187, Saladin watched two lines of Christians leave the defeated city, one going to slavery, the other (who could afford the ransom) to freedom. In the following century, as the Crusaders struggled to maintain a toe-hold in Palestine, the Citadel was rebuilt and torn down more than once.

Only when the Crusaders had clearly abandoned all hope of return did the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (1309–40) give the central portion of the fortress its present form in 1310. He retained the Crusader outer line, but levelled the old city wall which had divided the interior into two wards. In the C16 the Ottoman sultan Suliman the Magnificent contributed the monumental entrance and added the platform for cannon salutes along the western wall.

Visit (Fig. 6). Open: Sunday–Thursday 10 a.m.–4 p.m. (winter); 9 a.m.–5 p.m. (summer); closes 2 p.m. on Friday, Saturday, and eves of Jewish Holy Days. The entrance [**7**] is on the east side of the complex, i.e. facing Christchurch within the Old City. From 1 April to 31 October there is a Sound and Light show in English in the courtyard at 9.30 p.m. on Monday and Wednesday and at 10.10 p.m. on Saturday. To check time and performances in languages other than English phone 02-627-4111. A warm jacket is recommended even in summer. Use the Jaffa Gate entrance.

The Museum

The archaeological remains in the courtyard are all of different periods. Hence, it is better to begin with the museum scattered throughout the various rooms of the complex. Its models, plans, and exhibits go a long way towards disentangling the multitude of threads which make up the complicated web of Jerusalem's history. From the entrance [**10**] go up the stairs to the right and on the roof turn left into a large room in the tower [**5**], where an animated film provides an evocative introduction to the history of the city. Then cross the roof of the hexagonal room to the east tower [**32**]. The upper exhibition room records the history of Jerusalem to the Babylonian exile, whereas the one beneath it brings the story up to the destruction of the city by the Romans in AD 70.

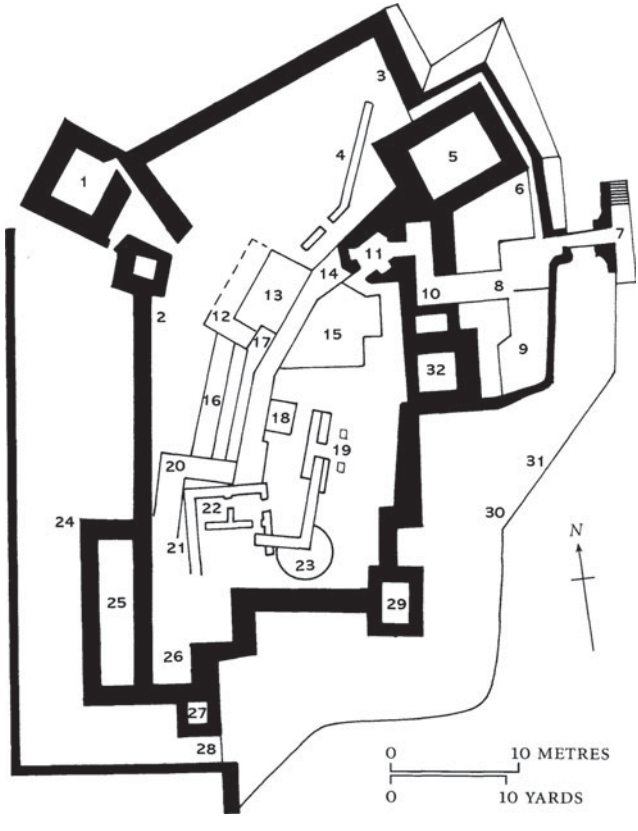
Continue on the lower level to the base of the south-east tower [**29**] whose exhibits reflect the splendour of Jerusalem during the late Roman and Byzantine periods (C2–7 AD). The Early Islamic, Crusader, and Ayyubid periods (C7–13) are dealt with in what used to be a mosque [**25**]. The story ends (on the same level) in the north-west tower [**1**] whose exhibits evoke the Mamluk, Ottoman, and British periods in the history of Jerusalem. In what used to be a huge cistern beneath this tower is displayed the 1:500 zinc model of Jerusalem built by the Hungarian

Stefan Illes for display at the World Fair in Vienna in 1873; the entrance is via a flight of stairs outside [2].

The Building and the Excavations

Since the archaeological remains in the courtyard are all of different periods, it is advisable to begin with a series of bird's-eye views from the towers. Only from a height is it possible to grasp the shapes of the various units and to appreciate their interrelationship.

▼ **Fig. 6.** The Citadel (after Heva). 1. North-west tower; 2. Entrance to 1873 model; 3. Byzantine wall; 4. Undated wall; 5. Phasael tower; 6. Byzantine wall; 7. Outer entrance; 8. Bridge; 9. Mosque; 10. Inner entrance. 11. Hexagonal room. 12. Herodian tower; 13. Hasmonean tower; 14. Hasmonean wall; 15. Podium grid. 16. Medieval wall. 17. Byzantine wall. 18. Byzantine cistern. 19. Early Islamic entrance; 20. Harmonean tower. 21. Herodian tower; 22. C1 AD tower; 23. Early Islamic tower; 24 Postern gate. 25. Mosque. 26. Entrance to medieval hall. 27. Minaret. 28. Entrance to rampart walk. 29. South-east tower. 30. Rock steps; 31. Water channel; 32. East tower.



The East Entrance. A series of inscriptions over the ornamental gate [**7**], in the open-air mosque [**9**], and on the north side of the bridge [**8**], date their construction to the C16. They are contemporary with Suliman the Magnificent's restoration of the city walls. A glance at the tower [**5**] reveals two building phases; the small stones of the top, erected by the C14 Mamluks, who built for show, stand in vivid contrast to the great blocks of the base erected by Herod the Great, who built for eternity. The base is solid all the way through, and if this tower is correctly identified with Phasael it was much larger than the Pharus, the great lighthouse of Alexandria, which was one of the seven wonders of the world (*War* 5: 166–9).

A flight of steps beside the remains of a Byzantine wall [**6**] permits one to pass under the bridge [**8**] and out into **the moat**. The area south of the bridge in the C8 BC was a quarry. The date of the wall cannot be determined. Further on is a flight of steps [**30**] with a rock-cut, plastered water channel [**31**]. Coins in the plaster used to level the rock surface date the installation to the Hasmonean period; its function then and subsequently in Herod's palace is unknown.

The **main entrance** [**10**] is Crusader but was restored by the Mamluks in the C14; it is L-shaped in order to force attackers to slow their momentum. The stone benches of the guardroom are original, as are the slits for the portcullis just in front of the iron-plated C16 doors. There is an entrance to the courtyard from the C14 hexagonal room [**11**], but it is better to climb the outer stairs to the upper level first.

Upper Level. A cut near the top of the stairs shows clearly that the Mamluk construction is merely juxtaposed to the Herodian tower [**5**]. The top of the tower offers a splendid panorama of the Old City. The two domes (one larger than the other) to the left in the middle distance are those of the HOLY SEPULCHRE (p. 49). The great hole directly in line with them is HEZEKIAH'S POOL (p. 65), known to Josephus as Amygdalon (*War* 5: 468). To the right one looks down onto Christchurch, the first Anglican church built in the Holy Land (1849). Further to the south are the domes of the ARMENIAN QUARTER (p. 68).

The minaret [**27**] was erected by Muhammad Pasha in 1655. An inscription over the *minbar* (pulpit) of the **mosque** [**25**] testifies to repairs effected by Suliman the Magnificent to the original Mamluk mosque built above a Crusader hall. There is a fine view from the roof of the mosque. Inside the city wall to the south are the buildings erected in the mid-C19 as the Kishla ('winter barracks') for Turkish troops. This was the area occupied by the palace of Herod the Great (*War* 5: 176–81). The remains at the external base of the wall (p. 17) are clearly visible. The dried-up reservoir in the Hinnom valley, now called **Birket es-Sultan**, was once the Serpent's Pool (*War* 5: 108); it took its name from the serpentine wanderings of the lower aqueduct from SOLOMON'S POOLS, which can be

traced on both sides. The long one-storey building below the windmill is Mishkenoth Shaananim, erected by Moses Montefiore in 1857 (p. 155).

From the north-west tower [**1**] one can look down on **Jaffa Gate**. The space between it and the base of the tower was once part of the medieval moat; it was filled in 1898. This is also the best spot from which to view the archaeological remains in the courtyard; it is recommended to read the following notes before descending to examine the details.

Courtyard. The **Hasmonean wall** of the late C2 BC is represented by the sweeping curve [**14**], whose thickness would have suggested that it was a city wall even without the two projecting **towers** [**13** and **20**]. This is the First Wall described by Josephus (*War* 5: 142–5); to the south it appears beneath the present west wall (p. 17), while its extension to the east has been traced in the JEWISH QUARTER (p. 75). Dwellings were built against its inner face [**15**], one of the entrances is still visible.

When Herod the Great decided to build his **palace** in this area in the last quarter of the C1 BC, his major contribution was to insert the great tower [**5**] into the line of the earlier wall; the other two towers mentioned by Josephus must have been sited further east. Herod also decided to raise the ground level inside the wall in order to create an artificial platform that would make his structures even more imposing. To this end he laid a grid of walls intersecting at right angles over the Hasmonean dwellings [**15**]; their function was to hold the fill firmly in position. As a further precaution against lateral pressure, he extended the tower [**13**] outwards, creating a much bigger bastion [**12**], and thickened the wall [**14**] between the two towers [**12** and **5**]. Curiously, he did not extend the larger tower [**20**]. Instead he reduced its width from 18.5 to 14.5 m, but kept the same orientation [**21**]. Even though history records no destruction, this tower had to be rebuilt early in the C1 AD. The new tower [**22**] was given a slightly different orientation and was built into the wall [**14**], the north and east walls and the room dividers are of the C1 AD, but the west wall was reconstructed in the Byzantine period. A thick destruction layer was found in the eastern room, mute testimony to the attack by Jewish rebels in September AD 66. 'They dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers and made it totter, and having done that, they set fire to what would burn and left it; when the foundations had burnt the tower suddenly collapsed' (*War* 2: 435).

The excavations brought to light sporadic but unambiguous evidence of the 200-year Roman presence on this site; the remains were too insignificant to be worth preserving. At the beginning of the **Byzantine period**, the early C4 AD, a new wall [**3**] was built northwards from the Herodian tower [**5**]; several stepped courses are visible beneath the present wall. It would have followed the ridge to a point just east of New Gate (p. 16), and then turned east on the line of the present north

wall to enclose Aelia Capitolina for the first time. The Byzantines also strengthened the Hasmonean–Herodian wall [**14**] by adding to its outer face [**17**], and resurrected the late Herodian tower [**22**] by reconstructing its western wall. They are also responsible for the cistern [**18**] dug against the inner face of the Herodian wall.

The first significant change in the disposition of the site occurred after the **Arab occupation** in 638. Sometime in the C7 or C8 a round tower [**23**] was erected to strengthen the corner of a new wall running west and north. Since the entrance [**19**] was on the east, it seems reasonable to assume that this fortress was bounded on the west by the old wall [**14**] and incorporated both the Byzantine tower [**22**] and the Herodian tower [**5**]. It is evident near the entrance [**19**] that the early Islamic wall was strengthened on both faces. This is the fortress that held out against the Crusaders until the evening of 15 July 1099 when the rest of the city had been taken.

The Muslim fortress was too small to serve the needs of a royal court, forcing the **Crusaders** to build a much larger citadel. They retained the Herodian tower [**5**], a tribute to its enduring strength: it appears on the royal seal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem between the DOME OF THE ROCK (p. 92) and the HOLY SEPULCHRE (p. 49). There are traces of C12 workmanship at the base of the present circuit of walls and towers, and the size is compatible with the number of citizens who took refuge there when Saladin threatened in 1177. The old external wall [**14**] was perfectly positioned to divide the enclosed area into two wards. Should it have been buried, however, the same role could be assigned to the massive medieval wall [**16**]. Crusader remains are visible in the vaulted chamber beneath the mosque [**25**]; it is reached by two medieval tunnels, one from a postern gate [**24**], now closed, the other from the courtyard [**26**]. The two square pillar bases [**19**] are also Crusader.

From the point of view of construction technique and fortification style the actual walls and towers and the upper portion of the Herodian tower could be either Ayyubid or **Mamluk**. For historical reasons, and because of an inscription that once adorned the east entrance [**10**], they are assigned to the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 1310. The south-east tower [**29**] with its adjoining walls is entirely his work, and the line he established for the west wall is apparently some metres inside the Crusader wall on that side.

The rough wall of small stones [**4**] is so far a mystery. Its level would suggest a date in the Herodian period, but it is not strong enough to be a built escarpment defending the base of the wall, and it is too close to a strongly defended tower to be part of the Roman circumvallation wall.

The Muslim Quarter

The Muslim Quarter covers 31 hectares (76 acres) in the north-eastern sector of the Old City (Fig. 2). The dilapidated buildings huddle wearily together and only the domes bubbling up everywhere suggest the intensity of life within. The population is estimated at 14,000. Although within the city walls since AD 40 the quarter has little to show for its long history. What it does have, however, can be shown with pride. There are striking Roman and Crusader remains (Fig. 7) along the street inside ST STEPHEN'S GATE (p. 22), and marvellous Mamluk façades in the warren of little streets beside the HARAM ESH-SHARIF.

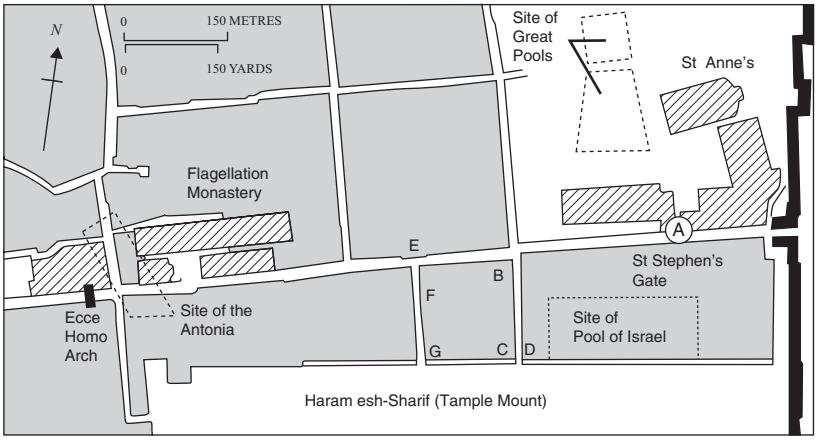
St Anne's

Crusader Jerusalem is seen at its best in the simple strength of St Anne's (AD 1138), certainly the loveliest church in the city. According to Byzantine tradition, the crypt enshrines the home of the Virgin Mary and her parents Joachim and Anne. Next to it are the ruins of miraculous medicinal baths where clients of the god Serapis (Asclepius) gathered in hope of healing; Jesus there cured one, a man ill for 38 years (John 5: 1–13).

In the C8 BC a dam was built here across a shallow valley to capture run-off rainwater. It became known as 'the upper pool' (2 Kgs 18: 17; Isa. 7: 3). There was a vertical shaft in the centre of the dam with sluice gates at various heights. Thus controlled, water flowed south in a rock-cut channel to the City of David. The high priest Simon added a second pool on the south side of the dam about 200 BC (Sir. 50: 3), transforming the channel into a tunnel.

Sometime in the next century a number of natural caves east of the pools were adapted to serve as small baths; their function can only have been religious or medicinal, and at this time the two were inseparable: health was a gift of the gods. The site was then outside the walled city and the founders were probably soldiers from the pagan garrison of the Antonia fortress (p. 33).

John begins his account of Jesus' miracle with the words, 'Now at the Sheep Gate in Jerusalem is a pool with five porches, its name in Hebrew is Bethesda' (5: 2). The name may mean 'House of Mercy', a very appropriate designation for a healing sanctuary. After AD 135 when Jerusalem was paganized into Aelia Capitolina the sanctuary expanded into a temple; votive offerings of the C2 and C3 AD in gratitude for cures show that it was dedicated to Serapis (Asclepius). In Hadrian's grid-plan (reflected in today's streets, Fig. 7) a street ran across the dyke dividing the ancient pools to terminate in front of the temple.



▲ **Fig. 7.** Jerusalem. The area immediately inside St Stephen's Gate. Letters locate Mamluk buildings.

Origen (*c.*AD 231) was the first to relate the five porches mentioned in the gospel to the shape of the double pool 'four around the edges and another across the middle'. The hypothesis is an obvious one; it is doubtful that he actually saw anything. By the middle of the C5 AD a church commemorating the miracle had been built; its west end projected out over the dyke dividing the pools. The name of the Virgin Mary appears for the first time in the next century; it may have been the title of a second church.

How a church might have survived the destructive edict of the Fatimid sultan Hakim in 1009 is a mystery, but one certainly existed at the very beginning of the Crusader occupation. In 1104 Baldwin I committed his repudiated wife, the Armenian princess Arda, to the care of the community of Benedictine nuns who served it, and endowed the

Healing Gods need Help

'For all temples there shall be chosen the most healthy sites with suitable springs in those places where shrines are to be set up, and especially for Asclepius and Salus, and generally for those gods by whose medical power sick persons are manifestly healed. For when sick persons are moved from a pestilent to a healthy place and the water supply is from wholesome fountains, they will more quickly recover. So will it happen that the divinity (from the nature of the site) will gain a greater and higher reputation and authority.' (Vitruvius (C1), *On Architecture* i. 2, 7; trans. F. Granger)

▲ **Jerusalem**. The Crusader church of Saint Anne.

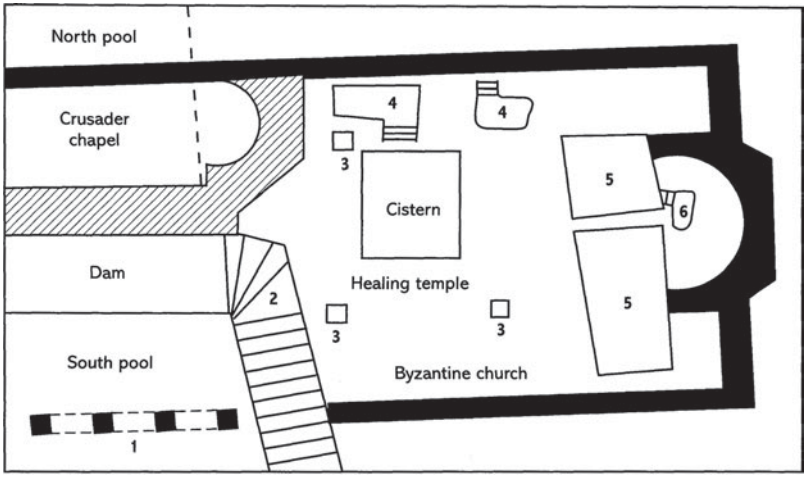
convent royally. They first erected a small chapel in the middle of the large Byzantine church: a stairway down to a corner of the northern pool permitted pilgrims to venerate the miracle of John 5. Sometime between 1131 and 1138 the convent church was replaced by the beautiful Romanesque church of St Anne. Soon too small for the growing community, which included members of the royal family, the church was enlarged by moving the façade out 7 m. Note the difference between the two piers just inside the entrance and the other four.

On 25 July 1192 Saladin transformed the church into a Muslim theological school; his inscription is still above the door. Other rulers were not so careful; they did not destroy but neither did they protect and by the C18 the church was roof-deep in refuse. It recovered its former glory only when the Ottoman Turks presented it to France in 1856 as a gesture of gratitude for aid in the Crimean War.

Visit. Open: 8 a.m.–noon and 2–5 p.m. (winter), 2–6 p.m. (summer); closed Sunday. Entrance at A in Fig. 7. The museum containing the more important objects found in the excavations is not open to visitors, but those really interested should ask the guardian.

The location of the medieval cloister is preserved by the garden around the bust of Cardinal Lavigerie, founder of the White Fathers to whose charge the church is entrusted. Around are various objects brought to light by the excavations. A narrow stairway protected by a railing permits a view of the plastered south-east corner of the southern pool (200 BC); it is 13 m deep.

▼ **Fig. 8.** St Anne's Church. Excavated area (after Duprez). 1. Piers supporting wall of C5 church. 2. Modern steps. 3. Columns of C5 church. 4. Healing baths. 5. Vaulted rooms. 6. Healing bath.



The church deserves silent contemplation. The change of masonry in the north wall betrays the medieval extension. The crypt is older than the church; the foundations of the pillars interfere with the original shape of the caves, which once formed part of the sanctuary of Serapis; only one section is open to the public.

Before visiting the excavations examine carefully the plan affixed to the railings; it is the only way to grasp the relationships of the various elements which come from several different periods. The monoapsidal Byzantine church was built directly above the healing sanctuary. The centre of the west end of the church rested on the dam dividing the two pools; one side was supported by a series of huge arches [**1**] founded on the bottom of the pool while the other rested on a cistern of the C2 AD built into the south-east corner of the northern pool; a perspective drawing opposite the shop at the street entrance facilitates visualization. It is possible to enter the cistern by stairs beneath ruined apse of the Crusader chapel.

Note in particular the section in the centre furthest from the apse of the medieval chapel. This was the most important part of the C2–C4 healing temple of Seraphis/Asclepius. The curvature of the low walls shows that two rooms [**5**] were vaulted; from one, three steps lead down to a small cave cut in the rock [**6**]; a rectangular shallow depression at one end is the bath. Other similar baths are easily detected [**4**]. After bathing, the client of Serapis slept in a darkened vaulted room; drug-induced dreams provided the basis of the priest's diagnosis. The apse of the C5 Byzantine church was sited directly over this area, both to commemorate the miracle and to obliterate a pagan temple.

Minor Monuments

From St Anne's the road runs uphill into the Old City. In the little street (Tariq Bab Hitta) to the left after the first covered section are three dilapidated Mamluk buildings (see p. 38). First on the right is the C14 **Ribat al-Maridini** ([B] in Fig. 7) and At the far end on the left is the slightly earlier **Madrasa Karimiyya** [D]. Opposite the latter is **the tomb of al-Malik al-Awhad** (d. 1299) [**C**], a great-great-nephew of Saladin. The entrance is noteworthy. Reused Crusader columns accentuate the outer corners. In the hub of the cloister vault above is a design based on the fleur-de-lis; its purpose is more likely to be decorative than heraldic.

The huge smooth flagstones in the street were recovered during the laying of a sewer; they date at least from the Byzantine period but may possibly be earlier. The large rough stones on the north side of the beginning of the next covered section of the street are the base of the now-vanished minaret of the **Muazzamiyya Madrasa** (1274) [**E**]. A rather dark street on the south (Tariq Bab al-Atm) contains the beautiful red and cream façade of the **Sallamiyya Madrasa** (1338) [**F**] with the three

grilled windows of its assembly hall and the recessed main entrance. The founder was a merchant from Iraq, who served the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad both as an importer of mamluks (cf. p. 30) and as a peace negotiator with the Mongols.

On the same side of the street but closer to the gate of the Haram esh-Sharif is the **Dawadariyya Khanqah** (1295) [G]. It was founded as a residence for contemplative Sufis by the Amir who commanded the siege artillery at the battle of AKKO in 1291 (see box). It was the first MAMLUK BUILDING (p. 38) in Jerusalem to have a decorated entrance, whose extraordinary quality was never surpassed. The central impost is unique, and the voussoirs of the pointed arch are joggled not in one plane but in two.

Antonia Fortress

At the crest of the hill a wide flight of steps on the left (south) side of the road leads up to the Umariyya Boys' School, which is accessible out of school hours at the whim of the caretaker. This rocky crag was the site of the Antonia, the great fortress built by Herod the Great (probably between 37 and 35 BC) and named in honour of his patron, Mark Anthony; it both protected and controlled the Temple (*War* 5: 238–47). The arrest of St Paul was typical of the responsibilities of its Roman garrison (Acts 21: 27–23: 35).

A Pious Foundation

'In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. The construction of this blessed khanqah, called the House of the Pious, was ordered by the servant needful of God Almighty, the servant of God, son of the servant of the Lord, son of the servant of the Creator, Sanjar al-Dawadari al-Salihi. He made it a waqf, in his desire for the countenance of God Almighty, in favour of 30 persons from the community of Sufis and novices, Arab and non-Arab, 20 of whom shall be unmarried and 10 married, to dwell there without leaving, not in summer, winter, spring nor autumn, except on specific business; and to give hospitality to those Sufis and novices who visit, for a period of 10 days. It was endowed with the village of Bir Nabala in the district of Jerusalem, and the village of Hajla in the district of Jericho, and an oven and mill, and the apartment above them, in Jerusalem, and a house, a soap factory, 6 shops, and a paper mill in Nablus, and 3 orchards, 3 shops and 4 mills in Beisan. . . .' (Founding Inscription (C13); trans. M. Burgoyne)

Occupied by the rebels in AD 66, it became the focal point of Titus' attempt to penetrate the final defences of Jerusalem. Having smashed through two walls further north (*War* 5: 302, 331), he dedicated the Fifth and Twelfth Legions to the subjection of the Antonia (*War* 5: 466). After two months of bitter fighting the fortress fell on 24 July 70. It was razed to the ground on the orders of Titus (*War* 6: 93,149); all that remains is a portion of its 4 m-thick south wall.

After entering the school go diagonally left and up to the large recess whose two windows offer a magnificent view of the HARAM ESH-SAHRIF (for the outside, cf. p. 90). These windows and part of the recess are cut into the wall of the Antonia whose inner limit is marked by the point in the walls where the recess widens slightly. In its present form the structure dates from 1315–20, when it served as the south chamber of **Jawiliyya Madrasa**. The founder had a distinguished career both as soldier and scholar, but his blazon on the façade of the recess—a circle enclosing two parallel lines and a dot—does not clearly indicate what his court office was (cf. p. 39). Mamluk and Ottoman governors of Jerusalem used the recess as their seat of judgement. In 1835 the complex was rebuilt as a barracks for Ottoman troops, and became a school in 1924.

Monastery of the Flagellation

Across the road from the Umariyya School is the Franciscan Monastery of the Flagellation: open 8 a.m.–noon and 2–5 p.m. (winter), 2–6 p.m. (summer). A museum displays finds from the excavations at NAZARETH, CAPERNAUM, and DOMINUS FLEVIT, and has a fine collection of coins. Open: Monday–Saturday 9–11.30 a.m.; Sunday by appointment for small groups (tel.: 02–628–0271).

In popular piety the Antonia was assumed to be the residence of Pontius Pilate, and so the immediate vicinity abounds with memories of the passion of Christ (John 18: 28–19: 16). The chapel on the right on entering the courtyard is the **Chapel of the Flagellation** of Jesus which was completely rebuilt in 1929 on medieval foundations. At the other end of the court is the **Chapel of the Condemnation** of Jesus; the early C20 building (again a medieval site) covers part of the pavement of the C2 AD eastern forum of Aelia Capitolina. A more extensive portion is to be seen next door at the Ecce Homo. The striations on certain slabs were to give beasts of burden a grip on stones which polish easily through use.

Ecce Homo

To reach the Antonia fortress in AD 70 the Romans had to build a ramp across a rock-cut pool (hatched outline in Fig. 7) called Struthion (*War* 5: 467), which also protected a city gate erected by Herod Agrippa I

(AD 41–4). The central bay of the gate is now the Ecce Homo Arch. After the Roman victory in AD 70 the wall running to the north and the gate were torn down, but the debris of the superstructure protected the lower part of the gate. When Hadrian replanned Jerusalem in AD 135 he created a forum here. The three-bayed gate, now a monument to a Roman triumph, stood in the middle of a great paved area covering the Struthion Pool. Part of this pavement is visible in the Chapel of the Condemnation in the Franciscan Monastery of the Flagellation (see above), but the most extensive remains are displayed in the Convent of the Sisters of Sion.

Visit. Open: 8.30 a.m.–12.30 p.m. and 2–5 p.m. (to 4.30 p.m. in winter); closed Sundays. The chapel is not open to tourists, but the essential is visible from the vestibule some 20 m downhill west of the arch. The similarity between the northern side arch of the city gate and that beneath the Damascus Gate (p. 14) is obvious. The springing of the central bay continues through the wall and across the road outside. It supports a small room.

The entrance to the rest of the complex is just round the corner of the side street (Aqabat er-Rahbat) east of the arch. After going through the information area one descends into the **Struthion (sparrow) Pool**. Despite its impressive dimensions, less than half the pool is visible. The arches on the left cut the pool in two, and its length has been shortened at both ends. From behind the modern wall at the far end a channel runs towards the HARAM ESH-SHARIF and can be reached from the WESTERN WALL TUNNEL (p. 107). The magnificent vaulting was constructed to support the C2 AD Hadrianic pavement above. The pool is filled by rainwater collected from the roofs of the convent.

After passing through three rooms devoted to a small museum, a wooden bridge crosses a portion of a channel that once brought water to the pool from the valley in which DAMASCUS GATE lies (p. 14). The beautiful **pavement** of large smooth stones was once thought to be the Pavement (*lithostrothon*; John 19: 13) on which Pilate judged Jesus, and so was identified with the place where Pilate said, 'Behold the man' (in Latin, *Ecce Homo*, John 19: 5), but it is now certain that the pavement cannot date from the C1 AD. The condemnation of Jesus took place at the CITADEL (p. 23). Note in particular the well-cut gutters that carried rainwater from the forum to the Struthion Pool below. A railed area protects marks on the pavement which have been identified as the King Game. This was a dice game in which the player to first land on the crown was the winner. It was presumably to be found wherever off-duty soldiers congregated, and were it to have been played by Pilate's guard, it might well have suggested the form that their mockery of Jesus took. 'They plaited a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and arrayed him in a purple robe. They came up to him saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!" ' (John 19: 2–3).

Via Dolorosa

The first two stations of the Way of the Cross are located in the immediate vicinity of the Ecce Homo arch. These and seven other stations are indicated by numbers 1–9 in Fig. 10; the other five are within the Holy Sepulchre.

The Via Dolorosa is defined by faith, not by history. On the night of Holy Thursday Byzantine pilgrims used to go in procession from the Eleona church on the top of the Mount of Olives (p. 143) to Calvary. After a stop at GETHSEMANE (p. 146), they entered the city by the present St Stephen's Gate, and followed approximately the present route, but there were no further devotional halts along the way. By the C8 a number of stops had become customary but the route was completely different: from Gethsemane it went round the city on the south to the house of Caiphas on Mount Sion, then to the Praetorium of Pilate at St Sophia somewhere near the Temple, and finally to the Holy Sepulchre. In the Middle Ages the picture becomes much more complicated as the Latin Christians were divided into two camps. One group located the Praetorium and the palace of the high priest on Mount Sion; the other placed both north of the Temple; in consequence, they followed completely different routes to the Holy Sepulchre. The basis of the conflict was simple: one group possessed churches on the western hill, the other on the eastern.

In the C14 the Franciscans organized a devotional walk for pilgrims to follow the steps of Jesus in Jerusalem. From their monastery on MOUNT SION it went to the HOLY SEPULCHRE, then to the House of Caiaphas, out through St Stephen's Gate to GETHSEMANE and the sanctuaries on the MOUNT OF OLIVES, finally returning to Mount Sion via the POOL OF SILOAM. Understandably the section between the Holy Sepulchre and the House of Pilate attracted the greatest interest because of its association with the final hours of Jesus. The stations in this section impressed themselves firmly on the imagination of European pilgrims.

A number of these pilgrims (starting in the early C15) created symbolic representations of the events of the Passion in their home countries in order to foster the devotion of those who could not make the pilgrimage. Inevitably, they followed the order of events in the gospels. Independently, religious groups permanently resident in Jerusalem had begun to do the same but, whereas the Jerusalem tradition had only eight stations (the last being the present Seventh Station), the European tradition had fourteen stations. Since pilgrims expected to find in Jerusalem what they were accustomed to elsewhere, the European tradition gradually prevailed. The Jerusalem Way of the Cross was extended to include stations within the Holy Sepulchre. The actual route was fixed in the C18, but a number of the stations (nos. 1, 4, 5, 8) were given their present location only in the C19.

The present Way of the Cross has little chance of corresponding to historical reality; it is more probable that Pilate condemned Jesus to death on the other side of the city at the CITADEL (p. 23), the 'high point', *Gabbatha* according to John 19: 13. This was the palace of Herod where Pilate normally resided when he came up from Caesarea to ensure control during the great Jewish feasts (Philo, *Delegation to Gaius*, 38). According to the gospels, the trial took place on a platform (Matt. 27: 19) in the open (Luke 23: 4; John 18: 28). Such a structure existed at the palace in AD 66, as we know from what Josephus says of one of Pilate's successors: 'Florus lodged at the palace, and on the following day had a platform placed in front of the building and took his seat; the chief priests, the nobles, and the most eminent citizens then presented themselves before the tribunal' (*War* 2: 301); as in the case of Jesus, the affair ended in crucifixions.

If, as seems likely, Jesus was brought through the city on his way to execution, the approximate route would have been east on David Street, north on the Triple Suk (bottom left in Fig. 10), and then west to Golgotha.

Mamluk Buildings ★

The depth and rather steep sides of the Tyropoeon valley inhibited the Crusaders from building close to the walls of the Temple; the west wall could be seen from a distance. It was only with the advent of the Mamluks (1250–1517) that the area began to fill with buildings. On huge substructures they erected religious colleges and pilgrim hospices in such numbers that the whole sector west and north of the Haram glowed with clean-cut stone—red, white, and black—whose austere decoration still preserves its dignity. The nature of these buildings is surprising when one remembers that the Mamluks were all forced converts to Islam (see box). Some streets have changed very little, but they lie off the beaten track and few venture in. Those with the courage to explore will discover a little-known facet of Jerusalem's rich history.

Much is known about these buildings from a British architectural survey, and from inscriptions still in place which give the name of the founder, the date of construction, and the function of the building. As befitted their warrior caste, the Mamluks were conscious of the importance of badges of distinction. Thus the founding inscriptions of their buildings are often enhanced by blazons symbolizing their office at court (Fig. 9). The emblem of the cup, for example, is found on all the buildings erected by Tankiz, the great Viceroy of Syria. So many Mamluk sultans were assassinated that the position of Cupbearer implied superlative loyalty.

Most of the buildings are now tenements and are not open to the public; a glance through an open doorway is generally the most one can

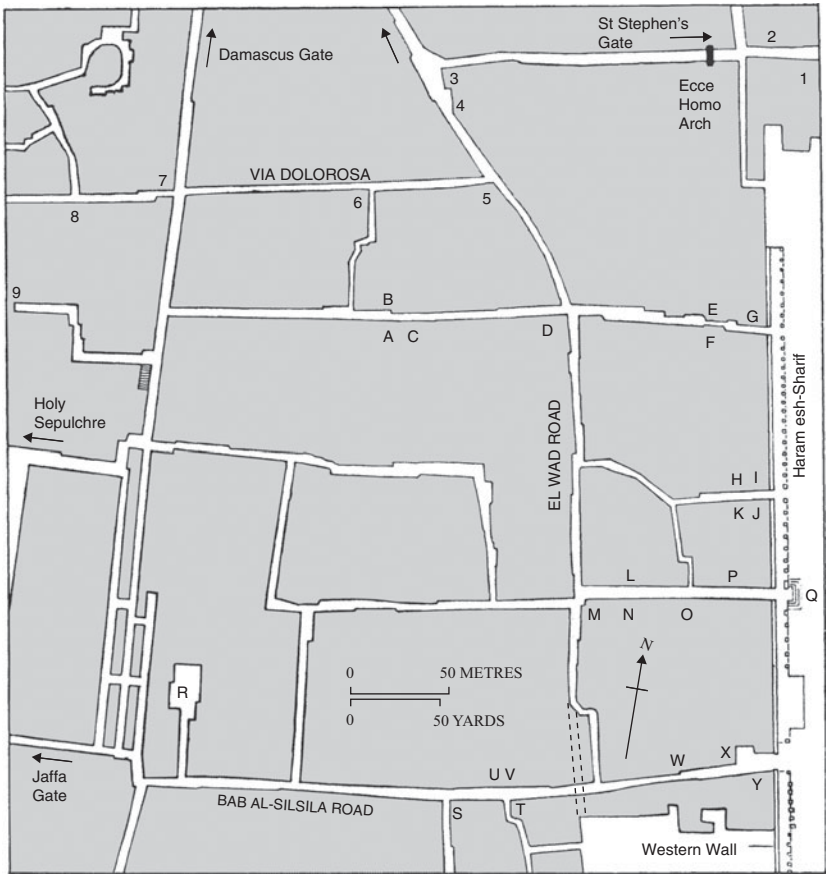
The Mamluks

The Arabic word *mamluk* means 'owned', and the term was applied to boys, bought in the slave markets of the steppes north of the Black Sea, who were then trained to be professional soldiers as mounted archers in the army of Egypt. Those who emerged from the regiments into leadership roles bought slaves for themselves in order to have retainers who had no relationship to any other family or political faction; they could then have no conflict of loyalties. Fostered by the Ayyubid dynasty of Saladin, these military mandarins eventually turned on their master, and in 1250 assumed violent control of a state whose focal points were Cairo and Damascus. Once in power they continued the recruitment policy, for the reasons behind it remained valid. The first phase of their history was dominated by Qipchaq Turks of the Bahri regiment (1250–1382); they were supplanted by Circassians of the Burji regiment (1382–1517). For over 250 years the Mamluks held the north-east frontier of the Levant against the Mongols. Finally they were defeated by the Janissaries of the Ottoman Turks in battles near Aleppo (1516) and Cairo (1517).

hope for. Fortunately the most interesting part of a Mamluk building is the ornate façade which normally has but one door highlighted by a much larger recess; the combination offers welcome shade and protection. The conscious use of shadow and silhouette brings out the detail of the embellishment of the door recess, and alternating courses of red, cream, and occasionally black stone give interest to a broad expanse of masonry. The intricate complexity of the ornamentation is a challenge to adequate appreciation. Detailed explanation is no substitute for the discerning eye delighting in discovery.

For convenience the buildings are grouped by streets rather than by date; the initial letter gives the location on the map in Fig. 10. All the fountains in the area are due to the munificence of the Ottomans in the C16.

▼ **Fig. 9.** Mamluk Blazons.



▲ **Fig. 10.** Muslim Quarter of Jerusalem. Locations of Stations of the Cross (numbers) and Mamluk buildings (letters).

Aqabat et-Takiya

Aqabat et-Takiya and Tariq Bab en-Nazir (Tariq Bab el-Habs), make a four-way cross with Tariq al-Wad, the principal street going from Damascus Gate to the Western Wall.

The entrance to Aqabat et-Takiya from Tariq al-Wad is not very prepossessing, but it leads to treasures worth seeing. To the left is the arched entrance to [**D**] the *Ribat Bairam Dawish* (1540), a hospice for the poor. On the other side of the road is the *Maktab Bairam Jawish* (1540), a school for orphaned children. The founder was the most notable personality in mid-C16 Jerusalem. He linked his two structures by bridges crossing the street.

On the left between the two bridges is the *Madrasa al-Mawardiyya,* the last Mamluk building erected in Jerusalem (early C16). It is popularly

known as *al-Rasasiyya*, because of the use of lead (*rasas*) plates to bond the courses. This unusual and highly expensive feature was designed to produce a crisp visual distinction similar to the black lines on an architectural drawing. Note the effect of a single course of black basalt amid the alternating courses of white limestone and red marble, the shell vault behind the slightly pointed arch, and the joggled relieving lintel.

[**C**] *Al-'Imara al-'Amira* 'The Imperial Charitable Foundation'. The unadorned wall on the left sweeps uphill to a trefoil arch surmounting an entrance whose simplicity stands in vivid contrast to the elaborate display of its uphill neighbour. It is the main entrance of a complex designed to serve both religious and social needs. It was commissioned in 1552 by Roxelana, the favourite wife of Suliman I the Magnificent, whence the alternative name *Khasseki Sultan-i Khurrem*.

[**A**] *Dar al-Sitt Tunshuq*. The next building is unusual in having three doors. Those at either end (now blocked) are set off by rectangular moulding. The central portal comprises a shallow recess spanned by an unusual cinqfoil arch. The east entrance is the most elaborate. Four tiers of stalactites suport a slightly pointed arch. The elaborately carved limestone panel around the circular window originally had an inlay of black stone, red and green glass, and possibly turquoise faïence. The carved frame of the window in the west entrance (uphill) was inlaid with redish and black stone, and turquoise faïence. The stones framing the large circular window, which lit the hall within, are beautifully carved.

Virtually nothing is known about the founder, except that she was a very rich lady. Her name may have been Tansuq, a Turkish word meaning 'wonderful, precious'. This might suggest slave origins, particularly since her father was called Abdallah. She may have arrived in Jerusalem as early as 1379. By 1393 the magnificence of her splendid mansion had led to the surroundings being nicknamed 'the Lady's Hill'. She died in the summer of 1398.

[**B**] *Turbat al-Sitt Tunshuq*. Six years before her death the Lady Tunshuq prepared her domed tomb immediately across the street from her mansion. The tomb-chamber is behind the two grilled windows. The pointed arch of the entrance frames an inlaid panel analagous to that across the street but subtly different.

Tariq Bab en-Nazir (Tariq Bab el-Habs)

This street is one of the main routes to the Haram esh-Sharif, and like all the others leading to the Haram it takes its name from the gate at the end. Since this gate has two names—Gate of the Inspector/Gate of the Prison—so has the street. The names derive from the founder and subsequent use of one of the buildings.

[E] *Ribat Ala ed-Din al-Basir* (1267). The founder of this pilgrim hospice was a Mamluk emir famous for his wisdom and holiness. When he became blind he settled in Jerusalem and was appointed Inspector of the Two Harams (Jerusalem and Hebron); his judgement was so respected that, despite his affliction, he was known as *al-Basir*, 'the Clear-sighted'. The Ottomans used his hospice as a prison for criminals serving long sentences, this explains the strong barred gate and the minute cells in the courtyard. It needs little imagination to justify the name 'Prison of Blood'.

This is the earliest Mamluk building in Jerusalem; no coloured stones are used. Note the chamfering of the left pier, the carved panel over the door, and the bossed stones above the pointed arch.

[F] *Ribat Mansuri* (1282). The construction of this hospice, ordered by the sultan al-Mansur Qalawun (1279–90) was probably supervised by the emir Ala ed-Din whose own hospice is just across the road. Under the Ottomans it served first as a barracks and then as a prison; the small cells may still be seen in the courtyard.

The projecting entrance narrows the street at this point. The deep vestibule is paved with striated stone slabs reminiscent of those belonging to the forum of Hadrian (AD 135) preserved in ECCE HOMO (p. 35) The basic structure of the entrance is similar to that of [E] but an evolution is perceptible; coloured stones appear in the wide pointed arch and in the relieving lintel above the door, but as yet there is no joggling.

[G] *Madrasa Manjakiyya* (1361). Continually caught off balance in the power struggles of the emirs, the founder, Sayf al-Din Manjak (d. 1375), bounced in and out of prison before ending up in glory with complete authority throughout the state. The columned entrance, beside the original recessed door to the left, was constructed in 1923 when the building was refurbished as offices for the Department of Awqaf (Islamic Endowments).

Tariq Bab el-Hadid

As seen from the main thoroughfare, Tariq el-Wad, this is a curved uninviting street on the east side which disappears into an ominous-looking tunnel leading to the Iron Gate of the Haram. The tunnel is in fact very short and opens into a quiet street lined on both sides with fine Mamluk buildings of the C13–C15.

(H) *Madrasa Jawhariyya* (1440). The founder of this college was an Abyssinian eunuch; most eunuchs were given names of precious stones or substances, and Jawhar means 'jewel'. After being given his freedom, his energy and talent won him the offices of Treasurer and Superintendent of the Royal Harem in Cairo.

The one noteworthy feature of this building is the founder's concern to be in direct contact with the Haram; in order to achieve this he had to extend his structure above the one-storey Ribat Kurt next door.

Note the continuity of the courses above the moulding of Ribat Kurt, and the circular ornamentation above the windows.

[**I**] *Ribat Kurt al-Mansuri* (1293). The modesty of this single-storey hospice with its diminutive entrance is unusual. Sayf ed-Din Kurt was chief chamberlain of the court in Cairo before being named governor of Tripoli (Lebanon) in 1299. In December of that year he died when leading a charge against the Tartars at Homs. Here entrance is easy but unfortunately recent constructions hardly make it worthwhile.

[**J**] *Madrasa Arghuniyya* (1358). Arghun el-Kamili was hardly thirty when he died an exile in Jerusalem only some five months before his college was completed. He served as Master of the Robes (note the blazon on the inscription above the door, Fig. 9) and had been governor of Damascus and twice governor of Aleppo before being caught on the wrong side in the perpetual Mamluk power struggle for the throne. After imprisonment in Alexandria he was banished to Jerusalem, and we are fortunate that his frustrated talent sought expression in architecture.

The original height of the building is indicated by the bold moulding which returns on the right to exclude the entrance to the Madrasa Khatuniyya built four years earlier (1354). Note in particular the entire course of joggling and the elaborate inlay over the openings on either side of the portal.

[**K**] *Madrasa Muzhiriyya* (1480). When he erected this college Abu Bakr Muhammad ihn Muzhir had been secretary of the Chancery of Egypt for eight years. He was stricken by fever in Nablus in 1488 trying to raise troops for an expedition against the Ottoman sultan of Rum (Constantinople) and died the same year.

In order to bring his college into direct contact with the Haram he extended the upper floor over the Madrasa Arghuniyya. Note the trefoil arch over eight courses of imprecise stalactites, the cream and black joggling above the lintel, and the decoration of the windows.

Suq el-Qattanin

Cleared and restored in 1974, this shopping arcade is considered the finest in the region. The name, which is not the original, means 'Market of the Cotton-Merchants', and it was built in order to provide revenue from rents to support charitable works.

A glance along the shop-fronts reveals two periods of construction: the 15 bays nearest the entrance from Tariq el-Wad have a simple arch, whereas the 15 at the end near the Haram have a heavy lintel. The join near the centre is marked by pendentives coming together around a

beautiful stalactite oculus. The western part [**L**] is a rebuilt version of a Crusader market which originally stood alone, and may have been damaged by an earthquake; at a later stage the market was extended to the east [**P**] to join the Haram. The shops have living or storage space above; the entrances to these rooms are from corridors along the outer walls of the complex.

Three inscriptions mention the emir Tankiz. One is on the bands of brass affixed to the great doors of Bab el-Oattanin [**Q**], the second is on the lintel above these doors, and the third is on the lintel of the entrance to Khan Tankiz [**N**]. This caravansarai is entered through a double bay located on the south side after the seventh shop from the Tariq el-Wad. The first two inscriptions provide the date 1336.

The blazon on the **Khan Tankiz** lintel shows that Tankiz held the office of Cupbearer (Fig. 9). Having accumulated a vast fortune during his 28 years as governor of Damascus and viceroy of Syria (1312–40), he spent much of it in beautifying Jerusalem. When his loyalty became suspect, he was removed from office and executed in Alexandria in 1340.

It seems likely that Tankiz took over the old western section of the market and incorporated it into a new building project crowned by the magnificent Bab el-Oattanin. In this case he would also be responsible for the **two baths**, Hammam el-Ayn [**M**] and Hammam el-Shifa [**O**]. The former, which is being restored, is entered from the Tariq el-Wad and is a classic Mamluk bath. The latter has a vaulted entrance porch in bays 18–20 (counting from the west) and the structure is not at right angles to the market. It sits above a 26 m-deep well, which probably served an earlier structure.

It is not possible to enter the Haram esh-Sharif from the Suq el-Qattanin. Return to Tariq el-Wad, and turn left. The tunnel goes to the WESTERN WALL PLAZA (p. 106). The steps to the left lead to Tariq Bab es-Silsila.

Tariq Bab es-Silsila

The 'Street of the Gate of the Chain' is the main east–west artery in the Old City and the principal route to the Haram esh-Sharif (see box).

The street terminates at the main entrance to the HARAM ESH-SHARIF (p. 87). The left bay (north) is Bab al-Sakina, 'the Gate of the Dwelling', and the right Bab al-Silsila, 'the Gate of the Chain'. The huge arch below indicates that a principal gate of Herod's temple was located here, but no trace of it remains. When the site was brought back into use in the C8 AD the Umayyads constructed a round-headed gateway. By the C11 it was decorated with mosaics. No wonder the Crusaders considered it the Beautiful Gate (Acts 3: 2)! Sometime before 1198 the Ayyubids inserted the joggled lintels, and erected the two domed bays using Crusader materials.

Variety in a Medieval Street

'This is the great street, which begins at the gate of the Haram known as the Gate of the Chain and goes to the Gate of the Prayer Niche [i.e. Jaffa Gate]. The street is divided into various segments, each of which has its own proper name', which Mujir al-Din then lists starting from the Haram: the Goldsmith's Bazaar, the Straw Bazaar, the Bazaar of the Bleachers, the Charcoal Bazaar, the Bazaar of the Cooks, the Street of the Warehouse, the Bazaar of the Silk Merchants, and the Street of the Place of the Cereals. 'Taken all together these sections constitute David Street, so called because King David had an underground passage under it that led from the gate of the Haram called the Gate of the Chain to the Citadel, known in ancient times as the Prayer Niche of David, and the place where he lived. This passage still exists and can be inspected.' (Mujir al-Din (C15), *History of Jerusalem,* 289; trans. F. E. Peters)

[Y] *Madrasa Tankiziyya* (1328). The open square in front of Bab al-Silsila permits full appreciation of the magnificent entrance to the college erected by the emir Tankiz whose career is described apropos of Suq el-Qattanin (p. 43). The big inscription is punctuated by three cup blazons (Fig. 9). Note in particular the stalactites and the moulding of the semi-dome above (see photo p. 46).

The street and college rest on Wilson's Arch, a huge bridge (named after its discoverer) built to span the Tyropoeon valley: it can be visited from the Western Wall area (p. 107). Part of the C1 AD street that crossed the original Herodian bridge is visible in the excavated area before the gate. The fountain was a gift of Suleiman the Magnificent in the mid-C16 AD. Economically, it reuses older elements. The trough was originally a Roman sarcophagus, and the rest is Crusader.

[X] *Turba Sadiyya* (1311). This tomb of Saad al-Din Masud is noteworthy for the fine stalactite corbelling, the earliest of its kind in Jerusalem, and for the mosaic of coloured marble over the door.

[W] *Turba Turkan Khatun* (1352). All that is known about the Lady Turkan is that she was from the eastern borders of the Islamic world. The names of her father and grandfather given in the inscription are found among members of the family of the Khans of the Golden Horde. The façade is striking in its simple elegance, the arabesques in its grey stone are the most subtle in Jerusalem. Note the use of the blunt star first introduced as architectural decoration by the Mamluks.

[T] *Turba Barka Khan* (Khalidi Library). A glance at the façade of this building suggests a complicated history. The Romanesque decoration

▲ Recessed entrance with *mukarnas* of the C14 theological school built by the Mamluk viceroy of Syria Saif al-Din Tankiz.

above the window on the right (near the corner of Aqabat Abu Madyan which leads to the Western Wall) originally surmounted the entrance to the mausoleum of Barka Khan, a curious figure to have a monument in Jerusalem. He was commander of the Khwarizmians, a ferocious Tartar tribe who swept as far south as Gaza in 1244.

Two years later, while still very young, he died drunk in battle near Homs. His head was taken in triumph to Aleppo. Sultan Baybars (1260–77), however, married Barka Khan's daughter, with the result that her two brothers prospered greatly. One of them, Badr al-Din Muhammad Bey, built his father's tomb sometime between 1264 and 1280, Given the

career of his father, there is a certain poignancy in the Koranic verses he had inscribed on the mausoleum: 'Pure we came from nothing and impure we have become; tranquil we came into this world and anguished we have become.'

Some time after 1280 a series of vaulted structures was added on the east; hence the arches still evident in the façade. In 1390 these were blocked up and the present door and window inserted by one Muhammad ibn Ahmad. He also built a room above: the supports of a balcony project at the top of the wall. In 1900 the original tomb was converted into the reading room of the Khalidi Library housing 12,000 books and manuscripts.

Note in particular the double lintel of the centre window, and the intricate centrepiece (containing the word 'Allah') of the joggled lintel. The blazon at each end of the lintel inscription has no parallel in Mamluk heraldry and may be the personal emblem of Barka Khan.

[**V**] *Turba/Madrasa Taziyya* (1362). Having begun his career as a cupbearer at the court of Sultan al-Nazir Muhammad (note the blazon, Fig. 9), Taz rose to become governor of Aleppo when Arghun el-Kamili (see [**J**]) was recalled in 1354. He suffered the same fate four years later, and was imprisoned in Kerak and Alexandria, where he was blinded, before being exiled to Jerusalem. The poverty of his tomb suggests that he had few resources! Even his hopes were unfulfilled. He died in Damascus in 1362, and was buried there.

[**U**] *Turba Kilaniyya* (1352). The fine proportions of the monochrome façade show how disciplined austerity can be used to effect. Behind each set of double windows is a tomb-chamber, an unusual feature that has a very human explanation. The emir Kilani left 100,000 dirhems to his nephew to build a tomb in Jerusalem and convey his body there for burial; at his uncle's expense the nephew added a tomb-chamber for himself!

Note the restrained moulding framing both the entire building and the two sets of windows. The course above the lintel of the blocked windows is undercut in a decorative profile to achieve the same effect as a relieving arch. The next course is set back to form a long panel with decorated terminals.

[**S**] *Madrasa/Turba Tashtimuriyya* (1382). The emir Tashtimur exercised a number of important functions in Egypt and Syria before becoming a victim of the chronic Mamluk power struggle for control of the empire. In 1382 he retired to Jerusalem where he immediately began to build his tomb: his state of mind is admirably expressed by Shakespeare: 'if a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies, he shall live no longer in monument than the bell rings and the widow weeps' (*Much Ado About Nothing,* V. ii). He was laid to rest there two years later (1384); his son

Ibrahim was buried beside him in 1393. A passage beside the tomb leads to a magnificent cruciform college.

The ornate entrance divides the façade into two parts, to the left are three income-producing shops, and to the right are the two windows of the tomb-chamber, and an elegant balcony above a recessed fountain. Note the intricate joggling surrounding the inscription above the tomb windows and the fleur-de-lis interlock at the end of the inscription; Tashtimur's blazon was the pen-box of a Secretary of State.

[**R**] *Khan es-Sultan* (1386). The name derives from an inscription mentioning Barquq, the first of the Circassian Mamluk sultans (1382–99), but it is clear that his contribution was merely to expand and restore a Crusader merchant inn. Here goods from afar were brought for storage and distribution to local retailers. To the left just outside the main entrance and behind the shops on Tariq Bab al-Silsila is a little street of medieval shops. Unfortunately the archways at either end have been built up to create doorways. The main hall of the inn had storerooms at ground level. Animals were housed in a stable reached by a passage halfway along the left (west) wall. Above the fine corbelled cornice on either side a walkway gave access to rooms where the merchants lodged. The Mamluks expanded the premises by the addition of an open courtyard surrounded by the same arrangement of storerooms below and living quarters above. Modifications were made in the Ottoman period.

Haram esh-Sharif (Temple Mount)

The jewel of Jerusalem architecture, the Dome of the Rock, graces a vast esplanade whose quiet spaciousness is the antithesis of the congested bustle of the surrounding narrow streets. Muslims call it 'The Noble Sanctuary'. No name could be more appropriate.

The site had a long history as a holy place before the day in AD 638 when Omar, Commander of the Faithful, took possession of the city. A little eminence north of the City of David caught the winnowing wind. David bought the threshing-floor there from Arauna to erect an altar (2 Sam. 24: 18–25). About 960 BC, in order to provide a more fitting shrine for the Ark of the Covenant, Solomon erected the first temple on the spot; his palace to the south linked it to the city of his father (l Kgs 5: 5–8). No trace has ever been found of this temple which Zorobabel rebuilt *c.*520 BC after its destruction by the Babylonians in 587 BC. However, both John (10: 23) and Luke (Acts 3: 11; 5: 12) identify the eastern cloister of Herod's temple as Solomon's Portico. This C1 usage is explained by Josephus (*Antiquities* 20: 220–1; *War* 5: 185), who may well be correct because the base of the east wall is certainly pre-Herodian.

In 169 BC Antiochus IV of Syria sacked the temple (1 Macc. 1: 20–4; 4: 38). After the first Maccabean victories it was not only cleansed but extensively rebuilt (1 Macc. 4: 57–60; 12: 37), probably in the form of the 250 m square complex described in the tractate 'Middoth' in the *Mishnah*. If the great ashlars at the foot of the steps at the north-west corner of the present platform (**5** in Fig. 24) are taken to mark the north-west corner of the Maccabean temple it is exactly 250 m to Solomon's Portico, and 250 m south of that point is the 'bend' at the base of the east wall noticed by Warren in one of his underground tunnels. In order to explain this feature and the clearly visible 'seam' (straight joint) 41 m further south it has been suggested that, after the Simon Maccabaeus had razed the Syrian citadel, the Akra, he extended the square temple area to the south in order to deny any future enemy such a prime site (1 Macc. 13: 52).

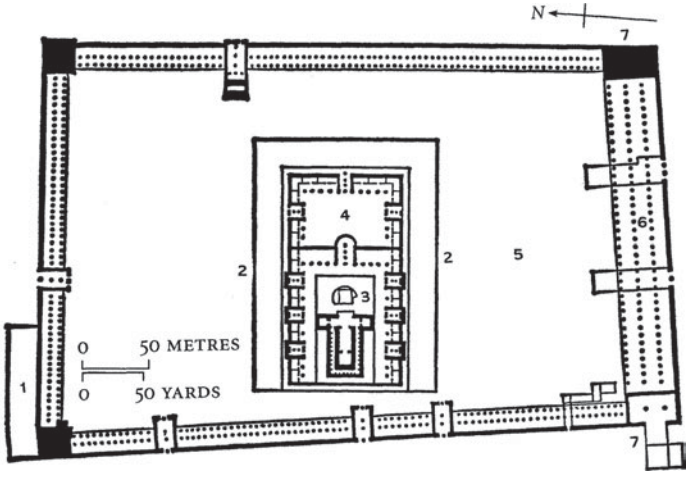
Subsequently, Herod the Great (37–4 BC) extended the temple a further 32 m south. His typical large bossed stones run from the 'seam' to the corner (cf. p. 121). He also extended the original square platform some 130 m to the north. In order to connect the northern and southern extensions he had to enlarge the platform on the west, because the authorities of the temple would not permit non-Jews to cross the original square. It was marked by a low fence (*soreg*) at each of whose 13 gates a

notice in Latin and/or Greek proclaimed: 'No Gentile to enter the fence and barrier around the Temple. Anyone caught is answerable to himself for the ensuing death'; this is the wall of partition mentioned by Paul in Eph. 2: 14.

Josephus offers a comprehensive account of the building of the last temple (*Antiquities* 15: 380–425; *War* 5: 184–247). Herod's grandiose project so frightened the Jews that he had to promise that he would have all the materials ready before touching a stone of the old edifice. In order to obtain a flat surface he surrounded the crest of the hill with immense retaining walls on the west, south, and east; fill and arched supports brought the surface up to the required level. The strength of this platform has enabled it to withstand all the vicissitudes of history, so the dimensions of the present esplanade are Herodian. All Herod's buildings have disappeared, any which might have survived the destruction wrought by Titus (AD 70) having been swept away by Hadrian (AD 135). Information provided by Josephus enables us to reconstruct them (Fig. 23).

Covered galleries ran along all four sides, the Royal Stoa [**6**] being twice as wide as the others; ramps from the doors at the base of the south wall passed beneath it to emerge in the courtyard [**5**]. There were also monumental staircases at either end [**7**]. The Antonia fortress [**1**] and a huge reservoir adjoined the north wall. The Temple proper was on the west side; the altar of sacrifice stood in the Court of the Priests [**3**]; at the other side of the Beautiful Gate was the Court of the Women [**4**]. The rock now enshrined in the Dome of the Rock must have been the

▼ **Fig. 23.** Reconstruction of the Temple built by Herod the Great. 1. Antonia fortress; 2. Barrier; 3. Court of the priests; 4. Court of the women; 5. Court of the gentiles; 6. Royal portico; 7. Stairs to the Lower City.



foundation of the Holy of Holies (the innermost part of the temple building).

Amid the ruins of AD 70, the emperor Antoninus Pius (138–61) erected two statues on the platform. Jews were forbidden entry save for one day in the year when they were permitted to come to anoint 'a pierced rock' (Bordeaux pilgrim, AD 333). The emperor Julian the Apostate (361–3) encouraged them to rebuild the temple, but work was immediately stopped by his successor. In general, Byzantine Christians avoided the area as a place accursed (Mark 13: 2); but some grew cucumbers there and others took its cut stones for their own purposes. The attitude of Jews remained constant (see box).

Many legends surround the caliph Omar's visit to receive the surrender of the city in 638, but two points are consistently emphasized, his interest in the temple area and his erection of a mosque. According to Arculf (670), this was a crude affair of beams laid on the broken columns of the Royal Stoa. Umayyad caliphs gave the esplanade its first great mosques, the Dome of the Rock (691) and el-Aksa (705–15), but they also denied all access to the Haram to non-believers. This prohibition lasted until the arrival of the Crusaders in 1099 and, because of the loss of continuity, medieval Christians had to invent their own identifications of what they found in the Haram.

The el-Aksa mosque, thought to be the 'Temple of Solomon', served as the residence of the king of Jerusalem until 1131 when he handed it over to an order of soldier-monks founded ten years earlier; from the location of their new headquarters they became known as the Templars. The Dome of the Rock, identified as the 'Temple of the Lord', became a church (dedicated 1141), but to restore its original form Saladin (1187) had only to remove the altar. He also removed the Templar cloister west of el-Aksa, and a monastery north of the Dome of the Rock. A few small edicules were added in this period, but the Haram was given its present

The Sanctity of the Temple

'Even though the Sanctuary is today in ruins because of our iniquities, we are obliged to reverence it in the same manner as when it was standing. One should not enter save where it was permissible; nor should anyone sit down in the Court or act irreverently while facing the East Gate; for it is said, "You shall keep My sabbaths and reverence My sanctuary" [Lev. 19: 30]. Now just as we are obliged to keep the Sabbath for all time to come, so must we reverence the Sanctuary for all time to come; for even though it is in ruins, its sanctity endures.' (Maimonides (C12), *The Book of Temple Service* 28–30; trans. M. Lewittes)

form in the C14–C15 by the Mamluks who are responsible for most of the buildings along the north and west walls. The Haram Wall was renewed by Suliman the Magnificent in the C16.

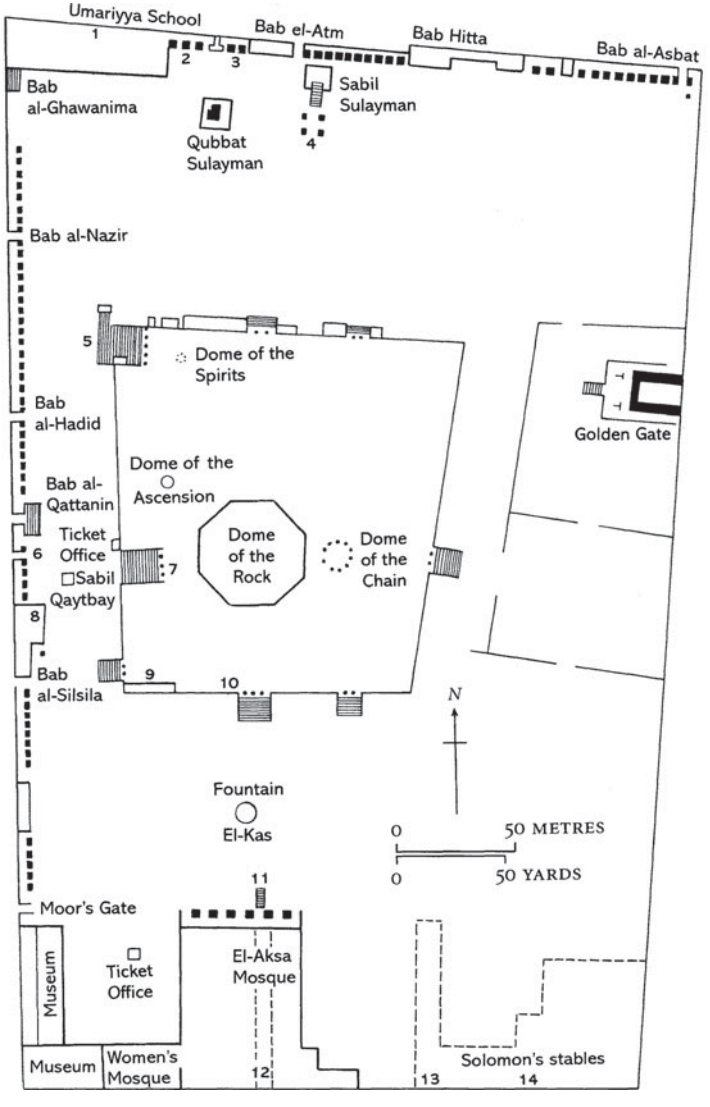
Visit (Fig. 24). One may leave the Haram by any gate but non-Muslims must enter by the Moors Gate at the Western Wall Plaza. Entrance to the Haram is free, but tickets for the Dome of the Rock, the el-Aksa mosque, and the Islamic Museum (when they are open to non-Muslims) should be bought at the ticket offices near Bab el-Qattanin and the Moors' Gate. Open: 8–11.30 a.m.; 12.30–2 p.m.; during Ramadan 7.30–10 a.m.; closed Fridays. The mosques are closed during prayer hours, which vary slightly with the season, roughly between 11 and noon and again between 2 and 3 p.m. Shoes, bags, and cameras have to be left outside the mosques.

Along the North Wall

In its present form the architecture of the north wall is essentially Mamluk (cf. p. 39). The four gates (starting from the west) are Bab al-Ghawanimia, Bab al-Atm/Bab Faysal, which was once a triple Umayyad gate identical with that in the south wall of the Haram (cf. p. 113), Bab Hitta, and Bab al-Asbat. The interesting remains are in the north-west corner between the Ghawanima Minaret (1298) and Bab al-Atm, and we go from left to right.

A vertical **rock scarp** supports the Umariyya School. The five windows (3 large 2 small) in red and cream courses belong to the Jawiliyya Madrasa. The coloured Mamluk stones are cemented to the great wall of the Antonia fortress (Josephus, *War*, 5: 238–47), which is visible within Umariyya School (cf. p. 34). In the rock scarp below the school are two sets of sockets [**1**]. The lower trapezoid shaped sockets (3 m above ground level) were cut sometime between the C7 and C10 AD to hold the vaulting springers of a portico. Six metres above them is a series of sockets 0.48 m square, which held the massive roof beams of a majestic portico, whose columns were 9 m high. This can only be the one built by Herod the Great which, according to Josephus, was 15 m wide (*War*, 5: 190). The importance of this observation is that, when taken in conjunction with the Antonia wall and the (inaccessible) Herodian corner block which lies 4 m north of the Ghawanima Minaret, it is now certain that the present dimensions of the temple mount are those established by Herod the Great.

The triple-domed **Isardiyya Madrasa/Khanqah** [**2**] projects out from the scarp. Just to its left, beneath the new portion of the Umariyya School, is a blocked door of the C15 Subaybiyya Madrasa. Note the blazons at each end of the lintel; a cup charged with a napkin stands above another cup (cf. p. 39). The Isardiyya was constructed sometime before 1345.



▲ **Fig. 24.** The Haram esh-Sharif (Temple Mount). 1. Portico sockets; 2. Isardiyya; 3. Almalikiyya; 4. Pavilion of sultan Mahmud II; 5. C2 BC ashlars; 6. Bab el-Matara; 7. West qanatir; 8. Ashrafiyya; 9. Qubba Nahwiyya; 10. Pulpit of Burhan ed-Din; 11. Entrance to the Double Gate; 12. Double Gate; 13. Triple Gate; 14. Single Gate.

The central semicircular projection is the *mihrab* of the assembly hall. Separating this room from the rest of the building to the north is the 4 m-thick wall of the Antonia fortress.

Next to the Isardiyya is the **Almalikiyya Madrasa** (1340) [**3**]. The façade is framed by two buttresses. The central grilled window is surmounted by an oculus and flanked by two smaller windows. Between the two supporting arches is an inscription with the blazon of the *Jukandar*. The founder, although at one time Viceroy of Egypt, had been Bearer of the Polo-stick. The archways stretching along to the east were originally a covered portico built in the C13–C15. Unfortunately many have now been walled up as classrooms.

Three free-standing monuments deserve mention. The octagonal **Qubbat Sulayman** (C12–C13) is built over a little rock outcrop which has been a magnet for legends. Solomon, we are told, prayed there when the temple was completed (1 Kgs 8: 22–54). There Jesus sat as he instructed the doctors of the Law (Luke 2: 46–7). Just inside Bab al-Atm is the **Sabil al-Sultan Sulayman,** a fountain donated by the second Ottoman ruler Suliman the Magnificent in 1537. The utility of this contribution to the Haram contrasts with the futility of its immediate neighbour to the south, a meaningless square structure [**4**] erected by Sultan Mahmud (1817–19), which symbolizes the decline of the Ottoman dynasty.

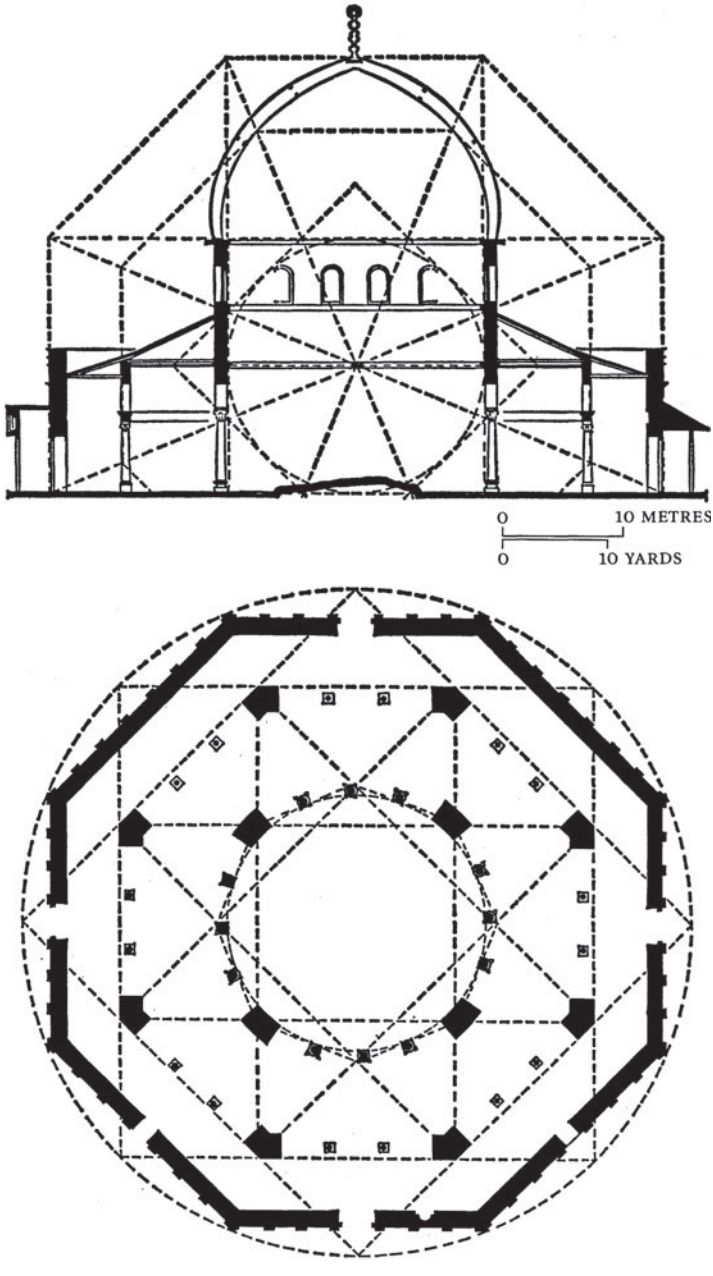
Dome of the Rock ★★

The Dome of the Rock, begun in AD 688 and finished in 691, is the first major sanctuary built by Islam. It is also the only one to have survived essentially intact.

The extraordinary impression produced by this building is in part due to the mathematical rhythm of its proportions (Fig. 25).

The Dome of the Rock

'The outside of the dome is completely covered with gilded brass plates, while the whole of the building proper—floor, walls, and drum, inside and out—is decorated with marble and mosaics . . . At dawn, when the light of the sun first strikes the dome and the drum catches the rays, then is this edifice a marvellous sight to behold, and one such than in all of Islam I have not seen the equal; neither have I heard tell of anything built in pagan times that could rival in grace this Dome of the Rock.' (Mukaddasi (C10), *Description of Syria* 46; trans. G. Le Strange)



▲ **Fig. 25.** Dome of the Rock. Mathematical rhythm of structural proportions in plan and elevation (after Creswell and Wilkinson).

▲ Inside the **Dome of the Rock**. The shallow rectangular pit may have been the resting place of the Ark of the Covenant. The Crusader wrought-iron screen was removed in 1963.

All the critical dimensions are related to the centre circle circumscribing the rock. The plan has its closest parallel in the Mausoleum of Diocletian (AD 303) in Split, Croatia, but the same principles were used in the construction of Byzantine churches in Italy, Syria, and Palestine. In none of these, however, do we find the integration of plan and elevation that is evident here.

According to current Arab tradition, the purpose of the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik in building the Dome of the Rock was to commemorate Muhammad's Ascension into heaven after his night journey to Jerusalem (Sura XVII), but were this in fact the case there would have been no need to erect the later Dome of the Ascension (*Qubbat el-Miraj*) nearby! Abd al-Malik's purpose was more complex and subtle. By erecting a beautiful building he intended to instil a sense of pride in Muslims overawed by the majestic churches of Christendom, tours of which were organized by the clever Byzantines for simple desert Arabs who tended to equate splendour and power. In addition Abd al-Malik intended to make a symbolic statement to both Jews and Christians, the two religions that Islam considered its imperfect predecessors. His building spoke to Jews by its location, to Christians by its interior decoration.

In addition to the memory of its association with the Temple, Jewish legend had endowed the rock with a complex mythology centring round

the figures of Abraham and lsaac. By building above it, Abd al-Malik appropriated the rock and its Abrahamic resonances for Islam. The message to Jews was that their faith had been superseded.

The message to Christians was no less clear. The diadems and breastplates represented in the mosaic decoration are the imperial jewels of Byzantine rulers or the ornaments worn by Christ, the Virgin, and saints in Byzantine religious art. These symbols of holiness and power, like the three Persian crowns, are in the sanctuary of an alien faith because they are the spoils of the victor. Lest the hint be missed it is formally underlined in the founding inscription, part of which reads, 'O you People of the Book, overstep not bounds in your religion, and of God speak only the truth. The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is only an apostle of God, and his Word which he conveyed into Mary, and a Spirit proceeding from him. Believe therefore in God and his apostles, and say not Three. It will be better for you. God is only one God. Far be it from his glory that he should have a son.' An invitation to abandon belief in the Trinity and in the divine Sonship of Christ could hardly be put more clearly.

Visit. According to a visitor of the C14, 'Externally the building is covered up to a height of 7 cubits [= 3 m] with white veined marble, and above 7 cubits up to the gutters with mosaics depicting various forms of vegetation.' Such **mosaics** must have suffered severely from their exposure to Jerusalem winters. They were repaired in the Mamluk period, and in 1545 Suliman the Magnificent decided to solve the problem permanently by replacing them with tiles. In the process he created the parapet wall with its intricate inscription by filling up the 13 small arches which originally crowned each façade. The inscription around the drum is part of the sura of the Night Journey of Muhammed (Sura XVII), but it does not antedate the C16. The tiling was completely replaced in the major restoration of 1956–62. The only other significant external alteration concerns the four entrances; all the porches have been modified in one way or another.

The mosaics of the interior immediately evoke an exotic garden; some would say Paradise. The artists were Syrian Christians but Muslim law forbade the representation of living beings; hence the profusion of vegetation both realistic and stylized. There is also jewellery in abundance. Damage to the dome meant that the mosaics of the drum needed restoration at least six times, but experts agree that the original designs were retained. All the other mosaics needed only light repairs.

Two points of **mosaic technique** are worth noting. The gold cubes of the background in the drum are tilted forward 30 degrees, and so appear brighter than the winged motifs which they overwhelm. The contrary is

found on the inner face of the inner octagon; the cubes of the background are vertical but those of the motifs are tilted forward. The result is that the motifs stand out much more clearly, and it is precisely in this register that the significant jewels appear. As a rule of thumb, crowns curve upwards while breastplates and necklaces curve downwards. Note in particular the Persian crown (feathers gathered at the base and curving inward) facing the east entrance and a second one (with two unequal floating ribbons) across from the west entrance. These prove that the Byzantine trained artists were not merely repeating their conventional repertoire. The caliph Omar had conquered Persia in 637, and the mosaics symbolize the crowns he sent to hang in Mecca.

The **founding inscription** is a single line of Kufic script running along the top of both sides of the inner octagon, 240 m in all! It gives credit for the construction of the building to the Abbasid caliph al-Mamun in the year 72 of the Hegeira. However, 72H = AD 691 and al-Mamun reigned from 813 to 833! This maladroit effort to claim credit for the achievement of a member of the previous dynasty is of a piece with the claim of the Abbasid historian Yaqubi (*c*.AD 874) that Abd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock in order to replace the Kabah at Mecca as the place of pilgrimage. He was trying to discredit the caliph by accusing him of heresy, the pilgrimage to Mecca being one of the foundations of the faith of Islam.

The **columns** supporting the inner octagon and those in the centre circle are all of different sizes; the crosses on some show them to have been borrowed from churches. None of the **windows** antedates the reconstruction of the exterior by Suliman the Magnificent in 1552; the light coming through the pieces of coloured glass set in carved plaster has already been filtered by panes of green glass set inside the pierced tiles of the exterior. The **carved ceilings** on either side of the inner octagon were not part of the original design; they first appeared in the C14 and have been renewed since; the Mamluk star is the dominant motif.

The **wooden screen** around the rock was given by the Ayyubid sultan al-Aziz in 1198. The Crusaders protected the rock from pilgrims greedy for relics by erecting a magnificent wrought-iron screen between columns of the circle. It remained in position until 1963 and is now on display in the Islamic Museum.

The high **reliquary** beside the rock contains a hair of Muhammad's beard; it dates from the Ottoman period. Muslims call the cavity beneath the rock Bir el-Arwah, '**the Well of Souls**'; the voices of the dead mingle with the falling waters of the still lower rivers of paradise as they drop into eternity. In days gone by those who prayed here, after having walked round the rock, were given a certificate entitling them to admission to paradise; it was to be buried with them. It is one of many legends (see box).

The Cavern in the Rock

'They say that on the night of his Ascension into Heaven the Prophet, peace and blessing be upon him, prayed first at the Dome of the Rock, laying his hand upon the Rock. As he went out, the Rock, to do him honour, rose up, but he laid his hand on it to keep it in its place and firmly fixed it there. But by reason of this rising up, it is even to this present day partly detached from the ground beneath.' (Nasir-i Khusraw (C11), *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, 49–50; trans. G. Le Strange).

The small flat *mihrab* (slab showing the direction of Mecca) belongs to the original building, and is the oldest preserved in the Islamic world. The hole in the ceiling is considered to be that seen by the Bordeaux pilgrim (AD 333), but would pious Jews have ventured so close to where the Holy of Holies must have been? The hole is the basis of the suggestion that the rock was the altar of sacrifice in Herod's temple; its purpose would have been to drain away the blood.

Dome of the Chain

The Dome of the Chain is simply a small dome supported on 17 columns whose outer row has eleven sides. The earliest description (AD 903) gives it 20 columns, showing that its original form has been radically modified, possibly by the Mamluk sultan Baybars in the C13. It may have served as the treasury while the Dome of the Rock was being built.

Mujadir al-Din, a C15 author who spent all his life in Jerusalem, offers the best story of how it got its name and why the chain no longer exists, 'Among the wonders of the Holy House is the chain which Solomon, son of David, suspended between heaven and earth, to the east of the Rock, where the Dome of the Chain now stands. The chain had one characteristic. If two men approached it to solve a point of litigation, only the honest and upright man could take hold of it; the unjust man saw it move out of his reach.

A man was entrusted with 100 dinars, and refused to return them. They went to court before the judge, near the place of the Chain. The wily debtor melted down the gold and poured it into his walking-stick. When they arrived at the court, he asked the owner of the dinars to hold his stick. Then he grasped the chain and swore that he had repaid the dinars. The owner of the dinars then returned the stick, and in his turn grasped the chain swearing that the money had not been returned. Those standing around were astonished; both had held the chain. At that moment the chain returned to heaven, disgusted at the malice of man' (Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, 245–6).

The Platform of the Dome of the Rock

Each of the eight stairways leading to the platform of the Dome of the Rock is surmounted by a graceful arcade or *qanatir*, but they are known popularly in Arabic as *mawazin* 'scales', because of the belief that on the Last Day the scales of judgement will be suspended there to weigh human hearts against truth. They were not all built at the same time. Two are dated to the C10 and the last was added in the C15.

The **north-west qanatir** is of particular interest because its stairway is the only one not at right angles to the platform. The steps are aligned on the lowest, which is in fact a line of large bossed ashlars [**5**], probably part of the western wall of the square Hasmonean platform (see p. 87). Inside the arcade on the platform stand the eight marble columns of the **Qubbat el-Arwah** the Dome of the Winds/Spirits" (C16?). Almost due south is an uninteresting square school building (1700) and then the octagonal **Qubbat al-Miraj** 'the Dome of the Ascension of Muhammad' (1200), which reuses Crusader material. The mere existence of this structure shows that the original purpose of the Dome of the Rock was not to commemorate the Ascension of Muhammad.

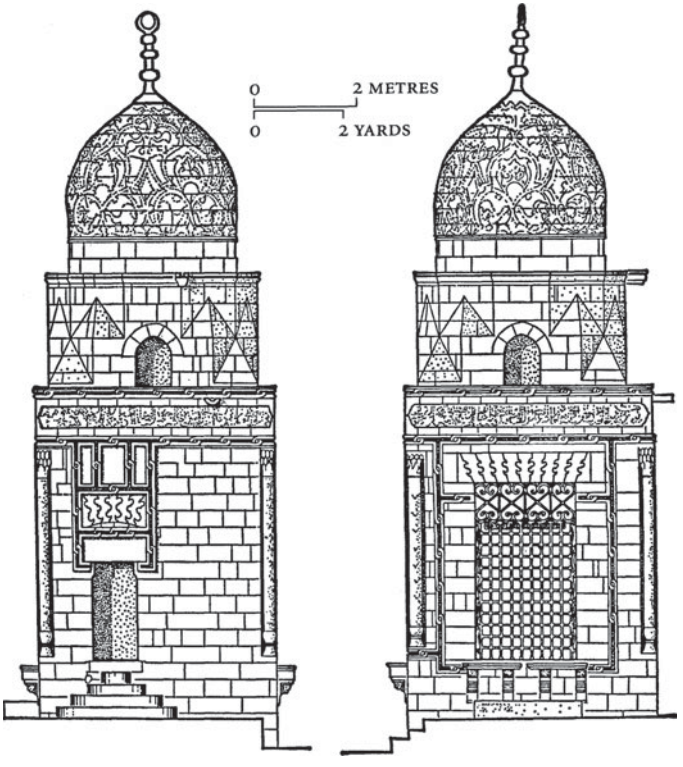
The **west qanatir** [**7**] opposite the west door of the Dome of the Rock is the oldest, being dated to 951 by the builder's signature. The building in the south-west corner of the platform [**9**] is the **Qubba Nahwiyya** 'the Dome of Literature' (1208); note the marble columns flanking the door.

Beside the south qanatir (C10?) is the stepped **pulpit of the judge Burhan ed-Din** [**10**] erected in 1388 reusing Byzantine and Crusader elements. It is especially associated with prayer for rain.

Fountain of Sultan Qaytbay ★★

After the Dome of the Rock, the most beautiful edifice in the Haram is the *sabil* (a public fountain founded as a charitable act pleasing to God) donated by Circassian sultan Qaytbay in 1482. Located on the lower level near the ticket office, it is often ignored because the attention of the visitor is dominated by the vivid colouring of the nearby Dome of the Rock, but it is a superb example of Mamluk decorative architecture (Fig. 26). The interior is executed with the same care. Both repay close examination.

The ornate inscription running round all four sides provides three items of historical interest in addition to quotations from the Koran: the existence of an earlier Mamluk domed building, the name and date of the existing *sabil,* and mention of a restoration in 1883. Apart from the inscription, the restoration made no significant changes, except in the window lintels. The original star-pattern strapwork is preserved inside, but the joggled external lintel, typically Mamluk in form, is the work of an Ottoman sultan, Abdul Hamid II!



▲ **Fig. 26.** Fountain of Sultan Qaytbay. East (left) and south (right) elevations (after Burgoyne).

The building was erected by Egyptian craftsmen under the direction of a Christian master builder, and the unique form of the fountain is due to the fact that, being experts in funerary architecture, they gave a simple fountain the prominence normally reserved for tombs. The relief decoration of the dome, found elsewhere only in Cairo, is achieved by cutting back the stone blocks.

The well-shaft inside explains the eccentric position of the door; from it water was poured into troughs beneath each window; cups chained to a bronze ring fitted into the two holes in the window sill.

Madrasa Ashrafiyya

Just beside the Sabil Qaytbay a building projects into the Haram area interrupting the covered portico [**8**]. When new (1482) this theological college had the reputation of being 'the third Jewel of the Haram' (Mujir al-Din); the square porch on the south gives a very clear idea of its former glory. Note particularly the red and white fan ceiling with the Mamluk

star in the centre, and the very intricate black and white joggling of the upper lintel. The courses are laid in lead to imitate the precise black lines of an architectural drawing.

It was built, on the orders of the sultan Qaytbay (one of whose names was al-Ashraf), by the same team of Egyptian craftsmen who constructed the fountain. Visiting Jerusalem in 1475, he was disappointed at the college which he had inherited and royally endowed, so he ordered it to be torn down and a new one built. The upper floor collapsed in the earthquate of 1545, but it is known from Mujir al-Din that it had a magnificent triple window resting on a low parapet wall (whose base is still visible). A faint hint of the lost magnificence may be gleaned from the double-arched loggia of the adjoining Madrasa Uthmaniyya above Bab el-Mathara.

Bab el-Mathara

Just north of Madrasa Ashrafiyya an unpretentious gate [**6**], euphemistically called the Ablutions Gate, gives access to what are probably the oldest public latrines in the world still in use. They were built in 1193, shortly after the Crusaders lost Jerusalem, by Saladin's brother Malik Adil Abu Bakr.

Immediately outside the gate, at the head of the passage leading to the latrines, are two fine Mamluk buildings. The **Madrasa Uthmaniyya** on the left (south) was built by an Asiatic princess, Isfahanshah, in 1437; the college is called by her family name which shows her to have been related to the Ottoman dynasty. On the other side of the passage is the **Ribat Zamani**, a pilgrim hospice erected in 1476 by one of the close advisers of the sultan Qaytbay; note in particular the very intricate centre joggle over the window.

Bab el-Qattanin

This ornate gate, built by the emir Tankiz in 1336, was but one of his many contributions to the beautification of Jerusalem; see the note on Suq el-Qattanin in the section MAMLUK BUILDINGS (p. 43).

He is also responsible for the covered portico stretching out on both sides of the gate. The architectural unity of this portion of the west portico is evident, and shows that other parts were added and/or rebuilt at different periods.

Golden Gate

The Golden Gate is the focus of many traditions, but there is little certitude regarding its origins. According to the *Mishnah* (Middoth 1: 3) the Shushan Gate of the Temple was on its eastern side, and was used

▲ **Haram esh-Sharif**. The C14 Bab al-Qattanin and west portico.

for the ceremony of the red heifer (Num. 19: 1–10). Traces of an arch indicating an older gate have been found beneath the present structure. This may be what the Piacenza pilgrim saw in AD 570; he noted that the north gate of Jerusalem was 'next to the Gate Beautiful which was part of the Temple, and its threshold and entablature are still in position there'. It is significant that he does not relate it to Peter's cure of the lame man at the Gate Beautiful (Acts 3: 1–10), because it has been suggested that the empress Eudokia built the present edifice in the mid-C5 to commemorate the miracle.

Lack of Christian interest in the site is confirmed by the note of Theodosius (before 518) that on Palm Sunday Jesus entered Jerusalem by the Gate of Benjamin (today: St Stephen's Gate/Lions Gate). If any, it was this latter gate which Modestus restored in order to receive the emperor Heraclius in 631 when he returned the True Cross taken by the Persians in 614. The Byzantines considered the Jewish temple a place accursed, and treated it as a quarry and a dump. It contained no Christian holy places and was not crossed by any road.

Both architectural style and historical probability argue that the present structure was build by the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik (685–705) as part of his rehabilitation of what had been the Jewish temple. Its elaborate decoration parallels that of the Double Gate, and sets these two apart from the other five gates. Few if any Muslims would have used the Golden Gate, and it was probably blocked sometime in the C8 when access to the Haram was denied to all unbelievers. It was perhaps this which gave rise to the legend (first mentioned about 830) that, when the emperor Heraclius appeared in his magnificent robes 'suddenly the stones of the gate descended and closed together to make a solid wall'; when he humbled himself the gate opened again.

This story gained tremendous popularity in the Middle Ages, when the Crusaders unblocked the gate twice a year, on Palm Sunday and on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. The present Western name also took firm root at this period, although attested in the C7; the Greek *horaia*, 'beautiful', was confused with the Latin *aurea* 'golden' because of the similarity in sound.

After the departure of the Crusaders the gate served no practical purpose in the life of the city and remained closed. It was substantially rebuilt in Suliman the Magnificent's restoration of the walls (1537–41). Various theological explanations flourish among Jews, Christians, and Muslims. The latter call one part the Gate of Mercy and the other the Gate of Penance; through these the just will enter with their final Judge.

El-Aksa Mosque

The name el-Aksa first applied to the whole Haram area, and dates from the time (C10 AD?) when it was firmly accepted that Jerusalem was the *masjid el-aksa*, 'the furthermost sanctuary', whither Muhammad was transported on his famous Night Journey. Its use was eventually restricted to the great prayer mosque.

The first impression on entering is of a forest of glacial marble columns (donated by Mussolini) and a garish painted ceiling (a gift of King Farouk of Egypt); they belong to the last restoration (1938–42). Virtually nothing (except perhaps the general proportions) remains of the first mosque built by the caliph al-Walid (AD 709–15), and twice destroyed by earthquakes in the first 60 years of its existence. As restored by the caliph al-Mahdi in 780 it had fifteen aisles, but these were reduced to the present seven when the caliph az-Zahir rebuilt it after the earthquake of 1033.

The oldest visible element in the mosque is the **mosaic decoration** of the drum supporting the dome and of the façade of the arch dominating the centre aisle; an inscription dates these mosaics to 1035. The artistic quality is clearly inferior to those in the Dome of the Rock, but there are

▲ **Jerusalem**. The C12 *mihrab* and pulpit of Saladin in the al-Aksa Mosque.

certain similarities in the motifs; it is suggested that the craftsmen was instructed to copy an earlier Umayyad mosaic.

After the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 the mosque became first the royal residence and then the headquarters of the Templars. They left their mark on the building by adding the three central bays of the porch (restored 1217). Saladin contributed the decoration of the *mihrab* in 1187 and a magnificent carved wood pulpit that unfortunately was destroyed in the fire of 1969 (started by an insane Christian tourist who believed that the Messiah would not come until abominations had been cleared from the Temple Mount). Saladin tore down the Templar constructions west of the mosque with the exception of the refectory of the knights along the south wall of the Haram, which is now divided between the Women's Mosque and the Islamic Museum.

Mamluk sultans restored both sides of the mosque and added two bays to either side of the Crusader porch (1345–50). Their work is visible

only on the west side of the interior, because the nave and east side were torn down and rebuilt in 1938–42.

Just outside the main entrance a flight of 16 steps leads down to a green door [**11**] This is the entrance to an underground area which for centuries took the overflow from the mosque above on great feasts. It is not normally open to visitors.

Inside, a long vaulted passage leads to the blocked-up **Double Gate** [**12**]; it was by a ramp such as this that visitors entered Herod's temple from the south. The vestibule just inside the Double Gate is characterized by a single column supporting two pairs of domes. This column and the two others beside the steps belonged to the original Herodian entrance. Other elements, particularly the structure of the domes, have close parallels in the Golden Gate and must be dated to a reconstruction in the early C7 AD. Still later the monolithic lintels of the doors cracked and were shored up by marble columns at either side; these repairs must be related to the building of the mosque above (C8 AD) or to one of its early reconstructions.

Solomon's Stables

This great underground area has nothing to do with Solomon. The lower courses of the outer walls are Herodian, and the twelve rows of pillars support the esplanade. Since the hill sloped steeply to the south, substructures were necessary to create a flat surface above. This fact explains why el-Aksa, and particularly the south-east corner of the esplanade, have suffered so much from earthquakes. This end of the Haram shakes much more than the bedrock on which the Dome of the Rock is built.

Archaeologists have never investigated this area thoroughly, and its complete **transformation into a mosque** at the beginning of the C21 makes such research in the future extremely unlikely. The large modern stepped entrance is at the east side of the northernmost extension of the underground area, which is seven bays wide (east–west) and twelve bays long (north–south). Immediately to the west is a section two bays wide and and seven bays long. Adjoining that is a section four bays wide but only four bays long, from which one could enter the passage leading from the **Triple Gate** [**13**]; the passage must have been substantially identical with the Double Gate described above, and served the same purpose in Herod's temple. Many blocks in the pillars are of Herodian cut. They may have stood continuously or may have been relaid during the frequent repairs effected down the centuries.

The size of the underground area excited the wonder of medieval visitors. John of Würzburg (*c*.1170) claimed that that 'it could take more than 2,000 horses, or 1,500 camels', whereas his contemporary Theodoric estimated the capacity as '10,000 horses with their grooms'. It is curious that they speak only of capacity. Obviously neither saw a single animal!

Islamic Museum

Open: 8–11.30 a.m.; 12.30–2 p.m.; 7.30–10 a.m. during Ramadan; closed Friday. The entrance and the domed bay inside date only to 1871, but the hall at a lower level was built as a mosque for the Moroccan community by Saladin's son, al-Malik al Afdal in 1194. The exhibits are not systematic and merely represent the more remarkable gifts made to the Haram.

The door at the far end was cut through the origin *mihrab* and gives access to the Templar refectory (1160) in which are conserved parts of the Dome of the Rock and the el-Aksa Mosque removed during repairs to these edifices. Particular attention should be paid to the wrought-iron Crusader screen of French workmanship, which stood between the columns of the inner circle of the Dome of the Rock until 1963; to the copper-plated doors donated to the Dome of the Rock by the sultan Qaytbay in 1468; and to the C7 cypress roof-beams of the el-Aqsa, which were removed in 1948.