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THE DOME OF THE ROCK AS PALIMPSEST: ‘ABD AL-MALIK’S GRAND NARRATIVE AND SULTAN SÜLEYMAN’S GLOSSES

In his new book on the Dome of the Rock, which has held a specially privileged place in his inspiring scholarship for more than half a century, Oleg Grabar explores a novel trajectory of inquiry: “telling what the building meant in its long history.”¹ Aiming to interpret the “relationship between a building that remained more or less unchanged and a political as well as spiritual history that changed a great deal over the centuries,” he observes that a striking characteristic of the Dome of the Rock was the preservation of its basic form during countless restorations, while only its surfaces were transformed and adapted to new contexts.² As such, the unique commemorative monument commissioned by the Marwanid caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705) constitutes a veritable palimpsest, with its latest modern restorations approximating the appearance it acquired during Ottoman times, particularly after the renovations by Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66), the most prominent feature of which was the recladding of its exterior with polychromatic tile revetments (fig. 1).³ In this tributary essay, I would like to respond to Professor Grabar’s wish that his latest book attract others to explore further, within the context of the Dome of the Rock, new “details being discovered in medieval books of praises of Jerusalem, and our whole conception of Ottoman culture and ideology.”⁴

These two subjects are, in fact, closely interrelated, because sixteenth-century Ottoman perceptions of the Dome of the Rock were to a large extent shaped by Arabic and Ottoman Turkish compilations modeled on earlier books on the merits of Jerusalem (*fadā’il bayt al-maqdis*), revised with new guidelines for pilgrims.⁵ By interacting not only with the building itself, but also with this genre of literature (rooted in traditions as old as the late seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries), the renovations sponsored by Sultan Süleyman resuscitated some of the Dome’s former associations. The spectacular building enshrining the venerated Rock constituted the focus of both ‘Abd al-Malik’s and Sultan Süleyman’s construction activities

at the sanctuary in Jerusalem, projects that articulated an inextricable link between state religion and dynastic politics. The Ottoman sultan’s restoration campaigns, which in Grabar’s words amounted to “reconsecrating an old sanctuary,” involved a process of selective recovery and reinterpretation. I shall argue that this process contributed to the reemergence of a dormant substratum of local traditions and collective memories existing in a “latent state,” which “may disappear and be revived under similar circumstances.”⁶

Besides attempting to interpret the Dome of the Rock in light of its Ottoman glosses, I will stress its dialogical relationship with the narrative discourses of accompanying buildings in the “master plan” conceptualized by ‘Abd al-Malik for the gigantic complex (*al-masjid al-aqsā*, *al-masjid bayt al-maqdis*) that came to be known as the Noble Sanctuary (*haram al-sharīf*) in Mamluk and Ottoman times. Since several publications have traced the construction history of the Haram across a broad sweep of time, I have chosen to concentrate here on the Marwanid and Ottoman layers of its “grand narrative,” without dwelling on a detailed architectural analysis of the buildings themselves.⁷ After presenting in the first part of this essay my personal exegesis on the elusive meanings of ‘Abd al-Malik’s Dome of the Rock, an arena of considerable debate with a longstanding venerable tradition of its own, I shall turn in the shorter, second part to the relatively unexplored terrain of Sultan Süleyman’s interpretive glosses, overlaid on the building’s “palimpsestous” surfaces.⁸

I. NARRATIVITY OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK WITHIN ‘ABD AL-MALIK’S MASTER PLAN

The transformation of the Temple Mount into a multifocal pilgrimage complex in the course of the seventh and early eighth century paralleled both the construction of Muslim traditions articulating its holi-



Fig. 1. Dome of the Rock with upper platform of the Haram al-Sharif, view from the west. (Photo: Yossi Zamir/Corbis)

ness and the mapping of Qur'anic references onto its components, a process in which textual and architectural narratives mutually reinforced one another. By the conclusion of the Umayyad period (661–750), the commemorative structures of the precinct had become enmeshed within a nexus of memories, bearing witness to the saturated sanctity and redemptive power of the complex and to its special place within the divine plan, extending from the creation to the end of time. As such, it offered a new paradigm of salvation, claiming to be the future locus where God would judge humankind and specially favor the adherents of Islam, the final monotheistic faith, revealed to the Prophet Muhammad as a reminder of the imminent day of reckoning—a revelation that reiterated earlier versions “distorted” by the “People of the Book” (Jews and Christians).⁹ The multiple threads of this grand narrative, translated into architectural sites of witnessing, would be recast, reinterpreted, revised, and renegotiated through subsequent elaborations over the ages. Thanks to its numinous potency, bolstered by a combination of aesthetic power and resonant layers of meaning imbued with spiritual as well as temporal significance, the complex continued to flourish in spite of conquests and changes of regime (figs. 2 and 3).

The early-seventh-century architectural history of the sanctuary is veiled by mythical accounts, just as the relationship of its layout with hypothetical reconstructions of the pre-Islamic Temple Mount remains far from resolved.¹⁰ The few written sources from this period suggest that a modest congregational mosque was commissioned along the southern wall of the precinct by the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattab (to whom semi-mythical traditions attribute the uncovering of the Rock, which was hidden under debris) soon after the conquest of Jerusalem (ca. 638) and prior to the death of the patriarch Sophronius (ca. 639). That mosque seems to have been renovated by Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan, the governor of Syria-Palestine (640s) and first Umayyad caliph (r. 661–80). The pilgrim Arculf (670s) described it as a rectangular “house of prayer” that could accommodate at least 3,000 people.¹¹

The initial focus of construction, then, was a spacious congregational mosque whose two commemorative mihrabs, named after the caliphs 'Umar and Mu'awiya, are mentioned from the eleventh century onwards, in books written in praise of Jerusalem, as being located within the subsequently rebuilt Aqsa Mosque.¹² Nevertheless, the perception of the precinct as a sanctified place for seeking God's forgiveness is

attested early on by the pilgrimages of several Companions of the Prophet. Moreover, the caliph 'Uthman (r. 644–56), the murdered kinsman of Mu'awiya, who adopted the slogan “Vengeance for 'Uthman” to justify his own caliphal claims against those of the Prophet's son-in-law 'Ali (r. 656–61), endowed for the people's benefit the nearby sacred Spring of Silwan. One of the early pilgrims was 'Umar's pious son 'Abdallah b. 'Umar (d. ca. 692–94), who performed a pilgrimage there in 658, having reportedly regretted his presence at the Siffin arbitration during the first civil war (657–61) between the caliph 'Ali (based in Iraq) and Mu'awiya (the governor of Syria-Palestine, who was then aspiring to the caliphate).¹³

It was in Jerusalem that, prior to his declaration of war against 'Ali, Mu'awiya made a pact with 'Amr b. al-'As, whose conquest of Egypt in the summer of 658 shifted the balance of power in favor of his ally, whom the Syrians had acknowledged as caliph earlier that year. Mu'awiya's building activities at the site of the former Temple are recorded in several non-Muslim sources, which mention his restoration of its walls as well as clearing work performed on its grounds (sometime between 658 and 660) by Egyptian workers “with the help of demons,” before the staging of the formal ceremony in general recognition of his caliphate that took place there in July 660.¹⁴ Likewise, Mutahhar b. Tahir al-Maqdisi (ca. 966) states that the sanctuary in Jerusalem remained in ruins until it was rebuilt by the caliph 'Umar and then by Mu'awiya, who took the caliphal oath of allegiance in it.¹⁵ Mu'awiya is reported to have announced from its minbar that “what is between the two walls of this mosque (*masjid*) is dearer to God than the rest of the earth,” presumably a reference to the whole praying ground of the precinct.¹⁶ He is also said to have propagated the use of the term “land of the Gathering and Resurrection [on the Day of Judgment]” (*ard al-maḥshar wa 'l-man-shar*) with regard to Jerusalem.¹⁷ Mu'awiya furthermore attempted to extend Jerusalem's sanctity to the entire province of Syria-Palestine (*al-shām*), the locus of his capital, Damascus, for he told emissaries from Iraq to his court that they had arrived at “the seat of the best of caliphs” and at “the holy land, the land of the Gathering and the Resurrection, and the land of the graves of the prophets.” He thus established a precedent for identifying the holiness of the sanctuary in Jerusalem with cosmology, eschatology, and the legitimization of dynastic caliphal authority—themes that would further be elaborated in the expanded grand

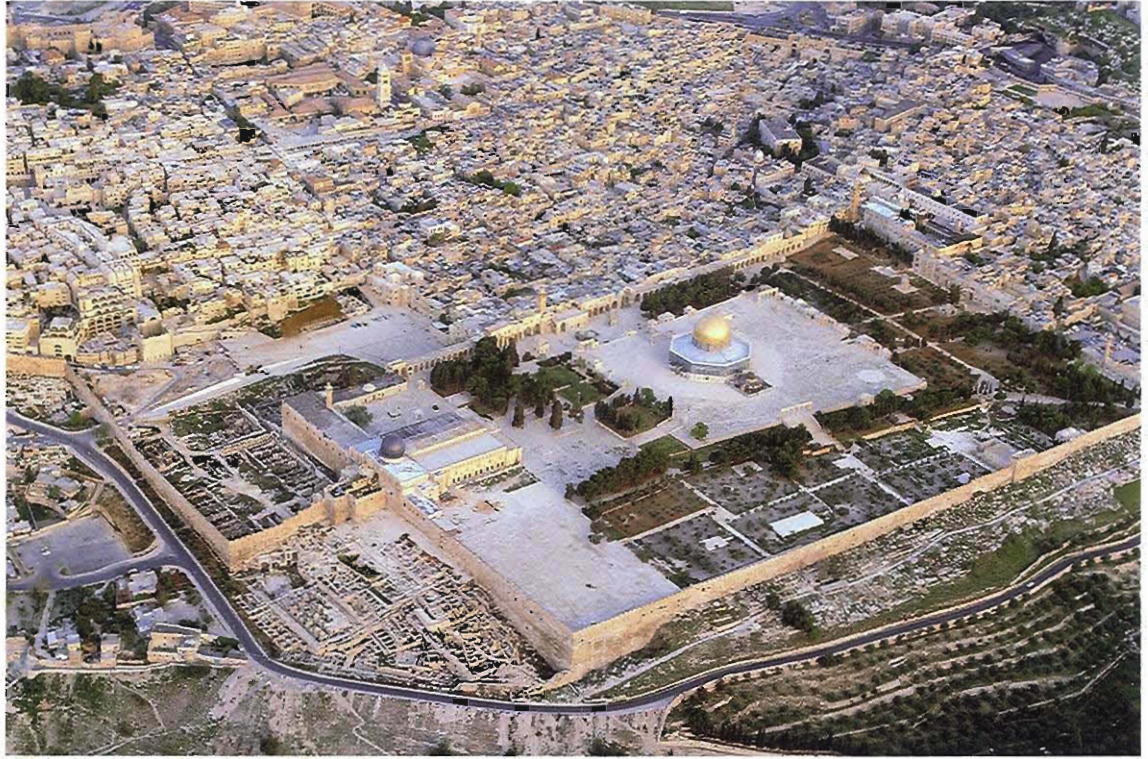


Fig. 2. Aerial view of the Haram al-Sharif from the east, with the Holy Sepulcher in the upper left corner. (Photo: © Baron Wolman)

KEY FOR FIG. 3

GATES AND WALLS

1. (North) Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*); (south) Gate of the Divine Presence (*bāb al-sakina*), also known as Gate of the Law Court (*bāb al-mahkama*) after the Shari'a Court to its south [Gate of David]
2. Gate of the Maghribis (*bāb al-maghāribā*), with Barclay's Gate under it [Gate of Remission (*bāb al-hiṭṭa*)]
3. Mosque of the Maghribis, with al-Fakhriyya Minaret
4. Double Gate with corridor (closed) [Gate of the Prophet (*bāb al-nabī*)]
5. Triple Gate with corridor (closed) [Gate of Repentance (*bāb al-rahma*) and Mihrab of Mary]
6. Single Gate (closed)
7. Battlement with protruding pillar marking the place of the Sirat Bridge
8. Funeral Gate (*bāb al-janā'iz*), also known as Gate of al-Buraq (closed)
9. Golden Gate (closed) [Gate of Mercy; a double gate known after the mid-eleventh-century walling up of the Gate of Repentance (no. 5 above) as (north) Gate of Repentance (*bāb al-tawba*) and (south) Gate of Mercy (*bāb al-rahma*)].
10. Solomon's Throne or Footstool (*kursī sulaymān*)
11. Station (*maqām*) of al-Khidr
12. Gate of the Tribes (*bāb al-asbāt*)
13. Minaret near Gate of the Tribes (*bāb al-asbāt*)
14. Gate of Remission (*bāb al-hiṭṭa*) [former position at no. 2 above]
15. Gate of Darkness (*bāb al-'āṭm*), also known as Gate of the Glory of the Prophets (*bāb sharaf al-anbiyā* or *bāb al-dawādāriyya*)
16. Minaret of the Ghawanim Gate, named after the Ghanim family [Minaret of Abraham]
17. Ghawanim Gate [Gate of Abraham (*bāb al-khalīl*)]
18. Gate of the Superintendent (*bāb al-nāzir*)
19. Iron Gate (*bāb al-hadīd*)
20. Gate of the Cotton Merchants (*bāb al-qaffānīm*)
21. Ablution Gate (*bāb al-maṭhara*)
22. Minaret of the Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*)

RAISED PLATFORM

23. Southern Stairway [Station of the Prophet (*maqām al-nabī*)]
24. Stone Minbar of Burhan al-Din adjacent to the pier of the southern stairway
25. Dome of Yusuf
26. Dome of the Prophet (*qubbat al-nabī*) with Red Mihrab on its pavement; labeled Dome of Gabriel on de Vogüé's plan
27. Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-mi'rāj*)
28. Convent of Shaykh Muhammad of Hebron with underground vault enclosing a natural rock and early mihrab (*al-zāwiya al-muḥammadiyya*), also known as Mosque of the Prophet (*masjid al-nabī*)
29. Dome of al-Khidr (*qubbat al-khidr*)
30. Dome of the Spirits (*qubbat al-arwāḥ*)
31. Dome of the Rock (*qubbat al-sakhra*)
32. Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*)
33. Western Stairway of al-Buraq

OUTER COURTYARD

34. Fountain of Sultan Süleyman with abutting mihrab aedicule
35. Iwan of Sultan Mahmud II, also known as Dome of the Lovers of the Prophet (*qubbat al-'ushshāq al-nabī*)
36. Dome of Solomon (*qubbat sulaymān*) [Solomon's Throne or Footstool (*kursī sulaymān*)]; labeled Throne or Footstool of Jesus on de Vogüé's plan
37. Fountain of Qaytbay
38. Fountain of Kasım Pasha
39. Dome of Moses (*qubbat mūsā*)
40. Fountain known as the Cup (*al-kā's*)
41. Aqsa Mosque: a. Well of the Leaf (*bi'r al-waraqā*); b. Mihrab of Zechariah; c. Station (*maqām*) of 'Uzayr; d. Mosque of 'Umar
42. Mihrab of David
43. Market of Understanding (*sūq al-ma'rifa*)
44. Cradle of Jesus (*mahd 'isā*)
45. Subterranean vaults known as Stables of Solomon

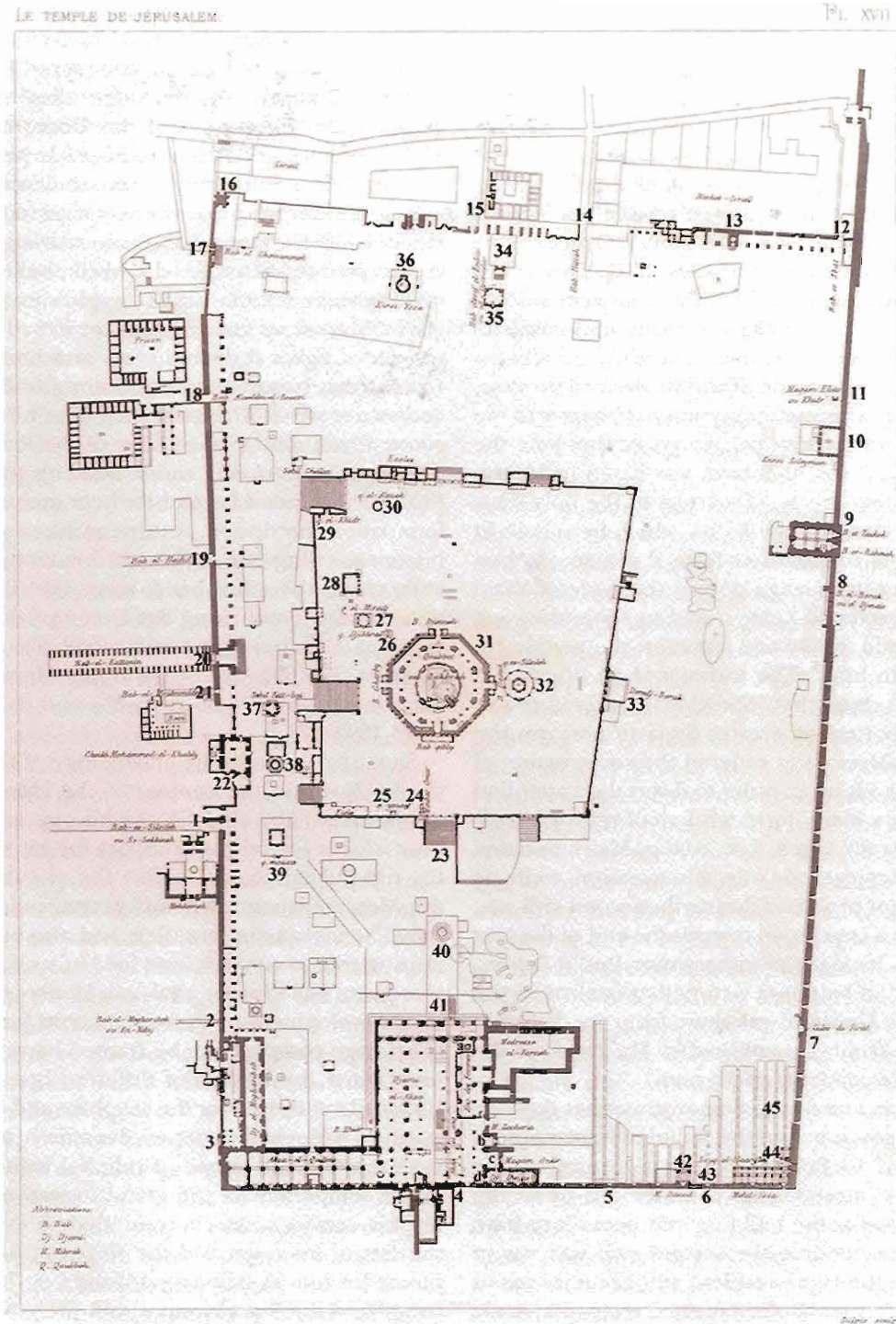


Fig. 3. Plan of the Haram al-Sharif. The added numerals correspond to the key (see opposite page), which provides nineteenth-century names and, in brackets, some of their early medieval counterparts. (After Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem, Monographie du Haram-ech-Chérif* [Paris, 1864], pl. 17: “Plan du Haram-ech-Chérif, suivant Catherwood avec les dénominations arabes”)

the Dome of the Rock but also the development of the whole precinct, which in time included the rebuilding of the Aqsa Mosque; the construction of a number of commemorative structures on the central raised platform; the renovation of the outer walls with some of their monumental gates; and the axial alignment of the complex with the city below. These buildings were complemented by massive rectangular administrative and residential structures (of uncertain chronology and function) forming an L shape along the southern and southwestern edges of the vast trapezoidal compound, and by the construction of a network of roads leading to Jerusalem and marked by milestones bearing 'Abd al-Malik's inscriptions, some of them dated 73 (692) and 85 (704).²⁴ Sources differ as to whether the Aqsa Mosque was rebuilt by 'Abd al-Malik or by his son al-Walid, but it seems almost certain that he began its construction and that his successor added the finishing touches.²⁵

The Dome of the Rock was therefore not an isolated structure but part of an extensive ensemble; it constituted the focal point from which, in Grabar's words, "axes of composition radiate and visual impressions are constructed." I shall argue that the sequence of architectural units framing the Dome of the Rock conditioned not only ways of seeing and experiencing it but also the intertextual meanings it communicated in dialogue with them. The individual components of the Marwanid compound (most of which have disappeared or changed unrecognizably over time) have recently been hypothetically reconstructed and catalogued together with the medieval texts that mention them. These components, however, have not yet been interpreted as a complex interactive web. My aim here is to speculate on how they fit spatially and conceptually into 'Abd al-Malik's grand narrative, within which the signification of the Dome of the Rock (generally treated as a self-contained unit) was embedded.²⁶

The earliest surviving post-Umayyad written sources, like those from the post-Crusader period, often attribute the constellation of buildings on the Haram, including some of the minor domes around the Dome of the Rock, to 'Abd al-Malik, only occasionally referring to the contributions of his sons. Construction activities sponsored by the Abbasids, their vassals, and the Fatimids are described in these sources as repairs or renovations of preexisting damaged structures, which were reconsecrated and extensively rebuilt by the Ayyubids following the Crusader occupation and subsequently maintained by the building campaigns of the Mamluks

and Ottomans. Had there been a major restructuring and reconceptualization of the complex in Abbasid or Fatimid times, it seems more than likely that our earliest surviving sources would have recorded the addition of commemorative monuments that considerably expanded the scope of the initial building program. It is thus reasonable to infer that a substantial core of the memorial sites enumerated in texts predating the Crusader conquest (1099) existed in the Marwanid period, although the physical structures by which they were marked, their names, and even their locations were transformed over time.²⁷

GLIMPSES OF THE COMPLEX AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS IN EARLY SOURCES

Before situating the Dome of the Rock within the Marwanid grand narrative in the following section, I will reconsider some well-known geographical, historical, and literary sources, written prior to the Crusades, that provide fragmentary glimpses of the architectural components and commemorative associations of the pilgrimage complex. We shall see in the next section that most of these post-Marwanid associations, including the identification of the precinct that constituted the first qibla of Islam as the destination of the Prophet's Night Journey, were elaborations of previous traditions on the merits of Jerusalem. Many of these early traditions are recorded in the commentary on the Qur'an by Muqatil b. Sulayman al-Balkhi (d. 767–68), indicating that they must have been circulating by the beginning of the eighth century, if not before. It was around this preexisting core of traditions formulated in Umayyad times that the elaborate webs of meaning encountered in the ninth- to eleventh-century narratives we shall consider here came to be constructed.

Among the earliest surviving sources is the aforementioned chronicle of Ibn Habib, who died in 853 in Cordoba, the capital of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain, which descended from 'Abd al-Malik through his son Hisham. The chronicle includes a report about the construction of the sanctuary in Jerusalem by the Kufan transmitter of traditions, al-Sha'bi (d. 721–22), whom 'Abd al-Malik invited to Damascus and sent on several diplomatic missions. Al-Sha'bi is quoted as saying that it was this caliph who "built the mosque of Jerusalem" and "the dome that is over the Rock," placing on the outer shell of that dome 8000 gilded-copper sheets. He adds, "...and these are the three domes

next to one another (*thalātha qibāb mutajāwirāt*): the Dome of the Rock (*qubbat al-sakhra*), the Dome of the Ascension [of the Prophet] (*qubbat al-mi'rāj*), and the Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*) that was [hanging] there at the time of David" (figs. 3–5). The quotation ends with a couplet composed by an earlier poet about the disappearance of divine revelation and the lifting away of generosity together with the chain (when it was withdrawn back to heaven to punish the prophet-king David's corrupt subjects).²⁸

Al-Sha'bi does not specify that each of these domes on the precinct's raised central platform was constructed by 'Abd al-Malik, but the quotation clearly implies that they were part of the same building project. Another tradition, reported by ninth-century Palestinian hadith scholars and with a chain of transmission traceable to around 750, also ascribes to the same caliph the construction of two minor domes next to the Dome of the Rock: the Dome of the Ascension to the north (probably northwest), and the Dome of the Chain to the east, on the site where David judged the Children of Israel by means of a chain of light suspended between heaven and earth. The chain, which could distinguish those who were speaking the truth in legal disputes from those who were lying, was withdrawn to heaven when a disputant attempted to trick it. The same tradition identifies the Dome of the Chain as the place where the Prophet encountered the maidens of Paradise at the time he was miraculously transported to Jerusalem on his Night Journey (figs. 3[32] and 4).²⁹

Other early sources include the descriptions of the Jerusalem sanctuary by the Abbasid geographer, Ibn al-Faqih of Hamadhan, writing in about 902–3, and by the Andalusian author, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 940), who was an official panegyrist of the Umayyad rulers of Spain. These texts provide remarkably similar lists of the structures accompanying the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. Ibn al-Faqih's account survives only in an abridged version of his multivolume geographical work; that of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih is thought to derive either from an eyewitness report or, more likely, from the longer lost version of Ibn al-Faqih's geography.

Ibn al-Faqih's description of Jerusalem starts with *fada'il* traditions copied mostly from Muqatil's eighth-century Qur'anic exegesis. This is followed by the mythical account by Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 728 or 732) of the fabulous Temple of David and Solomon, cataloguing its dimensions, contents, and lavish furnish-

ings.³⁰ It seems to me that the subsequent description of the Muslim sanctuary, which merges seamlessly with the preceding section and ends with additional references to the wonders of Solomon's Temple, may also date much earlier than the compilation of Ibn al-Faqih's text. The description, which starts with the phrase "it is said that," derives from a report whose source is not identified. It may even be based on an account by Wahb b. Munabbih himself, since it includes a similar catalogue of the measurements, components, luxurious furnishings, and numerous lamps of the "mosque of Jerusalem," an appellation that refers to the pilgrimage complex as a whole.³¹

This section begins with the congregational mosque to the south, which features: a black marble slab commemorating the Prophet on the right side of the mihrab; a white stone behind the qibla identifying the Prophet as the messenger of God and Hamza (the Prophet's martyred uncle, who was regarded as one of the bravest fighters on behalf of Islam) as his helper; three private enclosures (*maqṣūra*) for women; and five minbars. One may speculate that the inscribed white stone was under the mosque's central nave, near the southern double gate, known as the Prophet's Gate, from which he was imagined to have entered the Temple Mount on his Night Journey; here, in 1047, the Persian traveler Nasir-i Khusraw saw an imprint of Hamza's shield (fig. 3[4]). Ibn al-Faqih's text then turns from the congregational mosque to the raised platform (*dukkān*) in the middle of the precinct, whose six stairways (now eight) lead up to the [Dome of] the Rock (*al-sakhra*), with its four symmetrical porticoed gates and a cave underneath for prayers. The description of this domed edifice (*al-qubba*), which Ibn al-Faqih attributes to 'Abd al-Malik, is followed by a list of five additional commemorative sites on the same platform, consisting of three minor domes and two structures that may have been simpler aedicules or natural rocks marked by prayer niches: the Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*) to the east, with the prayer place (*muṣallā*) of the prophet-saint al-Khidr "in front of it" in the "middle of the mosque precinct (*masjid*)"; the Dome of the Prophet (*qubbat al-nabī*), with the nearby station (*maqām*) of Gabriel "to the north"; and the Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-mi'rāj*) "near the Rock" (probably to the northwest). Correlating these structures with the minor domes populating the platform today is not an easy exercise, since all of them, with the exception of the Dome of the Chain, were rebuilt after the Crusader

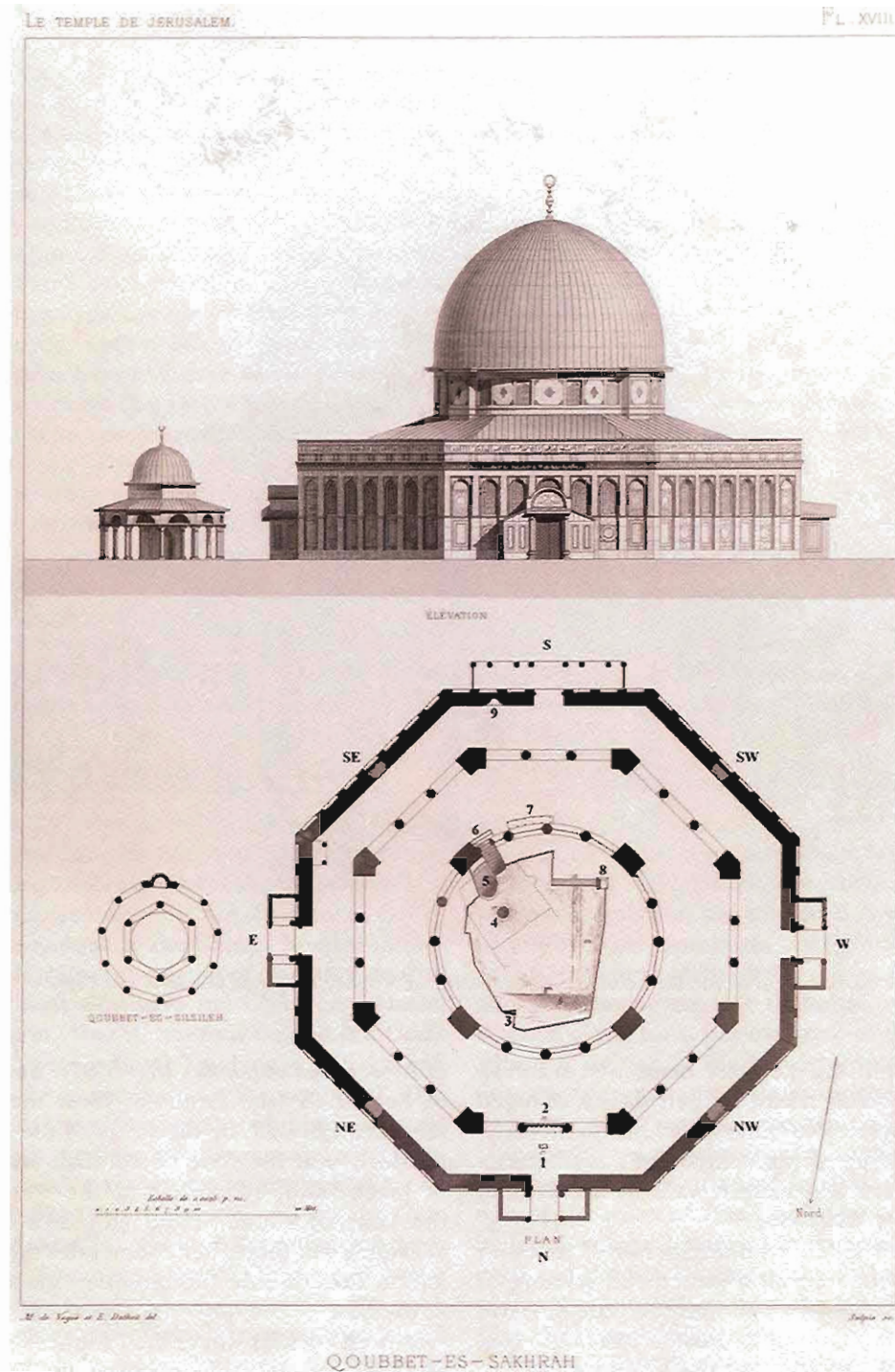


Fig. 4. Elevation-cum-plan of the Dome of the Rock and Dome of the Chain. 1. Black Paving Stone; 2. Marble screen with arcade of "mihrabs"; 3. Mihrab; 4. Pierced Hole of the Rock; 5. Tongue of the Rock at the inner cave entrance; 6. Gate of the Cave; 7. Tribune of Muezzins; 8. Reliquary of the Prophet's Footprint; 9. Hanafi Mihrab. (After de Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. 18, with added numerals and letters indicating directions)

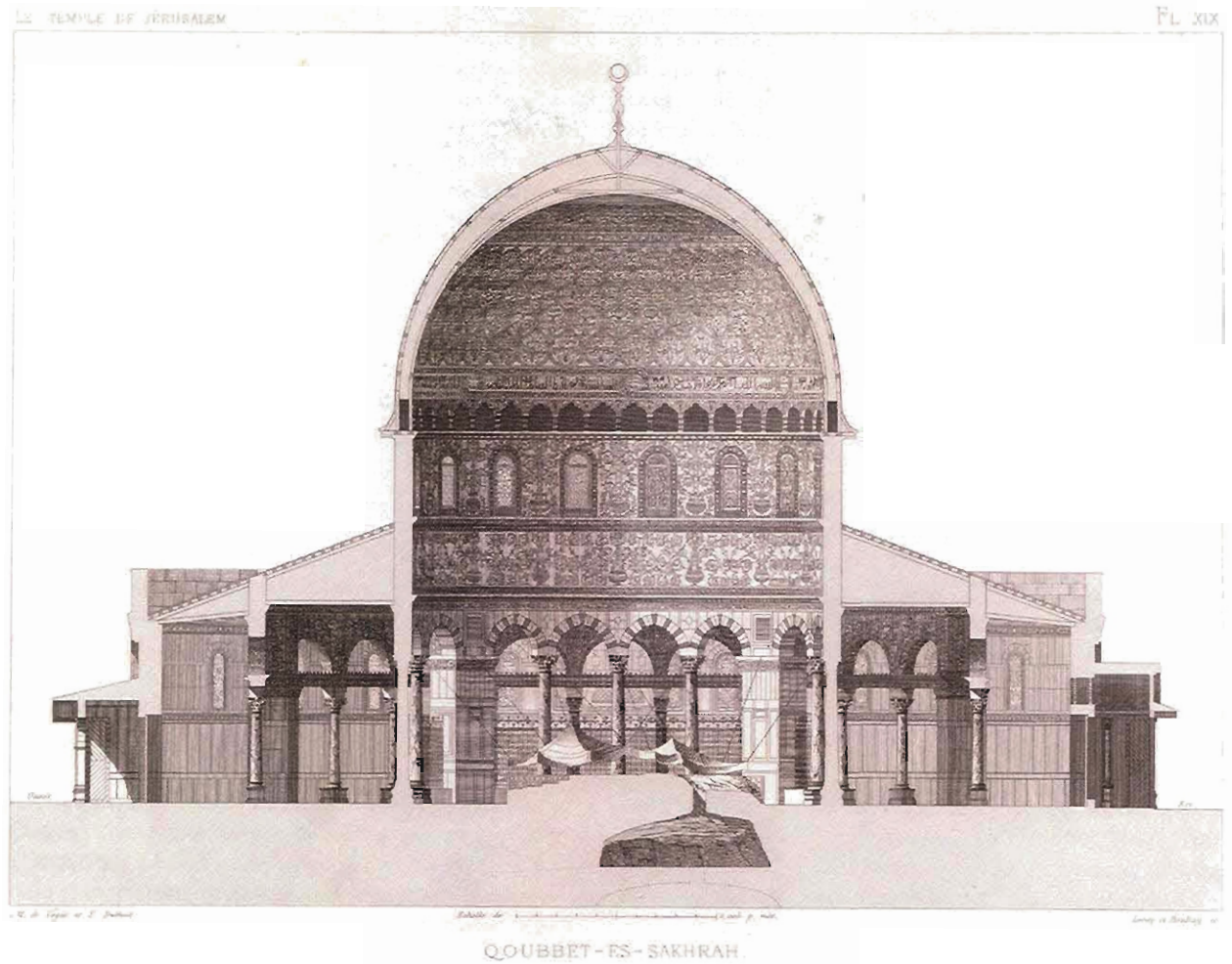


Fig. 5. West-to-east cross section of the Dome of the Rock. (After de Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. 19)

occupation. Identifying the gates mentioned in Ibn al-Faqih's text is equally tricky, as their names changed over time or migrated to other locations, particularly after the rebuilding of the compound's earthquake-damaged southern and eastern walls by the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir (r. 1021–36).³²

The gates are listed counterclockwise, together with nearby commemorative structures, starting at the middle of the western wall with the Gate of David (fig. 3[1]) and the Gate of Remission (*bāb hiṭṭa*) (fig. 3[2]). These are followed, on the southern wall, by the Gate of the Prophet (*bāb al-nabī*) (fig. 3[4]) and the Gate of Repentance (*bāb al-tawba*) (fig. 3[5]), near the Mihrab of Mary; on the eastern wall, by the Gate of the Valley (of Hell) (*bāb wādī*) and the Gate

of Mercy (*bāb al-rahma*) (fig. 3[9]), near the Mihrab of Zechariah (the father of John the Baptist); on the northern wall, by the Gates of the Tribes (*abwāb al-asbāt*), near the Cave of Abraham and the Mihrab of Jacob; and, returning to the western wall, by the Gate of Umm Khalid (Khalid's Mother). Ibn al-Faqih's text thereafter enumerates the following visitation sites outside the mosque's grounds: the spot at the base of the qibla minaret (near the precinct's southwest corner) where the Prophet's steed al-Buraq was tied up; the place marking the future location of the Bridge of Sirat (*al-sirāt*), which at the end of time would extend across the Valley of Hell from the Mount of Olives in the east, where Jesus ascended to heaven; the prayer place of the caliph 'Umar on the

same Mount; the spring of Silwan to the south of the mosque precinct; the Mihrab of David at the city's western gate; and Abraham's mosque in the neighboring town of Hebron, which held his tomb, together with those of Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Sarah, and whose imam possessed the relic of the Prophet's sandal.

Most of these sites are also mentioned, with some variations and additional details, in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's book on etiquette (*adab*), which links them with Qur'anic verses and *fadā'il* traditions.³³ His chapter on the "description of the mosque of Jerusalem" begins with more precise dimensions of the mosque precinct, which are believed to have been recorded on a Marwanid inscription that was renewed in the Ayyubid period and is presently installed on the portico of the northern Gate of Darkness (*bāb al-'aṭm*).³⁴ His catalogue of the features and furnishings of the sanctuary is also more detailed than Ibn al-Faqih's, including references to its twenty-four cisterns, four minarets, five minbars, ten mihrabs, and fifteen minor domes, in addition to the dome over the Rock. Interestingly, most of these elements are identified as components of 'Abd al-Malik's grand complex in a tradition attributed to one of its servants, which is recorded in Ibn al-Murajja's eleventh-century *fadā'il* treatise.³⁵

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's next chapter, on the "signs/vestiges (*āthār*) of prophets," starts with the place where al-Buraq was tied up "under the [southwest] corner of the mosque." The gates are listed in counterclockwise order, beginning at the middle of the western wall, as in Ibn al-Faqih's account. First are the Gate of David, the Gate of Solomon, and the Gate of Remission (*bāb hiṭṭa*). The author links the name of this last gate with the command that God gave the Children of Israel "to say 'remission,' that is, 'there is no god but God,' but they said '*hinta* [wheat],' making a jest thereof, for which may God curse them for their impiety!" This is a reference to the refusal of the Children of Israel to enter through the gate submissively and with prostrations, while asking for divine forgiveness (Qur'an 2:58–59, 7:161–62).³⁶ On the south wall are the Gate of Muhammad, and the Gate of Repentance, where God granted repentance to David. On the east wall is the Gate of Mercy, which God mentioned in His book as "a gate, the inner side of which contains mercy, and whose outer side faces doom," namely, the Valley of Hell that lies to the east of Jerusalem. This is an allusion to the gated wall (identified by some exegetes as the precinct's eastern wall) that will separate believers from hypocrites on the Last Day (Qur'an 57:13).

On the northern wall are the six gates known as the Gates of the Tribes, meaning the tribes of the Children of Israel. Again on the western wall, are listed the Gate of al-Walid, the Gate of al-Hashimi, the Gate of al-Khidr, and the Gate of the Divine Presence (*bāb al-sakīna*). The name of the last gate refers to the Ark of the Divine Presence (Qur'an 2: 248), which had been placed there as a sign of God's sovereignty, but was subsequently taken back to heaven by the angels to punish the disobedient Children of Israel; it will return at the end of time, according to a tradition cited by Ibn al-Faqih.³⁷

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih then enumerates venerated sites distributed along the walls and gates of the enclosure: on the south wall, the Mihrab of Mary, where angels brought her heavenly fruits (Qur'an 3:37); on the east wall, the Mihrab of Zechariah, where angels relayed the good news of the birth of his son John while he stood praying therein (Qur'an 3:39, 19:11); and on the north wall, the Mihrab of Jacob, Solomon's Throne or Footstool (*kursī*), where he used to pray to God, and the Minaret of Abraham, who used to worship there. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih mentions the same five commemorative structures on the precinct's raised central platform as Ibn al-Faqih: the dome from which the Prophet ascended to heaven; the dome where he prayed with the prophets; the dome with the chain that judged the innocence or guilt of the Children of Israel; and the prayer places (*muṣallā*) of Gabriel and al-Khidr. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih gives the following instruction to the pilgrim, the earliest surviving example of its kind: "When you enter the [Dome of] the Rock (*al-ṣakhra*), pray at its three corners/piers (*arkān*), and also pray on the slab (*al-balāṭa*), which rivals the Rock in glory, for it lies over one of the gates of Paradise." This slab, a black marble paving stone that one encountered upon entering the building from its north gate, was also recommended by Wahb b. Munabbih to a pilgrim from South Arabia as a spot where prayers were granted by God, since it lay "over one of the gates of Paradise." The paving stone was believed to have belonged to Paradise, like the Rock itself and the Black Stone of the Ka'ba; a later version of it is shown on plans from the late Ottoman period (figs. 4 [1] and 15[1]).³⁸

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih includes among the merits of Jerusalem the site of the Bridge of Sirat that will extend to the Haram from (the Valley of) Hell. He points out that "on the Day of Resurrection, Paradise will be brought as a bride to Jerusalem, and the Ka'ba will

also come along with her," accompanied in a "bridal procession" by its Black Stone, whose size will grow larger than Mount Abu Qubays in Mecca—an eschatological allusion to the radical cosmological transformations expected "on that day when the earth will be changed to that which is other than the earth, and the heavens (will change as well)" (Qur'an 14:48). He adds that Jerusalem owes its distinction to the fact that God took the Prophet up to heaven from it, as He did "Jesus, the son of Mary," who, upon returning to earth, will defeat the Antichrist only in that city; moreover, Gog and Magog were forbidden by God to set foot there. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih remarks that the holy city is additionally renowned as the birth and burial place of numerous prophets and patriarchs of the Children of Israel.

The eschatological significance of the sanctuary in Jerusalem is also emphasized in an anachronistic account by the Fatimid geographer, al-Muhallabi (d. 990), which asserts that it was al-Walid I who built the mosque (*al-masjid*) in Jerusalem and "the dome (*qubba*) over the Rock." According to this account, the caliph embellished and leveled the place (*al-mawḍi'*) around the Rock and built there four other domes (*qibāb*): the Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-mi'rāj*), the Dome of the Scales [of Judgment] (*qubbat al-mizān*), the Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*), and the Dome of the Gathering (*qubbat al-maḥshar*). Al-Walid then allegedly told the people of Syria-Palestine, in order to dissuade them from making the Meccan pilgrimage, that the Gathering and Last Judgment would be in this place (*al-mawḍi'*) from which the Prophet ascended to heaven. Al-Muhallabi's anti-Umayyad allegation echoes the earlier claim made by the Abbasid historian al-Ya'qubī (ca. 874) that 'Abd al-Malik's motive for building the Dome of the Rock was to divert the hajj to Jerusalem. Forbidding the people of Syria-Palestine to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, the caliph told them that the Rock on which the Prophet "set his foot when he ascended to heaven shall be to you in the place of the Ka'ba"; thus they circumambulated the Rock until the end of Umayyad rule.³⁹

A similar narrative appears in the annals of Eutychius (d. 940), the Patriarch of Alexandria, who states that 'Abd al-Malik enlarged the mosque (*al-masjid*) in Jerusalem and integrated the Rock into it, ordering the people to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem instead of Mecca. Eutychius then attributes the same construction project to al-Walid, who built the mosque in Jerusalem, "placed the Rock at the center of the

mosque, and built around it and covered it with marble" (*banā ḥawlahā wa-rakḥḥamahu*)—perhaps a reference to the paving of the raised platform. He adds that al-Walid removed a gilded copper dome from the church of the Christians in Baalbek and placed it on the Rock, ordering the people to "make the pilgrimage to the Rock."⁴⁰

As Grabar suggested years ago, the apparent confusion in the accounts of Eutychius and al-Muhallabi can be attributed to the completion of 'Abd al-Malik's building project by his son. The text of al-Muhallabi, which clearly alludes to the construction of the Dome of the Rock as part of an ensemble, implies that the four smaller domes around it were also built by 'Abd al-Malik. Yet it is conceivable that al-Walid may have added two minor domes next to the Dome of the Chain and the Dome of the Ascension, both of which Ibn Habib's chronicle attributes to his father. The names of these domes, designating "the Scales" and "the Gathering," bear unmistakable eschatological associations that have emerged in recent studies as a significant dimension of the Dome of the Rock's iconography. The names seem to be alternative designations for the raised platform's commemorative structures listed in previous sources discussed above, which only refer to three minor domes; the fourth dome may have been a smaller domical aedicule marking one of the prayer stations referred to in the same sources.⁴¹ Although al-Muhallabi's confused report is to be treated with suspicion, it does indicate that the minor domes, which, according to later descriptions, consisted of ciboria resting on columns, were recognized at that time as Marwanid rather than more recent Abbasid or Fatimid constructions, probably because of their classicizing style.

If al-Walid did indeed set up above the Rock a small hemispherical ciborium on columns that was removed from the church of Baalbek, this could have been a votive offering reflecting the growing tensions with Byzantium following the conclusion of the second civil war. These tensions were already manifested when, shortly after the completion of the Dome of the Rock and his victory over the Byzantines at Sebastopolis (692), 'Abd al-Malik attempted to remove columns from the church of Gethsamane in Jerusalem for the rebuilding of the Ka'ba.⁴² Damaged during the siege of the city, the Meccan sanctuary was extensively modified with the caliph's permission in 74 (693–94) by his general al-Hajjaj, who "restored" it to the original Qurashi form established in the days of the Prophet. 'Abd al-Malik

personally led the hajj procession to it the following year as the legitimate leader of the reunited Muslim community. I shall argue in the next section that the legacy of the Prophet was another essential ingredient of the grand narrative that linked together the disparate units of the caliph's master plan, rather than a theme that emerged only later with the "increasing Islamization" of the complex—a turning point presumed to have been marked by al-Walid's completion of the rebuilt Aqsa Mosque (ca. 715). Resonating with the apocalyptic spirit of the age, the minor domes built on the raised platform by 'Abd al-Malik, with perhaps some additions by his successor, amplified the eschatological overtones implicit in the epigraphic program of the Dome of the Rock, and reinforced the repeated references to the Prophet in its inscriptions, to which we shall turn later.⁴³

In his description of the circumstances that led to the construction of the Dome of the Rock, the Mamluk scholar Ibn Kathir (1300–73) deplors the many deceitful "signs and marks" (*al-ishārāt wa al-'alāmāt*) of the Last Day that were "represented/fashioned" (*ṣawwara*) on the Haram during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik in order to divert the attention of the people away from the Ka'ba. These included "representations/likenesses (*sūrat*) of the Bridge of Sirat, the Gate of Paradise [the north door of the Dome of the Rock], the footprint of the Messenger of God, the Valley of Hell, and likewise [other signs represented] at its gates and the [venerated] sites (*mawāḍi'*) there." The author laments that "the people have been led astray by this even until our time."⁴⁴ The representations attributed by Ibn Kathir to 'Abd al-Malik's time were no doubt renewed, relocated, and reinvented. For instance, the stone with the imprint of the Prophet's foot, which in Ibn Kathir's day was displayed within a reliquary supported on columns next to the Rock's southwest corner, probably postdated the Crusader occupation, even though the Andalusian jurist Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1148) does mention the footprint on the south side of the Rock in the early 1090s, during Seljuq rule, a few years before the Crusades. That reliquary, in turn, was replaced by the pulpit-like Ottoman version still occupying the same spot (fig. 4[8]).⁴⁵

The other representations referred to by Ibn Kathir may have included mosaic and painted images, in addition to abstract signs such as marble roundels, slabs, pillars, and inscriptions. The mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (d. 1684–85), for example, observed a now-lost painted image of

scales on the arcade of the raised platform's southern stairway, which featured mosaic revetments in Fatimid times, when it was known as the Prophet's Station (*maqām*). Evliya calls this arcade the "Gate of the Scales" (*bābū'l-mīzān*), locating it next to a stone minbar (the present pulpit of Burhan al-Din, d. 1388) adjacent to the "Dome of the Spirits" (*kubbetū'l-ervāh*), where he says the Prophet preached to the souls of earlier prophets (fig. 3[23, 24]). The latter seems to be identical with the "Dome of the Balance" (*qubbat al-mīzān*), also called the "Dome of the Secret Discourse," which the Mamluk historian al-'Umari situates (ca. 1345) next to the same arcade. He describes the flat mihrab that still exists on the western pier of that arcade and the two-tiered stone dome beside it. The Mamluk qadi Burhan al-Din b. Jama'a subsequently transformed this tiny Ayyubid domical aedicule into a minbar by adding in front of it a stone staircase, which replaced an older wooden one borne on wheels (fig. 3[24]).⁴⁶ Evliya also mentions that the site of the Bridge of Sirat was marked by a stone pillar, which still protrudes today from the outer face of the Haram's eastern wall overlooking the Valley of Hell (fig. 3[7]). He explains that this pillar was moved from its original location to a higher position on that wall when Sultan Süleyman had the walls of Jerusalem rebuilt.⁴⁷

The critical tone of Ibn Kathir's report is compounded by his contention that such "deceitful" signs were inventions intended to attract visitors and pilgrims to Jerusalem. The author Mutahhar b. Tahir al-Maqdisi, who migrated from Jerusalem to Bust, remarks that the authenticity of eschatological traditions associated with the sanctuary was not universally accepted. Concerning the identification of the Rock as the future site of the Gathering and of God's Throne of Judgment, he writes, "I have heard somebody say that this was an apocryphal tradition of the people of Syria, and that God will resuscitate humans wherever it pleases Him." Despite ongoing skepticism, however, pilgrims from all parts of the medieval Islamic world, especially ascetics and mystics, continued to flock to Jerusalem.⁴⁸ The geographer al-Muqaddasi (ca. 985), for example, who resided in the holy city and was a cousin of Mutahhar b. Tahir, mentions the khanqah of the Karramiya at the Haram complex, as well as the assembly hall there, where the Hanafi disciples of Abu Hanifa performed the *dhikr* (praises of God particularly cultivated by the Sufis).⁴⁹

Referring to the province of Syria-Palestine (*al-shām*) as the land of the prophets and the abode of the

righteous, al-Muqaddasi points out that it contains the “first qibla [of Islam], the place of the Night Journey and the Gathering (*al-hashr*), and the Holy Land.” Eschatological associations are a prominent feature of several sites he mentions at the Haram, some of which are listed out of sequence in his general description of this province:⁵⁰ the Gate and Mihrab of David (probably the “eastern mihrab” in the mosque precinct, rather than the mihrab named after David on the city wall, Qur’an 38:21); Solomon’s marvels (a number of them located on the site of Solomon’s Temple, the foundations for which were laid by his father David); the Dome and Gate of Muhammad; the Rock of Moses (identified around 988 by Ibn Hawqal as the Rock of the sanctuary in Jerusalem); the Mihrab of Zechariah; the Aqsa Mosque; the wall that will separate those who are punished from those shown mercy on the Day of Judgment (often equated with the Haram’s eastern wall, Qur’an 57:13); the Near Place (generally identified as the Rock from which the archangel Israfil will call out on the day of Resurrection, Qur’an 50:41); the Gate of Remission; the Gate of the Trumpet (the north gate of the Dome of the Rock); the Gate of the Divine Presence; the Dome of the Chain; the Station (*maqām*) of the Ka’ba (to which it will move as one of the signs of the Last Day); the Valley of Hell extending from “the northeast and southeast corners” of the mosque precinct to the Mount of Olives; the nearby plain of al-Sahira, whose “white ground unsullied by blood” will be the site of the Resurrection (Qur’an 79:14); and the Spring of Silwan, endowed for the people by the caliph ‘Uthman, to which water flows underground from the Well of Zamzam on the Meccan Haram during the eve of ‘Arafa (when the great pilgrimage to Mount Arafat in Mecca takes place).⁵¹

Al-Muqaddasi’s reference to Zamzam’s supplying the Silwan Spring underscores the interlinked holiness of the sanctuaries in Mecca and Jerusalem. A tradition identifies both of these water sources as the springs of Paradise, and al-Harawi, who visited Jerusalem in 1173, says that the water of the Spring of Silwan, which was like that of Zamzam, flowed out from beneath the Dome of the Rock, reappearing to the south of the city.⁵² The cosmological connection between the heavens and the sanctuary in Jerusalem is also attested by the “Well of the Leaf” (*bīr al-waraqā*), located today inside the main gate of the Aqsa Mosque. Into this well a man descended in the days of the caliph ‘Umar; he emerged with a golden leaf from the Garden of Paradise, confirming the Prophet’s prediction that a

man from his own nation would enter Paradise alive (fig. 3[41a]).⁵³

Let us now turn to al-Muqaddasi’s famous description of Jerusalem itself, in which he praises his hometown as the most illustrious of all cities, since it unites the merits of “this world and the next” and will be the stage of the Resurrection and the Gathering, heralding eternal life: “Mecca and Medina derive their dignity from the Ka’ba and the Prophet, but on the Day of Resurrection they will both be conducted to Jerusalem, and their virtues will there be united.” He attributes the construction of the Haram’s outer wall, the foundations of which were laid by David, to ‘Abd al-Malik, who, upon noting the magnificence of the dome of the Anastasis (Resurrection) at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, erected “the dome over the Rock,” lest the Christian structure “dazzle the minds of the Muslims.” (Al-Muqaddasi refers to the Anastasis Rotunda as *qubbat al-qunāma* or “Dome of the Dunghill,” a derogatory pun alluding to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, called by the Christians *kanīsat al-qiyāma* or “Church of the Resurrection”). Al-Muqaddasi bases his interpretation of ‘Abd al-Malik’s reason for building the Dome of the Rock and the complex surrounding it on information he derived from his paternal uncle, whose father was a Khurasanian architect practicing in Syria-Palestine. This interpretation foregrounds a competitive aesthetic motivation that was no doubt accompanied by politico-religious concerns. The renowned geographer explains that the Aqsa Mosque once surpassed in beauty the Great Mosque of Damascus (built by al-Walid I), for it was created to rival the magnificence of the neighboring Holy Sepulcher (fig. 2). Pointing out that the congregational mosque’s central mihrab was intentionally aligned with the Rock (the first qibla of Islam), he adds that the ancient portion around this mihrab remained like a “beauty mark” (*shāma*, birthmark) in the midst of the present mosque, crudely rebuilt by the Abbasids after a devastating earthquake. This Marwanid “beauty mark” was in all likelihood the “beautiful dome” (*qubba ḥasana*) of the mosque’s central nave; flanked by seven naves on each side, it marked the bay in front of the main mihrab, whose walls seem to have been decorated with mosaics.⁵⁴

In the middle of the precinct’s raised platform (*dikka*) stood the octagonal Dome of the Rock (*qubbat al-sakhra*), surmounted by a dome sheathed with gilt brass plates, a “marvel” unrivaled in the “lands of Islam” (*al-islām*) and of the “infidels” (*al-shirk*). Al-Muqaddasi

likens this platform to the one of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, namely, the marble-paved *rawḍa* (garden) sanctified by the Prophet's hadith, "Between my grave and my minbar is a garden of the gardens of Paradise, and my minbar is the gate of the gates of Paradise." He thus draws a parallel between the paradisiacal associations of both marble-paved platforms, a counterpart of which was the *hijr* (semicircular enclosure) of the Ka'ba; the Prophet is said to have told his wife 'A'isha that the *hijr* was the best of all places, the closest to God, and "a garden (*rawḍa*) of Paradise," where whoever prays is pardoned by God.⁵⁵ Al-Muqaddasi only mentions four of the raised platform's six stairways described earlier by Ibn al-Faqih, namely, the ones that were axially aligned with the Dome of the Rock's four gilded gates at the cardinal points: the Qibla Gate to the south, the Gate of Israfil to the east, the Gate of the Trumpet to the north, and the Women's Gate to the west. Although the columnar arcades crowning these stairways are not described by him or by other writers prior to the late Fatimid period, some scholars have suggested that they may have been part of the original Marwanid layout, judging by the presence of several capitals matching those on the Dome of the Rock's porches and on the Dome of the Chain. That at least some of them existed when al-Muqaddasi wrote his description is revealed by an inscription in situ, which records the construction or restoration of the western stairway's arcaded colonnade (*al-maqām*) in 340 (951–52). The arcade of the southern stairway, too, seems to have been in place then, according to a dream Ahmad b. Yahya al-Bazzar al-Baghdadi had in 952 when he came from Mecca to Jerusalem, which prompted him to settle there for the rest of his life. In the dream, the Prophet and a group of his Companions moved from the Dome of the Rock (*al-ṣakhra*) to this stairway (*al-maqām al-qibli*), where the Prophet prayed with raised hands at its central column. He reassured Ahmad that ritual prayer made in this sanctuary was equivalent to 25,000 prayers and countless mercies, while in Mecca it was tantamount to 100,000 prayers, but only 120 mercies.⁵⁶

Al-Muqaddasi mentions the same three minor domes on the raised platform that are listed by Ibn al-Faqih and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih—the Dome of the Chain, the Dome of the Ascension, and the Dome of the Prophet—referring to them as "elegant" lead-covered domes (*qibāb liṭāf*) resting on marble columns and without any walls. After enumerating the Haram gates, he names the following "places of witnessing" (*mashāhid*)

in the outer courtyard, without specifying their locations: the prayer places (*mihṛāb*) of Mary, of Zechariah, of Jacob, and of al-Khidr; the stations (*maqām*) of the Prophet and of Gabriel; the place of the Ant (presumably the Valley of the Ants, where a talking ant gave way to Solomon's army of jinns, upon which Solomon thanked God for favoring him and his family, Qur'an 27:18–19); the place of the Fire (probably an allusion to a local tradition concerning the Last Day, when God will be enthroned on the Rock and will say, "This is My Paradise to the west and this is My Fire to the east"); the place of the Ka'ba; and that of the Bridge of Sirat.⁵⁷

A contemporary of al-Muqaddasi, the geographer Ibn Hawqal, regards the sanctuary in Jerusalem as the largest in all the territories of Islam, comprising a grand congregational mosque, a magnificent dome over the "Rock of Moses," and many other souvenirs and venerated mihrabs associated with the prophets. The last written source we shall consider in this chronological survey is Nasir-i Khusraw's engaging description of the sanctuary. Written in 1047, more than half a century later, his Persian travelogue hints at the proliferation in the late Fatimid period of "places of witnessing," marked by prayer niches featuring related Qur'anic inscriptions and small masjids along the borders and at the gates of the precinct. During this interval, the Haram had been extensively renovated following the earthquakes of 1015 and 1033. The collapsed cupola of the Dome of the Rock was rebuilt in 1022–23 and its drum mosaics repaired in 1027–28. The rebuilding of the Aqsa Mosque in 1034–35 brought it close to its present form, and the blocking of gates during the restoration of the precinct's eastern and southern walls shifted the main entrances of the complex to the north and west.⁵⁸ The destructive earthquakes and the construction activities they triggered were accompanied by a revival of interest in early local traditions on the merits of Jerusalem, which were compiled and elaborated upon in the *faḍā'il* books of al-Wasiti, a preacher at the Aqsa Mosque (ca. 1019), and Ibn al-Murajja, a native of Jerusalem (ca. 1130–40).⁵⁹

As in previous texts, the components of the pilgrimage complex cited in Nasir-i Khusraw's travelogue commemorate three interrelated themes: Biblical and Qur'anic patriarchs and prophets; the Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension to heaven; and cosmological and eschatological mysteries. Among the commemorative edifices and mihrabs of the outer courtyard, Nasir-i Khusraw mentions those of Jacob,

David, and Solomon (*kursī sulaymān*, fig. 3[36]) along the north side, and, to the northeast, one associated with Zechariah. The *maṣjids* listed by him include that of the newly built Cradle of Jesus in the precinct's southeast corner, as well as others at the Gate of the Divine Presence to the west, and the Gate of Repentance and Mercy to the east (fig. 3[44, 9]).⁶⁰ What is implied in earlier sources but emerges more clearly in Nasir-i Khusraw's eyewitness account is the localization of the Prophet's Night Journey (*isrāʾ*) at the Aqsa Mosque and his Ascension (*miʾrāj*) at the raised platform of the Rock. He regards the congregational mosque to the south as the spot to which God transported the Prophet by night from Mecca, and thence to heaven "as is indicated in the Qur'an" (Qur'an 17:1). The Gate of the Prophet on that side is described as the place from which Muhammad entered the precinct, for it "indeed faces the road to Mecca" (fig. 3[4]). The axially aligned southern stairway of the upper platform, with its triple columnar arcade (now quadruple) featuring gold mosaic revetments (*ba-zar va minā munāqqash*), is identified as the Prophet's Station (*maqām al-nabī*), which he mounted on his way to the Dome of the Rock (*qubba-i ṣakhra*) on the "night of his Ascension," for "the road to the Hijaz is indeed on that side" (fig. 3[23]).⁶¹

Nasir-i Khusraw explains that this marble-paved platform (*dukkān*) with six stairways had to be constructed because the Rock (*ṣang-i ṣakhra*), which had previously served as the qibla, was too high to be enclosed under a roof; therefore the platform incorporated the Rock as its foundation. By implication, he conceives the three minor domes on the platform as being situated on the Rock, whose summit, crowned by the Dome of the Rock, had been the "former qibla." Like his predecessors, Nasir-i Khusraw associates the Dome of the Chain, a mihrab now on its qibla side, with David's miraculous chain. He identifies the Dome of Gabriel, raised above a natural rock on top of four columns and featuring a mihrab on the walled qibla side, as the place where al-Buraq descended from heaven; in this he differs from other sources that claim that the steed was tied up outside the Prophet's Gate, near the precinct's southwest corner. The Dome of the Prophet, about twenty cubits away and also supported on four columns, is imagined by him as the spot where Muhammad mounted al-Buraq (instead of the ladder mentioned in other texts) and ascended to heaven after having prayed on the Rock.⁶²

Nasir-i Khusraw ranks the "House of the Rock" (*khāna-i ṣakhra*) as the third holiest "House of God" (*khāna-i khudā*) after the sanctuaries in Medina and Mecca. Not mentioning the Prophet's footprint (to which Ibn al-ʿArabi refers about half a century later in the Seljuq period), he reports that the seven marks on the Rock's depressed southern side are said to be the footprints of Isaac, who walked on it as a child when Abraham came there (for the sacrifice). This was the Rock that Moses established as the qibla upon God's command, and around which Solomon built the mosque (*maṣjid*) with the Rock in its middle; it remained "the mihrab of humankind" (*mihrāb-i khalq*) towards which the Prophet Muhammad prayed until God ordered that the qibla be the "House of the Ka'ba" (*khāna-i ka'ba*). In his explanation of the sequence of events that took place on the night of the Prophet's Ascension, Nasir-i Khusraw recounts an extraordinary miracle not mentioned in previous sources, which the later texts we shall consider below elaborate upon. He reports that the Prophet "first prayed at the Dome of the Rock"; as he then moved to the site of the dome named after him, from which he later ascended to heaven, the Rock rose up in honor of his majesty. When he put his hand on it, it froze in its place, creating the cave underneath with "half of it being still suspended (*nīma mu'allāq*) in the air."⁶³ It is unclear when this belief emerged, but the "suspended Rock" would continue to attract a host of supernatural associations, testifying to the coexistence of multiple unreconciled traditions with dynamic lives of their own. According to Nasir-i Khusraw, the Rock sanctified by God was the primary focus of the grand pilgrimage complex surrounding it, built upon the foundations of Solomon's Temple, yet encompassing memories of humankind that extended far back in time to the days of Abraham and culminated in the rise of Islam.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK AS NEXUS OF INTERTWINED NARRATIVE THREADS

The commemorative sites mentioned in the sources considered above mapped onto the Haram "places of witnessing" that were closely associated with traditions praising Jerusalem (*fadā'il*), some of which were connected with Qur'anic references. Recent studies have argued that these traditions began to flourish in the second half of the seventh century and were put into writing, with later accretions, during the second half

of the eighth century, a number of them being incorporated into early-ninth-century corpuses of canonical hadith. Such traditions were sometimes transmitted by individuals serving in the Umayyad government. They were particularly popular among officially appointed preachers and storytellers (*quṣṣās*), who disseminated legends absorbed into Islamic beliefs from the Torah and the Hebrew Bible (*isrāʾīliyyāt*). That a large number of traditions concerning the merits of Jerusalem were already circulating in the Umayyad period is revealed by their inclusion in the earliest surviving commentary on the Qurʾan, written by the Khurasanian traditionist Muqatil b. Sulayman (d. 767–68), who lived during the construction of the Dome of the Rock and spent some time in Jerusalem, delivering lectures at the Aqsa Mosque to a lively audience.⁶⁴ According to an early report, he used to pray and teach near the south gate of the Dome of the Rock, where he declared the pavement of that building one of the “roofs of Paradise,” on every inch of which a prophet prayed and an angel close to God stood. One of the traditions attributed to Muqatil likens walking on the “Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis,” i.e., the paved platform enclosing it, to walking in “one of the gardens of Paradise” (*riyāḍ al-janna*).⁶⁵

It is likely that Muqatil’s Qurʾanic exegesis, which was sometimes reproached in later centuries for its anthropomorphism and reliance on Biblical elements, presents versions of stories told by the early *quṣṣās*. Although the *fadāʾil* traditions he records about Jerusalem do not represent an “official” discourse, it is noteworthy that an Umayyad governor selected him as an expert on the Qurʾan during negotiations with an anti-Umayyad revolutionary in 746. His traditions enable us to imagine the semantic horizons of early-eighth-century popular beliefs—some of them going back to the second half of the seventh century—that informed the veneration of the sanctuary in Jerusalem. Extensively transmitted by Ibn al-Faqih, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, and al-Muqaddasi (whose descriptions we have already considered), these traditions, about sixty in number, contain nearly all the narrative threads that interweave the commemorative structures of the Marwanid complex. These narratives were expanded with additional details in the more copious eleventh-century *fadāʾil* books of al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja, works largely based on local traditions compiled by al-Ramli (d. 912–13) and other scholars, which circulated in Abbasid Syria-Palestine during the ninth century.⁶⁶

Muqatil’s commentary localizes in Bayt al-Maqdis (“Holy House,” i.e., Jerusalem and its environs) past and future events chronologically extending from its creation to God’s eventual return there on the Day of Judgment. The city’s intervening history is presented as a continuum of revelations and miracles granted there by God to a chain of prophets, ending with the last prophet, Muhammad. Jerusalem is glorified as the birth and burial place of several pre-Islamic prophets, and as the place where they used to pray and make sacrifices to the one and only God. Abraham migrated to Jerusalem, where God gave him and Sarah the good tidings of the birth of Isaac. God ordered Moses to go to Jerusalem, where he saw the divine light. It was there that the sins of the repentant David and his son Solomon were pardoned by God, who granted Solomon wisdom and a kingdom the likes of which no other ruler would possess. Muqatil reports that the Ark of the Covenant and the Divine Presence ascended heavenward from Jerusalem, just as the chain descended there from heaven in David’s time. As we have seen, the Gate of the Divine Presence and the Dome of the Chain commemorate these miraculous events. According to one of the traditions transmitted by Muqatil, happy is the one who comes to the sanctuary in Jerusalem with the intent of bowing twice in prayer, for Solomon asked his God “to forgive the sins of whosoever comes to pray there for the sake of heaven.”

Other sources locate the place where Solomon was granted this wish, after having completed the Temple ordered by God, in the Haram precinct, stressing the special redemptive power of prayers performed there, which render one free of sins like a “newly born infant.” A tradition cited by Ibn al-Faqih identifies that place as the Rock itself, but most sources situate it at Solomon’s Throne or Footstool (*kursī*), a smaller rock under the present Dome of Solomon, which dates from the Ayyubid period (fig. 3[36]). This is one of the rocks at the northwest quadrant of the precinct, near the Cave of Abraham mentioned above by Ibn al-Faqih and marked by a minaret where, according to Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Abraham used to pray (fig. 3[16] and 6). Nasir-i Khusraw locates the same rock of Solomon, about as tall as a man, next to a “small masjid” surrounded by a wall no higher than a man, which he identifies as the Mihrab of David. We have seen that another mihrab along the qibla wall of the precinct commemorated the place where David repented and was granted forgiveness by God, a site identified by Ibn



Fig. 6. General view of the Haram al-Sharif from the northwest. (Photo: American Colony 235, ca. 1900–1905, Tassel no. 753. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

‘Abd Rabbih as being near the Gate of Repentance, located to the south, in the vicinity of the Mihrab of Mary (fig. 3[5, 42]).⁶⁷

Muqatil’s commentary on the Qur’an places the following holy sites in Jerusalem: the Mihrab of David, whose wall was scaled by angels (located around 951 inside the Haram by al-Istakhri, who links it with the same verse, Qur’an 38:21); the Mihrab of Mary, where angels brought her unseasonal fruits from heaven; and the Cradle of Jesus, from which the infant miraculously spoke to defend his mother (Qur’an 3:46, 5:110, 19:29). The late Fatimid mosque (ca. 1037) at the southeast corner of the precinct, comprising the Cradle of Jesus and the mihrab of his mother, replaced the former Mihrab of Mary, which according to Abbasid-period

sources was situated next to the Gate of Repentance to the south and must have also contained the cradle of her son (fig. 3[5, 44]). Muqatil stresses the eschatological identity of Jesus, who occupies a prominent position in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock. The traditions he relates attest to Jesus’s being “taken up to heaven” from Jerusalem, and declare that he is destined to descend there from heaven at the end of time, when Gog and Magog shall be destroyed after gaining control of the whole world, except for Bayt al-Maqdis. The traditions that Muqatil cites about pre-Islamic prophets are accompanied by those centered on the Prophet Muhammad’s association with Jerusalem: he and fellow Muslims prayed for a time facing Bayt al-Maqdis; he rode upon al-Buraq when he was

transported there by night from Mecca; he led the prophets in prayer in Jerusalem and saw there the keeper of Hell. Muqatil thus affirms that the destination of the Night Journey (believed by some to have been a celestial sanctuary) was the "Furthest Place of Prayer" (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*) in Jerusalem (Qur'an 17:1). He also quotes the Prophet's famous hadith, said to have been transmitted by the traditionist Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri (d. 742) at 'Abd al-Malik's request, restricting the performance of pilgrimage to only three mosques: "the Holy Mosque (Mecca), this mosque of mine (Medina), and the Furthest Mosque, that is the Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis."⁶⁸

Many of the traditions recorded by Muqatil stress cosmological and eschatological themes we have already encountered in connection with the Jerusalem sanctuary. He cites the Prophet's hadith that the first piece of earth on land that dried is the "Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis," which is closer to the heavens than any other place and is connected to the rock "mentioned by God in the Qur'an." Moreover, the first land blessed by God is Jerusalem, towards which He glances daily and to which angels descend every night. The Rock, from which all sweet water springs forth, is identified by Muqatil as the "center of the entire world," while Jerusalem is envisioned as an extension of the heavenly geography of Paradise, located directly above. According to Muqatil's exegesis, on the Day of Resurrection God will place His seat (*maqām*) upon the land of Bayt al-Maqdis, to which He referred in His saying, "unto the land that We blessed for all beings" (Qur'an 21:71); a tradition copied by al-Wasiti specifies that God meant by this verse the Rock in Jerusalem, from which all sweet water originates. The herald Israfil is destined to sound the trumpet over the Rock, which is the closest spot to the heavens and at the center of the world, calling out to the dead, "Go forth to stand for judgment before your Lord, who will breathe into you the breath of life and reward you for your deeds!" (Qur'an 17:52, 50:41). The Gathering of the Dead and the Resurrection will take place in Jerusalem, to which God will descend with the angels "under a canopy of clouds" (Qur'an 2:210). At that time Paradise will be led there "like a bride," and the sanctuary in Mecca with its Black Stone will be brought there in bridal procession as well, since on the Last Day the only pilgrimage will be to Jerusalem. The Scales of Judgment (*al-mawāzīn*) and the Bridge of Sirat will be set up there, and human beings will be divided, with some going to Paradise and others to

Hell, in accordance with the words of God concerning this mustering and accounting: "That day they shall be divided" and "On that day they shall be sundered apart" (Qur'an 30:14, 43).⁶⁹

More elaborate versions of these cosmological and eschatological traditions, which were collected in Ibn al-Faqih's geography and in the later *fadā'il* books of al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja, specifically identify the Rock as the place from which God ascended to heaven after the creation, and as the future site of His Throne (*'arsh*) of Judgment.⁷⁰ Some of the traditions are formulated as utterances directed by God to the Rock, which can speak with its projecting "tongue" (*lisān al-ṣakhra*, one of the visitation sites at the entrance of the cave, fig. 4[5]) and, like the talking Black Stone of the Ka'ba, will testify on behalf of pilgrims at the end of time.⁷¹ In one such example, God indicates the appointed sites of the signs of the Last Day to the Rock before ascending to heaven, saying, "This is My Station (*maqām*) and the place of My Throne (*mawḍi' 'arsh*) on the Day of Resurrection, and the place of the Gathering of My servants, and this to the right (west) is the place of My Paradise, and this to the left (east) is the place of My Fire, and in front of it shall I set up My Scales, for I am God, the Judge on the Day of Judgment!"⁷² In two versions of another divine utterance, God declares to the Rock that with His own hand He will place over it a "dome" (*qubba*) or "dome of light" (*qubba min nūr*) on the Day of Resurrection; it will be a resplendent dome that nobody may enter but only gaze at from afar, and everyone who has previously performed even two prostrations at the Rock will be considered blessed at that time. It is tempting to interpret the Dome of the Rock as the precursor of this eschatological dome, which will presumably replace it on the Last Day, when the Rock is transformed into a huge "white coral" (*marjān baydā*), as wide as the heavens and the earth, just as the signs of the Hour marked on the precinct will be replaced by their authentic versions.⁷³

Some scholars have argued that traditions in praise of Jerusalem were the direct consequence of the great building enterprise of 'Abd al-Malik and his sons.⁷⁴ Others contend that it was precisely because a vibrant core of these traditions was alive and current among the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine that the caliph developed the sanctuary in Jerusalem into a pilgrimage center.⁷⁵ It seems to me that both phenomena must have coexisted in the ongoing sacralization of the already hallowed precinct, which no doubt gained momentum

with the building of the Dome of the Rock and the complex around it. The site's aura of sanctity was constructed by reinterpreting its pre-Islamic memories, onto which were grafted an exegetical overlay of allusions to the Qur'an, the "new covenant" of God's selected subjects, chosen to replace the sinful Children of Israel, whose disobedience of divine commands is highlighted by narratives associated with several components of the Haram complex that we have considered above (e.g., the Gate of Remission, the Dome of the Chain, and the Gate of the Divine Presence). Traditions concerning 'Umar's real or imagined "discovery" of the Rock hidden under garbage dumped on it by the Empress Helena during the construction of the Holy Sepulcher, on the other hand, predict the divine punishment to be visited upon the Byzantines for destroying God's Temple, namely, the impending fall of Constantinople to the Muslims. Paralleling the Islamization of the pagan sanctuary of idols in Mecca (originally a monotheistic shrine built by Abraham and Ishmael at God's command), the creation of the Muslim pilgrimage complex on Jerusalem's former Temple Mount, which once served as the Prophet's qibla, involved the embracing of some old memories and the negation of others. This process of resanctification underscored Islam's position as heir to previous Abrahamic monotheistic faiths, while at the same time asserting its supremacy as the last divine revelation. It is comparable to the merging of Old and New Testament traditions on the sacred topography of the Holy Sepulcher complex in order to stress the continuity of Christianity with the superseded Hebraic past. In both cases, the selective appropriation of collective memories associated with the Temple Mount was complemented by the superimposition of new beliefs, rewritten into transformed narratives and ritually experienced as a succession of relocated "sites of witnessing."⁷⁶

While the Dome of the Rock initially had more to do with intra-Muslim religio-political rivalries, it simultaneously embodied an inter-monotheistic competition that is implicit in its inscriptions, which proclaim Islam as the "religion of truth."⁷⁷ The reactivation of the aura of the abandoned Temple Mount dramatically "recentered" Jerusalem around the venerated Rock, considered by some traditions as the navel of the earth (*omphalos*), which alternative traditions had already located at the Holy Sepulcher and the Ka'ba. The late antique central plan of the Dome of the Rock, which marked the Rock architecturally with a circle

surrounded by two octagons, therefore set up a double-edged dialogue with both of these sanctuaries.⁷⁸ Abd al-Malik's desire to surpass the Holy Sepulcher in architectural splendor (noted in al-Muqaddasi's retrospective account discussed above), was not only triggered by an ambition to divert the attention of Muslims from its seductive and dazzling beauty, but also by an aspiration to affirm the prestige of Islam in the heart of Jerusalem, a city with a predominantly Christian population. Sources critical of 'Abd al-Malik's building project claimed that he intended to divert his subjects' attention from the Ka'ba with the unrivaled beauty of the Dome of the Rock, "which greatly bewitched" them, so that "they did not go [to Mecca] at the time of the hajj or at any other time, but to Jerusalem."⁷⁹ Ibn al-Zubayr is said to have accused his rival of having "transferred the circumambulation (*tawāf*) from the House of God (the Ka'ba) to the qibla of the Children of Israel"; a descendant of one of his supporters criticized the Muslims of Syria-Palestine, who "would stand by the Rock and circumambulate it as they used to circumambulate the Ka'ba and slaughter beasts there on the day of the feast."⁸⁰

Such denunciations of the Dome of the Rock as a counter-Ka'ba have long been identified as polemical propaganda originating with the opponents of the Marwanids, but recent studies contend that it is difficult to dismiss them as complete fiction.⁸¹ 'Abd al-Malik may well have prohibited the hajj to Mecca as a temporary wartime measure, a special circumstance that would have justified his attempt at that time to divert the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁸² The confident architectural grandeur of the Dome of the Rock, however, gestures at an anticipation of final victory and a broader vision transcending the specific circumstances of the second civil war. After the conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr was resolved and the Ka'ba restored to its "original" form, the rivalry with Mecca was largely reconciled. The sanctuary in Jerusalem thereafter continued to function as an alternative regional pilgrimage center, with some of its rituals echoing those of the hajj.⁸³ Yet an ambivalent attitude towards the Rock lingered, as can be deduced from several traditions dating to late Umayyad or Abbasid times. One of them, transmitted by the scholar Raja' b. Haywa (d. 730), to whose supervision 'Abd al-Malik entrusted the construction of the Dome of the Rock, reports that the caliph 'Umar I refused the advice of the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Ahbar (d. 650s) to build a congregational mosque on the north side of the Rock, accusing him of adhering to

Jewish practices. Contrary to Ka'ba's advice, the pious caliph chose the south wall of the precinct, saying, "The Messenger of God made the front part of our mosques the qibla...we were not commanded to venerate the Rock, but to venerate the Ka'ba."⁸⁴ Another tradition asserts that 'Umar I performed only a few prostrations at the Aqsa Mosque and then "set out again on his travels without visiting the Rock."⁸⁵ Likewise, the celebrated Syrian scholar al-Awza'i (d. 774) prayed with his back to the Rock, without frequenting any of the pilgrimage places (*al-mawāṭin*), in imitation of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (the Marwanid caliph 'Umar II, r. 717–20).⁸⁶

These traditions reflect the controversy surrounding the popular veneration of commemorative sites, especially the Rock, which may have gained currency during the austere caliphate of 'Umar II, the nephew of 'Abd al-Malik, who chose his namesake as a role model. The anti-Umayyad propaganda of the Abbasid regime (established in 750) accelerated the official downplaying of the sanctity of Jerusalem, which came to rank a definitive third, after Mecca and Medina, upon the demise of the Marwanid caliphate. Nevertheless, some of its rituals recalling those of the Meccan pilgrimage had an afterlife in the Fatimid period: Nasir-i Khusraw reports that inhabitants of Syria-Palestine who were unable to go to Mecca performed the requisite hajj rituals there and offered sacrifices on the customary holiday, their numbers reaching more than 20,000 in certain years.⁸⁷ Such popular rituals persisted during Mamluk and Ottoman times as well, when they were periodically censured as reprehensible innovations.⁸⁸

I find it hardly likely that 'Abd al-Malik intended to repudiate the centrality of the Ka'ba within the religious landscape of Islam, a centrality affirmed by its appointment in the Qur'an as the new qibla of the Muslims. This would have seriously undermined his caliphal claims, and the deliberate axial alignment of the Dome of the Rock with the main mihrab of the rebuilt Aqsa Mosque contradicts such an intention. The aligning of the old and new qiblas of Islam in this scheme, punctuated by the Black Paving Stone, was legitimized by a tradition cited in the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Ishaq (d. 767) (fig. 4[1]). It states that the Prophet's qibla had been Jerusalem from the very beginning (rather than being adopted under Jewish influence upon his migration to Medina): while praying in Mecca he would stand opposite the southeastern wall of the Ka'ba, which he aligned between himself and Jerusalem.⁸⁹ The popular tradi-

tions discussed above stress the interconnectedness of the sanctuaries in Mecca and Jerusalem, which were both associated with God Himself, unlike their counterpart in Medina named after the Prophet. (Note, for example, how the Well of Zamzam was said to supply the Silwan Spring, as well as the parallels between the Black Stone and the Rock). The joint sacredness of these two sanctuaries, which are to be conjoined as bride and bridegroom at the end of time, is also attested by their shared association with Abraham and with the Prophet's Night Journey from the former to the latter, and then back again.⁹⁰

In my view, it was through this connectivity, already embedded in the collective memories of the community of believers in Syria-Palestine, that 'Abd al-Malik justified the transfer of some rituals from the Meccan sanctuary to Jerusalem, without challenging the former's supremacy.⁹¹ By creating an alternative pilgrimage center within close reach of his capital in Damascus, which would supplement rather than supplant the Ka'ba, he augmented the sanctity that spread from Jerusalem throughout his power base in greater Syria, thereby bolstering the prestige of the Marwanid caliphate. This interpretation finds support in a famous verse by the poet al-Farazdaq (d. 728 or 730), which refers to the twin sanctuaries in Mecca and Jerusalem in hierarchical order, as a complementary pair articulating the preeminence of the Marwanid caliphs, who possessed them both: "We are the lords of two [Sacred] Houses, the House of God (*bayt allāh*) [in Mecca] and the Exalted House (*bayt musharraf*) that dominates Aelia [Jerusalem]."⁹² A statement by the Hanafi jurist al-Shaybani (d. 805) also captures the legitimizing role the Marwanids attached to possessing both of these sanctuaries, which ranked above that of Medina, the city from which their family had been expelled in 683: "No one was counted among the caliphs but him who ruled over the two mosques (*al-masjidayn*), the mosque of the Haram (Mecca) and the mosque of the Holy House (Bayt al-Maqdis)."⁹³

Speculations on 'Abd al-Malik's reasons for building the Dome of the Rock have been and will remain a source of controversy because there is no clear or uncontested statement about his intentions.⁹⁴ The pious caliph, who in his youth had distinguished himself as one of the foremost religious scholars of Medina, was a leading authority on the sacred law and on matters of dogma. He is reported to have scrupulously consulted his provincial deputies and those of sound opinion before implementing his construction project,

as did Ibn al-Zubayr for the rebuilding of the Ka'ba. According to a well-known tradition, 'Abd al-Malik asked his consultants to write their views about his plan "to build a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis, in order to shelter the Muslims from cold and heat, and to construct the mosque (*masjid*, i.e., the whole precinct)." Although his critics claimed that he did so out of fear of being vilified by Ibn al-Zubayr, it seems likely to me that he deliberately publicized his building campaign as a means to rally support for his dynastic caliphate. In fact, in their approving responses, 'Abd al-Malik's deputies prayed God to accept the construction of the "house [or sanctuary] (*bayt*) and mosque (*masjid*)" as a good deed for the "commander of the believers and his ancestors." Upon obtaining their consent, the caliph delegated the supervision of the project to his financial adviser, Raja' b. Haywa (a counselor at the court of several Marwanid caliphs), and to his freedman, Yazid b. Salam, and personally traveled from Damascus to Jerusalem to oversee the initial stage of construction. This stage included the building of a "treasury" (*bayt al-māl*) to the east of the Rock, which 'Abd al-Malik filled with money to finance the project. When the supervisors completed the "Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque," they wrote the caliph a letter, assuring him that "there is nothing in the building that leaves room for criticism." The unspent gold coins were then melted down to gild the dome's exterior, which dazzled the eyes of onlookers.⁹⁵ The defensive remark of the supervisors anticipates resistance, and the reduction of the Dome of the Rock to a mere shelter against weather changes has been interpreted as "a later meddling," reflecting an attempt to minimize the Rock's sanctity. Nevertheless, the report does imply the currency of a preexisting cult of the Rock, which had remained exposed since the days of 'Umar.⁹⁶

This is also suggested by early traditions on the merits of Jerusalem that vividly capture the popular veneration of the Rock, whose multilayered associations were given "shelter" by 'Abd al-Malik's splendid dome, regardless of his personal convictions and motivations. Some of these traditions explicitly link the caliph with eschatological and apocalyptic themes. According to one, 'Abd al-Malik inquires about traditions concerning Jerusalem and is informed by the nephew of the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Ahbar that in the Holy Book (Torah) God said to Jerusalem, "There are within you six merits (*khiṣāl*): My Place/Station (*maqām*), My Judgment (*hisāb*), My Gathering (*mahshar*), My Paradise

(*janna*), My Fire (*nār*), and My Scales (*mizān*)."⁹⁷ An often-quoted statement ascribed to Ka'b himself (who died in the 650s) makes another reference to 'Abd al-Malik long before he became caliph: "It is written in one of the Holy Books: *Ārūshalāyim*, which is Bayt al-Maqdis, and the Rock (*al-sakhra*), which is called the Temple (*al-haykal*); I will send to you My servant 'Abd al-Malik, who will build you and adorn you, and I shall restore Bayt al-Maqdis to its former sovereignty (*al-mulk*) and I shall crown it with gold and silver and pearls [or corals] (*al-marjān*) and I shall send to you My creatures (*khalq*) [for the Resurrection] and I shall place My Throne on the Rock, for I am the Lord God (*Allāh al-rabb*), and David is the king of the Children of Israel." This extraordinary divine utterance resonates with early Islamic apocalyptic traditions that identify the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its sanctuary as one of the "signs of the Hour" that will usher in the destruction of Medina and the fall of Constantinople.⁹⁸ It declares on the basis of pre-Islamic scriptures that 'Abd al-Malik is predestined to build a new Muslim sanctuary on the site of the former Temple centered on the Rock, a prophecy indicating that his divinely preordained rule will restore the messianic kingdom of the House of David on the eve of the Last Days. His building project is thus represented as fulfilling not only God's vision for the end of time, but also Judeo-Christian and Muslim messianic expectations.⁹⁹

Several Jewish apocalypses regard the "restoration" of the Temple under 'Umar, Mu'awiya, and 'Abd al-Malik as a prelude to the promised messianic kingdom of the "son of David." By contrast, seventh-century Christian texts interpret these building activities as harbingers of the apocalyptic prophecy concerning "the Abomination of Desolation" (i.e., the Antichrist) that will appear at the Temple Mount prior to the Second Coming of Christ, the Davidic Messiah, whose return to earth is also awaited by the Muslims. The monk Anastasius of Sinai, writing during the construction of the Dome of the Rock (thirty years after witnessing, in Mu'awiya's time, the clearing of the Temple Mount by Egyptian workers collaborating with "demons"), therefore rejects the opinion of those who claim that "what is now being built in Jerusalem is the Temple of God," which is surely a false claim, since Christ prophesied the eternal abandonment of that cursed site after the destruction of the Jewish Temple by Titus. This suggests that some Christians may have perceived 'Abd al-Malik's construction of a new "Temple of God" on

that site as a profanation and a veritable sign of apocalyptic times.¹⁰⁰

On the basis of such texts, some scholars have argued that 'Abd al-Malik created the Dome of the Rock with the intention of "restoring the Temple." According to this argument, Islamic layers of signification were grafted onto the sanctuary only after al-Walid's completion of the Aqsa Mosque, which triggered a shift from "political" to "religious" meanings, or even later, when its association with the Temple became irrelevant.¹⁰¹ Traditions in praise of Jerusalem do link the prestige of the new sanctuary with the glorious memories of the former Temple, commanded of David by God and completed by Solomon, just as they denounce its desecration by the Byzantine empress Helena, who transformed it into a "garbage dump." The Temple of Solomon, however, is hardly even mentioned in the inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. As we have seen, the Solomonic theme is one of several threads woven into the grand narrative of the Marwanid complex, the commemorative sites of which combined references to a chain of prophets with allusions to cosmological and eschatological themes. This line of prophets, complementing other pre-Islamic prophets affiliated with the Meccan sanctuary (whose more particularistic scope was largely confined to the Arabian sphere), culminates in the Prophet Muhammad, who inherited their legacy of upholding the true religion of God while at the same time proclaiming the universality of Islam as the final stage of successive prophetic revelations.

The renowned local historian of Mamluk Jerusalem, Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi al-Hanbali (d. 1522), implicitly links 'Abd al-Malik's decision to build the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque in 66 (685–86), soon after his investiture as caliph, with his promise to his subjects at that time "to revive the Book and the Sunna, and to establish Justice." This retrospective portrayal of the patron as a restorer of religion and justice accords well with 'Abd al-Malik's caliphal self-image as a champion of Islam, which was being threatened by civil war, Byzantine incursions, sectarian factionalism, and even false claimants to prophethood.¹⁰² Celebrating the caliph's defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr, the panegyrics of al-Farazdaq narrated how "the religion of God was made victorious through the Marwanids" and referred to 'Abd al-Malik as God's agent through whom "His flock" was guided and "blind civil war" was eliminated. Elsewhere, the poet exalts the caliph as the imam to whom the believers turn:

"You are to this religion like the direction of prayer, by which people are guided from going astray." 'Abd al-Malik is hailed as the one chosen to bring the people back to the "holy covenant" (*bay'at allāh*), build mosques, conquer Byzantium, and dispel conceptual darkness. The Christian poet al-Akhtal (d. ca. 710) eulogizes the caliph in similar terms as the executor of divine victory and justice, the source of rain, and the light of guidance that illumines the land and prevents the righteous from going astray.¹⁰³

It is in this light that I will attempt to interpret 'Abd al-Malik's building project in the remaining part of this section. The grand narrative of the complex, organized around the focal point of the Dome of the Rock, can be read as an architectural commentary on the hierarchical chain of authority emanating from the one God to a series of prophets, culminating in the Prophet Muhammad, and to divinely appointed, just rulers like the prophet-kings David and Solomon, whose successor is the caliph himself. In my reading of this narrative, human agents have been selected to implement the providential design for the salvation of humankind in this world and the next, which will climax with the confirmation of God's oneness and absolute sovereignty on the Day of Judgment, when He will be enthroned on the Rock as the final judge. Supreme kingship is an essential element of cosmology and eschatology in the previously cited divine utterances addressed to the Rock, which affirm that the ultimate proof of God's absolute dominion, already demonstrated by His creative act, will be revealed on the Last Day, as declared by the Qur'an: "His will be the Sovereignty (*al-mulk*)" on that day, when eight angels will "uphold the Throne of their Lord," with a host of angels flanking its sides in the manner of an imperial court (Qur'an 6:73, 22:56, 69:17).¹⁰⁴

The narrative dimension of the pilgrimage complex was activated by its performative rituals. Sources mention the visitation of venerated places (*al-mawāḍi'*, *al-mawāṭin*) at the sanctuary during the Marwanid period, but it is unclear whether there was a prescribed itinerary that enhanced its narrativity.¹⁰⁵ Recent studies have extensively analyzed the *fada'il* book of Ibn al-Murajja, which outlines such an itinerary for the first time, accompanied by recommended invocations and prayers reflecting ritual practices current in the Fatimid era.¹⁰⁶ Although some of the Marwanid rituals described in texts had been discontinued by then, this prayer route was conditioned by the initial layout of the complex, which preserved its main out-

lines. It is therefore worthwhile to summarize Ibn al-Murajja's instructions to pilgrims (which would be transformed by new elaborations in Ottoman *fadā'il* treatises, discussed below) before turning in the next section to 'Abd al-Malik's inscriptions and mosaics at the Dome of the Rock.

Much like the list of sites enumerated by Ibn al-Faqih and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih a century and a half earlier, Ibn al-Murajja's itinerary delineates a counterclockwise circuit around the precinct, starting at the west with the Gate of David, whose name is not specified (fig. 3[1]). The first monument on the route is the Dome of the Rock, followed by its companions on the raised platform, and then by prayer stations along the outer borders of the walled enclosure. Upon entering the Dome of the Rock, the pilgrim is instructed to proceed in a clockwise direction, keeping the Rock on the right side and moving in a direction opposite that prescribed for the circumambulation of the Ka'ba. The following venerated spots are listed within the building without specifying their location or signification: "the place (*al-mawḍi'*) in which people pray," where one should touch but not kiss the Rock; the Black Paving Stone; and the cave underneath. The next site to be visited is the Prophet's Station (*maqām al-nabī*), which is discussed under a separate subheading. It may have been located either inside the Dome of the Rock—perhaps marking the place where, according to Nasir-i Khusraw, the Prophet prayed before his Ascension—or by the raised platform's southern stairway, identified by the same traveler as *maqām al-nabī* (fig. 3[23]).¹⁰⁷

The prayer route then moves to the three minor domes on that platform, each listed under its own subheading: the Dome of the Chain, followed by the Gate of Israfil (the east gate of the Dome of the Rock); the Dome of the Ascension (to the west or northwest), from which the Prophet ascended to heaven with Gabriel on a gold and silver ladder; and the Dome of the Prophet (to the north), where Gabriel gathered the angels and former prophets "resurrected (*hashar*) by God," whom the Prophet led in ritual prayer prior to his Ascension.¹⁰⁸ The two domes associated with the Prophet recall the ones described earlier by Ibn al-Faqih, namely, the Dome of the Prophet next to the station (*maqām*) of Gabriel "to the north" (probably identical with al-Muhallabi's Dome of the Gathering, *qubbat al-mahshar*), and the Dome of the Ascension "near the Rock."

The itinerary proceeds from the raised platform to the Gate of Mercy on the eastern wall (fig. 3[9]),

continuing in a counterclockwise direction with sites along the outer courtyard's periphery: in the northeast, the Mihrab of Zechariah; in the north, "the rocks in the back part of the mosque," where the pilgrim is advised to pray at the Throne of Solomon while facing the qibla (fig. 3[36]); in the west, the Gate of the Divine Presence and the Gate of Remission (fig. 3[2]); and in the south, the congregational mosque, where one should pray at the mihrabs of 'Umar and Mu'awiya, as well as other mihrabs; the Gate of the Prophet, from which he entered the precinct with Gabriel (fig. 3[4]); and the Mihrab of Mary, accompanied by the Cradle of Jesus. At this last site the pilgrim is advised to recite the Sura of Mary (Qur'an 19); the prayer Jesus made when he was raised to heaven from the Mount of Olives (a paraphrase of Qur'an 112:1–4, testifying that God did not beget a son, nor was He begotten); and Sura *Ṣād* (Qur'an 38), as the caliph 'Umar I did when he prayed at the Mihrab of David (fig. 3[42]). This implies that the mihrabs of David and Mary must have been close to each other before the construction (ca. 1037) of the late Fatimid mosque known as the Cradle of Jesus (fig. 3[44]). The prayer circuit turns from the nearby southern Gate of Repentance (fig. 3[5]) to stations outside the sanctuary, namely, the place where Gabriel tied up al-Buraq; the plain of al-Sahira on the Mount of Olives, where one should repeat the prayer of Jesus; and the Mihrab of David at the city gate (citadel), where Sura *Ṣād* must be recited again, together with David's prayer from the Psalms.

We do not know when the clockwise circumambulation of the Rock, which has been interpreted as a provision marking the difference between the holiness of Mecca and that of Jerusalem, was initiated. During the time of 'Abd al-Malik, the Dome of the Rock is reported to have been opened to the public for ritual prayer (involving two to four prostrations) only twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, prior to which attendants applied a perfumed ointment called *khalūq* to the Rock and processed around it, burning incense, inside closed curtains.¹⁰⁹ Some scholars regard these rituals as echoes of ceremonies held at the Jewish Temple, which they presume 'Abd al-Malik intended to restore, but they overlook the striking parallels with the sanctuary in Mecca: Mu'awiya is said to have been the first to perfume with *khalūq* the Ka'ba, whose door was opened on Mondays and Thursdays by the Quraysh during the Prophet's life-

time. (Mu'awiya's tomb in Damascus was likewise accessible to the public on these two days).¹¹⁰

The itinerary outlined in Ibn al-Murajja's treatise was informed by the Marwanid master plan, which largely relegated the memorial sites of the pre-Islamic past to the outer margins and gates of the precinct and had the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque occupying the central qibla axis, along which stood the Prophet's Gate, thought to have been renovated by 'Abd al-Malik. Several traditions report that upon entering the Temple Mount from this gate 'Umar recognized it to be the place described by the Prophet as the destination of his Night Journey.¹¹¹ Al-Muqaddasi gives two reasons for the curiously unbuilt state of the precinct's eastern side, one of them being the scrupulous observance of the Muslim qibla: the congregational mosque's central mihrab would not have been on the same axis as the Rock had its walls been extended further east, a circumstance that was repugnant to the Umayyads (presumably because they wanted to align the first and second qiblas). The other reason is that the caliph 'Umar reportedly said, "Reserve in the eastern part of the *masjid* a place of prayer for the Muslims"—a tradition that hints at the early identification of the wall facing the inauspicious Valley of Hell as the barrier with a gate that will separate believers from disbelievers on the Last Day (Qur'an 57:13). The prominent Gate of Mercy on that wall (later renamed the Gate of Mercy and Repentance) is also believed to have been renovated by 'Abd al-Malik.¹¹²

The mapping of this and other Qur'anic references onto the sacred topography of the pilgrimage complex was in all likelihood initiated by Mu'awiya, gaining ground with 'Abd al-Malik's comprehensive building operation. The raised platform at the middle of the precinct, crowned by the principal dome over the Rock, was surrounded by smaller Marwanid structures that were identified by the early tenth century as the Dome of the Chain, the twin domes of the Prophet, and the prayer places (*muṣallā*) or stations (*maqām*) of Gabriel and al-Khidr (the latter was often spotted worshipping at the sanctuary, where several sites came to be named after him). The commemorative structures on the platform, encasing the Rock as its foundation, underscored the liminality of this permeable border zone mediating the frontier between the heavens and the earth, as well as between time and eternity.¹¹³ Its constellation of domes brought into focus the grand narrative of the complex by evoking

the chain of authority emanating from God to the Prophet and the divinely appointed caliph.

Let us first consider the Dome of the Chain, whose construction is generally attributed to 'Abd al-Malik (figs. 4 and 7[a, b]). Some scholars believe that it is identical with the Public Treasury (*bayt al-māl*) built by him on the east side of the Rock prior to his departure from Jerusalem, speculating that its dome must have featured a now-lost upper storage space. If so, it may be the treasury mentioned in a Syriac chronicle dated 716, which reports that al-Walid I "assembled all the treasure of the Saracens, hoarding it and putting it into a single treasury in Jerusalem, the holy city, which people say is the center of the earth."¹¹⁴ The Dome of the Chain has persuasively been identified as the dome "next to the Rock," where al-Walid's successor, Sulayman, sat while receiving the oath of allegiance as caliph and distributing gifts, money, and robes of honor to his subjects.¹¹⁵ The next caliph, 'Umar II, summoned Sulayman's district governors to Jerusalem to make them swear oaths by the Rock that they had committed no wrongdoing, probably judging their testimony from under the neighboring Dome of the Chain.¹¹⁶ This open domical building, then, seems to have been used by the Marwanids (and presumably by their deputies) on state occasions for the reception of oaths and the administration of justice. It can therefore be interpreted as an architectural representation of the pivotal authority of the Marwanid caliphs, who were often associated in poetry with the concept of *qub* (pivot, celestial pole). Geographically marking the epicenter of the precinct and axially aligned with a lateral mihrab of the Aqsa Mosque that was later identified with the caliph 'Umar I (fig. 3[41d]), the Dome of the Chain is composed of an inner and outer arcade and features a prayer niche added to its qibla side. According to Ibn al-Faqih, the prayer place of al-Khidr was located "in front of it," in the "middle of the mosque precinct" (*wasat al-masjid*).¹¹⁷

The Dome of the Chain is linked in a tradition we have already considered with the "place (*al-mawḍi'*) in front of the Rock" where the chain was suspended from heaven in the time of David; this was where the Prophet Muhammad saw the virgins of Paradise during his Night Journey. The dome is identified in another tradition, and in the guidebook of al-Harawi (1173), as the place where Solomon dispensed justice.¹¹⁸ Its association with the divinely guided justice of David and Solomon—both of whom are identified in the Qur'an as judges whose judgments were "witnessed" by God



DOME OF THE CHAIN.

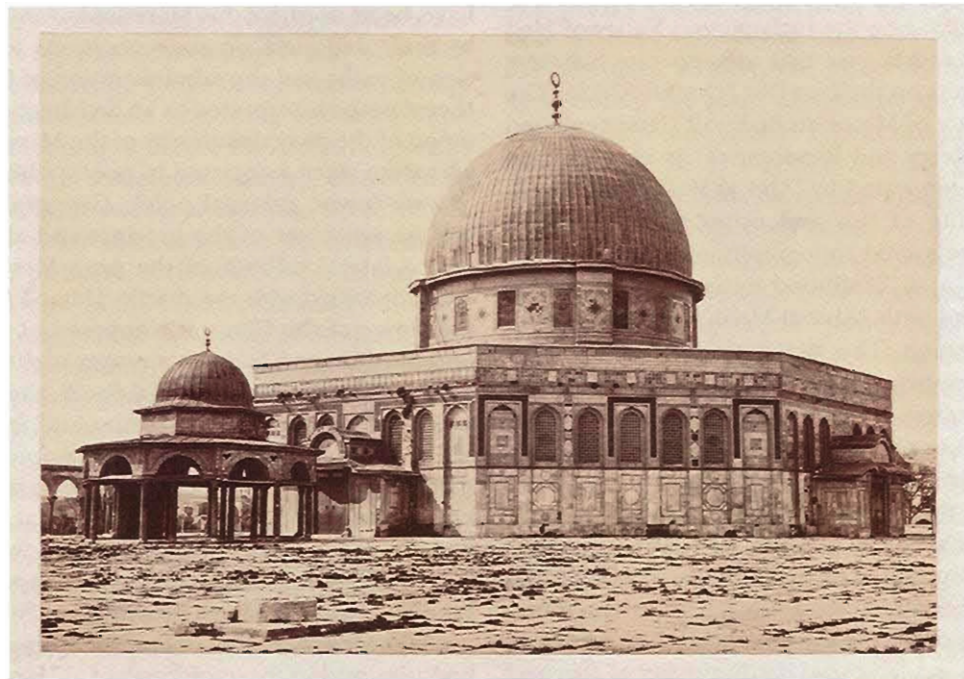


Fig. 7, a and b. a. Dome of the Chain, from the north. (Photo: James McDonald, after Charles William Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* [London, 1865]. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library) b. Dome of the Chain with the Dome of the Rock, from the northeast. (Photo: unidentified photographer, ca. 1870, Tassel no. 69. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

(Qur'an 21:78)—connects the Marwanid caliphs with this dynastic pair of prophet-kings, who are upheld as their role models in al-Farazdaq's poetry. Through comparison with the House of David, 'Abd al-Malik and his sons arguably assumed a messianic aura, another leitmotif in al-Farazdaq's panegyrics. The dynastic implications of this comparison are also apparent in his verses, one of which states that al-Walid I inherited sovereignty (*mulk*) from his father like Solomon from David, as a bequest from God. The caliph Sulayman, who in particular modeled his persona after his namesake, Solomon, is eulogized by al-Farazdaq as a *mahdī* (restorer of religion and justice) and as the righteous *imām* in the *masjid al-aqṣā*, who guides the community of believers along the straight path. The poet similarly compares Ayyub and his father Sulayman to David and Solomon in upholding the law, which keeps those who follow it from going astray.¹¹⁹

According to a tradition attributed to Raja' b. Haywa, when the caliph 'Umar I entered the sanctuary in Jerusalem, he prayed at the Mihrab of David. There he recited Sura *Ṣād* (Qur'an 38), which mentions the mihrab, as well as the sura whose first verse refers to *al-masjid al-aqṣā* (Qur'an 17), thereby linking the site of the Prophet's Night Journey with the Temple Mount.¹²⁰ In Sura *Ṣād*, God forgives the repentant David and appoints him His "deputy/caliph (*khalīfa*) on earth," so that he may rightfully judge humankind without being diverted from the divine path. This sura resonates with the image that 'Abd al-Malik fashioned for himself as God's caliph on earth. He is portrayed in court poetry as a judge comparable to David in justice, and a famous theologian is said to have cited this Qur'anic passage in reponse to the caliph's question about how he would be judged by God, urging him to abide by the same obligations divinely imposed on David. It is therefore tempting to propose that the Dome of the Chain, associated with Davidic justice, embodied 'Abd al-Malik's claim to the title "God's caliph" (*khalīfat allāh*).¹²¹

Recent interpretations of Marwanid caliphal ideology have shown that the alleged absence of theological justification for their dynastic regime is hardly convincing. Based on late Marwanid texts in which this ideology crystallized, it has been argued that God and the Prophet were seen as complementary constituents of the title "God's caliph." As deputies of God and upholders of the Prophet's tradition (*sunna*), the Marwanid caliphs claimed to be divinely appointed executors of the sacred law and preservers of the true

religion revealed by God to the last prophet, Muhammad, at a critical moment in history, when the formerly disclosed "signs had become erased and hidden." They thus considered themselves the post-prophetic, caliphal agents of God's historical plan for humankind and the means of salvation for Muslims in this world and the next.¹²² Choosing the rightful caliph was to choose one's "vehicle of salvation"; according to a saying attributed to the Prophet, "He who dies without being bound at his neck by an oath of allegiance to the representative of authority dies a *jāhili* (pagan) death." Hence, al-Hajjaj, the celebrated governor of 'Abd al-Malik and his successor, professed to believe not only in the unity of God and the messengership of Muhammad, but also in obedience to the caliph al-Walid—"on this he would live, on this he would die, and on this he would be resurrected." Obedience to God, then, was equivalent to obeying God's caliph on earth, the protector of the "sovereignty of the Lord" and of the unity of the Prophet's community (*umma*) against external enemies and internal schism.¹²³

The claim of the Marwanid caliphs to the legacy of the Prophet, in terms sympathetic to their own regime, was essential for maintaining their link to the universal chain of prophets within a salvation history divided into two eras, both of them entrusted to God's agents on earth: that of the prophets (which had come to an end) and that of the caliphs.¹²⁴ The two minor domes commemorating the Prophet on the raised platform of the Rock were therefore crucial components of the Marwanid complex. These edifices are intimately linked with the combined narratives of the Prophet's Night Journey (*isrā'*) and of his Ascension (*mi'rāj*), which I believe were integral to 'Abd al-Malik's grand narrative rather than an afterthought introduced during the reign of his successor. Grabar has recently argued that by the end of the seventh century the Prophet's Night Journey had already been connected with the vision of his ascent to heaven, an event associated at that time with the whole precinct rather than just the Rock.¹²⁵ This connection was articulated in Ibn Ishaq's *Life of the Prophet*, in which the Night Journey and the Ascension are linked with the sanctuary in Jerusalem and amalgamated on the basis of varying reports, including those of Mu'awiya and the scholar Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri, who was closely affiliated with 'Abd al-Malik and later Marwanid caliphs. Ibn Ishaq interprets the Prophet's Night Journey, followed by his Ascension, as "an act of God by which He took him by night in what way He pleased to show

him His signs, which He willed him to see so that he witnessed His mighty sovereignty and power by which He does what He wills to do."¹²⁶

Like Muqatil, al-Zuhri associated the sanctuary in Jerusalem, where he apparently heard 'Abd al-Malik deliver a sermon, with the famous verse of the sura known as the "Night Journey" or "Children of Israel" (Qur'an 17:1): "Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Place of Prayer (*al-masjid al-harām*, i.e., Mecca) to the Furthest Place of Prayer (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*), the precincts of which We have blessed, that We might show him some of Our signs. He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing." As he was praying at its venerated sites during a pilgrimage, al-Zuhri is reported to have indignantly recited this verse to a shaykh there, who was transmitting traditions in praise of Jerusalem from the "Holy Books." This episode reflects an attempt to assert the primacy of the Qur'anic justification for the sanctity of the sanctuary over popular beliefs drawn from the *isrā'iliyyāt*.¹²⁷ The Islamic status of the Rock, referred to above by Nasir-i Khusraw as the "former qibla of humankind" toward which the Muslims once prayed, is also stressed in a tradition ascribed to al-Zuhri, which connects the Rock's holiness with the Qur'anic verse mentioning "the land We have blessed for all beings" (Qur'an 21:71). This tradition declares that since Adam came to earth, God sent no prophet without appointing as his qibla the "Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis"—until the time of the Prophet himself, who, after the qibla direction was changed by divine command, turned his face to the Ka'ba. An extant mihrab on the northeast corner of the Rock is notably labeled the "Qibla of the Prophets" on a plan dating from the late Ottoman period (fig. 15[3]).¹²⁸

The reference of verse 17:1 to the sanctuary in Jerusalem is strongly implied by an intertextual reading of the verses that follow it in the 'Uthmanic rescension of the Qur'an, the written corpus of which existed in the second half of the seventh century, according to a tradition transmitted from al-Zuhri. These verses mention how the Temple was destroyed twice to punish the Children of Israel, who had strayed from the guidance of the scripture given to Moses. They also refer to the revelation of the Qur'an to the Prophet as a guide to the straightest path to salvation on the "day when He will call you" (Qur'an 17:52)—a verse linked in Muqatil's exegesis with "the Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis," where Israfil will summon the dead. The sura includes an explicit allusion to the Prophet's real or

visionary ascent to heaven, when "We appointed the vision which We showed you as an ordeal for mankind" (Qur'an 17:60), interpreted by Muqatil as a "vision" granted during the Night Journey (*al-isrā'*) to Jerusalem. The sura is replete with eschatological references to the painful doom awaiting disbelievers in the Hereafter and the "day when We will summon each community, along with its leader (*imām*)" (Qur'an 17:71). It ends with an affirmation of the truth of the Qur'an as revealed to the "mortal messenger," who was sent as "a bearer of good tidings and a warner," so that he might recite it to humankind, together with praises exalting the greatness of God, "who has not taken unto Himself a son," and who has "no partner in Sovereignty (*al-mulk*)" (Qur'an 17:111). This last verse, quoted in 'Abd al-Malik's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock, is presented in Muqatil's commentary as a message addressed to some Jews and the Christians, who respectively regarded the prophet 'Uzayr (Ezra) or Jesus as the son of God, and to the Arabs, who believed angels to be partners of God.¹²⁹

The omission of verse 17:1 from the inscription program of the Dome of the Rock has led most scholars to conclude that it was not at that time associated with the sanctuary in Jerusalem. However, it may simply have been omitted because it was inscribed on the congregational mosque renovated by Mu'awiya, which was rebuilt by 'Abd al-Malik and his son. During a visit in 1173, al-Harawi saw this verse quoted in a now-lost inscription on the Aqsa Mosque's dome, which recorded its renovation by the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir in 426 (1035) and probably copied an earlier Umayyad inscription. Another inscription of the same caliph, undated and executed on mosaics, still exists above the "triumphal arch" of the mosque's domed mihrab area. It, too, quotes the same verse referring to *al-masjid al-aqṣā*, a verse that must have been more closely linked with the congregational mosque to the south (whose name was associated with the whole precinct) than with the Dome of the Rock itself.¹³⁰

Regardless of the ways in which the scenario of the Prophet's Night Journey-cum-Ascension was construed in contradictory reports, the "signs" of God's kingdom that were revealed to him at that time included a vision of Hell and Paradise. He also saw "the lote tree of the furthest boundary" (*sidrat al-muntahā*) close to the "garden of refuge" (*jannat al-ma'wā*) at the foot of the divine Throne, "one of the greater signs," where his gaze "neither turned aside nor exceeded the bounds" (Qur'an 17:60, 53:1–18). The Prophet was thus given

a preview, as a "witness" for humanity, of some of the signs that would appear on and around the Rock during the imminent day of reckoning. This "vision" underscores the apocalyptic aspect of the Prophet's mission as "a bearer of good tidings and a warner" (Qur'an 17:105), which according to Muqatil's exegesis is a reference to Paradise and Hell.¹³¹ The Night Journey and Ascension, then, were closely connected with a central theme of the Jerusalem sanctuary, the Judgment, and therefore played a significant role in mediating the remembrance of the past and the anticipation of the eschatological future in the grand narrative of the Marwanid complex.

Analyzing the divergent accounts concerning the location of the Prophet's Ascension and the sequence of events before and after it is beyond the scope of this essay. To give an example, one of the versions recorded by Ibn Ishaq reports that the Prophet went with Gabriel "to see the wonders between heaven and earth" before praying with earlier prophets at the sanctuary in Jerusalem, whereas the Ascension took place after this prayer, according to another account in the same source.¹³² We have also seen that later on the Persian traveler Nasir-i Khusraw imagined the Prophet to have risen to heaven from the Dome of the Ascension on al-Buraq, whereas local traditions copied by al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja envisioned his ascent from that dome on a ladder, stressing the tying up of his steed outside the southwest corner of the sanctuary, where former prophets used to leave their mounts. The controversy about the site of the Prophet's Ascension is hinted at in Ibn al-Murajja's discussion of a tradition on the ladder (*mi'rāj*). He says, "No one disagrees that the Prophet ascended from it at the dome known as *qubbat al-mi'rāj*, since God Almighty [Himself] ascended to heaven from the Rock, and the Prophet was borne up to heaven from the aforementioned dome." This tautological statement shows an awareness of alternative traditions according to which the Prophet ascended from the Rock itself.¹³³ One such tradition, recorded by al-Wasiti, is a saying of the Prophet transmitted by his companion Abu Hurayra (died ca. late 670s), in which Gabriel points to the Rock during the Night Journey and says, "Here your Lord ascended to heaven"; the Prophet then leads the earlier prophets in ritual prayer at the Rock and from there ascends to heaven.¹³⁴ According to the previously cited statement of al-Ya'qubi (ca. 874), 'Abd al-Malik also told the people of Syria-Palestine that the Rock was the place on which the Prophet "set

his foot when he ascended to heaven." Another early report, however, quotes the caliph as saying, "This is the Rock of the All-Compassionate upon which He has set His foot."¹³⁵

Irrespective of these varying accounts, the design of the sanctuary itself suggests that the scenario of the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension was conceptualized as a narrative sequence of events, starting at the Gate of the Prophet and culminating at the Rock enclosed within the paved platform. The holiest spot on its summit, punctuated by the Dome of the Rock, seems to have been envisioned by 'Abd al-Malik and his advisers as the former qibla of humanity and the Prophet. Regardless of whether or not it featured the Prophet's footprint at that time, this was one of the most blessed places on earth, from which God rose to heaven and to which He would return at the end of time. The paved platform covering the rest of the Rock was marked by subsidiary domes commemorating the Prophet and affirming the pivotal role of the caliph in the divine plan. These structures were dominated by the monumental Dome of the Rock, which tied together the multiple narrative threads of the complex by exalting the supreme dominion of the merciful and forgiving God. Let us now turn to the inscriptions and mosaics that lend support to this interpretation, for, as Grabar remarks, the receiver of their message is ultimately "God, who is commemorated in the building."¹³⁶

'ABD AL-MALIK'S INSCRIPTIONS AND THE MOSAICS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK

Like the domes grouped on the raised platform, 'Abd al-Malik's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock focus on three interrelated themes: the absolute sovereignty and mercy of God, the privileged position of the Prophet Muhammad, and the divine origin of earthly authority. The Christological passages cited from the Qur'an, which are generally interpreted as anti-Christian polemics, constitute a subset of the theme of God's indivisible oneness, with no partner in sovereignty—a central precept of Islam. The eschatological passages affirm yet another principal tenet, belief in "God and the Last Day." They, too, can be subsumed under the theme of God's absolute dominion, with sovereign freedom to bestow and withhold mercy or to grant intercession on the Day of Judgment.

‘Abd al-Malik’s epigraphic program lends itself to a wide range of interpretations.¹³⁷ His inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock have been related to the heightened public prominence given Qur’anic citations in his personal seal, coins, milestones, and papyrus rolls, which quote a similar set of verses or closely related variants that reiterate the main dogmas of Islam officially upheld by the Marwanid polity. His partially preserved inscriptions on the building combine verbatim quotations from the Qur’an and paraphrases of Qur’anic passages with repeated professions of faith (*shahāda*) and invocations, forming a continuous litany.¹³⁸ These not easily legible, angular Kufic inscriptions, concentrated on both sides of the inner octagonal arcade, are executed in glass mosaic with gold letters against a dark blue ground. They are complemented by two epigraphic panels in the same color scheme, painted on bronze plaques; these have been removed from the lintels of the building’s north and east entrances.

In addition to the two lost plaques on the south and west gates, which featured inscriptions seen by al-Harawi in 1173, other Umayyad epigraphs may have disappeared as well, particularly around the more lavishly decorated innermost core of the building, which is surrounded by a circular arcade. It is difficult to imagine that there were no inscriptions on the inner surfaces of the drum and the dome itself, the focal points of pictorial iconographic programs in comparable centrally planned Byzantine commemorative structures (figs. 8 and 9). Sources from the Crusader period mention Latin inscriptions, accompanied by others in Arabic, both inside and outside the Dome of the Rock.¹³⁹ The Ayyubid cursive inscription band (Qur’an 20:1–21) in gold-on-green mosaic that now encircles the base of the lower drum’s inner face is generally believed to have replaced a Latin inscription, which may have replaced an original Umayyad text (fig. 10).¹⁴⁰ Even if the likely predecessor of the Ayyubid inscription quoted different Qur’anic passages, it is worth noting that these verses from Sura *Tā Hā* refer to the revelation of the Qur’an to the Prophet by the merciful creator of the heavens and the earth, “who is established on the Throne” and to whom belongs “whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth, and whatsoever is between them, and whatsoever is beneath the sod.” Intimating the Rock’s cosmological significance, the quoted verses also emphasize eschatology by alluding to the approaching Hour, and to God’s servant, Moses, whose staff is one of the “signs”

bestowed upon him as proofs of divine sovereignty. Given that the Rock under the dome is associated in several sources with Moses, the striking absence of any reference to him in ‘Abd al-Malik’s inscriptions may well be an accident of preservation.

The Throne Verse (Qur’an 2:255), cited on a “gilt silver inscription” (*al-kitāba bi’ l-faḍḍ al-mudhahhab*), seen by al-Harawi on “the roof of this dome” (*saqf hādhihi al-qubba*) during the Crusader occupation, likewise alludes to the divine Throne and to God’s sovereignty. This was in all likelihood the renewed version of an Umayyad inscription, which may have been replaced when the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir rebuilt the partially collapsed wooden dome and renovated the mosaics of its drum (fig. 10), repairs that are recorded by epitaphs dated 413 (1022–23) and 418 (1027–28). The dome inscription is the only Qur’anic quotation inside the Dome of the Rock mentioned by al-Harawi, probably because of its prominent position as a counterpoint to al-Zahir’s now-lost inscription citing verse 17:1 and bearing the renovation date 426 (1035), which al-Harawi saw on the Aqsa Mosque’s dome (*saqf qubbat al-aqsā*). The Throne Verse, presently inscribed on a gilded late Ottoman epigraphic band (c. 1874–75) encircling the apex of the wooden cupola, testifies to the palimpsestic character of the Dome of the Rock’s periodically rewritten and redecorated surfaces (fig. 9). Another late Ottoman inscription band surrounding the outer edge of the dome records its successive repairs by the Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din in 586 (1190), the Mamluk ruler al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala’un in 718 (1318–19), and the Ottoman rulers Mahmud I in 1156 (1743–44) and ‘Abd al-‘Aziz in 1291 (1874–75). These and other post-Umayyad epigraphs raise the distinct possibility that ‘Abd al-Malik’s remaining inscriptions do not constitute a self-contained, intact corpus, as is generally assumed.¹⁴¹

The Throne Verse that al-Harawi saw inscribed on or around the dome must have been, in my view, an integral part of the original epigraphic program; it is probably no coincidence that the same verse is partially quoted at the beginning of the two extant bronze plaques (once fixed to the lintels of the north and east gates, as previously mentioned), which provide a preview of themes more fully elaborated inside the building. This verse sets the tone for the interior inscriptions by affirming the majestic glory of the enthroned deity, whose eternal kingdom comprises the entire universe, created and maintained by Him. It not only alludes to the divine Throne, a vision of which was granted

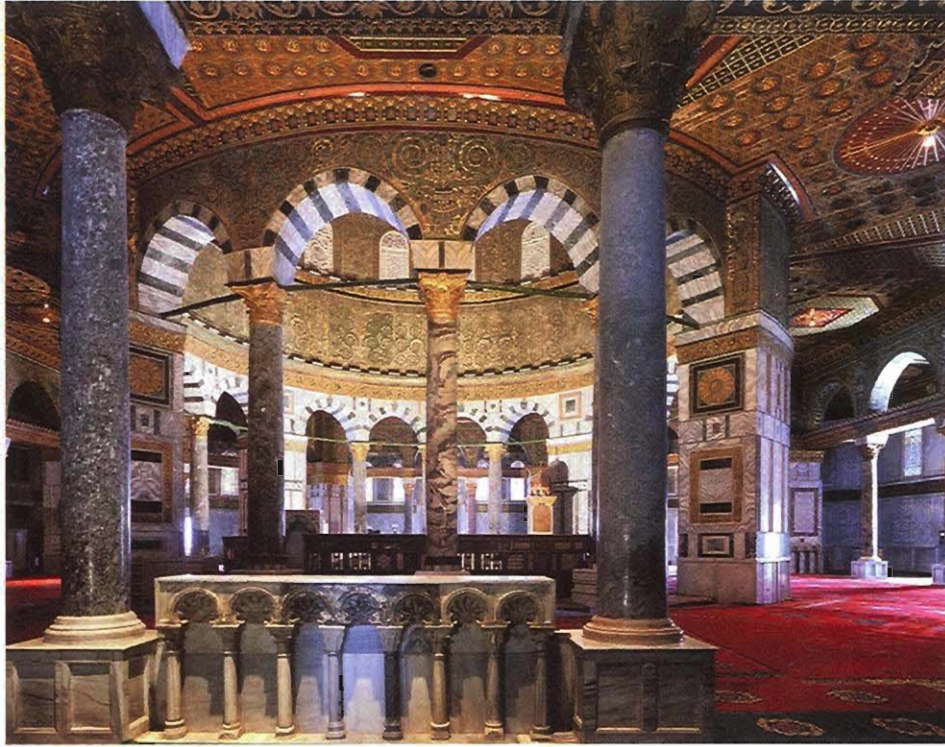


Fig. 8. Dome of the Rock, interior view from the north. Marble screen with arcade of "mihrabs" between two columns in the foreground. (Photo: GRABAR, Oleg; *The Shape of the Holy*. © 1996 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)

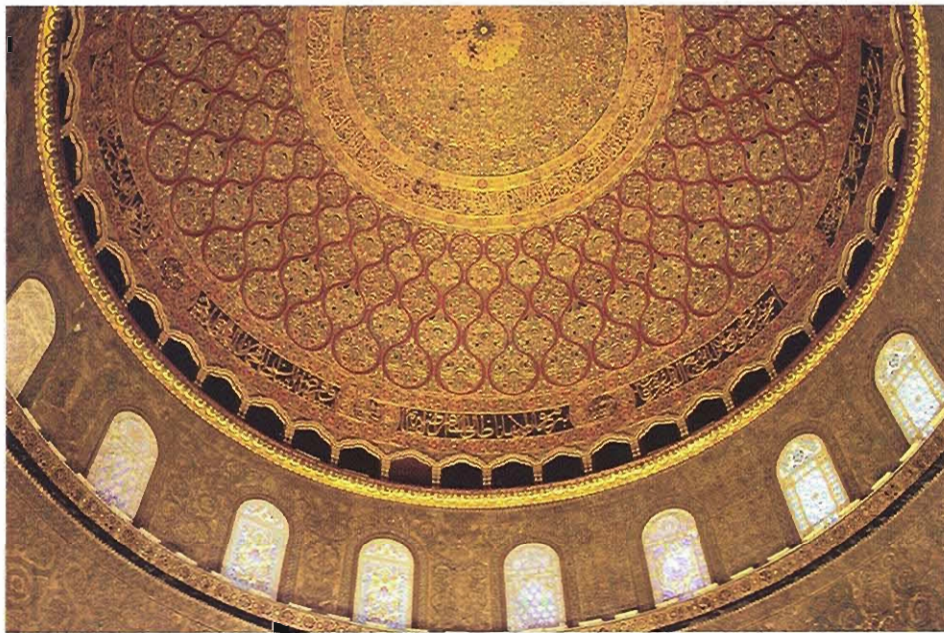


Fig. 9. Dome of the Rock, interior view of upper drum register and dome. (Photo: Hanan Isachar/Corbis)

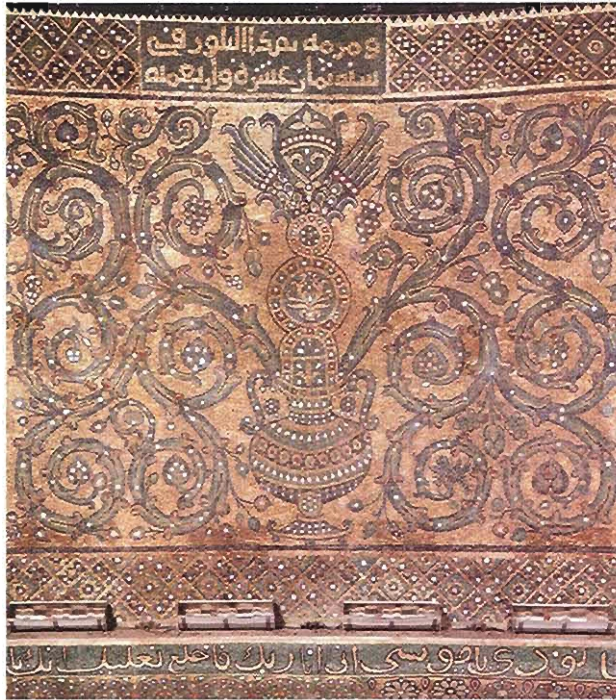


Fig. 10. Dome of the Rock, mosaic panel on the lower drum register with Fatimid and Ayyubid inscriptions, northwest. (Photo: GRABAR, Oleg; *The Shape of the Holy*. © 1996 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)

to the Prophet as one of the “signs” of God’s absolute sovereignty, but also contains clear hints about the Last Judgment and the possibility of intercession at that time with His permission alone:

God! There is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal. Neither does slumber affect Him, nor sleep. To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that can intercede with Him [on the Day of Judgment] except by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is behind them, and they comprehend not even a little of His knowledge except what He will. His Throne encompasses the heavens and the earth, and He tires not from preserving them. He is the All-High, the All-Glorious.¹⁴²

The dome inscription quoting the Throne Verse can be interpreted as a verbal counterpart to the iconographical subject of *Maiestas Domini*, associated with pilgrimage to the Holy Land and with the second coming of the enthroned Christ as the son of God to judge humankind. As such, it negates the salvation

paradigm promoted by the Holy Sepulcher, a multifocal pilgrimage complex comparable to the Haram, that comprised at that time a basilical church, a baptistery, and several sites of witnessing: the Rock of Calvary (Golgotha, identified as the *omphalos*), featuring a cave underneath and crowned by a monumental cross memorializing the “life-giving” crucifixion of Christ, and the domed rotunda (Anastasis) of Christ’s empty tomb, commemorating his entombment and resurrection—events that the Qur’an denies took place. This denial is rooted in the Muslim veneration of “Jesus, the son of Mary,” as the word and spirit of God, who was beyond the dishonor of death on the cross and hence raised up alive to heaven; he will die and be resurrected only with the rest of humankind and the angels, when the enthroned deity will judge all created beings.¹⁴³ Defending the Orthodox Byzantine viewpoint, John of Damascus (d. ca. 750), who descended from an influential family of Christian finance ministers employed at the Umayyad court and became a monk near Jerusalem, noted that among the main issues at stake was the Muslim emphasis on the absolute “monarchy” of God. Thoroughly acquainted with the Christology of the Qur’an, which he discredited as the “scripture” that the “false prophet” Muhammad claimed to have been sent down from heaven, John defined the “heresy of the Ishmaelites” as an amalgamation of borrowed concepts: from the Jews, absolute monotheism (“monarchy”); from the Arians, the affirmation that the word and spirit of God are created; and from the Nestorians, anthropolatry, the idea that Christ was merely a human being. This statement pinpoints the most essential theological differences of the “Ishmaelites” as perceived by an Orthodox Christian theologian who flourished in Umayyad Syria-Palestine—a perception with which the Dome of the Rock’s inscription program resonates by virtue of its proclamation of central Islamic precepts.¹⁴⁴

Let us now turn to the bronze plaques removed from the north and east gates, each ending with a prayer asking God to bless the Prophet and a statement in a different script that the inscription was ordered by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma’mun in 216 (831), which probably replaced a reference to ‘Abd al-Malik.¹⁴⁵ The inscription on the north panel begins with the *basmala*, “In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate,” and a praise of the unique and eternal God, who is indivisible, has no partner, and neither begets nor is begotten, for there is none like Him (Qur’an 2:255; 3:2; 112). This is followed by an enunciation

of the Prophet Muhammad's missionary role and his link to earlier prophets who received the same revelation prescribing total submission to the one God. Unlike the divisive "polytheists," who reject the universal "religion of truth," the community of believers is enjoined to believe in God and whatever was revealed to Muhammad and his predecessors, a message echoed by the venerated prayer places of former prophets marked on the Haram itself:

Muhammad is the servant of God and His messenger, whom he sent with guidance and the religion of truth (din al-ḥaqq) to proclaim it over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it (Qur'an 9:33, 48:28, 61:9). Let us believe in God and what was revealed to Muhammad and in what was given to the prophets from their Lord; we make no distinction between any of them and we submit (are Muslims) to Him (Qur'an 2:136, 3:84).

The Prophet's mission, then, is both a continuation and a culmination of the true monotheistic faith, upheld by the chain of prophets and patriarchs listed in both versions of the partially quoted last verses: Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, the Tribes, Moses, and Jesus. The inscription ends with an invocation imploring God to bless Muhammad, His servant and prophet, granting him peace, mercy, grace, and forgiveness. The panel's position on the north door, which leads to the Black Paving Stone that marked the conjunction of the two qiblas of Islam and was believed to have been situated over one of the gates of Paradise, implies that the "religion of truth" revealed to the Prophet is the key to salvation in the promised eternal gardens (fig. 4[1]).

The panel at the east gate, facing the Dome of the Chain, once again stresses the supreme sovereignty of God, the creator and final judge from whom all power originates and to whom it returns. Alluding to cosmological concepts, the inscription starts with the *basmala* and a praise of the unique and eternal God, the creator of the heavens and the earth, the light of the heavens and the earth (parts of Qur'an 2:255; 3:2; 2:117; 24:35; 6:101), and the upholder of the heavens and the earth. The confirmation of the absolute oneness and transcendence of God, who neither begets nor is begotten, is repeated (Qur'an 112), accompanied by another praise of the merciful Lord as the source of earthly authority. This is an implicit reference to the divinely ordained, just rule of the Marwanid caliphate signified by the contiguous Dome of the Chain: "Master of sovereignty, You give sovereignty

(mulk) to whom You wish and You take sovereignty away from whom You wish" (Qur'an 3:26)." The text then highlights the eschatological dimension of divine kingship and mercy: "All sovereignty is to You and comes from You, our Lord, and it returns to You [on the Last Day], Lord of Glory, the Merciful, the Compassionate. He has written mercy for Himself, His mercy extends to all things" (Qur'an 6:12 and 7:156).

The epigraphic panel ends with a litany glorifying God and invoking the divine names; it is a touching plea by the community of believers for the intercession of the Prophet during the final judgment:

Glory to Him and may He be exalted over what polytheists associate [with Him]. O God, we pray to You that You may grant us—through Your beautiful names, Your noble face, Your elevated majesty, and Your perfect word by which You preserve the heavens and the earth, through Your mercy which shelters us from Satan and saves us from Your punishment on the Day of Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*), through Your overflowing generosity, through Your kindness, through Your gentleness and Your omnipotence, through Your forgiveness and Your magnanimity—Your blessing upon Muhammad, Your servant and Your prophet, and that You may accept his intercession for his community (*umma*). May God bless him and grant him mercy.

Although the Qur'an emphasizes the absoluteness of divine kingship and justice on the Last Day, this plea for the Prophet's eschatological intercession is encouraged by mitigating passages (including the Throne Verse quoted several times in the building itself) that refer to God's granting permission to whomever He wishes to intercede on that day. Hope in the Prophet's intercession, which is nothing but the reconciling of divine justice with mercy through his mediation, was furthermore based on a verse in the Sura of the Night Journey (Qur'an 17:79), in which Muhammad is instructed to offer supererogatory prayers so that "perhaps your Lord may raise you to a praiseworthy station" (*maqām mahmūd*). This has been interpreted by some early exegetes as a station reserved for the Prophet near the divine Throne on the Day of Judgment, which according to Muqatil's commentary is his "station of intercession" (*maqām al-shafā'a*).¹⁴⁶

The mosaic inscription band on the outer face of the octagonal arcade, the first epigraph encountered upon entering the building, features distinct prayers each starting with the *basmala*, which repeatedly invokes God as Merciful and Compassionate. It ends with the foundation inscription, which preserves the date 72

(691–92) but substitutes for the founder's name that of al-Ma'mun (fig. 11, a and b). Studies have noted that this text establishes a clockwise movement, beginning in the south and ending in the southeast, whereas the epigraphic band on the inner face of the same arcade starts in the south and ends in the southwest, following a counterclockwise movement.¹⁴⁷ The composite text on the arcade's outer face fuses Qur'anic citations and extra-Qur'anic litanies, which alternate praises of God with blessings upon the Prophet. As such, the prayers constitute expanded versions of the *shahāda* (testifying to belief in God and His messenger) inscribed on 'Abd al-Malik's personal seal, coins, and papyrus rolls to articulate the official creed of the Marwanid state.¹⁴⁸

The first prayer, beginning at the corner between the south and southeast sides of the octagonal arcade, faces the southern entrance, generally known as the Qibla Gate (fig. 11a). Inserted between the two parts of the *shahāda* is Sura *Ikhhlās* (Qur'an 112), which is also quoted on both of the surviving gate panels; this sura is one of the most explicit avowals of the oneness of the eternal God, who neither begets nor is begotten, and is without equal.¹⁴⁹ The next Qur'anic citation, between the southwest and west sides, is preceded by the *shahāda*; it testifies to the Prophet's honored status in the divine court and urges believers to send their blessings on him: "God and His angels shower their blessings on the Prophet; you who believe, send blessings on him and salute him with a worthy greeting" (Qur'an 33:56). Framed between the two parts of the *shahāda*, the subsequent verse from the Sura of the Night Journey (between the west and northwest sides) attests to God's sovereign omnipotence by means of an invocation that the Prophet is instructed to recite to humankind: "[Say] Praise be to God, who begets no son, and who has no partner in the sovereignty (al-mulk), nor any protector out of humility, and magnify His greatness" (Qur'an 17:111). This is followed on the north side by a short prayer on behalf of the Prophet: "May God, His angels, and His messengers bless him, and God grant him peace and mercy."

The theme of divine sovereignty is further amplified by a conflation of two verses on the north and northeast sides, bracketed by the two parts of the *shahāda*, and a supplication asking God to bless the Prophet and grant him eschatological intercession: "There is no god but God alone, without partner. To Him belongs the sovereignty (*al-mulk*) and to Him belongs the praise (*al-hamd*). He is the giver of

life and death, and He has power over everything (Qur'an 64:1; 57:2). Muhammad is God's messenger, may God bless him and accept his intercession on the Day of Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*) for his community (*umma*)." The epigraphic band ends between the east and southeast sides with the *shahāda* and the foundation inscription, thereby juxtaposing references to God, the Prophet, and the caliph: "There is no god but God alone, without partner; Muhammad is God's messenger, may God bless him. God's servant ['Abd al-Malik], commander of the believers, built this dome (*al-qubba*) in the year seventy-two; may God accept it from him and be pleased with him. Amen. Lord of the Worlds. To God belongs praise" (fig. 11b).

In its combination of verses and invocations that primarily glorify God with prayers on behalf of the Prophet and the reigning caliph, the inscription band echoes the theme of the hierarchical chain of authority embodied in the cluster of domes on the raised platform. References to blessings showered on the Prophet by God, the angels, and the earlier prophets not only affirm his role in mediating between the heavens and the earth but also carry intimations of his Night Journey and Ascension. The petition made for the Prophet's intercession on the northeast side of the arcade, paralleled by its longer counterpart on the east gate panel, faces the direction of the Mount of Olives, where the gathering of resurrected beings is destined to take place on the plain of al-Sahira.¹⁵⁰ That is why the eastern staircase of the platform and a gate on the eastern wall of the precinct eventually came to be named after al-Buraq, on which the Prophet is to be transported to his station near the divine Throne as future intercessor for his community (fig. 3[8, 33]).¹⁵¹ The placement of the caliph's dedicatory inscription to the southeast suggests that the main entrance into the Dome of the Rock may have been the south gate facing the qibla, the direction from which the Prophet was imagined to have approached the Rock and the starting point of the epigraphic band. (If one enters the building from its equally important north gate, or from any other point of entry, the caliph's name does not appear at the end but somewhere in the middle of the text). It has been shown that the qibla direction is also privileged by the grouping of inscriptions and distinctive mosaic decorations on the south side of the same arcade's inner face.¹⁵²

Let us now turn to the inscription band encircling the inner surface of the octagonal arcade, which expounds similar themes, with praises of God and



Fig. 11, a and b. Dome of the Rock, outer face of the octagonal arcade, mosaic panels with inscriptions. a. Beginning section at the southeast and south corner. b. Southeast section with 'Abd al-Malik's name replaced by that of al-Ma'mun. (Photo: GRABAR, Oleg; *The Shape of the Holy*. © 1996 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)

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prayers on behalf of the Prophet and Jesus complemented by long citations from the Qur'an (fig. 12, a and b). Forming a single continuous text addressing the Muslims and the People of the Book, it suggests that the building may originally have been accessible to non-Muslims, a surmise supported by the inclusion of Christians and Jews in the staff of servants whom 'Abd al-Malik appointed to the complex.¹⁵³ The inscription commences at the south with a *basmala* and includes between the two parts of the *shahāda* the same conflated verses proclaiming God's sovereign power over life, death, and all creation (Qur'an 64:1; 57:2) that are quoted on the northeast side of the arcade's outer face. There follows a verse on the southeast side, also present on the outer face of the arcade's west side, that urges believers to bestow blessings on the Prophet as do God and His angels (Qur'an 33:56).

Between the southeast and north sides of the arcade, God's oneness is announced with a Qur'anic refutation of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and a recommendation to the People of the Book not to exceed the bounds of their religion by saying "Three," since the "Messiah, Jesus son of Mary," was only a messenger and the word and spirit of God bestowed upon his mother. This corrective declaration is accompanied by a conciliatory missionary invitation to the People of the Book "to believe in God and His messengers," concluding with an eschatological admonition (Qur'an 4:171–72):

God is only one God, and far from His glory is it to have a son. To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and in the earth, and sufficient is God as a guardian. The Messiah will not disdain to be God's servant, nor will the favored angels. Whoever disdains to serve Him and is proud [should remember] He will gather them all to Himself.

The use of the future tense with reference to the Messiah suggests that this is an allusion to his return to earth as God's servant at the end of time, when God will gather all resurrected beings to judge them. Between the north and west sides, these Christological verses are followed by a veneration supplication that God bless Jesus, a paraphrase of the words he miraculously uttered from the cradle enshrined within the precinct itself ("Peace be upon me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I will be raised up alive," Qur'an 19:33), and a verse (Qur'an 19:34–36) in which he humbly affirms his submission to the one God:¹⁵⁴

O God, bless Your messenger and servant Jesus, son of Mary. Peace be upon him on the day he was born, the

day he dies, and the day he will be raised up alive. *That is Jesus, son of Mary, a word of truth about which they doubt. It is not for God to take a son onto Him. Glory be to Him. When He decrees a thing, He only says "Be" and it is. [Jesus said] God is my Lord and your Lord; therefore serve Him. This is the straight path (ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm).*

In the Qur'an, the imperative "Be," by means of which God creates everything, also applies to the resurrection at the end of time, when the same divine command will bring about a second creation during which Jesus, whom God has raised "up to Himself," will not only die and be resurrected with the rest of all created beings but will furthermore act as a "witness against" the misguided among the People of the Book (Qur'an 4:156–59). Therefore, one "sign (or knowledge) of the Hour" (Qur'an 43:61) is the return of the Qur'anic Jesus (prior to his death and resurrection), who, as the expected Messiah, has an eschatological identity like that of the Prophet Muhammad, the last messenger sent before the approaching end of time. According to an apologetic Greek text entitled *Doctrina Jacobi* (ca. 634–47), the "false prophet of the Saracens" proclaimed the imminent return of the anointed Messiah, Jesus, and said that he himself possessed the "keys to paradise." Moreover, sources report that the Prophet reverently preserved only the images of Jesus and his mother within the Ka'ba, effacing other painted representations, which depicted Abraham holding divination arrows, as well as prophets, angels, and trees.¹⁵⁵ Hence, it is not surprising that Jesus occupies such a prominent position in the epigraphic program of the Dome of the Rock. It is also no coincidence that the passage alluding to his return at the end of time appears on the northeast side of the arcade, coupled with the reference to the Prophet Muhammad's hoped-for intercession on its outer face.

The inscription band terminates on the west and southwest sides with verses testifying to the oneness of God, in whose sight the true religion is "Islam" (submission to Him alone), and yet another warning about the final judgment (Qur'an 3:18–19):

God (Himself), His angels, and those possessing knowledge and upholding justice bear witness that there is no god but He. There is no god but He, the Almighty, the All-Wise. The religion with God is Submission (al-islām). Those who were given the Book did not dissent except after knowledge came to them, when they became envious of each other; and whosoever disbelieves in God's signs [should remember that] He is swift at the reckoning.



Fig. 12, a and b. Dome of the Rock, arch spandrels on the inner face of the octagonal arcade: a. east and b. southeast. (Photo: © Said Nuseibeh Photography, www.studiosaid.com)

This attestation of the first part of the *shahāda* by “wise men upholding justice” can be read as an oblique allusion to God’s caliph and his deputies, who are the earthly guardians of Islam, the true universal religion.

Like ‘Abd al-Malik’s inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock, the mosaics, with their aniconic pictorial representations against an ethereal gold background, participate in the exaltation of God’s glory and supreme sovereignty by evoking a paradisiacal landscape crowned with a refulgent dome (figs. 5, 8, and 9). It is not possible to reconstruct the decorative program of the external mosaics, or of the periodically renewed gilded wooden paneling of the dome and ambulatory ceilings. The internal mosaics sheathe the double-tiered drum under the dome and the upper zones of the octagonal and circular arcades, which are raised on columns with Corinthian capitals and on marble-paneled piers. The spatial progression towards the Rock is visually heightened by distinctive types of motifs on each of the concentric mosaic surfaces, characterized by a sense of unity within variety.¹⁵⁶

The outermost surface along the external face of the octagonal arcade creates the illusion of an otherworldly orchard with a row of composite trees whose trunks are flanked by lateral stems laden with a superabundance of variegated fruits, palmettes, floral buds, and blossoms. Notably different, and seemingly deferential, is the treatment of trees on the southeast side, below the foundation inscription; instead of green trunks, they grow from vertical supports composed of superimposed jewelry motifs (fig. 11, a and b).¹⁵⁷ Other variations in the mosaic revetments may also have been intended as subtle visual markers. The second mosaic-covered surface is the inner face of the octagonal arcade, more luxuriously decorated with bejeweled vegetation (fig. 12, a and b). The upper sections of its piers feature bifurcated vine scrolls with fruits issuing from lush acanthus leaves, sometimes bound together with diadems and rings. Its spandrels are ornamented with fruit-bearing scrolls, plants, and cornucopias growing from variegated vessels, each surmounted by a central almond-shaped bud and fused with extravagant pieces of jewelry—crowns, tiaras, necklaces, bracelets, pendants, and earrings. The decorations of the pier flanks have similar composite motifs or naturalistically rendered trees.¹⁵⁸

The third mosaic-covered surface, on the outer face of the circular arcade, also differentiates compositions used on piers from those of the spandrels (figs. 8 and

13). These are in general dominated by scrolls emerging from acanthus leaves, vases, or a combination of both. The spiralling vine scrolls of the spandrels, which feature central vertical stems with superimposed gemstudded forms, spread evenly across the arcades, giving the impression of a continuous belt around the Rock. As Grabar observes, the two-tiered drum mosaics with their gold background provide “a forceful luminosity to the center of the building,” while the darker ambulatories, dominated by blue-green vegetation, create a “mysterious, shadowy ring around the light in the middle.”¹⁵⁹ The scrolls sprouting from regularly spaced vases on the lower register of the drum form a unified surface above the circular arcade. The central vertical stems issuing from each vase are made up of superimposed roundels and niches, each topped by an almond-shaped bud containing a crown and flanked by two wings (figs. 10 and 14).¹⁶⁰ Variants of the same design alternate with windows on the heavily renovated and, as a result, somewhat incoherent upper register of the drum (fig. 9).

The crowns with winged motifs have been interpreted as abstractions of crowned angels, connected to paradisiacal and eschatological themes, or as aniconic evocations of the cherubim in the Holy of Holies, enshrining the Divine Presence at Solomon’s Temple and thereby providing a suitable ambience for the future descent of the divine Throne.¹⁶¹ Under the radiant dome inscribed with the Throne Verse, these elusive motifs not only consecrate the Rock but also resonate with the overarching theme of God’s supreme sovereignty over the heavens and the earth. Coupled with buds incorporating crowns, the paired “Sasanian wings” densely clustered on both tiers of the drum may therefore connote the concept of “glory” (*khwāna*), a simultaneously royal and divine attribute associated with majesty, splendor, and luminosity.¹⁶² It is also worth speculating whether the “angel wings” and jewelry-laden trees carry memories of the Ka’ba’s former decorative program, motifs now adapted to glorify the one God’s eternal kingdom. The “tree cult” of the Arabs involved the votive offering of fine garments and women’s jewelry to venerated trees; Meccan idols, too, were ornamented with necklaces and earrings.¹⁶³

The multivalent mosaic representations lend themselves to a variety of readings interanimated by the surrounding complex and the accompanying inscriptions. The repetitive non-narrative images, in turn, visually activate the hermeneutic potential of juxtaposed



Fig. 13. Dome of the Rock, circular arcade, mosaic panel on the southwest pier. (Photo: GRABAR, Oleg; *The Shape of the Holy*. © 1996 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)



Fig 14. Dome of the Rock, lower drum mosaic panel with Ayyubid inscription band. (Photo: © Said Nuseibeh Photography, www.studiosaid.com)

Qur'anic passages, which form a paratactic montage punctuated by equally repetitive litanies and invocations. As a seductive mode of visual exegesis that engages the mind and eye in an open-ended way, the evocative mosaics also carry the potential to conjure up traditions in praise of Jerusalem, and of Qur'anic passages not included in the inscriptions, such as those alluding to the garden of refuge near "the lote tree of the utmost boundary" beneath the divine Throne, personally witnessed by the Prophet (Qur'an 53:14–15); the day when "Paradise shall be brought near" (Qur'an 81:13); the "sovereignty" that will be God's during the Last Judgment (Qur'an 22:56; 6:73); or the "bliss and great sovereignty" to be "seen" by those admitted into the promised eternal gardens (Qur'an 76:20). The eschatological literature that evolved in post-Umayyad times supplied additional details, describing multitiered celestial gardens with jeweled trees beneath the canopy of the divine Throne and the blissful denizens of Paradise wearing jewelry, bracelets, and crowns.¹⁶⁴

In his earliest article on the Dome of the Rock, Grabar observed that the jewelry motifs and crowns represented on the mosaics recall votive offerings made to shrines. Among votive offerings that a pilgrim from Piacenza saw around 570 inside the tomb of Christ (the Anastasis Rotunda), were "ornaments in vast numbers, which hang from iron rods: armlets, bracelets, necklaces, rings, tiaras, plaited girdles, belts, emperor's crowns of gold and precious stones, and the insignia of an empress."¹⁶⁵ Grabar noted that the caliphs donated to the Ka'ba comparable votive gifts, including such royal objects as jewel-encrusted crescents, necklaces, cups, crowns, and even thrones. At the time of 'Abd al-Malik, votive objects suspended on a chain from the cupola of the Dome of the Rock are said to have comprised the priceless Yatima pearl, the horns of Abraham's ram, and the crown of the Sasanian kings (*tāj kisrā*), all of which were sent to the Ka'ba when the Abbasids took over the caliphate.¹⁶⁶

It is reported that the counter-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr belittled his rival by criticizing the royal magnificence of his constructions in Jerusalem, which imitated the "palace of the king of Persia," as did Mu'awiya's Khadra' Palace (*qubbat al-khadra'*), the caliphal residence in Damascus thought to have featured a "dome of heaven," which 'Abd al-Malik bought and refurbished as his own palatial complex. The imperial iconography of the Dome of the Rock, which creatively transforms late antique models into an original idiom, under-

scores the parallelism between the eternal heavenly kingdom and its earthly counterpart entrusted to the caliph. The distinctive mosaics on the soffits of its octagonal arcade, depicting naturalistic fruits, stalks of wheat, and other symbols of earthly abundance, have been read as allusions to the holy land blessed by God, the epicenter of which was the Rock in Jerusalem. These images of abundance recall the eulogies of poets who praise the Marwanid caliphs' power to restore the earth's fertility by bringing rain. In an ode celebrating 'Abd al-Malik's divinely sanctioned victory over Ibn al-Zubayr in 692, for instance, the poet laureate al-Akhtal refers to him as "the Caliph of God through whom men pray for rain." Marwanid caliphs personally led the prayers for rain (*salāt al-istisqā'*), a ritual for which the stone minbar abutting the southern staircase of the Haram's raised platform was used in Mamluk and Ottoman times (fig. 3[24]).¹⁶⁷

The reflexivity between the celestial and terrestrial realms is a recurrent theme of traditions in praise of Jerusalem, which identify the Rock as one of the "roofs" of the earthly gardens of Paradise and the "nearest throne of God," marking the *omphalos* directly beneath the divine Throne.¹⁶⁸ The sanctity emanating from the Rock spread in concentric circles to the Syrian domains of the Umayyad caliphs, encompassing their capital, Damascus—a cosmological conception promoted by Mu'awiya and accentuated by 'Abd al-Malik's Dome of the Rock. The currency of this conception after the demise of the Marwanid caliphate is captured by the following words of al-Kala'i, a native of Syria who died in Abbasid Jerusalem around 770: "The holiest part of the earth is Syria; the holiest part of Syria is Palestine; the holiest part of Palestine is Jerusalem; the holiest part of Jerusalem is the mountain (Mount Moriah); the holiest part of the mountain is the mosque (*al-masjid*); and the holiest part of the mosque is the dome (*al-qubba*)."¹⁶⁹

The architecture, inscriptions, and mosaic decorations of the Dome of the Rock reverberate with notions of sanctity and *genius loci* (sense of place) disseminated in *fadā'il* traditions that preceded and succeeded its construction. Intimately connected with 'Abd al-Malik's vision of sacral kingship and his state building project, which consolidated Islam as the hegemonic religion of an expanding empire rooted in late antique traditions, the liminal spatiality of the Dome of the Rock blurred the temporal boundaries between the past, the present, and the eschatological future. The Crusaders appropriately renamed it *Templum Domini*

(Temple of the Lord), in keeping with its original conceptualization as a "House of God," while designating the Aqsa Mosque the *Templum Solomonis* (Temple of Solomon). By integrating the Dome of the Rock into their religious and royal rituals, including their coronation ceremonies, the crusader kings of Jerusalem acknowledged its role in mediating between terrestrial and celestial kingship.¹⁷⁰

When the Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din reclaimed Jerusalem in 1187, following nearly nine decades of Frankish rule, the Haram complex was "purified" with rosewater and resanctified with new layers of meaning that championed the restoration of Sunni Islam under the tutelage of the late Abbasid caliphs. In a well-known sermon delivered during the first Friday prayer held at the Aqsa Mosque, Salah al-Din's preacher cited *fadā'il* traditions identifying the sanctuary as the site of the Prophet's Night Journey-cum-Ascension, the first qibla, and the gathering of humankind on Judgment Day. He defined the sanctuary's official status in terms of three honorary epithets, in descending hierarchical order, which would continue to have currency under Mamluk and Ottoman rule: "the first of the two qiblas" (*ūlā al-qiblatayn*, i.e., Jerusalem followed by Mecca); "the second of the two places of worship [created on earth]" (*thānī al-masjidayn*, i.e., Mecca followed by Jerusalem); and "the third [place of pilgrimage] after the two Harams" (*thālīth al-haramayn*, i.e., Mecca and Medina followed by Jerusalem).¹⁷¹

The association of the Dome of the Rock with caliphal authority was no longer a central theme in the renovation projects of the Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers of Jerusalem, which primarily emphasized the re-Islamization of the Haram, only recently recovered from the Crusaders. The Ayyubids and the Mamluk sultans who succeeded them held no claims to caliphal status, for they derived their legitimacy as protectors of Sunni Islam from the last descendants of the Abbasid caliphs, who were initially based in Baghdad and subsequently housed in Mamluk Cairo. The Ayyubids and Mamluks focused on rebuilding the commemorative structures of the Haram that had been damaged or destroyed during the Crusader occupation. They periodically repaired the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque, and also added an impressive outer belt of madrasas and khanqahs abutting the Haram's northern and western perimeter.¹⁷² We shall see in the next section that the latent caliphal theme would resurface, along with the amplification of Davidic-Solomonic and eschatological associations, during Sultan Süleyman's

renovation campaigns at the Haram al-Sharif, which particularly privileged the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain. Unlike their Mamluk predecessors, the Ottoman administrators who left their personal marks on the precinct concentrated their relatively modest building activities on and around the prestigious central platform, rebuilding its minor domes and adding cells (*hujra*, *khalwa*) for resident dervishes and ascetics to its northern and western edges (fig. 6). Together with the city's new charitable hospices and khanqahs, these constructions turned the Haram complex into, in Evliya Çelebi's words, a veritable "qibla" and a "Ka'ba" of dervishes.¹⁷⁵

II. THE VISUAL AND VERBAL GLOSSES OF SULTAN SÜLEYMAN'S RENOVATIONS

Selim I's conquest of Syria-Palestine from the Mamluks in 1516, shortly after his victory over the Safavids, brought the Haram al-Sharif under Ottoman protection. During his subsequent campaign to Egypt, the sultan left his army camp with a small retinue of intimate companions for a brief pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he distributed alms and donations to win over the hearts of its residents. He performed the communal ritual prayers at the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, a masjid reserved for the Hanafi rite both by the Mamluks and by their Ottoman successors, in addition to touring "all the visitation places" (*mevâzi-i ziyârât*) (fig. 15). Later on, the sultan performed another pilgrimage with his retinue to the sanctuary in Hebron. Both pilgrimages were followed by abundant rain, interpreted in contemporary sources as an auspicious sign, that facilitated Selim's formidable march through the Sinai desert and conquest of Egypt in 1517, which terminated the Mamluk sultanate along with the legitimizing line of Abbasid caliphs stationed in Cairo.¹⁷⁴

Once the vassal Sharifs of Mecca recognized his rule, the sultan, as the new "Servitor of the Two Harams" (*khâdim al-haramayn al-sharifayn*), took the two holy sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina under his protection. Constituting a prelude to the fall of the Mamluk sultanate, the annexation of Syria-Palestine was hailed in texts written for Selim and for his son and successor Süleyman, as a divinely willed supernatural event. It had allegedly been prophesied in an apocryphal book of divination attributed to the Andalusian Sufi Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1210), which identified the Ottomans as

the last world emperors, whose messianic renewal of religion and justice would usher in the end of time.¹⁷⁵ Both Selim and Süleyman attempted to justify their rule over the former Mamluk territories by delegitimizing their predecessors as a tyrannical foreign caste of Circassians whose oppressive taxes and customary laws were abolished under their own regime of justice, heralding a new age of "peace and security."¹⁷⁶

An early example of this ideological discourse appears in the preamble of Süleyman's law code for Egypt. Issued in 1525 after the suppression of a revolt, it celebrates the extirpation of the tyranny of the Circassian "tribe" (*tâ'ife*) with the inauguration of just dynastic law (*kânûn*) based on Qur'anic prescriptions, as well as on the shari'a, which comprises the sunna of the Prophet. The law code starts with a declaration of the divine source of Süleyman's authority, as guided by God, the "Beneficent One, who is established on the Throne" (Qur'an 16:5), and by His revelation to the Prophet, who ascended beyond the seven climes of the heavens. The intervening voice of the sultan utters grateful praises of God, who has

made the royal falcon of the imperial tent of my soaring caliphate (*şâhbâz-i çetr-i hümâyûn hümâ-i pervâz-i hilâfetüm*) reach the pinnacle of the dome of heaven through the assistance of holy victories, and who, with the abundance of His endless grace and in accordance with His words "Obey the messenger and those among you charged with authority" (Qur'an 4:59), has bound my imperial commands and prohibitions, and the reverberations of my fame, to the tongues of well-tempered swords and to the pens of my felicitous deputies.

Süleyman is glorified as the foremost among the rulers of the House of Osman, who over the generations have strengthened the foundations of religion by firmly welding it with the "lead of *kânûns*." He is portrayed as the new David and Solomon, the messianic "emperor of the age" (*hâzret-i hüdâyegân-i zamân*), whose saintly person, embodying all the virtues of the prophets and saints, combines temporal with spiritual sovereignty in his capacity as divinely appointed universal emperor and "caliph of the Glorious Lord" (*hâlifesi Rabb-i Celîl*).¹⁷⁷

This rhetoric resonates strikingly with the Marwanid concept of God's caliphate, as does the accompanying vision of a world empire expanding further east and west. The sultan's claim to universal rulership echoes a letter written to 'Abd al-Malik by the head of the Armenian Church (ca. 700), which addresses him as "the world conqueror of the universe."¹⁷⁸ The

persistent emphasis of the Süleymanic imperial program on his “legislative persona,” aiming to perfectly harmonize sacred and secular forms of law (*shari‘a* and *kānūn*), has been interpreted by Cornell Fleischer as “an apocalyptic gesture” announcing the sultan’s identity as the long-awaited messianic ruler of the tenth and last century of the Muslim era, who would revive the glory of Islam and fill the world with justice before the end of time. Süleyman’s image as last world emperor and messianic renewer of religion and justice evolved in the early decades of his reign, culminating in the codification of the elderly caliph-sultan’s ideal of pious sobriety and legalistic rectitude.¹⁷⁹ The conceptualization of a God-willed universal sovereignty, endowed with eschatological significance, took shape in the context of Süleyman’s rivalry with the Habsburg emperor Charles V (r. 1519–58) in the west, and with the Safavid shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76) in the east.

Its final formulation crystallized in the religio-legal discourses of the renowned Hanafi jurist Ebussu‘ud (d. 1574), who was appointed grand mufti in 1545 and became the sultan’s trusted confidant during the last two decades of his reign.

As the supreme head of the judicial hierarchy, Ebussu‘ud not only reconciled secular and religious laws, but also promoted his patron’s public image as “Caliph of God on earth,” with all its attendant implications for universal sovereignty. He proclaimed this notion through the honorific titles he accorded Süleyman in the dedicatory prefaces of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic texts that circulated among the empire’s literate elite, and through monumental epigraphy, most notably the foundation inscription of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul (discussed below), which he composed in 964 (1557).¹⁸⁰ This grandiose mosque complex was built between 1548 and 1559, just around the

KEY FOR FIG. 15

Based on information provided by the son of the Shaykh of the Haram during a guided tour in 1865 (*Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, 35–36, and handwritten notes by Dr. Sandreczki).

GATES

(North): Gate of Paradise (*bāb al-janna*); (west) Western Gate (*bāb al-gharbī*); (south) Qibla Gate (*bāb al-qibla*); (east) Gate of the Prophet David (*bāb al-nabī dāwūd*)

CAVE

A. Gate of the Cave (*bāb al-maghāra*); B. Tongue of the Rock (*lisān al-sakhra*); C. Solomon’s Mihrab (*mihrāb sulaymān*) with nearby impression of the Prophet’s head forming a small cavity in the Rock above (*mahall ra’s al-nabī*); D. Pierced Hole of the Rock, through which the Prophet is said to have ascended; E. Station of al-Khidr (*maqām al-khidr*); F. Station of Abraham (*maqām al-khalīl*); G. David’s Mihrab (*mihrāb dāwūd*); H. Well of the Spirits (*bi‘r al-arwāh*) above the hollow beneath the floor.

DOMES OF THE ROCK

1. Paving Stone of Paradise (*balāṭa al-janna*) with Tomb of Solomon underneath (*qabr sulaymān*)
2. Marble screen with arcade of “mihrabs” in front of the Paving Stone of Paradise, called Representation of ‘Ali’s Sword (*taqlīd sayf ‘alī*) (The Prophet’s sword, inherited by ‘Ali, was made of the myrtle of Paradise: see Uri Rubin, “Prophets and Progenitors in Early Shi‘a Tradition,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 [1979]: 47.)
3. Qibla of the Prophets (*qibla al-anbiyā*), a mihrab recess cut on the northeast corner of the Rock

4. Footprint of our Lord Enoch (*qadam sayyidnā idrīs*) on the eastern side of the Rock, a slight hollow on the marble pavement
5. Pierced Hole of the Rock
6. Tongue of the Rock (*lisān al-sakhra*), a protruding point above the inner entrance of the cave
7. Gate of the Cave (*bāb al-maghāra*)
8. Tribune of Muezzins
9. Pomegranates of the Prophet David (*rummān al-nabī dāwūd*), made by his own hand
10. Relic of the Banners of ‘Umar (*sanjaq ‘umar*), carried before him when he conquered Jerusalem, covered with cases
11. Saddle of al-Buraq (*sarj al-burāq*), close to the Prophet’s Footprint, within the wooden railing surrounding the Rock
12. Footprint of the Prophet (*qadam muḥammad*) at the southwest corner of the Rock, where his foot last touched earth on his heavenward journey
13. Handprint of our Lord Gabriel (*kaff sayyidnā jabrā‘il*) on the west side of the Rock, where the angel seized the Rock and held it down by force as it was rising with the Prophet
14. Buckler of our Lord Hamza (*turs sayyidnā ḥamza*), the Prophet’s uncle’s polished shield, ornamented with birds, peacocks, and animals in relief, enclosed in an open wooden case with the shield’s front turned to the wall so as to hide the figures
15. Hanafi Mihrab (*mihrāb al-ḥanafī*)

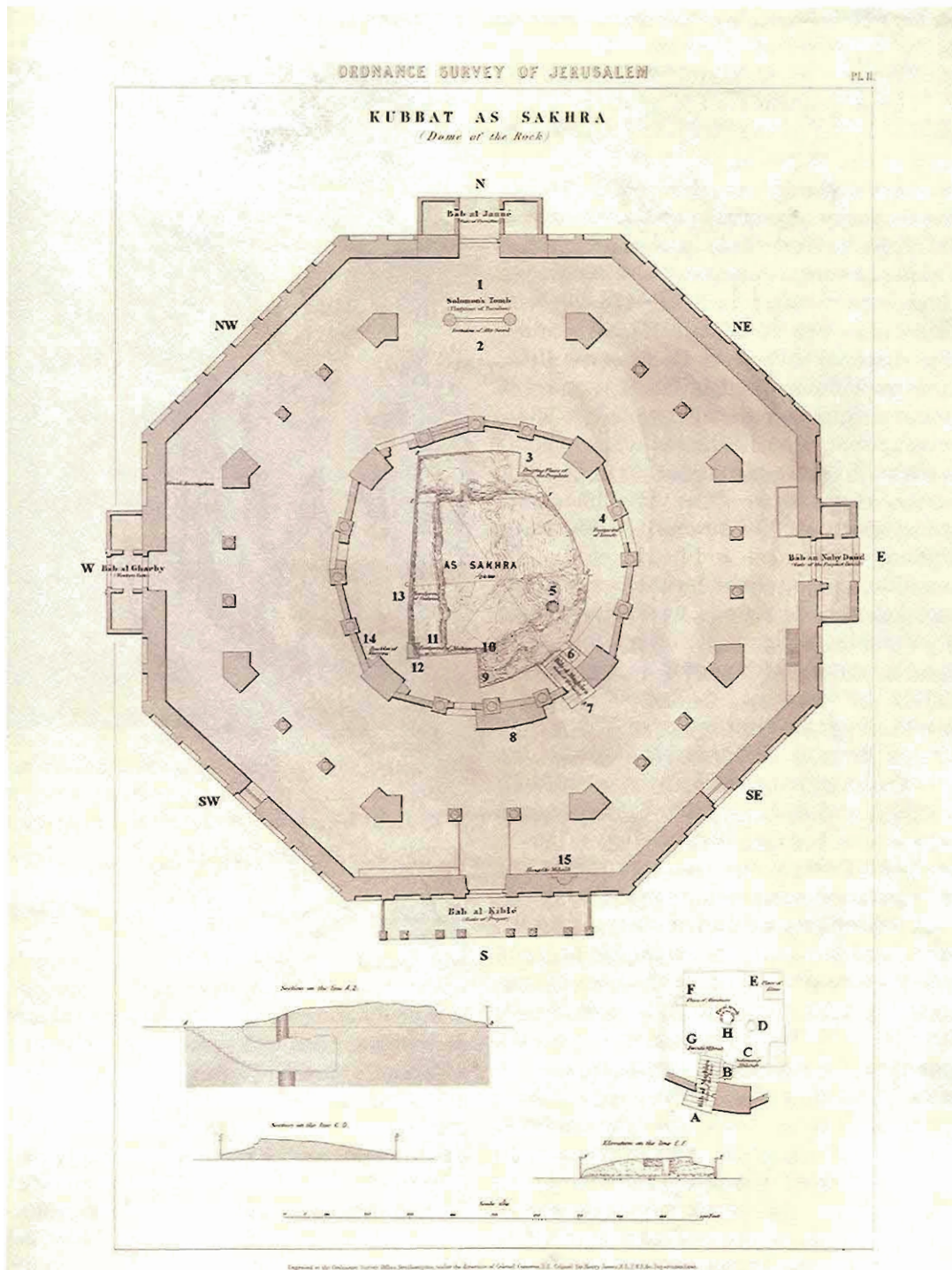


Fig. 15. Plan of the Dome of the Rock, with the Rock and cave shown in plan, elevation, and section; added numerals and letters correspond to the key on the opposite page. (After Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, pl. 2. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

time the sultan's tile revetments transformed the Dome of the Rock with an external decorative skin bearing powerful inscriptions dated 952 (1545–46) and 959 (1551–52). The subsequent recladding of the Dome of the Chain with tiles in 969 (1561–62), followed by the refitting of the Dome of the Rock's four gates with bronze-plated wooden doors in 972 (1564–65), marked the last stages of Süleyman's refurbishment of the Haram al-Sharif. Primarily focusing on the raised platform of the precinct, these successive renovation projects had been initiated in 935 (1528–29) with the installation of a new set of stained glass windows around the octagonal walls of the Dome of the Rock, the Qur'anic quotations of which I shall interpret in the next section, along with the sultan's other religious inscriptions superimposed on the building's palimpsestous surfaces.¹⁸¹ Before turning to these Qur'anic texts, however, let us take a look at the public image that Süleyman constructed by means of Arabic historical inscriptions in Jerusalem and its Haram.

The honorific titles inscribed on the Dome of the Rock's stained glass windows articulate the sultan's aspiration for universal sovereignty without referring to his claim to caliphal status, which appears in later inscriptions (fig. 16). The completion date of these windows coincides with Süleyman's first siege of Vienna and the retaking of Buda in 1529, which followed a dazzling series of victories in the west—Belgrade in 1521, Rhodes in 1522, and Buda in 1526.¹⁸² The windows may therefore have been a votive offering to obtain divine aid for his forthcoming campaign against the Habsburg emperor, who was then preparing a crusade with the aim of conquering Constantinople and liberating Jerusalem. The windows' epigraphic program has recently been reconstructed on the basis of fragmentary remains and lost inscriptions recorded in the nineteenth century.¹⁸³ The historical texts imploring God's support for the sultan and his armies acknowledge that the building provides direct access to divine benevolence: "O God, aid and sustain the armies of the Muslims by prolonging the days of our master, the sultan, the possessor of the necks of the nations (*malik riqāb al-umam*), the sultan Süleyman, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Bayezid." Another window inscription refers to the patron as "our master, the sultan, the great king and the honored khaqan, the possessor of the necks of the nations, the sultan of the Arabs and Persians, Sultan Süleyman, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Bayezid."¹⁸⁴

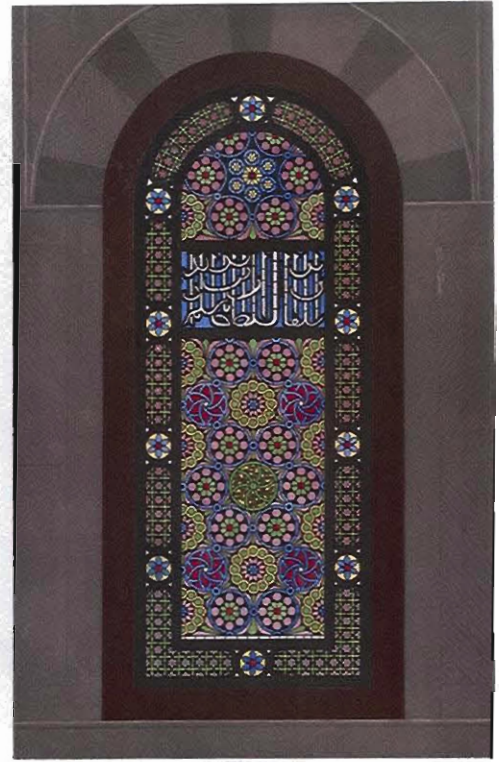


Fig. 16. Dome of the Rock, stained glass window inscribed *Süleymān bin es-Sullān Selīm Ḥān bin Bāyezīd*, on the southwest wall of the octagon. (After de Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. 26)

Preliminary research in the kadi court records (*sijill*) of Jerusalem has uncovered new information about Süleyman's construction activities, including references to restoration work carried out on the Aqsa Mosque and the Haram in 1530.¹⁸⁵ A now-lost inscription on a stained glass window of the Aqsa Mosque referred to the sultan's order to restore "the Noble Haram" and to renew its "affairs" (*maṣālih*), but provided a date two decades after his death. It has been proposed that this date, 996 (1587), should be corrected to 936 (1529–30) under the assumption that Süleyman installed new windows at the Aqsa Mosque that year, after the ones made for the Dome of the Rock had been completed. Although some windows

seem to have been added to the mosque, the inscription refers to a more comprehensive restoration of the precinct as a whole.¹⁸⁶ Among the sultan's early projects, the Jerusalem court records also document the renovation in 1530 of the aqueduct that would supply water to the city's public fountains as well as those of the Haram, followed by the rebuilding of the citadel known as the Tower of David in 1531–32.¹⁸⁷

Süleyman's construction projects in Jerusalem are generally associated with his self-conscious cultivation of a Solomonic image, as attested by two early inscriptions identifying him as the "second Solomon."¹⁸⁸ However, the wider implications of these projects, through which the sultan linked himself with the early Islamic tradition of caliphal patronage, have not been interpreted in light of the religious component of Ottoman dynastic ideology.¹⁸⁹ Some of Süleyman's inscriptions in Jerusalem hint at his conviction about the eschatological role he was destined to play during the last age of human history. This belief may have been among his reasons for focusing so intensely on the renewal of the city and its holy sanctuary; the final stage of the divine plan was to be preceded by the restoration of Jerusalem, one of the "signs of the Hour" mentioned in Umayyad and Ottoman apocalyptic texts predicting the successive fall of Constantinople and Rome.¹⁹⁰ Such a conviction is strongly implied by the sultan's inscription on the outer gate of the citadel, dated 938 (1531–32), which was renovated on the eve of another major campaign in central Europe against Charles V, who had just been crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the pope. Counting "King of Jerusalem" among his titles, the emperor had recently announced his plan to lead a crusade against the Ottomans to ensure "universal peace" and unity in Christendom.¹⁹¹ The inscription on the citadel's outer gate asserts Süleyman's own claim to universal sovereignty, which also found expression in the tiara-like helmet with four superimposed crowns that was displayed during his campaign against the emperor and pope in 1532. The text ends with a remarkable prayer for the perpetuation of the sultan's life as long as the Dome of the Rock endures, namely, until the Last Day, when it will be replaced by the divine Throne perched above the primordial Rock:

The order to restore this noble fortress was given by the great sultan and the magnanimous khaqan, the possessor of the necks of the nations, the patron of the people of the sword and the pen, the servitor of the Two Harams and the Most Holy Precinct [in Jerusalem] (*al-buq'a*

al-aqdasiyya), may God sanctify the blessed souls of his forefathers, the source of security, and faith, and safety, the sultan, son of [the House of] Osman, the second Solomon, may God prolong his existence as long as [the duration of] the dome over the Rock (*mā dāma al-qubba 'alā al-ṣakhra*)!¹⁹²

The only other surviving inscription in Jerusalem that includes the sultan's Solomonic title appears on Kasım Pasha's fountain, inside the Haram (fig. 3[38]). Dated 933 (1527), it refers to the universal monarch as "our master, the great sultan, the second Solomon in world sovereignty (*thānī Sulaymān fī mulk al-'ālam*), son of Sultan Selim Khan, the amir of the amirs of the Arabs and the Persians."¹⁹³ Süleyman subsequently renovated the Pools of Solomon and the aqueduct for the water channel of his own charitable fountains, which he built in 943 (1536–37). Several of these fountains are situated outside the Haram gates, and one is attached to a "blessed mihrab" inside the northern edge of the precinct, near the Gate of Darkness (*bāb al-'aṭm*) (fig. 3[34]). The repetitive inscriptions of these "blessed fountains" (*al-sabīl al-mubārak*) once again ask God to perpetuate the reign of Süleyman, adding the Ottomans to the ruler's list of multinational subjects: "the sultan of the Ottomans (*al-rūm*), the Arabs, and the Persians."¹⁹⁴ The inscription on the fountain outside the Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*), also called the Gate of the Law Court (*bāb al-mahkama*) in reference to the nearby shari'a court (*mahkama*), additionally begs God to let the sultan's "justice and beneficence" endure (fig. 3[1]). This fountain and its companion outside the Gate of the Cotton Merchants (*bāb al-qattānīn*) feature extra titles exalting their patron as "the glory of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God in the universe, and the protector of the Two Noble Harams (*'izz al-islām wa 'l-muslimīn, zill Allāh fī 'l-'ālamīn, hāmī al-haramayn al-sharīfayn*)."¹⁹⁵

Süleyman thereafter ordered the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls, which had remained in a dilapidated state for nearly three centuries, since the Ayyubids had demolished them in order to prevent the Christians from reoccupying the city. Dated to between the years 944 and 947 (1537 and 1541) by their inscriptions, these "blessed walls" (*al-sūr al-mubārak*) complemented the sultan's fortification projects around Mecca and Medina, literally and symbolically bringing the third holy city of Islam under Süleyman's protection.¹⁹⁶ Documents in the Jerusalem *sijill* records have shown that the construction overseer (*al-amīn*) of the

waterworks and the city walls was a royal tax collector, the painter-decorator called Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash. He is referred to in an Ottoman Turkish document as “the construction overseer (*emîn*) known as Nakkaş Mehmed,” who was responsible for the building project of the sultan’s water channel and for establishing its waqfs.¹⁹⁷ We learn from the *sijills* of Jerusalem that between 1537 and 1541 he directed some of the funds reserved for the city walls to ongoing renovations at the Haram—300 gold coins “for the gilding of the [dome] finial of the Dome of the Rock,” and 100 gold coins for the Aqsa Mosque.¹⁹⁸ The dome may have been restored prior to the creation of its gilded finial; an illustrated Persian guidebook for pilgrims, written in 968 (1560–61) mentions an order by Süleyman to renovate the dome surrounded by windows over the Rock when the city walls were being constructed.¹⁹⁹ It was also around that time that the governor of Jerusalem and Gaza, Mehmed Beg, used his own funds to refurbish the “blessed” Red Mihrab bearing an inscription dated 945 (1538–39) and now located on the floor of the Prophet’s Dome (*qubbat al-nabî*), which seems to have been built over it later on (fig. 3[26]).²⁰⁰

During a formal shari’a court session held in 948 (1541–42) at the Dome of the Chain, Muhammad al-Naqqash testified that he had endowed the completed aqueduct and nine *sabils* in the sultan’s name.²⁰¹ In 950 (1543–44), two years before the Dome of the Rock’s drum was refaced with external tile revetments, he is mentioned in a document as “the construction overseer of the Haram of the exalted Rock” (*al-amîn ‘alâ haram al-şakhra al-musharrafa*), that is, of the raised platform.²⁰² This otherwise unknown painter-decorator, who died in 1549, must therefore have played a prominent role in the design process not only of Jerusalem’s city walls and fountains but also of the Dome of the Rock’s tile revetment program (fig. 17, a and b).²⁰³ After the tiling of the drum, that of the octagon was completed in 959 (1551–52), the date provided on the sultan’s tilework foundation inscription at the building’s north gate, to which we shall return. I have found a confirmation of that date in the unpublished chronicle of Mustafa ‘Ali, which lists the renovation of the Dome of the Rock among Sultan Süleyman’s major building projects. The passage suggests that the project involved more than external tile revetments, and perhaps included the renewal of marble revetments as well: “In Jerusalem the Noble, the interior and exterior of the exalted Rock of God

(*şahratu’llâh-i müşerreffe*) was [re]built with the installation of tiles (*kâşî*) and its construction reached completion in 959.”²⁰⁴

This was, indeed, the “master stroke” of the sultan’s building activities at the Haram al-Sharif, a tour de force of unmatched boldness not attempted by previous rulers, whose restorations had preserved the Umayyad appearance of the Dome of the Rock. Placing his personal stamp on the focal point of the pilgrimage complex, the Ottoman sultan visually reclaimed the sanctity of the Rock in a manner that recalls the precedent set by ‘Abd al-Malik. This gesture reaffirmed the preeminence of the Dome of the Rock within the complex, captured by its aggrandizing designation in some Ottoman sources as the “Rock of God” (*şahratu’llâh*), which not only rhymes with that of the Ka’ba (*kâ’betu’llâh*) but also echoes the name it was given by the Crusaders: *Templum Domini*.²⁰⁵ According to Theodore Span-dounes’ early-sixteenth-century dynastic history, “the Turks” did not consider the annual Meccan pilgrimage complete unless it included “the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem.” The early Ottoman veneration of the sanctuary is also attested by pilgrimage accounts from the fifteenth century, and by Sultan Murad II’s endowment of Qur’an readerships on his behalf at the Dome of the Rock in 1430.²⁰⁶ Indeed, the number of Qur’an manuscripts with appointed readers donated to the Aqsa Mosque in the Ottoman period makes up not even a tenth of the total endowed to the Dome of the Rock, suggesting that, for most donors, the sanctity of the latter exceeded that of the former. Süleyman’s personal veneration of the Rock is exemplified by the four *rab’as* of the Qur’an that he donated to the Dome of the Rock, stipulating that they should be read there after every morning prayer for the salvation of his late father’s soul.²⁰⁷ Unlike Selim, however, he would not fulfill his professed desire to perform a pilgrimage to the Haram al-Sharif, despite two recorded attempts to do so—in 1548 and 1553–54—while he was residing in Aleppo during consecutive campaigns against the Safavids.²⁰⁸

According to Robert Hillenbrand, “since there is no evidence that the external mosaics which rendered the building unique had suffered serious damage over the centuries,” Süleyman’s glazed tile revetments on the Dome of the Rock “destroyed something exceptional in order to replace it by something commonplace—for by the mid-16th century the major imperial Ottoman religious buildings were frequently clad in lavish tilework.” He argues that the interior of the monu-

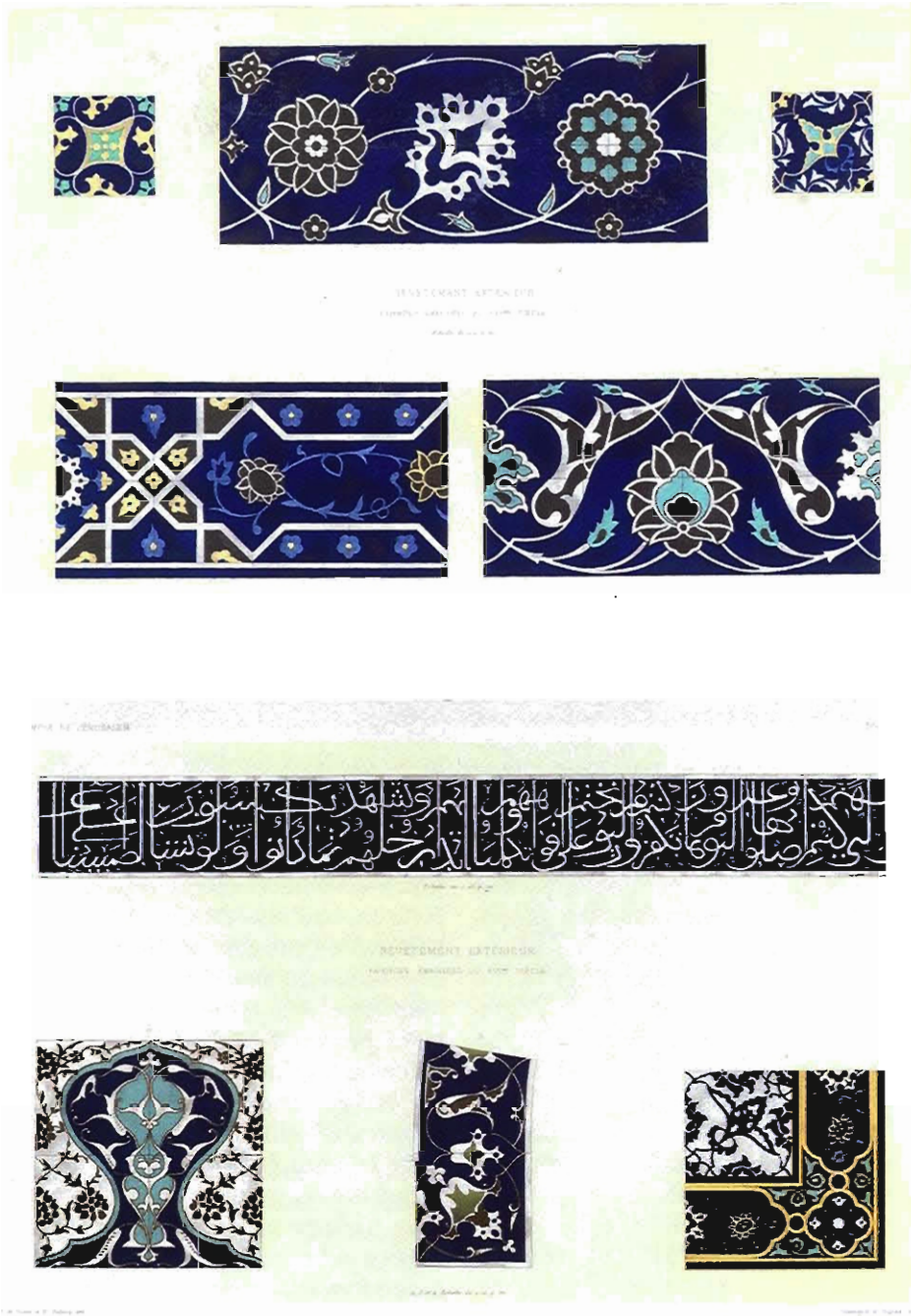


Fig. 17, a and b. Dome of the Rock, details of external tile revetments. (After de Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem*, pls. 27, 28)



Fig. 18. Dome of the Rock, external tile revetments with inscription bands on the drum and octagon. (Photo: Charles & Josette Lanars/Corbis)

ment was left virtually untouched because it “lacked the exceptional visibility, and therefore the propaganda potential, of the exterior,” which the sultan refurbished with a mode of decoration alien to the local context as a way to “stake a claim for this especially holy site.”²⁰⁹ The cumulative deterioration of the external mosaics through exposure to the elements and as a result of the patchwork repairs recorded in Mamluk sources should not, however, be underestimated. Moreover, they probably suffered additional damage in the earthquake of 1545, the year when the tilework inscription band around the top of the drum (ending with the date 952 [1545–46]) was executed (fig. 18).²¹⁰

Another earthquake struck precisely at the time when the octagonal walls of the Dome of the Rock were being refaced with tiles. According to an imperial decree issued in 1552, Süleyman was informed by Haydar Kethüda, the waqf administrator of his wife Hürrem Sultan's hospice complex in Jerusalem (built between 1550 and 1557), that the recent earthquake,

which had necessitated repairs at the sanctuary in Hebron, had also destroyed “some parts of the fortified wall on the east side of the Noble Rock of God.” The sultan commands the governor of Damascus to send experts to these sites in order to have cost estimates prepared for their restoration.²¹¹ The letters that Süleyman exchanged with the governors of Damascus, the sub-governors of Jerusalem (subordinate to the province of Damascus), and the waqf administrator of his wife's hospice suggest that he was well informed about the renovations at the Haram al-Sharif, which were undertaken on the basis of written recommendations submitted as petitions by his deputies. Such a petition may have initiated the decoration of the Dome of the Chain with tiles: a document in the Jerusalem *sijills* of 12 April 1562 reports that this domed edifice was in need of renovation with “*qāshānī* work” on both its interior and its exterior surfaces, as well as on the inner face of its mihrab. The tilework inscription band above the extant Mamluk mihrab bears the date 969 (1561–62).²¹²

The tile revetments of the Dome of the Rock and its smaller companion are hardly “commonplace” in terms of their decorative program; their complete coverage of every surface was uncommon in the Ottoman architectural tradition characterized by sober stone masonry outer façades. Taking seven years to complete, the sequence of sheathing the Dome of the Rock’s exterior with tiles moved from top to bottom—starting with the mosaic tile inscription band below the dome, continuing with the cuerda seca tiles of the drum, and ending with the octagon below. The process was marked by a transition from cuerda seca to underglaze tiles that echoed innovations introduced just around that time in Iznik. John Carswell and Julian Raby believe these tiles were locally produced near the Haram under the supervision of a Persian tilemaker, judging by the signature of ‘Abd Allah al-Tabrizi, the scribe who wrote the 959 (1551–52) foundation inscription of the north gate, and who may have fashioned the tilework as well (fig. 19).²¹³

The tiles covering all surfaces above the marble-panelled dadoes translate the aesthetic effect of walls draped in polychrome mosaics into a new medium, harmonized with the dominant blue, green, and yellow color scheme of the internal mosaics (figs. 20 and 21). Grabar has observed that “Süleyman’s teams of architects and craft masters maintained and strengthened the effect of light through color that had been part of the Dome of the Rock since Umayyad times.”²¹⁴ By preserving the interior decorations, with their palimpsestic overlay of inscriptions recording the successive repairs of former rulers, the Ottoman sultan linked his own refurbishment of this unrivaled monument with the memories of past dynasties. The foundation inscription on the outer tympanum tiles of the north gate expresses his intention to “praise God” by restoring the original splendor of the building, which had lost its initial aesthetic glory due to “defects” (fig. 20):

He has renovated, as an act of praising God, part of the Dome of the Rock in His Holy House (*qad jaddada bi-ḥamdihī ‘llāh min qubbat al-ṣakhra bi-baytihi ‘l-muqaddas*), whose construction and splendor surpasses all, and has provided resources flowing like water from his pure watering places to quench the thirst of the defects (*qusūr*) of its agreeable and beautiful edifice, and has made it more graceful during the shade of his reign, the greatest sultan and the most noble khaqan, the middle [largest] pearl of the necklace of the caliphate by stipulation and demonstration (*wāsiṭat al-khilāfa bi ‘l-naṣṣ wa ‘l-burhān*), the father of conquest Süleyman Khan, son of the sultan

renowned for generosity, the father of victory Selim Khan, son of the one distinguished by excellencies and divine assistance, the possessor of glories, Sultan Bayezid, son of the sultan, the most illustrious warrior of the faith, Sultan Mehmed, descendant of [the House of] Osman, may the clouds of blessing pour down on their graves, and he has brought back to it that ancient splendor through the superiority of skilled architects (*al-bahā’ al-qadīm bi-fawāqat hudhdhāq al-muhandisīn*) in the year 959 (1551–52); and they made it in the most beautiful manner (*faja’ alūhu fī aḥsan qadr*) and ‘Abdallah of Tabriz was honored to write its inscription.²¹⁵

The date refers to the completion of the renovation project as marked by the installation of vivid polychromatic tiles, which are more spectacular than mosaics when seen from afar. The “skilled architects” who executed the repairs and installed the tiles may have been supervised by Muhammad ibn Qasim, who is mentioned in a document of 21 July 1551 as the “chief architect” (*mi‘mārbaşı*) in charge of “the tilework” (*‘alā ‘amal al-kāshī*).²¹⁶ Glorifying Süleyman’s dynastic genealogy, the inscription boldly proclaims his caliphal status, much like the 1552 endowment deed of his wife’s hospice in Jerusalem, the preamble to which identifies him as the “possessor of the Greatest Imamate” and the “inheritor of the Greatest Caliphate.”²¹⁷ Another sultanic inscription that asserts Süleyman’s claim to the caliphate appears on a now-buried fragmentary marble panel commemorating his construction of a bastion near the citadel (ca. 1533–38). It refers to the monarch as the one whom God has specially favored “to rule the necks of the kings of the world and with the possession of the throne of the caliphate by merit (*tamalluk sarīr al-khilāfa bi ‘l-istihqāq*).”²¹⁸

The Arabic foundation inscription of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, composed by the grand mufti Ebussu‘ud in 1557, even more emphatically asserts Süleyman’s secular and divine right to the universal sultanate and caliphate. Stressing his role as lawgiver, it refers to him as having “drawn near to [God], the Lord of Majesty and Omnipotence, the Creator of the World of Dominion and Sovereignty, [Sultan Süleyman] made mighty with divine power, the caliph resplendent with divine glory, who performs the command of the hidden book [i.e., the celestial prototype of the Qur’an] and executes its decrees in [all] regions of the inhabited quarter, the conqueror of the lands of the Orient and Occident with the help of Almighty God and his victorious army, the possessor of the kingdoms of the world, shadow of God over all peoples, sultan

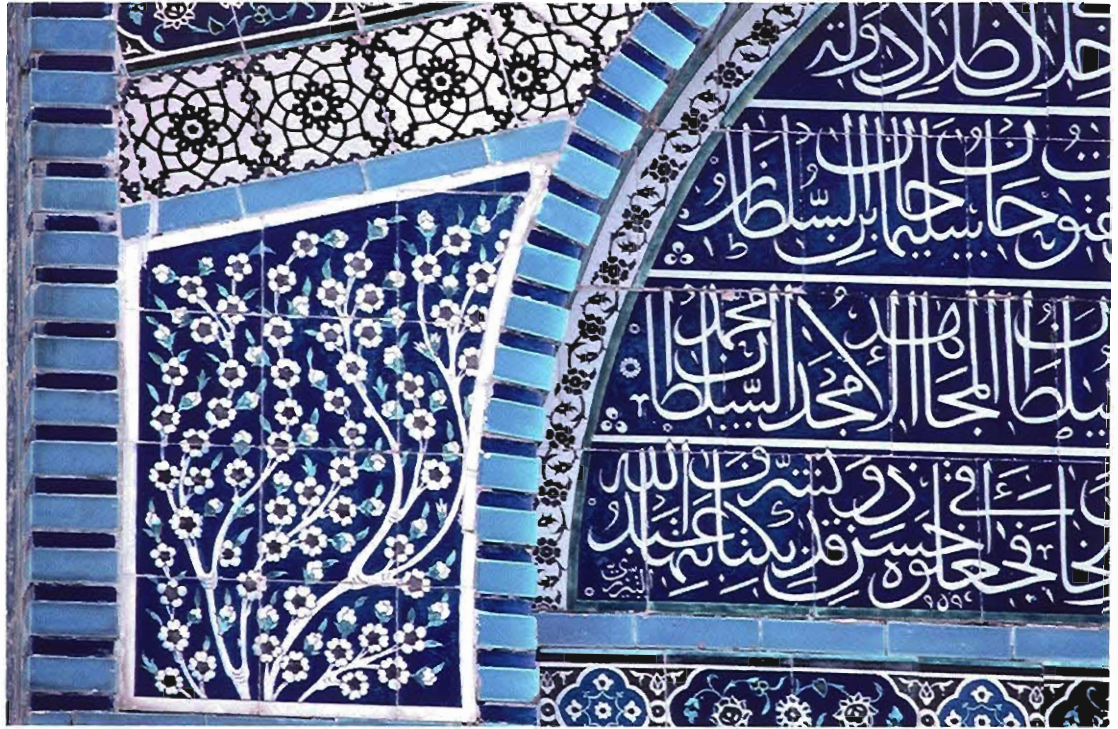


Fig. 19. Dome of the Rock, north tympanum tiles, detail of foundation inscription with date and signature. (Photo: Garry Braasch/Corbis)



Fig. 20. Dome of the Rock, north tympanum tiles with foundation inscription. (Photo: John Arnold/Corbis)

of the sultans of the Arabs and the Persians, promulgator of the sultan law codes, tenth of the Ottoman khaqans... may the line of his sultanate endure until the end of the line of the ages."²¹⁹ The last title also appears in the Ottoman Turkish endowment deed of Süleyman's water supply system in Istanbul, registered in 1565, shortly before his death. This document refers to him as "the possessor of the Greatest Imamate (*mālīki'l-imāmeti'l-uzmā*)" and "the inheritor of the Greatest Caliphate (*vārīsi'l-hilāfeti'l-kübrā*)," who is the "provider of flowing water in such Muslim cities as the sacred Jerusalem and the well-protected Constantinople (*qoṣṭantīniyye*), the restorer (*mūceddid*) of religion and its strengthener in the beginning of the tenth century [of the Hegira], with the confirmation of divine support, the tenth and the greatest of the sultans descending from the exalted Ottoman family, the most just of all the sultans."²²⁰

The tenth and foremost ruler of the House of Osman thus claims to be the divinely appointed messianic renewer of religion and justice in the tenth and

last century of the Muslim era. Süleyman continued until the end of his life to refurbish the Dome of the Rock, which marked the future site of the Last Judgment. Just before he died, he further enhanced it with four pairs of bronze-plated wooden doors; those installed at the east and west gates bear the date 972 (1564–65), while the south and north gates feature undated Qur'anic inscriptions.²²¹ Prior to the creation of these doors, the Dome of the Chain was refaced with tile revetments. The tilework inscription band above its mihrab indirectly alludes to Süleyman's divinely sanctioned caliphate and his Davidic justice, ending with a supplication expressing his hope to live until the end of days:

Basmala. O David, We have appointed you as a viceroy (*khaliḥa*) on earth, therefore judge between humankind justly and follow not desire, lest it lead you astray from the path of God" (Qur'an 38:26). God is the speaker of truth, the Great, the Generous! He ordered to renew [with] these tiles (*al-kāshānī*) the noble sultan station

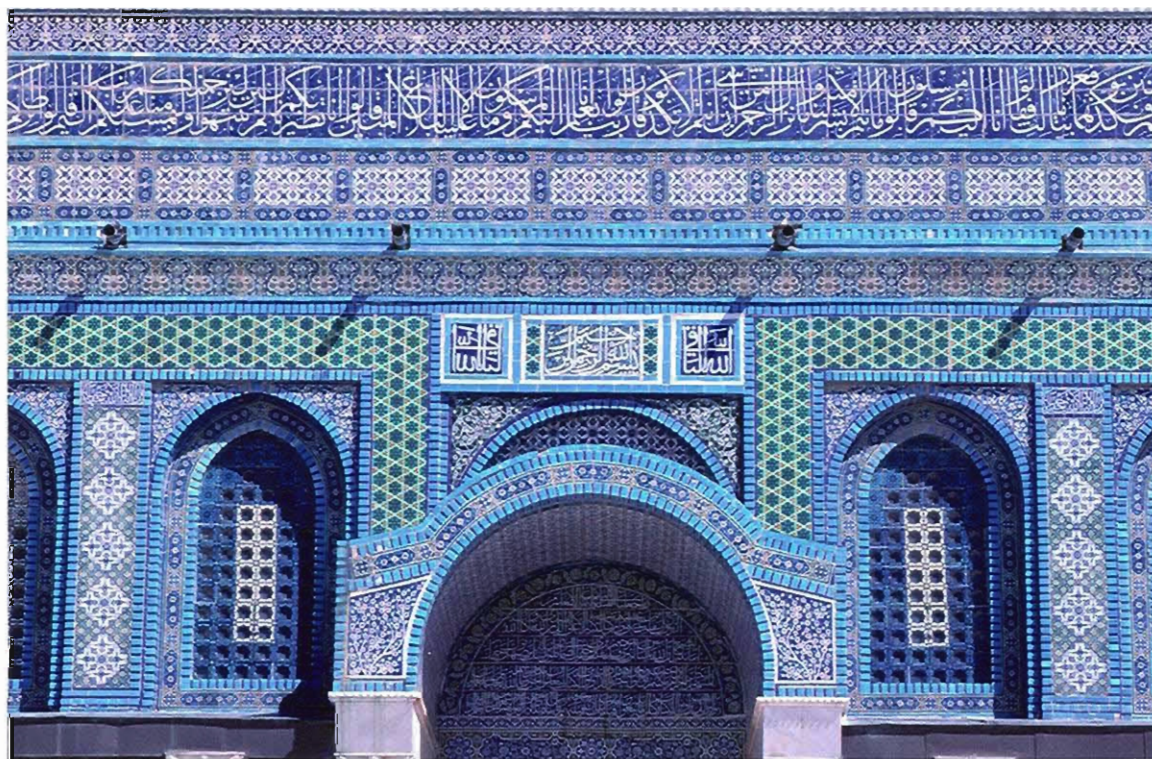


Fig. 21. Dome of the Rock, south tympanum and octagon tile revetments with inscriptions. (Photo: Carmen Rodondo/Corbis)

(*al-maḡām al-sharīf al-sultānī*) our master, the sultan Süleyman, son of Selim, son of Bayezid Khan, may God prolong his sovereignty and perpetuate his reign until the Day of Judgment (*yawm al-mīʿād*, Day of Promise). In the year 969 (1561–62).²²²

The same verse, which concludes with a warning about the awful doom awaiting those who “wander away from the path of God” and “forget the Day of Reckoning,” is partially quoted on the sultan’s bronze-plated doors at the Dome of the Rock’s east gate, named after David in Ottoman times (fig. 15). Hence, the door inscriptions make reference to the neighboring Dome of the Chain, as does ‘Abd al-Malik’s epigraphic bronze plaque on the same gate (then in situ), alluding to the divine origin of earthly authority and to the Day of Resurrection.²²³ The parallel between Sultan Süleyman’s and David’s appointment as God’s caliph in order to administer justice is also stressed in contemporary Ottoman texts. For example, the preface of Ebussu‘ud’s renowned commentary on the Qur’an, dedicated to Süleyman in 1566, declares the sultan to be the person upon whom “God Most High has bestowed the caliphate of the earth” and whom “He has chosen for its sultanate through its length and breadth.” Ebussu‘ud likewise greets the sultan as “the caliph of God Most High on His earth” in a treatise on ritual ablution written around that time.²²⁴ The Dome of the Chain is identified as “the prophet David’s tribunal (*mahkeme*)” by Evliya Çelebi, who devoutly offered prayers at its mihrab.²²⁵ Designated by its inscription as a quasi-sacred royal edifice, the Dome of the Chain was, as we have seen, occasionally the venue for legal proceedings of the shari‘a court (adjacent to the Gate of the Law Court, fig. 3[1]), which were presided over by the caliph-sultan’s deputies. It is not a coincidence, then, that the “lawgiver” Süleyman lavished his personal attention on the renovation of this highly charged domical edifice, which mediated between the realms of heavenly and earthly justice.

The “second Solomon,” Süleyman, is frequently also called a “second David” in contemporary sources.²²⁶ It is noteworthy that the sultan’s earliest building project in Jerusalem was the Mosque of the Prophet David (*masjid al-nabī dāwūd*), which adjoined that prophet’s revered tomb at the Coenaculum in Mount Zion; an inscription dated 930 (1524) records the order to create this masjid by the “sultan of humankind, the defender of the religion of Islam, the servitor of the House of the Sacred Precinct [in Jerusalem] (*khādim al-bayt al-haram*), and the establisher of justice and

security.”²²⁷ Just around that time, in 1523, Elijahu Capsali of Candia completed his Hebrew chronicle, in which he hails Sultan Süleyman as the emperor of the last kingdom of world history, which would precipitate the gathering of the exiles into Jerusalem as well as the coming of the messiah, who was predicted to appear in the year 1529–30, an event that Capsali hoped to witness personally: “He [Süleyman] is the tenth king [sultan] of the Turks, and the tenth one shall be holy to the Lord (Leviticus 27:32); in his days Judah shall be delivered...and a redeemer shall come to Zion (Isaiah 59:20).” The gradual process of appropriating the dependencies of Masjid al-Nabi Dawud from the Fransican monks culminated in the final expulsion of the order in 1551–52 and the *prise de possession* of the venerated complex as a personal waqf of the Ottoman sultan.²²⁸

Cornell Fleischer has argued that Süleyman’s “legal innovations were founded on the assumption of extraordinary legislative authority that was the natural concomitant of his messianic identity.” The “apocalyptic content of Süleymanic ideology” was in part derived from the popular expectation of momentous change throughout the Mediterranean world; chroniclers often attributed to the arrival of the millennium his ability to bring about startling transformations in the Ottoman order. A chronicle of Süleyman’s reign written in 1540 by Sena’i, for instance, describes the sovereign as “the world emperor and messiah of the last age” (*sāhib-kirān ve mehdī-yi āhīrū’z-zamān*). The 1543 rescension of Mevlana Isa’s Ottoman chronicle also salutes him as the universal ruler and renewer of religion (*müceddid*), destined to combine temporal with spiritual authority in the last age of history. It provides a list of “signs” pointing to the imminent end of time and predicts that Süleyman will inaugurate the millennium in the year 960 (1552–53), either as mahdi-messiah or as his forerunner.²²⁹

The influential court chancellor Mustafa Celalzade, who around that time translated for the sultan a recently written Persian biography of the Prophet, characterizes Süleyman in similar terms. In the dedicatory preface of this work, dated 959 (1551–52), the year the Dome of the Rock’s foundation inscription was written, Celalzade prays God to make lofty the edifice of the “world emperor” (*sāhib-kirān*) Süleyman’s caliphate until the Day of Judgment, affirming that he is “certainly the messiah of the last age” (*mukarrer mehdī-yi āhīr zamāndur*).²³⁰ Celalzade refers to his patron as the “unique possessor of the noblest

caliphate and sultanate, the servitor of the Two Venerable Harams, and the lord of the Two Great Qiblas (*ḫibleteyn-i mu'azzamateyn*).” The last epithet captures the pride the caliph-sultan derived from being the guardian of both the Jerusalem and the Meccan sanctuaries, the loci of the first and second qiblas of Islam. The augmented sacralization of the “Rock of God,” amplified by the visual impact of Süleyman’s restorations, is comparable to its architectural glorification by ‘Abd al-Malik. Just like the Marwanid caliphs who prided themselves on being the lords of the two “houses” (*bayt*) of God in Mecca and Jerusalem, the Ottoman sultan particularly exalted the Ka’ba and the Dome of the Rock in his renovation projects in the three holiest cities of Islam.²³¹

Evliya Çelebi refers to the Dome of the Rock as the “Masjid of the Rock of God” (*mescid-i şahratu’llāh*), where large congregations performed the five daily prayers in accordance with the Hanafi rite (to which the Ottomans subscribed), while other *madhdhabs* were assigned their own prayer spaces, as in Mamluk times. He proudly declares that only the Ottoman emperor, who no doubt is the greatest ruler on the face of the earth, could be the possessor of the Dome of the Rock, a world-renowned “House of God” (*beytu’llāh*) unequalled in its astonishing beauty. He attributes to the prophet-kings David and Solomon the construction of the grand complex, which continued to be venerated by Muslims. Pointing out that the Dome of the Rock was built by ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, embellished by later rulers as the “former qibla,” and exquisitely renovated by Sultan Süleyman, he states that during his thirty-eight years of travel he has not encountered anything like this unique building, a veritable replica of the pavilion at the uppermost level of the eight paradises (*kaşr-i ‘illīyyīn*), resembling the legendary Khawarnaq palace.²³²

Evliya’s mid-seventeenth-century description of the Rock sheds light on popular perceptions of its sanctity in the Ottoman context, as he was given a tour of the complex by pilgrim guides. He reports that earlier historians have said that both the “Rock of God” and the Black Stone of the Ka’ba originated in Paradise. He also cites some commentators of the Qur’anic verse “His are the keys (*maqālīd*) of the heavens and the earth” (Qur’an 42:12) who identified the “Rock of God” as the second of the “two keys” (mountains) that God created on earth, the first being the Mountain of ‘Arafat in Mecca, and the second the one in Jerusalem. The “Rock of God” was therefore vener-

ated from the beginning of creation and served as the qibla of the “sons of Adam” until the direction of prayer changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. Evliya says that it is popularly known as the “suspended rock” (*mu’allak taş*) because it has been hanging in midair by the power of the Almighty ever since the Prophet ascended from it to heaven on al-Buraq; at that time the Rock levitated and begged with its tongue to accompany Muhammad, who in turn replied, “O Rock of God, remain suspended, by God’s permission!”²³³

As we have seen, a different version of this tradition appears in Nasir-i Khusraw’s travelogue (1047) from the late Fatimid period. The Andalusian jurist Ibn al-‘Arabi (d. 1148), who visited Jerusalem about half a century later during the Seljuk period, further elaborated upon the same tradition in his commentary on the Qur’anic verse 24:18, where he mentioned the Rock and described his encounter with it around 1092–95. His description was then copied in and disseminated by Mamluk texts on Jerusalem from which Evliya’s account seems to derive.²³⁴ Ibn al-‘Arabi refers to the Rock as “one of God’s wonders” because it stays aloft by nothing other than what keeps the heavens from falling onto the earth “except by His permission.” Ibn al-‘Arabi reports that the Prophet’s footprint was imprinted on the Rock’s southern side as he ascended to heaven with al-Buraq, and that the Rock leaned in the Prophet’s direction in reverence to him. On the other side were the fingerprints of the angels who grasped the Rock when it leaned over with the Prophet. Both of these commemorative sites are marked on a plan of the Dome of the Rock made in 1865, which records the spots revered in it and its cave during the late Ottoman period (fig. 15[12, 13]). Nasir-i Khusraw’s earlier account refers only to the footprints of Isaac above the Rock, on which the Prophet prayed before moving to the Dome of the Ascension; according to him, it was the Prophet who held the Rock in place when it rose up to honor him and then proceeded to the site of his Ascension to mount on al-Buraq. Ibn al-‘Arabi’s version foreshadows the predominant association of the Rock with the Ascension of the Prophet in the post-Crusader era, even though divergent interpretations continued to prevail. Upon entering the cave underneath with trepidation, Ibn al-‘Arabi observed that the Rock was indeed disconnected from the earth, with some of its parts more detached than others. Quoting this eyewitness account, the Mamluk historian Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali explains that the Rock is said to have

remained hanging between heaven and earth until a pregnant woman went under it and was so overcome by fear that she lost her baby. He speculates that the circular structure constructed around the Rock, so as to conceal its frightful suspension from human eyes, must have been created after Ibn al-ʿArabi's visit.²³⁵

According to Evliya, it was one of the caliphs who had a thin partition wall erected under the Rock so that those visiting the cave could offer their prayers in peace, since its suspension frightened pilgrims and caused many pregnant women to miscarry. Yet he notes that a finger, or at some places even a hand, could still be inserted between the Rock and the wall. Sayyid ʿAli al-Husayni, the author of the above-mentioned Persian pilgrimage manual written in 1560-61, fancifully imagines that Sultan Süleyman ordered the renovation of the domed edifice with windows around the "Rock of God" because it had been reported to him that some pregnant women had miscarried from the terrifying sight of its suspension between heaven and earth.²³⁶ Among the blessed traces on the Rock, Evliya mentions the mark left by the Prophet's turban as he prayed in its cave and the imprint left by his head and knees when he subsequently prostrated himself on the Rock proper, prior to his Ascension. Observing that pilgrims circumambulate (*ṭavāf*) the inaccessible Rock outside its balustrade, he lists the visitation places (*makāmāt*) around it, which included the Prophet's right footprint, displayed in a silver-grilled cupboard, complemented by other venerated sites inside the Aqsa Mosque and on the Haram precinct (fig. 15[12]).²³⁷ A mid-sixteenth-century Arabic guidebook for pilgrims written by Nasir al-Din Muhammad b. Khidr al-Rumi, suggests that the number of visitation places within the Dome of the Rock and its cave may have proliferated after its refurbishment by Sultan Süleyman, although some of them are already mentioned in Mamluk sources.²³⁸

THE EXEGETICAL OVERLAY OF QUR'ANIC INSCRIPTIONS

The messages of Süleyman's historical inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock, announcing his titles and aspirations, were enhanced by the universal Qur'anic affirmations that were overlaid on its surfaces. These religious inscriptions can be read as a dialogical commentary on ʿAbd al-Malik's epigraphic program, providing insights into how the building was perceived

by the Ottoman sultan and his advisers. Inscribed on several parts of the building along with the name of the patron, they actively construct exegetical meaning by reinterpreting the signification of the Dome of the Rock with more explicit eschatological overtones. Despite the then-prevalent association of the Rock with the Prophet's Ascension, these inscriptions primarily glorify God, for whom, according to his foundation inscription, Süleyman renovated the building "as an act of praise."

The earliest Qur'anic quotations, which appear on the sultan's stained glass windows inside the building, echo ʿAbd al-Malik's inscriptions in their emphasis on the absolute sovereignty of God and the messengership of the Prophet, but they are marked by more pronounced eschatological references to rewards awaiting believers in Paradise. Following a counterclockwise direction, the window inscriptions begin at the west side of the southern wall with verses from the Sura of Victory (48:1-5), which announce the manifest victory granted to the Prophet by the merciful God, to whom belongs all the forces of the heavens and the earth.²³⁹ The quoted verses mention the divine favors bestowed upon the Prophet and promise him help and guidance on the "straight path" (*ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*). They declare that God strengthens the faith of believers by sending down tranquility (*al-sakīna*) into their hearts, so that He may admit them into the gardens of paradise, which is a great triumph in His sight. The next windows cite a short verse confirming the oneness and mercy of God: "Your God is One God; there is no God save Him, the Beneficent, the Merciful" (Qur'an 2:163). This is followed by the Throne Verse (Qur'an 2:255), repeated in earlier inscriptions, which exalts the omnipotence and omniscience of the eternal God, whose Throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and without whose permission nobody can intercede with Him on behalf of the believers on the Day of Judgment.

Süleyman's historical epigraphs, which we have already discussed, begin on the windows at the east side of the northern wall and end at the southwest, thereby delineating an axis within the building that separates secular texts from religious ones. This axis is reinforced by the placement of the sultan's tilework foundation inscription on the outer tympanum of the north gate, with its counterpart on the tiled tympanum of the south gate, facing the qibla direction and featuring Qur'anic inscriptions exclusively (figs. 19, 20, and 21). The primacy of the north-south axis

is visually marked by distinctive tile panels depicting blossoming prunus trees with paradisiacal associations, which flank the arches of the north and south gates. The less prominent east and west gates feature neither “paradise trees” nor tympana with epigraphic tiles. The historical window inscriptions, which beg God to aid Süleyman’s armies and prolong his life, are accompanied by a short Qur’anic verse that hints at his being among the rightly guided ones and at his maintenance of the building, now functioning as a mosque: “Only he shall tend the mosques of God who believes in God and the Last Day, and observes the prayers, and pays the alms, and fears none but God alone” (Qur’an 9:18).

The two tilework inscription bands that encircle the exterior of the Dome of the Rock emphatically reinforce the underlying eschatological message of ‘Abd al-Malik’s epigraphic program (fig. 18).²⁴⁰ The one around the drum partially cites the Sura of the Night Journey (Qur’an 17:1–20), thereby explicitly connecting it with the sanctity of the Rock, which is environed by blessed precincts. Starting at the south-east buttress of the drum, the quoted verses affirm the glory of God, who carried His servant there by night to reveal some of His signs. The verses describe how the Temple was destroyed twice to punish the Children of Israel when they disobeyed the divine scriptures revealed to Moses; they also confirm that the Qur’an provides guidance to the “straightest path” leading to salvation on the Last Day, when a painful doom awaits those who disbelieve in the Hereafter.²⁴¹ The transfer of this sura from the Aqsa Mosque (where its first verse had been quoted in earlier inscriptions) to the more visible exterior of the Dome of the Rock recenters the grand complex around the Rock of God, by then commonly identified as the site of the Prophet’s Ascension. The drum inscription also foregrounds the eschatological connection between the “signs” of God’s sovereignty witnessed by the Prophet and the imminent end of time.

The reality of the impending Day of Judgment is further underscored by the second epigraphic band along the upper edge of the octagon, which fully quotes Sura *Yā Sīn*, whose very title is one of the epithets attributed to the Prophet (Qur’an 36:1–83) (figs. 18 and 21).²⁴² Beginning at the southeast, it thematically complements the Ayyubid mosaic inscription surrounding the inner base of the drum, which cites Sura *Tā Hā*, whose title is yet another epithet of the Prophet (Qur’an 20:1–21) (fig. 10). Both suras affirm

that the Qur’an was revealed to the chosen Prophet by the beneficent creator of the heavens and the earth as a reminder of the approaching Hour.²⁴³ The sura called *Yā Sīn* starts with a declaration of the divine source of the Qur’an, sent to the Prophet as a warning of the day of reckoning and as a good tidings of the rewards promised to the believers in Paradise. The sura confirms the immense power of God displayed in the bountiful “signs” of His creation and concludes by instructing the Prophet to remind disbelievers that all created beings ultimately return to Him, by saying to them:

Is not He, who created the heavens and the earth, able to create (again) the like of them? Indeed He is the All-Knowing Creator. When He intends a thing, His command is “Be” and it is. So glory be to Him, in whose hands is the dominion over all things and unto Him will you be brought back!

Süleyman’s Qur’anic inscriptions thus reiterate the idea of the absolute sovereignty of God as an essential component of cosmology and eschatology, forcefully amplifying the latent narrative strands of ‘Abd al-Malik’s epigraphic program. The message that emanates from the polychromatic tiled surfaces of the Dome of the Rock is a glorious vision of divine justice and the promise of salvation for the rightly guided, just believers.²⁴⁴ Süleyman’s Qur’anic inscriptions on the gates of the building provide additional commentary on its many associations. The tilework epigraphic band on the inner face of the north gate’s tympanum (behind the sultan’s foundation inscription) evokes the name given that gate in Mamluk and Ottoman sources, the Gate of Paradise (*bāb al-janna*), which, according to Ibn Kathir was one of the “deceitful signs and marks” of the Last Day depicted in the Haram during the times of ‘Abd al-Malik. The same name appears in Nasir al-Din al-Rumi’s mid-sixteenth-century guidebook for pilgrims, which instructs the visitor to enter the building from the north gate and then pray at the Black Paving Stone across from its threshold, associated with Paradise and divine mercy since Marwanid times (figs. 4[1] and 15[1]). The tilework inscription band of Süleyman on the north gate quotes Qur’anic verses promising believers God’s forgiveness and His acceptance of them into the eternal gardens of paradise: “Their Lord gives them the good tidings of His mercy, and acceptance, and gardens of lasting bliss, where they will dwell forever” (Qur’an 9:21 and part of 22).²⁴⁵

The sultan's bronze-plated doors at the same gate feature upper inscription bands that similarly welcome believers into the gardens of paradise, and quote the opening sentence of Solomon's letter inviting the Queen of Sheba to surrender to the true faith: "These are the Gardens of Eden, so enter you to dwell therein" (a paraphrase of several Qur'anic verses) and "It is from Solomon, and it says, 'In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate'" (Qur'an 27:30). The reference here to Solomon seems to allude to an early tradition that locates his tomb in a subterranean corridor extending between the north gate and the Black Paving Stone. The site of the tomb, marked on a plan from the late Ottoman period, is said to have been discovered when the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–85) ordered the platform or bench (*maṣṭaba*) in front of the paving stone enlarged; perhaps this was a stone screen like the one with arched "mihrabs" seen there today (figs. 15[1, 2] and 8). Solomon's letter beginning with the *basmala* was followed by the divine command, "Do not exalt yourselves above Me, but come to Me as those who surrender (Qur'an 27:31)," which eventually led the idolatrous queen and her subjects to submit to the Lord of the Universe. This verse affirms that Solomon subscribed to the same universal monotheistic faith, which demanded total submission to the one God, as did the Prophet Muhammad and the other prophets.²⁴⁶ Like the epigraphic bronze plaque of 'Abd al-Malik, which at that time was still installed at the north gate, Süleyman's complementary inscriptions indicate that the "religion of truth" as revealed to the Prophet and his predecessors is the key to Paradise.

The Qur'anic inscriptions on the tiled tympanum of the south gate form a pendant to the sultan's historical foundation inscription on the north gate's tympanum tiles (fig. 21). Their religious content highlights the special status of this gate, which was designated the Qibla Gate. The quoted verses refer to its name by announcing the change of the Prophet's direction of prayer to Mecca by divine command (part of Qur'an 2:143 and 144–45). The epigraphic bands on the sultan's bronze-plated doors at the south gate repeat this message by citing the first half of verse 2:144. The inscriptions thus imply that the Rock was the former qibla towards which the Prophet prayed, while also stressing the primacy of the north–south axis facing the new qibla ordered by God.²⁴⁷

Süleyman's Qur'anic inscriptions on the interior and exterior of the Dome of the Rock, all of which

begin and end on the south side of the building, privilege the qibla direction aligned with the Ka'ba, much like those of 'Abd al-Malik. Nevertheless, the Paradise Gate to the north, featuring the sultan's foundation inscription, is consistently mentioned in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman guidebooks as the primary entrance to the building. Unlike early texts that identify the precinct's main entrance as the western Gate of David, these guidebooks now instruct the pilgrim to enter the Haram from the Gate of Remission, which has migrated north from the eastern wall (fig. 3[2, 14]). The counterclockwise circuit of prayer stations outlined in two guidebooks from the mid-sixteenth century—one by Nasir al-Din Rumi in Arabic and another, in Ottoman Turkish, by an anonymous author—therefore differs from the circuit described in Ibn al-Murajja's treatise, in which the first place to be visited was the Dome of the Rock. The new prayer route moves from the northern Gate of Remission to the Dome of Solomon in the northwest (fig. 3[14, 36]), ascending to the central raised platform from the northwestern stairway, whose arcade, according to an extant undated inscription, was restored by Süleyman. The pilgrim is then instructed to pray at the minor domes in the northwest quadrant of the platform before visiting the Dome of the Rock; at the Cave of the Spirits (ten cubits away from the stairway by which the pilgrim reached the platform), where the Prophet prayed with the resurrected souls of the earlier prophets; at the Dome of the Ascension; and at the Red Mihrab (located today under the Dome of the Prophet) (fig. 3[30, 27, 26]). The anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook reports the lack of consensus as to whether it was at the Dome of the Ascension or the Red Mihrab that the Prophet, having descended from heaven, performed two prostrations—a confusion apparently triggered by the by-then-current identification of the Rock itself as the site of his heavenly ascent (fig. 3[27, 26]).²⁴⁸

Upon entering the Dome of the Rock from the Gate of Paradise to the north, the following spots are to be visited in counterclockwise order, a conspicuous departure from the clockwise circumambulation prescribed by Ibn al-Murajja (variants in the anonymous Ottoman Turkish text are indicated in parentheses): the Black Paving Stone (the Green Marble Slab); the Fingerprints of Angels (the Fingerprints of Gabriel); the Footprint of the Prophet; (the Buckler of Hamza and the Iron Pomegranate Tree fashioned by the prophet David) (fig. 15[1, 9, 12, 13, 14]). The

pilgrim is then directed to descend into the cave to visit the Tongue of the Rock; the Station (*maqām*) of Solomon (the Mihrab on the right); the imprint of the Prophet's Turban on the Rock; and other spots not mentioned in the Ottoman Turkish guidebook, such as the Stations of Isaiah (Sha'ba?), Gabriel, and David; and the Hole of the Rock (fig. 15[A–H]). Ascending from the cave, the pilgrim then visits the Footprint of Enoch and the station of the caliph 'Ali near the east gate before moving on to the Dome of the Chain (the Ottoman Turkish text mentions only the Hanafi mihrab) (fig. 15[4, 15]).

The next prayer station is the Place of the Scales (*al-mīzān*) in the arcade of the southern stairway, adjacent to the marble minbar, from which one proceeds to the axially aligned main gate of the Aqsa Mosque, "which according to the shari'a, however, denotes the whole area within the precinct walls," according to the Ottoman Turkish text (fig. 3[23, 24, 41]). The pilgrim then visits commemorative stations inside the congregational mosque, such as the Pillar where the Prophet prayed; the Great Mihrab; the mihrabs of Mu'awiya, 'Umar, and Zechariah; and the Well of the Leaf (fig. 3[41a, b, d]). He or she also tours the following sites along the southern and eastern walls of the Haram, before exiting from the northern Gate of the Tribes: the Mihrab of David; the Sanctuary of Mary, known as the Cradle of Jesus; the Place of al-Sirat; (the Station of the Forties [*makām arba'in*]); the Mihrab of al-Khidr; the Gate of Repentance and Mercy; and (the Worshipping Place of Solomon) (fig. 3[42, 44, 7, 9–12]). The itinerary concludes with visits to holy places outside the precinct, including the Mount of Olives, the Spring of Silwan, and the tomb complex of the prophet David on Mount Zion. The circuit of pilgrimage stations outlined in these two guidebooks from the early Ottoman period accentuates the processional north–south axis within the Haram, oriented towards the qibla direction, along which the Dome of the Rock, the southern stairway, and the main mihrab of the Aqsa Mosque are aligned.

A FUSION OF PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND ESCHATOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

This processional axis also informed the novel iconography that emerged in mid-sixteenth-century pictorial representations of the Haram al-Sharif, colored by the eschatological traditions concerning the merits of

Jerusalem that were enthusiastically embraced in the course of Sultan Süleyman's renovations. Echoing the emphasis on eschatology in the sultan's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock, visual signifiers of the Last Day are prominently depicted on painted images of the Jerusalem sanctuary in contemporary pilgrimage scrolls and devotional guidebooks (figs. 22 and 23). These mid-sixteenth-century pictorial representations differ considerably from their earlier counterparts in Ayyubid-period pilgrimage scrolls, dating between 1205 and 1229, which display the black banners of the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad (fig. 24, a and b). The absence of apocalyptic signs in the Ayyubid scrolls may reflect an official attempt to curb the popularity of contested eschatological traditions associated with Jerusalem.²⁴⁹ Confined to narrow bands at the end of these scrolls, which begin with images of pilgrimage places in Mecca and Medina, the standardized representations of the Jerusalem sanctuary comprise a selected group of sites that are lined up in a row and punctuated by a minaret (*manāra*) at each end, with little regard to spatial order. The monumental cupola of the Dome of the Rock, identified as the Dome of the Holy House (*qubbat bayt al-maqdis*), occupies the center, above the Rock (*al-sakhra*), which is marked by the Prophet's footprint. The Dome is flanked by smaller arched compartments containing the Cradle of Jesus (*mahd 'isā*); an enigmatic tree named after the Prophet (*shajarat al-rasūl*) that is sometimes labeled the olive tree (*al-zaytūna*); and a mihrab at both ends. These two mihrabs are either unidentified or designated variously as the Mihrab of the Aqsa Mosque (*mihrāb al-masjid al-aqsā*), Mihrab of David (*mihrāb dāwūd*), or Mihrab of Zechariah (*mihrāb zakariyā*) (figs. 24b and 25[a, b]).²⁵⁰

The pictorial representation of the Haram al-Sharif in a pilgrimage scroll made for Sultan Süleyman in 951 (1544–45) departs radically from its Ayyubid predecessors in spatial conception and iconography (fig. 22).²⁵¹ Its vertical processional axis from a northern vantage point is entirely missing in the abbreviated frontal rendering of the sanctuary in Ayyubid scrolls, where space is conceptualized as a horizontal string of juxtaposed memorial stations. This well-known Ottoman scroll is the record of a pilgrimage made by proxy to the three holy sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem on behalf of the sultan's beloved deceased son, Şehzade Mehmed (d. 1543), just around the time when the drum of the Dome of the Rock was being tiled. The Haram of Jerusalem is once again the last

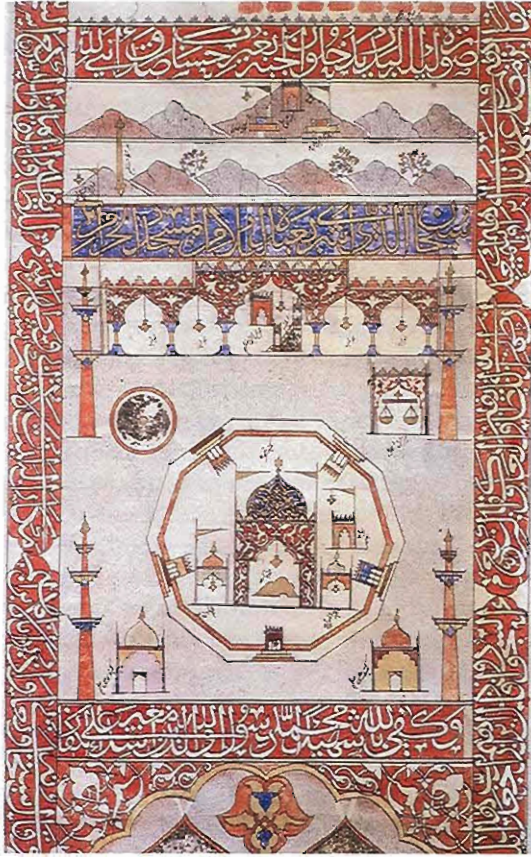


Fig. 22. Pilgrimage certificate, painted scroll dated 951 (1544–45): detail representing the Haram al-Sharif, with the Valley of Hell and the Mount of Olives above. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1812. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum)

pilgrimage site depicted on the scroll, followed by an iconic image of the Prophet's sandals constituting a witness to the document; an accompanying inscription urges the viewer to kiss the representation of these sandals with reverence.²⁵² The end of the pilgrimage certificate is signed by six witnesses, including three guides (*mürşid*) to the sanctuary in Mecca and the scribe Muhammad Abu 'l-Fazl al-Sinjari (the author of two illustrated books on Mecca that feature paintings of the sanctuary in Jerusalem). These signatures attest the written statement of Hajji Piri b. Sayyid Ahmad that he made the hajj by proxy as a "gift to the blessed soul" of the late prince.²⁵³

The epigraphic band above the painting of the Haram al-Sharif cites the beginning of verse 17:1, which



Fig. 23. Pictorial representation of the Haram al-Sharif, from Sayyid 'Ali al-Husayni's *Kitāb Shawq-nāma*, a guidebook for pilgrims dated 968 (1560–61). Haifa, National Maritime Museum, inv. no. 4576, fol. 49r. (Photo: courtesy of Rachel Milstein)

is fully quoted with subsequent verses on the Dome of the Rock's drum inscription, executed a year later, in 1545–46. The verse is thus presented as the *raison d'être* of the pilgrimage to the sanctuary in Jerusalem, which is visually represented as an amalgam of schematically rendered visitation sites and eschatological signs. The square precinct, featuring four minarets at the corners and the Aqsa Mosque in the upper part, is dominated by the Dome of the Rock, raised above a central platform that is depicted with ten rather than four sides. The façade of the congregational mosque has five instead of seven arches, each of them featuring a suspended lamp and labeled *mihrāb*; the larger central arch contains the mihrab of the Prophet (*mihrāb al-nabī*) and the minbar (*al-minbar*). The association



Fig. 24, a and b. Pilgrimage certificate, painted scroll dated 608 (1211). a. Full scroll with banners of the Abbasid caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah (r. 1180–1225) depicted at Mount ‘Arafat. b. Detail representing the sanctuary in Jerusalem. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, inv. no. 4091. (Photo: Ali Konyalı)

of the Aqsa Mosque's main mihrab with the Prophet is probably related to the commemorative pillar near it, where he is said to have prayed on the night of his Ascension, according to the mid-sixteenth-century guidebooks discussed above.²⁵⁴

The two domes of Jesus and Moses, shown in the lower part of the precinct (*gunbad-i 'isā* on the right and *gunbad-i mūsā* on the left), correspond to buildings later visited by Evliya, but they seem to be represented here as eschatological signs of the Day of Judgment, when both of these prophets will intercede on behalf of the believers. The actual locations of these domes are shifted so as to form a visual triangle with the Prophet's mihrab at the Aqsa Mosque.²⁵⁵ The Prophet is thereby linked with the two predecessors who are honored in the Dome of the Rock's inscriptions, even as his precedence in rank is spatially asserted. By aligning the two qiblas of Islam along the central axis culminating in the Aqsa Mosque's mihrab, the image (which echoes that of the Meccan Haram in composition) stresses the primacy of the Ka'ba, itself depicted at the beginning of the scroll and the point towards which the sanctuary in Jerusalem orients itself. Hence, the visual mapping of the Haram al-Sharif on the scroll parallels the north-south directional orientation of the pilgrimage circuit and of Süleyman's

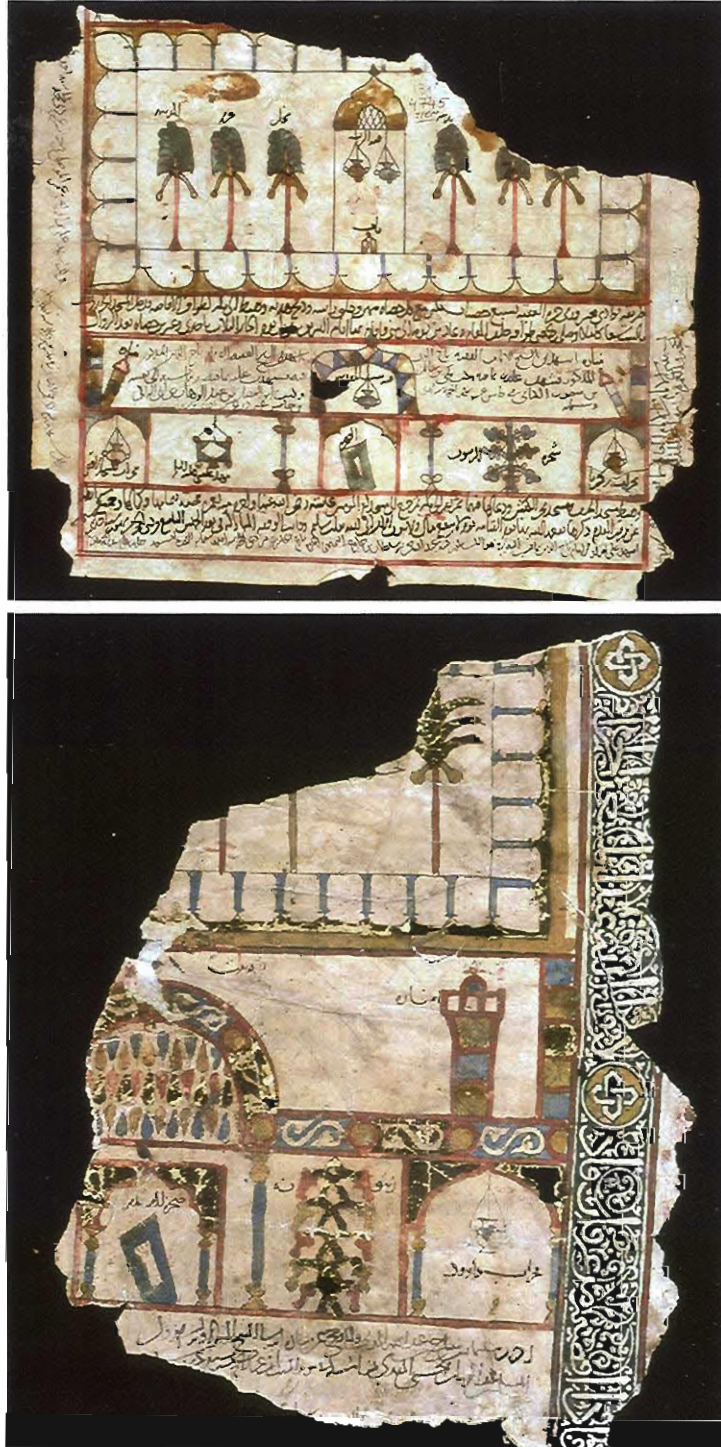


Fig. 25, a and b. Pilgrimage certificate fragments depicting the sanctuary in Jerusalem. a. Painted scroll dated 601 (1204). Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, inv. no. 4745. b. Block-printed and hand-painted scroll dated 617 (1220-21). Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, inv. no. 53/18. (Photos: Ali Konyalı)

inscription program at the Dome of the Rock, which was implemented around the same time.

The decagonal raised platform, accessible by five staircases with monumental arcades, visually accentuates the centralized layout of the dome over the Rock, from which sanctity emanates to the blessed precinct and beyond. The Dome of the Rock (*ḡunbad-i šakhra*) is depicted as an ornate domical building with a hanging lamp, enshrining the Rock of God (*sakhratu'llāh*) suspended in midair. It is flanked by two smaller domed structures on each side, with a simpler domeless mihrab at the upper right corner. The two edifices on the right, the Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-mi'rāj*) and the Red Mihrab (*mihrāb-i aḡmar*), which had been renovated in 1538–39, commemorate the Prophet.²⁵⁶ The Dome of the Chain on the left, identified as David's Tribunal (*maḡkama-i dāwūd*), would receive its tile revetments and inscription later in 1561–62. This dome, too, can be interpreted as an eschatological sign because David will also intercede on behalf of the believers at the Last Judgment.

The omission from the Rock of the Prophet's footprint, which is prominently marked on Ayyubid scrolls, underscores the primacy of the Rock's association with God. Forming a pair with the twin domes of Moses and Jesus, the other two signs of the Day of Judgment placed between the polygonal platform of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque commemorate the eschatological future. On the right are the Scales of Acts (*mizān al-a'māl*), where the good deeds of resurrected humans will be weighed against their sins. On the left is the Pool (*hawḍ*) of Kawthar (abundance), a gift from God to the Prophet, according to a widespread interpretation of the sura named after it, which declares, "We have surely given you *al-kawthar*" (Qur'an 108:1). The word *kawthar* became almost synonymous with *hawḍ*, "the Prophet's Pool," which was shown to him at the time of his Ascension to the Throne of God and designated as his on the Last Day, when believers would quench their thirst and purify themselves by drinking its water from goblets before entering Paradise.²⁵⁷

It has been noted that the circular pool on the scroll image bears a striking resemblance to the round ablution fountain in front of the Aqsa Mosque's central gate, situated along the axial path leading to the southern stairway of the raised platform, whose arcade is identified by Evliya as the "Gate of the Scales" (*bābū l-mizān*) (fig. 26). The anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook instructs the pilgrim to stand under the central arch of that arcade, known as the "Place of the

Scales" (*mizān yiri*), and offer a prayer for the souls of all the prophets, in the hope of obtaining their intercession on the Last Day. According to Evliya, who saw a depiction of scales on that arcade, the Prophet asked Sultan Süleyman in a dream to construct this distinctive "round pool" (*havz-i müdevver*) on his behalf. The pool, known as the Cup (*al-kā's*), continued to be attributed to the sultan over the centuries; on an 1857 image of the Haram al-Sharif it is labeled "the ablution fountain (*şādīrvān*) of Sultan Süleyman from the House of Osman."²⁵⁸

Another eschatological sign represented on the scroll is the Bridge of Sirat (*şirāt-i mustaqīm*) that spans the Valley of Hell between two rows of mountains on the distant horizon. The bridge, whose name evokes the "straight path" repeatedly mentioned in the Qur'an as the surest guide to salvation, is visualized here as leading from the Mount of Olives to the Haram al-Sharif. It links the sanctuary with the narrow rectangular image above, which depicts the hilly landscape of holy sites extending between the eastern wall of the Haram and the Mount of Olives. Accompanied by the revered tomb of Mary, one of these sites is the octagonal Church of the Ascension, which features the footprint of Christ (a counterpart to that of the Prophet inside the Dome of the Rock). The eschatological dome of Jesus depicted on the Haram itself acknowledges the Muslim belief in his return to earth as "a sign of the Hour."²⁵⁹ As we have seen, the future site of the Bridge of Sirat is marked by an extant pillar protruding from the south end of the Haram's eastern wall, which according to Evliya had been moved to a higher position during Sultan Süleyman's restoration of that wall (fig. 3[7]). The anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook instructs the pilgrim to perform a supererogatory prayer at the "marker of Sirat" (*şirāṭ nişāni*) and then to climb on top of the precinct wall to recite another prayer asking for God's help to pass quickly over the bridge at the end of time. Instead of depicting the bridge, scales, and pool at their actual locations on the Haram, the image on the scroll represents them as abstract symbols heralding the Last Judgment, like the domes of Moses and Jesus. The image is therefore a "cognitive map" rather than a visual catalogue of the visitation sites listed in devotional guidebooks and treatises on the merits of Jerusalem. Seamlessly blending the present and future, it portrays the sanctuary as a liminal sacred space mediating between this world and the world to come.²⁶⁰



Fig. 26. Dome of the Rock, view from the south with circular fountain in the foreground and southern stairway of the raised platform (Photo: Félix Bonfils, ca. 1870–75, Tassel no. 61. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

Another image of the Haram al-Sharif, painted in 968 (1560–61), fifteen years later than Sultan Süleyman's pilgrimage scroll, even more powerfully conceptualizes the complex as an apocalyptic space centered on the Rock (fig. 23). It appears at the end of a Persian pilgrimage manual, titled *The Book of Longing* (*Kitāb Shawq-nāma*), that has been brought to light by Rachel Milstein. Sayyid 'Ali al-Husayni, a descendant of the Prophet who resided in Mecca, wrote and illustrated this work in order to incite in the reader an ardent yearning to visit the holy sites depicted therein. In the preface, the author affirms his devotion to the Shi'i imams and expresses his continuous spiritual longing for God, saying, "My body is from the soil of Iran, my heart-and-soul is the pigeon of Hijaz." Sayyid 'Ali has been identified as the scribe of another illustrated manuscript, produced in Mecca eight years earlier, in 957 (1550–51); it is a copy of Muhyi al-Din Lari's famous

Persian poem *Futūh al-haramayn*, written for Muzaffar b. Mahmud Shah of Gujarat in 911 (1505–6). The text of the *Shawq-nāma* derives almost entirely from this popular work on the sites and rites of the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, with some additions, particularly in the preface and in the concluding section, to which is appended a brief description and image of the sanctuary in Jerusalem.²⁶¹

It is interesting to note that the first image of the manuscript prefigures the last one, for it depicts Mount Abu Qubays, identified in the accompanying text as the earliest mountain created by God on earth, which at the end of time will carry the people of Mecca to the Land of Jerusalem (*arz-i quds*).²⁶² Unlike the image on the scroll made for Sultan Süleyman, which is an official legal document, the *Shawq-nāma* painting presents a highly personalized vision of the sanctuary in Jerusalem that vividly captures the popular veneration of the Rock. The text accompanying it explains that the *masjid-i 'aqsā* (meaning the whole mosque precinct) is one of the greatest memorial shrines (*mashāhid*), and that it was alluded to by God in several places of the Qur'an, since it was the qibla of all the prophets and of the Prophet Muhammad before the Ka'ba. The author explains that God ordered David to construct it, and that it was completed by Solomon with the help of divs. He singles out among all its "wonders" (*'ajā'ibāt*) the "stone of the Rock of God that stands suspended between heaven and earth" (*sang-i šakhratu'llāh ki mua'llaq dar miyāna-i zamīn va āsmān istāda*), which is enveloped by a domed edifice with windows recently renovated by "His Majesty Sultan Süleyman." He adds that the sanctuary contains "the knife that Abraham turned away [during the sacrifice], the mihrab of all the prophets (*mihrab-i jamī'-i anbiyā*), the Pool of Kawthar, the Scales of Acts, the gates of Hell and Paradise, the Bridge of Sirat, the Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*) and other gates, as is depicted on the opposite page."²⁶³

Judging by the inscription band above the painting, which quotes verse 17:1, Milstein suggests that Sayyid 'Ali must have derived his composition from a scroll. There is, indeed, a striking similarity between the *Shawq-nāma* image and its counterpart on the scroll made for Sultan Süleyman. In both images the sanctuary features four minarets, and its main components consist of the congregational mosque and the polygonal central platform crowned by the Dome of the Rock. Yet the *Shawq-nāma* painting labels these components differently, populating the outer precinct

with a diverse group of eschatological signs. Like the scroll image, it represents the congregational mosque as a collection of mihrabs, individually identified. The central nave, featuring a minbar, has the Mihrab of Adam, coupled with that of the Prophet Muhammad (*mihrāb-i ādam, mihrāb al-nabī muḥammad*). The aisles that flank it contain the mihrabs of other prophets, two of which are missing because the left side of the page has been cropped; depicted from right to left, are the mihrabs of John the Baptist, Zechariah, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Jesus, and Noah. As in the scroll made for Süleyman, the Rock of God (*ṣakhrat'ullāh*) is shown suspended under a domed building. However, neither of the two smaller domes flanking the unlabeled Dome of the Rock commemorates the Prophet; instead they stress the eschatological theme of justice, with Solomon's Tribunal (*mahkama-yi sulaymān*) on the left, and David's Tribunal on the right (*mahkama-yi dāwūd*). These minor domes can therefore be read as structures that will accompany the divine Throne of judgment at the end of time. The dodecagonal raised platform, reached by four grand staircases with triumphal triple arcades, is here interpreted as the future pedestal of God's Throne (or Footstool), as suggested by the labels given the south and north arcades, respectively, the Gate of the Throne of the Lord of the Worlds (*dar-i takht-i rabb al-'ālamān*), and the Gate of the Throne (*dar-i takht*).²⁶⁴

The signifiers of the apocalypse that surround the polygonal platform on four sides reinforce its association with the Day of Judgment. The Scales of Acts (*mizān-i a'māl*) in the upper right corner and the round Pool (*havz*) to the upper left echo their counterparts in the earlier scroll image. The domes of Jesus and Moses at the bottom, however, have been replaced here by other signs, namely, the domed Gate of Paradise (*dar-i bihisht*) on the left, and the Gate of Hell (*dar-i dawzakh*) on the right, the two posts of which support the Bridge of Sirat (*pul-i sirāt*). The symbolic date palm accompanying the Gate of Paradise forms a counterpoint to the leafless red tree, labeled "Hell" (*jahannam*), which is depicted under the Gate of Hell. The unusual fig trees (*dirakht-i anjir*) that sprout all around the precinct can perhaps likewise be interpreted as eschatological symbols, for they resonate with the Sura of the Fig, which promises unending reward to those who believe and do good deeds and questions how one can deny the Judgment, asking: "Is not God the most just of judges?" (Qur'an 95:1–8).

CONCLUSION

The iconography of the two images painted in the course of Süleyman's renovation of the Dome of the Rock is echoed in more generic versions from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which differ in detail but invariably include the Scales and the Pool as codified signifiers.²⁶⁵ These pictorial representations, like the structures mapped on the pilgrimage complex itself, signal the ontological status of the blessed precinct as a site of memory saturated with supernatural signs, among which the Rock of God reigns supreme. Conveying the emotional and spiritual perceptions of a *genius loci*, as distilled through memory, was a central aspect of the signification process of the Haram al-Sharif, which had been accumulating multilayered associations since its very inception. These memories, extending from the creative act of God to the ever-approaching end of time, were condensed around concrete sites of witnessing that simultaneously enabled the recalling of the past and the contemplation of the future through networks of interlinked narratives that were transformed over the centuries and yet remained remarkably the same. The paratactical complex subordinates the materiality of architecture to ancient vestiges and to the irregular topography of the landscape, since associations of holiness were attached more to its hallowed grounds than to the buildings themselves. *Fadā'il* narratives, too, focus more on the associative resonances of stones, rocks, and memorial spots than on the architectural structures marking them, which is why the Dome of the Rock is often referred to as the "Rock" or the "Rock of God."

Paradoxically, then, the astoundingly beautiful architecture of the Dome of the Rock is essentially an ephemeral shelter for the primordial Rock, an exquisite domed reliquary that will be replaced in the future by the ineffable divine Throne of Judgment. Likewise, the signs of the Hour mapped onto the surrounding complex are only reminders and precursors of their real versions, a preview of things to come. The predetermined places of these signs had already been indicated in the Temple of Solomon, which was commissioned by God, according to a popular cosmological treatise written around 1453 by the Ottoman Sufi shaykh Ahmed Yazıcıoğlu. This work claims that Solomon's Temple, predestined to be the site of the Prophet's heavenly ascension, had bejeweled walls inscribed with the Muslim profession of faith, a dome with a gold mihrab built by Gabriel, and a prayer station

(*makām*) made by al-Khidr, who revealed the places of the Scales, the Bridge of Sirat, and other “signs of the Judgment” (*ḥiyāmet nişānları*). The author points out that after the Temple’s destruction the Rock was rediscovered by the caliph ‘Umar; the lost signs were then reinstalled in their appointed places in Umayyad times, during the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque.²⁶⁶

The associative memories of monuments in the Haram complex were mediated over the ages by texts that elaborated upon early traditions on the merits of Jerusalem, fusing them with new elements derived from cosmological works on the “wonders of creation” and from the increasingly popular *mi’rāj* literature. In the Ottoman context, too, the semantic horizons of architectural monuments in the Haram al-Sharif were largely defined by the constellation of meanings disseminated by *fadā’il* collections, which were compiled from previous works and provided with updated instructions to pilgrims. These written sources, together with the formal logic and inscriptions of the inherited monuments themselves, established the parameters within which the resignification process took place. Lacking the compositional coherence of a continuous linear narrative, the Ottoman *fadā’il* compendiums and their earlier models stitched together, in the manner of a patchwork, fragments of collective memories that sometimes contradicted each other and around which webs of meaning were interwoven, often without reference to ongoing building activities. The primary significance of the *fadā’il* discourse, then, lies in the promotion of a culturally constructed mode of seeing and conceptual mapping. This ensured a considerable degree of continuity in the associations of the pilgrimage complex, which were orally perpetuated by pilgrim guides and experienced through performative rituals. Yet the absence of a coherent narrative structure in books on the merits of Jerusalem, which constitute a by-product of hadith literature, encouraged open-ended readings, the coexistence of differing interpretations, the erasure or transformation of previous recollections, and, at times, the revival of dormant regional memories.²⁶⁷

An instance of such revival was triggered, I believe, by Sultan Süleyman’s architectural renovations at the Haram al-Sharif, and particularly the Dome of the Rock. These protracted building activities seem to have unleashed a deep-seated popular veneration of the Rock, along with formerly suppressed ritual practices that had frequently been censured in Mamluk

written sources as unorthodox innovations.²⁶⁸ The resuscitation of latent memories and popular festivities (severely reproached in a pamphlet by the seventeenth-century Shafi’i scholar al-Dajjani, who condemns their institutionalization by local administrators) can in part be attributed to the establishment of a lenient Hanafi regime under the Ottoman state, which sought to legitimize itself by reversing some of the restrictive policies of the “Circassian” Mamluk administration.²⁶⁹

The pilgrimage complex continued, as in the past, to subsist as a terrain of contestation, with multiple collisions of discordant narratives, divergent perceptions, and differing conceptions of ritual decorum. It is therefore a misguided exercise to attempt to pinpoint “the meaning” of the Dome of the Rock at any given historic moment, for the enigmatic character of the memories it sheltered was inherently open to a multiplicity of collective and personal responses. By drawing attention to some of the parallels between ‘Abd al-Malik’s and Süleyman’s architectural patronage, I have tried to show that comparable “official” responses were prompted by the politico-religious motivations and pious orientations of two ambitious rulers who sought to create a superb monument exalting the Rock, themselves, their dynasties, and their own versions of Islam.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the architectural projects of both patrons combined a number of narrative threads in which the traditions of the Solomonic Temple played a significant role, even as they were subsumed by an overriding emphasis on God’s absolute sovereignty as the source of prophetic and caliphal authority. The theme of divinely guided Davidic justice, with its messianic overtones, was a major component of these narratives, which were colored by intimations of the Last Judgment to come, the promise of God’s infinite mercy, and the abiding belief in the Prophet’s intercession. Süleyman’s inscriptions on the “palimpsestous” surfaces of the Dome of the Rock amplified the implicit eschatological message of ‘Abd al-Malik’s grand narrative by expanding its semantic horizons, thereby investing its relatively loose strands with a new coherence. Hence, the widespread view that the original “political” signification of the Dome of the Rock was entirely forgotten with increasing “Islamization,” to be supplanted by the “religious” theme of the Prophet’s Night Journey-Ascension, fails to account for the complexity of intertwined narratives in the Marwanid master plan

and the striking elements of continuity manifested in Süleyman's glosses, despite obvious changes. Whatever the contextual specificity of its wealth of meanings, however, the sublime architecture of the Dome of the Rock announces in its own self-assured way a universal message. Majestically sited as a "visual magnet" in the cityscape of Jerusalem, it salutes the end of time by heralding the deeply human hope for salvation in eternal life that is promised by the city's three monotheistic religions as the culmination and ultimate fulfillment of God's creation.²⁷⁰

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NOTES

1. Grabar explains the aim of his book as follows: "However much I had written on Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock over five decades, I knew that I had not succeeded in telling what the building meant in its long history." See Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2006), vi–viii. For his previous monograph on the subject, a grand synthesis ending with the year 1099, see Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1996). See also Said Nuseibeh and Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (New York, 1996). Grabar's groundbreaking essays on the Dome of the Rock are conveniently collected in Oleg Grabar, *Jerusalem, Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*, vol. 4 (Hampshire, Eng., and Burlington, VT, 2005). Included among these is his first major article, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62, which remains a classic despite his revisions of some of its arguments in later publications. See reprint in Grabar, *Jerusalem*, 29–34.
2. Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, vi–vii, 205–12.
3. Grabar observes that the building as it stands, is "almost entirely the work of our own times" and that "the present Dome of the Rock is a reasonable approximation of what it was like in the last version we know of it." Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 3–4, 200, 203–4.
4. *Ibid.*, viii.
5. For the secondary literature and a general survey of this genre, which under the Ottomans acquired encyclopaedic scope, with commentary on accompanying traditions regarding contested points, see Izhak Hasson, "The Muslim View of Jerusalem—The Qur'an and Hadith," in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 683–1099*, ed. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (New York, 1996), 349–85. See also the articles and books cited below. Some preliminary studies on examples from the Ottoman period include Joseph Sadan, "Three New Sources in Praise of the Holy Land from the Sixteenth–Seventeenth Centuries," *Cathedra* 11 (1979): 186–206 (in Hebrew). For a mid-sixteenth-century Arabic work written by Nasir al-Din Muhammad b. Khidr al-Rumi and titled *al-Mustaḥṣā fī fadā'il al-masjid al-aḥṣā*, see Eliyahu Ashtor, "An Arabic Book on the 'Merits of Jerusalem,'" *Tarbiz: A Quarterly for Jewish Studies* 30, 2 (1960): 209–14; a summary of *al-Mustaḥṣā* is provided in an appendix in Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden and Boston, 1999), 164–73. Unpublished Ottoman Turkish versions, which have not yet attracted the attention they deserve, are briefly discussed below (see nn. 246, 248). This is a subject that requires an in-depth study comparing the Ottoman Turkish manuscripts with their Mamluk precedents, which goes beyond the purview of the present article.
6. Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 199. For the "latent state" of local traditions that may disappear and reemerge see a recent study, which notes the parallel between the "exaggerating" trend in glorifying Jerusalem under the Umayyads and again under the Ottomans, so many centuries later: Joseph Sadan, "A Legal Opinion of a Muslim Jurist Regarding the Sanctity of Jerusalem," *Israel Oriental Studies* 13 (1993): 231–24.
7. For terminology in early texts see Andreas Kaplony, *The Haram of Jerusalem 324–1099: Temple, Friday Mosque, Area of Spiritual Power* (Stuttgart, 2002), 214–25. The term *al-haram al-sharif* in reference to the sanctuaries in Jerusalem and Hebron became current in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. See Robert Schick, *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an* (henceforth *EQ*) (Leiden and Boston, 2001–6), s.v. "Archaeology and the Qur'an." Mamluk governors of Jerusalem were sometimes called *nāzir al-haramayn al-sharifayn*, "Supervisor of the Two Sacred Enclaves [Jerusalem and Hebron]." See Donald P. Little, "Jerusalem under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks," in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. Kamil J. Asali (New York, 1990), 187–88. For the notion of a Marwanid "master plan" see Myriam, Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif: An Iconographic Study* (Jerusalem, 1989); Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*. The concept of a "grand narrative" is mine.
8. The term "palimpsestous," coined by Philippe Lejeune, is theorized in Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes* (Paris, 1982); Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, NE and London, 1997). Genette stresses the "open" nature of literary texts as "hypertexts" grafted upon "hypotexts," some of them more "hypertextual" and explicitly "palimpsestuous." On the concept of palimpsest as it relates to the theoretical literature on "intertextuality" see Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London and New York, 2000).
9. Eschatological traditions recorded in books on the merits of Jerusalem and identifying the Rock as the site of the divine Throne on the Day of Judgment are discussed later in this essay and cited in the notes below. For the "People of the Book" and the "Children of Israel" (Jews and Christians) see Moshe Sharon, *EQ*, s.v. "People of the Book"; S. D. Goitein, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1960–2004), s.v. "Banū Isrā'īl." The centrality of "belief in God and the imminence of the Day of Judgment" in the dogma of the seventh-century Muslim polity is discussed in Robert Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69, 3 (2006): 395–416.
10. For bibliography and the debate on the relationship between the Temple and the existing topography of the Haram,

- see Klaus Bieberstein and Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte von Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1994); David M. Jacobson, "The Plan of Herod's Temple," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 10 (1990–91): 36–66; Herbert Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 93 (1977): 1–11; Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem, von Salomo bis Herodes: Eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des westsemitischen Tempelbaus*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1970–1980).
11. Relevant primary sources are published and analyzed in Bernard Flusin, "L'Esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes, d'après deux récits byzantins," in *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns (Oxford, 1992), 17–31; Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton, 1997), 61–73, 92–103, 219–23, 313–17. For building activities on the Haram attributed to the caliphs 'Umar and Mu'awiya see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 29–35; Abdul Aziz Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period, 7th–11th Centuries A. D.," in Asali, *Jerusalem in History*, 108. A hypothetical reconstruction of the pre-Marwanid plan of the Aqsa Mosque, to be published in a forthcoming study by Julian Raby, who attributes it to Mu'awiya, is included in Jeremy Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet' and the Concept of the Mosque," in *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns (Oxford, 1999), 62, 64, fig. 9. For accounts concerning 'Umar's visit to the Temple Mount see Heribert Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb in Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984): 73–119. Unlike Busse, who entirely dismisses these traditions as myth, others believe they contain a core of truth. See S. D. Goitein, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Kuds"; Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099* (Cambridge, 1997), 65–74; J. Pedersen, *EL2*, s.v. "Masjid"; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 106–8. Duri cites one of the earliest sources mentioning 'Umar's mosque at the Haram, namely, the commentary on the Qur'an by Muqatil b. Sulayman (d. 767–68). Goitein was among the first to note Mu'awiya's contribution to the Haram's architectural development, a view subsequently elaborated upon by Grabar in "The Meaning of the Dome of the Rock," in *The Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. M. J. Chiat and K. Reyerson (St. Cloud, MN, 1988), 3–5.
 12. For texts mentioning the two mihrabs see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 71, 76–77, 169; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 767–69.
 13. For the first civil war (*fitna*) and the repentant pilgrimage of 'Umar's son, mentioned by Waqidi, see Erling L. Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'awiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1964), 88. 'Uthman's charitable endowment and early pilgrimages by the Prophet's Companions are discussed in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 108–9. Both 'Umar's son and 'Abdallah b. al-'Abbas (d. 678) are listed among early pilgrims who went to Jerusalem to enter into a ritual state of *ihwām* (consecration) before performing the hajj to Mecca. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 64.
 14. The Syrians swore allegiance to Mu'awiya as caliph in April–May 658, before the conquest of Egypt in July; a formal ceremony in general recognition of his caliphate took place in Jerusalem in July 660. See M. Hinds, *EL2*, s.v. "Mu'awiya I." The latter date is provided in a Syriac source, while Arab sources give the date as 661: see Gil, *History of Palestine*, 78. For texts mentioning Mu'awiya's building activities in the Jerusalem sanctuary see n. 11 above. The monk Anastasius of Sinai, writing during the construction of the Dome of the Rock, which was completed in 72 (691–92), reports that he witnessed Egyptian workers being helped by demons as they participated in clearing work on the Temple Mount "thirty years ago." See Flusin, "L'Esplanade du Temple," 19–22, 25–26, 29–31. Flusin proposes a date around 660 for Mu'awiya's clearing of the Temple Mount; the same date is suggested in Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 101. I find it likely that the Egyptian workers arrived after the conquest of Egypt in 658, and thirty years prior to the initial stages of the construction of the Dome of the Rock around 688—that is, ca. 658–60. The clearing work may have been necessitated by a major earthquake in Jerusalem in June 658, which is mentioned in a Syriac chronicle and by Theophanes, as cited in Moshe Gil, "The Political History of Jerusalem during the Early Muslim Period," in *History of Jerusalem*, 10. For the controversy over the construction date of the Dome of the Rock see n. 20 below.
 15. Muṭahhar b. Tāhir al-Maqḍī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa l-ta'rikh*, ed. and trans. Clément Huart, 6 vols. (Paris, 1899–1919), 4: 87; trans. on p. 82. Cited in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 24; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 390–91; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 108 n. 47; Jeremy Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam: The First Seventy Years," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46, 4 (2003), 423 n. 20.
 16. For this tradition, whose chain of transmission ends with Khalid b. Ma'dan (d. 721), see Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Musharrāf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqḍī (Ibn al-Murajjā), *Fadā'il Bayt al-Maqḍis wa l-Khalīl wa fadā'il al-Shām*, ed. Ofer Livne-Kafri (Shafa 'Amr, Israel, 1995), 148 n. 186. Cited in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 33; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 381–82; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 109.
 17. Isaac Hasson, *EQ*, s.v. "Last Judgment."
 18. For the emissaries from Iraq see Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī (Ibn al-Faqīh), *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885), 115. Cited in Ofer Livne-Kafri, "The Muslim Traditions 'in Praise of Jerusalem' (*Fadā'il al-Quds*): Diversity and Complexity," *Annali* 58 (1998): 184. Other traditions concerning Mu'awiya's exaltation of the sanctity of Syria-Palestine and his claim to be the predestined ruler of the Holy Land are discussed in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 109; Nasser Rabbat, "The Transcultural Meaning of the Dome of the Rock," in *The Open Veins of Jerusalem*, ed. Munir Akash and Fouad Moughrabi (Syacuse, NY, 2005), 77–78. Yazid I's oath of allegiance ceremony in Jerusalem is mentioned in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 50. Sources report that he was in Jerusalem at the time of his father's death, in Hims or elsewhere. See Gil, *History of Palestine*, 78.
 19. For the oath of allegiance ceremony in Jerusalem see Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 109; Chase F. Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik* (Oxford, 2005), 26. According to the chronicle of al-Baladhuri (d. 892), 'Abd al-Malik was his father's deputy in Palestine; this is cited by Rabbat, who speculates that his seat of government was presumably Jerusalem. See Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 78. The part of al-Baladhuri's *Ansāb al-Ashraf* covering 'Abd al-Malik's reign is published in Ahmad b. Yahyā Balādhūrī, *Anonyme arabische*

- Chronik, Band XI, vermutlich das Buch der Verwandtschaft und Geschichte der Andigen*, ed. W. Ahlwardt (Greifswald, 1883). On the text by Sibt b. al-Jawzi (1186–1265) citing a report by al-Waqidi (d. 823) (derived from al-Sa'ib [d. 763]) that refers to Ibn al-Zubayr's anti-Marwanid propaganda and 'Abd al-Malik's prohibition of the hajj to Mecca, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 52–58. For the rebuilding of the Ka'ba by Ibn al-Zubayr, who consulted Meccan authorities and relied on a hadith of the Prophet favoring such a measure, see Uri Rubin, "The Ka'ba: Aspects of Its Ritual Functions and Position in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986): 102–3; G. R. Hawting, "We Were Not Ordered with Entering It but Only with Circumambulating It.: Hadith and fiqh on Entering the Ka'ba," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47, 2 (1984): 239 n. 59; A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier, *EI2*, s.v. "Ka'ba"; Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 96–98.
20. Contrary to Creswell's widely accepted view that the date "obviously refers, as is usual in Arabic epigraphy, to the completion of works," it indicates the commencement of construction, according to Sheila Blair. See K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969), 1:72; Sheila Blair, "What Is the Date of the Dome of the Rock?" in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 59–87. Blair's dating is accepted by Grabar, with the provision that 692 marks "the beginning of the implementation of an idea and the fulfillment of needs that were earlier." See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 115. Recent studies that continue to regard this date as a reference to the building's completion include G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750* (London and New York, 2000), 59–61; Amikam Elad, "Community of Believers of 'Holy Men' and 'Saints' or Community of Muslims? The Rise and Development of Early Muslim Historiography," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 47, 1 (2002), 295; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 49–50; Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 4–6; Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 424–27; Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts," 396–97; Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 81, 96.
 21. Both of these points are made in Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 424–26. He adds that Blair's "principal arguments—epigraphic, numismatic, and artisanal—are entirely circumstantial." 'Abd al-Malik's fiscal and administrative reforms in the 680s are also discussed in Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 71–72.
 22. 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Habib, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh = Kitāb al-Ta'rij: La Historia*, ed. and trans. Jorge Aguadé (Madrid, 1991), 132–33. Partially cited in Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 27; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 49–50; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 301, 315, 365. It is unclear what exactly the date 70 refers to. For dates provided in Mamluk sources see Blair, "What Is the Date," 63; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 44–45, 53. Robinson suggests the year 69 (688–89) as a plausible starting point for the Dome of the Rock's construction, assuming that it took around three years to build. That year, 'Abd al-Malik left Syria for a campaign in Iraq after signing a peace treaty with Byzantium; he defeated Ibn al-Zubayr's brother in Iraq in 691, when his fortunes began to improve: see Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 6, 28, 39, 41. Johns also proposes a beginning date about three years after 'Abd al-Malik's accession (namely, 69) and a completion date of 72 (691–92): see Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 424, 426. Elad accepts as plausible either of the beginning dates (66 or 69) provided in Mamluk sources: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 44–45; Elad, "Community of Believers," 295.
 23. On al-Walid's completion of the Aqsa Mosque see n. 25 below. For Sulayman's governorship of Palestine during the reign of his father and brother al-Walid, and the tradition mentioning his bathhouse (without providing a date), see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 27–28; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 323. The bathhouse is identified as one of the excavated buildings abutting the southwestern side of the Haram in Julian Raby, "In Vitro Veritas: Glass Pilgrim Vessels from 7th-century Jerusalem," in Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two*, 170–72. The decline of Jerusalem is generally attributed to Sulayman's construction of the new city of Ramla as the capital of Palestine: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 12, 27–28.
 24. For the components of the Marwanid complex see Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 1–45, 70–73; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, map 1 on xiii–xv, 24–50, 160; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 53 (fig. 13), 213–382; Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 426; Paul Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands, Seventh through the Tenth Centuries* (Chicago and London, 2001), 295–98; Donald Whitcomb, "Islam and the Socio-Cultural Transition of Palestine: Early Islamic Period (638–1099 C. E.)," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. E. Levy (London, 1995), 499. For the suggestion that the excavated buildings housed the city's governor, distinguished guests, and the Umayyads who were frequent visitors, see Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 111. With its neighboring bathhouse, one of these buildings may have housed the staff of the complex (*dār al-akhmās*) according to Raby, "In Vitro Veritas," 170–72. The building connected by a bridge to the west side of the mosque's qibla wall is often interpreted as a palace or *dār al-'imāra*: see Rafi Grafman and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 1–15. Grabar notes that the excavations are not properly published, and that the Aphrodito Papyri referring to al-Walid's construction of a palace, are not always properly interpreted; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 129. The milestones are discussed in Moshe Sharon, "Notes and Communications: An Arabic Inscription from the Time of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29, 2 (1966): 367–72; Amikam Elad, "The Southern Golan in the Early Muslim Period: The Significance of Two Newly Discovered Milestones of 'Abd al-Malik," *Der Islam* 76 (1999): 33–88; Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 98, 113–19.
 25. The congregational mosque is attributed to 'Abd al-Malik in most sources discussed below, including Ibn Habib, al-Muqaddasi, and early traditions recorded in al-Wasiti's and Ibn al-Murajja's eleventh-century *faḍā'il* treatises. It is ascribed by Eutychius and al-Muhallabi to al-Walid, whose construction activities at "the mosque in Jerusalem" are recorded in the Aphrodito Papyri (dated between 709 and 714), which only list a handful Egyptian laborers: see H. I. Bell, "Translation of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum," *Der Islam* 2 (1911): 269–83, 372–84; 3 (1912): 132–40, 369–73; 4 (1913): 87–96. For sources mentioning the building of the mosque by 'Abd al-Malik, as well as subsequent construction

- carried out by al-Walid, which seem to have been "finishing touches" or "merely renovations" after a series of earthquakes in 94 (713–14), see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 26, 35–39. Following Creswell, most scholars used to date the Marwanid phase of the Aqsa Mosque to al-Walid, but lately the consensus is that its construction was initiated by 'Abd al-Malik, "though possibly brought to fruition or completion by his son al-Walid I." See Grafman and Rosen-Ayalon, "The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques," 1. For this revised view see also Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 122; Wheatley, *Places Where Men Pray*, 296; Johns, "House of the Prophet," 59–62.
26. Oleg Grabar, "Notes on the Dome of the Rock," in *Jerusalem*, 225. The texts and list of buildings have been compiled and analyzed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, and Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*. The authors catalogue each building separately, without exploring their interactive, dialogical dimension. Earlier anthologies of texts, such as those of A. S. Marmarji, Guy Le Strange, and J. Gildemeister, excluded the *fadā'il* traditions examined by Elad and Kaplony because they were thought to have originated later in the eleventh century and were dismissed as "popular" beliefs unworthy of serious positivistic scholarship. For the early dating of these traditions, some of them traceable to the eighth and ninth century or even earlier, see nn. 64 and 66 below. (For the anthologies mentioned above see A.S. Marmarji, ed. and trans., *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine* [Paris, 1951]; Guy Le Strange, ed. and trans., *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A. D. 650 to 1500* [Boston and New York, 1890]; Johann Gildemeister, "Die arabischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Harambauten," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 13 [1890]: 1–24.) Grabar continues to have misgivings about the reliability of *fadā'il* traditions and their usefulness for reconstructing architectural forms, finding them more relevant for understanding the piety and memories surrounding the Haram. See Grabar, "Notes on the Dome of the Rock," 217–21. I agree with him that these traditions are often too vague in terms of specifying the exact locations of buildings. Therefore, I will not use them to reconstruct the Marwanid topography of the Haram, as has been attempted by Kaplony. I do believe, however, that *fadā'il* traditions provide invaluable insights into the narrative discourses that were associated with individual components of the Haram complex—narratives that build upon early traditions datable to the Marwanid period, if not earlier.
27. This inference is made in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, and Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*.
28. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Tū'rikh*, 132–33; cited in Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 27; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 49–50; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 297, 301, 315, 365. Kaplony argues that the reference to the three domes "does not imply any particular action by 'Abd al-Malik," disagreeing with Ayalon, who links them with his patronage—a reasonable inference, in my opinion, and one that is also made by Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 47–50. Early traditions on the chain of David are discussed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 47–48; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 298–304, 482–83. For al-Sha'bi's biography, see G. H. A. Juynboll, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Sha'bi."
29. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Fadā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson (Jerusalem, 1979), 73–75 no. 119. Cited with a discussion of its chain of transmission dating back to the Umayyad period in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 48; other related traditions recorded by al-Wasīṭī and Ibn al-Murājja are cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 308–11.
30. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 93–102; French trans.: *Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī, Abrégé du livre des pays*, trans. Henri Massé (Damascus, 1973), 113–25. See too the translated sections in the chapters on Jerusalem in Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 83–223. Also partially cited in Kaplony, who, in his reconstruction of the "High Abbasid" phase of the complex, attempts to identify the sites of the buildings mentioned by Ibn al-Faqīh: see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 59–82, 383–557.
31. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 100–101; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqīh*, 123–25. Wāḥb b. Munabbih was one of the early figures to have assembled material on Biblical history, especially the history of prophets, most of which is lost. He was consulted by Mu'awiya regarding Solomon's throne, and by the Marwanid caliphs al-Walid I and Sulayman to decipher ancient archaeological inscriptions on stones. For his connections with the Umayyad court, the surviving fragment of his biography of the prophet-king David, and his lost writings, see Raif Georges Khoury, *Wāḥb b. Munabbih*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1972).
32. For the imprint of Hamza's shield see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 593–99. For the gates with their changing positions and names see Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, "The Gates of the Haram al-Sharif," in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 105–24; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 187–98, 404–63, 579–644.
33. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-'iqd al-farīd*, 9 vols., ed. Muḥammad Qumayyah and Abd al-Majid al-Tarḥīnī (Beirut, 1987), 7:290–93; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 83–223 (the sections translated in his chapters on Jerusalem). Also see Kaplony, 59–82, 383–557.
34. For the extant inscription and references to the dimensions of the Haram (*masjid*) in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's text and other sources see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 567–70; Mahmoud K. Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187–1250): An Architectural and Archaeological Survey* (Oxford, 2007), 133–135.
35. Ibn al-Murājja, *Fadā'il al-bayt al-maqdis*, 58–62 no. 47. This long tradition, consisting of several parts, is included with others in a chapter on "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan's Construction of the [Dome of the] Rock." The last part of the tradition (on pp. 60–62) is a report by Abu Bakr b. al-Harith, one of the attendants of the sanctuary, that catalogues the various features of the complex built by 'Abd al-Malik—including seven mihrabs, fifteen domes (besides the one over the Rock), twenty-four cisterns, and four minbars—ending with the dimensions of the mosque precinct. This tradition was copied from Ibn al-Murājja's treatise by several Mamluk authors. See translations in Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 147–48; Henry Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Abraham jusqu'à la fin du XVe siècle de J.-C.: Fragments de la Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn* (Paris, 1876), 55–56.
36. For traditions about the Gate of Remission (*bāb ḥiṭṭa*) and the exegesis of the Qur'anic passage mentioning it, see Uri Rubin, *Between the Bible and the Qur'an: The Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-Image* (Princeton, 1999), 83–91; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 114–17. The name *ḥiṭṭa* was transferred from the

- gate on the western wall to another gate on the northern wall of the Haram at a later date. See fig. 3[2, 14].
37. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 95; Massé, *Im al-Faqīh*, 117. For traditions related to the Gate of the Divine Presence, and a different tradition reporting that the Ark of the Covenant rested on the Rock itself until God became angry with the Children of Israel and raised it up, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 27–28 n. 28, 109–14.
 38. For the mention of the Black Paving Stone (*al-bulāta al-sawdāʾ*) in traditions dateable to the early eighth century or even earlier, and for Wahb b. Munabbih's recommendation to that pilgrim to enter the Dome of the Rock from its north gate, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 78–81; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 333–37.
 39. The Arabic texts by al-Muhallabi and al-Yaʿqubi are cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 391–92, 571–72. The one by al-Yaʿqubi is translated in F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1985), 197. Al-Yaʿqubi's statement that the Rock was circumambulated until the end of the Umayyad regime has been interpreted as a false claim, since the hajj to Mecca was resumed soon after ʿAbd al-Malik established control over its sanctuary. I read this statement as a reference to the continuation of the circumambulation ritual in Jerusalem, which does not necessarily mean that the Meccan hajj was abandoned throughout Umayyad times. The statement does imply, however, that the circumambulation of the Rock officially ceased under the Abbasid regime.
 40. The Arabic text is cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 394–95, 501. Also see Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, *Eutichio, Patriarca di Alessandria (877–940), Gli Annali*, trans. and ed. Bartolomeo Pirone (Cairo, 1987), 360–65.
 41. Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 29–34. Kaplony assumes that the order in which al-Muhallabi mentions these domes indicates their respective places on the raised platform. The text is too vague, however, to draw definite conclusions about their exact locations. For the hypothetical positions Kaplony assigns to the two domes see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 676–78, 699, 704–9. In my view, the Dome of the Scales may have been replaced in the Ayyubid period by the small aedicule bearing the same name, located by the Mamluk historian al-ʿUmari at the present site of the domical minbar of Burhan al-Din abutting the southern stairway of the raised platform (fig. 3[24]): see n. 46 below. The Dome of the Gathering (*qubbat al-maḥshar*) could be an alternative name for the Dome of the Prophet near the prayer station of Gabriel at the north or northwest side of the raised platform, where the Prophet is said to have prayed with angels and the "resurrected" (*ḥashar*) souls of former prophets gathered there by Gabriel: see reference cited in n. 108 below.
 42. After the victory over Byzantine forces in 692, there was a pause in hostilities; this was followed in 695 by four years of fighting on the Byzantine frontier, as a result of which ʿAbd al-Malik gained control over Armenia in 700: see Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 69. ʿAbd al-Malik's Christian finance minister, Sergios the son of Mansur (the father of the celebrated theologian John of Damascus), and "his co-leader of the Palestinian Christians, Patricius," asked the caliph to request from Justinian II "other columns in place of these"; see Harry Turtle-dove, *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia, 1982), 63–64. According to Theophanes, this happened in 692, when Justinian II broke the peace with ʿAbd al-Malik: cited in Gil, *History of Palestine*, 471–72.
 43. For the rebuilding of the Kaʿba and the criticism voiced by the caliph's opponents see Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 95–100; Rubin, "The Kaʿba," 102–3; Wensinck and Jomier, *FI2*, s.v. "Kaʿba." The renovation of the Kaʿba, together with ʿAbd al-Malik's leadership of the hajj procession in the year 75 (694–95), is mentioned in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar = Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. Charles Barbier de Meynard, Jean-Baptiste Pavet de Courteille, and Charles Pellat, 5 vols. (Paris, 1962–77), 3:765–78, 1452–53. For three Christian apocalyptic texts written in northern Mesopotamia in the decade following the second civil war see Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 42–43; Chase F. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge, 2000), 48–49; Jean Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps: L'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans chrétienté médiévale* (Paris, 2007). For the assumption that al-Walid's construction of the Aqsa Mosque marked a turning point with respect to the "increasing Islamization" of the complex see Heribert Busse, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam," *Judaism* 17 (1968): 454–60; Heribert Busse, "Jerusalem in the Story of Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991): 1–40; Heribert Busse, "The Temple in Jerusalem and Its Restitution by ʿAbd al-Malik," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, special issue of *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997–98): 23–33; Priscilla Soucek, "The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art," in *The Temple of Solomon*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Missoula, MT, 1973), 73–123; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 161–63. For the argument that al-Walid's Aqsa Mosque foregrounded the "Islamic functions" of the Dome of the Rock and of the sanctuary as a whole, supplanting their original "political messages," see also Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 71–107. Grabar, too, made a similar argument in his seminal article from 1959, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," but has considerably modified this interpretation in his latest books: see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, and Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*.
 44. Ibn Kathīr (Abū ʿl-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn), *al-Bidāya wa ʿl-nihāya fi ʿl-taʾriḫh*, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1932–38), 8:280–81. I have modified Elad's translation of *ṣawwarahu* and *ṣūrat* as "painted images" because not all of the "signs" were painted: "They painted there the picture of *al-sirāt*, the Gate of Paradise and the footprint of the Messenger of God (S) and the Valley of Gehenna. And [they also painted] on its gates and in the [holy] places there." See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 57 n. 28; Amikam Elad, "Why did ʿAbd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock? A Re-examination of the Muslim Sources," in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 46 n. 69, 51–52.
 45. For references to the Prophet's footprint see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 72–73. The description by Abu Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabi (not to be confused with the great Andalusian Sufi Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-ʿArabi [d. 1240]), cited below in n. 234, seems to be the earliest reference to the Prophet's footprint. The footprint seen by al-Harawi during the Crusader occupation is mentioned in n. 235 below; according to Christian sources, Christ's footprint was displayed at that time in the Dome of the Rock (see n. 170 below). The reliquary on columns is described in Mamluk sources such as those of al-Suyuti and

- Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali; for translations see Guy Le Strange, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470 A.D., by Kamāl (or Shams) ad Dīn as Suyūṭī," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n. s., 19 (1887): 258; Sauvāire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 106.
46. For the Fatimid arcade described by Nasir-i Khusraw see n. 61 below. Evliya visited Jerusalem in Ramadan 1082 (January 1672) and on several other occasions: see *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, Vol. 9, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff (Istanbul, 2005), 238. On the arcaded stairway, Evliya saw "the figures of scales and balances that have been represented at this place" (*bu mahalde mizân ve terâzî eskâli taşvîr olunmuşdur*). For the text by al-ʿUmari and the extant minbar, which features a domed ciborium with two superimposed marble cupolas carried on columns, see Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, "Summer Pulpit," in *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (London, 1987), 319–20; L. A. Mayer, "A Medieval Arabic Description of the Haram of Jerusalem," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 1, 1 (1931): 44–51; 1, 2 (1931): 74–85 (the double-domed ciborium is described on p. 48). Burgoyne also cites Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's 1496 description of how the qadi Burhan al-Din "restored" this minbar, which was used for rainmaking prayers and on the Muslim feasts. In a mid-sixteenth-century guidebook, the arcade of the southern stairway is referred to as *al-mizân* (The Scales) and the pilgrim is instructed to pray at its mihrab. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 168.
 47. Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 240–41. For the extant pillar marking the site of the Bridge of Sirat see the fold-out photograph and elevation drawing, "The East Wall of al-Haram al-Sharif," in *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, 2 vols. (London, 2000) 1:481, pl. 31.1.
 48. Maqdisi, *Kitâb al-had' wa 'l-ta'rikh*, 2:193–94. Ibn Kathir's and al-Maqdisi's comments are cited together with a list of ascetics and Sufis who visited Jerusalem in Coitein, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Kuds."
 49. The places of these buildings are not specified, but they seem to be located within the Haram complex. Cited and discussed in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 401–3. Nasir-i Khusraw describes Sufi convents abutting the north wall of the precinct during the Fatimid period: *ibid.*, 632–36.
 50. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥṣān al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifaṭ al-aqālīm* (Leiden, 1866); al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥṣān al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifaṭ al-aqālīm = La Meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces*, trans. André Miquel (Damascus, 1963), 145–52, 197–99; trans. Guy Le Strange as "Description of the Province of Syria, including Palestine, by Mukaddasi," in *Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society* (London, 1896), 1–5, 21–23, 34–50.
 51. For the "eastern Mihrab of David," mentioned in a tradition that concludes with the *isnād* (chain of transmission) of Khalid b. Ma'dan (d. 721–22) see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 63, 137. Among several options on the Haram, the most widely accepted Mihrab of David is the one on the south wall: see fig. 3[42]. For the Rock on the central raised platform (*dikka*) of the mosque of Jerusalem, called the "Rock of Moses," see Muḥammad Ibn Ḥawqal, *La Configuration de la terre = Kitâb Şūrat al-Ard*, trans. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, 2 vols. (Paris, 2001), 1:168.
 52. Traditions identifying Silwan and Zamzam as the springs of Paradise are discussed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 80–81. For the Arabic text and translation of al-Harawi's guidebook see *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage: 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī's Kitâb al-Ishārāt ilā Ma'rifaṭ al-Ziyārāt*, trans. Josef W. Meri (Princeton, 2004), 74–75.
 53. Cited from al-Azdi's history in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 48. For traditions on the well and a mid-sixteenth-century guidebook, in which it is referred to as "Solomon's Well," see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 169.
 54. Al-Muqaddasi mentions mosaics (*fusayfisā'*) on the mosque's back part, or north wall; textual sources around that time on the Aqsa Mosque are cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 538–58. For the hypothetical reconstruction plan of the Marwanid phase of the Aqsa Mosque featuring a domed central nave, see Grafman and Rosen-Ayalon, "Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques," 6, fig. 5. The plausible presence of a domed space, possibly with mosaics and a mihrab niche, is also proposed in Johns, "House of the Prophet," 59.
 55. For the *rawda* in the Medina Mosque, see Muhammad Shafī, "A Description of the Two Sanctuaries of Islam by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940)," in *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and Reynold A. Nicholson (Cambridge, 1922), 434. A special sacredness is attributed in traditions to the part of the *ḥijr* that lies between the *rukn* and *maqām* at the Meccan sanctuary; it functioned as a place for oaths and was the burial site of Ishmael, Hagar and several prophets. See Rubin, "The Ka'ba," 108–9.
 56. For the attribution of the arcaded stairways to 'Abd al-Malik's time see Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 30–32; John Wilkinson, *Column Capitals in al-Haram al-Sharif* (Jerusalem, 1987), 21–22. The inscription on the western stairway arcade refers to a builder (*al-bannā'*) named Ahmad b. Abi Bakr: see Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 46 n. 69. For al-Baghdadi's dream see Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 177 no. 249; cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 397. The term *maqām* is also used by Nasir-i Khusraw (see n. 61 below) for the late Fatimid arcaded colonnades; these are discussed in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 682–98.
 57. On the places of Paradise and the Fire, see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 70 no. 114. Traditions similar to this one are discussed below.
 58. Ibn Ḥawqal, *La Configuration de la terre*, 167–68; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, ed. Mahmud Ghanizāda (Berlin, 1922–23), 28–45; W. M. Thackston Jr., *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)* (Albany, NY, 1986), 23–35. For the Haram's transformations in the Fatimid period (969–1099) see Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 121–57; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 135–69; Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 43–49; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 558–789.
 59. For the suggestion that the collapse of the dome over the Rock may have prompted al-Wasiṭī to collect traditions in praise of Jerusalem as a "fundraising campaign" for restoration work see Isaac Hasson, "Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem: *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*," in *The Jerusalem Cathedral*, ed. Lee Levine, 3 vols. (Jerusalem and Detroit, 1981–83), 1:173. The emergence of the *faḍā'il* literature on Jerusalem is analyzed in Suleiman A. Mourad, "A Note on the Origin of *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* Compilations," *Al-Abhath* 44 (1996):

- 31–48. The books of Ibn al-Murajja and al-Wasiti, cited above in nn. 16 and 29, also contain sections on the merits of Syria and Hebron.
60. For mihrabs at the Dome of the Chain; at Gabriel's Dome; and at the masjids of David, the Cradle of Jesus, and the Gate of the Divine Presence see Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 26, 29, 32. Qur'anic inscriptions identifying the Mihrab of Zechariah at the northeast corner of the precinct and referring to the mihrabs of Zechariah and Mary at the Cradle of Jesus are mentioned in *ibid.*, 25–26. The double gate known today as the Golden Gate was formerly the Gate of Mercy; it came to be called the Gate of Repentance and Mercy during the late Fatimid period. Before its name migrated to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Repentance was situated to the south, near the Mihrab of Mary (incorporated into the late Fatimid masjid of the Cradle of Jesus).
61. Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 26, 28, 33; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, 35–37, 44.
62. Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 29–33; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, 39–43.
63. For Ibn al-'Arabi's reference to the Prophet's footprint see n. 234 below. On the controversy concerning the intended victim of Abraham's sacrifice (Isaac or Ishmael) see n. 90 below. Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 23, 29–30, 32–33; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, 31, 41–43. Epiphanius' reference to the Rock as the "invisibly suspended stone" is cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 581.
64. On the early date of *faḍā'il* traditions see M. J. Kister, "A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem," in *The Jerusalem Cathedral*, 1:185–86; Mourad, "A Note on the Origin of *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* Compilations," 31–48; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Some Traditions of *Faḍā'il al-Quds*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991): 71–83; Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 365–67, 383–85. For Muqatil's exegesis and the traditions on Jerusalem included therein see Muqatil ibn Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr Muqatil ibn Sulaymān*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Maḥmūd Shahāta, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1969–87) 2: 513–15. For translations of these traditions see Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 383–85. Muqatil's lectures at the Aqsa Mosque are mentioned in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 114. The theological institution created by the Umayyads was the *quṣṣās*, whose position had been fixed by Mu'awiya and became officially established in mosques under 'Abd al-Malik. See Josef van Ess, "Early Development of Kalām," in *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, ed. G. H. A. Juynboll (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1982), 123.
65. al-Wāsitī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 86–87 no. 140; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 229 no. 338; 259–64 no. 399. Cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 320, 327, 329, 370.
66. M. Plessner [A. Ripplin], *EL2*, s.v. "Muqātil b. Sulaymān." For traditions on Jerusalem cited by Muqatil, see Muqatil, *Tafsīr*, 2:513–15; these are translated in Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 383–85. Additional traditions are incorporated into Muqatil's exegesis of suras in other volumes. Muqatil was selected by the Umayyad governor Nasr b. Sayyar to negotiate with the revolutionary Harith b. Surayy, whose executed secretary, Jahm b. Safwan, had once engaged Muqatil in a theological dispute about whether "God can be located on His Throne or whether he is *lā fi mahān* [without a location]." See van Ess, "Early Development of Kalām," 119. On al-Walid b. Hammad b. Jabir al-Ramli, who may have written a lost *faḍā'il* treatise on Jerusalem, and on other ninth-century Syrian-Palestinian transmitters of local traditions that are recorded in al-Wasiti's and Ibn al-Murajja's treatises, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 14–22; Mourad, "A Note on the Origin of *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* Compilations," 31–48 (an appendix on 42–43 lists al-Ramli's informants).
67. The tradition is attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih, who also locates Jacob's dream on the Rock: see Ibn al-Faqih, *Mukhtasar kitāb al-buldān*, 97–100; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqih*, 120–23. For "Kursi Sulaymān" see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 82–85. The Ayyubid "Dome of Solomon" and the rock inside are described in Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, 103–11. On David's Mihrab see Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 34; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, 45; and n. 51 above. Nasir-i Khusraw reports that God accepted David's repentance at the Gate of Mercy and Repentance on the eastern side—probably because the name of the southern Gate of Repentance migrated to the east after it was walled up in the late Fatimid period: see Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 25; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, 33–44.
68. For Muqatil's commentary on Sura 17 and traditions he cites in connection with it on the merits of Jerusalem see his *Tafsīr*, 2: 513–56; translated in Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 383–85. On the date around 70 (689–90) and the context of the hadith transmitted by al-Zuhri, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 153–57. This hadith, which was reported in the names of several transmitters, including al-Zuhri, underwent modifications: see M. J. Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques," *Le Muséon* 82 (1969): 173–96.
69. For traditions on Jerusalem recorded by Muqatil see n. 68 above. See also the exegesis of verse 50:41 in Muqatil, *Tafsīr*, 4:116. Muqatil does not specify the Qur'anic verse in which the "Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis" is cited. Hasson thinks this is a reference to the rock mentioned in the Sura of The Cave (Qur'an 18:63): see Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 383 n. 1. On that rock, Moses and his companion met "the one gifted with knowledge of God," al-Khidr, at the site marking the confluence of the two seas (*majma' al-bahrayn*). The tradition reported from Abu al-'Aliya in al-Wasiti's book is translated in Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 181: "When Allah, glorified be He, said 'unto the land we had blessed for all beings,' He meant that all sweet water originates from the Rock."
70. Ibn al-Faqih, *Mukhtasar kitāb al-buldān*, 93–97; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhānī*, 115–24; al-Wāsitī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 61–62 no. 98; 70–75 nos. 114–19; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 104 nos. 108–9; 108–10 nos. 120–23; 208–13 nos. 299–310. For the ascension of God from the Rock, see Josef van Ess, "'Abd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock: An Analysis of Some Texts," in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 89–103. For traditions ascribed to Ka'b al-Ahbar (d. 650s) in al-Wasiti's and Ibn al-Murajja's books about the setting of the divine Throne on the Rock at the end of time see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 162–63; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 351–62. There are references in the Qur'an to God's ascent to heaven (Qur'an 2:29; 13:2; 25:59; 41:11) and to the descent of the divine Throne on the Day of Judgment (Qur'an 69:17).

71. For the Rock's complaint to God about its reduced status when the qibla was transferred to Mecca, and the reassuring response given to it by God concerning the exalted role it would play on the Last Day as the site of the divine Throne, see J. W. Hirschberg, "The Sources of Moslem Traditions concerning Jerusalem," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951-52): 326-27. For a complaint made by the Ka'ba to God see M. J. Kister, "On 'Concessions' and Conduct: A Study in Early Hadith," in Juynboll, *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, 98. On the Day of Resurrection, the Black Stone of the Ka'ba, which originated in Paradise, will have two eyes and a tongue to intercede on behalf of pilgrims, according to the *Multaqā al-abḥur*, a compendium of Hanafi jurisprudence compiled by Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Halabi (d. 1549), which was widely used in the Ottoman Empire. For the Turkish translation and Arabic text see *Millekâ Tercümesi, Mevki'ât*, trans. Ahmed Davudoğlu (Istanbul, 1990), 387. The Mamluk authors al-Suyuti and Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali mention the "Tongue of the Rock" at the cave entrance: see Le Strange, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary," 259; Sauvair, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 106. The Rock's tongue is also listed among pilgrimage stations in a mid-sixteenth-century guidebook summarized in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 167.
72. Ascribed to the Prophet's companions 'Ubada b. al-Samit and Rafi' b. Hadij: see al-Wāsiṭī, *Fadā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 70-71 no. 115; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fadā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 109 no. 121. Translated in Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 330. According to a variant of this tradition in the name of Sawada b. 'Ata al-Hadrani, when God was seated on the Rock after having created the earth, He pointed out several places before ascending to heaven: "This to the west is Paradise; this to the east is the Fire (of Hell); and this is the place of My Scales of Justice, for I am God, the Judge on Judgment Day." See Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 329-30. For other variants see Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 326-27; Ibn al-Faqih, *Mukhtasar kitāb al-buldān*, 93-97; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqih*, 118-19; al-Wāsiṭī, *Fadā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 70-72 nos. 114 and 116; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fadā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 104 nos. 108 and 109.
73. These divine utterances are quoted from the Torah by Ka'b al-Ahbar (d. 650s); they also refer to walls of gold, silver, and gems that will be raised around Bayt al-Maqdis. See al-Wāsiṭī, *Fadā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 71-73 nos. 116 and 118; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fadā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 109-10, 308-9 nos. 122-23, 300, 301. Partially cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 319-20, 362. The tradition about the Rock's expansion as a white coral is reported from Abu Idrīs al-Khawlani (d. 699), who was a qadi of Damascus under 'Abd al-Malik and one of the *qurrā'* (Qur'an reciters and transmitters of traditions) of Syria-Palestine. See Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fadā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 104 no. 108; a shorter variant is on 104 no. 109. According to Muqatīl's commentary on the Qur'an, at the end of time the earth "will be laid out new and white, as if it were silver" (Qur'an 99:2). See Frederik Leemhuis, *EQ*, s.v. "Apocalypse."
74. Gil, *History of Palestine*, 96, 102: "'Abd al-Malik and his sons turned the Temple Mount into a magnet... and this is where the process of sanctification began"; "this aura of sanctity was the direct consequence of the great building enterprise of 'Abd al-Malik and his sons."
75. 'Abd al-Malik was able to build the Dome of the Rock "just because these traditions were alive and current among the inhabitants of Palestine and Syria," according to Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 317, 320-21. The Rock attracted a multitude of "cosmologic and ethico-historical traditions that were probably in circulation locally at the time of the Umayyad building activities," before the codification of hadith literature: see Angelika Neuwirth, "The Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in Islam," in *City of the Great King: Jerusalem from David to the Present*, ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1996), 109. The already existing local belief about God having set up His Throne in Jerusalem at the time of the creation was strengthened by the building activities of 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid and quickly acquired a Muslim identity of its own, according to van Ess, "'Abd al-Malik," 99. See also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 13-14; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 108-11; Hawting, *First Dynasty of Islam*, 59-61; Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 83, 87.
76. In a tradition ascribed to the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Ahbar, when Jerusalem complains about the destruction of her sanctuary (*al-bayt*, house), God consoles her, saying, "I manifest to you a new Torah, which means the Koran, and new inhabitants, which means the nation of Muhammad, peace be upon him. They will hover over you like the hovering of the eagle, and they will long for you as the dove longs for its eggs, and they will enter you prostrating and bowing." See Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Some Traditions," 82. The reference here to the Qur'anic *hiṭṭa* passage (2:58), associated in Muqatīl's exegesis with Jerusalem and identified in other texts with the Gate of Remission (*bāb hiṭṭa*) at the Haram, turns the rebuilt Muslim sanctuary into the realization of a preordained divine scheme signaling the establishment of a "new covenant" with the Muslims, who unlike the disobedient Children of Israel will submissively obey the divine commands. See Uri Rubin, *Between the Bible*, 83-91. Traditions on 'Umar's "discovery" of the Rock are analyzed in Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb in Jerusalem"; Suliman Bashear, "The Title *Fir'ūq* and Its Association with 'Umar," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 47-70. Regarding collective memory and the Holy Sepulcher see Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago and London, 1992), 87, 213-19.
77. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 48-49; Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 6-7.
78. Annabel Jane Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge, 1995), 99; Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 333.
79. Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fī 'l-tārīkh*, 8:280; translated in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 57.
80. As translated from Sibṭ b. al-Jawzi, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, based on a report by al-Waqidi (d. 823) that was derived from Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi (d. 819 or 821) via his father Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi (d. 763), whose own father was a partisan of Ibn al-Zubayr. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 53-54.
81. Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 425; Elad, "Why Did Abd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock?," 33-58. The scholarly debate on this issue is analyzed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 149-63. Elad concludes that 'Abd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock to "divert the hajj from Mecca to Jerusalem," because of the association of the Dome's site both "with the Last Days and with the Temple of Solomon." Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 161.
82. Goitein rejected the allegation that 'Abd al-Malik forbade

- the hajj to Mecca as anti-Umayyad propaganda: see Shelomo Dov Goitein, "The Historical Background for the Erection of the Dome of the Rock," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, 2 (1950): 104–8; Goitein, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Kuds." Following Goitein, Grabar disagreed with Creswell's view that the Dome of the Rock was built on the site of the Prophet's Ascension to abolish the Meccan hajj; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock." I concur with Hirschberg's assessment that the prohibition may have been real, and that it was a measure legitimized by the war against Ibn al-Zubayr, rather than meant to abolish the hajj for all time. See Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 318–19. For the differing view that "Ibn al-Zubayr's revolt had nothing to do with the building of the Dome of the Rock, contrary to the opinion of some positivist historians," see Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 81.
83. For a report that denounces as an "innovation" the introduction of the *ta'rif* ritual at the Dome of the Rock in the days of 'Abd al-Malik, when people gathered there on the Day of 'Arafa and performed the *wuqūf* (a "standing" ceremony held on the plain of 'Arafat), see Kister, "On 'Concessions' and Conduct," 104–5. For my revisionist interpretation of al-Ya'qubi's statement about the circumambulation of the Rock until the end of the Umayyad dynasty, see n. 39 above.
 84. al-Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari = Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk*, vol. 12, *The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine*, trans. Yohanan Friedlan (Albany, 1992), 194–95; discussed in Rubin, *Between the Bible*, 56–57. For a version of this tradition quoted from Ka'b al-Ahbar, in which 'Umar prefers to build the mosque at the south of the Rock because Muslims are entitled to the "front parts" of mosques, see Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 132 no. 162; cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 377–78. According to another version, 'Umar rejected Ka'b's proposal to join the two qiblas (*al-qiblatayn*) by declaring that the Rock is the "qibla of Moses," not the "qibla of Muhammad": see Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 53 no. 39; cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 353.
 85. As quoted from 'Ata' al-Khurasani in al-Wasiti, translated in Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 177–78.
 86. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 174 no. 246; cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 229–30.
 87. On the reduced sanctity of Jerusalem under the Abbasids see the introduction by Hasson in al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 16–21; Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out"; Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam," in *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* (Leiden, 1981), 58–71; Moshe Sharon, "The 'Praises of Jerusalem' as a Source for the Early History of Islam," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 49, 1–2 (1992): 56–68. Nasir-i Khusraw's report is translated in Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 21.
 88. The famous essay by the Mamluk scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) on rules of conduct for visiting the sanctuary in Jerusalem sanctions only ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) and the prayer of pardon (*ghafr*) at the Aqsa Mosque, following the precedent set by the caliph 'Umar I. He criticizes other rituals as "innovations," namely, ritual prayer in the direction of the qibla of the Rock, circumambulating the Rock, slaughtering animals for sacrifice near the Rock, holding the ritual of *ta'rif* there on the day of 'Arafa, making a pilgrimage to it for the fulfillment of vows, and combining the pilgrimage to Mecca with a visit to Jerusalem. He rejects the precinct's status as a Haram; refuses to believe that one can see either the Prophet's footprint on the Rock or the imprint of his turban on the Rock's underside facing the cave; disapproves of representations of the signs of the Last Day such as the Bridge of Sirat, the Scales, or the barrier between Paradise and Hell indicated on the precinct's east wall; and condemns the glorification of the Chain. Nevertheless, he accepts the sanctuary's importance as the site of the first qibla and the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension, as well as its eschatological role during the Last Judgment. See Henrik Olesen Niels, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez Ibn Taymiyya (661/1263–728/1328)* (Paris, 1991); Charles D. Matthews, "A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymiyyeh) on the 'Merits' of Jerusalem and Palestine," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56 (1936): 1–21; Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 176–77. The fact that Ibn Taymiyya's critique was not well received and he died in prison signals the ongoing popular veneration of the pilgrimage complex: similar critiques were made by some scholars in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods: see M. J. Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided: On Holy Places in the Islamic Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 18–65; L. A. Mayer, "A Sequel to Mujir ad-Din's Chronicle," *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 11, 2 (1931): 7–12; Moshe Perlmann, "A Seventeenth-Century Exhortation Concerning al-Aqsā," *Israel Oriental Studies* 3 (1973): 261–92. The sequel to Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's chronicle, covering thirteen years beginning with 901 (1495–96), includes an exhortation to pilgrims (pp. 7–11) not to touch or kiss the Rock or the cave underneath while asking for God's forgiveness, or to perform rituals at the Rock that resemble those of the Meccan hajj, such as circumambulating it; pilgrims are also instructed not to venerate sites like the Dome of the Scales (*qubbāt al-mizān*), the Market of Understanding (*aswāq al-ma'rifa*, fig. 3[43]), the Cradle of Jesus, and the Gate of Remission (*bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*)—indeed, the pilgrim should enter the sanctuary from any gate but this one!
 89. For the argument that the Dome of the Rock was intended by 'Abd al-Malik as a "contender for the role of the Muslim sanctuary," a status it failed to achieve when the Ka'ba came under his control, see Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 60–61. This argument is adopted, with the conclusion that the Dome of the Rock was a failed experiment, in Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 95–100, 126. The fluid nature of the pilgrimage rites to Mecca and the architectural transformations the Ka'ba underwent during the second civil war do not, in my view, support the conclusion that the Meccan hajj was not a fixed feature of Muslim belief at that time. See Ibn Ishāq, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, trans. A. Guillaume (London and New York, 1955), 135. For the joint qibla tradition and others claiming that the Prophet prayed towards Jerusalem only after moving to Medina to please the Jews see Rubin, "Ka'ba," 103–4 n. 29.
 90. The Ka'ba is accompanied by the *maqām* of Abraham, featuring a stone with his footprints and commemorating the construction of the sanctuary, which, according to the Qur'an, God had commanded Abraham and his son Ishmael to build. The Dome of the Rock is near Abraham's Cave, where he used to worship God, and 'Abd al-Malik may have attempted

- to link the Rock with the sacrifice of Isaac. For the horns of Abraham's ram hanging on a chain above the Rock in Marwanid times, and the controversy concerning whether the intended victim of Abraham's sacrifice was supposed to be Isaac or Ishmael, see Nasser Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited: Some Remarks on al-Wasiti's Account," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 71–73; Uri Rubin, "Hanifiyya and Ka'ba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of *Din Ibrāhīm*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990): 87–112; Suliman Bashhear, "Abraham's Sacrifice of his Son and Related Issues," *Der Islam* 67, 2 (1990): 243–77. The pro-Isaac view was prevalent among the Muslims of Syria-Palestine, according to the theologian John of Damascus (d. ca. 750), and Muqatīl's exegesis locates the sacrifice of Isaac in Jerusalem: see Rubin, "Hanifiyya and Ka'ba," 264–65, 277 n. 180. Nasir-i Khusraw saw Isaac's footprints imprinted on the Rock at the time he was there with his father, Abraham (for the sacrifice): see n. 63 above. The Persian chronicle of Mu'ali written in 1474 refers to the footprints of the Prophet and of Ishmael on the Rock: see n. 205 below. Later on, Sayyid 'Ali al-Husayni's mid-sixteenth-century Persian guidebook mentions the presence of Abraham's sacrificial knife at the Dome of the Rock. See Rachel Milstein, "Kūāb Shawq-nāma—An Illustrated Tour of Holy Arabia," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 317.
91. I am not convinced by the widespread presumption that the connection between the Prophet's Night Journey and the sanctuary in Jerusalem did not exist until al-Walid's completion of the Aqsa Mosque (ca. 715) or even later. See references in n. 43 above, particularly the articles of Busse. As Hirschberg argues, there is no reason to assume that the interpretation of Qur'an 17:1 as a reference to a celestial sanctuary preceded the one linking it with the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem: see his "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 338–42. It seems reasonable to me that among the diverse coexisting interpretations, the one connecting "the Furthest Place of Prayer" with Jerusalem (accepted in Muqatīl's exegesis) must have been prevalent in Syria-Palestine by the late seventh century. The assumption of a monolinear evolution is not warranted; instead, competing traditions that never became entirely resolved coexisted simultaneously. Pedersen concludes that the Muslims recognized the holiness of the Jerusalem sanctuary early on, as is evident from the first qibla and the "traditional interpretation" of Qur'an 17:1, "according to B. Schrieke and Horowitz a place of prayer in heaven." Pedersen adds, "It must therefore have been natural for the conquerors to seek out the recognized holy place" as 'Umar did in 638: Pedersen, *ET2*, s.v. "Masjdjid." The heavenly sanctuary idea was eventually rejected by most exegetical collections on the Qur'an and biographies of the Prophet; remnants of it remained in Shi'i literature, which tried to diminish the sanctity of Jerusalem to glorify Kufa: see Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 355. Although Grabar initially argued that the Prophet's Night Journey (*isrā'*) was linked with the sanctuary in Jerusalem after al-Walid's construction of the Aqsa Mosque, he now believes that the identification of the Haram with the first qibla of Islam, the Prophet's Night Journey, and the place of God's return at the Last Judgment began to take root in Jerusalem between 640 and 690. Cf. Grabar's "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" and *Shape of the Holy*, 48–49, 114.
92. Tammām b. Ghālib al-Farazdaq, *Sharh Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, ed. Muḥammad Ismā'il 'Abd Allāh al-Sāwī, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1936), 2: 566. For the Arabic text and a fuller translation see Nadia Jamil, "Caliph and Qutb: Poetry as a Source for Interpreting the Transformation of the Byzantine Cross on Steps on Umayyad Coinage," in Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two*, 56. The two sanctuaries "are referred to as being on the same level," according to Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out," 182. However, as Rabbat points out, the wording of this verse, in a poem describing the hajj procession led by 'Abd al-Malik in 694, clearly implies that the House in Aelia is not equal in sanctity to the Ka'ba. See Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 81.
93. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 253 no. 386. The same tradition is included in al-Wasiti. For a slightly different translation see Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 179. The expulsion of the Umayyads from Medina may have embittered 'Abd al-Malik, according to Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 22, 26. For the attempt by Mu'awiya and 'Abd al-Malik to transfer the Prophet's minbar from the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina to Syria-Palestine (which is reported by al-Tabari), see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 148.
94. For an overview of the controversy see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 147–63; Elad, "Why did 'Abd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock?," 33–58; Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 60–61.
95. This tradition is reported by the descendants of Thabit b. Istanibiyadh al-Farisi al-Khumsī (one of the servants of the Marwanid sanctuary) on the authority of 'Abd al-Malik's building supervisors Raja' b. Haywa and Yazid b. Salam. See al-Wasiti, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 80–81 no. 136, and a longer version, combining several traditions, in Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 58–62 no. 47. The short version is extensively analyzed in Rabbat, "Dome of the Rock Revisited," 68–71. A variant of the same tradition, recorded by Sibṭ al-Jawzi via al-Waqidi (d. 832), is translated in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 53–56.
96. Sharon, "Praises of Jerusalem," 58–59. Grabar states that this tradition, "from which all pious sentiments are absent, is clearly a later reaction to an existing building," and that it should not be taken too literally. See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 115 n. 142. According to Rabbat, the simple explanation shows that the reader already knows the significance of the Rock, which 'Abd al-Malik was "honoring as a venerated and possibly sacred object" in addition to claiming "an imperial presence." See Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 85–87.
97. It was reportedly Ka'b's nephew Nawf al-Bikali who informed 'Abd al-Malik about this tradition. See al-Wasiti, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 23 no. 28; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 187 no. 267; translated in Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 181; Livne-Kafri, "Muslim Traditions," 184; Isaac Hasson, *EQ*, s.v. "Last Judgment."
98. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 63–64 no. 50. A variant refers to the Torah instead of the Holy Books, and lacks the last sentence. See al-Wasiti, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 86 no. 138; cited in Livne-Kafri "A Note on Some Traditions," 82–83; Sharon, "Praises of Jerusalem," 59; Rubin, *Between the Bible*, 19, 23; Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 179; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 162–63; Busse "Temple in Jerusalem," 25; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 361–62. Kaplony proposes a new reading for *mulkahā 'l-awwala* as *malikahā 'l-awwala*, according to

- which God will restore Jerusalem "to its first king," David, and "crown him with gold, silver and corals," before bringing His people back to it. Although both readings are possible, I prefer the earlier one because the tradition is clearly concerned with the rebuilding of Jerusalem as an apocalyptic sign: see Ibn al-Murajjā's chapter on the "signs of the end of time," 208–10 nos. 300, 301–304; Suliman Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 1, 2 (1991): 176. Moreover, the Umayyad caliphs did not wear crowns; for a seventh-century Maronite chronicler who says "Mu'awiya did not wear a crown like other kings in the world," see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 136.
99. For a comparable prophecy concerning 'Umar's clearing of the Rock, which had been predicted by a sage long ago, see Bashear, "Title *Fārūq*," 47–70. The end of Ka'b's prophecy alludes to "an important element in Jewish eschatology: the 'House of David':" see Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Some Traditions," 83. The predestined replacement of the demolished Temple with a new Muslim sanctuary is also prophesied in other traditions with messianic overtones. Although there is no reason to assume that these traditions were promulgated at the time of 'Abd al-Malik, they do reflect popular perceptions that connect the rise of Islam with building activities at the former Temple Mount. In one of these traditions, reported by Ibn Sa'd (d. 845) quoting a man of Jewish origin, Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi, God announces to Jacob, "I shall send from your descendants kings and prophets, till I send the Prophet of the *haram* [Mecca]," the "Seal of the Prophets," whose "nation will build the Temple (*haykal*) of Jerusalem." Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Some Traditions," 82.
100. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 72–73, 92–103, 307–21; Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 111–47; Flusin, "L'Esplanade du Temple," 17–31; Bernard Flusin, "Démons et Sarrasins: L'auteur et le propos des *Diègêmata stèriktika* d'Anastase le Sinaïte," *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991): 381–409. For Christian apocalyptic prophecies that the Antichrist would rebuild Solomon's Temple and dwell in it during the Last Days see Joshua Prawer, "Christian Attitudes Towards Jerusalem in the Early Middle Ages," in Prawer and Ben-Shammai, *History of Jerusalem*, 323–25.
101. For references see n. 43 above, especially the articles by Busse, who claims that 'Abd al-Malik aimed to "rebuild the Jewish Temple." The literature on the Muslim desire to rebuild the Temple, which anachronistically dissociates religious and political meanings, is summarized by Elad, who detects three interconnected themes in the Dome of the Rock that have no reference to the Prophet's legacy: successor to the Temple of Solomon, rival to Mecca, and symbol of the Last Days. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 161–63. The Temple also looms large in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*.
102. Mujir-al-Din al-Hanbali's chronicle was written in 1496. See Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymī al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-jalil bi-tarihik al-quds wa 'l-khalil*, 2 vols. (Najaf, 1968), 1:272; Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 48–49. 'Abd al-Malik's image as a champion of Islam and his religious reforms are discussed in Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, esp. 49–57, 81–128. For the prevalence of messianic expectations see Wilfred Madelung, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdi," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40, 4 (1981): 291–305; Wilfred Madelung, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Mahdi." For the emergence of prophetic claimants in the Muslim community that provided an impetus to the consolidation of the dogma concerning the finality of Muhammad's prophethood as the "seal of the prophets" (Qur'an 33:40), see Yohanan Friedman, "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7 (1986): 177–215. Those accused of falsely claiming prophethood during the times of 'Abd al-Malik included the Shi'i rebel al-Mukhtar (d. 687) and al-Harith b. Sa'id (d. 698–99).
103. Cited in Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 44, 82–86, 91; Jamil, "Caliph and Qutb," 39–40.
104. Bustami Khir, *EQ*, s.v. "Sovereignty." For the observation that "the sovereignty of God is an essential element of eschatology" also see Carolanne Mekeel-Matteson, "The Meaning of the Dome of the Rock," *The Islamic Quarterly* 43, 3 (1999): 164.
105. These sources are discussed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 21, 62–68; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 229.
106. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fadā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 64–81 nos. 52–69. Analyzed and mapped in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 69–71 (map on xviii–ix); Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 103–6 (map on 106, fig. 30).
107. Kaplony identifies the unnamed portal from which one enters the Haram as the Gate of David (see n. 106 above). He suggests that "the place" one is only allowed to touch may have been located at the west or north side of the Rock, and he situates the Prophet's *maqām* inside or outside the Dome of the Rock. See Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 745–47. A tradition circulating in the early eighth century states that prayers made at the right (west) and north sides of the Rock, and at the "place (*al-mawḍi'*) of the chain" (the Dome of the Chain, to the east) are answered by God, removing one's sorrows and erasing all sins: quoted from Ka'b al-Ahbar in al-Wāsiṭī, *Fadā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 75 no. 120; 23 no. 29. Another tradition recommends praying to the right and left of the Rock in order to enter Paradise. See Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fadā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 113 no. 131. On the merits of prayer at the Black Paving Stone to the north see n. 38 above.
108. For traditions about the minor domes see al-Wāsiṭī, *Fadā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 73–75 no. 119; 94–96 no. 155; 99–101 no. 162; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fadā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 119–21 nos. 142–44; 123–25 nos. 148 and 151. The hypothetical locations of these domes are indicated on the maps of Elad and Kaplony: see n. 106 above. See also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 47–50; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 307–11.
109. This interpretation is made in Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 317. The rituals established by 'Abd al-Malik are described in the traditions cited above in n. 95.
110. Modern scholars generally equate the Rock with the "Pierced Stone" (*lapis pertusus*) of the destroyed Temple, mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333), which was annually anointed by the Jews: see *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem: The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.)*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1887). The hole of the Rock is interpreted in a Muslim tradition as the place where offerings were made on a plate hanging from a chain in the days of the Children of Israel: see al-Wāsiṭī, *Fadā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 75 no. 121; cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 354. This tradition identifies the Rock as the Temple's altar (*haykal*) of offerings. According to another tradition, the Ark of the Covenant

- rested on the Rock until God became angry with the Children of Israel and raised it up: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 27–28 n. 28, 109–14. For the perception of the Rock as the Holy of Holies in the Crusader period see n. 170 below. Mondays and Thursdays were the days on which the Jewish Temple was opened to the public for Torah readings; for the presumed parallel with the liturgy of the Temple, also imitated at the Holy Sepulcher, see Busse, “Sanctity of Jerusalem,” 458–59; Busse, “Temple in Jerusalem,” 25–29; Sharon, “Praises of Jerusalem,” 59–63; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 53–56, 162; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 41–42, 321–25. The Anastasis Rotunda featured a circumambulation ritual on Holy Saturday, when the priests would cense it and perform a three-fold perambulation within it, according to a Georgian lectionary from the late fifth to the eighth century, cited in Jamil, “Caliph and Qutb,” 56. The group of servants appointed to the sanctuary in Jerusalem by ‘Abd al-Malik included Jews and Christians, whose positions were hereditary; the Jewish servants, whose duties included lighting the lamps of the Dome of the Rock, were dismissed by the caliph ‘Umar II (r. 717–20). See Gil, *History of Palestine*, 71–72. Raby suggests that the vessels made for the Haram by ‘Abd al-Malik’s Jewish glassmakers may have been connected to the ritual of anointing the Rock: see Raby, “In Vitro Veritas,” 158–83. Raby is one of the few scholars to note that the entire Ka’ba was anointed with *khalūq*, as were parts of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina. He also cites al-Mas’ūdi’s report about the two days for the opening of Mu’awiya’s tomb: see Raby, “In Vitro Veritas,” 172 n. 188; 176–77. On Mu’awiya being the first to anoint the Ka’ba with *khalūq* see Massé, *Ibn al-Faqih*, 25. In his *History of Mecca* (ca. 883), al-Faqih mentions that the Ka’ba was opened on Mondays and Thursdays after the Quraysh rebuilt it in the time of the Prophet with a single gate raised above the ground that could be reached only by a ladder: cited in Sadettin Ünal, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “Kâbe.” Ibn al-Zubayr’s rebuilding of the Ka’ba with two gates made it more accessible; ‘Abd al-Malik restored it to its former Qurashi form featuring a single raised gate. The shrine of the Prophet’s sandal, created by the Mamluk ruler Qaytbay (r. 1486–96) in al-Madrassa al-Ashrafiyya in Jerusalem, had a cupola with silk curtains in a room that was also opened to the public only on Mondays and Thursdays. See M. J. Kister, “Do Not Assimilate Yourselves...*Lā tashabbahū*,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 12 (1989): 349.
111. al-Ṭabarī, *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:193–96; Busse, “Omar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb,” 74–75, 79–85; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 236–37, 356–57.
 112. al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 171; discussed in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 164–65. According to a tradition ascribed to him, the caliph ‘Umar ordered that a *muṣalla* be built for Muslims near the eastern wall overlooking the Valley of Hell while he disposed of refuse removed from the Rock: see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā’il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 78 no. 130. Another tradition transmitted in the name of his son, Ibn ‘Umar, identifies Qur’an 57:13 with the eastern wall of the precinct: cited in Hirschberg, “Sources of Moslem Traditions,” 329.
 113. For traditions and sites on the Haram associated with al-Khidr see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 327, 485–86, 695–96. Places named after al-Khidr in the late Ottoman period are marked on fig. 3(11, 29), 15(E); his mihrab along the eastern wall of the Haram is mentioned in a mid-sixteenth-century guidebook summarized in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 170. The Haram is characterized as a place where the “border between heaven and earth, between time and eternity is permeable,” in Neuwirth, “Spiritual Meaning,” 113. The minor domes of the Marwanid raised platform are shown on the hypothetical reconstruction maps of Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, xiv–xv, and Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 295. The extant minor domes on this platform, with the exception of the Dome of the Chain, are from the Ayyubid and Ottoman periods. For the Ayyubid Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-mi’rāj*) see Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, 84–96. For the Dome of the Spirits (*qubbat al-arwāḥ*), Dome of al-Khidr, Dome of the Prophet, Dome of Yusuf, and the domed Convent of Shaykh Muhammad al-Khalili (also known as *zāwiya al-muhammadiyya* or *masjid al-nabī*), see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:701–8, 888–99, 936–40, 958–62.
 114. For the treasury and related bibliography see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 305–7. Grabar considers Mu’awiya, ‘Abd al-Malik, al-Walid, and Sulayman as equally plausible candidates for the construction of the Dome of the Chain. See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 130–32. For the reference in the Syriac chronicle see Andrew Palmer, ed. and trans., *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool, 1993), 47.
 115. This identification is based on a tradition recorded in Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā’il bayt al-maqdis*, 226 no. 333. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 27; Gil, *History of Palestine*, 104; Duri, “Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period,” 109–10; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 304–5.
 116. al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā’il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 87 no. 141; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā’il bayt al-maqdis*, 114 no. 133. Cited in Duri, “Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period,” 110; Hasson, “Muslim View of Jerusalem,” 364–65. Gil mentions other sources indicating that Sulayman, while still governor of Palestine, sat at one of the minor domes near the Rock, where he gave audiences and had his orders written. According to Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, ‘Umar II acted in the same way: see Gil, *History of Palestine*, 104 n. 28.
 117. For Ibn al-Faqih and Nasir-i Khusraw see nn. 31 and 62 above. The dome’s centrality is noted in Busse, “Sanctity of Jerusalem,” 442; Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 27–29; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 131; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 300. The concept of *qub* is discussed in Jamil, “Caliph and Qutb,” 11–57.
 118. al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā’il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 33–34 no. 44. Cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 302–303; Meri, *Lone Wanderer’s Guide*, 70–72. The dome has also been associated by Garth Fowden with the Day of Judgment: “The possibility clearly exists that the Dome of the Chain was designed to shelter the caliph’s throne on state occasions—and at the Last Judgment?” Garth Fowden, *Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria: Qusayr ‘Amra* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2004), 124 n. 88. According to Neuwirth, who does not cite a source, the “chain holding the scales of judgment will be hung” at this dome at the “very center of a vast scenario of judgment.” See Neuwirth, “Spiritual Meaning,” 113–14.
 119. For messianic expectations in the Umayyad period see Madelung, *EI2*, s.v. “al-Mahdi”; Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh, 2004), 74–80. For the frequent

- use of the term *mahdī* implying a "redeemer" in court poetry, and the verses of al-Farazdaq discussed above, see Crone, *Islamic Political Thought*, 41–42; Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge, 2003), 34–37, 54–56; Uri Rubin, "Prophets and Caliphs: The Biblical Foundations of the Umayyad Authority," in *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, ed. Herbert Berg (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 98–99; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 114; Reinhard Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion: Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. 'Abdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 40, 147, 149, 151, 157–60.
120. al-Ṭabarī, *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:194.
121. The role of Umayyad caliphs in guiding the community by adjudicating the law and upholding justice is discussed in Crone, *Islamic Political Thought*, 40–43. The episode with the theologian Abu Zur'a is cited in Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 83; Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 258–59. For court poetry portraying 'Abd al-Malik as a judge, his coins inscribed with the title "God's caliph," and the poet Nabigha b. Shayban's recommendation urging the caliph to judge by the *sunna* of David and also to follow the Prophet's *sunna*, see Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 94, 49–57; Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 54.
122. Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 4–42; Rubin, "Prophets and Caliphs," 73–99; Wadad al-Qadi, "The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology and Practice," in *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam: Actas del simposio internacional, Granada, 15–18 octubre 1991* (Madrid, 1994), 231–73.
123. Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 38–41; al-Qadi, "Religious Foundation," 241–73. The statement of al-Hajjaj is quoted in Crone, *Islamic Political Thought*, 30. For the Prophet's saying see M. J. Kister, "Social and Religious Concepts of Authority in Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994): 106.
124. Rubin, "Prophets and Caliphs," 73–99; al-Qadi, "Religious Foundation," 241–73.
125. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 114. See also n. 91 above.
126. Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 181–87. The Prophet's early biographies were composed by scholars based in Medina, such as 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 712), who wrote one for 'Abd al-Malik, and his pupil al-Zuhri: see Rubin, *Between the Bible*, 37. For narratives on the Prophet's Ascension see B. Schrieke-[J. Horowitz] and J. E. Bencheikh, *EI2*, s.v. "Mi'rādī"; Michael Sells, *EQ*, s.v. "Ascension."
127. For Muqātil's commentary on Sura 17 see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2:513–56. Elad suggests that al-Zuhri heard the caliph's sermon around 685–89, when he was in Jerusalem for the supervision of the Dome of the Rock's construction: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 155–56. The tradition concerning the controversy between al-Zuhri and the shaykh is reported on the authority of Damara b. Rabi'a al-Ramlī (d. 817) in al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 102 no. 165. Cited in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 21. Other traditions about the Rock that were transmitted by al-Zuhri are mentioned in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 111 n. 80.
128. Al-Zuhri's tradition is recorded in al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 51 no. 78; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-muqaddis*, 98 no. 99. Cited in Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided," 52; Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 183.
129. For some Jews in Medina who referred to Ezra as "son of God" see Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi', *EQ*, s.v. "Ezra." Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2: 553, 556. For Qur'an 17 see n. 91 above. S. D. Goitein persuasively argued that the link of verse 17:1 with Jerusalem is clearly implied: "It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII, 1, was combined with XVII, 2–8, the tradition identifying *al-masjid al-aqsā* as the Temple of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another." See Goitein, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Kuds," For a counterargument see Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 356–58. Hasson contends that during the compilation of the Qur'an in the time of 'Uthman, verse 1 and verses 2–8 referring to the Temple were not connected by content or a topical link; that there are no reliable early prophetic traditions associating the Night Journey with Jerusalem; and that this association must have been made no earlier than during the construction of the Aqsa Mosque by al-Walid, because the first verse is not included among 'Abd al-Malik's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. Angelika Neuwirth, however, states that in the early Islamic religious context, Qur'an 17:1 "can hardly be located anywhere else other than on the Temple Mount of Jerusalem." See Angelika Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorific Names of the City," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:80 n. 22. The early connection of this verse with the sanctuary in Jerusalem, the first qibla, is also accepted in Pedersen, *EI2*, s.v. "Masjid." For the current debate on the compilation date of the Qur'an see Harald Motzki, "The Collection of the Qur'an: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments," *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 1–34; Harald Motzki *EQ*, s.v., "Mushaf." Motzki presents compelling circumstantial evidence in favor of the 'Uthmanic recension of the Qur'an, based on a tradition transmitted in fifteen different versions from al-Zuhri (d. 742) and arguments against the assumption that he fabricated this report, which "must go back to the last decades of the 1st century AH."
130. Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–73. For the extant Fatimid inscription see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 149–52. The inscription is published in Max van Berchem, ed., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2, sect. 2, *Syrie du Sud: Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (vols. 43–45 of *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* [Cairo, 1920–27]), vol. 1, *Jérusalem "Ville"* (vol. 43, 1922–23); vol. 2, *Jérusalem "Haram"* (vol. 44, 1925–27); vol. 3, *Planches* (vol. 45, 1920) (cited henceforth as *Corpus*, vols. 1–3); see *Corpus*, 2: 452–53 no. 301. Kaplony argues that the term *al-masjid al-aqsā* referred to the whole precinct prior to the "High Fatimid" period, when it became restricted to the covered part of the rebuilt congregational mosque: see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 777. In later periods, however, the term continued to be ambiguous, sometimes referring to the whole precinct and sometimes to the congregational mosque to the south.
131. For the narratives of the Prophet's ascent to heaven, which link "three major boundary moments"—the divine creation, the revelation, and the final reckoning—see Sells, *EQ*, s.v. "Ascension," 179–80; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2:554.
132. Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 182, 185.

133. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fadā'īl bayt al-maqlās*, 121–22 no. 144; cited and discussed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 49. For traditions in al-Wasitū and Ibn al-Murajja about God's ascent from the Rock and the Prophet's Ascension see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 351–57; see also nn. 70, 72 above.
134. al-Wasitū. *Fadā'īl al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 72 no. 117. Cited with another version of the same hadith in van Ess, "Abd al-Malik," 92. See also Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 352, 354, 357.
135. For al-Ya'qubi see n. 39 above. The other report, by Hisham b. 'Urwa, was derived from his father, 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, the brother of the "antī-caliph," Ibn al-Zubayr; see van Ess, "Abd al-Malik," 98–99. Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiyya (d. 700–701), the son of the caliph 'Alī, similarly denounced the Syrians, who "pretend that God put His foot on the Rock in Jerusalem": cited in van Ess, "Abd al-Malik," 93–94.
136. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 68.
137. For the full Arabic texts, translations, and analysis see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:223–55; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 56–71, 184–86. See also, Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 90–96; Christel Kessler, "Abd al-Malik's Inscription in the Dome of the Rock: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1970): 2–14; Blair, "What Is the Date," 59–87; Heribert Busse, "Die arabischen Inschriften im und am Felsendom in Jerusalem," *Das Heilige Land* 109 (1977): 8–24; Heribert Busse, "Monotheismus und islamische Christologie in der Bauinschrift des Felsendoms in Jerusalem," *Theologische Quartalsschrift* 161 (1981): 168–78; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 93–116; Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam," 77–93.
138. For Qur'anic texts used on different media by 'Abd al-Malik see Priscilla Soucek, *EQ*, s.v. "Material Culture." The conflation and paraphrasing of verses in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock have been interpreted by some scholars as proof of the fluidity of the 'Uthmanic text of the Qur'an, which had not yet reached its final form. For a recent argument against this view see Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts," 407–8.
139. For the four similar gate inscriptions seen by al-Harawī, who only cites those of the Fatimid caliph al-Qa'im (r. 934–46) above the arch of the east gate, see Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–71; written sources from the Crusader period are listed in van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:285–87, 373–76.
140. The Ayyubid inscription has been discussed and interpreted in Busse, "Inschriften," 14; Rosen-Ayalon, "Jewish Substratum, Christian History and Muslim Symbolism: An Archaeological Episode in Jerusalem," in Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*, 463–66; Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 172–76.
141. Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–73. Al-Harawī refers to the inscription on the Aqsa Mosque's dome as *al-kitāba wa l-awraq bi l-faḍḍ al-mudhahhab*. Van Berchem assumed that the inscription with the Throne Verse seen by al-Harawī was of "gold mosaics" like those on the octagonal arcade, even though, as he admits, the latter mosaics do not quote that verse; he suggests that the marble revetments of the circular arcade may have originally featured mosaic inscriptions as well: see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:370 n. 3. I interpret al-Harawī's statement as a reference to an inscription on or around the Dome of the Rock's dome, because *saḡf* means "ceiling" or "vaulted roof," rather than "arcade." Moreover, I see no reason why *al-kitāba bi l-faḍḍ al-mudhahhab* should be translated as "gold mosaics"; it more likely refers to a gilded inscription on wooden panels. Prior to the dome's Fatimid renovation, al-Muqaddasi mentions its gilded wooden (*khashab*) paneling (*al-wāh muzawwaqa*), instead of mosaics (*al-fusayfīsā*): see Arabic texts cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 529–30, 540–41. For the extant Throne Verse on the apex of the dome and the outer band surrounding it see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:289–98 no. 225. According to Neuwirth, the present Ottoman inscription quoting the Throne Verse is possibly "a restoration of the former epigraphic decoration of the cupola, about whose Umayyad shape we know nothing." See Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 109, 491 n. 77. Grabar resists accepting the possibility of lost Umayyad inscriptions: "It was thought by some that the inscription originally continued on the outer side of the circular arcade. This is not very likely, because the text as it stands delivers a rhetorically completed argument and does not seem to require a continuation. Still, the possibility cannot be excluded that some additional statement on either or both sides of the arcade disappeared when the Crusaders refurbished the building for their own purposes, or during the numerous repairs of Mamluk and Ottoman times." Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 56–57.
142. Neuwirth argues that there is "no allusion whatsoever to the beginning of creation" in the inscription program of the Dome of the Rock, which has many references to "the reestablishment of creation on the Last Day, when the prophet will act as a mediator." She states that the cosmological associations of the site (emphasized by van Ess) are marginal in comparison with "the prominence given to the eschatological functions attributed to Muhammad in the text." See Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 111–12. For Neuwirth, the main message of the inscription program is that "the Prophet Muhammad, mentioned in the text more than ten times, is, like Jesus, a servant and a messenger of God": *ibid.*, 109. This interpretation, foregrounding the status of the Prophet, downplays the primary emphasis of the inscriptions on God and the cosmological references on the bronze plaques of the east and north gates, which partially quote the Throne Verse along with others that refer to God as the creator of the heavens and the earth (discussed below).
143. For the Holy Sepulcher complex and its competition with the Temple Mount see Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City*, 64–100. The view that Jesus was raised up alive by God and will die and be resurrected at the end of time was held by the majority of Muslims; for its predominance in Umayyad Syria-Palestine see n. 144 below. Muslim perceptions of Jesus, which were far from monolithic, are summarized in G. C. Anawati, *EJ2*, s.v. "Īsā."
144. For John of Damascus's father, who was 'Abd al-Malik's finance minister, see n. 42 above and Daniel J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden, 1972), 73–74, 133–41. John describes the Muslim belief that Jesus was not crucified and did not die but was raised alive by God to Himself; when he ascended to heaven, God asked him whether he had said "I am Son of God and God," to which he responded, "I am your servant, but men who have gone astray wrote that I said this thing": see Sahas, *John of Damascus*, 78, 134–35. John adds that the Muslims are at a loss when told that the scriptures have foretold that Christ "will

- be the judge of the living and of the dead alike": *ibid.*, 135. For John of Damascus see also Andrew Louth, *St. John Damascus: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (Oxford and New York, 2004); Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton and Oxford, 2008).
145. I have largely followed Grabar's translations, with some modifications, and have adopted his model in using italics for Qur'anic quotations, to differentiate them from Qur'anic paraphrases and invocations.
 146. Valerie J. Hoffman, *EQ*, s.v. "Intercession"; A. J. Wensinck [D. Gimaret], *EI2*, s.v. "Shafā'a"; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2:553.
 147. Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 93; Blair, "What Is the Date," 73, 77.
 148. Matthias Radscheit, *EQ*, s.v. "Witnessing and Testifying."
 149. John of Damascus starts his discussion of Muhammad's "heresy" with the Qur'anic doctrine of the oneness and unity of God, as expressed in Qur'an 112: "He says that there is one God, creator of all, who is neither begotten nor has begotten." See Sahas, *John of Damascus*, 75, 133.
 150. This parallel is noted in Raya Shani, "The Iconography of the Dome of the Rock," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23 (1999): 177. For the emphasis on the intercession of the Prophet see also Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 109–10. Neuwirth argues that the account of the *mi'rāj*, which is integrated into the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Ishaq, was widely enough known to have contributed to the construction of the Dome of the Rock; she draws attention to the quotation of Qur'an 33:56, which alludes to the Prophet transcending the borders between heaven and earth. See Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam," 90 n. 78.
 151. In later resurrection literature, where accounts of the Ascension and Resurrection (*qiyāma*) are clearly interrelated, the Prophet mounts al-Buraq "a second time to head for the Rock at Jerusalem and finally appear before the Lord": see J. E. Bencheikh, *EI2*, s.v. "Mi'rāj." The eastern staircase of the raised platform is named after al-Buraq in the Mamluk historian Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's chronicle: see Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 109.
 152. The north gate, too, constituted an important point of entry into the Dome of the Rock, according to a tradition in which Wahb b. Munabbih instructs a pilgrim to go into the building from this gate and pray at the Black Paving Stone located to the south, across from its threshold: see n. 38 above. Based on the inscriptions, Busse suggests that the south gate must have been intended as the main entrance of the building; his assumption that the more elaborate portico of that gate is original has not been substantiated: see Busse, "Inscriften," 24. Blair notes that the motifs and texts on the inner face of the octagon give preeminence to the qibla wall to the south: see Blair, "What Is the Date," 77–78.
 153. For the staff of the complex see n. 110 above. It is reported that the mosques in Damascus and Medina were open to non-Muslims until 'Umar II put an end to this practice, but even after that date Byzantine embassies were shown the Damascus mosque, suggesting that "it was accessible to at least some non-Muslims": see Finbarr Barry Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies in the Making of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden and Boston, 2001), 224 n. 175. For the accessibility of mosques to non-Muslims from the times of the Prophet through the early Umayyad period see Pedersen, *EI2*, s.v. "Masjid."
 154. The use of the future tense in the paraphrase of the words Jesus utters at his cradle in Qur'an 19:33 clarifies that he has not yet died nor been resurrected. It has been suggested that Jesus's utterance in the Qur'an is ambiguous and does not necessarily hint at his death in the eschatological future, as is commonly assumed by Islamic tradition; nor does his future descent from heaven necessitate his being spared death on the cross. For this view see Neal Robinson, *EQ*, s.v. "Jesus." That this was not the current belief in Umayyad Syria-Palestine is indicated by John of Damascus's account mentioned above in nn. 143 and 144 above.
 155. Gilbert Dagron and Vincent Déroche, "Juifs et chrétiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle," *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991): 247, 265, following a translation of *Doctrina Jacobi* on 47–229; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 57. Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) wrote that Muslims considered Jesus the "true Messiah, who was to come and who was foretold by the prophets," but that they did not acknowledge him as the son of God: Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 166. Guillaume Postel (ca. 1530s) attests to the currency of this belief among Muslims in the Ottoman empire: see Guillaume Postel, *Des histoires orientales*, ed. Jacques Rolles (Istanbul, 1999), 145, 147, 154. Postel mentions their belief in the Resurrection and in the Last Judgment, during which Jesus (who is alive with his mother in heaven) will return to earth; God will command him at that time to condemn disbelievers and will order Muhammad to act as witness on behalf of the believers at the Valley of Jehoshaphat. For the painted images see Rubin, "Ka'ba" 102; Rubin, "Ḥanīfiyya and Ka'ba," 104; Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 552; and al-Harawi's description of Mecca in Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 234. The images of Jesus and his mother at the Ka'ba were still extant in the days of 'Ata b. Abi Rahab (d. 732).
 156. For differing interpretations of the decorative program, the mosaics, and related bibliography see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 71–104; Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 77–90; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon," 74–123; Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 46–69; Shani, "Iconography," 158–207.
 157. The mosaics to the southeast (mis-labeled northeast) are illustrated in Nuseibeh and Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 104–5. Another exception is a tree to the northwest (mis-labeled southwest), growing from a jewel-encrusted cornucopia: see Nuseibeh and Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 92. It is generally noted that the trees display a stylistic affinity to Sasanian works, such as the capitals at Taq-i Bustan; Raby has shown that they also resemble trees depicted on Jewish glass vessels produced in Jerusalem: see his "In Vitro Veritas," 139–45, 181–83.
 158. Even though it is difficult to detect a consistent pattern, the minute variations in the mosaic designs have been assigned iconographic specificity in Shani and Rosen-Ayalon (see n. 156 above). Grabar no longer subscribes to his 1959 interpretation that the mosaics represent through insignia of power the defeated enemies of the early Muslims or of rulers incorporated into their realm, nor does he believe that these are "images or even evocations of something as specific as Paradise or the gardens of Solomon's palace." He writes: "Such iconographic interpretations would be possible if the

- major motifs on which they are based—specifically imperial Persian and Byzantine crowns and jewel-laden trees—had been shown only once, but the constant repetition weakens the charge of any meaning when there is no established outside referent.” See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 206 n. 98. In my view, the repetition of motifs with subtle variations creates a powerful gestalt rather than weakening the potential of signification.
159. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 78.
160. An exception to the northeast is a vase featuring a central stem with superimposed crowns and no pair of wings, which Grabar attributes to a later restoration: see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 82, fig. 31. Yet it may be an intentional marker, given the additional presence of distinctive motifs on the northeast side of the octagonal arcade, the inscriptions of which allude to the eschatological roles of the Prophet and Jesus on Judgment Day: see n. 162 below.
161. In addition to abstracted angels, Rosen-Ayalon identifies a pair of trumpets near the north gate, allegedly alluding to that gate’s eschatological name (*bāb al-sūr*) as mentioned by al-Muqaddasi. See Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 46–69. A forthcoming study by Julian Raby, interpreting the decorative program as a suitable shelter and earthly setting for the divine Throne on the Last Day, is cited in Flood, *Great Mosque*, 89–90 nn. 148–9, 220–21, 243 n. 12.
162. Crowns with wings that are represented on “Sasanian type” Marwanid coins feature Middle Persian inscriptions referring to the concept of *khwarra*: “May his sovereign glory (*khwarra*) increase!” See Luke Treadwell, “The ‘Orans’ Drachms of Bishr ibn Marwān,” in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 231, 261–69; Luke Treadwell, “A Reconsideration of an Early Marwanid Silver Drachm,” *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 1–28. For this multivalent concept see Gherardo Gnoli, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. “Farr(ah).” Two crowns with tiny “Sasanian” wings also appear on the inner face of the octagonal arcade (to the northeast and west); a crownless pair of wings distinguishes one of the trees at the northeast side of the same arcade’s outer face. Illustrated in Nuseibeh and Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 90, 99; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 94, 98, figs. 45, 48. Grabar writes (*Shape of the Holy*, 91): “The more insidious problem is whether these features should be explained, as I did over thirty-five years ago, as culturally specific elements recognized as such and represented in order to specify Byzantine or Iranian, male or female, associations, or whether they must be interpreted as expensive offerings in a shrine, or as evocations of something else: a building, a memory, or an expectation. This problem cannot be resolved yet.”
163. For the tree cult and idols decorated with jewelry see Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 14, 36, 39. According to a Syriac chronicle dated 775, Muhammad had turned the Arabs “away from all sorts of cults and had told them that there is a single God, Maker of the Creation. He also laid down laws for them, since they had been much addicted to the worship of demons and the cult of idols, especially the cult of trees.” See Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 56. The tree under which Muslims swore allegiance to the Prophet at Hudaibiya (Qur’an 48:18) was visited by pilgrims seeking blessings until the caliph ‘Umar I cut it down lest it become an object of worship: see David Waines, *EQ*, s.v. “Tree(s).”
164. See, for example, al-Ghazālī, *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife: Book XL of The Revival of the Religious Sciences = Kitāb dhikr al-mawt wa-mā ba’dahu: Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*, trans. T. J. Winter (Cambridge, 1989). Traditions mention among the prerogatives of martyrs an abode in Paradise and “the crown of dignity, one ruby of which is better than this world, which will be placed on his head”: see Wim Raven, *EQ*, s.v. “Martyrs.” Therefore, the crowns and jewelry motifs that pervade the heavenly landscape evoked by the mosaics belong not only to the eternal court of the enthroned divine king but potentially to the audience of righteous believers.
165. Grabar, “Umayyad Dome of the Rock,” 29–34. For the description of the Piacenza Pilgrim see John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, Eng., 1977), 83.
166. Grabar, “Umayyad Dome of the Rock,” 29–34. For the votive object at the Dome of the Rock see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā’il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 75–76 no. 122; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā’il bayt al-maqdis*, 127 no. 156. Also see n. 90 above.
167. Ibn al-Zubayr’s critique is cited by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzi (1186–1265), based on a report by al-Waqidi (d. 823) derived from al-Kalbi (d. 819) and his father al-Sa’ib (d. 763): see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 54. For Mu’awiya’s palace in Damascus see Flood, *Great Mosque*, 13 n. 42, 147–48; Gil, *History of Palestine*, 136–37; Robinson, *‘Abd al-Malik*, 47. The soffit mosaics are interpreted as “allusions to earthly abundance” in Qur’anic passages on the blessed land in Soucek, “Temple of Solomon,” 98–99. Al-Akhtal’s ode is translated in Robinson, *‘Abd al-Malik*, 82–83. For Umayyad panegyrics and caliphs leading the prayers for rain see Johns, “House of the Prophet,” 84–85; Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 8–9, 35. Prayers for rain made at the minbar of the raised platform in Ottoman and Mamluk times are mentioned in Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 319–20; Dağlı et al., *Evlīya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 238.
168. See n. 65 above. A tradition identifies the Rock as “God’s nearest throne” (*‘arsh allāh al-adnā*): see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā’il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 30 no. 41.
169. Cited in van Ess, “‘Abd al-Malik,” 89; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 242 n. 1.
170. Sylvia Schein, “Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages,” *Traditio* 40 (1984): 175–95. The kings of Jerusalem were crowned at the Holy Sepulchre and as “last emperor” surrendered their crown on the altar of the Rock at the *Templum Domini*, which featured a cross (rather than on the Rock of Calvary). They thus identified the Dome of the Rock as the site of the apocalyptic end of the Roman Empire, when the triumphant Christ would enter the Temple Mount from the Golden Gate: see Schein, “Between Mount Moriah,” 183–84, 190. Schein points out that the Rock was first identified as the Holy of Holies, containing the Ark of the Covenant and Aron’s Rod, and as the place from which Jesus ascended to heaven (traditionally associated with the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, which featured his footprints), but some of these notions were rejected later on. For parallels with Islamic traditions and the footprint of Christ shown at the Dome of the Rock in Crusader times see Heribert Busse, “Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini,” in *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfdietrich Fischer and Jürgen Schneider (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1982), 19–32.

171. The sermon delivered by the chief Shafī'i judge of Aleppo is recorded in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa anbā' al-mā' al-zamān*, ed. Ihsan Abbas, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1977) 4:232; it is analyzed in Little, "Jerusalem under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks," 177–79; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 93–107. Neuwirth interprets the second epithet, *al-masjūdayn*, as a reference to the transfer of the prayer direction from Jerusalem to Mecca. I believe it refers to the rank of the sanctuary in Jerusalem as the second place of worship that God created on earth, forty years after the one in Mecca. This tradition is often quoted in books on the merits of Jerusalem: see, for example, Ibn al-Murajjā, *Fatāwā' bayt al-maqdis*, 114 no. 132. It is cited from *History of Mecca* by al-Azraqī (ca. 865) as a prophetic tradition reported by Abu Dharr; see C. E. von Grunebaum, "The Sacred Character of Islamic Cities," in *Mélanges Taha Husain*, ed. Abdurrahman Badawi (Cairo, 1962), 32. It is also quoted from al-Tabari's commentary on the Qur'an in Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided," 61.
172. See Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*; Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*.
173. See Michael Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaimān Qānūnī," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine* 3 (1988): 257–83, 338–60; Robert Hillenbrand, *The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem: An Introduction* (London, 2002); Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*. Evliya refers to the sanctuary in Jerusalem as *kiblegāh-i fukarā* and *fukarālaruñ kā'besi*; see Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 230, 233.
174. Haydar Çelebi, *Rūznāme*, in Feridūn Ahmed Beg, *Münşe'ātü 's-selātin*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1847–49), 1:431–32; Celālzāde Mustafā, *Selīm-nāme*, ed. Ahmet Uğur and Mustafa Çuhadar (Ankara, 1990), 195–96. According to the Mamluk historian Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, the Maliki imam led prayers at the mosque of the Maghribis, along the southwest side of the Haram; the Shafī'i imam at the Aqsa Mosque; the Hanafī imam at the Dome of the Rock; and the Hanbali imam at the Madrasa of al-Malik al-Ashraf, along the eastern portico of the Haram. See Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 136–37.
175. Denis Gril, "L'énigme de la *Shajara al-nu'māniyya fi 'l-dawla al-'ulhmaniyya*, attribuée à Ibn 'Arabi," in *Les Traditions apocryphes au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Stéphane Yerasimos (Paris, 2000), 133–51; Ryad Atlagh, "Paradoxes d'un mausolée," in *Lieux d'islam: Cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir Moezzi (Paris, 1996), 132–53.
176. Halil İnalçık, *EF2*, s.v. "Selim I"; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü 'l-tevarih*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, 5 vols. (Ankara, 1992), 4:320–24, 332–34. For the legal discourse of peace during the reign of Süleyman I see Snjezana Buzov, "The Lawgiver and His Lawmakers: The Role of Legal Discourse in the Change of Ottoman Imperial Culture" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2005), 177–82.
177. Buzov, "The Lawgiver," 35–45, 197–232; Ahmed Akgündüz, ed., *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 9 vols. (Istanbul, 1990-), 6:81–176. For the concept of the divine caliphate (*khilāfat-i rahmānī, khilāfat-i'llāhī*) see also the treatise "Qānūn-i Şehinşāhī," written by the Ottoman historian İdris-i Bidlīstī (d. 1520) for Selim I and presented to Süleyman I; published in Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 3:11–84. Formerly a chancellor at the Aqqoyunlu court, the Sunni Kurdish author İdris fled from Shah Isma'īl in 1501–2 and accompanied Selim I's Safavid and Mamluk campaigns.
178. Robinson, *Abd al-Malik*, 69.
179. Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 159–77; Barbara Flemming, "Şahib-kirān und Mahdī: Türkische Endzeiterwartungen im ersten Jahrzehnt der Regierung Süleymans," in *Between the Danube and the Caucasus*, ed. György Kara (Budapest, 1987), 43–61; Ebru Turan, "The Sultan's Favorite: Ibrahim Pasha and the Making of Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516–1526)" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007).
180. Colin Imber, "Süleyman as Caliph of the Muslims: Ebū's-Su'ūd's Formulation of Ottoman Dynastic Ideology," in Veinstein, *Soliman le Magnifique*, 179–84; idem, *Ebu's-Su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1997).
181. The Süleymaniye complex and the sultan's empire-wide architectural patronage are discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2005), 189–230. For the chronology of Süleyman's building projects and monumental inscriptions at the Haram al-Sharif and in the city of Jerusalem see Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds," 257–83, 338–60. The sultan's historical inscriptions, published by van Berchem, have conveniently been compiled in Mehmet Tütüncü, *Turkish Jerusalem (1516–1917): Ottoman Inscriptions from Jerusalem and Other Palestinian Cities* (Haarlem, 2006), but the English translations are not always reliable. See also Archibald G. Walls and Amal Abul-Hajj, *Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem: A Handlist and Maps* (London, 1980).
182. For the connection with the Vienna campaign see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:329–33 no. 238; Finbarr B. Flood, "The Ottoman Windows in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:431–63. On Charles V's plans for a crusade after the 1527 Sack of Rome see Robert Finlay, "Prophecy and Politics in Istanbul: Charles V, Sultan Süleyman, and the Habsburg Embassy of 1533–34," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, 1 (1998): 21–22.
183. For the reconstruction see Flood "Ottoman Windows," 431–63. He aptly notes that the buildings of the Haram al-Sharif constitute an "architectural palimpsest on the surface of which successive generations, whether motivated by piety or politics, attempted to make their mark," and considers the stained glass windows commissioned by Süleyman for the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque a prime example of this phenomenon: see *ibid.*, 451. Some of the windows were removed from the Dome of the Rock during restorations carried out in 1874 and replaced by others bearing the name of Sultan Abdülaziz. Their inscriptions, recorded by Melchior de Vogüé in 1864 and Henri Sauvaire in 1893, were checked by van Berchem in 1914 and published in his *Corpus* (see n. 182 above). The windows of the drum lack inscriptions and differ in design from those Süleyman installed on the octagonal walls, some of them more closely resembling Mamluk models. Flood argues that only some of the drum windows were replaced by Süleyman in 1528–29.

184. I have modified parts of Flood's translation; for instance, he interprets *'ajam* as "foreigners," which I prefer to translate as "Persians," namely, multiethnic Iranians. A substantial group of émigrés from the Safavid domains resided in Syria-Palestine, and Selim I's intimate entourage during his campaign against the Mamluks included several "Persians": see Atlagh, "Paradoxes," 132–53; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacû'l-levarih*, 305–6, 335. The sultan ordered the deportation to Istanbul of the "Persian contingent" of Aleppo after his conquest of Egypt: see Haydar Çelebi, *Rûznâme*, 1:447. The honorific title "possessor of the necks of the nations" was used by earlier Turkic rulers of the eastern Islamic lands. It appears in an inscription at Ghazna in the name of Ibrahim, the son of Mas'ud I (r. 1059–99), and in an early-fifteenth-century manuscript commissioned by the Timurid ruler Baysunghur. I thank David Roxburgh for the following references: Sheila S. Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana* (Leiden and New York, 1992), 182–84, no. 69; Arthur J. Arberry, Mujtaba Minovi, Edgar Blochet, J. V. S. Wilkinson, et al., *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1959–62), 1:39–40.
185. These documents, which have not yet been studied extensively, may in the future provide additional information on Süleyman's building activities. See Yusuf Naisheh, "The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:593. A document dated 28 Dhu'l-Qa'da 936 (24 July 1530) refers to Hasan Beg as *al-mushîd 'alâ 'imârat al-masjîd al-aqṣâ al-sharîf* (the person in charge of the [re] building of the Noble Aqsa Mosque). He is also referred to as *al-mushîd 'alâ al-'amâ'ir al-sharîfa bi 'l-quds al-sharîf* (the person in charge of the noble buildings in Jerusalem the Noble).
186. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:439 no. 294. For the date "correction" see Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds," 260–61.
187. For a reference to the renovation of the aqueduct on 1 Jumada II 936 (31 January 1530) see Khadr Salameh, "Aspects of the *Sijills* of the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:104. The *mushîd* of the citadel's restoration in 938 (1531–32) was Muhammad Beg: see Naisheh, "Architecture," 1:530.
188. See Gülrü Necipoğlu, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 92–17; Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 191; Sylvia Auld, "Stars, Roses, and Intertalace: Architectural Decoration in Ottoman Jerusalem," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:355–88.
189. For my interpretation of Süleyman's architectural projects in the context of Ottoman religio-dynastic ideology, with only brief reference to his building activities in Jerusalem, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 60–74; 189–230.
190. For the signs of the apocalypse see n. 98 above. Apocalypses from the Umayyad period stress the fall of Constantinople as one of the signs of the Hour, for which the fall of Rome was substituted in Ottoman times. (Some traditions circulating in the Umayyad era specify that Constantinople would fall first, to be followed by Rome: see Wilferd Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Himsj in the Umayyad Age," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31, 2 [1986]: 155.) According to an apocryphal book of divination attributed to Ibn al-'Arabi, the Ottoman dynasty would last until the appearance of the Mahdi at the end of time, when the church in Rome (St. Peter's) would be destroyed and the sanctuary in Jerusalem rebuilt: see Gril, "L'énigme de la *Shajara al-nu'māniyya fi 'l-dawla al-'uthmāniyya*," 134.
191. For the titles claimed by Charles V in 1530 see Harald Kleinschmidt, *Charles V: The World Emperor* (Gloucestershire, 2004), 123–24. Süleyman resented Charles V's arrogation of his titles, such as "King of Jerusalem," which the emperor used in his correspondence with the sultan in 1533: see Finlay, "Prophecy and Politics," 16–17.
192. For Süleyman's helmet with four superimposed crowns see Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71, 3 (1989): 401–27. The inscription is published in van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1: 146–49 no. 45. I prefer "Holy Precinct" to "Holy Land," the translation proposed by van Berchem, who admits that it could refer to Jerusalem, the Haram, or the Rock itself, which the inscription mentions later on. For Süleyman's renovations and inscriptions at the citadel see Mahmud Hawari, "The Citadel (*Qal'a*) in the Ottoman Period: An Overview," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:493–518.
193. The titles "Second Solomon" and "Solomon of the Age" appear in the inscriptions of Süleyman's fountains in Edirne and the Topkapı Palace, an allusion to his namesake, who controlled not only the jinns, but also the winds and water: see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 190; Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1991), 101. Güzelce Kasım Pasha served as the sanjak governor of Hama (ca. 1516–21) before becoming third vizier in 1522–23 and governor of Egypt in 1524; he was vizier and chief governor of Rumelia around 1527. For his fountain inscription see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2: 162–63 no. 191.
194. The translation of *al-rûm* should be "Ottomans" rather than "Turks," given the multiethnic character of the Ottoman polity; van Berchem mistranslates it as "Greeks." The fountain within the Haram forms an aedicule with a mihrab in the back; dated to the beginning of Sha'ban 943 (January 1537), it is the only fountain whose inscription ends with "blessings upon the Prophet and all of his descendants": see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1: 415–16 nos. 113–113 bis. For the inscriptions of other fountains see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1:412–27 nos. 110–15. The undated inscription of the "noble mihrab," which was "renewed" by Süleyman, is in van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:168–69 no. 192. Süleyman's fountains are catalogued in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:677–700; see also Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "On Suleiman's *Sabils* in Jerusalem," in *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis: The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 589–607.
195. For the Gate of the Law Court (*bâb al-mahkama*) and the contiguous Madrasa al-Tankiziyya, which housed the shari'a court, see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2: cat. no. 2; 665 n. 1. The sanctuary in Jerusalem is referred to in Ottoman texts as the "third after the Two Harams" (*ṣālīsü 'l-haremeyn*), but is only rarely included in Süleyman's official titulature; a document of 1565 calls him possessor of "the Magnified Ka'ba, Medina the Illuminated, and Jerusalem the Noble (*huds-i şerîf*)." Cited in Klaus Kreiser, "The Place of Jerusalem in Ottoman Perception," in Auld and Hillen-

- brand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:53. The sultan's epithet on these fountains, referring to his protection of the Two Harams, can be read as an indirect reference to the neighboring Haram al-Sharif, whose waqfs were integrated with those of Mecca and Medina. Süleyman's law code for the province of Damascus, *kânûnnâme-i vilâyet-i şâm*, dated 955 (1548), lists together the waqfs of the sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron: *haremeyn-i şerifeyn ve kuds-i şerif ve halilü'l-ıstihmân*; see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 7:32. The sultan's law code for the subprovince of Jerusalem, *kânûnnâme-i livâ-i kuds*, dated 970 (1562), mentions the same waqfs; see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 7:54. Several hitherto unnoted sixteenth-century archival documents list the yearly accounts of these waqfs, e.g., Topkapı Palace Library, E. H. 3061, dated 967 (1559–60), *muhâsebe-i haremeyn-i şerifeyn* in the province of Damascus; and Topkapı Palace Archives, D. 9157, dated 1005 (1596–97), *evkâf-i haremeyn-i şerifeyn-i damışk el-mahmiyye*, which includes the waqfs of Jerusalem and Hebron (*kuds-i şerif ve helde-i halil*).
196. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt in the course of naval battles with Christian forces and completed at the time of Charles V's disastrous expedition against Algiers in 1541, which deflated the prestige he had won as a "victorious crusader" after conquering Ottoman Tunis in 1535. On the rumors circulating in 1538 that Charles V was preparing to launch a crusade in 1539 see Kleinschmidt, *Charles V*, 167. For the Jerusalem walls see Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:601–4. For Süleyman's walls in the three holy cities, complemented by fortresses along the hajj route that were built for protection against unruly Bedouin tribes, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 72–74, 190–91.
197. Amnon Cohen, "The Walls of Jerusalem," in Bosworth et al., *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, 467–77; Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:593, 600, 603; 2:677–78. For the unpublished Ottoman Turkish document (Topkapı Palace Library, K. 888, fol. 283r, dated 2 Rajab 959 [24 June 1552]), which refers to *nağkâş Mehmed nâm emîn*, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 278.
198. See Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:593, where "final" (*'alem*) is mistranslated as "banner."
199. Milstein, "*Kitâb Shawq-nâma*," 317. Van Berchem believes that Süleyman may have restored the dome: "Enfin, j'ai supposé, mais sans indice précis, qu'il à restauré la coupole": *Corpus*, 2:340 no. 242.
200. The Dome of the Prophet, which according to Evliya had four columns, is not mentioned in the mid-sixteenth-century guidebook of al-Rumi, which only refers to the "Red Mihrab." The Mamluk author al-Suyuti writes in 1470 that the Dome of the Prophet above the red floor mihrab was dismantled when the raised platform was being repaved and that it was at this mihrab that the Prophet prayed with angels and earlier prophets. See Le Strange, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary," 261. The extant eight-columned Ottoman dome over it is therefore dated to a later period in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:701–8 no. 10. In a painted scroll made for Süleyman in 1544–45 only the Red Mihrab is shown, without the dome above it (fig. 22). Other undated Ottoman domes on the raised platform, such as the Dome of the Spirits and the Dome of al-Khidr, also feature floor mihrabs. The *hujrat muhammad amîr livâ' al-quds* (ca. 956 [1549]), at the northern edge of the platform, was probably built by the same patron: see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:742–46 no. 14. Estimates prepared for a Hanafî madrasa in 947 (1540–41) and a *dâr al-hadîth* (college for the study of hadîth) in 956 (1549) in Jerusalem are mentioned in Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:622–29. The madrasa is listed among Sinan's works in one version of his autobiography: see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 276.
201. The testimony was given in the presence of the scribe of the provinces of Syria and the kadi of Jerusalem (Salih Efendi ibn al-Qazwîni): see Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:600; 2:677–78. The gap between the endowment of Süleyman's waterworks and their completion may be due to the creation of additional ablution facilities in the Haram. For estimates prepared for ablution fountains in the Haram in 948 (1541–42) by Husain ibn Nammar, the master builder of Jerusalem, who was accompanied by the city's kadi, see *ibid.*, 1:593–94.
202. See Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:678 no. 4, where it is suggested that he must have been the waqf administrator of the Dome of the Rock because he received the revenue and tithe for that year from Bayram Çavuş. However, the term *emîn* is commonly used in Ottoman documents for building overseers in charge of the organization of labor and financial aspects of construction projects. Records in the Jerusalem *siyills* show that during the 1530s and 1540s, until his death in 1549, Naqqash Muhammad was assisted by both technical and administrative experts in overseeing the sultan's buildings in Jerusalem, on which detailed account books were kept. For the account books and the names of builders see Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:601–4, 619–29. Bayram Çavuş went to Cairo to recruit experts for the wall and fountain projects.
203. He died in 956 (1549) with no heirs: see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:678 no. 4. Ottoman painter-decorators were often appointed as the overseers of imperial construction projects because of their combined expertise in financial administration, the selection and supervision of artisans, and aesthetic matters. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 178.
204. Muştafâ 'Âli, *Künhü'l-ahbâr*, Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Library, ms. 3904, fol. 118v: *kuds-i şerifde şahratu'llâh-i müşerrefenün içi ve tıştî kâşî vâz'ıyla inşa kılındı ve ellî şokuz lârihinde binâsı itmâm oldu*.
205. When this appellation gained currency is worth investigating. It is already used in the versified Persian chronicle of an author from Tus affiliated for more than two decades with the Ottoman court, Mu'âlî's *Khunkâr-nâma*, written for Sultan Mehmed II in 1474 (Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1417, 149v–150v). See Yalçın Balata, "Khunkâr-nâma (Tavârikk-i âli 'osmân), Mir Sayyid 'Âli b. Muzaffar-i Ma'âlî" (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 1992), 193–94. In a chapter describing his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Mu'âlî mentions the "Rock of God" (*şakhratu'llâh*); the "stone of the Rock" (*sang-i şakhrâ*) with the footprints of the Prophet and of Ishmael, who was to be sacrificed on it; and the cave featuring the imprint of the Prophet's head on the "stone of the Rock." He also refers to the Gathering, Resurrection, and Last Judgment that will take place in Jerusalem when the "Scales" (*mizân*) of justice appear there. Another versified fifteenth-century pilgrimage account in Ottoman Turkish identifies the building as the "Dome of the Rock" (*qubbe-i şahrâ*), mentioning

- that the Prophet's footprint was imprinted on the Rock during his Ascension, at which time it levitated. The work also refers to the mark of his turban on the underside of the Rock at the cave, the iron pomegranate tree (fashioned by the prophet David according to later Ottoman texts cited below), and the Gate of Paradise (north gate of the Dome of the Rock). The same work mentions, within the precinct, the fragment of the Rock under Solomon's dome; the Cradle of Jesus; the *maqām* of al-Khidr; the Cave of the Spirits; and the predetermined places of Paradise, Hell, the Scales (*terāzu*), and the "sign" (*nişān*) of the Bridge of Sirat. See Ahmed Fakih, *Kitābu Evşāfi Mesācidi's-Şerife*, ed. Hasibe Mazoğlu (Ankara, 1974), 42–45.
206. For early Ottoman pilgrimage accounts see n. 205 above. Theodore Spandounis, *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, trans. (from the Italian text of 1538) Donald M. Nicol (Cambridge, 1997), 132. The earlier French version, dated 1519, is published in Théodore Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit Traicté de l'origine des Turczs*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1896), 196–97. The endowment made by Murad II on 18 Rajab 833 (12 April 1430) is mentioned in Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's history: see Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 259.
207. For the extant sections of the Qur'an endowed by Süleyman and a Qur'an manuscript donated in 964 (1556) by his son, Prince Bayezid, to the Dome of the Rock see Salameh, "Aspects of the *Sijills*," 105–6, 139. In an undated letter addressed to Süleyman, the governor of Jerusalem, Mehmed Beg, reports that in order that the sections of the Qur'an recently sent by the sultan be read for the soul of his late father, Mevlana Seyyid Abdülkadir b. Ebi'l-Vefa has been appointed the chief of readers and Hacı Bekir the keeper of manuscripts. The letter asks for a document (*berât*) confirming these appointments. See Topkapı Palace Archives, E. 8842 no. 4.
208. The historical sources mentioning Süleyman's intention to visit Jerusalem (*sâlisû'l-harameyn*) in 1548 and 1553–54 are cited in Kreiser, "The Place of Jerusalem," 54. According to the chronicler Celalzade, the second visit did not materialize due to the urgent necessities of the Safavid campaign. Kreiser speculates that Süleyman may have been concerned about the contested status of Jerusalem among such Ottoman scholars as Mehmed Birgivi (an opponent of Ebussu'ud), who wrote a treatise (ca. 1563) in which he declared that going to Jerusalem during the period of pilgrimage to Mecca was objectionable. I doubt that this would have deterred Süleyman who, in fact, ordered that provisions be prepared for his visit. See the *sijill* document on the preparation of these provisions by Bayram Çavuş before the sultan's arrival in December 1553: cited in *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:710 no. 11. In addition to the pressing needs of the campaign, Süleyman may have been worried about the unrest in his army following his execution of his son Prince Mustafa during that campaign. The chronicle of Rüstem Pasha states that after the execution of Mustafa and the sudden death of Prince Cihangir, who attended the campaign, the dejected sultan announced his desire to go on a pilgrimage from Aleppo, where he was hunting, to Jerusalem and Hebron: see Rüstem Pasha (attrib.), *Kitâb-i târih-i âli-i 'osmân*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus, Mxt. 339 (Flügel 1012), fol. 279v.
209. Robert Hillenbrand, "Introduction: Structure, Style and Context in the Monuments of Ottoman Jerusalem," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:2. According to Grabar, the sources do not indicate "whether these restorations were needed because of deterioration in the building or whether they were an expression of ideological piety. Both reasons were probably involved." See Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 192.
210. The severe earthquake in Syria-Palestine in the year 952 (which began in March 1545) damaged the minaret at the Gate of the Chain (*bâb al-silsila*) and Qaytbay's madrasa abutting the Haram: see Mayer, "A Sequel to Mujir ad-Din's Chronicle," 3. For damages suffered at the Franciscan convent on Mount Zion and the permission granted in 1546 to make the requested repairs, provided that all roofs be flat and that no domes be added thereto, see Amnon Cohen, "The Expulsion of the Franciscans from Mount Zion," *Turcica* 18 (1986): 151–52. It has been assumed that the date on the drum tiles, 951 (1545–46), refers to their completion, and since they could not have been completed in one year, the tiling project must have been initiated before the earthquake: see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:333–35 no. 239; Beatrice St. Laurent, "The Dome of the Rock, Restorations and Significance, 1540–1918," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:418. There is no reason to assume that the whole drum was tiled at that time, however; it is more likely that the date inscribed on the southwest face of the southeast buttress (top left-hand corner) refers to the mosaic tile inscription band on which it is found. The inscription band, technically different from the cuerda seca tiles at the lower part of the drum, may well have been completed within a year.
211. The governor of the province of Damascus, Mehmed Beg, was probably the same person who renovated the Red Mihrab, now under the Prophet's Dome, in 1538–39: see Topkapı Palace Library, K. 888, fol. 162v, dated 17 Rabî' II 959 (12 April 1552). The damaged sections of the Haram's eastern wall are referred to as *şahratullah-ı şerifün şarh cânibinde vâki olan süruñ bâ'zı yerleri zelzeleden yıkılıb*. For a document in the Jerusalem *sijill* archives concerning the repair in 1552 of collapsed domes over the tombs of patriarchs in Hebron see Hillenbrand, "Introduction," 10. Between 1552 and 1554, Haydar Kethüda was the waqf administrator and construction overseer (*emân*) of a bathhouse in the hospice complex of the sultan's wife. He was also in charge of the Dome of the Rock, the sanctuary in Hebron, the tomb complex of Moses, and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. See Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany, 2002), 105–9.
212. Cited in Mahmud Atallah, "Architects in Jerusalem in the 10th–11th/16th–17th Centuries: The Documentary Evidence," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:171. Also see a reference to building with brick the interior of the Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*) in a document bearing the same date, which implies the dome was structurally consolidated as well. Cited in Atallah, "Architects in Jerusalem," 171. For the tilework inscription band and the hypothetical dating of the polychrome marble mihrab to the reign of the Mamluk ruler Baybars see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:180–83 no. 196.

213. For a preview of a forthcoming joint publication on the tiles by these two scholars, see John Carswell, "The Deconstruction of the Dome of the Rock," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:425–29. Max van Berchem was the first to suggest that the Tabrizi scribe who designed the foundation inscription may also have created the tiles: see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:336–37 no. 240. This is possible, but he may simply have been the calligrapher. The calligrapher Hasan Karahisari, for instance, was given the honor of signing the foundation inscription of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul in 1577, an honor denied to Sinan and the artisans who decorated the mosque.
214. Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 195.
215. See van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:335–38 no. 240. I have changed the reading van Berchem proposed for the first line and have filled in the parts that he could not read in the last line. I am grateful to Wheeler Thackston for checking my translation and improving particularly the reading of the difficult first line, which van Berchem records as *qad jaddada bi-hamdaha qubbat Allāh min al-ṣakhra bi-baytihi al-muqaddas*. The reference to the building as "dome of God" is not found in any source; moreover, the words *qubba* and *Allāh* are too far apart to belong together. I also changed other parts of van Berchem's translation: he translated *qusūr* (defects) as "palaces" and misunderstood the lines referring to Süleyman's caliphate. The phrase referring to legally legitimate pure financial resources, expended on the project like flowing water, is interpreted by Busse as a reference to the sources of sweet water emerging from under the Rock, which I find farfetched (see Busse, "Inchriften," 19–20 no. 13). Thackston and I searched for a chronogram in the last line, but could not find one; I therefore moved the numerical date written under the date reference into the text of my translation: see fig. 19.
216. The chief architect ("*mi' marbashi*") for the Khashi building, which so far has not been identified ("*ala 'amal al-khashi*"), is mentioned in Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:620. This reference is found in a document dated 17 Rajab 958 (21 July 1551). The word *al-khashi* is spelled *al-kashi* in *ibid.*, 629. In my opinion it most likely refers to tiles, but I have not had an opportunity to check the original document (*Sijill* 24: 523).
217. *Mālik-i 'imāmet-i 'uzmā* and *vāris-i hülāfet-i kübrā*. See the Ottoman Turkish draft of the queen's *waqfiyya* written on 30 Jumada I 959 (24 May 1552); the final Arabic version was registered in mid-Sha'ban 964 (14 June 1557). It appoints Haydar Kethūda as her waqf administrator and is legally approved by Ebussu'ud. Translated into English with appended facsimile (Ms. Tur. Khalidi Library, Jerusalem) in St. H. Stephan, "An Endowment Deed of Khāṣṣeki Sulṭān, Dated the 24th of May 1552," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 10 (1944): 170–94, pls. 36–40. Süleyman's long list of titles is on page 10, pl. 36.
218. See van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1:150–56 no. 48. The undated inscription refers to the construction of a bastion, located on the moat of the wall between the Jaffa Gate and the Citadel; it was buried when the moat was filled in 1898. Van Berchem proposed a date around 940 (1533–34) or 945 (1538–39), based on the style of the calligraphy, which resembles the sultan's inscription on the gate of the citadel (no. 45). He remarked that the latter date coincides with the death of the last Abbasid caliph of Cairo in 945 (1538), correctly discounting the possibility that he officially ceded the caliphate to Süleyman.
219. For the Arabic text carved in stone and the longer version of it that was abridged in the foundation inscription see Cevdet Çulpan, "İstanbul Süleymaniye Camii Kitabesi," in *Kanunî Armağanı* (Ankara, 1970), 291–99; pls. 1–3. Translated in Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 75.
220. *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın Su Vakfiyesi*, ed. İbrahim Ateş (Ankara, 1987), fols. 7r–8r, on 11–12. See also the golden rainspout of the Ka'ba, now at the Topkapı Palace Museum, commissioned by Süleyman and featuring an inscription written in 959 (1551–52) by the famous calligrapher Ahmed Karahisari (d. 1555–56), which refers to the ruler as "inheritor of the Greatest Caliphate": cited in Çulpan, "Süleymaniye Camii Kitabesi," 296.
221. See van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:339–40 nos. 241–42, where the doors of the north and south gates are attributed to Süleyman on the basis of their identical calligraphy. The inscription on the pair of doors to the west reads: "Renewed these beautiful doors the greatest of the celebrated khaqans, the sultan Süleyman, son of Sultan Selim Khan... in the year 972 (1564–65)."
222. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:180–83 no. 196. The polychrome marble mihrab is attributed to the Mamluk ruler Baybars (r. 1261–72/73). For an illustration see Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds," 340, fig. 3.
223. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:340 no. 242: "O David, We have appointed you as a viceroy on Earth, therefore judge among humankind justly, the year 972 (1564–65)."
224. These texts are cited in Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, 104–5.
225. Dağlı et al., *Evlîya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 238–39.
226. The *Şehnâme* of Mahremi (ca. 1522), which identifies Süleyman as the "second Solomon and second David," is quoted in Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah," 177 n. 42. See also the sultan's law code for Egypt (1525), which refers to him as a "David in caliphate and Solomon in sultanate" (*dāvūd-i hülāfet ve sūleymān-i salṭanat*), in Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, 6:92.
227. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1:109, 403–14. The "House of the Sacred Precinct" alludes to Mecca, according to van Berchem. However, it is more likely a local reference to the sanctuary in Jerusalem, which is often called a *bayt*. Moreover, the titulature of the Ottoman sultans generally identifies them as servitors of the "Two Harams" rather than only that of Mecca.
228. For Capsali's chronicle see Martin Jacobs, "Exposed to All the Currents of the Mediterranean—a Sixteenth-Century Venetian Rabbi on Muslim History," *American Association of Jewish Studies Review* 29, 1 (2005): 33–60. In 1549, the sultan declared his intention to turn "the entire convent known as the convent of Zion outside the city of Jerusalem near the tomb of the prophet David" into a waqf, whose beneficiaries would be shaykh Ahmad al-Dajjani, his progeny, and his dervishes. The project was not realized until 1551–52, however: see Cohen, "Expulsion of the Franciscans," 154–55.
229. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah," 164–65, 169, 174. For the chronicle of Mevlana İsa see Barbara Flemming, "Der

- Ğāmi'ül-Meknūnāt: Eine Quelle 'Älis aus der Zeit Sultan Süleymāns," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients*, ed. Hans S. Roemer and Albrecht Noth (Leiden, 1981), 79–92.
230. *Eyref-i hilāfet ve sultanatun vāhidī, haremeyn-i şerīfeynūn hādīmī, kibletēyn-i mu'azzamaleynūn hākīmī*. See Muşāfā bin Celāl (Celālzāde), *Mifāhū'l-cenneh*, Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1229, fols. 5v–6r; translated into Ottoman Turkish from the Persian work of Muḥammad al-Farāhī, nicknamed Molla Miskīn (d. 1547), titled *Ma'ārij al-nubuwa*.
231. For Süleyman's restoration of the Ka'ba and his building activities in each of the three holy cities see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 74, 160, 190–91, 276–78.
232. Dağlı et al., *Evlīya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 234–35, 237. The legendary Khawarnaq palace was built by the Lakhmid ruler Nu'man (d. ca. 418) for his Sasanian suzerain and famed for its domed construction echoing the structure of the heavens.
233. *Ibid.*, 236–37.
234. See Joseph Drory, "Some Observations during a Visit to Palestine by Ibn al-'Arabi of Seville in 1092–1095," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 111. Drory quotes an excerpt from the Mamluk author Muḥir al-Dīn al-Hanbalī's history, based on the *Muthīr al-Gharām* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī (d. 1364), which recorded Ibn al-'Arabi's eyewitness account related in his book commenting on Malik ibn Anas's *al-Muwalla'*. Other versions of Ibn al-'Arabi's account are cited and discussed in Samer Akkach, "The Poetics of Concealment: Al-Nabulsi's Encounter with the Dome of the Rock," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 114–15.
235. Al-Harawī, who saw the Dome of the Rock during the Crusader occupation, mentions the site where the Prophet ascended to heaven, marked by his footprint at the southern side of the Rock, which was surrounded by an iron grill: see Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–71. On the footprint of Jesus displayed in the Dome of the Rock in Crusader times see Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini," 30. Pictorial representations of the Dome of the Rock from the Ayyubid period that depict the Prophet's footprint on the Rock are illustrated in the text of this article: see figs. 24(a, b) and 25(a, b). See also Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 108–9. Citing Ibn al-'Arabi's statement from the Cairene scholar al-Halabī (d. 1634), the Damascene Hanafī scholar al-Nabulsi reached the extraordinary conclusion during a pilgrimage in 1690 that the Dome of the Rock must have been built by the Crusaders in order to conceal this "great wonder whereby the significance of Islam is clearly manifested": see Akkach, "Poetics of Concealment," 110–27. For a dispute between two men who, debating the reality of the Rock's suspension, consulted the jurist Shihāb al-Dīn b. Hajar al-Haythamī (d. 1565) for his legal opinion see Akkach, "Poetics of Concealment," 115–16.
236. Dağlı et al., *Evlīya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 237. For the comment on Süleyman's renovation see Milstein, "*Kitāb Shawq-nāma*," 317. I am very grateful to Rachel Milstein for sending me a copy of the manuscript, on the basis of which I have modified her translation, which misinterprets the reference to the miscarriages of pregnant women as "some women became pregnant there."
237. Dağlı et al., *Evlīya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 230–45, 237. The visitation places that Evliya lists inside the cave include the station (*makām*) and mihrab of Gabriel at the right side of the staircase, the station of David at the left side, the mark of the Prophet's turban on the Rock, the platform of the station (*makām-i şoffa*) of al-Khidr, and the alcove (*hūcre*) of Solomon. Sites mentioned around the Rock's balustrade are the Prophet's right footprint; the Buckler of Hamza, known as the Mirror of Alexander; the iron pomegranates fashioned by the prophet David; and the stations of the four Sunni caliphs at the four gates ('Ali to the east, Abu Bakr to the south, 'Umar to the west, and 'Uthman to the north, also called the Gate of Paradise). He reports that the Prophet ascended from the cave through the Rock's hole created by Gabriel, a tradition attested in other sources as well: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 100. Some of the visitation sites mentioned by Evliya are shown on a late Ottoman plan of the Dome of the Rock and its cave (see fig. 15).
238. This guidebook is summarized in an appendix in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 166–68. Elad observes that it mentions twelve holy places inside the Dome of the Rock, whereas Ibn al-Murajja mentioned only four in the mid-eleventh century: Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 167. Fifteenth-century Mamluk and Ottoman texts list some of these sites (see n. 205 above) but prescribe no itinerary. The Mamluk historian al-'Umari (ca. 1345) refers to the following holy places that also appear among the more numerous sites listed in the mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman guidebooks: the northern Gate of Paradise; the prayer niche in front of it marking the Black Paving Stone where people used to pray, but which was replaced long ago by a green marble slab; the reliquary of the Prophet's footprint, resting on columns; and the nearby Buckler of Hamza, also supported on columns. In the cave he lists the two mihrabs flanking the stairway, a bench called the place of al-Khidr, and the place of Abraham. (For the counterparts of these sites in the late Ottoman period see fig. 15.) Translated in Mayer, "A Medieval Arabic Description of the Haram of Jerusalem," 44–51, 74–85. In 1470, al-Suyuti mentions the Prophet's footprint on a separate stone supported on columns, in the southwest; the Place of the Angel's Fingerprints, on the western side of the Rock; the Black Paving Stone, near the Gate of Paradise; and the Tongue of the Rock, at the cave entrance. Translated in Le Strange, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary," 258–60.
239. For the reference of the Victory Sura to the armistice in Hudaybiya, where believers swore allegiance to the Prophet under a tree and God imposed on them the *shahāda* as a covenant that would bring reward in Paradise, see Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 506–7. I have largely followed Barry Flood's reconstruction of the inscription program, with one exception: He believes that the inscriptions begin at the middle of the east wall, with the historical texts falling in the middle of the sequence; it makes more sense to me that they start to the south with Qur'anic passages and continue with the historical inscriptions placed at the end of the sequence (as in 'Abd al-Malik's inscription band on the outer face of the octagonal arcade).
240. Neuwirth observes that "the Ottoman inscriptions unequivocally take up the eschatological theme": see Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam," 91.

241. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:333–35 no. 239. The numerals 952 (1545–46) are inscribed on the lateral west face of the south-east buttress. Van Berchem assumes that this date refers to the completion of tile revetments on the whole drum, but I find it more likely that this is the date of the inscription band; see n. 210 above. Busse lists only verses 1–19, but verse 20 is included as well: see his “Inscripfen,” 16–17 no. 9.
242. For hadith referring to epithets of the Prophet incorporated into the Qur’an see Uri Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muhammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims* (Princeton, 1995), 41–43. See van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:362–63 no. 272; Busse, “Inscripfen,” 15–16 no. 8. Evliya perceptively remarks that Sura *Yā Sīn* is written in the manner of the calligrapher Ahmed Karahisari: Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 235. Now kept in storage at the Haram’s Islamic Museum, the original tiles of Süleyman were seen by de Vogüé and Wilson-Bonfils before being removed in the late nineteenth century; in 1292 (1875), they were replaced with new copies ending with the signature “This was written by Scyyid Mehmed bin Shefiq, may God pardon his sins, 1292.” These epigraphic tiles were renewed in the 1960s.
243. For the Prophet’s epithets see n. 242 above. Busse noted the link between these two suras, suggesting that the Ottoman theologians most likely selected Sura *Yā Sīn* because of its connection with Sura *Tā Hā* perhaps even renewing an older post-Umayyad inscription. (He thinks the drum inscription may have had a predecessor as well.) See “Inscripfen,” 23. For Rosen-Ayalon’s and Grabar’s differing interpretations of the Ayyubid inscription with Sura *Tā Hā* see n. 140 above.
244. According to Grabar, Süleyman’s inscriptions confirm that “the message that shines forth from Jerusalem is the promise of divine judgment and eternal life for the just.” See Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 196–99.
245. Ibn Kathir’s text is cited in n. 44 above. For al-Rumi’s instruction see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 166. Van Berchem attributes the gate inscriptions to Süleyman on the basis of their calligraphic style: see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:366 no. 273 (a, b) nn. 2–4. Evliya saw an inscription with a verse referring to the garden of paradise on the Gate of Paradise: see Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 235.
246. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:366 no. 273 (a, b). For the *maṣtaba* near the Black Paving Stone and the discovery of Solomon’s tomb see Kaplony, *Havam of Jerusalem*, 333–37. The partially quoted verse on the gate is fully inscribed with the verses that follow it (Qur’an 27:30–33) on a stone cenotaph inside the Throne of Solomon, an edifice abutting the eastern wall of the Haram that may have been renovated by Sultan Süleyman during the restoration of that wall, which was damaged in the 1552 earthquake (fig. 3[10]). Evliya mentions the two-domed Throne of Solomon (*kürs-i süleymān*) along the eastern wall, as well as the Dome of Solomon (*kubbe-i süleymān*) to the north (fig. 3[10, 36]): see Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 241. The Throne of Solomon consists of two parts: an Ottoman mosque with twin domes (ca. 1608–9) in the western section, and an older rectangular hall to the east, abutting the Haram wall, which contains the cenotaph and could be considered a *maqām*. For a description of this building, which is mentioned by such Mamluk authors as al-Suyuti and Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, and for the inscription in *naskh* script on the cenotaph, see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:953–957. Al-Rumi’s guidebook lists only the Dome of Solomon to the north: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 165–66. However, both the Dome of Solomon (*süleymān peygamberiñ kubbesi*) and the prayer place of Solomon on the eastern wall (*süleymān peygamber ibadet üdlügi maḳām*) are cited in an anonymous illustrated Ottoman Turkish guidebook datable to the mid-sixteenth century, which is appended to a text titled *Şerh-i secretü’l-İmān*: see Topkapı Palace Library, A 3547, fol. 93r, 101r. The author says that while he was a resident (*mücāvır*) in Mecca, he read all available pilgrimage guidebooks (*menāsik*) and compiled his text from two Arabic works titled *Ihyā’ al-hajj* and *Qurruṭ al-‘uyūn*. The topographic illustrations of this hitherto unstudied text have been dated on the basis of style to around 1540 to 1545 in Zeren Tanındı, “İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri,” in *Orhan Şaik Gökyay Armağanı*, ed. Ahmet Turgut Kut and Günay Kut. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (1983): 409 figs. 6–8.
247. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:364–65 n. 273 (a, b), nn. 5–6; Busse, “Inscripfen,” 17–19 nos. 10–11.
248. For the Arabic text of al-Rumi, who was from Aleppo and served as a judge in Medina in the mid-sixteenth century, see Ashtor, “An Arabic Book,” 7–8; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 164–73. The unpublished anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook is cited above in n. 246; its instructions to pilgrims are on fols. 92v–103r. I have also consulted a mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman Turkish *ṣadā’il* book compiled from “many manuscripts,” whose author was a resident (*mücāvır*) of Jerusalem for three years after arriving there in 1051 (1641–42); it contains a section prescribing the same pilgrimage circuit, with a few differences. See Hıfzı, *Fezā’il-i Kuds*, Topkapı Palace Library, E. H. 1443, fols. 102v–107v. According to an early tradition, Wahb b. Munabbih advised a pilgrim to enter the Dome of the Rock from the north gate and pray at the Black Paving Stone (see nn. 38 and 152 above). The “Cave of the Spirits” is probably the present Dome of the Spirits, raised over a natural rock with a floor mihrab; another option is the subterranean vault with a medieval mihrab featured under the Convent of Shaykh Muhammad of Hebron (also known as *masjid al-nabi*). For these Ottoman-period domes see n. 113 above. Süleyman’s faded inscription on the raised platform’s northwest arcade is recorded in van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:184–86 no. 198. It mentions his “renovation of this blessed balance (*al-mizān*),” a term generally believed by modern scholars to refer to the scales of judgment that will be hung on the platform arcades; however, Ottoman guidebooks only mention the place of the scales at the southern stairway, and medieval texts imply that there will be a single balance with two huge plates.
249. These traditions are often criticized in later Mamluk sources: for some of them see n. 88 above.
250. For the Jerusalem images in Ayyubid scrolls see Janine Sourdel-Thomine, “Une image musulmane de Jérusalem au début du XIIIe siècle,” in *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople: L’image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Age*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris, 1986), 217–33; Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein, “A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates,” in *M. Uğur Derman Festschrift*, ed. İrvın C. Schick (Istanbul, 2000), 101–34. Sourdel-Thomine suggests that the tree may refer to the “Dome of the Tree” (*qubbal al-shajara*) mentioned in

- Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's chronicle: see Sourdel-Thomine, "Une image musulmane de Jérusalem," 228. This dome was replaced by the extant Ayyubid Dome of Moses (fig. 3[39]). Sourdel-Thomine argues that the position of Jerusalem at the end of these scrolls reflects its inferior rank with respect to Mecca and Medina, but Milstein proposes that this may show the order of the pilgrimage as ending in Jerusalem. See Rachel Milstein, "The Evolution of a Visual Motif: The Temple and the Ka'ba," *Israel Oriental Studies* 19 (1999): 30.
251. Tanındı, "İslam Resminde," 409, figs. 11–14; Zeren Tanındı, "Resimli bir Haç Vekaletnamesi," *Sanat Dünyamız* 9 (1983): 2–5; Rachel Milstein, "Drawings of the Haram of Jerusalem in Ottoman Manuscripts," in *Aspects of Ottoman History*, ed. Any Singer and Amnon Cohen (Jerusalem, 1994), 62–69; Eva Baer, "Visual Representations of Jerusalem's Holy Islamic Sites," in Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*, 384–92; Michele Bernardini, "Popular and Symbolic Iconographies Related to the Haram al-Sharif during the Ottoman Period," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:95–102; David Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City: Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem," in *The City in the Islamic World*, ed. Renata Holod, Yusuf Natsheh, Attilio Petruccioli, and André Raymond (Leiden, 2008), 753–74.
252. The inscription on the sandals reads: *sawwāna na'l al-rasūl qubl bi-husn al-qabūl*. The image of a single sandal, accompanied by an inscription instructing the onlooker to humbly kiss it and referring to the benedictions attached to the person of the Prophet (*baraka al-nabī*), appears at the end of a fifteenth-century pilgrimage scroll depicting only Mount 'Arafāt and the sanctuaries at Mecca and Medina. Hence, the two sandals on the Ottoman scroll do not allude to the Prophet's Ascension from the Dome of the Rock. See British Library, ADD 27.566, hajj certificate dated 836 (1432–33), made for Maymuna bint Muhammad b. Abdullah al-Zardali. For the inscription of the *mihāl na'l al-nabī* on this early scroll see Joseph T. Reinaud, *Description des monumens musulmans du cabinet de M. Le Duc de Blacas* (Paris, 1828), 2:321.
253. The prince endowed a Qur'an manuscript to the Dome of the Rock in 1556: see n. 207 above. For Muhammad Abu'l-Fazl al-Sinjari's illustrated manuscript, titled *Menāqib-i Mekke*, see *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, türkische Handschriften*, vol. 13, pt. 3, ed. Hanna Sohrweide, (Wiesbaden, 1974), 168–69 no. 197; Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. or. Oct. 1602, an eighteenth-century copy featuring illustrations of the Aqsa Mosque (fol. 40b) and the Dome of the Rock (fol. 41a). An illustrated manuscript titled *Fezā'il-i Mekke*, by the same author, has a copy dated 1820, and ends with two images of Jerusalem: see *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, türkische Handschriften*, vol. 13 pt. 1, ed. Barbara Flemming, (Wiesbaden, 1968), 245–46 no. 309; Tübinger Depot der Saatsbibliothek, Ms. or. (fol. 4072).
254. According to al-Rumi's guidebook, upon entering the Aqsa Mosque the pilgrim should first go to "the pillar" (*al'amūd*) where the Prophet is said to have prayed; see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 169. The anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook instructs the pilgrim to pray at the "large mihrab" (*büyük mihrab*) and then at the pillar near it (*mihrahun tarafında bir direk*), where the Prophet prayed on the night of his Ascension (TSM. A. 3547 fol. 99r–v). Ibn al-Faqih mentions a black marble slab commemorating the Prophet at the right side of the Aqsa Mosque's mihrab: Ibn al-Faqih, *Mukhtasar kitāb al-buldān*, 100; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqih*, 123.
255. Evliya mentions the Dome of Moses on the west side of the precinct near the Gate of the Law Court (fig. 3[39]) and a no-longer-extant Dome of Jesus (*makām-i kubbetü'r-rūh*) resting on eight small columns, at the north of the precinct, near the Gate of Remission (*bāb hilla*): see Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 241.
256. For the Dome of the Prophet and its Red Mihrab see n. 200 above.
257. J. Horowitz and L. Gardet, *EJ2*, s.v. "Kawthar." For the Prophet's Pool see also al-Ghazālī, *Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife*, 217–18.
258. Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 234–35. The similarity with Süleyman's pool is noted by Milstein, who also refers to the place of the scales on the arcade of the southern stairway: see Milstein, "Drawings of the Haram," 67. Meinecke finds it plausible that the ablution fountain known as *al-Kā's* was created by Süleyman, since it resembles the one in the sultan's Takiyya complex in Damascus: see Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds," 261. For the prayer offered to all the prophets under the place of the scales see Topkapı Palace Library, A. 3547, 97r–v. The nineteenth-century image of the Haram is discussed in Bernardini, "Popular and Symbolic Iconographies," 95–102 and illustrated in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1: pl. 3.
259. The sites depicted on the Mount of Olives are the sanctuary of Jesus (*ma'bed-i 'isā*) and the graves of Rabi'a al-Adawiyya and Salman Farisi, with the tomb of Mary, in the Valley of Hell, shown on the lower left side. The Church of the Ascension, with the stone featuring the footprint of Christ, was rebuilt in the twelfth century. It resembles Ayyubid octagonal domical buildings on the Haram such as the Dome of the [Prophet's] Ascension and the Dome of Solomon: see Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*. In the 670s, the pilgrim Arculf saw the footprints of Christ in the central-plan rounda commemorating his ascension on the Mount of Olives; known as the Imbomon, this structure had been renovated by Modestus after its destruction in 614: see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 341.
260. Topkapı Palace Library, A 3547, fol. 100v; for the "place of *al-sira'*" see also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 170. For the use of the term "cognitive map" with reference to visual depictions of the Tabernacle, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998), 231–37.
261. The manuscript is in the National Maritime Museum of Haifa, Inv. 4576. For the author, a detailed analysis of the manuscript, and translated excerpts from it see Milstein, "*Kitāb Shawq-nāma*," 275–345. In the preface of the manuscript, graciously sent to me by Rachel Milstein, the author refers to himself as *un-i man khāk-i 'ajam jān va dilam murg-i hijāz* (translated above).
262. For translated text and illustration see Milstein, "*Kitāb Shawq-nāma*," 283, pl. 1.
263. *Ibid.*, 317–18, pl. 24. The reference to Abraham's sacrifice, whether of Isaac or Ishmael, on the Rock seems to appear more commonly in the texts of Persian authors: see the travel accounts of Nasir-i Khusraw and Mu'ali cited above in

- nn. 63 and 205. For the horns of Abraham hanging from a chain in the Dome of the Rock in the days of 'Abd al-Malik and the controversy about which son was to be sacrificed see nn. 90 and 166 above.
264. The raised platform is similarly identified as *takht-i rabb al-'ālamīn* in an Ottoman painting of the sanctuary in Jerusalem in a manuscript dated 1643–44 (Jerusalem, National and University Library, Yah. Ms. Ar. 117, fol. 41r). This image, which depicts the Pool of Kawthar and the Scales, has an explicitly Sunni iconography: its trees represent the *maqams* of the four caliphs. Reproduced in Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 197; Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:11, pl. 4.
265. See n. 264 above for a mid-seventeenth-century image of the sanctuary. Other images datable to the second half of the sixteenth century are illustrated in Tanındı, "İslam Resminde," 421, fig. 8 (Topkapı Palace Library, A. 3547, fol. 103r); Baer, "Visual Representations," 390, fig. 7 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. arab. 461, fol. 45r, datable to 1590); Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York, Oxford, 1992), 42–50, fig. 30 (Spencer, Turk ms. 2, ca. 1580).
266. Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican, *Dür-i Mekkün: Saktı İnciler*, ed. Necdet Sakaoğlu (Istanbul, 1999), 76–78.
267. On the "*fadā'il* discourse" and the mode of seeing and spatial mapping it promotes see Samer Akkach, "Mapping Difference: On the Islamic Concept of *fadā'il*," in *De-Placing Difference: Architecture, Culture and Imaginative Geography*, ed. S. Akkach (Adelaide, 2002), 9–21.
268. In addition to the critiques of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī and Ibn Kathīr, see critical Mamluk texts cited in n. 88 above. See also an article that compares the Ottoman exaltation of the sanctuary in Jerusalem with that of the Umayyads: Sadan, "Legal Opinion of a Muslim Jurist," 231–24.
269. For critiques in the Mamluk period, generally made by Hanbali and Shafī'i scholars, see n. 88 above. For an Ottoman period exhortation by the Jerusalemite Shafī'i author Abū'l-Faḥ al-Dajjānī (d. 1660) see Perlmann, "A Seventeenth-Century Exhortation," 261–92. Al-Dajjānī condemns infringements on decorum and deviations from orthodox practices, protesting against the negligence of those Ottoman authorities who have institutionalized unorthodox rituals and festivities popular among the masses. He criticizes, among other things, the *ta'rif* ritual practiced on the raised platform of the Dome of the Rock on the day of 'Arafa, during which a preacher delivers a sermon from the outdoor minbar (i.e., fig. 3[24]) and concludes by waving a kerchief, a terrible innovation (*bid'ā*) imitating the ceremony in Mecca. Other inappropriate ceremonies, at which men and women intermingle, include the festival of "Our Lady Mary" and the celebration of mid-Sha'ban.
270. Grabar characterizes the Dome of the Rock as a "visual magnet" contrasting vigorously with the "stark barrenness" of the beautiful stones of the city it dominates: "Its architecture is poised to greet the end of time and the liberation of all." Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 172–73.