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SUQ AL-MA'RIFA: AN AYYUBID HANBALITE SHRINE IN AL-HARAM AL-SHARIF

Perhaps one of the most effective means of asserting Islamic hegemony over Jerusalem after the Crusades was to inundate the holy city with institutions promulgating Sunni Islam. They not only surrounded the Haram on its western and northern sides, the two sides coterminous with the city, but suffused public life with an intensity rivaled only by the capital Cairo itself. However, as the sites available precluded emulating the elaborate spatial schemes of the Cairene madrasa, narrow Haram frontages were transformed into panels of virtuoso decoration to compensate for the absence of volumetric expression.

Despite the confluence of Cairene and Syrian styles in Jerusalem, points of departure can also be clearly delineated, most notably in the reintroduction of the dome into the Islamic architectural repertoire of the Haram not only for the purpose of commemoration, but also as a symbol for the transmission of knowledge. Such domes surmount loggias built atop the western and southern porticoes of the Haram, a composition hitherto unknown in the architecture from the medieval period of the Muslim Middle East. These domed loggias represented not only a new architectural combination, but the adoption of the dome in a new context. Previously, the principal association of the dome, other than in mosque contexts, was commemorative or funerary.

In post-reconquest Jerusalem one can discern several stages of development. The dome first appeared over a free-standing chamber with a commemorative function, an architectural type known, at least in the Haram context, as a *qubba*. The dome then continued in use as part of the *qubba* composition, but now strictly in buildings used for teaching. The dome's exclusive association with teaching was uncommon in the architecture of Syria and Egypt. Finally the dome is incorporated into complex architectural structures, of which the most novel are the madrasas with hanging domed loggias. In these instances the dome is associated with teaching structures, often covering an

assembly hall. The dome thus lost its predominantly commemorative/funerary association in the setting of the Haram in Jerusalem.

The thrust of this paper is to bring to light, in view of the dome's changing use and novel introduction into the loggias of the Haram, a long-vanished loggia-like Hanbalite shrine dubbed in the sources the Suq al-Ma'rifa, where transmission of knowledge, daily worship, and Haram rituals amalgamated to form an architectural composition quite singular in the visual milieu of the Haram. Although this research was largely instigated by my discovery of the Suq al-Ma'rifa in a number of nineteenth-century visual sources, it frames this shrine within the broader subject of the Ayyubid reconsecration of the Haram to Islam, a reconsecration that emphasized the continuity of Muslim life in the holy city by harking back to the practices of the Sunni revival in Jerusalem under the Seljuqs shortly before its fall to the Crusaders. This praxis and, above all, the holy sites and shrines it animated were preserved in the collective memory of the *umma* during the ninety years of Crusader rule despite the slaughter of almost all the Muslim and Jewish population. It was preserved through the *Fadā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (Merits of Jerusalem), a genre of panegyric treatises which proliferated during the suspension of Muslim life in the holy city. Though this proliferation may be seen as an expression of bereavement, it was largely promoted by the sojourns of numerous scholars in Jerusalem shortly after its return to the Sunni fold under the Seljuqs in the two decades immediately preceding its fall to the Crusaders.

The reconsecration campaign launched by Salah al-Din was continued by his nephew al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, during whose reign some major institutional transformations took place. Al-Mu'azzam's architectural patronage in al-Haram prefigured the major developments undertaken by the Mamluks. However, his patronage remains a largely untapped source, mainly because it has been overshadowed by his disman-

ting of the walls of Jerusalem in 1219.¹ That such a thing should have been done by the ruler who is credited with building the walls of Damascus² as well as repairing the walls of Jerusalem a few years earlier³ is ironic, and it has to be viewed within the wider frame of Ayyubid-Crusader politics during this period.⁴

With the aid of travelers' accounts, Orientalist painting, early photography, and reports of engineering expeditions to Jerusalem, I will attempt to reconstruct the shrine and trace its architectural origins in the Haram, keeping in mind parallel developments in Damascus, the political mainstay of Jerusalem during most of the Ayyubid period. As the structure is a hybrid of two architectural types, I will first analyze the evolution and define the semiotics of each of the two types separately. Then, the meanings of the two types will be revisited as they coalesce to form an innovative ensemble.

JERUSALEM RECONSECRATED TO ISLAM

Jerusalem's return to the Muslim fold after ninety years of Crusader rule ended the torpor with which Islamic life in the holy city had been afflicted. Salah al-Din, who reconquered Jerusalem on the anniversary of Muhammad's Night Journey, initiated the second period of Muslim sovereignty over the holy city by reconsecrating al-Haram al-Sharif to Islam. The Aqsa Mosque was believed by the Crusaders to have been the site of the royal palace of King Solomon (hence the Latin name *Templum Salomonis*). In 1119, the Crusader king of Jerusalem gave part of the Aqsa Mosque, where his palace was housed, to a group of aristocratic warriors trained in a semi-monastic discipline and dedicated to protecting the pilgrims in the Holy Land. These "monks of war," who, in western Europe, ranked among the leading defenders of Christendom, were known as the Knights Templars after the site of their headquarters. The Templars expanded their headquarters in 1131 to include the whole of the Aqsa Mosque, and the royal palace was moved to the Tower of David. By 1140, control of the Haram had largely passed from the hands of the Augustinian canons, the original custodians of the sacred site, to the Templars.

The vaults beneath the mosque, which were originally built to support the southern section of the platform, were used by the knights as stables, hence the name "Stables of Solomon." Direct access to this underground structure from outside the city was provided

by a new gate, the so-called Single Gate, which pierced the southern wall of the platform. Parts to east and west of the nave of al-Aqsa Mosque, much of its eastern, western and northern façades, the first version of its porch in front of the main (northern) façade, the eastern vaulted annexes (cleared away during the repairs of 1938-42), and a great hall that extends westwards from the mosque (today the Women's Mosque and part of the Islamic Museum) are attributed to the Crusaders (1099-1187).⁵ Salah al-Din's conquest foiled a Templar plan to erect a new church next to the Aqsa Mosque, which was reported first by John of Würzburg and later by Theodorich (1172) to be underway.⁶

Salah al-Din ordered the whole qibla wall including the mihrab redecorated, and installed the minbar made in Aleppo in 1169 for the Aqsa Mosque at the order of Nur al-Din Zengi, the saint-king under whose tutelage Salah al-Din's military career began. The Qubbat al-Silsila (Dome of the Chain), which had been dedicated as a chapel to St. James, and the Dome of the Rock, consecrated by the Knights as the *Templum Domini* ca. 1142 and on the northern side of whose platform the Augustinian canons had built the Temple Convent, were stripped of any remaining crucifixes and icons. Beneath the marble covering the Rock, the Muslims found the marks of the chips the monks had carved and sold in Constantinople and Sicily as relics from the temple. The Rock was washed with rose water in a special ceremony by the Ayyubid prince Taqi al-Din 'Umar ibn Shahinshah.⁷ Al-'Imad al-Isfahani (d. 1201), who participated in the liberation ceremony, which took place in al-Aqsa Mosque on the first Friday after the conquest and over which Salah al-Din himself presided, recounts that Salah al-Din transferred many copies of the Qur'an to both the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.⁸ To complete the reassertion of the Islamic character of the sanctuary, an inscription was introduced above one of its entrances declaring the premises forbidden to Christians.⁹

A full reconsecration to Islam, however, necessitated grafting emblems of Muslim ideology in and around the Haram al-Sharif, involving measures whose execution was to take up the whole of Ayyubid and most of Mamluk rule. Salah al-Din endowed the *Madrasa al-Salahiyya* in the Church of the Monastery of St. Anne (Crusader, ca. 1140) in 1192 to impart Ash'arite doctrine and Shafi'ite law, the two most important constituents of the Sunni creed officially

espoused by the Ayyubids.¹⁰ A number of other Ayyubid institutions of learning were endowed in newly built structures, partly, and often preponderantly, constructed from spolia from dismantled Crusader buildings. One documented¹¹ foundation is the Madrasa al-Afdaliyya, built by al-Malik al-Afdal Nur al-Din 'Ali, son of Salah al-Din (r. Damascus 1189-96, d. 1225). Despite the Shafi'ite monopoly on jurisprudence during the Ayyubid period, it was dedicated to the Malikite rite, and was located in today's Jewish quarter,¹² the part of the city endowed by al-Afdal in 1194 for the many immigrants from North Africa who settled in Jerusalem shortly after the conquest and helped repopulate the city, hence the name "Harat al-Maghari-ba" (Maghribi quarter).¹³ It was probably around this time that the Jami' al-Maghari-ba (Maghribi Mosque) was founded in the Ayyubid hall occupying the western side of the southwestern corner of the Haram.¹⁴ This mosque was identified by Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali (d. 1521), the author of our main historio-topographical source for the holy city from the post-Crusade period, as the official prayer place for the adherents of the Malikite rite,¹⁵ a most logical arrangement given the Malikite preponderance in the Maghrib.

The Shafi'ite monopoly on jurisprudence in Syria somewhat abated under the influence of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, governor of Damascus and Jerusalem for his father al-Malik al-'Adil I Sayf al-Din from 1200 until 1218, and sultan of the Syrian flank of the Ayyubid state from 1218 until 1227. A staunch adherent of the Hanafite rite, al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (d. 1227) was in fact the first in the Ayyubid house to abandon the Shafi'ite doctrine, a legacy which he bequeathed to his sons.¹⁶ A man of great erudition, he composed the work known as *al-Sahm al-musib fi al-radd 'alā al-Khatib* as a rebuttal of the vilification of Imam Abu Hanifa in *Tārīkh Baghdād* by al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 1072).¹⁷ He dismissed the Shafi'ite *khatib* (orator) of the Aqsa Mosque and replaced him with a Hanafite jurist from Baghdad by the name of Shihab al-Din, a lecturer at the Hanafite madrasa known as al-Amjadiyya, at one of the gates of the Haram.¹⁸ Although the Shafi'ites retained the imamate of the Dome of the Rock, al-Mu'azzam issued an edict prohibiting the mu'azzins of the Haram from performing their *tabligh* (repeating aloud the *takbirs* and certain invocations to the imam, for all to hear) except for the prayers led by the Hanafite imam of al-Aqsa Mosque.¹⁹

Al-Mu'azzam built the Hanafite madrasa known as al-Mu'azzamiyya in 1217-18 on Tariq al-Mujahidin

(the easternmost section of the Via Dolorosa) north of al-Haram al-Sharif.²⁰ One of his princes, the amir Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Abi al-Qasim al-Hakari, endowed al-Madrasa al-Badriyya near the Damascus Gate in 1213-14 for the Shafi'ites.²¹ Al-Mu'azzam is also reported by Mujir al-Din to have given the Hanbalites permission to found in the southwestern corner of the Haram their prayer place known as the Suq al-Ma'rifa (Market of Knowledge). No transmission of knowledge is reported by Mujir al-Din in connection with this place, which, by the time he was composing his compendium, had already been superseded, at least as a prayer place for the Hanbalites, by a prayer hall in one of the madrasas embedded in the western portico of the Haram. In fact, he does not rule out the possibility that a name like Suq al-Ma'rifa, which connotes edification and learning, was spuriously contrived by the servants of the Haram in order to elevate the status of the building to that of a pilgrimage site.²²

THE AYYUBID QUBBA IN JERUSALEM AS AN AUTONOMOUS INSTITUTION OF LEARNING

The early Islamic practice of constructing mihrabs, domed shrines, and edicules on the Haram platform to commemorate Qur'anic events and prophets was resumed by the Ayyubids. Salah al-Din built the domed structure known as Qubbat Yusuf on the southern side of the platform of the Dome of the Rock.²³ Two domed polygonal structures, the Qubbat al-Mi'raj (Dome of the Ascension, 1200-1), and Qubbat Sulayman (ca. 1200), which resemble in their general composition the Umayyad Qubbat al-Silsila, were built from Crusader-building spolia.²⁴ Some of these new, free-standing domed chambers were used for teaching. Amir Husam al-Din al-Mu'azzami, the viceroy of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in Jerusalem, built the domed chamber and its annex known as al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya (Dome of Grammar) at the southwestern corner of the platform of the Dome of the Rock (fig. 1) in 1207-8 at the behest of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, then governor of Damascus. In his *Tārīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa al-a'lām*, a voluminous fourteenth-century *tabaqat*-style chronicle, Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi (d. 1348) describes al-Mu'azzam as a *littérateur* and a Hanafite *faqih*, and a scholar who had a special relish for the sciences of the Arabic language, particularly grammar. He studied the work of the famous grammarian Sibawayh, a commentary on it by al-Sirafi, and Abu 'Ali al-Farisi's *al-Hujja fi al-qirā'āt*, the standard work on the variant

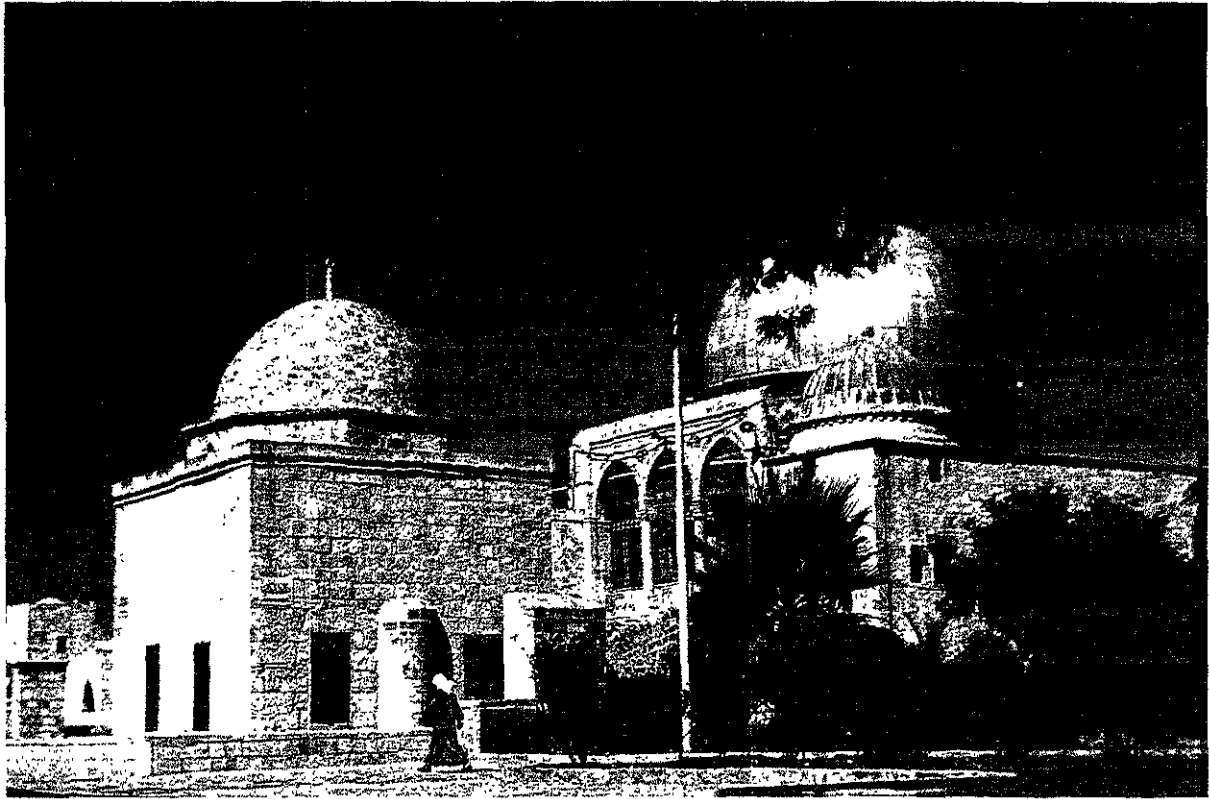


Fig. 1. The southwestern corner of the platform of the Dome of the Rock. Al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya (right) and Qubbat Musa (left).

readings of the Qur'an, with the renowned grammarian Taj al-Din al-Kindi (d. 1217), and memorized al-Farisi's *al-Idāh fi al-naḥw*.²⁵ He held a famous council outside the Dome of the Rock to discuss various philological and theological questions when he visited Jerusalem as sultan in 1226.²⁶ The entrance to the Qubba al-Nahawiyya boasts two white marble Crusader columns carved in a braided design, a feature to be seen on the double gate Bab al-Sakina/Bab al-Silsila in the western portico of the Haram al-Sharif. The gates were rebuilt between 1187 and 1199.²⁷

In his *Mufarrij al-kurūb fi akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, the standard chronicle for the Ayyubids, Ibn Wasil al-Hamawi (d. 1298) credits al-Mu'azzam 'Isa with constructing a *qubba* in the Haram which was dedicated to the teaching of the variant readings of the Qur'an (*al-qirā'āt al-sab'*), and for which al-Mu'azzam 'Isa established a generous waqf restricted to the Hanafites. In 1226-27 in this *qubba*, Ibn Wasil was given a lesson in the art of reciting the Qur'an (*tajwid*) from its first appointed instructor Shams al-Din Razin al-Ba'albaki, a student of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa's instructor of *naḥw* and *qirā'āt*

Taj al-Din al-Kindi.²⁸ Ibn Wasil's recitation of the treatise of Abi 'Ali al-Farisi al-Nahawi (d. 987-88), *al-Idāh fi al-naḥw*, to al-Ba'albaki there suggests that the *qubba*'s curriculum included grammar, a critical pendant to the science of *qirā'āt*.

Also dating from al-Mu'azzam's term as governor (1200-18), a period of relative calm and prosperity in Jerusalem, was the rebuilding of the Nasriyya Zawiya atop the Bab al-Rahma (Golden Gate) in 1214.²⁹ According to Mujir al-Din, the zawiya was named after Shaykh Nasr ibn Ibrahim al-Maqdisi al-Nabulsi (d. 1096), who wrote famous treatises on Shafi'ite law and whom the Shaykh al-Hijaz³⁰ 'Afif al-Din al-Yafi'i (d. 1367) called "the shaykh of the Shafi'ites in the whole of Syria."³¹ It was later known as al-Ghazaliyya, after Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111), who was said to have written his monumental book, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, there.³² Al-Mu'azzam, according to Mujir al-Din, made it a zawiya for reciting the Qur'an and studying grammar and endowed it with books. When Mujir al-Din wrote, the zawiya was no longer in existence; he stumbled across its copy of Ya'qub ibn al-Sakit's *Islāh*

al-Mantiq with the waqf date of 1214 inscribed on its back.³³ Given this date and function, it is possible that this hanging zawiya was a third *qubba*. Sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, who put an end to the second Crusader occupation with the aid of the Khawarizmi-ans in 1244, added another domed chamber, known as the Qubbat Musa, to the free-standing Ayyubid domed structures in the sanctuary in 1249 (fig. 1). Mujir al-Din mentions that this qubba was dedicated, at least during the Mamluk period, to teaching the hadith, and had, for that purpose, an appointed imam or *muhaddith*, such as Sharaf al-Din ibn Qasim al-Adhru'i al-Qudsi (d. 1354).³⁴

SELJUQ JERUSALEM AND THE MISSING LINK

The detached domed chamber is a composition peculiar to the commemorative/funerary architecture ubiquitous in medieval Islam. Its utilization by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa for teaching purposes in place of the iwan — the more common form of teaching hall in the medieval Muslim east — is puzzling, particularly given the consistency of Muslim architecture in Egypt and Syria, the two cultural mainstays of Jerusalem. According to Creswell, Syrian madrasas from the middle of the twelfth century until the end of the thirteenth all had a collegiate masjid taking up the whole of the qibla side of a courtyard and almost always roofed by a central dome with tunnel vaulting to the right and left. However, the teaching took place in an iwan occupying most of one of the three remaining façades of the courtyard, and in those madrasas dedicated to more than one rite, a second iwan was introduced on one of the two remaining sides of the courtyard.³⁵ Domes attached to the madrasas of Cairo during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods were invariably funerary; the qibla side of the courtyard was always occupied by a large iwan which served, among other things, as a prayer hall.

One chapter, however, is missing from that story, namely the Muslim architecture of the Syrian cities destroyed by the Crusaders in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Fortunately, the journey of the Andalusian Malikite qadi Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-'Arabi al-Ma'afiri (d. 1148) and his father 'Abdullah to the Muslim east from April 1092 until shortly after November 1099 provides a rare glimpse into the religious institutions of Jerusalem on the eve of its fall to the Crusaders on 15 July 1099.³⁶ Ibn al-'Arabi's accounts of religious life in the holy city can be gleaned

from his description of their journey in two of his books, *Tartib al-rihla li al-tarhib fi al-millah* (which, according to the author, was destroyed during the Crusader sack of Jerusalem), and *Qan'un al-ta'wil*, which has survived.³⁷ Sporadic accounts of his journey are also preserved in his monumental treatise on the juridical verses of the Qur'an entitled *Ahkām al-Qur'an*, as well as smaller works. These accounts are of paramount importance since they are probably the only known Muslim eyewitness accounts of the holy city during the Seljuq period, and therefore help fill the gap between Nasir-i Khusraw's *Safarnāma* composed ca. 1047 and the descriptive accounts of the conquest of 1187. They also form a critical Muslim counterpart to the Geniza letters from this period.

The Fatimids were defeated in Jerusalem and Ramla by the Turkmens under Atsiz ibn Oq al-Khawarizmi (al-Aqsis), a commander of the Great Seljuq (Iraq and Persia) sultan Alp Arslan (r. 1063-72), in 1071.³⁸ Atsiz captured Damascus from the Fatimids and returned it to the Abbasid fold in 1076,³⁹ only to be killed there by Alp Arslan's son Taj al-Din Tutush (r. 1078-95) in 1078.⁴⁰ He bestowed Jerusalem on Artuq ibn Ekseb, the founder of the Artuqid dynasty in Diyarbakir.⁴¹ The Fatimid troops under al-Afdal ibn Badr al-Jamali wrested Jerusalem from Artuq's sons Sökmen and Il-Ghazi in 1098 after bombarding the walls for forty days.⁴² The Fatimid commander Ifükhar al-Dawla lost it in turn to the Crusaders the following year.⁴³ Despite the complete suspension of Muslim life in Jerusalem for ninety years, many aspects of its academic religious life under the Ayyubids were essentially reintroduced and revived; their foundations were laid with the official reinstatement of Sunni Islam under the Seljuqs. Though physically uprooted by the Franks and though one cannot speak of a Jerusalemite community in diaspora, because almost all its Muslim and Jewish population were put to the sword,⁴⁴ these foundations were nonetheless preserved in the collective memory of the *umma* and its ulama.

Ibn al-'Arabi's father was a high-ranking statesman under the Taifa king al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbad (r. 1069-91) in Seville. The capture of that city by the Almoravids in 1091 may have caused the father and the son to seek a less turbulent environment, although it is generally believed that pilgrimage to Mecca and the pursuit of the sciences of the Muslim east (al-Mashriq) were the main reason behind the journey. Ibn al-'Arabi was present when a book dealer offered his father and a group of jurists a set of books which had belonged to

al-Simnani and al-Baji, two scholars of the Ash'arite school of rationalist theology. Having heard the crowd describe the books as great works brought to al-Andalus by al-Baji from the Mashriq, but which represented branches of knowledge still unknown in al-Andalus, Ibn al-'Arabi was profoundly intrigued and determined to go there.⁴⁵ Their journey ultimately became a semi-official embassy to the Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir (r. 1094-1118) in Baghdad in 1098 for the al-Moravid (Amir al-Muslimin wa Nasir al-Din)⁴⁶ Yusuf ibn Tashufin, ruler of North Africa (r. 1061-1106) and Muslim Spain (after 1086); Ibn al-'Arabi's return to Seville in 1099 shortly after his father's death in Alexandria in Muharram (November) 1099 with the caliph's diploma of investiture (*taqlid*) conferring rule of the Maghrib and al-Andalus on Ibn Tashufin prompted Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) to present their embassy as the main reason behind the journey.⁴⁷ Interestingly though, Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali reports that during the hajj (1096),⁴⁸ Ibn al-'Arabi and his father entreated the pilgrims in Mecca to pray to God to grant Yusuf ibn Tashufin and his prefect in Seville victory over the Christian armies in Spain.⁴⁹

After his arrival in Jerusalem in 1093, Ibn al-'Arabi was so entranced with the galaxy of scholars he met there that performing the hajj became ancillary to his quest for knowledge; he made his father postpone the journey for one year.⁵⁰ In addition to the resident ulama of Jerusalem, one of the most notable of whom was 'Ata' al-Maqdisi, Ibn al-'Arabi met many accomplished Muslim scholars who had come to the Holy Land from many parts of the Muslim world during this post-Fatimid period, either as pilgrims such as al-Zawzani and al-Zinjani from Khurasan to al-Masjid al-Aqsa and al-Khalil, or to partake of al-Masjid al-Aqsa's scholarly activities as did Qadi al-Qudat Abu'l-Ma'ali Mujalli ibn Jumay' al-Makhzumi (d. 1156), a leading authority on Shafi'ite jurisprudence in Egypt.⁵¹ The two Andalusians left Jerusalem in 1096 for Baghdad, to which they also returned after the hajj season of that year, propelled by Ibn al-'Arabi's yearning for further pursuit of knowledge in Baghdad. It was then that he finally met Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, under whom he studied.⁵²

Ibn al-'Arabi provides important accounts of the numerous scholarly meetings he attended in Jerusalem, where theological debates were held not only between orthodox Muslim theologians and schismatic groups like the Mu'tazilites, Karramites, and al-Mushabbihah (anthropomorphists), but also between

Muslims and Jews. Once a debate was opened by a rabbi named al-Tastari whose eloquence and sagaciousness impressed Ibn al-'Arabi. The scholarly community was too engrossed in such debates to pay any attention, for example, to the major altercation that erupted one day at Mihrab Dawud,⁵³ that involved an entire garrison and caused them to split into two groups cutting each other up.⁵⁴ The disparity in intellectual life between Seljuq Jerusalem and contemporary Fatimid Cairo under al-Mustansir (r. 1036-94), where the two Andalusians stopped on their way from Barqa, was striking. In Cairo, Ibn al-'Arabi found nothing of the perseverance that characterized the circles of learning in Jerusalem. The group of Cairene jurists he encountered were quite indifferent to intellectual developments elsewhere in the Muslim world.⁵⁵

A flourishing Karramite community in Jerusalem is also mentioned by the geographer al-Muqaddasi al-Bashshari (d. 985) in the tenth century, who reports they had khanqahs and held assemblies.⁵⁶ With the year 985 as a *terminus ante quem*, his remark that the population of Tiberias and Qadas, the majority in Amman, and half the people of Nablus were Shi'ite suggests that he was writing in the first years of Fatimid rule over Palestine.⁵⁷ Ibn al-'Arabi's accounts of scholarly diligence pervasive in the Masjid al-Aqsa contrast sharply with the grim picture painted by al-Muqaddasi who describes Jerusalem as a holy Muslim city with a smattering of scholars whose influence is diluted by a preponderance of Christians (*qalilat al-'ulamā' kathirat al-Nasārā*); the masjid was bereft of congregations and councils;⁵⁸ intellectual life was stagnant, there were no schools of law like the Malikite and the Dawudiyya, and the Mu'tazilites were afraid to profess their views.⁵⁹ But as the Fatimid dynasty approached a century of rule, a Shi'ite *dār al-'ilm* in Jerusalem, a branch of the Dar al-'Ilm al-Fatimiyya of Cairo,⁶⁰ seems to have been propagating the Shi'ite creed, for Nasir-i Khusraw, who visited parts of Syria and Palestine, including Jerusalem, in 1047,⁶¹ describes the population of the major cities as Shi'ite.⁶²

Ibn al-'Arabi's description of scholarly efflorescence in the holy city challenges Oleg Grabar's conclusion that "the situation in Jerusalem had become unbearable long before the Crusaders temporarily suspended Muslim and Jewish life in the city altogether."⁶³ Grabar's conclusion is premature because it is taken from the account of a leading scholar of Jerusalem, the Shafi'ite Nasr ibn Ibrahim (d. 1096), who had left the holy city for Tyre. A Geniza document's record

of the Jewish Gaon leaving Jerusalem ca. 1071 led Grabar to the same conclusion.⁶⁴ Whereas the Gaon's move from the city was probably precipitated by the Turkmen invasion in that year, neither al-Subki (d. 1370) in his biographical compendium dedicated to the Shafi'ites, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*,⁶⁵ nor any of the standard chronicles and biographical dictionaries from the medieval period give any reason for Nasr ibn Ibrahim's move to Tyre after a long residency in Jerusalem other than the quest for knowledge, particularly the pursuit (*samā'*) and narration (*riwāya*) of prophetic hadith and related sciences. This was the main reason for travel for Muslim scholars throughout the early and medieval periods. Nasr ibn Ibrahim left his hometown of Nablus and moved between Jerusalem, Tyre, Damascus, Gaza, Diyarbakir, and Amul (in Tabaristan).⁶⁶ In Damascus Nasr ibn Ibrahim met Abu Bakr ibn al-'Arabi and transmitted *Sahih al-Bukhārī* to him when the latter made a stop there on his way to Baghdad.⁶⁷ Ibn al-'Arabi's list of the scholars he met in Jerusalem includes the renowned Malikiite Abu Bakr al-Turtushi (Ibn Abi Randaqah) (d. 1126), who was in Seville a student of the renowned Andalusian scholar Ibn Hazm.⁶⁸ Jerusalem was a very long way from his hometown of Turtusha (Tortosa), a Muslim frontier town on the northeastern coast of Spain. Having been a major stop for those traveling in pursuit of knowledge (*al-rihla fī talab al-'ilm*) as well as an important pilgrimage site, Jerusalem lived on in the chronicles of these migratory scholars whose claim to the occupied city found poignant expression in the budding Merits of Jerusalem (*Fadā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*) literature. While bemoaning the tragic loss of the holy city, the *fadā'il* genre enabled the *umma* to roam the Haram and the valleys of Jerusalem vicariously through the ulama and travelers whose descriptions of the holy city and accounts of its sanctity were assiduously compiled by the authors of the *fadā'il* treatises.

The absence of learned Jewish men like the Gaon was short-lived. It can be easily deduced from Ibn al-'Arabi's narrative that Seljuq Jerusalem was a place of tolerance rather than dogma. It attracted Jewish savants like the outspoken Rabbi al-Tastari, who found in its inter-religious debates an opportunity to outwit his Muslim counterparts. Citing Severus ibn al-Muqaffa, Grabar, in a recent study on pre-Crusade Jerusalem, relates that in 1092 or thereabouts Ghuzz tribesmen appointed a member of the minority Jacobite sect by the name of Mansur al-Balbaji as administrator of the city. However, Grabar does not see that as necessarily

reflecting that Seljuq Jerusalem was free of prejudice; he alternatively suggests that chaos may have been so rampant that only a representative from a minority within a minority could be found to run the city.⁶⁹

IBN AL-'ARABI IN QUBBAT AL-SILSILA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE AYYUBID "DOME OF LEARNING"

The institutions of learning that Ibn al-'Arabi encountered during his short but eventful stay in Jerusalem (1093-96) can be divided into two types. The first was the madrasa, of which there were two in Jerusalem: one dedicated to the Shafi'ites at Bab al-Asbat and operated by al-Qadi al-Rashid Yahya ibn 'Ali (Ibn al-Sa'igh), who was entrusted with the institution by his predecessor Nasr ibn Ibrahim; and the other one, known as the madrasa of Abi 'Uqba, dedicated to the Hanafites and run by Shaykh al-Qadi al-Rayhani. Such was the standard bifurcation of the functional program of the madrasa, an architectural type emblematic of the Sunni campaign launched by the Seljuqs. Less prevalent doctrines such as that of the Malikites do not seem to have been taught in the standard madrasa building, but in a second type comprising shrines and commemorative structures. Ibn al-'Arabi says that the Malikiite scholar Abu Bakr al-Turtushi had a study corner (*mawdi'*) known as al-Ghuwayr, located between Bab al-Asbat (Gate of the Tribes) and the Mihrab Zakariyya.⁷⁰ Based on Nasir-i Khusraw's sequential description, both places were on the northern border of the Haram not far from the cloisters of the Sufis, a place of prayer with fine mihrabs.⁷¹ Nasir-i Khusraw describes Mihrab Zakariyya as a large, beautiful domed structure on which is inscribed the structure's identification as the mihrab of Zakariyya the prophet.⁷² Ibn al-'Arabi went to al-Ghuwayr to meet al-Turtushi but did not find him there. He tracked him down in a place called al-Sakina,⁷³ which, according to Nasir-i Khusraw, is the name of one of the Haram gates; the Ark of the Covenant was once kept there, and in the adjacent vestibule is a mosque with many mihrabs.⁷⁴ A scholar by the name of Ibn al-Kazaruni used to chant the Qur'an in Mahd 'Isa, a small shrine in the southeastern corner of the subterranean part of the Haram known since the Crusader period as the Stables of Solomon. His penetrating voice gripped everyone in the Haram and reached as far as Mount Tur (Tūr Zita) east of the city.⁷⁵

Ibn al-'Arabi refers in his *Ahkām al-Qur'ān* to some

of the Haram's shrines and commemorative structures where he worshiped and studied. He talks about performing the *maghreb* prayer with a small congregation between Bab al-Akhdar and Bab Hitta,⁷⁶ and performing Ramadan evening prayers known as *tarāwih* with an imam in the Mihrab Zakariyya.⁷⁷ According to Nasir-i Khusraw, the latter was probably a detached shrine covered by a single dome with an inscription. This commemorative structure may have copied the Umayyad Qubbat al-Silsila, the exemplar and earliest extant example of the commemorative *qubba* in the Haram, as its prototype. In addition to being a commemorative monument and a place of worship, the Qubbat al-Silsila served, at least during this period, as a place of learning, as revealed by Ibn al-'Arabi's account of studying there for long hours, the place in the Haram where he reveled in watching the sun rise above Tur Zita (Mount Tur) to the east, and set behind Mihrab Dawud to the west.⁷⁸ This use of a commemorative *qubba* for studying can conceivably be the origin of the Ayyubid non-commemorative/funerary *qubba* operating as an autonomous institution of learning. Interestingly, al-Mu'azzam's reintroduction of this type is accompanied by his wish to be interred in a simple grave (*lahd*) instead of a domed mausoleum, the standard burial place for a sultan or prince particularly in this period.⁷⁹ It is unlikely that his decision was ideologically induced, since his attendance at the Friday prayer in the mausoleum of his uncle Salah al-Din proves that he did not completely shun funerary architecture.⁸⁰ His ethos may help demystify the disparity between his approaches to the dome.

Ibn Wasil reports that al-Mu'azzam was a man of great modesty and humility, traits which did not detract from his formidability. He would not ride in the usual sultanic pomp (*al-sanājiq al-sultāniyya*), but instead traveled with a very small entourage. In deference to his brother al-Kamil, sultan of the Egyptian flank of the Ayyubid state (r. 1218-38), he ordered the Friday sermon delivered and coins minted with al-Kamil's name instead of his own. Ibn Wasil also speaks of his great affability, for he saw al-Mu'azzam in Jerusalem beleaguered by throngs of men and women trying to talk to him, yet he did not have anyone pushed away. Ibn Wasil adds that the common term *al-mu'azzami*, denoting lack of pretense and affectation, derives from the character of al-Mu'azzam.⁸¹ Al-Dhabbi tells how al-Mu'azzam would descend from the Citadel of Damascus to the house of his shaykh Taj al-Din al-Kindi in Darb al-'Ajam with his book tucked

under his armpit.⁸² Such humility may account for his reluctance to perpetuate his name via a dome, though he probably also realized that such a funerary dome would have blunted the novel symbolism of his domes in Jerusalem.

FROM DOMED CHAMBER TO DOMED LOGGIA

In 1814, Domingo Badia y Leblich, a Spaniard believed to have been a spy for Napoleon in the Middle East,⁸³ published the earliest known measured drawings of the Haram al-Sharif in his *Voyages en Afrique et en Asie, pendant les années 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 et 1807*.⁸⁴ These drawings were the result of the five visits he made to the Haram in 1807, disguised as "Ali Bey el Abassi." His plan of the Haram shows a sanctuary for each of the four rites of Islamic law: the Maghribi Mosque in the southwestern corner for the Malikites, the Aqsa Mosque for the Shafi'ites, the Dome of the Rock for the Hanafites, and a hypostyle structure in the southeastern corner described as the "*ancien lieu de prières pour le rit hhānbeli*" (fig. 2). One of the madrasas embedded in the western portico is described as the "*lieu actuel de prières pour le rit hhanbeli*." These identifications correspond with those of Mujir al-Din.⁸⁵ The sanctuaries have survived into modern times almost intact, except the hypostyle structure, of which nothing remains (fig. 3). Mujir al-Din dubs this curious structure the Suq al-Ma'rifa (Market of Knowledge), an appellation also used by 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (d. 1731), who visited the site in 1690.⁸⁶

Both the southeastern and southwestern corners of the Haram platform are fully exposed, unlike the northeastern corner, the eastern side of which is extended towards the north as part of the fortification system, or the northwestern corner, which, though marked by the Bab al-Ghawanimah minaret, is coterminous with a dense urban fabric. The southwestern corner, however, is contained within the walls, whereas the southeastern one, where the Suq al-Ma'rifa once stood, is itself one of the corners of the external fortification system (fig. 3). Its conspicuousness, reinforced by the dramatic proportions which the platform's emergence from Mount Moriah reaches at this corner, explains why the Suq al-Ma'rifa appears in a number of nineteenth-century depictions and early photographs of the holy city, all of which show two domes rearing up out of its roof. Among the earliest of these depictions is a drawing made in 1817-18 by Louis Comte de Forbin and labeled "*Vue de Jérusalem*

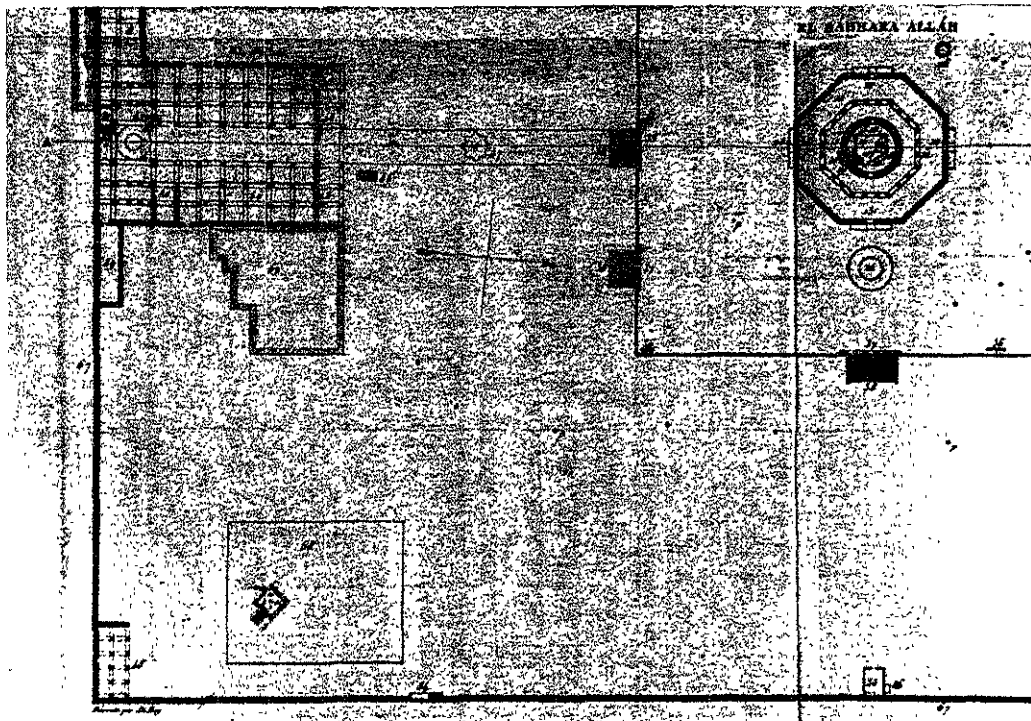


Fig. 2. Part of 'Ali Bey's plan of the Haram showing Suq al-Ma'rifa in the southeastern corner. (Plan: from *Voyages en Afrique et en Asie*).

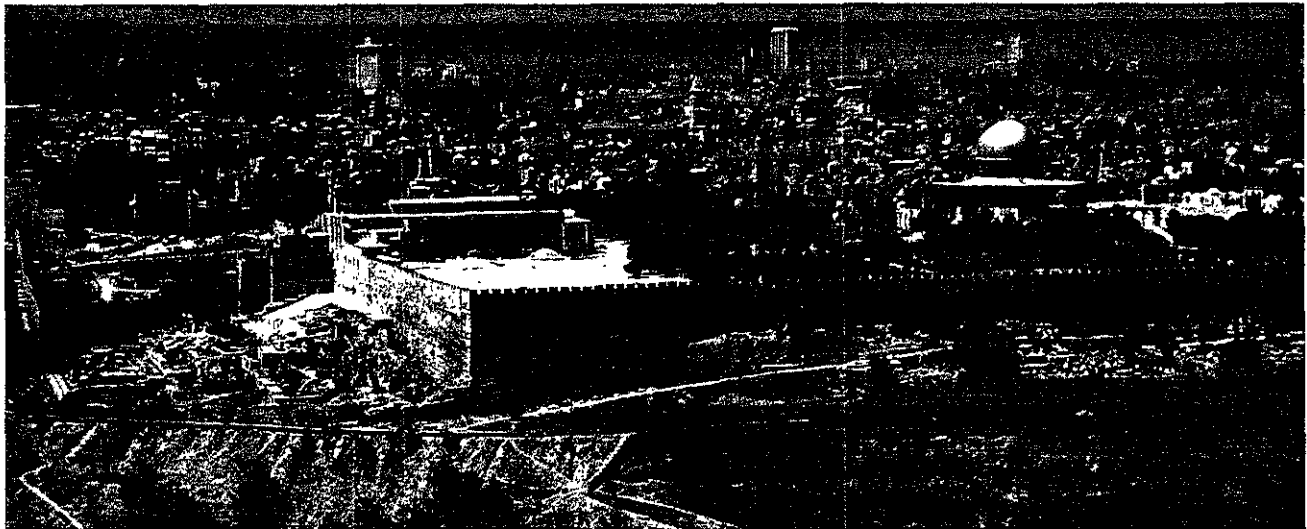


Fig. 3. The southeastern corner of the Haram al-Sharif. View from the Mount of Olives looking west.



Fig. 4. Sketch of the Haram platform from the south by Sir Charles Barry (1819). (From Mordechai Omer, *J.M.W. Turner and the Romantic Vision of the Holy Land and the Bible*, p. 77, no. 31).

prise de la Vallée de Josaphat," a slightly inaccurate and romanticized view of the Haram platform and the city from the east.⁸⁷

From 1819 comes a sketch of the Haram platform from the south by Sir Charles Barry (fig. 4), which was enhanced and romanticized by J. M. W. Turner in 1834.⁸⁸ Both sketches show the two domes to be identical. Four fairly accurate lithographs of Jerusalem by David Roberts (1838–39) also depict the two domes as identical.⁸⁹ One of them, a view of the Haram from the northern part of the city (fig. 5), shows the Suq al-Ma'rifa's front elevation (fig. 6). Roberts's drawings epitomize the romanticizing propensity which permeated the depictions of Jerusalem by the many artists who flocked to the holy city in the nineteenth century. Such depictions usually present a sweeping panoramic view of the Haram al-Sharif and Jerusalem along with its environs from the Mount of Olives.

Two of the most romantic yet adequately accurate paintings of this genre, which were both produced by Englishmen, capture the two identical domes. The first is a painting dating from 1844 by William Bartlett, author of two classic guides to the city: *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem* (1844) and *Jerusalem Revisited* (1854). The second, a painting commissioned by Lady Waldgrave, was produced by the landscape painter Edward Lear in 1858–59.⁹⁰

The earliest photographs of Jerusalem, particularly those taken ca. 1857 by Francis Frith, the inventor of the postcard,⁹¹ ca. 1858 by M. J. Diness, Jerusalem's first known resident photographer (fig. 7),⁹² and be-



Fig. 5. Drawing of the Haram al-Sharif from the north by David Roberts (1838–39). (From *Yesterday and Today the Holy Land*, pl. 50).

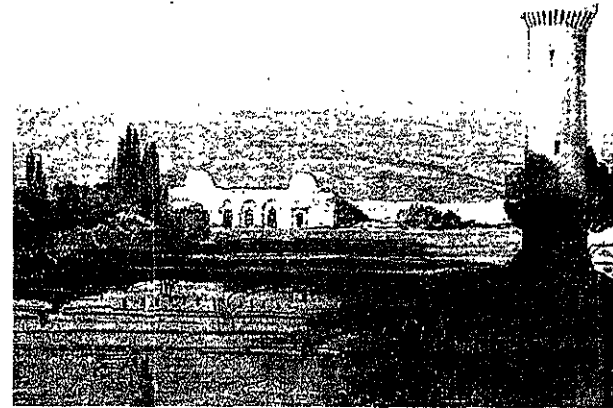


Fig. 6. An enlargement of the southeastern corner of the Haram al-Sharif in fig. 5.

tween 1867 and 1885 by Bonfils,⁹³ all show the two identical domes rising in full above the Haram wall. A detailed and accurate large-scale model of Jerusalem from 1873 by Stephen Illés⁹⁴ shows a rectangular building with two symmetrically placed, identical domes in the southeastern corner of the Haram. The building abuts the southern and eastern enclosing walls of the Haram, while its northern and western sides are each shown to have an arcade or multiple-arched entrance. An elevation of the south wall of the Haram platform published in 1890 in Guy Le Strange's translation of the works of medieval Arab geographers, entitled *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500*, shows the two identical domes still extant.⁹⁵

Al-Nabulsi describes the Suq al-Ma'rifa as having a

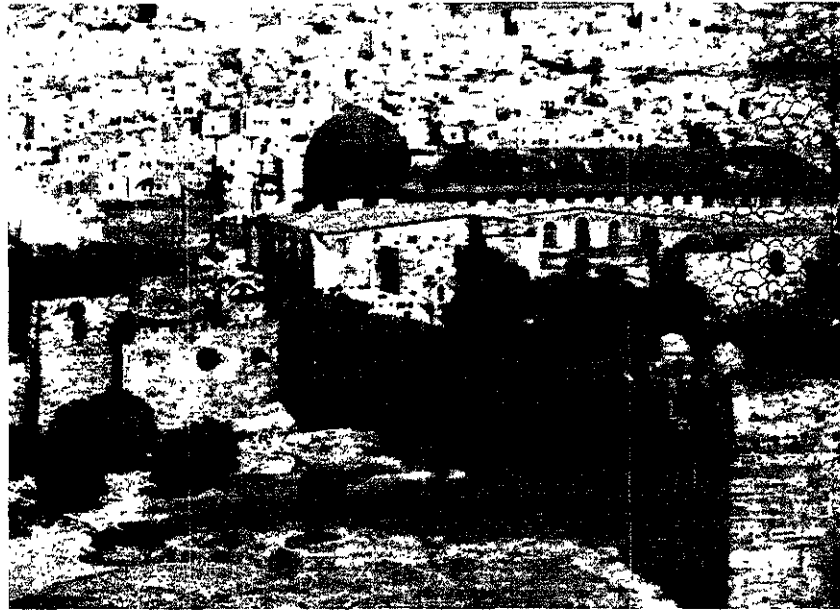


Fig. 7. The southeastern corner of the Haram as it appears in a photograph by M. J. Diness (ca. 1858). (Photo: courtesy Archives for Historical Documentation, Brighton, Massachusetts)

domed construction and a mihrab (*makānun ma'qūdun bihi mihrāb*).⁹⁶ However, the earliest visual documentation of a domed construction in this corner of the Haram comes from a woodblock by Erhardum de Reuwich in the first travel book ever printed, Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctum*, published in Mainz in 1486, three years after his visit to the Holy Land and thirty years before the eclipse of Mamluk rule (fig. 8). Produced only thirty-six years after Gutenberg's invention of the printing press, the woodblocks in this book are believed to be the first travel pictures ever reproduced of a scene drawn realistically, and the first known foldout inserted in any publication.⁹⁷ This first printed map and view of Jerusalem looks particularly realistic because of its partial subordination to the rules of perspective discovered only half a century earlier by Brunelleschi in Florence. The drawing, which inaugurates a tradition of capturing the city and its environs from the Mount of Olives looking west, shows only one dome in the southeastern corner of the Haram. The map of Jerusalem by Claudio Duchetti (Rome, 1570, presumably copied from that by Stefano du Perac) is based on that by Breydenbach, and the map by Jan Janssonius (Amsterdam, 1657) is derived from the account given by Matheus Merian, which in turn relies on the map by Breydenbach. It is of no surprise then that these print-

ed maps also show a single dome in the southeastern corner of the Haram. The four almost identical maps produced by four Italian printers (Camocio, Ligorio, Bertelli, and Zaltieri) during the 1560s and early 1570s, which were based on an anonymous Italian map in turn derived from one made by a Dutch artist in 1538, also show a single dome. The maps of Von Breydenbach and the Dutch artist (1538) and their derivatives are printed, three-dimensional representations of the city as a contiguous group of pilgrimage sites and places of worship. Soon, however, they gave way to the printed realistic street map of Antonio De Angelis (Rome, 1578) (fig. 9), a Franciscan monk who served in Jerusalem for eight years. Three-dimensional and planometrically drawn, this map spawned similar printed maps, some of which were drawn by travelers and pilgrims based on their own direct observations in Jerusalem, like the Franciscans Bernardino Amico (Florence, 1620) and Francisco Quaresmius (Antwerp, 1639), while others were generated in Europe from maps that were produced by those who walked in the footsteps of Jesus in the holy city. Amico's map, however, appears to be largely a copy of De Angelis's.

Numbers keyed to the sites of worship on these maps refer to legends which provide accurate if sometimes anachronistic identifications. Their intended use as Christian pilgrimage maps accounts for their reliability,

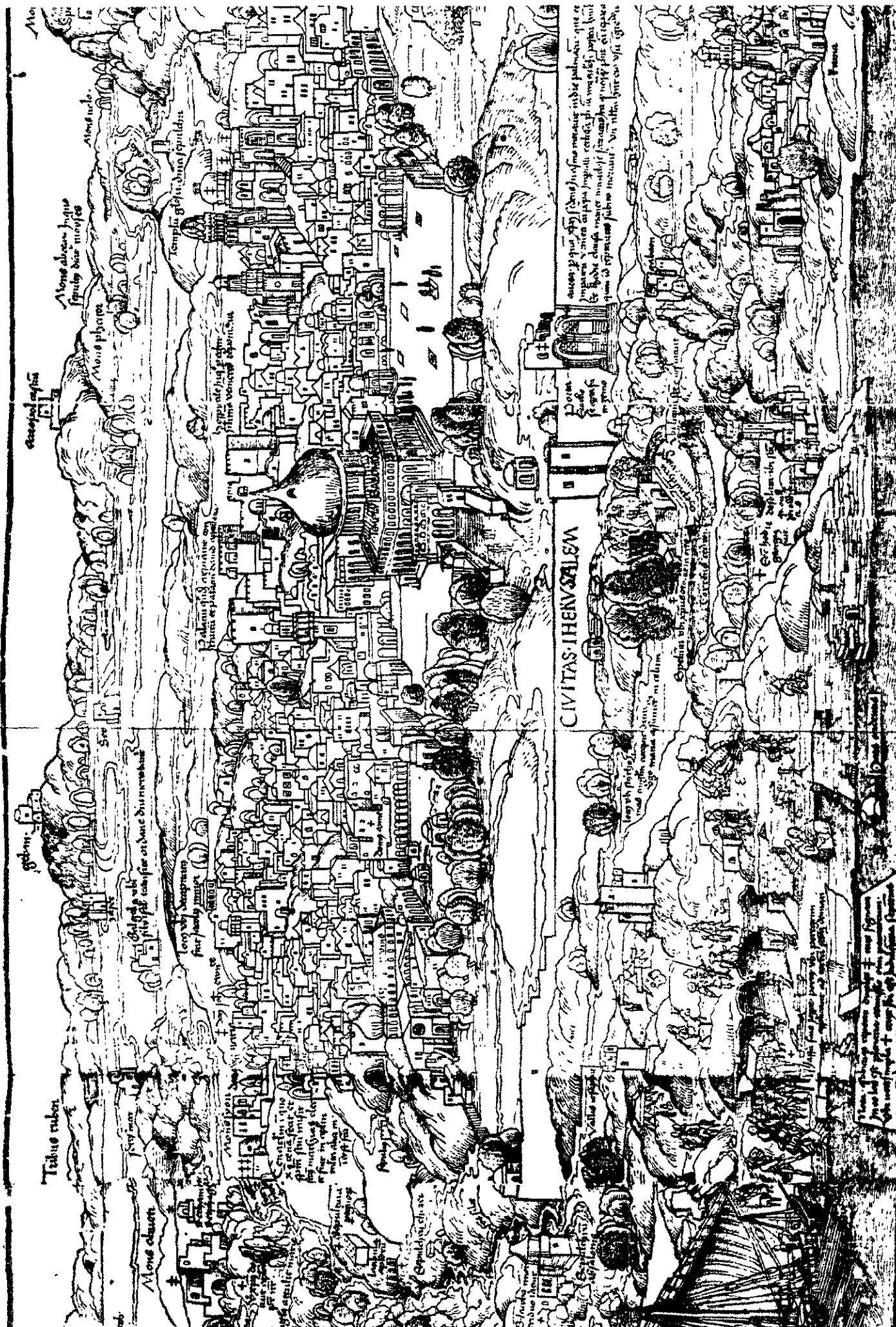


Fig. 8. A woodblock by Erhardum de Reuwich for Bernhard von Breydenbach dating from 1486. View of the Haram al-Sharif and Jerusalem from the east. (From Goodrum, *Treasures of the Library of Congress*, p. 54)

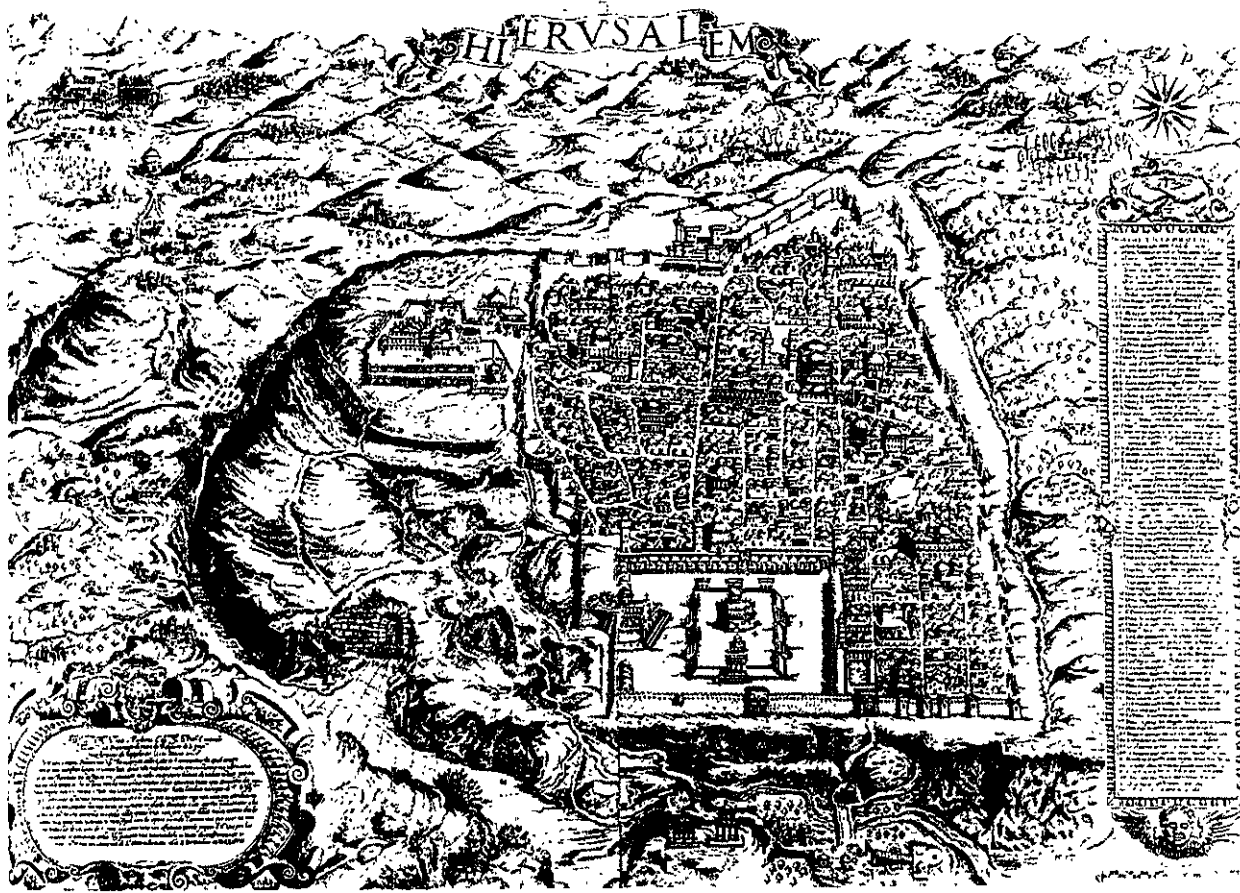


Fig. 9. Map or planometric of the Haram al-Sharif and Jerusalem from 1578 by Antonio De Angelis. View from the Mount of Olives looking west. (From Rubin, "The De Angelis Map of Jerusalem (1578) and Its Copies," *Cathedra*, p. 112 [appendix])

but it also explains why Muslim sites in these maps are diminished, ignored, or drawn rather carelessly. The maps by De Angelis and Amico, along with the ones by H. J. Bräuning (Strassburg, 1612), O. Dapper (Amsterdam, 1677), and J. Kopm[an?], all three of which also appear to have been influenced — directly or indirectly — by De Angelis's map, show a rectangular building with three identical domes in the southeastern corner of the Haram as they depict Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives looking west. With the same orientation, Quaresmius's map shows two domes instead. The master-etcher Joseph Eder produced an engraving which he called "a new and genuine sketch of Jerusalem" in Vienna ca. 1800. Apart from the artistic embellishments, it largely echoes the map by Quaresmius. However, it only shows one dome in the southeastern corner.

While it is impossible to reconstruct with consider-

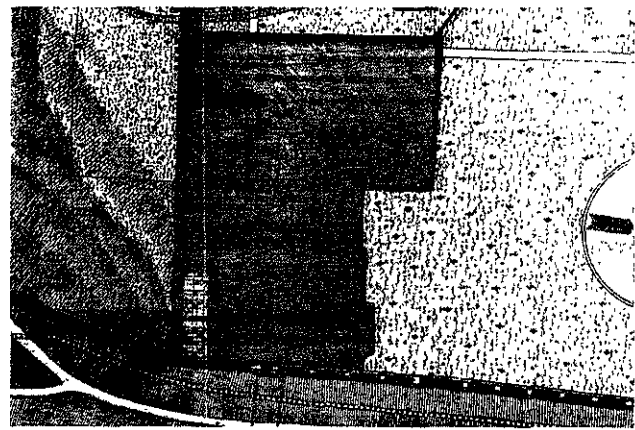


Fig. 10. Plan of the Haram al-Sharif by Ernete Pierotti (ca. 1858). Detail of southeastern corner. The plan of Suq al-Ma'rifa is superimposed over the plan of the subterranean structure known as the Stables of Solomon in the southeastern corner of the Haram. (Plan: from Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*)

able precision the Suq al-Ma'rifa from this genre of maps due to the discrepancies in the number of domes shown, the maps associate a domed construction with the southeastern corner of the Haram since the fifteenth century. The visual representation of the holy city took a sharp turn shortly before the end of the seventeenth century when Cornelis de Bruyn, guarded by two Franciscan fathers, furtively sketched a panoramic view of the holy city from the Mount of Olives. Taken from the standard angle yet depicting a realistic perspectival view instead of a three-dimensional map, this panorama is a critical forerunner of the nineteenth-century romanticizing depictions, especially with its portrayal of Jerusalem as an ancient town basking in a biblical ambiance. This early perspectival view of Jerusalem, published in Utrecht in 1698 in de Bruyn's *Reizen door ... Klein Asia ... en Palestine*, shows two identical domes in the southeastern corner of the Haram.⁹⁸

Two nineteenth-century surveys of the Haram confirm Suq-al-Ma'rifa's hypostyle theme of two rows of square bays as unveiled by 'Ali Bey al-'Abbasi's plan. Around 1858, Ermete Pierotti was conducting a survey of the Haram for Suraya Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem from 1857 to 1864 (perhaps initiated by the previous pasha) and for which Pierotti hired M.J. Diness to take photographs of the sanctuary and other places.⁹⁹ His plan of the Haram published in 1864 (fig. 10) was followed by that of Captain Charles Wilson of the Corps of Royal Engineers, who, in 1864, conducted the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰ But where al-'Abbasi's plan shows five bays in each of the two rows, the two latter plans show seven, and according to al-'Abbasi's description, there were seven bays: "The south-east angle of the great court of the temple is occupied by a mosque, composed of two rows of seven arches each, placed upon square pillars: this was formerly the place of prayer of the individuals of the Hanbali rite."¹⁰¹ In the plan of the Haram published by Max Van Berchem in 1927, the Suq al-Ma'rifa is also shown with seven bays in each row, and is labeled *Berceau de Jésus* in reference to the subterranean commemorative shrine underneath known as Mahd 'Isa.¹⁰²

The Suq al-Ma'rifa's façade in David Roberts's drawing shows the two domes symmetrically flanking a triple-arched entrance. All plans show the front side of Suq al-Ma'rifa to have been an arcade with seven openings, except 'Ali Bey's, which shows five instead.

Since Roberts shows this façade primarily as part of a background to his drawing of the Aqsa and Dome of the Rock, the details of the façade are not necessarily reliable or accurate. This also applies to Illes's model, the accuracy of whose details may be called into question when zeroing in on a small structure in one of the corners of the Haram. Similarly, the representation of this small structure in the plans is likely to be abstract and schematic. However, one way of reconciling Roberts's façade with the plans is to suggest that the triple-arched entrance or arcade is a segment of a longer arcade that was blocked temporarily, as was the case with parts of the northern and western porticoes of the Haram.¹⁰³ The arcade or multiple-arched entrance is a feature associated with an open pavilion affording a fine view, such as that of the sacred space of the Haram. However, the attenuation of the Suq al-Ma'rifa plan along with the closure of its back side qualifies its two rows of bays with the arcade at front as a loggia.

HANBALITE INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING IN JERUSALEM

The hadith-directed doctrine of the Baghdadi imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal was introduced and disseminated in Jerusalem and Damascus by al-Shaykh Abu al-Faraj 'Abd al-Wahid al-Shirazi (d. 1093).¹⁰⁴ When al-Qadi Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Zaki descended from the minbar of al-Aqsa Mosque after delivering the first Friday sermon after the conquest of 1187, al-Shirazi's scion Zayn al-Din ibn Najiyya (d. 1203), also a Hanbalite, sat on the preaching bench and gave a lecture.¹⁰⁵ However, it took another hundred and ninety-three years, as far as the literary evidence shows, before a madrasa was endowed as Hanbalite. It was endowed by Sayf al-Din Baydamur al-Khawarizmi in 1379-80 on Tariq Bab al-Hadid, which ends at one of the gates of al-Haram.¹⁰⁶ This may be accounted for by the relatively late date of the establishment of the Hanbalite rite, for it was not until after 1177 that Muwaffaq al-Din ibn Qudamah al-Maqdisi (d. 1223) composed *al-Mughni*,¹⁰⁷ an encyclopedia of Hanbalite law which offered a comparative study of the three preceding rites and recognized the new doctrine as a full-fledged school of jurisprudence and the fourth rite of Islamic law. The first appointment of a Hanbali scholar to the chief judgeship of Jerusalem took place as late as 1401.¹⁰⁸

Mujir al-Din gives the names of twenty Hanbalite scholars who lived in Jerusalem between 1187 and 1469.¹⁰⁹ Only one, according to Mujir al-Din, held a teaching position at a madrasa, that founded by Faris al-Din Ilbak ibn Qutulmalik in 1352-53 at the northern portico of al-Haram al-Sharif.¹¹⁰ The entries in the main biographical dictionaries of this period offer very sporadic accounts of other Hanbalite teaching posts in Jerusalem, such as that of Siraj al-Din al-Qibabi al-Misri al-Hanbali (d. 1355) at the madrasa of al-Malik al-Jukandar,¹¹¹ polo master of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun, at the northern portico of al-Haram and completed, according to its inscriptions, in 1340. Barquq's Master of the Horse and the founder of the famous Khan al-Khalili in Cairo and charitable foundations in Mecca,¹¹² the Hanbalite Jarkas al-Khalili (d. 1389), whose name appears in the inauguration inscription on the façade and in the courtyard of the khanqah-mausoleum of Sultan Barquq in Cairo (1384-86),¹¹³ is reported by Mujir al-Din to have built the madrasa in Jerusalem known as al-Jahariksiyya, which occupies one half of a church building; the other half was appropriated for the zawiya of al-Yunisiyya.¹¹⁴ Despite the Hanbalite persuasion of the founder, the only documented appointment at this madrasa is that of the renowned Hanafite Sa'd al-Din al-Dayri (d. 1463).¹¹⁵

But where did the rest of the Hanbalites mentioned by Mujir al-Din lecture and study? Mujir al-Din relates that in 1372, the chief judge of Damascus, the Hanbalite 'Ala' al-Din al-'Asqalani, allocated funds for a group of Hanbalite students and scholars in Jerusalem from the waqf of a deceased Shams al-Din ibn Mu'ammār, stipulating that they attend the "regular study sessions at al-Masjid al-Aqsa al-Sharif."¹¹⁶ "Al-Masjid al-Aqsa" was the standard designation for the whole sanctuary until the Ottoman period, when it was superseded by "al-Haram al-Sharif"; "al-Jami' al-Aqsa" specifically referred to the Aqsa Mosque, the *mughattā* or the covered aisles, the site on which 'Umar founded the first mosque amidst ancient ruins.¹¹⁷ Although those Hanbalites who received the stipends from Damascus had to go to the Aqsa Mosque for the Friday prayer and possibly the lecture afterwards, it is likely that they also convened elsewhere in al-Haram al-Sharif. The other natural choice would be the place where they performed their daily prayers, namely the arcades of Suq al-Ma'rifa.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SITE OF THE SUQ AL-MA'RIFA IN THE CORPUS OF MUSLIM TRADITIONS OF THE HARAM

Situated in the southeastern corner of the Haram, the Suq al-Ma'rifa appropriates one end of each of two of the Haram walls as its own, the more significant one being the qibla wall which the Aqsa Mosque itself abuts. This may very well be accounted for by expediency, particularly at a time when most of the Ayyubid foundations were being constructed with spolia or incorporated into existing buildings. The southwestern corner, which would also have given them part of the qibla wall, had already been taken by the great hall adjoining al-Aqsa Mosque to the west, which was constructed in the 1160's as the monastic quarters of the Templar Order,¹¹⁸ and which became the Jami' al-Nisa' (Women's Mosque) in 1194.¹¹⁹ But was it solely for practical reasons that they opted for this corner?

Beneath the site of the Suq al-Ma'rifa in the southern wall of the Haram is a small commemorative structure known as the Cradle of Jesus. As early as the Umayyad period, Muqatil ibn Sulayman (d. 767), the commentator of the Qur'an, recounted in his exegesis (*tafsir*) that Jesus's miracle of speaking from the cradle took place in Jerusalem.¹²⁰ In the first half of the eleventh century, al-Musharraf ibn al-Murajja provided the earliest documented pilgrimage guide or itinerary to the holy sites in Jerusalem in his *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa al-Shām wa al-Khalil*,¹²¹ one of the earliest known examples of the Merits of Jerusalem genre.¹²² One of those sites is the mihrab of Maryam, also known in Ibn al-Murajja's treatise as Mahd 'Isa (Cradle of Jesus).¹²³ Nasir-i Khusraw, who reached Jerusalem on 5 March 1047,¹²⁴ describes a mosque, also dubbed Mahd 'Isa, as a subterranean area of 15 x 20 ells in the southeastern corner of the Haram and having a stone roof supported by marble columns. The "cradle" itself, which he found in the southern corner, built of stone and large enough for men to pray in, served as a mihrab for the mosque. He also noticed two other mihrabs in the east side of this mosque: the mihrab of Maryam and that of Zakariyya. This is the second mihrab mentioned by Nasir-i Khusraw which has Zakariyya the prophet as its eponym, the first being the dome near Bab al-Asbat on the northern border of the Haram.¹²⁵ Whereas the inscription on this dome explicitly indicated to Nasir-i Khusraw that it was the mihrab of Zakariyya the prophet,

the two niches in the east side of this subterranean mosque displayed the Qur'anic verses about Zakariyya and Maryam. The mosque was lit by many hanging brass and silver lamps which were kept burning throughout the night.¹²⁶ Two sources dating from the post-Crusade period, *al-Uns al-Jalil* by Mujir al-Din (d. 1521) and *Ithāf al-akhissā' bi fadā'il al-Masjid al-Aqsā* by al-Minhajī Shams al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 1475), mention that Maryam's place of worship was called in their days Mahd 'Isa.¹²⁷ Mujir al-Din adds that the mosque known as Mahd 'Isa lies underneath the place called Suq al-Ma'rifa. During his pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) to the Haram in 1693, 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi and his companions visited the Qubbat al-Arwah (Dome of the Spirits), Qubbat al-Mi'raj, Qubbat al-Silsila, the *qubba* built over the piece of rock believed to have been carved out of the Rock (*al-Ṣakhra*), the mihrab of 'Ubadā ibn al-Samit, Bab al-Tawba, Bab al-Rahma, and the site of the throne (*kursi*) of Sulayman, after which they descended to the Mahd 'Isa, where the *maqam* (shrine?) of the disciples of Jesus (al-Hawariyyun) and the *maqām* (shrine?) of al-Khadr (Elijah?) are to be found, and then ascended to the mihrab of Dawud,¹²⁸ Suq al-Ma'rifa, and Jami' al-Maghariba.¹²⁹

The sequence of al-Nabulsi's pilgrimage stations may have been dictated by more than just topographical expediency. To those Arab, Turkish, and Kurdish troops approaching the walls of Jerusalem under the command of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, the site of the holy city must have triggered a web of associations and images of a fabled city inculcated by the Merits of Jerusalem literature that lamented the tragic loss of the first qibla of Islam during the ninety years of Frankish rule. In his biography of Salah al-Din, Ibn Shaddad (d. 1234) portrays this army as one abounding in scholars who flocked to Salah al-Din from Syria and Egypt.¹³⁰ Many of them must have studied, if not memorized, the various Islamic traditions about the sanctity of Jerusalem. From among these *mujāhid* scholars came the savants who attended the councils held under the auspices of Salah al-Din in Jerusalem in 1187, which entailed, among other things, the conversion of the palace of the patriarch into a Sufi *ribat* (*al-khanqāh al-Salāhiyya*) and the church of the monastery of St. Anne into a madrasa for the Shafi'ites (al-Madrasa al-Salāhiyya). More interesting yet, some of these scholars were directly involved in architecture and construction in Jerusalem. Salah al-Din appointed Ibn Shaddad, a former *mu'id* (*repertoire* or teaching assistant) at the Madrasa al-Nizamiyya in Baghdad,

for example, not only as the director and shaykh of the Madrasa al-Salāhiyya but also as the supervisor of the construction of the Bimaristan al-Salāhi.¹³¹ The proliferation of the *fadā'il* genre prevented Jerusalem and its sacred sites from falling into the oblivion that afflicted the Muslims of Spain after the Reconquista. The eagerness of the Muslim generation of the conquest to heal the rupture in the continuum of Islamic life in the holy city is best represented by an inscription above the entrance to the Ayyubid Qubbat al-Mi'raj (1200-1) indicating that it was built to commemorate an older structure which was erected during the early Islamic period and was believed to be the starting point of Muhammad's ascension to heaven, but which had disappeared during the Crusader occupation.¹³²

Although some of the biblical connections to Islamic sites may have been a concoction of the *fadā'il* genre, the highly eulogizing and propagandistic tenor of which may well have included apocryphal accounts, there is little doubt that the southeastern corner's association with Jesus and Mary in the corpus of Muslim traditions concerning the Haram was established well before the Crusades, and that this genre preserved those associations from waning during the absence of Muslim worship in Jerusalem. But could the resurfacing of these associations have been somehow intensified by Crusader activities in the Haram? And can one correlate the toponymical shift from Mihrab Maryam to Mahd 'Isa, as reported by Mujir al-Din and al-Suyuti, to the contest for Jerusalem?

The significance of the Haram's subterranean structure to the Knights Templar was purely utilitarian; its new function as a stable was bereft of any associations with the events surrounding the Nativity of Jesus, which they celebrated at the Crusader Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. In his travel guide to sacred sites and tombs of prophets and saints, entitled *al-Ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt* and dating from the post-conquest period, 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī (d. 1215) provides a description of the Haram as he saw it during his visit to Jerusalem in 1173.¹³³ In this rare Muslim eyewitness account of the Haram under Crusader rule, al-Harawī refers to this subterranean structure as the Stable of Solomon, showing there already was Crusader influence on the nomenclature of the Haram; henceforth it was to be the standard designation in the Islamic sources. Inside it, al-Harawī adds, is to be found a cave which is said to contain the Mahd 'Isa.¹³⁴ Al-Harawī's situation of the cradle there is a continuation

of a pre-Crusade *fadā'il* legacy even though he does not cite any sources in connection with its location.

Among the things al-Harawi situates in Bayt Lahm (Bethlehem), however, is the birthplace of Jesus.¹³⁵ Yaqt al-Hamawi (d. 1229), who composed his famous geographical lexicon, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, during the Ayyubid period, states that Bayt Lahm is the site of the Mahd 'Isa,¹³⁶ whereas Jesus's miracle of speaking from the cradle took place in Jerusalem.¹³⁷ However, Bethlehem's prominence in the corpus of Islamic traditions about Jesus is evident well before the Crusades. The geographer Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, who wrote a comprehensive *Kitāb al-buldān* around 903,¹³⁸ makes a clear distinction between Mahd 'Isa, the cradle from where according to the Qur'an (3: 46) Jesus performed the miracle of speaking while still an infant and which, according to Ibn al-Faqih, is to be found in Jerusalem,¹³⁹ and the birthplace of Jesus, which Ibn al-Faqih situates in the town of Bethlehem.¹⁴⁰ Among the pre-Crusades authors who also locate the birthplace, but not the Mahd 'Isa, in Bethlehem are the Andalusian *littérateur* Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi al-Andalusi (d. 940),¹⁴¹ the geographer al-Muqaddasi al-Bashshari (d. 985),¹⁴² and Abu Bakr al-Wasiti,¹⁴³ who dictated in his house in Jerusalem his compilation of the *fadā'il* to 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Nusaybi in 1019 and is therefore the earliest known compiler of this genre.¹⁴⁴

In contrast to the period following the first conquest by 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, the symbols of Christianity in the holy city during the counter-crusades were no longer perceived by the Muslims to be innocuous because they were no longer restricted to the biblical sites of the New Testament. Instead, they had engulfed a Muslim *sacrum* that buttressed one of the foundations of the Islamic faith and its formative history: Muhammad's nocturnal journey to the Masjid al-Aqsa (the distant shrine or temple), which signified, among other things, the bequeathing of Masjid Bani Isra'il to Islam. The Masjid al-Aqsa had become a site of Christian worship and administration, a development unprecedented in Jerusalem's Christian history. Islam's claim to the derelict Masjid Bani Isra'il after centuries of Christian neglect alerted the Crusaders to its biblical salience. Expunging all traces of impurity in the Holy City was a twofold process. First, all physical signs of past Crusader hegemony over Jerusalem, but particularly in al-Haram al-Sharif, were systematically effaced. Second, unwholesome ideologies were to be

warded off by the Sunni creed. Numerous teaching institutions were founded to promulgate Sunni dogma. Considered in this context, the Suq al-Ma'rifa, one of the earliest of these institutions built on a site associated with Jesus, takes on a significance no smaller than the powerful Christian biblical imagery on Ayyubid metalwork, such as the so-called d'Arenberg basin, which was made for Sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, leader of the conquest of Jerusalem of 1244 and patron of Qubbat Musa in the Haram.¹⁴⁵

The appropriation of Jesus into the culture of the counter-crusades can clearly be seen in the literature of this period, particularly poetry. This highly effective form of expression is divided into two phases: one predating the liberation of Jerusalem and one dating from the conquest. The latter, which the Muslim savants of the period like Abu Shama and al-'Imad al-Asfahani call "al-Qudsiyyāt,"¹⁴⁶ is highly panegyric; the former is referred to by al-Hakim 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Jilani al-Andalusi as "al-Mubashshirat" (harbingers of victory),¹⁴⁷ and is imbued with nostalgia and religious zeal. One of its themes is to invalidate any Crusader claim to the Holy Land by demonstrating that the Crucifix, the banner under which they rallied support, was alien to Jesus, who in fact was a prophet of Islam. In a long poem which he composed in 1148-49, possibly after Nur al-Din Zangi's abolition of Isma'ili and Shi'i practices in Aleppo,¹⁴⁸ Ibn Munir al-Tarabulsi (d. 1153) wrote:¹⁴⁹

حتى ترى عيسى من القدس قد لجا إلى سيفك مستنصرا

(Jesus in Jerusalem is pleading for your conquest)¹⁵⁰

Al-Salih Tala'i' (d. 1160 or 1162), the Fatimid vizier for Caliph al-'Adid, composed a poem of condolence for his friend Usama ibn Munqidh, ruler of Shayzar, when the latter lost his family in a series of earthquakes which began in 1156,¹⁵¹ in which he imputes the catastrophe to the prevalence of the Crusader creed in Jerusalem:

أبذنب أصابها قدر الله فللأرض كالأنعام ذنوب

إن ظني والظن مثل سهام الرمي منها المخطي ومنها المصيب

أن هذا لأن غدت ساحة القدس وما للإسلام فيها نصيب

منزل الوحي قبل بعث رسول الله فهو الحجـوج والحجـوب
 نزلت وسطه الخنازير والخمر وبارئ الناقوس فيه الصليب
 لم رآه المسيح لم يرض فملا زعموا أنه له منسوب
 أيعد الناس عن عبادة رب الناس تقوم إلههم مصلوب

Have the rocks been afflicted by God's fate since earth,
 like man, transgresses?

In my opinion, which, like an arrow, could hit or miss,
 This earthquake is a reaction to Islam's absence from
 Jerusalem,

Upon which Gabriel descended with God's revelation in
 biblical times, a place of
 pilgrimage still is inaccessible.

Jerusalem is now the abode of swine and wine, a place
 dominated by the crucifix and the
 tolling of bells from churchtowers.

If Jesus saw the crucifix, he would deny any connection
 to it.

Those whose god is crucified have strayed the farthest
 from God's true path.¹⁵²

Al-Nabulsi's sojourn in Jerusalem in 1693 centered on a *ziyarat* of a specific itinerary, one which was very likely suggested by the servants of the Haram or followed a pilgrimage guide. The earliest of these guides, that of Ibn al-Murajja, had Mahd 'Isa, then also known as Mihrab Maryam, on its route.¹⁵³ It was from there that the chanting of the Qur'an by Ibn al-Kazaruni poured out onto the Haram esplanade and permeated a vast area outside the Haram.

Both al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja speak of a Bab al-Tawba (Gate of Repentance) adjacent to Mihrab Maryam. They both report that when one of the Children of Israel sinned, he would find the sin written on his forehead and his doorpost, and that God would not erase that sin until the sinner prayed at Bab al-Tawba for forgiveness.¹⁵⁴ And whereas Ibn al-Faqih (ca. 903) situates Mihrab Maryam inside Bab al-Tawba,¹⁵⁵ al-Muqaddasi al-Bashshari (d. 985) associates this mihrab with a gate with multiple openings (Abwāb Mihrāb Maryam),¹⁵⁶ which is identified by Burgoyne as the present Triple Gate.¹⁵⁷ By the time of Nasir-i Khusraw's visit in 1047, the name Bab al-Tawba had already shifted to the gate adjacent to Bab al-Rahma (Gate of Mercy), one of the two doorways of the Golden Gate in the eastern wall of the Haram, henceforth the standard identification. Nasir-i Khusraw ascribes the

name Tawba to God's acceptance of David's repentance at the threshold of these two doors,¹⁵⁸ referred to by al-Muqaddasi al-Bashshari as the two Gates of Mercy (*bābāyy al-rahma*).¹⁵⁹ Four centuries later Mujir al-Din still identifies Bab al-Tawba as the gate adjacent to Bab al-Rahma,¹⁶⁰ but he states that the site of Suq al-Ma'rifa was where Bab al-Tawba, according to one of the historians, stood during the time of the Bani Isra'il. From this unnamed source, Mujir al-Din also copies the above account of repentance.¹⁶¹

Even though the Suq al-Ma'rifa had already, by the time of Mujir al-Din, ceased to function as the Hanbalite place of prayer, that al-Nabulsi stopped there almost immediately after ascending from Mahd 'Isa indicates that it may still have retained an edifying function, such as a place for meditation and reflection on the Mahd miracle, owing to its proximity to Mahd 'Isa. If we disregard Mujir al-Din's incredulity about the genuineness of the name, a Sufi function could account for the choice of the word *ma'rifa*, which suggests the introspection usually associated with the Sufi quest for esoteric knowledge, as opposed to *'ilm*, or general knowledge. Such a distinction is expounded in most of the Sufi treatises dating from the counter-crusades, such as *Kutāb ādāb al-muridin* by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Suhrawardi (d. 1168), the renowned Sufi and professor of Shafi'ite law at the Madrasa al-Nizamiyya in Baghdad.¹⁶² Al-Nabulsi hailed from a strong Sufi tradition steeped in both Naqshabandi and Qadiri rites. He would have been keen to visit a shrine affiliated with Sufi practice: his book recounting his travels in Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz is full of accounts of such visits.¹⁶³ Although al-Nabulsi makes no reference to Sufi functions in connection with the Suq al-Ma'rifa, his elaboration on Mujir al-Din's account of the repentance of the Children of Banu Isra'il at this site is contextualized within Sufi gnosis. Through prayer, repentance, and erasing sin from the doorpost, explains al-Nabulsi, sinners know with full certainty (*y'rifūn*) that God has granted them forgiveness. The veracity of this perception, he concludes, probably accounts for the choice of the word *ma'rifa* (as opposed to *'ilm*).¹⁶⁴

Al-Dhahabi credits al-Mu'azzam 'Isa with the construction of a loggia (*tārima*) at Bab al-Hadid in Damascus.¹⁶⁵ Ibn Manzur (d. 1311-12), the compiler of the largest Arabic lexicon of the Mamluk period entitled *Lisān al-'Arab*, defines *tārima* as a wooden structure like a dome (*bayt min khashab ka'l-qubba*) and categorizes

it as an Arabized noun of Persian origin.¹⁶⁶ Assuming that the erection of this domed loggia in Damascus was a continuation of an earlier legacy of attaching such structures to important gates for the reception of visitors,¹⁶⁷ the Suq al-Ma'rifa, a stone version of a domed loggia or *tārīma*, may similarly have been intended both to mark the nearby gate giving access to the Mahd 'Isa underneath, whose pilgrimage traffic could have been growing, and to receive visitors as well. The transmutation of a *tārīma* from wood into stone may have fulfilled an antiquating purpose, especially by its association with the entrance to this ancient, subterranean part of the sanctuary animated by the *faḍā'il* genre with its Qur'anic miracles and events. But an aura of antiquity would be most congenial to the site of an ancient gate that was a stage for the cathartic experience of repentance and expiation in the ancient times of Banu Isra'il, an experience which Muslim traditions also attach to another ancient but extant gate, that in the northern wall of the Haram known as Bab Hitta (the gate of remission or supplication for atonement).¹⁶⁸ For those pilgrims descending to Mahd 'Isa underneath, this Hanbalite shrine must have appeared as a suspended or hanging loggia with two domes, which, when viewed from the east or the south as one approaches this most prominent exterior angle of the Haram, emerge as two pinnacles. This rendition of a *tārīma* also departs from the concept of the one at Bab al-Hadid in Damascus in being built atop the structure in which the gate is embedded instead of next to it. The theme of a domed religious shrine surmounting a gate, however, is not without precedent in Jerusalem, the striking parallel being al-Zawiya al-Nasriya atop the Golden Gate, particularly after it was rebuilt, presumably with a dome, by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa.

THE TRIPARTITE THEME

The Suq al-Ma'rifa's tripartite configuration of two identical domes flanking an entrance is not without parallel from this period. A number of Mamluk foundations have twin domes flanking a portal, as exemplified, in Damascus, by the mausoleum of al-Tawashi (the eunuch) Mukhtar (d. 1316) and known as the madrasa of al-Shaykh Hasan Ra'i al-Hima,¹⁶⁹ the mausoleum built by the viceroy Sayf al-Din Tankiz in 1330 for his wife Khawand Sutayta bint Sayf al-Din Kawkabay al-Mansuri, hence the name al-Turba al-Kawkabaiyya (fig. 11),¹⁷⁰ the Rashidiyya Mausoleum built

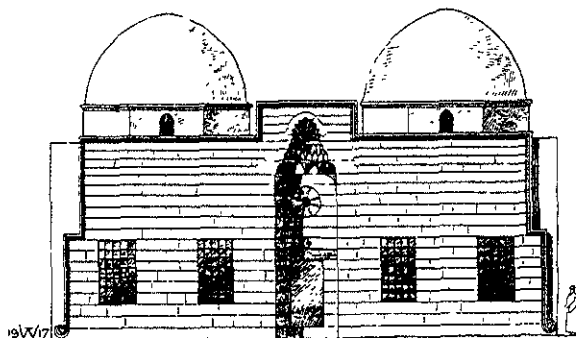


Fig. 11. The façade of the mausoleum in Damascus built by Sayf al-Din Tankiz in 1330 for his wife Khawand Sutayta. (Plan: from Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus: Die Islamische Stadt*, p. 71, fig. 8)

— most likely — by Mankilbugha al-Shamsi in 1366-67,¹⁷¹ and the mausoleum of Tanibak al-Hasani and his wife (al-Turba al-Taynabiyya) built in 1394-95, in which the prominent Amir Taghri Bardi was interred in 1412.¹⁷² An example in Jerusalem is the mausoleum of Amir Bahlawan ibn Qaradshah al-Gilani (al-Turba al-Kilaniyya) built in 1352,¹⁷³ and in Cairo the mausoleum of Khawand Tughay Umm Anuk, wife of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad,¹⁷⁴ which is part of her khanqah complex presumably built between her trip to Mecca in 1339 and her death in 1349,¹⁷⁵ and the spectacular structure known as al-Sultaniyya, believed to be the mausoleum of the mother of Sultan Hasan, dating from the 1350's-60's. In both the Cairene examples, the central entrance and vestibule are replaced by an iwan, possibly under Anatolian influence.¹⁷⁶ Since only one of the two domed chambers in many of these Mamluk foundations serves a clearly defined funerary purpose, the inclusion of an identical, non-funerary domed chamber at the opposite flank of the entrance in a highly symmetrical fashion is curious indeed.

A number of variations, both structural and functional, on the double-dome theme can be extricated from the religious-funerary architecture of Egypt and Syria in this period. The mausoleum of Amir Bahlawan ibn Qaradshah al-Gilani (al-Turba al-Kilaniyya, 1352) is a rare example of the tripartite type with both domed chambers intended for funerary purposes. Although only the eastern chamber contains a tomb, the presence of a barrel-vaulted crypt under the floor of the western chamber confirms that it was meant for a funerary purpose as well.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, the south-

ern domed chamber of the Mamluk mausoleum of Mukhtar built about 1316 seems not to have been used as a mausoleum until 1354 when Ahmad Pasha, brother of Grand Vizier Iyas Pasha, was interred there. Two identical domes, each covering a burial chamber from this period, is the Ayyubid mausoleum in the Damascus suburb of al-Salihiyya known as al-Madrasa al-Jahariksiyya built by Amir Sarim al-Din Khatluba (d. 1238) for one of the most renowned state officials under Sultan Salah al-Din, his master Amir Fakhr al-Din Jaharks al-Nasiri al-Salahi, whom he had buried underneath one of the two domes after his death in 1211; Sarim al-Din reserved the second dome for his own sepulchre.¹⁷⁸ The two domes rise side by side as a rare architectural expression of an eternal bond, which was recalled in Cairo in 1303-4 by the two contiguous burial chambers in the religious complex of one of the most powerful amirs in the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, Amir Sanjar al-Jawili, who had his long-time companion (*khushdāsh*) Amir Salar interred in the chamber which he had distinguished with a larger dome and more decoration as a token of love and respect.¹⁷⁹

Unlike the tripartite type, the two burial chambers in both the Jahariksiyya foundation and the complex of Salar and Sanjar are not separated by a portal or vestibule; having the two chambers abutting each other emphasizes the bond between the two souls whose lives were intertwined. And whereas the two domed spaces of the Jahariksiyya comprise one detached unit, those of Salar and Sanjar are incorporated into a philanthropic foundation.

A funerary structure perched on an outcropping of rock at the foot of the Citadel of Cairo is similar in composition to the Jahariksiyya but somewhat different in function. It is known as the mausoleum of Amir Ya'qub Shah, *mihmandār* (chief of protocol) for Sultan Qaytbay. Built in 1495-96, it was unique among the funerary foundations of Islamic Egypt, if not the Islamic world, in including a cistern, probably thought to be, in this desolate location, more useful than the usual *sabil* incorporated into many of the urban Mamluk philanthropic and funerary foundations. Placed side by side to make up a free-standing unified whole, the burial space and the cistern are each marked by a dome. The *tirāz* band that usually runs the length of a Mamluk façade is here replaced by an elaborate inscription commemorating the triumph of the Mamluk forces over the Ottoman troops at the Battle of

Adana (1486), thus rendering this curious structure a monument of victory.¹⁸⁰

A fourth structural variation of this double-dome phenomenon is presented by the khanqah-mausoleum of Sultan Faraj ibn Barquq in the Northern Cemetery of Cairo (1400-11), where two identical domes, each rising up out of a square burial chamber, are separated, not by a portal and vestibule or by an iwan like the Sultaniyya mausoleum, but by a hypostyle sanctuary, hence also a variation on the tripartite configuration.¹⁸¹ Two funerary domes of unequal size but also flanking a prayer hall are to be seen in Cairo in the madrasa dedicated by Sultan Sha'ban in 1368-69 to his mother Khawand Baraka.¹⁸² According to Maqrizi, the design of the Jami' al-Mu'ayyadi (madrasa-khanqah of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad) in Cairo (1416-21) included two domed mausolea flanking the sanctuary. The dome over the eastern mausoleum was built following the burial of al-Mu'ayyad there in 1421; the western dome, planned to be over the chamber where his daughter was interred during the construction of the mosque, was never built.¹⁸³

It is conceivable then that this double-dome theme originated in the two contiguous domed mausolea and later evolved into the tripartite disposition of funerary affiliations, which Suq al-Ma'rifa alludes to stylistically and structurally though not functionally. Our grasp of this functional or institutional disparity remains tenuous until we have explored all the functional aspects of the Syrian funerary tripartite-type foundations where only one of the two identical domes flanking a portal marks a mausoleum. Freeing the precise function of the non-funerary domed chamber from obscurity is hampered by a serious paucity of literary sources to explicate their modes of operation. However, some identifications can be surmised from dedicatory inscriptions and architectural remains, and from *Tanbih al-tālib wa al-dāris fī ahwāl dur al-Qur'ān wa'l-Hadīth wa'l-madāris* by 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad al-Nu'aymi (d. 1521), a socio-topographical history of the religious institutions of learning in Damascus and a critical pendant to Maqrizi's *Khiṭāt* of Cairo.

Near the ruins of a once-domed Ayyubid mausoleum that houses the tombs of al-Zaki ibn Ghanim ibn Yusuf al-'Asqalani known as al-Musajjaf (d. 1218) and his son Badr al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 1237), who had it renovated in 1220, is a detached domed chamber bearing an inscription which designates it as a masjid attached to the mausoleum.¹⁸⁴ It is possible that

they were attached by a portal or vestibule; but no archaeological investigation has been made, so this is conjecture. Khawand Sutayta is reported to have ordered that a dome be built over her tomb,¹⁸⁵ and this is corroborated by an inscription above the entrance which states that the mausoleum, built at the behest of Tankiz, was completed in Dhu'l-Hijja 730 (1330), that is, five months after her death, which, as specified by Ibn Kathir (d. 1373), occurred in Rajab 730 (1330) in her husband Tankiz's house in Damascus known as Dar al-Dhahab.¹⁸⁶ Al-Nu'aymi quotes 'Alam al-Din al-Barzali (d. 1339),¹⁸⁷ the shaykh of the *dār al-hadīth* of Nur al-Din in Damascus, as relating that Sutayta also expressed her wish to have a masjid and a hospice (*ribāt*) for women built next to her mausoleum,¹⁸⁸ whence it can be inferred that the non-funerary domed chamber, which — like the burial chamber — has a mihrab, served as a prayer place for the women of the hospice. Tankiz's charitable foundation at Bab al-Silsila in Jerusalem also includes a women's hospice which was also endowed in 730 (1330)¹⁸⁹ evidence of his wife's benevolence toward Damascus.

The foundation, built in 1349 by Amir Araq al-Silahdar (d. 1353), a mamluk of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun, is unique among the examples of this group in having its waqf deed inscribed in stone above its doorway. The deed itself does not mention functions, other than its being the resting place of the departed. The size of the waqf suggests that its revenue defrayed expenses for simple operations, such as the salary of a reciter of the Qur'an in the burial chamber, a keeper of a prayer room, and/or a teacher of a school for orphans (*maktab aylām*). The latter two functions most likely occupied the non-funerary chamber, which M. Talas, in his addendum to Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Hadi's (d. 1503) *Thimār al-maqāsid fī dhikr al-masājid*, designates as a prayer room (*musalla*).¹⁹⁰ Interestingly, this example, along with the mausoleum of Tanibak al-Hasani (al-Turba al-Taynabiyya) and the mausoleum of Sultan al-'Adil Kitbugha (d. 1302) or al-Turba al-'Adiliyya al-Barraniyya (extra-muros), all show in their schemes a minaret surmounting the portal between the two domes. However, only the minaret of the al-'Adiliyya, of which the square base remains, appears to have been built coevally with the rest of the foundation. The minarets of the first two foundations are either later additions or replacements of earlier ones, in which case they indicate communal prayer functions in the non-funerary chamber,

particularly in al-Taynabiyya, where the chamber has a mihrab, and the funerary one does not.

Related to this group functionally, though not structurally, are the two contiguous domed chambers in the cemetery of Shaykh Arsalan outside Bab Tuma at Damascus. The accepted designation of the domed chamber abutting the domed mausoleum of Amir Badr al-Din Hasan (d. 1421) and built in 1411 as the mausoleum of Amir Jamal al-Din Aqqush al-Rusaymi (d. 1309), which Ibn Kathir situates opposite the domed mausoleum of Shaykh Arsalan,¹⁹¹ is suggested by Shihabi to be a misnomer, particularly since there is no sign of a tomb.¹⁹² He argues that it is the masjid and, possibly, a *maktab aylām* which al-Nu'aymi said Badr al-Din built as part of his funerary complex.¹⁹³

The non-funerary domed chamber in most Syrian tripartite-type foundations was essentially a small masjid with informal or secondary teaching functions. No madrasa programs seem to have been included, and therefore it should not be taken as an institution of learning. The typical visual preponderance of the funerary part of philanthropic foundations with a dome is in this group counterbalanced by the thrust of an identical dome above the philanthropic part. The external expression of the non-funerary chamber in a mausoleum-like manner along with the identical volumetric treatment of both parts within a symmetrical whole may originally have been prompted by the benefactor's desire to demonstrate that he was as keen on perpetuating his charity, be it as modest and basic as a *musallā* or *maktab aylām*, as he was on perpetuating his name. This manipulation of domes has transformed the single-dome mausoleum into a highly conspicuous structure without overstating the funerary part by size or lavish decoration, the permissibility of which in Islamic law had been, since the early period, quite controversial.

Assuming that the Suq al-Ma'rifa was conceived during the rule of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (governor, 1200-18; sultan, 1218-27), its tripartite configuration predates all the above variations on this theme. It is possible, however, that the Suq al-Ma'rifa and the earliest extant example of the Syrian tripartite type both derived from a common Ayyubid funerary prototype which has long since disappeared, an emulation which, in the case of Suq al-Ma'rifa, was inspired purely by aesthetics, as the building serves no known funerary purpose.

MEANING OF A HYBRID OF A *QUBBA* AND A *LOGGIA*

Had Mujir al-Din read an inscription on the façade of Suq al-Ma'rifa or come across a waqf deed for the foundation, he would have included the building in his discussion of the Muslim institutions of learning and worship in Jerusalem. The absence of such written documentation suggests that it was not a product of princely or sultanic patronage, but instead founded by the Hanbalites themselves, and its expenses were defrayed by the generosity of individuals like the above-mentioned Shams al-Din ibn Mu'ammār of Damascus. By this time, many congregational mosques had a main mihrab in the qibla wall, usually assigned to the predominant rite or that favored by the ruler, and smaller ones in the qibla wall or elsewhere for the other rites. But by granting the Hanbalites the right to build a prayer place above a significant site like the Mahd 'Isa, al-Mu'azzam was extending a privilege to a school of law and theology that had suffered considerable marginalization. Their traditionalist dogma was antithetical to the rationalist dialectic (*kalām*) of Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari (d. 935-36), largely espoused by Shafi'ites and Malikites, and Abu Mansur al-Maturidi (d. 944), generally adopted by Hanafites. The Hanbalites' intransigent stance on most matters of *'aqidah* (the foundation of the faith) often rankled the rationalist sensibilities of the Shafi'ites of the Nizamiyya Madrasa in Baghdad¹⁹⁴ during the eleventh century and fomented serious riots between the two groups, such as the one cited in Ibn al-Athir's chronicle under the events of 475 (1082).¹⁹⁵

Such contentiousness gave way to cohesion under the reconciliatory campaign launched by the Abbasid caliph al-Nasir (r. 1180-1225), which culminated in bringing all four schools of Islamic law under one roof in the madrasa built by Caliph al-Mustansir (r. 1226-42) in Baghdad between 1227 and 1233. This unitary approach must have struck an empathetic chord in Syria, where disunity and discord among Muslims were blamed for the loss of the Holy Land to the Crusaders. When al-Mu'azzam first acceded to power, the Hanbalites had neither an official religious representation in the Haram nor a madrasa in the city. By ensuring that all four schools were adequately represented in the spiritual center of his kingdom, al-Mu'azzam may have been responding to the new religious climate in Baghdad. Al-Mu'azzam broke the Shafi'ite mold of Ayyubid religious policy by becom-

ing a Hanafite, which is why he is so often portrayed as the maverick Ayyubid. He also broke the Maturidi mold of Hanafite theology by following the traditionalist *'aqida* of Abu Ja'far al-Tahawi.¹⁹⁶ His nonconformist religious persuasions may therefore account for his amenability in letting a fringe minority like the Hanbalites assert its presence at the qibla wall of the Haram.

When al-Mu'azzam found out that the muezzins of the Haram performed *tabligh* for a congregational prayer led by a Shafi'ite imam, he was incensed.¹⁹⁷ Clearly, he did not tolerate any action that undermined or compromised the Hanafite supremacy in the Haram. Al-Mu'azzam 'Isa or his governor in Jerusalem probably limited the Hanbalites to an attenuated plan to minimize the building's projection into the Haram space. A hypostyle layout was the natural choice for a prayer place, but they probably had to obtain the governor's approval for the scheme which called for two arcades parallel to the qibla wall to form two rows of bays with seven bays in each row.

The arcade in the Suq al-Ma'rifa's façade bears a thematic resemblance to three architectural works in the Haram undertaken by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. The first is the free-standing arcade or colonnade at the top of the stairs rising from the Haram esplanade to the southeastern corner of the platform of the Dome of the Rock. The inscription on the colonnade dates its restoration to 1211-12 and attributes it to al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, but also mentions the governor's name, Amir 'Izz al-Din ibn Yaghmur.¹⁹⁸ The second is the reconstruction (as indicated by the term *juddida* [renewed] in the inscription) in 1213-14 of part of the northern pre-Crusade portico of the Haram,¹⁹⁹ possibly that described by al-Muqaddasi.²⁰⁰ The third is the arcade comprising the façade of the front porch of the Aqsa Mosque. An inscription above the central arch credits al-Mu'azzam 'Isa with the construction of the porch's façade in 1217-18.²⁰¹ According to Hamilton, this inscription refers to the three central bays of the present seven-bay porch. He argues that these three bays comprised the whole of the Templars' porch, and their remodeling by al-Mu'azzam included the rebuilding of their façade largely with Crusader masonry and voussoirs.²⁰² The two outermost western bays were added in 1345 in the days of the Mamluk sultan al-Kamil Sha'ban, and the outermost eastern ones in 1350 in the days of his brother Sultan Hasan. Both additions took place under the supervision of 'Izz al-Din Ayyak al-Misri, warden of the two Noble Sanctuaries.²⁰³

The announcement of a religious building by a porch is unknown in the extant Islamic architecture of Syria predating the Ottomans. Ayyubid and Mamluk religious monuments are usually announced by a muqarnas portal. The only known occurrence of a front porch in the architecture of Muslim Egypt dating from before the reign of al-Mu'azzam is that of the Fatimid mosque of al-Salih Tala'i in Cairo, which, interestingly, was conceived as a pilgrimage shrine to keep the head of al-Husayn in after it was taken from 'Asqalan on the eve of a major Crusader offensive against that city.²⁰⁴ The architectural origin of the Aqsa porch is Crusader, since the evidence of extensive use of Crusader spolia in the façade and the original Crusader vaults covering the two side bays²⁰⁵ is unimpeachable.

The colonnade at the top of the southeastern stairs of the platform of the Dome of the Rock stands on the site of an older colonnade which was the pre-Crusade pilgrimage station referred to by Nasir-i Khusraw as Maqam al-Nabi.²⁰⁶ The attention it received shortly after the conquest once again underscores the role of the *fada'il* genre in engraving the image of the holy city with all of its shrines in the collective memory of the *umma*. It is but another demonstration of the Muslim's keenness to bridge the rift of time by retracing the paths in the Haram followed by the pious over the centuries. On those paths were the stations at which they worshiped, like the Maqam al-Nabi, and places where legendary scholars spread knowledge and edified other pilgrims, like the Zawiya al-Nasriyya, also reconstructed by al-Mu'azzam.

Those leaving the Dome of the Rock from its qibla side are beckoned by two gates to descend to the forepart of the Haram. The central one is a colonnade whose pre-Crusade version was referred to by Nasir-i Khusraw as Maqam al-Ghuri.²⁰⁷ It sits astride the Rock-Aqsa axis, thus emphasizing the binary relationship between the two monuments. The southeastern gate is the colonnade restored at the order of al-Mu'azzam, and is the platform's exit closest to Mahd 'Isa and Suq al-Ma'rifa. Its restoration therefore supports the theory that Jesus and his cradle were becoming among the more important symbols on the pilgrimage itinerary during this period, a symbolism that would certainly make the site more desirable to the Hanbalites. The direct, visual, thematic identification which the arcade in the Suq al-Ma'rifa's façade establishes with this restored colonnade may very well have been a deliberate one.

This type of visual dialogue between consecutive pilgrimage stations is as old in the Haram as the Rock-Aqsa axis, which was also accentuated by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. First, a large fountain known as al-Ka's (cup) was introduced along this axis between the steps descending from the platform and the Aqsa porch in 1210-11. Second, al-Mu'azzam introduced a dome on pendentives over the central bay of the Aqsa Mosque's front porch when he had its three bays remodeled in 1217-18.²⁰⁸ The dome over the central bay emphasizes the main entrance to the mosque as well as the Rock-Aqsa axis which it stands astride. Like the muqarnas dome or muqarnas vault surmounting a portal, the dome over the central bay of the porch highlights the entrance.

Both aesthetically and structurally, the most logical way of introducing domes into a hypostyle plan consisting of rows of square bays is to place each dome over one bay. The composition of multiple domes set off by columns is as old in the Haram as two of the Umayyad double gates:²⁰⁹ the Golden Gate and Bab al-Nabi.²¹⁰ However, the chronological and topographical proximity of the Aqsa porch suggests that it may have been the structural prototype for the Suq al-Ma'rifa. The theme of the porch's domed bay finds a direct antecedent in the now destroyed domed porch of the Crusader Chapel of the Repose of Christ perched on top of the Antonia Rock. It became a mausoleum for the Hakkari Kurdish shaykh Ibn Darbas in ca. 1200, hence the name Madfan (mausoleum) al-Shaykh Darbas.²¹¹ It is also possible that the original central bay of the Templars' porch itself was covered with a dome, for although nothing is known of its Crusader roofing, it stood higher than the two side bays.²¹² One may then date the construction of the Suq al-Ma'rifa to the years 1217-18, the years the porch of the Aqsa was rebuilt, and only a few years after the restoration of the southeastern colonnade on the platform of the Dome of the Rock (1211-12) and the reconstruction of part of the northern portico of the Haram (1213-14). The porch, colonnade, and portico are related thematically to the Suq al-Ma'rifa's façade, and therefore may have influenced its conception. If Hamilton is correct in asserting that the Aqsa porch which al-Mu'azzam rebuilt had three bays only, one may also propose, in the light of the above theory of visual dialogue between consecutive pilgrimage sites, that the Suq al-Ma'rifa was conceived with a triple-arched en-

trance or arcade as depicted in David Roberts's lithograph (fig. 6).

The Suq al-Ma'rifa's odd number of bays suggests that its mihrab, which was mentioned in al-Nabulsi's description, was embedded in the qibla wall of the Haram in the middle of the central bay. It also means that the builders could have introduced a single dome over the central mihrab bay, had the structure been intended exclusively as a masjid analogous to that attached to Syrian madrasas from this period. Instead, it exhibits two domes disposed in tripartite fashion. The domes do not seem to convey a commemorative meaning, inasmuch as the Mahd 'Isa underneath, as inferred from the literary evidence, is the actual pilgrimage shrine and not the Hanbalite prayer hall. However, in the light of Mujir al-Din's situation of the Israelite Bab al-Tawba on the site of the Hanbalite shrine, one is tempted to propound a semantic connection between the two domes of Suq al-Ma'rifa and the twin domes displayed by three of the double gates of the Haram: the Golden Gate (al-Rahma/al-Tawba), Bab al-Nabi (Double Gate), and al-Silsila/al-Sakina Gate. Such a connection is particularly suggested by the Golden Gate, for apart from sharing the name Tawba — since at least Nasir-i Khusraw's visit in 1047 — with the Israelite gate, it is the only gate whose twin domes are visible from the outside. This, coupled with Suq al-Ma'rifa's use of pillars to set off multiple domes, suggests an allusion to the Golden (Rahma/Tawba) Gate. But whether an allusion to an extant Bab al-Tawba was intended to conjure up the Israelite Bab al-Tawba that once stood on this site or whether such an allusion was conscious at all is difficult to ascertain without literary evidence.

On the other hand, transmitting knowledge in or next to pilgrimage shrines is a legacy that dates from at least the Seljuq period. Among such places are al-Ghuwayr next to Mihrab Zakariyya, al-Sakina, Qubbat al-Silsila, and Mahd 'Isa. But as the centrality of Jesus to the Islamic faith was being unequivocally stressed by both religious scholars in their poetry and rulers as evident from the iconography on some of the metalwork made for them, the Hanbalites, I suggest, chose Mahd 'Isa as the shrine to which they would attach their scholarly activities. The proximity to the qibla wall of the Haram was therefore probably an advantage but not the driving force. The open layout of the *tarima* is suitable for the reception of pilgrims, especially those ascending from the pilgrimage shrine underneath, just as al-Mu'azzam's *tarima* in Damascus

received visitors as they entered or exited by the Bab al-Hadid. Furthermore, it can be easily adapted to the hypostyle plan.

The arcade beckons the pilgrims leaving the subterranean structure to visit the Suq al-Ma'rifa. The two domes, in light of the scholastic symbolism reinfused into the Haram dome by al-Mu'azzam, can be seen as an expression of the transmission of knowledge which, as I have proposed, may very well have been a regular activity in the Suq al-Ma'rifa. In this scholarly context, a semantic relation to the Golden Gate as a site associated with the transmission of knowledge appears to be more tenable; after all, it was the site of the Nasriyya/Ghazaliyya Zawiya which was rebuilt and revived by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. But the simple fact that the zawiya activities took place in an independent structure built atop the Golden Gate and not inside its space poses a serious challenge to such a semantic relation.

Alternatively, the multiplication of the dome in the Suq al-Ma'rifa finds a strong compositional analogy in those tripartite funerary foundations. The introduction of a second, identical dome in a symmetrical fashion in those foundations rendered the structure conspicuous without overstating the funerary aspect as one large dome would have done. Given the nature of al-Mu'azzam's commitment to Hanafite domination in the Haram, one presumes that the governor advised the Hanbalites not to overstate their *musallā*. The Hanbalites therefore contrived this mirror-image duplication of a small dome in the Suq al-Ma'rifa to compensate, in a grand yet understated way, for their marginalization and underscore, with not one but two domes, their dedication to the advancement of knowledge. A second dome also provided visibility badly needed in this remote corner of the Haram and amplified the "pinnacle" impression this structure gave when viewed from outside the city.

GENESIS OF A NOVEL TYPE

In the absence of literary evidence and inscriptions that bear directly on the purpose and meaning of a historical monument, one can enhance the semiotics of the architectural form by ferreting out the events and personages that populated its space, as well as the societal forces that shaped the culture, both spiritual and material, of which it is a product. Though speculative, this approach is more apt to explain the idiosyncracies of a form than one which is based solely on the analysis of the form's intrinsic architectonic

qualities, which are also likely to be swayed by twentieth-century visual identifications and perceptions.

The genesis of the Suq al-Ma'rifa may have joined a ritualistic with a scholastic theme. But the primacy of the dome as a symbol of the transmission of knowledge cannot be stressed enough. This special meaning remained peculiar to the Haram until the Ottomans appropriated the single-domed chamber for teaching functions. The novelty of the Suq al-Ma'rifa lies in its appropriation of the revived scholastic meaning of the dome from the simple setting of the detached square chamber into a loggia. Though this loggia may have had more than one purpose, the appropriated dome most likely retained its association with the transmission of knowledge.

Four Haram madrasas from the Mamluk period display domed loggias as part of their original spatial schemes. These are the madrasa of Majd al-Din al-Is'ardi, endowed in 1359;²¹³ the madrasa of Manjak al-Yusufi, built ca. 1361;²¹⁴ the madrasa of 'Abd al-Basit, endowed in 1431;²¹⁵ and the madrasa of Isfahan Shah Khatun, built in 1437.²¹⁶ All four madrasas have part or all of their space, including the loggia, built atop the Haram portico, which runs along its western and northern sides. This "hanging madrasa" theme was introduced for the first time on top of the Haram portico by Amir Sayf al-Din Tankiz al-Nasiri in his foundation at Bab al-Silsila (1328-29) as a response to the exigencies of the site and the dearth of land.²¹⁷ Unlike the Suq al-Ma'rifa, these domed loggias have no known function other than the transmission of knowledge. The typical spatial composition of the hanging loggia is simply that of a *qubba*: a square chamber covered by a dome. Its frontage on the Haram, however, is taken up by a double arch through which one enjoys a spectacular view of the Dome of the Rock (fig. 12). Surmounting a portico, these loggias comprise a novel structural type virtually unknown anywhere else in the Muslim world, at least from this period. The multi-bay loggia comprising the Suq al-Ma'rifa has been reduced here to simply one bay and the arcade in the façade shrunk to a double arch. The Suq al-Ma'rifa was never repeated in whole, possibly because its hybrid composition was determined by a number of factors, some of which were unique to the site. Nevertheless, it can be seen as a conduit via which the *qubba*, the detached domed square chamber serving as an institution of learning, metamorphosed into a hanging loggia incorporated into another institution of learning. Similarly, if the double-arch is indeed

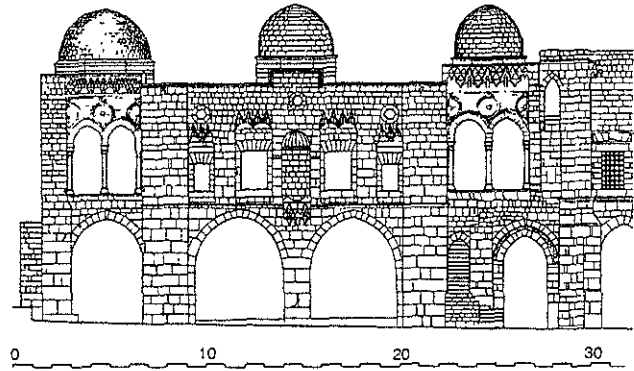


Fig. 12. The façade of the madrasa of Majd al-Din al-Is'ardi (endowed 1359) surmounting the northern portico of the Haram al-Sharif. (Drawing: from Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 377, fig. 33.6).

derived from the arcade of the Suq al-Ma'rifa, its origin may then be sought in the southeastern colonnade of the platform of the Dome of the Rock, the northern portico of the Haram, or the porch of the Aqsa Mosque.

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NOTES

Author's note: This article is a revised version of a dissertation for the Master of Studies in Islamic Art and Archaeology (Research Methods and Techniques) presented to the Oriental Institute at the University of Oxford in June 1997. I acknowledge with gratitude the guidance of Professor Julian Raby and Dr. Jeremy Johns. The preamble to the dissertation was a paper presented to the ARAM eighth international conference, the Mamluks in Bilad al-Sham: History and Archaeology, held at the American University in Beirut (April 1997). I am grateful for the assistance and encouragement of Dr. Carney Gavin, whose study of the earliest photographs and depictions of the Holy Land at his research center Archives for Historical Documentation (AHD) in Brighton, Massachusetts, stimulated the direction of my research. This article is also indebted to the help of AHD's Curator of Historic Photography Miss Elizabeth Corella, whose competence in all matters of photography and its history was quite illuminating.

1. Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Wāsil al-Hamawī (d. 1298), *Mufarray al-kurūb fi akhbār banī Ayyūb*, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāh 'Ashūr (Cairo, 1972), 4: 32.
2. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 1348), *Tārīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa al-a'lām*, ed. Bashshār Ma'rūf et al. (Beirut, 1988), *tabaqa* 63 (621-630 H.), p. 186.
3. The walls were rebuilt between 1192 and 1214. The construction was started by Salāh al-Dīn shortly after the truce of

- Ramla signed in 20 Sha'ban 588 (1192) ('Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir [d. 1232], *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 14 vols. [Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1966], 12: 85-87). An inscription records the construction of a tower by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in 1212. See Dan Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), p. 106.
4. In 1219, having offered the Crusaders Jerusalem and all of Palestine west of the Jordan river if they would end their siege of Damietta and leave Egypt, the desperate al-Kamil asked his brother al-Mu'azzam to dismantle the walls and citadel of Jerusalem, as well as the major buildings of the city with the exception of al-Haram al-Sharif and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, to preempt the enemy's use of them should such a pact be signed (Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades through Arab Eyes*, trans. Jon Rothschild [London: al-Saqi Books, 1984], pp. 224-25).
 5. R. W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque: A Record of Archaeological Gleanings from the Repairs of 1938-1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 37-53, 70-74; James Allan, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 74.
 6. For the appropriation of the Haram by the Crusaders, see H. Vincent and F. Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1914-26), vol. 2: *Jérusalem nouvelle*, pp. 969-70; T. S. R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Harry Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 4: 86-87.
 7. Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali (d. 1521), *Al-Uns al-jalil bi tārīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalil*, 2 vols. (Amman: Maktabat al-Muhtasib, 1973) 1: 340.
 8. Al-'Imād al-Isfahāni (d. 1201), *al-Fath al-qussī fī al-fath al-Qudsī*, ed. Comte Carlo de Landberg (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1888), vol. 1 (*texte Arabe*), p. 66.
 9. Michael the Syrian, *Recueil des historiens des croisades, publié par les soins de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Documents arméniens* (Paris 1869), 1: 400, cited by Max van Berchem in *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Deuxième partie: Syrie du Sud II. Jérusalem "Haram"* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1925-27), p. 88, no. 3. However, a recent Arabic translation of the Syriac chronicle of Michael I. the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch (1126-1199), refers to the proscription but mentions nothing about an inscription; see Mar Mikha'il, *Tārīkh Mar Mikha'il al-Suryani al-kabir, Butriyark Antakiyah*, trans. Gharighuriyus Saliba Sham'un, ed. Gharighuriyus Yuhanna Ibrahim (Aleppo: Dar Mardin, 1996) III: 371.
 10. Al-'Imād al-Isfahāni, *al-Fath al-qussī*, 1: 69. According to Ibn Wāsil, this church occupied the site of a pre-Crusade Muslim place of learning (*dār 'ilm*) where the renowned Nasr ibn Ibrahim al-Maqdisi (d. 1096) taught, but which, during pre-Islamic times, was a Christian site of worship associated with the tomb of Henna (Anne), mother of Maryam (Mary) (Ibn Wāsil al-Hamawi, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār banī Ayyūb*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl [Cairo, 1957] 2:407). This site has also been linked to the Fatimid Dar al-'Ilm of Jerusalem, a branch of Dar al-'Ilm al-Fatimiyya of Cairo (Ahmad al-Khāldī, *al-Ma'āhid al-Misriyya fī Bayt al-Maqdis* [Jerusalem: al-Matba'ah al-'Asriyya], pp. 4-5). The building was purchased by the *wakil bayt al-māl* (comptroller of the treasury) of Jerusalem for Salah al-Din in 1187 (Mujir al-Din, *Al-Uns al-jalil*, 1: 340; 2: 144), but its endowment for the Shafi'ites was not established until 1192 (ibid., 2: 41, 102).
 11. Mujir al-Din, *Al-Uns al-jalil*, 2: 46.
 12. It stood about seventy-five meters west of the Wailing Wall until it was destroyed by the Israelis in June 1967.
 13. For the text of the endowment deed, see A. L. Tibawi's *The Islamic Pious Foundations in Jerusalem. Origins, History, and Usurpation by Israel* (London: Islamic Cultural Center, 1978), pp. 13-15, Arabic text in Appendix II.
 14. Writing in about 1345, Ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umari (d. 1349) points out that although he refers to both the Maghribi Mosque and the Women's Mosque (the southern side of the southwestern corner of the Haram) as *jāmi's* as they are commonly called, neither one is a Friday mosque; each is simply a *masjid* with an appointed imam who leads the five daily prayers (Ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umari, *Masālik al-absār fī mamālik al-amsār*, ed. Ahmad Zaki Pashā (Cairo, 1924), p. 153).
 15. Mujir al-Din, *Al-Uns al-jalil*, 2: 32.
 16. Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbali (d. 1679), *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols. (Cairo: 1932), 5:115.
 17. Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, 4: 212.
 18. Al-Amjadiyya was named after al-Malik al-Amjad Hasan, brother of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. He was buried there before his body was interred in the mausoleum of Ja'far ibn Abi Talib in Mu'ta, Kerak (ibid., 4: 211), where al-Mu'azzam is reported to have built a mosque (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām, tabaqa* 63, p. 186).
 19. Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, 4: 211.
 20. Van Berchem, *CIA. Jérusalem "Ville"*, pp. 168-77.
 21. Mujir al-Din, *Al-Uns al-jalil*, 2: 47.
 22. Ibid., 2: 14-15.
 23. Between al-Qubba al-Nahawiyya and the minbar of Burhan al-Din. See 'Arif al-'Arif, *Tārīkh al-Haram al-Qudsī* (Jerusalem, 1947), p. 78.
 24. T. S. R. Boase erroneously considers the Qubbat al-Mi'raj to be the Crusader baptistery. He also believes that the Qubbat Sulayman, also known as the "Throne of Jesus", is a Crusader construction (Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 (1938): 16; Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, pp. 604-9; Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States," *A History of the Crusades*, 4: 86). See Michael Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 47-48.
 25. Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām, tabaqa* 63, p. 186. See also the biography of Tāj al-Din al-Kindi in al-Dhahabī's *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut, 1985), 22: 36.
 26. Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, 4: 212-13.
 27. Michael Burgoyne, "The Gates of the Haram al-Sharif," *Bayt al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 105-24.
 28. Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, 4: 211-12.
 29. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 49.
 30. Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbali, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6: 210.
 31. 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Yāfi'i (d. 1367), *Mir'at al-jinān wa 'ibrat al-yaqzan*, 4 vols. (Haydarabad, 1919), 3: 152-53.
 32. Mujir al-Din, *Al-Uns al-jalil*, 1: 297-99.

33. Ibid., 2: 34.
34. Ibid., 2: 156.
35. K. A. C. Creswell, *The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairene Madrasas* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1922).
36. Ihsān 'Abbās, "al-Jānib al-siyāsī min rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī ilā al-Mashriq," *al-Abhāth* (research journal of the American University of Beirut), June 1963, pp. 217-36. On the dates of their trip and the life of Abu Bakr ibn al-'Arabī, see Ibn Khillikān (d. 1282), *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1977), 4: 296-97; al-Maqqarī al-Tilmisānī (d. 1632), *Nafh al-tib min ghusn al-Andalus al-ratib*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, 10 vols. (Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1968) 2: 25-43.
37. The manuscript is in the library of Hacı Selim Aga in Üsküdar, Istanbul. For a full description of the journey, see: Ihsān 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī ilā al-Mashriq kamā sawwarahā Qunūn al-Ta'wīl," *al-Abhāth*, December 1968, pp. 59-91.
38. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 1348), *al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Kuwait, 1961), 3: 252.
39. Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373), *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 14 vols. (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1977), 12: 112-13; Ibn Khillikān (d. 1282), *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 1: 295; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 10: 99-100.
40. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt (Beirut, 1984) 18: 431-432; 19: 83-85.
41. Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 1: 191.
42. Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), *Itti'āz al-hunafā bi dhikr al-a'mma al-Fatimiyyin al-khulafā*, ed. Muhammad Ahmad, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1973), 3: 22.
43. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 10: 283.
44. A number of eyewitnesses accompanied by the qadi Abu Sa'd al-Harawī arrived at the Abbasid court in Baghdad in the following month (Ramadan 492 [August 1099]) to tell of the horrors of the onslaught (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 10: 284).
45. 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī," pp. 61-62.
46. His title according to the official correspondence between him and the Taifa kings even before his victory over Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile at Zallaqa near Badajoz, Spain, in 1086 ('Abbās, "al-Jānib al-siyāsī min rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī ilā al-Mashriq," p. 224).
47. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), *Kitāb al-'ibar* (Bulaq edition), 6: 188; 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 61.
48. Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 4: 141.
49. 'Abbās, "al-Jānib al-siyāsī min rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī ilā al-Mashriq," p. 221.
50. 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 61.
51. Ibid., pp. 65, 82.
52. Ibid., pp. 67.
53. Known today as Masjid al-Nabi Dawud on Mount Zion west of the walled city.
54. 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī," pp. 66-67.
55. Ibid., p. 79.
56. Muhammad al-Muqaddasī al-Bashshārī (d. 985), *Ahsan al-taqāsim fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, ed. De Goeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1877), p. 179.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. 167.
59. Ibid., p. 179.
60. Al-Khalidī, *al-Ma'āhid al-Misriyya fī Bayt al-Maqdis*, pp. 4-5.
61. Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama* (Book of Travels), ed. Ehsan Yarshater, trans. W.M. Thackston, Jr. (New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986) pp. 10, 21.
62. Ibid., pp. 13, 16, 19.
63. Oleg Grabar, "Al-Kuds," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 5: 330.
64. Ibid.
65. Taj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1370), *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, 6 vols. (Cairo, 1906) 4: 27-29.
66. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 19: 136-43; *al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar*, 3: 329; Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 3: 395-96.
67. 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 61.
68. Ibn Khillikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 4: 262.
69. Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 163.
70. 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 80.
71. Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama*, p. 25.
72. Ibid.
73. 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 80.
74. Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama*, p. 29.
75. Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib*, 2: 42.
76. Abu Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1148), *Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Alī al-Bajjāwī, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1958), 3: 1297.
77. Ibid., 3: 1126.
78. 'Abbās, "Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī," p. 81.
79. Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām, tabaqa* 63, p. 188.
80. Ibid., p. 187.
81. Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarriq al-Kurūb*, 4: 209-10.
82. Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām, tabaqa* 63, p. 186.
83. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 36.
84. Published in Paris in three volumes and one atlas.
85. Mujir al-Dīn, *al-'Uns al-jalīl*, 2: 32.
86. 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulī (d. 1731), *al-Hadra al-unsriyya fī al-nhla al-Qudsriyya*, ed. Akram al-'Ulābī (Beirut, 1990), pp. 145-46; *al-haḥīqa wa al-majāz fī rihlat Bilād al-Shām wa al-Hijāz*, ed. Riyād Murād (Beirut, 1989), p. 348.
87. Louis Comte de Forbin (1777-1841), *Voyage dans le Levant, en 1817 et 1818* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819).
88. Mordechai Omer, *J. M. W. Turner and the Romantic Vision of the Holy Land and the Bible* (Boston: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 1996), pp. 77-78, no. 31, 32.
89. Fabio Bourbon, *Yesterday and Today the Holy Land. Lithographs and Diaries by David Roberts, R.A.* (New York: Stewart, Tabori, and Chang, 1996), pl. 50, 67, 72, 75. Originally published in six folio-sized volumes between 1842 and 1849 in London by F. G. Moon, under the title *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Egypt and Nubia*.
90. Nitza Rosovsky, "Nineteenth-Century Portraits through Western Eyes," *City of the Great King: Jerusalem from David to the Present*, ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 222-23, 227, 237, pl. 4.
91. Francis Frith, *Sinai and Palestine* (London: Mackenzie, 1860).
92. Carney Gavin et al., *Capturing the Holy Land: M.J. Dness and the Beginnings of Photography in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).
93. Carney Gavin, *The Image of the East: Photographs by Bonfils* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
94. The model is on display in the Tower of David, Jerusalem.

- See Rosovsky, "Nineteenth-Century Portraits," p. 226, fig. 14.
95. Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (London: A. P. Watt for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890).
 96. Al-Nābulṣī, *Al-Hadra al-unsīyya*, p. 146.
 97. Charles Goodrum, *Treasures of the Library of Congress* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1991), pp. 53-54.
 98. For the maps, see Milka Levy-Rubin and Rehav Rubin, "The Image of the Holy City in Maps and Mapping," *City of the Great King*, pp. 367-69; Rehav Rubin, "The De Angelis Map of Jerusalem (1578) and Its Copies," *Cathedra* 52 [1989], pp. 100-111, appendix by Rehav Rubin and Milka Levi pp. 112-19 (in Hebrew); David Mevorah, *Gifts of Tamar and Teddy Kollek to the Israel Museum* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1990) pp. 95-98, 101-2, 111-12. For the view by Cornelis de Bruyn, see: Alfred Moldovan, "The Lost De Angelis Map of Jerusalem, 1578," *The Map Collector* 24 (1983): 17-24.
 99. Ernette Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored* (London: Bell and Dalby; Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1864).
 100. Charles Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* (Published by the authority of the Lords' Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, 1865; reprinted by the Ariel Publishing House in Jerusalem, 1980). Charles Wilson also wrote two books: *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai, and Egypt* (London: J. S. Virtus and Co.), and *The Recovery of Jerusalem: A Narrative of Exploration and Discovery in the City and the Holy Land* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1871).
 101. Ali Bey, *Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey between the Years 1803 and 1807*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816) 2: 225. From the advertisement of the publishers, "Ali Bey "... came to London in the summer of 1814 to make arrangements for the publication of this translation, and ... he is now living on the Continent much respected by the foreign literati."
 102. Van Berchem, *CIA. Jérusalem "Haram,"* fig. 1.
 103. See, for example, an albumen print by Francis Bedford (1862), reproduced in Yeshayahu Nir's *The Bible and the Image: The History of Photography in the Holy Land 1839-1899* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), p. 75.
 104. Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 3: 378.
 105. Mujir al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-jalīl*, 2: 256-57.
 106. *Ibid.*, 2: 44.
 107. Muwaffaq al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughni wa al-sharh al-kabir* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr: 1984), 1: 9 (from the Introduction by 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān).
 108. Mujir al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-jalīl*, 2: 261.
 109. *Ibid.*, 2: 256-66.
 110. *Ibid.*, 2: 261.
 111. Ibn Hajar al-'Askalānī (d. 1448), *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mī'ah al-thāminah* (Haydarabad, 1930), 3: 168.
 112. Ibn Taghri Bardī (d. 1470), *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, 16 vols. (Cairo, 1950) 11: 383-84.
 113. J. M. Rogers, "The Stones of Barquq. Building Materials and Architectural Decoration in Late Fourteenth-Century Cairo," *Apollo* 103, no. 170 (1976), pp. 312-13.
 114. Mujir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, 2: 44.
 115. Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497), *al-Daw' al-lāmi' li akhbār al-qarn al-tāsi'*, 12 vols. (Cairo, 1935), 3: 250.
 116. Mujir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, 2: 260.
 117. Saint Adamnan (d. 704), *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land: About the Year A.D. 670*, trans. J.R. MacPherson (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1889) 3: 4-5.
 118. Described by Theodorich in 1172 (Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 260, citing S. Rovik's "Templar Occupation of the Haram during the Twelfth Century" [unpublished paper read at Cardiff in August-September 1983]).
 119. Michael Burgoyne, *al-Abniya al-athariyya fi al-Quds al-Islāmiyya*, trans. Ishāq al-Husayni (Jerusalem: British School of Archaeology, 1977), p. 14.
 120. Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), pp. 95-96.
 121. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
 122. Mahmūd Ibrāhīm, *Fadā'il Bayt al-Muqdas* (Kuwait, 1985), pp. 159-61.
 123. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, pp. 71, 93-96.
 124. Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama*, p. 21.
 125. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
 126. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
 127. Mujir al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, 2: 15, Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūti, *Ithāf al-akhṣa' bi fadā'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa*, ed. Ahmad Ramadān Ahmad, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1984), 2: 18.
 128. He describes this as a niche in the qibla wall of the Haram between the Aqsa Mosque and Suq al-Ma'rifa (*al-Hadra al-unsīyya*, p. 145). This is not to be confused with Jami' al-Nabi Dawud on Mount Zion, which is also referred to by many of the historians and travelers as Mihrab Dawud.
 129. Al-Nābulṣī, *al-haqīqa wa al-majāz*, p. 348.
 130. Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa al-mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyya* (also known as *al-Sira al-Salāhiyya*), ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1962), p. 82.
 131. Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya*, p. 239.
 132. Van Berchem, *CIA. Jérusalem "Haram,"* no. 152. Among the pre-Crusade sources that mention Qubbat al-Mi'raj are Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhānī (ca. 903), *Kitāb al-buldān* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1885), p. 101; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi al-Andalusī, p. 292; al-Muqaddasī, p. 169; and Nasir-i Khusraw (under the name Qubbat al-Nabi), p. 33. Post-conquest sources include Yāqūt al-Hamawī (d. 1229), *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-73), 4: 594, and Mujir al-Dīn, 2: 20.
 133. Abū al-Hasan al-Harawī (d. 1215), *al-Ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt*, ed. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1957), p. 25.
 134. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
 135. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
 136. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 1: 779.
 137. *Ibid.*, 4: 592.
 138. *El* 2nd ed., 3: 761.
 139. Ibn al-Faqih, *Kitāb al-buldān*, p. 95.
 140. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
 141. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi al-Andalusī (d. 940), *al-'Iqd al-farid*, ed. Mufid Qumayha, 9 vols. (Beirut, 1983), 7: 292.
 142. Al-Muqaddasī, *Ahsan al-taqasim*, p. 172.
 143. Abu Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (ca. 1019), *Fadā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. Isaac Hasson (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1979), p. 62.
 144. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 2, 25-35.
 145. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., see Eva Baer, *Ayyubid Metalwork with Christian Imagery* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989).
 146. 'Abd al-Jalīl 'Abd al-Mahdī, *Bayt al-Maqdis fī shi'r al-hurūb al-salibiyya* (Amman, 1989), p. 6.

147. Ibid.
148. Abu Ya'la' ibn al-Qalānisi (d. 1160), *Dhayl tārikh Dimashq* (Beirut, 1908), p. 301.
149. Transliteration from Arabic into Roman characters is here vocalized, as opposed to orthographic spelling, to preserve the meter.
150. Abu Shāma al-Maqdisi (d. 1266), *Kutāb al-rawdatayn fi akhbār al-dawlatayn* (Cairo, 1871-72) 1: 57.
151. Ibid., p. 105.
152. Ahmad Badawī, *Dirwān Talā'ī' ibn Ruzzayk* (Cairo, 1958), p. 61.
153. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, p. 71.
154. Ibid., p. 94; al-Wāsiṭi, *Fndā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, p. 85.
155. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kutāb al-buldān*, p. 101.
156. Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqāsīm*, p. 170.
157. Burgoyne, "Gates of the Haram al-Sharif," pp. 121-22.
158. Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama*, p. 25.
159. Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqāsīm*, p. 170.
160. Mujir al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-jalīl*, 2: 27.
161. Ibid., 2: 14-15.
162. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Suhrawardi (d. 1168), *Kutāb ādāb al-murīdīn*, ed. Menahem Milson (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1988).
163. Al-Nābulsi, *Al-haqīqa wa al-majāz*, Introduction by Riyad Murad, pp. 6-9.
164. Al-Nābulsi, *Al-Hadra al-unsiyya*, p. 146.
165. Al-Dhahabi, *Tārikh al-Islām, tabaqa* 63, p. 186.
166. Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Manzūr (d. 1311-12), *Lisān al-'Arah*, 20 vols. (Bulaq, 1882), 15: 254.
167. In his article "al-Quds," *EI* 2nd ed., 5: 322-44, Oleg Grabar provides the tantalizing account of the mother of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadir ordering a wooden porch built at each of the gates of the Haram (p. 341), but does not provide a source for the account. Her architectural patronage includes works in the Haram in 914, such as the restoration of the roof of the Dome of the Rock and the enclosure wall of the Haram, both of which are confirmed by inscriptions (Van Berchem, *CIA, Jerusalem "Haram,"* no. 144 and 219; Kessler, "Above the Ceiling of the Outer Ambulatory in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1964, p. 91), and the endowment of the Dome of the Rock with four beautifully worked doors of pine wood (al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqāsīm*, p. 169) but which have disappeared (Kessler, p. 93). These works may or may not have been part of the campaign launched by 'Alī ibn 'Isa, the vizier of al-Muqtadir bi Allah, to repair the Friday mosques (*al-masājid al-jāmi'a*) according to Miskawayhi (*Tajārib al-umam*, concluding portion ed. by H. F. Amedroz [Oxford, 1920], 1: 29) or to restore the masjids and Friday mosques (*al-masājid wa al-jawāmi'*) according to Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil fi al-tārikh*, 8: 68), also in 914, the year of his installment in the vizierate. However, I have not been able to substantiate Grabar's account of the wooden porches from the sources that bear on either the reign of al-Muqtadir (908-32) or Jerusalem.
168. Le Strange translates *hitta* as remission. Quoting Mujir al-Dīn and Suyuti, she says that this gate was formerly at Jericho, and that when Jericho was destroyed, it was transferred to the al-Masjid al-Aqsa (*Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 186). Elad says that commentators of the Qur'an had difficulty understanding the word *hitta*, but that they usually interpreted it as supplication for atonement (Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, p. 115).
169. Qutayba Shihābi, *Mushayyadāt Dimashq dhawāt al-adriha wa 'anāsiruhā al-jamāliyya* (Damascus, 1995), p. 204.
170. Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus: Die Islamische Stadt* (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter De Gruyter and Co., 1924), pp. 71-72, fig. 8; 'Abd al-Qādir al-Nu'aymī (d. 1521), *al-Dāris fi tārikh al-madāris* (Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Diniyya, 1988), 2: 274-75.
171. Michael Meinecke, *Die mamluksche Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, 2 vols. (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1992), 2: 243.
172. Ibid., 2: 285.
173. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, pp. 325-36.
174. Only one dome survives, that over the burial chamber of Tughay.
175. Howyda al-Harithy, "Female Patronage of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, 1, no. 2 (1994): 152-74.
176. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), p. 128.
177. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 329.
178. Nu'aymī, 1: 496-98.
179. Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 101.
180. J. M. Rogers, "The Inscription of the Cistern of Ya'qub Shah al-Mihmandar in Cairo," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), pp. 737-38.
181. Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 137.
182. Ibid., p. 129.
183. Taqi al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa al-i'tihār bi dhikr al-khitāt wa al-athār*, 2 vols. (Bulaq, 1856), 2: 329-30.
184. Shihābi, *Mushayyadāt Dimashq*, pp. 207-8.
185. Al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2: 274-75.
186. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 14: 151.
187. Possibly in his chronicle, which he composed as a continuation of that of Abū Shāma (d. 1267) as reported, among others, by al-Safadi (d. 1363) in his *al-Wāfi bi al-wafayāt* (Beirut, 1993), 24: 161-63.
188. Al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2: 274-75.
189. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 240.
190. Yusuf 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 1503), *Thimār al-maqāsīd fi dhikr al-masājid*, addendum by Muhammad Talas (Damascus, 1975), p. 192.
191. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, p. 57.
192. Shihābi, *Mushayyadāt Dimashq*, pp. 133, 162.
193. Al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2: 234.
194. Founded by Nizam al-Mulk, vizier of three consecutive Seljuq sultans: Tughril Beg (r. 1038-63), Alp Arslan (r. 1063-72), and Malik Shah (r. 1072-92). He elevated the status of the Sunni madrasa institution to that of a state-sponsored college and used it as an effective tool to combat Shi'i propaganda.
195. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-tārikh*, 10: 124.
196. Al-Dhahabi, *Tārikh al-Islām, tabaqa* 63, p. 188.
197. Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, 4: 211.
198. Van Berchem, *CIA, Jerusalem "Haram,"* pp. 73-82. The part of the inscription showing the name of the governor Amir 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Yaghmur was exposed by Burgoyne (*Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 49).
199. Van Berchem, *CIA, Jerusalem "Haram,"* pp. 82-97; Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 107.
200. Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqāsīm*, p. 169.
201. Van Berchem, *CIA, Jerusalem "Haram,"* no. 281.

202. Hamilton, *Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, pp. 37-47.
203. Van Berchem, *CIA, Jérusalem "Haram,"* no. 285, 288.
204. Al-Maqrizī, *Khitat*, 2: 293; *Iti'āz al-hunafā*, 3: 22.
205. Hamilton, *Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, pp. 44, 47.
206. Naser-e Khosraw, *Safarnama*, p. 33.
207. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
208. Hamilton, *Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, p. 47.
209. Burgoyne, "Gates of the Haram al-Sharif," *Bayt al-Maqdis*, pp. 105-24.
210. Myriam Rosen Ayalon, "The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif: An Iconographic Study," *Qedem* 28 (1989): 34-35; Arreh Sharon, *Planning Jerusalem: The Old City and Its Environs* (Jerusalem-London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), pp. 65-69.
211. Jaroslav Folda, "Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem," *Levant* 10 (1978): 139-55.
212. Hamilton, *Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, p. 47.
213. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, pp. 368-79.
214. *Ibid.*, pp. 384-98.
215. *Ibid.*, pp. 519-25.
216. *Ibid.*, pp. 544-54.
217. Sabri Jarrar, "Two Construction Plans for al-Haram al-Sharif," *City of the Great King*, pp. 398-403.