THE MODERN SCHOLAR

GREAT PROFESSORS TEACHING YOU!

JERUSALEM:
THE CONTESTED CITY
COURSE GUIDE

Professor F.E. Peters
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Jerusalem:
The Contested City

Professor F.E. Peters
New York University

Jerusalem:
The Contested City

Professor F.E. Peters

Executive Producer
John J. Alexander

Executive Editor
Donna F. Carnahan

RECORDING

Producer - David Markowitz
Director - Matthew Cavnar

COURSE GUIDE

Editor - James Gallagher
Design - Edward White

#UT101 ISBN: 978-1-4025-3909-1

Course Syllabus

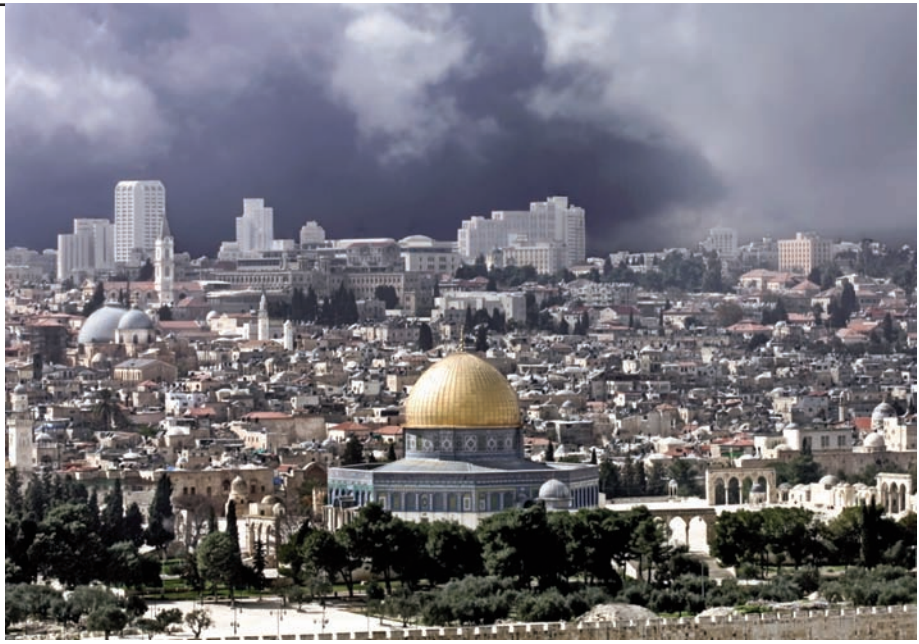
Jerusalem:
The Contested City

Photograph courtesy of Maria Rosa Menocal

About Your Professor

F.E. Peters

F.E. Peters is Professor of History, Religion and Middle Eastern Studies at New York University. A native of New York City, he was trained at St. Louis University in Classical Languages (BA, MA) and in Philosophy (Ph.L.), and received his Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from Princeton University. His professional interests have since broadened to include comparative studies of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Muslim Spain. In addition to his regular teaching duties at NYU (where he has won a number of teaching awards), Peters has been featured on CBS' *Sunrise Semester.* He has published an autobiography (*Ours)* and a novel, but his energies have been mostly devoted to academics, with works on Greek philosophy, on the history of Late Antiquity and of Islam, on both Jerusalem and Mecca, on the Muslim pilgrimage, and particularly on the three monotheistic religious communities, *The Children of Abraham* and *Judaism, Christianity and Islam: The Classical Texts and Their Interpretation*. His most recent book is *Islam: A Guide for Jews and Christians* (Princeton University Press), and soon to appear is a major two-volume work, *The Monotheists: Jews, Christians and Muslims in Conflict and Competition*, also from Princeton University Press.



The city of Jerusalem as a thunderstorm approaches.

Introduction

Located in the heart of Israel, Jerusalem is the center for the spiritual world's three most influential religions. Throughout its millennia-old history, Jerusalem has been known by many names: Salem, Zion, Hierosolymae, Al-Quds and several others, and no city has ever been more disputed. In scripture, the city's history begins nearly 4,000 years ago when Abraham meets Melchizedek, King of Salem.

Its significance as a "holy land" is evident by the number of religions that call it their spiritual home. Jews, Christians and Muslims have struggled for its possession.Twenty-six times a new group has taken over leadership of the city—in fact, the "City of Peace" has seen very little of its namesake even through modern times—and 35 times it has been at least partially destroyed.

Some hints and suggestions as you begin this course:

1. The early parts of this course are drawn from the Bible narrative, with an occasional assist from archeology.
2. The biblical texts, as well as all the subsequent readings from original sources pertinent to this course, can be found in F.E. Peters, *Jerusalem* (Princeton paperback, 1985). Citations of those texts will generally not be repeated here.
3. It is useful to consult maps for the layout and topography of the Old City of Jerusalem. They can be found in almost any book on biblical history and in copies of the Bible. A useful collection is the *Carta Atlas of Jerusalem*.

Lecture 1:
Holy Places, Holy City

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Karen Armstrong's *One City, Three Faiths*.

Introduction

This lecture presents an overview of the course and the basic reasons Jerusalem has become a holy city. In it we investigate the nature of holy places.

I. What makes a place holy? Or a city?

A. The Holy Place

If a place is regarded as holy, it is generally because of the apparition or the sustained presence of the supernatural in it. Such divine apparitions or visitations are called theophanies. Another cause is the place's connection with a holy person, a "saint," whose charisma is thought to linger in that place. The connection may be purely historical: certain events unfolded there—or, more physical: the presence of the saint's tomb.

B. The Holy City

Holy cities are more complex than ordinary urban settlements. It is not merely the presence of a holy place or places in the city but rather the intensity and magnitude of the holy place(s) is such that it distorts the normal urban functions of the city and produces anomalous institutions, or investment or demographics.

All this will unfold in detail in the following lectures, but it may be useful to look briefly at three examples of holy cities:

1. Lourdes: originally holy by reason of a theophany (the Virgin Mary), it is municipally enhanced by a continued tradition (and expectation) of cures.
2. Mecca: in pre-Islamic times it was a shrine-site, whose chief temple is the Ka'ba, the "House of God" (thus, the sustained presence of the supernatural); later Mecca was incorporated into Muslim ritual as the focus for prayer and associated with a "saint" (Abraham) as the center for pilgrimage.
3. Jerusalem: the subject of this course, illustrates all these factors: sustained presence of the supernatural (God's presence in the Temple); possession of the tomb of Jesus (Holy Sepulcher); and association with the presence of a saint (Muhammad's "Night Journey"). And Jerusalem's sanctity has shaped (and stretched) the normal functions of a city in that particular place. It is far more important than its site or situation suggests.

C. Jerusalem is thrice holy:

1. It is holy as a city to Jews, by reason of being both a national capital and religious center [see Lecture II].
2. It is holy for Christians as the setting of important Jesus-events in the sacred history of humankind (see Lecture 5).
3. It is holy to Muslims for its association with the Bible and Muhammad (see Lecture 7).

II. In the Beginning

A. A Land for Israel

1. We begin before Jerusalem enters Sacred History with the Covenant made by God with Abraham which promised a "Land for Israel." There were clear territorial implications in this, and though the "Promised Land" included what would later be known as Jerusalem, it did not mention or (promise) the city by name.
2. "The Land for Israel" is more than a territorial promise; it is, as it turns out, a declaration of sanctification of that Promised Land—it is God's and so it is holy—and that sanctification will find its most concentration of force in Jerusalem.

B. The Binding of Isaac: Mount Moriah

1. Both Jews and Christians read the Bible "forward" as a reflection of things to come. So Mount Moriah, "three days from Beersheba," where Abraham was bidden to sacrifice Isaac, was later identified with Jerusalem.
2. The mobility of sacred events: what applies to Jerusalem can also be made to apply to Mecca. Mecca is where the Muslims locate the sacrifice of Abraham's son.

C. Abraham, the "Friend of God"

1. In the Bible (and Quran), Abraham is portrayed as the paragon of generosity, a trait that has earned him the title "Friend of God."
2. In the Bible Abraham is said to be buried in Hebron, a town to the south of Jerusalem.
3. As a result, Hebron has become a major religious center, commemorated not only by a monumental tomb-shrine, but in commemoration of his hospitality, elaborate hostel and soup-kitchen facilities run first by Christians and subsequently by Muslims. Today the possession of this tomb shrine is contested by Jews and Muslims.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What in your opinion makes a place "holy?" A city? Can you think of others besides those mentioned here?
2. How is Abraham important to Judaism? Christianity? Islam?
3. Learn more about the Ka'ba and its importance to Islam. How does it differ from the Temple in Jerusalem?

Suggested Reading

Armstrong, Karen. *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths*. New York: Knopf, 1996.

Other Books of Interest

Armstrong, Karen. *Abraham: A Journey to the Heart of Three Faiths*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002.

Harris, Ruth. *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age*. New York: Penguin USA, 2000.

Peters, F.E. *Mecca and Jerusalem: The Typology of the Holy City*. New York: New York University Press, 1986.

Rosovsky, Nitza. *City of the Great King*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1996.

Wolfe, Michael, ed. *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing About the Muslim Pilgrimage*. New York: Grove Press, 1997.

Lecture 2:
The City of the Great King

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Jonathan Kirsch's *King David*.

Introduction

We continue our study of the biblical accounts of Jerusalem's history.

I. The Conquest of Canaan

After Abraham's death his heirs multiplied through his son Isaac and his grandson Jacob, who was later called Israel. The descendants of Israel, the Israelites, swelled into twelve tribes, who eventually found themselves in Egypt, where first they prospered and then were subjected to oppression and persecution. God raised up a prophet and charismatic leader among the Israelites, Moses, who led them out of Egypt and across Sinai. Beyond lay Canaan, the Land of the Promise, but before they entered it, Moses died, and the Torah adds, "no man knows his grave."

The conquest of Canaan is described in the Book of Joshua and appears to have progressed rapidly, though the archeological evidence rather suggests it was a gradual process.

A. The Conquest of Jerusalem

Israel's new ruler, David, was anointed king at Hebron, but he did not long rule from there. Jerusalem was his goal, and the biblical account (2. Sam. 5: 6–9) of David's conquest of that Jebusite settlement—the Jebusites were a branch of the Canaanites—is brief and almost featureless; it certainly gives no indication of the future importance of what was then still a fortified town.

B. The City on the Hill

1. At this point we must take some account of the geographical position of Jerusalem: it exists in the highlands of Judea, with some minimal agricultural possibilities in that mountainous terrain, but with a healthy climate and a defensible position. No notable trade routes ran through or around Jerusalem.
2. The "Old City," presently bounded by the Ottoman walls of 1537, which replaced the earlier Crusader walls, is a compact urban settlement—it takes no more than forty-five minutes to cross the Old City, north to south or east to west—straddling a western and eastern hill, with a central valley, the "Cheesemakers Valley" draining the city from north to south.
3. The earliest settlement was considerably smaller—roughly two city blocks long, a block wide—and was located on the spur that juts southward from the eastern hill.

II. A New Center for Israel

A. The City of David

Archeology has enabled a partial excavation of that same southern spur, called Mount Zion, though that name was later somewhat inexplicably shifted to the southern spur of the western hill. We do know that David refortified its terraced site, the Millo—traces of his wall are still preserved—and built a palace there, though there are no remains of what must still have been a modest building. What David did was to give the still-fresh kingdom of Israel a new and, as it turned out, a permanent national capital. For how-ever long there was an Israelite state (or later, a Jewish one), Jerusalem has been its political capital.

B. The Installation of the Ark of the Covenant

The second significant act was David's installation in Jerusalem of Israel's chief religious token, the Ark of the Covenant, a trunk-like construction which contained the tablets of the Ten Commandments and various other Exodus memorabilia. By it he constituted Jerusalem as the chief religious center of the Israelites, a distinction it has held more continuously than that of national capital.

III. The House of the Lord: Solomon's Temple

A. The Ark of the Covenant

David's Ark was housed in a tent, but with his son and royal successor Solomon, something far more grandiose was planned to serve as the "House of the Lord."

B. The Building

How do we know anything about this building? The unique answer is the Bible's own literary description. The archeological remains of this splendid building are probably buried on Herod's immense platform of the first century B.C.E.

C. The Staff

Solomon's opulent temple was staffed by a rotating corps of priests (kohenim), a hereditary caste whose function was to perform (chiefly animal) sacrifices in the Temple on behalf of the people, their rulers and individuals who craved remission of sin. The Levites, a tribal group, served largely administrative and maintenance functions.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Neither David nor Solomon are exactly heroes in the Bible. Why not?
2. Draw parallels between Jerusalem and ancient Rome.
3. Why didn't David get to finish building the new temple?

Suggested Reading

Kirsch, Jonathan. *King David*. New York: Ballantine Books, Inc. 2001.

Other Books of Interest

Finkelstein, Israel and Neil Asher Silberman. *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.

Gutman, Joseph. *The Temple of Solomon*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976.

Hancock, Graham. *The Sign and the Seal: The Quest for the Lost Ark of the Covenant.* New York: Crown Books, 1992.

Kirsch, Jonathan. *Moses*. New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1999.

Lecture 3:
The Fall and Restoration of Jerusalem

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Daniel I. Block's *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24: International Commentary on the Old Testament*.

Introduction

With the death of Solomon, the history of Israel takes a downward turn. There is a disputed succession that finally tears the kingdom apart, and Israel's aggressive neighbors take advantage of the situation to conquer the land and its people.

I. A Divided Kingdom

The reigns of David and Solomon (ca. 900 B.C.E.) were an apogee. Israel quickly declined thereafter. It could not cure its internal ills nor hold off its more powerful neighbors. It disintegrated into two rivalrous states, Israel and Judah.

A. Northern Rival

1. The history of the northern kingdom of Israel (928–722 B.C.E.), is chiefly known from the pens of its hostile rivals in the southern kingdom of Judah who wrote the Bible. It is an almost unrelieved tale of perfidy and infidelity to the Lord, of foreign wives and their foreign cults. Who has not heard of Jezebel?
2. The northerners had their own capital at Samaria (the later Sebaste) and its own cult center on Mt. Gerizim, which mirrored the cult of the Jerusalem Temple.
3. The era's prime superpower, Assyria (what is today northern Iraq) toyed with the northern kingdom for a spell and finally conquered it in 722. Quickly the Assyrians carried off or deported the ten Israelite tribes of the north (who were never heard from again) and repopulated Samaria with their own people. Thereafter the people of Samaria claimed 1) that they were descendants of the Israelites left behind and so 2) were true Jews, an opinion not shared by the Judeans, who regarded the Samaritans at best as schismatics and at worst as renegades. The Samaritans still survive though in very reduced numbers.

B. Hezekiah and Sennacherib

One Judean king who has left a significant memory in the biblical account is Hezekiah (727–698 B.C.E.). He purified Jerusalem of the pagan cults that had gotten a foothold there, and he seems to have patronized the literary arts. Moderns are more impressed by his engineering perhaps.

1. To assure Jerusalem's water supply Hezekiah oversaw the construction of a tunnel that connected the city's chief water source, the Gihon spring at the foot of David's eastern wall on Zion to a secure reservoir

at Siloam on the western side. The serpentine underground tunnel, with Hezekiah's inscription, was discovered in the nineteenth century.

2. Hezekiah's attempts to shield Jerusalem from the overwhelming might of Assyria eventually failed, but just when it seemed the Assyrian King Sennacherib was finally going to take the city, the Bible says that God himself intervened and sent a plague that destroyed the Assyrian army.

C. Temple Reform: The Reign of Josiah

Among the last kings of Judea was Josiah (640–609 B.C.E.), who benefited by the collapse of Assyria (there were other powers in the wings!), but who is chiefly remembered for finally removing the persistent, and persistently attractive, foreign cults from the Temple. It was also Josiah who centralized the worship of the Lord uniquely in the Jerusalem Temple. Much of this seems to have come in the wake of the "discovery" of a law book in the Temple archives, a text that many think is the Torah book called Deuteronomy.

II. The Destruction

A. The End Foreseen: The Prophets on the Fate of Jerusalem

The evils of those generations of rulers and others that stretched from the death of Solomon into the sixth century B.C.E. provoked the instructive rage of the Israelite prophets. From Amos and Hosea and Isaiah in the eighth century, to Jeremiah in the late seventh, to Ezekiel in the sixth, there were graphic warnings of the disasters courted and finally brought on by Israel's sinful ways. It was God's justice, and his instrument was Babylonia.

B. The Fall of Jerusalem

The Babylonians replaced the Assyrians as the Mesopotamian superpower, and this time there was no divinely sent plague to prevent the Babylonians from taking the city of Jerusalem in 597 B.C.E.

C. Exile and Return

1. After an abortive Judean revolt in 587, the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar stripped both the land and the Temple of their assets. The Judean upper classes (royal, priestly, artisans; not in any event a very large number) were carried off into exile in the Babylonian heartland in central Iraq. The Temple, the chief prize, was stripped—the Ark of the Covenant was apparently part of the loot—and then destroyed.

2. Some Judeans never left Babylonia—there was an important Jewish community there until the 1950s—but others returned to Judea with a change of dynasty in Iraq. The Iranians replaced the Babylonians, and in 538 the Shah Cyrus promulgated an edict permitting those who wished to do so to return.

III. After the Exile: The Province of Yehud

Those Judeans who returned were faced with a difficult task. The urban infrastructure of life lay in ruins, the land was occupied by hostile squatters, and the foundations of Jewish life had been shaken, if not shattered. Finally, Judea was no longer even a minor princedom or a temple state. It was the Persian province of Yehud. Unlike their predecessors, the Shahs annexed their conquests.

A. The Covenant Renewed

Early on, the priestly scribe Ezra presided over a public ceremony in still-ruined Jerusalem which solemnized the renewal of the Covenant. There was a public reading (and translation! The people now spoke not Hebrew but Aramaic) of the Law, and the people signaled “amen.”

B. The City and the Community Restored by Nehemiah

Jerusalem itself had to be secured, and its governor Nehemiah presided over the essential reconstruction of its walls. Commercial life resumed, but now with a chastened eye on observance, particularly on the Sabbath. And finally, to restore the integrity of the community, the Judeans were constrained to send away their foreign, that is, non-Jewish, wives and even the offspring of such unions.

C. The Temple Rebuilt

Finally, the Judeans—from which our word “Jews” derives—undertook, in 516 C.E. and under the priest and short-lived governor Zarubabbel, to rebuild God’s house on the Temple Mount. It was not, based upon the slender surviving testimony, an imposing edifice.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Why has Jezebel become such a key example of debauchery?
2. How did the Jews who did not have access to the Temple worship?
3. How was God's justice brought on the nation of Israel?

Suggested Reading

Block, Daniel I. *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24: International Commentary on the Old Testament*. Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1977.

Other Books of Interest

Finkelstein, Israel and Neil Asher Silberman. *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.

Larsen, Mogens Trolle. *The Conquest of Assyria: Excavating in an Antique Land*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Pakfitt, Tudor. *The Lost Tribes of Israel*. London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 2001.

Saggs, Henry W.F. *Babylonians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Way, Warren. *The Pride of Babylon: The Story of Nebuchadnezzar*. Philadelphia: Xlibris Publishing, 2001.

Lecture 4:
Jews and Greeks in Jerusalem

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Lee I. Levine's *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence*.

Introduction

The Jews had rebuilt Jerusalem, including a new Temple. One major change which had occurred is that this was no longer an autonomous regime. In this lecture we will move from the Bible as a source to the Books of Maccabees and the historical works of Josephus.

I. Vassal Judea

Beginning with the Iranians, Judea assumed its new role as a rather small and insignificant province in someone else's empire, a position it held, with two very brief interruptions (the Hasmoneans and the Crusades) until 1947–1967.

A. A New Force in the Middle East: Hellenism

In the early 300s B.C.E. the Persians—we know very little about Jerusalem under the Persians—were driven out by the Greeks. The ascendancy of the Hellenes began with the Middle Eastern conquests of Alexander the Great and continued into the monarchical states established by his successors, the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Seleucids in Syria. The Hellenes brought not only new blood to the Middle East but powerful new ideas. Chief among them was the cultural concept we call Hellenism.

Intellectually, Hellenism is the world view that regards humans as capable, without benefit of revelation, of discerning the existence and nature of God, the functioning of the universe, and humanity's place and role in it. This was an enormous challenge to a revealed religion.

B. Jewish Privileges and Exemptions

Though they were political vassals, Jews were generally exempted, by sovereign statute, both Greek and later Roman, from certain taxes and from many duties incompatible with their religion.

II. The Hellenization of Jerusalem

Politically, Hellenism favored the self-government of their city-states (*poleis*) which, though financially tributaries to a king, had broad political autonomy exercised by their citizens through the agency of elected municipal officials.

A. Antioch-in-Judea: The Conversion of Jerusalem into a Polis

A series of political manipulations—and the exchange of much gold—gained for Jerusalem promotion to the status of polis. There were quick and profound changes. A list of citizens was drawn up (with property

qualifications), effectively disenfranchising many Jews in their own land. New Greek-style institutions were installed in Jerusalem and a revolution in lifestyles was underway.

B. Antiochus Epiphanes and the "Abomination of Desolation" of the Book of Daniel

Many Jerusalem Jews were affronted by the new Hellenic ways of behavior and dress (and undress!), but what put the Hellenism project in jeopardy was a program, which was probably politically inspired, by the erratic Greek ruler Antiochus Epiphanes (ruled 175–164 B.C.E.). He deprived Jerusalem of its polis status, put a Syrian garrison in the city and installed an altar to a pagan god in the Temple precinct, a sacrilege that the book of Daniel calls the "abomination of desolation."

C. The Maccabean Restoration

1. The Revolt against the Seleucids (166–164 B.C.E.)

Antiochus' heavy handed repression brought a Judean response led by a minor priestly family known under the nickname of Maccabees, "The Hammers." From 166 B.C.E. members of the family waged a relentless guerrilla war against the Seleucids.

2. The Purification of the Temple (Hanukkah)

The religious high point of the Maccabees' success was the purification and rededication of the Jerusalem Temple in 164 B.C.E.

3. The Hasmonean kings and high priests in Jerusalem (161–63 B.C.E.)

The Maccabean revolt succeeded by degrees, and eventually the family, more formally known as the Hasmoneans, contrived to reconstitute a quasi-independent Jewish kingdom in Judea in which they served as both kings and high priests.

D. The Romans Intervene: Pompey in Jerusalem

In the second century B.C.E. the Seleucids and Ptolemies, to say nothing of the Hasmoneans, were becoming increasingly irrelevant in the Middle East, which was falling more and more under the enormous shadow of the Romans. In 63 B.C.E. the Roman general Pompey marched on Jerusalem and, like many a conqueror before and after him, inspected the Temple and its treasures.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Why did the Iranians allow the Jews to come back to Jerusalem?
2. How did Persian sovereignty lead to acceptance of Hellenism?
3. Why were the Greeks in Egypt and Syria fighting each other?
4. What aspects of Hellenism survive today?

Suggested Reading

Levine, Lee I. *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* New York: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2000.

Other Books of Interest

Cohen, Shaye J.D., ed. *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah.* Vol. 7. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995.

Collins, John J., ed. *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.

Goldstein, Jonathan A. *I Maccabees: A New Translation*. New York: Doubleday, 1990.

Gruen, Erich S. *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Nickelsburg, George. *Jewish Literature Between Bible and the Mishnah*. Philadelphia: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1981.

Lecture 5:
The Jerusalem of Jesus

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is E.P. Sanders's *The Historical Figure of Jesus*.

Introduction

The Romans now had control of Jerusalem. The Jews were waiting for a messiah, someone to save them from the terrors of Roman rule. Enter Jesus of Nazareth, who today is accepted by Christians as the messiah.

One legacy of the Romans to Judea was their appointment of the Hasmonean grand vizier Herod, from an Idumean "converso" family, as king of Judea. He was there to maintain order, Roman order, which he did, at an extraordinarily high price to his subjects, throughout his long and troubled reign (37–4 B.C.E.).

I. Herod, the Master Builder

Herod indulged in an extraordinary number of building projects both inside his kingdom and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean.

A. The Great Temple in Jerusalem

This magnificent structure, a rival to Solomon's own, was begun in 20 B.C.E. and not completed until 62 C.E. It was, platform and Temple, the largest public space in the ancient world. It is described by both Josephus (died 100 C.E.), who saw it, and the rabbis of the Mishna, who did not.

B. The Pilgrimage Feasts in Jerusalem: Pesach, Shavuoth, Sukkoth

By law these three seasonal holy festivals had to be celebrated by Jews in Jerusalem, and during Herod's days attendance seems to have reached its apogee.

C. Herod's Other Works in Jerusalem: the Palace and Citadel at the Western Gate

Herod's own Jerusalem residence was located at the heavily fortified western gate (eventually, the Jaffa Gate) of the city, where he built his palace. (Actually he preferred to live in the Hellenized environment of one of his own new cities, Caesarea-by-the-Sea).

In 6 C.E., the Romans lost confidence in Herod's son Archelaus, who had succeeded his father, and they simply annexed Judea as a Roman province. Jesus of Nazareth was probably ten years old. There would be no sovereign Jewish state there again until 1947.

II. Jesus in Jerusalem

Our testimony now comes chiefly from the New Testament Gospels.

Jesus of Nazareth, a Galilean, spent most of his life and his brief career in

that northern province. It is only the very last days of his life that unfold in Jerusalem.

A. Jesus in the Temple

Jesus, like observant Jews of his day, seems to have celebrated the pilgrimage feasts in Jerusalem. We learn that chiefly from the Gospel of John.

1. Jesus and Jerusalem: a problem?

Many of the sectarian movements of Jesus' day seem to have had issues with the Temple and its priesthood. Not so the Galilean Jesus whose chief antagonists appeared to be the Pharisees.

2. The "Cleansing of the Temple"

And yet it was the Temple priesthood that the Gospels accuse of plotting Jesus' arrest and execution. Many now point to Jesus' famous "cleansing of the Temple," a "den of thieves," he calls it, as the trigger event in his confrontation with the priestly authorities.

B. The Last Days of Jesus of Nazareth (30 C.E.): "Last Supper," Arrest, Trial, Execution and Burial (30 C.E.)

The last days of Jesus' life unfolded in Jerusalem just before Passover, probably in 30 C.E. He entered Jerusalem in triumph then provoked a fracas in the Temple. On Thursday evening he celebrated what seems a Passover meal with his circle of followers, then went out at night to Kedron Valley where he was arrested by the Temple police and taken to the house of the high priest Caiphas. There was a hearing of sorts and the next morning he was taken before Pilate, the Roman Prefect of Judea. This hearing took place in Herod's Palace. Pilate reluctantly sentenced him to death on a political charge, and Jesus was executed by crucifixion outside the walls of Jerusalem. The Sabbath was approaching, and his body was hastily removed from the cross and entombed in a hewn cave nearby. It was Passover 30 C.E.

And turning from the Gospels to the Acts of the Apostles:

C. The Followers in the City: the Empty Tomb, the Apostles (Pentecost), Paul, James (died 62 C.E.)

On the following Sunday, Jesus' dispirited followers found his tomb empty. "He is risen!" was the word that began to circulate as numbers of his disciples claimed to have seen him, not as an apparition but "in the flesh."

Later, on Shavuoth (Pentecost), his Apostles, who were gathered in Jerusalem, had an experience of the Holy Spirit and went out onto the streets of Jerusalem to preach the "Good News" of Jesus' Messiahship to the pilgrimage crowds.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Which Temple did Jesus disrupt in the famous gospel story? Herod's?
2. What is happening to the diaspora Jews at this time?
3. How do we determine the authenticity of Jerusalem sites connected with Jesus?

Suggested Reading

Sanders, E.P. *The Historical Figure of Jesus*. New York: Penguin, 1985.

Other Books of Interest

Brown, Raymond. *The Death of the Messiah*. New York: Doubleday, 1994.

Cahill, Thomas. *Desire of the Everlasting Hills: The World Before and After Jesus*. New York: Random House, 2001.

Crossan, John Dominic, and Jonathan L. Reed. *Excavating Jesus: Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002.

Pentecost, J. Dwight, and John Danilson. *Words and Works of Jesus Christ*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000.

Roller, Duane W. *The Building Program of Herod the Great*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Wilkinson, John. *Jerusalem as Jesus Knew It*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1978.

Lecture 6:
The Great Wars: 66–135 C.E.

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Tessa Rajak's *Josephus*.

Introduction

We follow the growth of the Jesus movement and the continued hostilities between the Jews and Romans in Jerusalem.

I. Paul and James

Among the early converts was a Diaspora Jew, Saul/Paul of Tarsus who was in Jerusalem on a study fellowship. Though he spent most of his missionary career outside of Palestine, he was summoned back to the "Mother Church" to explain to its leaders what he was doing with the Gentiles, and later, on another visit, he was arrested in the Temple in a typically Pauline disturbance.

The leader of the Jerusalem Church was, somewhat unexpectedly, James, "the brother of the Lord." He was a highly observant Jew, Josephus notes.

II. The First Insurrection (66–70 C.E.)

Here we rely almost solely on the very circumstantial account of Josephus (d. ca. 100 C.E.), who participated in the insurrection, but in the end sided with the Romans.

The Romans frequently lost patience with their Judean subjects and just as often bruised Jewish religious sensibilities. Parties among the Jews were clearly fermenting insurrection—Josephus is full of such stories—and finally a revolt broke out in 66 C.E. The Romans reacted in force.

A. The Siege of Jerusalem

Josephus' Jewish War was devoted entirely to the conflict, and so we have circumstantial accounts of the revolt, and particularly of the wrenching siege of Jerusalem during its final stages.

B. The Ninth of Ab: The Burning of Jerusalem

Josephus, who lost confidence in the insurrection, attempted to make the burning of the Temple an accident and not the responsibility of the commanding general (later the emperor) Titus. Whatever the case, the devastation was enormous, and after the Jewish surrender—the hilltop city of Masada stubbornly held out to a bitter, bloody end—Titus ordered the city leveled, all except Herod's towers at the western wall citadel, one of which still stands.

C. The Refugees: The Pharisees and Christians leave the city before the end to survive elsewhere

The Jewish political enterprise came crashing down in 70 C.E., as did many of the sectarian groups into which Jews had increasingly sorted themselves. But not all. According to one famous tale, the head of the Pharisees, Yohanan ben Zakkai, had himself smuggled out of besieged Jerusalem in a coffin and eventually reconstituted his movement in Galilee. The Jewish followers of Jesus of Nazareth, we are told, left the city even earlier, before the outbreak of hostilities and located themselves in Pella, a decidedly Gentile city east of the river Jordan.

III. The Second Insurrection (132-135 C.E.)

The Roman sources are scattered and scanty, but there is some archeological evidence for the Second Insurrection.

A. Bar Kokhba: Another Messiah in Jerusalem?

There was another Jewish revolt in Judea, provoked perhaps by the plans of Hadrian, another prodigious

city builder, to rebuild Jerusalem. It was led by one Bar Kokhba, another messianic claimant, who managed to seize Jerusalem from the Romans and declare an independent state—but not for long. Roman might once again prevailed, and the revolt was put down.

B. The Roman Ban on Jews in Jerusalem

The Romans reacted to the uprising by imposing a special tax on the Jews in the empire and, more pertinent to our interests here, banned their living in Judea, including Jerusalem. Later reports tell of small numbers of them bribing their way back onto the Temple mount on occasion to mark, and lament, the destruction of the Temple.

C. Aelia Capitolina

Hadrian's plans for Jerusalem were put into effect at the end of the revolt. His Aelia Capitolina, named after his family and his favorite god, became a Judean (but thoroughly Jewish-free) urban showplace.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What is Paul's connection with Jerusalem? James'?
2. How would the history of Jerusalem have been affected if the insurrections had not happened?

Suggested Reading

Rajak, Tessa. *Josephus*. London: Duckworth, 2002.

Other Books of Interest

Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

Durant, Will. *Caesar and Christ: A History of Roman Civilization and of Christianity from Their Beginning A.D. 325, Vol 3*. Fine Communications, 1993.

Hengel, Martin. *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod 1 until 70 A.D.* T&T Clark, 1999.

McBirnie, William Steuart. *Search for the Twelve Apostles*. Tyndale House Publishers, 1979.

Meeks, Wayne A. *The First Urban Christians*. New Haven: Yale, 1983.

Painter, John. *Just James. The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999.

Wilson, A.N. *Paul: The Mind of the Apostle*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1997.

Wright, N.T. *What Saint Paul Really Said*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmens, 1997.

Lecture 7:
The "Mother of All the Churches" (325–635 C.E.)

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Eusebius's *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*.

Introduction

How did Jerusalem change from Aelia Capitolina to a Christian city over the course of 200 years?

Christian church historians are our chief sources here, particularly Eusebius (died 340), who was also Constantine's biographer.

I. The Constantine Project for Palestine

A. The Enshrinement of the Jesus-sites

Orders were issued by the first Christian emperor Constantine (reigned 306–337) to the governor of Palestine and the bishop of Jerusalem to spare no expense in identifying and enshrining the "Jesus sites" in Jerusalem. The major ones were found beneath a temple of Aphrodite built at Hadrian's new forum on a place that had been outside the city in the first century B.C.E. but within the walls in Hadrian's (and Constantine's) day.

B. Helena and the True Cross

There is a much-embellished legend of the discovery and miraculous identification of Jesus' cross by Constantine's mother, Helena, below the site of Jesus' crucifixion at Golgotha.

C. The Anastasis ("Resurrection") or, as the Latins called it, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher

1. Jesus' rock-hewn tomb was recovered, partially excavated, surrounded by a colonnade and covered with a dome.
2. The site of the crucifixion, which the Gospels call "Golgotha" the "place of the skull" (in Latin *Calvarium*, "the skull") was cleared and a memorial cross mounted on it. The site was surrounded by an open court.
3. Stretching eastward from the site of the crucifixion to the cardo, or the main north-south colonnaded avenue of Jerusalem, Constantine had constructed an enormous basilica with forecourt and a monumental entrance onto the cardo.

   A similar identification and basilical enshrinement was made over the reported site of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem.

II. The Beginnings of Christian Pilgrimage

We have two very early accounts of the emerging Christian Jerusalem.

A. The earliest is from the "Bordeaux Pilgrim" who was in Palestine ca. 333 C.E. and saw Constantine's work in progress.

B. The other is Egeria (380 C.E.), a nun from Europe whose vivid pilgrimage account is our earliest witness to:

C. The Jerusalem liturgy, the ritual reenactment of the events of Jesus' last days now celebrated annually at their identified sites.

D. Plotting Christian Jerusalem

From our Christian sources we can now trace the imperial investment in Jerusalem and Palestine. Particularly notable was the wife of the Emperor Theodosius, Eudocia, who lived out her days of sad but generous exile in Jerusalem (443–460) as a kind of unofficial "Empress of Palestine." Justinian too (reigned 527–565) richly endowed Jerusalem and built the so-called "New Church" (Nea) in honor of Mary, a monumental structure later destroyed by earthquake but whose foundations and building inscription have been recovered.

This and many other buildings of Christian Jerusalem can be identified on the famous and still preserved pilgrims' map of the Holy Land laid down in mosaic in 570 C.E. in a church in Madaba in the Transjordan.

III. A Relic (and a City) Lost and Regained (614–622 C.E.)

A. The Persian Invasion and Looting of the City (624 C.E.)

The Persian and Christian Roman empires had been at war for centuries, but a critical juncture occurred in 614 C.E. when the Persians broke through the Byzantine defenses and overran most of the Roman Near East, including Palestine and Jerusalem.

The Persians carried off Christendom's most prized relic, the True Cross, from Jerusalem to their capital of Ctesiphon in Iraq. Then they turned over the control of the city to Jews, who conducted a bloody program against their long-time oppressors between 614 and 617 C.E

B. The Byzantine Counter-Offensive and the Restoration of the True Cross to Jerusalem (629 C.E.)

The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius outfitted a new army in Armenia and marched against the Persians in their homeland. They were soundly defeated, the relic was regained, and in 629 C.E. the emperor solemnly restored the True Cross to Jerusalem, where it remained until the Crusades.

C. An Echo in the Quran?

The Quran (30: 1–5) alludes to these events in distant Palestine, though the reference to a victory of "the Rum" (the "Romans," generally the Byzantines) is vague.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Why are there no relics of Jesus?
2. What relics of other religions are located in Jerusalem?
3. What was the role of Helena in the Jerusalem project?

Suggested Reading

Eusebius, Pamphili. *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*. Ed. Andrew Louth. New York: Penguin Classics, 1990.

Other Books of Interest

Barnes, Timothy David. *Constantine and Euseblus*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Cary, Max and Howard H. Scullard. *History of Rome: Down to the Reign of Constantine*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.

Elliott, T.G. *The Christianity of Constantine the Great*. California: University of Scranton Press, 1997.

Jones, D.H. *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*. Canada: University of Toronto, 1978.

Pohlsander, Hans A. *The Emperor Constantine*. England: Routledge, 1996.

Wilcken, Robert L. *The Land Called Holy*. New Haven: Yale, 1992.

Wilkinson, John. *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*. Jerusalem: Ariel, 1977.

Lecture 8:
The Distant Shrine:
The Muslims Come to Jerusalem (638–750 C.E.)

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Ziauddi Sardar and Zafar Malik's *Introducing Muhammad*.

Introduction

Jerusalem is considered a holy city by many religions. In this lecture we will discuss the Muslim influence on Jerusalem.

I. A Prophet in Jerusalem

A. The Bible in the Quran

The Quran, the collection of the revelations given to Muhammad between 610 and his death in 632 C.E., is filled with stories that are distinctly "biblical," that is, they have to do with familiar figures like Abraham, Isaac and Ishmael, Moses, David, Solomon, and Jesus and his mother Mary.

Jerusalem is not mentioned there by name, but there might be an indirect reference to its twin destruction in Quran 17: 4–7.

B. Muhammad's Change in his Direction of Prayer

In Quran 2: 142–145 Muhammad is asked why he has changed his prayer-direction (in Arabic "qibla") to Mecca. The answer does not concern us here, but the commentators are quick to tell us that previously Muhammad had prayed, like the Jews, facing Jerusalem.

C. Muhammad's "Night Journey" to Jerusalem

Quran 17:1 tells us that: God took his servant [Muhammad] by night from the sacred shrine [likely Mecca] to "the distant shrine" (al-masjid al-aqsa). After some initial hesitation the Muslim tradition identified that latter place with Jerusalem. So, tradition goes, Muhammad was sleeping in the shrine precinct (Haram) at Mecca when God caused him to be carried on a mythical steed named Buraq to the Temple mount in Jerusalem, were he was set down on or near the rock now enshrined under the Dome of the Rock.

II. A Caliph in Jerusalem

According to a (probably legendary) Muslim tradition, the peaceful surrender of Jerusalem was accepted from the bishop of the city by no less than the Umar (reigned 634–644), the second caliph of Islam. The year was 635 or 638 C.E.

A. Atop the Temple Mount: the Noble Sanctuary (Haram al-Sharif) and the First Aqsa Mosque

Umar ordered the Temple mount, which the Christians in their spite against the Jews were using as a kind of garbage dump, to be

cleansed. At the southern edge of Herod's platform—the Temple had been destroyed, but there was no budging the colossal platform–he constructed Jerusalem's first mosque, named, after Quran 17:1, al-Aqsa. According to a contemporary witness, it held 3,000 people, possibly the size of the Muslim garrison of Jerusalem. It has since been expanded and rebuilt many times.

B. The Jews Return to Jerusalem

The Jews, who had been banned from the city in the wake of the insurrection of 135 C.E., were permitted by the Muslims to resettle in Jerusalem and even to worship atop the Temple mount.

C. An Edict of Toleration

Umar extended the dhimma, the concordat regulating the behavior of Jews and Christians under Islam, to the population of Jerusalem. The document in question, the "Pact of Umar," is probably a forgery, but the dhimma is real enough and, like all Muslim religious law, is still in effect.

III. Imperial Plans of the Umayyads (Caliphs 661–750 C.E.)

A. The Umayyad Buildings in Jerusalem

One piece of evidence is the very large Umayyad palace that Israeli archeologists unearthed at the southern end of Herod's platform, just below the Aqsa mosque and probably connected to it at its rooftop.

B. The Dome of the Rock: Why Was This Remarkable Building Built?

At the center of Herod's platform is a shrine built over the protruding bedrock, the Qubbat al-Sakhra or Dome of the Rock. It is dated by an interior inscription to 692 C.E. The motives for its construction are mysterious, but one story in circulation was that Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik intended it to divert the Muslim pilgrimage from Mecca, then in the hands of insurgents, to the equally holy city of Jerusalem.

C. New Neighbors in the Holy City: Christians and Muslims in Jerusalem

Christians continued to make pious pilgrimage to Jerusalem, almost oblivious to the change in sovereignty, though some were impressed with the peace and order in the land. Then, as later, it was often the difference between themselves and the local Christians that caught their attention.

D. The Jews of Jerusalem

There are various signs of Jewish activity in Muslim Jerusalem, including generous endowments from the far more prosperous Jews of Fustat (Cairo) in Egypt. There was a call for Aliya, for Jewish resettlement in the Holy Land. Among those who came were Karaites from Iraq, Jews who denied rabbinic authority and who soon found themselves in conflict with the local Rabbanites, Jews who lived by the Mishna and Torah and defended rabbinic authority.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Do Muslims celebrate Christmas? Easter?
2. What are the differences between the Christian, Jewish and Islamic pilgrimages to Jerusalem?
3. Is there biblical prophecy or Quranic revelation relating to the Islamic presence in Jerusalem?

Suggested Reading

Sardar, Ziauddi, and Zafar Malik. *Introducing Muhammad*. New York: Totem Books, 1997.

Other Books of Interest

Cook, Michael. *Muhammad*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Dabashi, Hamid. *From the Rise of Muhammad to the Establishment of the Umayyads*. England: Transaction Publishers, 1992.

Grabar, Oleg. *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Hawting, Gerald R. *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Makiya, Kanan. *The Rock: A Tale of Seventh Century Jerusalem*. New York: Vintage Books, 2001.

Peters, F.E. *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam*. New York: State University of New York, 1994.

Schimmel, Annemarie. *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Lecture 9:
The Crusades

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* (*Gerusalemme Liberata*).

Introduction:

We've all learned about the Crusades in school. But what exactly were the Crusades, and how did Jerusalem figure in this dramatic era?

Westerners were in the Middle East (and Jerusalem) continuously from the time of Constantine, chiefly for pilgrimage but for commercial reasons as well.

III. Run-Up to the Crusades

When the Umayyads of Damascus were succeeded by the Abbasids in Baghdad in 750, Jerusalem moved off the center of Muslim attention. But not entirely. There were geographers like Muqaddasi, a native son writing in 985, and Nasir-I Khusrau, a Persian traveler who visited Jerusalem and Hebron in 1047. And there were, from much farther away.

A. Harun and Charlemagne

One caliph who showed some interest in the Holy City was Harun al-Rashid (reigned 786-809), perhaps familiar from the *Arabian Nights*. He and his Frankish contemporary Charlemagne may have come to some sort of agreement about Jerusalem—there's a lot of legend here; one has Charlemagne actually visiting Jerusalem!—and Harun was said to have sent the keys of the Holy Sepulcher to the emperor. Whatever the case, there were undoubtedly Latin monks and perhaps even Latin merchants installed in Jerusalem in the ninth century.

B. A Byzantine Jihad

A new upstart dynasty in Egypt, the Shi'ite Fatimids—The Shi'ites (who are chiefly to be found in Iran today) who regard Muhammad's cousin Ali and his family as the rightful heirs to sovereignty in Islam—took Jerusalem in 970. Palestine lapsed into anarchy, and the chief beneficiary was Byzantium, the Christian Roman Empire that had been chased from the Holy Land by the Muslims in the 630s and, in 972, launched a holy war to regain it. They almost succeeded.

C. Al-Hakim and the Holy Sepulcher

The Fatimids were not finished with Jerusalem. In 1009 their famously erratic Egyptian sovereign, Al-Hakim destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. It was looted and put to the torch, and most of Constantine's famous basilica was destroyed.

The news provoked outrage in European circles but, even more significantly, the Muslims permitted the Byzantine emperor to underwrite its rebuilding (1030–1048), and then later, in 1063, allowed another

emperor to rebuild the walls of one of the quarters of Jerusalem (the northwest quadrant) that thenceforward was the "Christian quarter" and was under the sole control of the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

II. The First Crusade

The Crusades, and there were many of them, were prompted by a number of motives, some religious, some economic, many of them political. They were military expeditions undertaken, at the urging and under the patronage of the Latin Church, by various princes and nobles of Europe, who recruited their own feudal dependents to accompany them on this venture.

A. What is a Crusade?

A "crusade" is so called because the participants had a cross sewn on their clothes as an emblem to mark their vowed commitment to participate in the "pilgrimage in arms," as it was called, to retake the Holy Land from the Muslim "infidels." Only the First Crusade actually accomplished this end, and its achievement lasted less than a century. It was formally launched at Clermont in France in 1095 by Pope Urban II, who appealed to Europe's aristocracy in arms to vow their participation. The Pope spurred them on with tales of Muslim atrocities in Jerusalem, and the Church offered the inducement of spiritual rewards and the economic incentive of the diversion of Church income to underwrite the enterprise.

B. The Frankish Conquest of the City (1099)

Most of the knights of the First Crusade were French—"Frank" (Franji) is still a common Arabic term for foreigner—and we have eyewitness accounts from many of them of the siege of Jerusalem, the breaching of its walls and the bloodbath that followed the Crusaders' entry into the city. The last Muslim holdouts in the citadel at the Jaffa Gate and in the Aqsa Mosque were slaughtered to the man, and on Friday, July 15, 1099, the Franks took possession of an empty city whose streets ran with blood.

III. Remaking Jerusalem

Not only Jerusalem, but substantial areas of coastal Syria and Palestine were held by the Crusaders. They were not turned over to the Byzantines (as these latter expected) nor, for the most part, to the Church, but were divided into a feudal kingdom to be ruled by the European conquerors.

A. Rebuilding the City, Stones and Souls

The city was empty: the Jews cleared out, the Muslims had all been killed and the Eastern Christians left for safer parts. The victors could take what property they wished: they expropriated the private homes for their own use; converted the Dome of the Rock, which they called the Temple Domini or "House of the Lord," into a church; and turned the Aqsa Mosque, the so-called Templum Solomon is, "Solomon's Palace" first into a royal residence for the new Latin king and then into the headquarters of the new military order or monk-knights called the Knights of the Temple.

Since many of the Crusaders had gone home, those who remained had also to repopulate the city to a sustainable level. They attempted to lure back into Jerusalem the Eastern Christians, whom the Franks found culturally exotic and religiously unorthodox, and, with considerably less success, to invite new colonial recruits to join them from Europe.

B. A Latin Kingdom

A Frankish king, Godfrey of Bouillon, now reigned from Jerusalem over a Latin kingdom in the Middle East—there was a feudal prince in Antioch and a count in Edessa, and lesser nobles elsewhere—with the aid of whatever knights could be induced to stay in the land and man the castles that guarded the fragile conquest.

C. A Latin Quarter

The king did hand over to the newly appointed Latin patriarch of Jerusalem jurisdiction over the Christian quarter, the northwest quadrant of the city that had already been autonomous under the Muslims. Latin clergy replaced their Greek counterparts in all the Christian churches of Jerusalem.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Did Muslims anticipate the Crusades?
2. Are the Crusades merely a Christian manifestation? Would the Muslim occupation of Spain be considered a Crusade? The Christian reconquest of Spain?

Suggested Reading

Tasso, Torquato. *Jerusalem Delivered (Gerusalemme Liberata)*. Trans. Anthony M. Esolen. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Other Books of Interest

Armstrong, Karen. *The Crusades and Their Impact on Today's World*. New York: Random House, 2001.

Hillenbrand, Carole. *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Maalouf, Amin, and Jon Rothschild. *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*. New York: Knopf Publishing Group, 1989.

Madden, Thomas F. *A Concise History of the Crusades*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999.

Peters, Edward M. *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Lecture 10:
Jerusalem Liberated

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Francesco Gabrieli's *Arab Historians of the Crusades*.

Introduction

The Crusader possession of Jerusalem lasted less than a century, from 1099 to 1187. The Muslim who dislodged them was Salah al-Din, a Kurdish general who rose to rule all of Syria and Egypt. The Crusader enterprise—some see it as an early form of Western colonialism—failed for a variety of strategic and logistic reasons on the part of the occupiers, but it also failed because Salah al-Din raised both the morale of his troops and the desire of Muslims to reclaim their Holy City.

I. Salah al-Din and the Muslim Reconquest

The conquest could not be sustained. Immigration failed, the supply lines were too long and the environment too hostile. And the Crusaders had met their match in Salah al-Din, whom they called Saladin, the ruler of Syria and Egypt.

A. The Sunni Revival

The new Muslim rulers of Syria-Palestine were Turks who began their careers in Mosul in northern Iraq, then expanded to Aleppo and finally Damascus, which one of their number, Nur al-Din, ruled from 1146 to 1174. Nur al-Din planned the reconquest of Jerusalem, but it was accomplished only by his successor, the Kurdish general Salah al-Din who ruled Syria from 1174. Soon he drove the Shi'ite Fatimids from Egypt, which he then added to his realm.

Both Nur al-Din and Salah al-Din were Sunni Muslims and regarded the Shi'ite "Party of Ali" as mortal enemies of "orthodox" Islam, more deadly even than the Frankish invaders. It was only after Salah al-Din had restored Sunni Islam to Egypt that he turned to Jerusalem.

B. On the Merits of Jerusalem

Both men, Nur al-Din and Salah al-Din understood that they had first to raise Muslim consciousness about Jerusalem before they could mount a successful jihad or holy war against the Franks. They were only partially successful. Their encouragement of the production and diffusion of works retelling the "Merits of Jerusalem," most of them allegedly from the mouth of Muhammad, was effective in Syria and Muslim Palestine, but beyond their own domains the two leaders were remarkably unsuccessful in raising Muslim allies. The larger Muslim world remained almost determinedly unconcerned about the Franks and their Crusade.

C. The Reconquest of Jerusalem (1187)

Salah al-Din, as it turned out, did not need much outside help. The bat-

tle for Jerusalem was won by the Syrians not at the Holy City but in Hattin where on July 4, 1187 Salah al-Din and his army inflicted a decisive defeat on the assembled Crusaders, who had even carried the relic of the True Cross into battle with them. The king, Guy of Lusignan, was captured and sent to Damascus to be held for ransom, but his fanatical elite troops, the Templars and Hospitalers, were executed on the spot.

The victors then marched on Jerusalem where the fighting was fierce but brief. The depleted garrison, which threatened to burn down the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa if they were not granted an amnesty in return for surrender, were finally permitted to leave on the payment of ten dinars per man, five for each woman and two for each child. The deal was struck and the city capitulated on Friday, October 2, 1187.

D. The Restoration

The triumphant Muslims swarmed into liberated Jerusalem. Once the Frankish additions and modifications were removed, the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque were quickly restored to their former Muslim condition. Then the more demanding task of putting the fortifications of the city in order—the Franks still held the coastal port cities—was undertaken. And there was expropriation, notably of the Latin Church of St. Anne near St. Stephen's gate, which was turned into a mosque and its adjoining monastery into a madrasa or Muslim law school. Salah al-Din did not, however, allow himself to be persuaded to destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, as some of his advisers wished.

II. The Glory Years: The Mamluks in Jerusalem

The height of Muslim Jerusalem's architectural glory was undoubtedly the era when the Mamluks, an upstart dynasty of military slaves, ruled Egypt and Palestine (1250–1516) and invested their considerable wealth in building projects in the Holy City.

A. The Power and Ease of Giving: Waqf

Waqf is a religious foundation whereby a Muslim deeds his property to God (which renders it inalienable and untaxable) after specifying on which pious purpose its income (after expenses) is to be used. Most mosques, law schools (madrasas) and Sufi convents in Islam were built and staffed through waqf endowments.

B. Mamluk Jerusalem

The Mamluks endowed many projects in their lands, but special attention was reserved for the Holy Cities of Mecca and Jerusalem. The latter was a favorite place of retirement and exile, and former members of this military caste rebuilt, from their pious generosity, most of the western and northern sides of the Haram al-Sharif. Its convents and madrasas, though their staffs and habitués are long gone, still testify by their architectural magnificence, to Mamluk devotion to Jerusalem.

C. Jerusalem in Pen and Ink: Mujir al-Din al-Ulaymi

Many of the Mamluk buildings still stand, but we have, as well, the detailed literary portrait of the city drawn by a contemporary and local architectural historian, Mujir al-Din al-Ulaymi, whose *History of Jerusalem and Hebron*, written in 1496, is a graphic description of Jerusalem's streets, markets and buildings.

D. The Franciscans Return

All the Latin clergy were banished from Jerusalem at its recapture by the Muslims in 1187, but by the mid-thirteenth century Franciscan Friars were back. Their founder, Francis of Assisi, felt he had a special mission to Islam and in 1219 had preached in person to the Egyptian Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil, so it was not odd that his order, the Franciscans, led the Latin Church's way back into the Holy Land. By the end of the thirteenth century their presence was formally acknowledged by the Egyptian sultans, and the Franciscans were ensconced not only in a chapel of the Holy Sepulcher but in their own quarters on Mount Zion.

The Franciscans lost their property on Mount Zion in the ceaseless religio-political combat of Jerusalem, but in 1559 they bought out the impoverished Georgian Christians from their church near the Holy Sepulcher, renamed it Saint Savior's, and made it the Franciscan center of Jerusalem.

In 1343 the Franciscan superior was papally certified as Custos Sanctae Terrae, "Guardian of the Holy Land" with broad jurisdictional powers over all Latin holdings in Jerusalem and all visitors to the Holy Land.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. How is St. Francis of Assisi remembered today?
2. How do the struggles described in this lecture apply to Jerusalem today?
3. What other cultures have left their marks on Jerusalem?

Suggested Reading

Gabrieli, Francesco. *Arab Historians of the Crusades* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Other Books of Interest

Elad, Amikam. *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*. Leiden: E.J. Brill., 1995.

Huse, Adrian. *Francis of Assisi: A Revolutionary Life*. Hidden Spring, 2001.

Lane-Poole, Stanley. *Saladin: All-Powerful Sultan and the Uniter of Islam*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.

Levine, Lee I., ed. *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Continuum International Publishing Group, 1998.

Moorman, John R.H. *History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517*. Franciscan Press, 1988.

Newby, P.H. *Saladin in His Time*. Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 2001.

Peters, F.E. *The Distant Shrine: The Islamic Centuries in Jerusalem*. New York: AMS Press, 1993.

Lecture 11:
Piety and Polemic:
The Age of Pilgrimage

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Hilda F.M. Prescott's *Friar Felix at Large: A Fifteenth Century Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*.

Introduction

Pilgrimage is a journey undertaken for some religious purpose. In our case the pilgrimage is to the Holy City of Jerusalem. The post-Crusader era is particularly rich in pilgrim accounts, and the pilgrims themselves are more aware of their surroundings and more outspoken in their opinions.

I. Felix Fabri, Pilgrim Extraordinary

Felix Fabri (died 1502), a university educated Dominican friar from Ulm, has left us a full, highly illuminating and hugely entertaining account of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1483, which was later brilliantly novelized by H.F.M. Prescott as *Friar Felix at Large*. His pilgrimage account makes an interesting counterpoint to the almost contemporary Muslim record of the city by Mujir al-Din.

A. Instructions for Pilgrims

One of the responsibilities of the Franciscan "Guardian of the Holy Land" was to advise arriving European pilgrims on the etiquette of travel and lodging in a "hostile" Muslim land. Felix Fabri has preserved the entire, sometimes frightening, menu of dos and don'ts.

B. On the Road and in the City

The logistics of travel through the Holy Land were complex, and the terrain and its inhabitants often dangerous. No less perplexing were life and lodging in the city once the pilgrim arrived in Jerusalem. A trustworthy Muslim dragoman—literally a "translator," actually a guide and often a life saver—was absolutely essential to the pilgrim.

C. Relics and Souvenirs

The enshrinement of the Holy Land had led to a zeal for sacred souvenirs, objects associated in one way or another with the holy places or what had occurred in them. These were not mementos; the "relics" (reliquiae, "remains"), as they were called, participated in some manner and to some degree, in the holiness of the person or event they represented. The True Cross was the primary relic of Jerusalem (carried back to Europe in pieces after the Crusades). Others had been taken by Constantine to adorn his new capital of Constantinople.

II. Pilgrims in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher

The climax of every Christian pilgrim's journey was the visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Entry at the stipulated times, most generally Good Friday to Easter Monday, was closely supervised by Muslim wardens who decided

who would and would not enter and collected the fees of those who did. The visitors were locked within the church for the entire time and passed it as they would, not always decorously.

III. The Peoples of Jerusalem

The pilgrims' accounts of Jerusalem invariably include an ethnography of the very mixed population of the city.

A. Muslims

Christian visitors found the Muslims baffling, and their attempts to explain their customs and beliefs to their European readership was usually shot through with polemic.

B. Eastern Christians

Nor did the Eastern Christians receive much sympathy. Whether Greeks or Armenians, the two most considerable groups, or lesser numbers of Syrian, Egyptian (Coptic) or Ethiopian Christians, they were judged either heretics or schismatics and, of course, troublesome to Latin claims on Jerusalem.

C. Jews

The Jews receive only passing notice, either because the European visitors already had fixed opinions of Jews or because the Jews, who had very tenuous resources, kept a low profile in the city through most of the Middle Ages.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Why do people crave and treasure relics? Are there Jewish and Muslim relics?
2. How has the nature of the pilgrimage changed?

Suggested Reading

Prescott, Hilda F.M. *Friar Felix at Large: A Fifteenth Century Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1982.

Other Books of Interest

Harpur, James. *Sacred Tracks: Two Thousand Years of Christian Pilgrimage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Janin, Hunt. *Four Paths to Jerusalem: Jewish, Christian, Muslim and Secular Pilgrimages 1000 BCE to 2001 CE*. McFarland & Co. Publishers, 2002.

Sumption, J. *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion*. London: Faber & Faber, 1975.

Turner, Victor Witter, and Edith L. Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Webb, Diana. *Medieval European Pilgrimage, C.700–C.1500*. London: Palgrave, 2002.

Lecture 12:
Travelers, Tourists and Pilgrims

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Dror Ze'evi's *An Ottoman Century: The District o Jerusalem in the 1600s.*

Introduction

We've discussed how the type of pilgrim visiting Jerusalem has changed. In this lecture we will discuss the changes going on within the city itself and its residents during this time.

I. Ottoman Jerusalem: From Revival to Decay

In 1516 Jerusalem changed hands: it passed from the sovereignty of the Mamluks of Cairo to those of the Ottoman Turks of Istanbul, formerly Constantinople. The regime changed, but the rules remained the same: new rulers could demonstrate their Islamic piety and Muslim generosity by richly endowing their Holy Cities. And so the Ottomans did. The walls were entirely rebuilt (1537–1541) and the urban infrastructure, most notably the water supply, refurbished. There were new monuments on the Haram, which became progressively more crowded with shrines and memorials in the Ottoman era.

A new administration brought new prosperity and order to Jerusalem, but it did not long endure. By the seventeenth century, Jerusalem was once again in decline. Officials, whose tenancies were generally very brief, were corrupt, and Jerusalem's only real industries were the buying and selling of privileges to the resident Christian communities and the European pilgrimage trade, where extortion rather than fees was the order of the day.

II. Jews from Abroad

The ongoing Jewish presence in Jerusalem was humble and prudently silent throughout most of the Ottoman era. But Jews were also coming from Europe—in Jerusalem they were as foreign as Frenchmen—to visit or settle (many in the wake of the Jewish expulsion from Spain in 1492), and their stories cast new light on the Jewish experience in the Holy City.

A. David Reuveni

Among the oddest Jewish visitors to Jerusalem was David Reubeni, late of "Arabia," a kind of Jewish "Prester John" who claimed to be a prince from a distant Jewish land where the Ten Lost Tribes dwelled. He arrived in Jerusalem in the summer of 1523 on his way to Italy to announce his plans for a coalition of the Ten Tribes with the Catholic Church against the Ottomans. He went up to the Temple mount, entered the Dome of the Rock and apparently announced his messiahship. The Muslim guards were startled (and very likely bribed) but they did him no harm. Reuveni died in Portugal in 1538, possibly in an Inquisition prison.

B. Jewish Immigrants

Newcomers to Jerusalem often tried to help prospective Jewish immigrants back home prepare for their trip: what to bring and what to expect by way of food, lodging and treatment. Rabbi Judah "the Pious" led a group that numbered in the thousands to Jerusalem in 1700. Once arrived, they had to endure the usual vexations from the Ottoman authorities.

III. The Way of the Cross

This is the title given to the liturgical reenactment of Jesus' passage across Jerusalem from his condemnation by Pilate to his death on Golgotha. It is also called the "Stations of the Cross."

A. The Original Liturgy

A Christian liturgy was originally celebrated at the original sites in Jerusalem, and at the appropriate time, on the Friday preceding Easter. We have very few traces of the continuation of this necessarily public event in the Muslim era in Jerusalem, though it may have taken on new life in Crusader Jerusalem. In the days after the Crusades all accounts from the city tell of the Christians privately and only very circumspectly visiting the places identified with Jesus' last days. But even if the passage could not be celebrated, the notion that one could identify and follow the stages of Jesus' trek across Jerusalem bearing his cross from his condemnation to his execution was well defined by the end of the 16th century. The expression Via Dolorosa, the "Painful Way" first appears in 1560, and tracts describing the fourteen "stations" along the way shortly afterwards. The Franciscans, we discover, were tracing the route publicly, albeit quietly, two by two, in bare feet, on Fridays and during Lent. They may have paid for the privilege, which the Turks sometimes allowed but never approved.

B. The Transferred Liturgy, from Jerusalem to Connecticut

Christian Europe knew no such restrictions, and early on, pilgrims erected stylized duplicates of the "stations" of the Via Dolorosa when they returned home. The reproductions were outdoors, along roads and in monastic cloisters, but by the end of the seventeenth century they were appearing inside European churches.

IV. The Reformation Comes to Jerusalem

Ottoman naval domination of the Mediterranean made pilgrimage from Europe a risky business in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And those who did come were of a different sort from their predecessors. The Protestant Reformation and the European Enlightenment had both done their work. Pilgrims were now shading off into travelers (later they would meld into tourists). There were more skeptics in Jerusalem, and more Protestants, for whom the Franciscan monopoly on lodging and services for European Christians was intolerable. They tried to explain their predicament, sometimes to the Orthodox Greeks, sometimes even to the Turks, for whom a Christian was a Christian, often to no avail. But what they thought of the sites, the various "blessings" attached to them and the sale of relics associated with them, they committed to their memoirs.

By the nineteenth century, when it was clear that the Protestants were either not allowed or unwilling to worship at the chief Christian basilical sites (where the Franciscans still control access), they began to develop more aesthetically and theologically acceptable alternatives: Many Protestants celebrate the Resurrection at the rustic and still outdoor "Garden Tomb" north of the Damascus Gate on the north side of Jerusalem and the Nativity at the "Shepherds' Field" outside of Bethlehem.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Why was the population of Jerusalem at one of the lowest ebbs in history?
2. Why were the Greek Orthodox enemies of Rome?
3. What was happening in Europe that lead to Jews returning to Jerusalem?

Suggested Reading

Ze'evi, Dror. *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s.* New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Other Books of Interest

Fromkin, David, and Elizabeth Stein, eds. *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Kark, Ruth, and Michal Oren Norheim. *Jerusalem and Its Environs: Quarters, Neighborhoods, Villages, 1800–1948*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001.

Meron, Benvenisti. *City of Stone: The Hidden History of Jerusalem*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Peterson, John L. *A Walk in Jerusalem*. Morehouse Publishing, 1998.

Silverberg, Robert. *The Realm of Prester John*. Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press, 1996.

Lecture 13:
Through New Eyes:
Jerusalem and the Moderns

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad: Or the New Pilgrims Progress*.

Introduction

We start at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. The city was probably the poorest and smallest in the history of its existence. Tourism was decreasing, thus decreasing the income of its inhabitants. The infrastructure was also declining. Then enter the Europeans again.

I. Europe Returns to Jerusalem

Secular Europeans, who had fled Jerusalem at the end of the Crusade, came back in force in the sixteenth century when the Ottoman Empire began to grant "Capitulations" (treaty-insured commercial and political privileges) first to France in 1535 and then to the other European powers. Along with immunities and extraterritoriality came the sometimes implicit and sometimes explicit recognition of a European "protectorate" over the non-Muslim minorities under Ottoman sovereignty, like that of France over the Latin Catholics and of Russia over the Greek Orthodox. There was a British consulate in Jerusalem in 1838. The other great western powers followed quick suit (including the United States) and by mid-century all were represented, from Norway to Spain to Russia. And they brought with them all their great power rivalries, now played out on the small and crowded stage of Jerusalem. Each created its own protected community of clients, influence mongers and hangers-on.

II. "Digging for God and Country"

In addition to formal governmental presences on the part of the European powers, the West was represented in 19th century Jerusalem by two other types of institutions: missionary establishments and scientific, that is, archeological institutes. They first attempted to spread western Catholic (French) or Protestant (the British and the Americans) brands of Christianity, and in the case of the British, to mount a missionary enterprise directed at Jerusalem's Jews. The first Anglican bishop of Jerusalem (1841) was a converted Jew, Michael Solomon

Alexander, and the clinic founded in 1839 by the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews proved an attractive way of drawing Jerusalem's Jews into the orbit of Britain's missionaries.

Though the first genuine archeologist to inspect the Jerusalem sites, however briefly, in 1838, was the American Edward Robinson of New York's Union Theological Seminary, it was the British, followed somewhat belatedly by the Germans, who began systematically to survey and describe the ancient fabric of Jerusalem. The Palestine Exploration Fund

was set up in London in 1865, but already (1864–1865) Charles Wilson and a corps of Royal Engineers were mapping Jerusalem. In 1867, another Royal Engineer began the first systematic excavations in the city, many of them south and west of the Haram al-Sharif (published 1884). In 1890 the French Dominicans founded the research institute of the Ecole Biblique in the city, and in 1895 the American School of Oriental Research was opened as a cooperative venture on the part of a consortium of American universities.

III. Pilgrimage Trade and Pilgrimage Business

Western Christian pilgrimage decreased steadily from the sixteenth century onward. Increased dangers, increased skepticism and cost had all taken their toll. Eastern Christians continued to take the road to the Holy City, however, from Greece, Turkey, Armenia and Russia. The Armenians in particular were generous supporters of their fellow countrymen who lived in the shadow of the Holy Sepulcher, and the Armenian quarter of the city, which occupied a large part of the southwestern quadrant of the Old City was particularly prosperous in a city where few could make that boast.

Jerusalem was a one industry town, whether that industry was called pilgrims, travelers or tourists. Where once the Christian pilgrims from Europe could all be housed in the Franciscan convent, by the mid-nineteenth century they were spread through lodgings and hostels throughout the Christian quarter. The entry fees for the major holy places went into Turkish pockets, but there was enough cash left over to support a substantial cottage industry in the manufacture of crosses, crucifixes, rosaries, reliquaries carved in wood, stone or mother of pearl. The Franciscans had a warehouse full of such goods, and the Greeks, Armenians and Copts all did a substantial business not only in selling these souvenirs to visitors in Jerusalem and Bethlehem but in exporting them abroad.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. How common was Mark Twain's experience?
2. What is the significance of the various Holy Places?
3. If the Franciscans weren't supposed to proselytize, why were they there?

Suggested Reading

Twain, Mark. *The Innocents Abroad: Or the New Pilgrims Progress*. New York: Penguin, 1976.

Other Books of Interest

Batalov, Andrei. *Jerusalem in Russian Culture*. Aristide D. Caratzas Publishers, 1993.

Gilbert, Martin. *Jerusalem: Illustrated History Atlas*. 3rd ed. Vallentine Mitchell Publishers, 1994.

Shanks, Hershel, and Jason Epstein, eds. *Jerusalem: An Archaeological Biography*. New York: Random House, 1995.

Shepherd, Naomi. *The Zealous Intruders*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1987.

Silberman, Neil Asher. *Digging for God and Country*. New York: Anchor Books, 1989.

Yehoshua, Ben-Arieh. *Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Lecture 14:
From Then to Now:
The Holy Places in the Present Age

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Karen Armstrong's *One City, Three Faiths*.

Introduction

Almost everything in Jerusalem is in dispute. There are many reasons why this city remains, and will remain, in a state of turmoil.

I. The People and Quarters of the Old City

Whereas throughout the Middle Ages the population of Jerusalem had been merely the subject of a kind of naïve ethnography, the twentieth century turned it into a kind of demographic warfare. By one estimate Jerusalem had only somewhat more than 8,700 people living in it in 1806, of which about half were Muslims. In 1870, it was estimated that out of a total population of some 22,000 in the Old City, there were 6,500 Muslims, 4,500 Christians and 11,000 Jews. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jews had been the smallest of the three groups; by 1870 they were easily the largest.

II. Stare Decisis Ottomanicis

Given the increased European presence in Jerusalem and the more intense international attention and pressure exercised in its regard, the 19th century Ottoman rulers of Jerusalem were confronted with issues and made decisions that long survived them.

A. The Holy Sepulcher

For as long as anyone could remember, the interior of the Church of the Anastasis, as the Easterners called it, or of the Holy Sepulcher, as it is known in the West, was contested by and divided among various Christian churches, a form of ecclesiastical turf warfare from which the Muslim rulers of the city had long taken profit. The Greeks held the central portion or nave before the Sepulcher itself, while the Armenians on one side and the Latins on the other contested the lateral chapels. Lesser groups of Copts, Jacobites and Chaldeans jostled for space in the lesser corners, while the hapless Abyssinians were banished to a place on the roof. And the Protestants arrived too late to have any place at all, even had they wished it.

The annals of Jerusalem are marred with tales of violence among these Christian communities literally locked—they dared not leave lest someone else take their hard-won place—in the most sacred place in Christendom. Every repair, every alteration was a casus belli. The Muslim authorities, now the Ottomans, who literally possessed the key to the premises, presided over these scandalous events, and at time undertook to adjudicate them. In 1808 a fire consumed the great dome

over the Sepulcher itself and caused extensive damage. Repairs were necessary to avert further catastrophe. The Greek Orthodox, who then held a position of primacy within the church, were finally given charge of the restoration—essentially what is visible today—but the event opened a long series of lawsuits that finally provoked, in 1852, an Ottoman decree ordering all parties to observe the status quo until further adjudication of claims was made. Neither the Ottomans, nor the British who succeeded them, nor the Jordanians nor the Israelis have seen fit to settle the matter.

B. The Western Wall

What is now called the "Western Wall" and earlier the "Wailing Wall," is, since the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the most considerable Jewish holy place in Jerusalem. At the destruction, God's presence, his Shekinah, was thought to have gone "behind the western wall." Whatever that expression may have meant originally, it eventually came to indicate the exposed western face of Herod's temple platform, the 90-odd feet between the Gate of the Chain Street on the north and the Maghribi Gate on the south. As a place of Jewish devotion it came into clear focus only in Ottoman times. In the opening years of the eighteenth century, Jews were gathering there on holy days to pray. By the nineteenth century, that narrow space, no more than a fifteen foot wide alley between the wall and the Arab houses that ran up to it, was a bone of contention between the Jerusalem Jews, who wished on occasion to repair or repave or refurbish it, and the Ottoman authorities who argued that Islamic law forbade all new constructions to the subject "People of the Book."

III. A City Divided, United

The fortunes of the Old City underwent changes in the mid-twentieth century. The First World War had cast the defeated Turks out of Palestine forever, and in the decades that followed it fell to Great Britain to administer the area in the name of the League of Nations. It was not an easy task. Zionism on the one hand, the movement for a Jewish national home in Palestine, and Arab nationalism on the other, both of whose aspirations the British had encouraged during the Great War, pursued their conflicting ends in the face of what was a British holding action. When the British ended their so-called Mandate over Palestine in 1948, both sides, Arabs and Jews, rushed in to occupy what they would and could. It was the forces of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, another British creation, that got control of the Old City, which they held for nearly the next twenty years.

In 1967, in the renewed fighting called the Six Day War, Israel overran the Old City and immediately incorporated it into West Jerusalem, the overwhelmingly Jewish "new city" that had grown up first as a western suburb of the walled Old City and then as a much larger urban center. From then on, the political charge of the Holy City and its holy places was in the hands of a Jewish state, the first to rule Jerusalem since the year 6 C.E.

IV. The Law of the Holy Places et cetera

As the Ottomans were already beginning to discern in the nineteenth century, the Israelis understood with great clarity that the issue of the holy places of Jerusalem (and for some, of Jerusalem as a whole) could no longer be settled by the unilateral decisions of the sovereign power but were rather a matter of international concern. They moved quickly to assure the concerned parties—and there were many—that the status of the holy places (which were increasingly defined in a judicial sense) and access to them were protected and guaranteed. To this end the Israeli parliament passed, on June 27, 1967, a "Law for the Protection of the Holy Places." And, it was explained to the Christians and Muslims, councils of their representatives would be consulted as appropriate while the Chief Rabbis of Israel (Ashkenazi and Sephardic) would oversee the chief Jewish holy place, the Western Wall.

It was a wildly optimistic expectation (or perhaps just a cynical one) that the Christians or the Muslims could sit in "councils" or indeed that the Jews would be content with what their rabbis, or the Ministry of Religious Affairs, would decide on their behalf.

A. The Rabbis and the Archeologists

When the British formally replaced the Ottomans in 1922, they inherited the Western Wall problem, though by then the Jews had powerful European voices arguing on their behalf. The British appointed a commission whose findings were read into law in 1931, namely that the Jews were free to enter the area at all times for purposes of prayer and were allowed to carry there with them—another bone of contention—small ritual articles. The Order in Council as it was called was rendered moot when the Jordanians occupied the Old City in the wake of the British withdrawal in 1948. Jewish rights at the wall were severely abridged.

In 1967 the Israelis swept the Jordanians out of the Old City in turn. The entire Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif, the platform and the Muslim buildings atop it, was now in the hands of the Israeli defense forces. The Haram al-Sharif was rather quickly handed over to the Muslims. Equally quickly, the Western Wall was appropriated for the State of Israel: the houses near the Wall were bull-dozed away and a large plaza cleared and paved. What remained to be decided was the degree to which the area along the Western Wall constituted an official Jewish holy place, as the Ministry of Religious Affairs insisted, or a historical site that should be excavated.

B. Hastening the End

Jews, Christians and Muslims agree on one thing, that the Messiah will come to Jerusalem and that the Final Judgment will take place there, more precisely in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (or Kedron) between the Temple Mount and the Mount of Olives. Beyond that, the scenario for the End of Days differs widely among the three monotheist communities. Though Muslims are unconcerned on the point, Jews and Christians believe that Israel will somehow be restored before the

End and—here the Christians part company with the Jews—that the Temple will be rebuilt.

Israel has been restored, the state that is, not the Children of, and both Jewish and Christian opinion is divided on whether this is a first step toward the End Time or, indeed, a counter-indication, as a number of many pious Jews believe. Some of those who believe the founding of the State of Israel, and particularly its possession of the Temple Mount, is a step on the path toward the End of Days are in fact taking measures to "hurry the End," despite centuries of rabbinic warning not to do so. There is in Jerusalem a Temple Institute dedicated to, and preparing for, the next step in the apocalyptic scenario, the construction of the Third Temple and the restoration of sacrifice atop the Temple Mount.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What is happening today in the battle for the Holy Land?
2. What do you believe will happen next?
3. How will the prophecies of each religion affect Jerusalem?

Suggested Reading

Armstrong, Karen. *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths*. New York: Knopf, 1996.

Other Books of Interest

Armstrong, Karen. *A History of God: The 4,000 Year Quest for Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994.

Feiler, Bruce S. *Abraham: A Journey to the Heart of Three Faiths*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002.

Friedland, Roger, and Richard Hecht. *To Rule Jerusalem*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Gilbert, Martin. *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Balfour Declaration: A 1917 declaration on the part of the British government supporting a post-war national home for the Jews in Palestine.

Basilica: The rectangular hall with an apse at one end used by the Romans for audiences and hearings and adopted by the Jews for their synagogues and by Christians for their churches.

Coptic: i.e., Egyptian, chiefly referring to the vernacular dialect spoken in Egypt from late antiquity onwards.

Diaspora: Jews living outside the Land of Israel.

Fertile Crescent: The band of grass and farmland arching around and over the Syrian steppe from the borders of Egypt to the head of the Persian Gulf.

Franji: Arabic: The Franks, and more generally, any foreigner.

Gihon-Siloam Tunnel: Hezekiah's underground tunnel carrying water from the Gihon spring on the east side of the City of David to the Siloam pool on the west.

Hajj: The pilgrimage to Mecca, obligatory once in a lifetime for all Muslims.

Haram al-Sharif: "The Noble Sanctuary," the name given by Muslims to the Temple Mount.

Hebron: A city south of Jerusalem famed as the burial place of Abraham and other biblical patriarchs and their wives.

Hellenism: The intellectual, political and cultural way of life associated with the Greeks.

Jihad: Arabic: "Struggling (in the path of God);" Holy War.

Knights Templar: The military order of monks sworn to the defense of the Holy Land after its capture by the Crusaders in 1099. Their headquarters were in the Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount.

Kohenim: (sing. kohen), priest; the male descendants of Aaron who served in the Temple.

Madrasa: A Muslim law school; the equivalent of the Jewish Yeshiva.

Masada: A high mesa near the Dead Sea where the last Jewish rebels held out against Rome in the war that began in 66 C.E.

Mishna: Jewish oral law, reduced to writing ca. 200 C.E.

Mount Moriah: The mountainous area described in Genesis 21: 2 where Abraham was to sacrifice Isaac; later identified with the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

Night Journey: Muhammad's being miraculously carried by night from Mecca to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem and described in Quran 17:1.

Pharisees: A Second Temple Jewish sect who followed a strict observance of the Torah based on an unwritten "tradition of the fathers" (see Mishna).

Sadducees: A Second Temple Jewish sect who hewed close to the literal interpretation of the Bible and denied the validity and binding power on an "oral Law."

Shi'ite: English for Shi'at Ali, the "party of" or "faction of" Ali, referring to those who thought Ali had been designated by God and Muhammad as the first leader (known as imam) of the community of Muslims and that the office thereafter belonged by right to his designated descendants (see Sunni).

Sunni: Short for "Partisans of Custom (sunna) and the Community;" those who accepted history's judgment on who should be the head of the Muslim community (see "Shi'ite").

Sura: A chapter or portion of the Quran.

Waqf: A pious foundation in Islam; entailing property rights to God and the income from said property to a pious purpose, like the construction and support of a mosque or madrasa.

Suggested Readings:

Armstrong, Karen. *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths*. New York: Knopf, 1996.

Block, Daniel I. *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24: International Commentary on the Old Testament*. Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1977.

Eusebius, Pamphili. *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*. Ed. Andrew Louth. New York: Penguin Classics, 1990.

Gabrieli, Francesco. *Arab Historians of the Crusades* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Kirsch, Jonathan. *King David*. New York: Ballantine Books, Inc. 2001.

Levine, Lee I. *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* New York: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2000.

Prescott, Hilda F.M. *Friar Felix at Large: A Fifteenth Century Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1982.

Rajak, Tessa. *Josephus*. London: Duckworth, 2002.

Sanders, E.P. *The Historical Figure of Jesus*. New York: Penguin, 1985.

Sardar, Ziauddi, and Zafar Malik. *Introducing Muhammad*. New York: Totem Books, 1997.

Tasso, Torquato. *Jerusalem Delivered (Gerusalemme Liberata)*. Trans. Anthony M. Esolen. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Twain, Mark. *The Innocents Abroad: Or the New Pilgrims Progress*. New York: Penguin, 1976.

Ze'evi, Dror. *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s.* New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Other Books of Interest:

Armstrong, Karen. *Abraham: A Journey to the Heart of Three Faiths*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002.

Armstrong, Karen. *The Crusades and Their Impact on Today's World*. New York: Random House, 2001.

Armstrong, Karen. *A History of God: The 4,000 Year Quest for Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994.

Barnes, Timothy David. *Constantine and Euseblus*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Batalov, Andrei. *Jerusalem in Russian Culture*. Aristide D. Caratzas Publishers, 1993.

Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

Brown, Raymond. *The Death of the Messiah*. New York: Doubleday, 1994.

Other Books of Interest (continued):

Cahill, Thomas. *Desire of the Everlasting Hills: The World Before and After Jesus*. New York: Random House, 2001.

Cary, Max and Howard H. Scullard. *History of Rome: Down to the Reign of Constantine*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.

Cohen, Shaye J.D., ed. *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah.* Vol. 7. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995.

Collins, John J., ed. *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.

Cook, Michael. *Muhammad*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Crossan, John Dominic, and Jonathan L. Reed. *Excavating Jesus: Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002.

Dabashi, Hamid. *From the Rise of Muhammad to the Establishment of the Umayyads*. England: Transaction Publishers, 1992.

Durant, Will. *Caesar and Christ: A History of Roman Civilization and of Christianity from Their Beginning A.D. 325, Vol 3*. Fine Communications, 1993.

Elad, Amikam. *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*. Leiden: E.J. Brill., 1995.

Elliott, T.G. *The Christianity of Constantine the Great*. California: University of Scranton Press, 1997.

Feiler, Bruce S. *Abraham: A Journey to the Heart of Three Faiths*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002.

Finkelstein, Israel and Neil Asher Silberman. *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.

Friedland, Roger, and Richard Hecht. *To Rule Jerusalem*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Fromkin, David, and Elizabeth Stein, eds. *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Gilbert, Martin. *Jerusalem: Illustrated History Atlas*. 3rd ed. Vallentine Mitchell Publishers, 1994.

Gilbert, Martin. *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1996.

Goldstein, Jonathan A. *I Maccabees: A New Translation*. New York: Doubleday, 1990.

Grabar, Oleg. *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Other Books of Interest (continued):

Gruen, Erich S. *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Gutman, Joseph. *The Temple of Solomon*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976.

Hancock, Graham. *The Sign and the Seal: The Quest for the Lost Ark of the Covenant.* New York: Crown Books, 1992.

Harpur, James. *Sacred Tracks: Two Thousand Years of Christian Pilgrimage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Harris, Ruth. *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age*. New York: Penguin USA, 2000.

Hawting, Gerald R. *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Hengel, Martin. *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod 1 until 70 A.D.* T&T Clark, 1999.

Hillenbrand, Carole. *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Huse, Adrian. *Francis of Assisi: A Revolutionary Life*. Hidden Spring, 2001.

Janin, Hunt. *Four Paths to Jerusalem: Jewish, Christian, Muslim and Secular Pilgrimages 1000 BCE to 2001 CE*. McFarland & Co. Publishers, 2002.

Jones, D.H. *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*. Canada: University of Toronto, 1978.

Kark, Ruth, and Michal Oren Norheim. *Jerusalem and Its Environs: Quarters, Neighborhoods, Villages, 1800–1948*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001.

Kirsch, Jonathan. *Moses*. New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1999.

Lane-Poole, Stanley. *Saladin: All-Powerful Sultan and the Uniter of Islam*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.

Larsen, Mogens Trolle. *The Conquest of Assyria: Excavating in an Antique Land*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Levine, Lee I., ed. *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Continuum International Publishing Group, 1998.

Maalouf, Amin, and Jon Rothschild. *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*. New York: Knopf Publishing Group, 1989.

Madden, Thomas F. *A Concise History of the Crusades*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999.

Makiya, Kanan. *The Rock: A Tale of Seventh Century Jerusalem*. New York: Vintage Books, 2001.

Other Books of Interest (continued):

McBirnie, William Steuart. *Search for the Twelve Apostles*. Tyndale House Publishers, 1979.

Meeks, Wayne A. *The First Urban Christians*. New Haven: Yale, 1983.

Meron, Benvenisti. *City of Stone: The Hidden History of Jerusalem*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Moorman, John R.H. *History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517*. Franciscan Press, 1988.

Newby, P.H. *Saladin in His Time*. Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 2001.

Nickelsburg, George. *Jewish Literature Between Bible and the Mishnah*. Philadelphia: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1981.

Painter, John. *Just James. The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999.

Pakfitt, Tudor. *The Lost Tribes of Israel*. London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 2001.

Pentecost, J. Dwight, and John Danilson. *Words and Works of Jesus Christ*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000.

Peters, Edward M. *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Peters, F.E. *The Distant Shrine: The Islamic Centuries in Jerusalem*. New York: AMS Press, 1993.

Peters, F.E. *Mecca and Jerusalem: The Typology of the Holy City*. New York: New York University Press, 1986.

Peters, F.E. *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam*. New York: State University of New York, 1994.

Peterson, John L. *A Walk in Jerusalem*. Morehouse Publishing, 1998.

Pohlsander, Hans A. *The Emperor Constantine*. England: Routledge, 1996.

Roller, Duane W. *The Building Program of Herod the Great*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Rosovsky, Nitza. *City of the Great King*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1996.

Saggs, Henry W.F. *Babylonians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Schimmel, Annemarie. *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Shanks, Hershel, and Jason Epstein, eds. *Jerusalem: An Archaeological Biography*. New York: Random House, 1995.

Other Books of Interest (continued):

Shepherd, Naomi. *The Zealous Intruders*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1987.

Silberman, Neil Asher. *Digging for God and Country*. New York: Anchor Books, 1989.

Silverberg, Robert. *The Realm of Prester John*. Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press, 1996.

Sumption, J. *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion*. London: Faber & Faber, 1975.

Turner, Victor Witter, and Edith L. Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Way, Warren. *The Pride of Babylon: The Story of Nebuchadnezzar*. Philadelphia: Xlibris Publishing, 2001.

Webb, Diana. *Medieval European Pilgrimage, C.700–C.1500*. London: Palgrave, 2002.

Wilcken, Robert L. *The Land Called Holy*. New Haven: Yale, 1992.

Wilkinson, John. *Jerusalem as Jesus Knew It*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1978.

Wilkinson, John. *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*. Jerusalem: Ariel, 1977.

Wilson, A.N. *Paul: The Mind of the Apostle*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1997.

Wolfe, Michael, ed. *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing About the Muslim Pilgrimage*. New York: Grove Press, 1997.

Wright, N.T. *What Saint Paul Really Said*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmens, 1997.

Yehoshua, Ben-Arieh. *Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

These books are available online through www.modernscholar.com or by calling Recorded Books at 1-800-636-3399.