

Pilgrims and Pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the Early Muslim Period¹

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The Historical Framework

The politico-religious status of Jerusalem in the Muslim world was established at the beginning of the second/eighth century, during the Umayyad period (661–750). However, from the mid-eighth century, and even prior to it, Jerusalem lost its central political, though not religious, status, and throughout most of the Middle Ages it was an outlying city of diminished importance.

The effort made by the Umayyads to exalt and glorify the religious and political status of Jerusalem was enormous. The evidence for this is to be found in the scope of the Umayyad building program in Jerusalem, in the sanctification of the Ḥaram, and in the rituals instituted there. The building program included not only Qubbat al-Šakhra and al-Masjid al-Aqṣā, but also the smaller-domed buildings on the Ḥaram (Qubbat al-Silsila, Qubbat al-Nabī, Qubbat al-Mīrāj; the Ḥaram wall with its holy gates, which have combined Jewish and Islamic resonances (Bāb al-Nabī, Bāb al-Sakīna, Bab Ḥiṭṭa); the six large structures outside the Ḥaram, including the large two-storied palace, from the second floor of which a bridge led apparently to al-Aqṣā Mosque; and, finally, the roads to and from Jerusalem built and repaired by ‘Abd al-Malik.²

This intense building activity must be seen in the context of the sanctification of the Ḥaram and the rituals performed there. Although there is no explicit written testimony that the Umayyads considered Jerusalem to be their capital, their extraordinary investment of material and human resources in the city leaves no doubt that this was so. Certainly, at the local level, it would seem that the city was for some time the political and administrative center of the district (*jund*) of Filastīn. The abundance of “Traditions in Praise of Je-

rusalem," including the exegeses of passages of the Qur'ān which are devoted to the city, and the "historical" traditions concerning the conquest of the city and the peace treaty granted it, all belong to this concerted effort on the part of the first Umayyads to give exceptional status to Jerusalem.

It therefore seems evident that the Umayyads intended to develop Jerusalem into both a political and religious center which, if not intended to surpass Mecca, would at least be its equal. This effort began with the reign of Mu'āwiya b. Abi Sufyān (661–680) and ended during the reign of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (715–717), when he began to build the city of Ramla. Sulaymān, apparently, did not share the adoration of Jerusalem which his father and brother had demonstrated before him.³

Muslim Worship on the Ḥaram during the Umayyad Period

Ritual ceremonies in Jerusalem in the Umayyad period (and later as well) were mainly concentrated on the Ḥaram. There are a number of early testimonies of these services, and they certainly confirm the trend developed and encouraged by the first Umayyad caliphs. Many of these rituals were performed in and around the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra).

During the time of 'Abd al-Malik, the Dome of the Rock was opened to the public on Mondays and Thursdays only (!); on the other days only the attendants entered. These attendants cleansed and purified themselves, changed their clothing, burned incense, and anointed the Rock with all kinds of perfume. Prayers were held after incense was burnt. Ten gatekeepers were responsible for each gate.⁴ During 'Abd al-Malik's reign, the Dome was coated with gold and the Rock was surrounded with an ebony balustrade, behind which—between the pillars—hung curtains woven with gold. Jews and Christians were employed in different services on the Ḥaram: they cleaned the dirt there, made glass for the lamps and goblets, and prepared wicks for the lamps. They were exempt from the poll tax and passed these tasks on as an inheritance.⁵ Apparently, the gatekeepers mentioned above do not refer to these same Jews or Christians.

Another early tradition says that there were forty guards, one of whom belonged to the *Anṣār*. Also serving on the Ḥaram were *al-Akhmās*, slaves of the caliph who belonged to the State Treasury as the fifth part (*khums*) of the booty or who were acquired by the Treasury on account of this *khums*.⁶

A chain hung from the middle of the Dome of the Rock. An interesting tradition relates that at the time of 'Abd al-Malik a precious stone was suspended from this chain together with two horns of the ram sacrificed by

Abraham, and the crown of *Kisrā*, king of Persia. According to another tradition, prior to the siege of Mecca by 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in 683–684, the two horns of the ram sacrificed by Abraham in redemption of his son were hung in the Ka'ba. According to one version of the latter tradition, they were placed on the fence of the Ka'ba at the time it was built and renovated by Ibn al-Zubayr, and were shattered there.⁷ Less than ten years later, horns of the ram were allegedly found at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

Evidently, already in the Umayyad period there were a number of places venerated within the Dome of the Rock where the Muslims performed ritual ceremonies. Two of these, the Black Paving Stone (*al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā'*) and the Gate of Isrāfil, were of special significance.⁸

During the season of the *hajj*, the same ritual ceremonies were held on the Ḥaram as were held in Mecca. One interesting tradition, parts of which are unparalleled in the known sources, describes in great length the ritual ceremonies customary on the Ḥaram during the time of 'Abd al-Malik. The text is found in the book of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (1186–1256), *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, which is still mainly in manuscript form.⁹

Analysis of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī's Description

Generally, the text can be divided into two parts. From the first part it is learned that the politico-religious situation, i.e., the struggle with 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, drove 'Abd al-Malik to prevent *Ahl-al-Shām* from going to Mecca to perform the *hajj* and then build the Dome of the Rock as a replacement for the Ka'ba. The second part (much longer than the first) deals mainly with the actual building of the Dome of the Rock, its special attendants, the rituals held within, some physical characteristics of the Ḥaram, and in this connection the description of the building and renovations on the Ḥaram during the reign of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, al-Manṣūr (754–775) and al-Mahdī (775–786).

Many passages in the second part have almost identical parallels in the "Literature in Praise of Jerusalem" (*Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*). The first part, which deals with the motives for the building of the Dome of the Rock, has almost no parallels in this genre. This description reported by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī is much longer and detailed than the well-known tradition of al-Ya'qūbī (d. 897), which was one of the main sources for scholars debating the reasons and circumstances for the erection of the Dome of the Rock.¹⁰

Notably, while many identical parallels are found in Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī's book and in the *Faḍā'il* literature, the sources of *Mir'āt al-Zamān* are al-Wāqidī (d. 823), Hishām b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 764), and his son Muḥammad (d. 819), whereas the sources for this tradition in the *Faḍā'il* books are a Jerusalem family.¹¹

The account of Ibn al-Jawzī has bearing upon some historical as well as historiographical problems. It has significant implications for the importance of Jerusalem during the Umayyad period. The importance of the Dome of the Rock and the reasons for its erection are also part of this vast problem.¹² There is good reason to discount the objections of Goitein and adhere to the earlier contention of Goldziher that it was the struggle with Ibn al-Zubayr which caused 'Abd al-Malik to build the Dome of the Rock and to attempt to divert the *hajj* from Mecca to Jerusalem. This in no way conflicts with what appears to have been two other important considerations in 'Abd al-Malik's development of the Ḥaram: the association of the spot with the Last Days and with the Temple of Solomon.

Although the immediate cause for the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the attempt to divert the *hajj* from Mecca to Jerusalem may have been his struggle with Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Malik was also concerned with emphasizing the central place of Jerusalem, of the Ḥaram and the *Ṣakhra*, within the religious landscape of early Islam. There is no contradiction in arguing that he built the Dome of the Rock on the site of the Temple of Solomon as a symbol of the Last Days and also as a rival to Mecca, which was then in the hands of his opponent Ibn al-Zubayr.

Worship on the Ḥaram after the Umayyad Period: The Wuqūf

Additional testimonies on the performance of the *wuqūf* ceremonies in Jerusalem on the Ḥaram come from later periods. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in the year 1047, describes the performance of *al-tārif* opposite the Rock on the Ḥaram, the offering of the *'id al-Adhā* sacrifice on the Ḥaram by those Muslims who were unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Al-Tūrtūshī, who was in Jerusalem in the last decade of the eleventh century, notes that on the day of *'Arafāt*, in the mosque in Jerusalem, the people from that city and the neighboring villages stood in prayer with their faces turned to Mecca, raising their voices in *du'ā'* (prayers of request, invocations) as though they were standing before Mount 'Arafāt in Mecca.

In the year 1189 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn traveled from Ṣafad to Jerusalem for the explicit purpose of celebrating the holiday of the sacrifice there. Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1329) also tells of the existence of the *wuqūf* custom in Jerusalem. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century, 'Alā' al-Dīn, Abū al-Ḥasan composed a poem (*qaṣīda*), whose verses blatantly condemn a number of the rituals held in Jerusalem which related to the Holy Rock and other places on the Ḥaram.¹³ Muslims from Jerusalem and the adjacent areas, as well as pilgrims from all over the Muslim world, most certainly took part in the rituals held on the Ḥaram in the course of their visit to the holy places in the city.

The Visit and Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Its Holy Sites

Christian and Jewish Pilgrims to the Holy Land

There was a long and developed tradition of Christian worshippers visiting the Holy Land already before the early Muslim period (634–1099).¹⁴ Its roots were still deeply embedded in the early period of the Christian church, but the real impetus was in the days of Constantine, following the pilgrimage of his mother, Helena, to the Holy Land.¹⁵

The pilgrims set out for the Holy Land with guidebooks which were widely circulated in the Christian world. One of the first guides, already heard of at the beginning of the fourth century, was Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, "The Guide to the Land of the Bible."¹⁶ There were short guides written for the Christian pilgrim at the beginning of the sixth century which were prepared for the pilgrim to carry about during his travels to the holy places and were already distributed to him at his place of origin in the West.¹⁷ A number of descriptions of Christian pilgrims' routes in the Holy Land in the early Muslim period seem to follow such itineraries.¹⁸

Many testimonies exist of pilgrimages by Jews to the Holy Land, especially from Syria but also from places farther away in the Muslim world. We have almost no information about Jewish pilgrimages from European countries during this period, which were ongoing whenever external circumstances made it possible.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that the first guidebook for the Jewish pilgrim to Jerusalem (and Palestine?) was most probably the one published by J. Braslavi²⁰ from the eleventh century. Guidebooks for Jewish pilgrims to the Holy Land existed from the twelfth century on.²¹

Muslim Pilgrimage to the Holy Land

We have no testimony during the early Muslim period for the existence of a guide for Muslim pilgrims to the Holy Land. The earliest-known book concerning the visits to the known Muslim holy sites (in the Islamic caliphate) dates to the ninth century. Three more treatises on this subject, dating to the end of the tenth century, are known, however none of them has survived. Their authors were Shī'ites (apparently not by coincidence), and it is clear that they discussed, first and foremost, visiting the sites holy to the Shī'ites.²²

*The Umayyad and Early 'Abbāsīd Periods*²³

From the beginning of the Umayyad period, Muslim visitors and pilgrims came to Jerusalem to pray in its holy places. A few very early testimonies of this have been collected and are cited here. However, even partial conclusions

regarding the scope of the phenomenon cannot be drawn from them, nor are specific pilgrim itineraries or a complete list of the holy sites that pilgrims visited and prayed at given. What is known is that the places visited were concentrated mainly on the Ḥaram, and that the itinerary also included the Place of Prayer of David (Miḥrāb Dāwūd), the Spring of Silwān, the Valley of Gehenna (mainly the Church of Mary), and the Mount of Olives.

Many traditions were circulated in the Umayyad period in an attempt to encourage pilgrimage to Jerusalem and prayer there. These constitute a part of the "Traditions in Praise of Syria" (*Faḍā'il al-Shām*).²⁴ In addition, special traditions in praise of places in Jerusalem itself were circulated at the beginning of the Umayyad period as part of the *Faḍā'il* literature, and this certainly encouraged pilgrimages and visits there. Thus, we have a rather early tradition that was circulated no later than the first quarter of the eighth century that "he who comes to Jerusalem and prays to the right of the Rock [on the Ḥaram] and to its north, and prays in the (holy) place (*al-mawḍi'*) of the Chain, and gives a little or much charity, his prayers will be answered and God will remove his sorrows, and he will be freed of his sins as on the day his mother gave birth to him."²⁵

Tradition has it that the Prophet "prayed" to the right of the Rock on the night of the *isrā'*, and it was there that the Qubbat al-Nabī was later built.²⁶ It should also be remembered that he who prays to the north of the Rock unites the two *qiblas*.²⁷ As for the place of the Chain, this may mean Qubbat al-Silsila (or perhaps the chain that was suspended from the center of the Dome of the Rock).²⁸

Another early tradition (the *isnād* concludes with Khālid b. Ma'dān, d. 103 or 104/721–722) encourages visits to the holy places in Jerusalem: "Whosoever comes to Jerusalem must come to the eastern Miḥrāb Dāwūd and pray there and bathe in the spring, the Spring of Silwān, for it is one of the springs of Paradise, and he is not allowed to enter the churches and buy anything from there."²⁹

The pilgrims came to Jerusalem from nearby locales (from Syria³⁰ and from more distant regions. Some came in fulfillment of personal vows.³¹ Anyone who could not make the pilgrimage and pray in Jerusalem could send olive oil instead to illuminate the Mosque of Jerusalem.³² Goitein thinks that Jews and Christians also donated oil for illumination of the mosque.³³

Some pilgrims came to Jerusalem before the season of the *ḥajj* in order to sanctify themselves and prepare themselves for the *ḥajj* or the *'umra*. This sanctification ceremony was called *iḥrām* or *iḥlāl* (meaning that the person sanctifying himself, the *muḥrim*, announced out loud his intention and readiness to enter into a state of *iḥrām*).

Early traditions, which can be dated back to at least the first quarter of the

second/eighth century, extol the sanctification of the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra* from Jerusalem.³⁴ There is information on a number of important Muslim scholars who went up to Jerusalem to perform the *iḥrām* there before the *ḥajj*, namely ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar (d. 74/669), ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 58/678), Maḥmūd b. al-Rabīʿ, Abū Nuʿaym (d. 99/717), and a little later Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 812), who performed an *iḥrām* in Jerusalem.³⁵ All these were famous people; some of them did not live either in Syria or Palestine. Obviously scholars and other residents of Palestine were also present on the Ḥaram during the *iḥrām* ceremony before the *ḥajj*, and it may be assumed that they constituted the majority of those sanctifying themselves. It is related, for example, that Ṣāliḥ b. Yūsuf, Abū Shuʿayb, a resident of Palestine who died in Ramla in 282/890, performed the *ḥajj* ninety (or seventy) times, and each time he would perform the *iḥrām* from the Rock of Jerusalem [or the Ḥarām: *min Ṣakhrat Bayt al-Maqdis*].³⁶

There is great virtue in combining the visit to Jerusalem with one to Hebron. All those who visit Jerusalem and afterwards go to the tomb of Abraham in Hebron will there recite five prayers; their requests from God will be granted and all their sins will be forgiven.³⁷ Another tradition combined the pilgrimage to Mecca and the visit to al-Madīna with that to Jerusalem, praising and recommending prayer in the three mosques of these cities during the same year.³⁸ Perhaps in this light one can understand the words of al-Muqaddasī (second half of the tenth century) who, when describing the Berbers in North Africa, says that there are very few of them who do not visit Jerusalem (*wa-aqallu man lā yazūru Bayt al-Maqdis minhum*).³⁹

A rare testimony combining the pilgrimage to Mecca with the *ziyāra* to Jerusalem is found in a poem by al-Muʿallā b. Ṭarīf, the *mawlā* of Caliph al-Mahdī (775–786).

Kāmil Muraffāʿ:

*Yā ṣāḥi innī qad ḥajaj / tu wa-zurtu Bayta ʿl-Maqdisi
Wa-dakhaltu Luddan ʿāmidan / fī-ʿīdi Māryā Jirjisi
Fa-raʿaytu fīhi niswatan / mithla ʿz-ʿzibāʿi ʿl-kunnasi.⁴⁰*

Translation:

Oh, my friend:

I have already performed the pilgrimage / and visited Jerusalem

And I entered [the city of] Lod intending to visit / the St. Georgius
Festival

And I saw there women / who looked like gazelles gathering to their
shelter.⁴¹

Al-Muʿallā b. Ṭarīf visited Lod for the St. Georgius festival, one of the Christian festivals recognized by the Muslims in Palestine according to which they calculated the seasons of the year. The festival of Lod (*ʿĪd Ludd*) is the festival of the sowing season.⁴² Exactly when al-Muʿallā visited Jerusalem and Lod is not known, however it may have been at the time of al-Mahdī's visit to Jerusalem in 163/780.⁴³

Jerusalem also constituted a unique center for the early ascetics and Muslim mystics, the *zubbād*, who developed and circulated the "Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem." Some resided in the city and others made pilgrimages to it from all corners of the Muslim world. They often combined their visit to Jerusalem with visits to other border towns (*ribāṭāt*) in Palestine and other parts of the Muslim world.⁴⁴

The testimonies for visits to Jerusalem and its holy places are very early, but what the pilgrim's itinerary was is not known, nor is there a full list of the holy sites which they visited or where they prayed. It was said of the well-known scholar al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774)⁴⁵ that he prayed on the Ḥaram with his back to the Rock, saying: "Thus did ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz" (717–720). The transmitter of the tradition continues: "And al-Awzāʿī did not come to any of the holy places which are generally visited."⁴⁶ It was also said of the scholar Wakīf b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 812) "that he did not visit a single one of the holy places [which it was customary to visit]."⁴⁷ The latter two traditions are evidence of the controversy between the scholars in the second century of the *hijra* (eighth century of the Christian era) regarding the holiness of Jerusalem and the holy places there, especially of the Rock.⁴⁸

A tradition which emphasizes the controversy between the Muslim scholars on this question and, at the same time, offers evidence of the itinerary of the Muslim pilgrim at the end of the eighth century was reported by Jaʿfar b. Musāfir (d. Muḥarram 254/January, 868),⁴⁹ who states:

I saw Muʿammal b. Ismāʿīl (d. 206/821–822)⁵⁰ in Jerusalem give [a small] amount of money to people (*aʿtā qawman shayʿan*) and they went round with him to those [holy] places (*fi tilka ʿl-mawāḍiʿ*). His son said to him: "Oh my father, Wakīf b. al-Jarrāḥ has already entered [Jerusalem?] and he did not make a course [of the holy places]." [Muʿammal] said: "Each person does as he pleases."⁵¹

Although specific places were not mentioned in the sources, from the evidence compiled of visits to the holy places in Jerusalem from the Umayyad period to the early ʿAbbāsīd period, approximately to the year 800, it can safely be assumed that, first and foremost, they included sites on the Ḥaram, e.g.,

the Dome of the Rock, the Aqṣā Mosque, the Dome of the Prophet, the Dome of Ascension, and the Dome of the Chain. A number of gates on the Ḥaram were surely included: the gates of Mercy, Ḥiṭṭa, the Divine Presence (Sakīna), the Tribes (al-Asbāt), and the Prophet. And, finally, there were additional places outside the Ḥaram, such as Miḥrāb Dāwūd, the Spring of Silwān, and the Mount of Olives.⁵²

The description by Ibn Kathīr, who outlines the existing situation in the Umayyad period, informs us that visitors to Jerusalem saw pictures of *al-Sirāt*, Paradise, and other scenes connected with the Latter Days on the Ḥaram. Ninth- and tenth-century geographers, Ibn al-Faḡīh, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, al-Muqaddasī, and also the Muslim traveler Nāṣir-i Khusraw, describe or mention numerous structures on the Ḥaram, many of which were no doubt erected in the Umayyad period. It is difficult to determine exactly where they were located, since their names and locations changed over the years.⁵³

The First Guide for the Muslim Pilgrim from the Beginning of the Eleventh Century

It has been clearly shown that from the earlier periods (seventh–ninth centuries) there is much evidence of pilgrimage and visits to the holy places in Jerusalem, especially on the Ḥaram. The “Literature in Praise of Jerusalem” supplies much information concerning religious and learned men who dwelt in Jerusalem or who came to visit its holy sites, however at this stage of research it is very difficult to assess the nature and especially extent of these pilgrimages in the early Muslim period. It has already been stressed that a complete description of the pilgrim’s stops during this period is lacking and we know of no guidebook for the Muslim traveler from this early period.

It was only in the early eleventh century that a complete and detailed itinerary of visits to the Muslim holy places in Jerusalem was recorded by Ibn al-Murajjā. It is the first of its kind known,⁵⁴ and its influence is well attested in the late compilations of the “Literature in Praise of Jerusalem.” Some of these late authors copy the itinerary almost verbatim, while others present only parts of it. A few scholars mentioned this guidebook and briefly stressed its importance.⁵⁵ A separate discussion was dedicated to it by Livne.⁵⁶

Ibn al-Murajjā describes more than twenty recommended sites in Jerusalem. In some of them the Muslim must pray and in other places he need only perform the invocation or combine prayers with invocations. Livne came to the conclusion that the majority of these prayers have no direct link to the specific places in which they are said. Prayers and invocations are already found in the early compilations of *ḥadīth* and in the early *adab* literature; some of the prayers “give the impression that they paraphrase some verses from the

Bible, especially from Psalms.” The prayers which have a special link to places in Jerusalem are those said in Miḥrāb Dāwūd (*sūrat sād*) and Miḥrāb Maryam (*sūrat Maryam*). Summarizing this topic, Livne concludes that the prayers were probably compiled artificially by Ibn al-Murajjā himself.⁵⁷

Dating the Guide of Ibn al-Murajjā

Unlike most of the traditions in Ibn al-Murajjā's book, which can be dated to a much earlier period with the help of the *isnād*, the traditions in the “Muslim Guide” (except for the prayers) are not preceded by an *isnād*. Therefore, it appears that Ibn al-Murajjā composed the guide himself during the first half of the eleventh century. It is highly probable, however, that this itinerary, or a similar one, was known to visitors to the holy places in Jerusalem already at the beginning or middle of the tenth century. This can be deduced from an interesting tradition, recorded by Ibn al-Murajjā with an *isnād* which concluded with Abū Muḥammad, ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Khūlī [?], relating that on the tenth of Muḥarrām, in the year 335 [= 12th August, 946], he had a dream wherein he visited the holy places on the Ḥaram in Jerusalem. In this dream he visited:

1. The Dome of the Rock. Within the Dome.
2. The Black Paving Stone (al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā’). Then to:
3. The Dome of the Ascension (of the Prophet) to Heaven (Qubbat al-Mi’rāj).
4. The Dome of the Prophet (Qubbat al-Nabī).
5. The Gate (Bāb) of Ḥiṭṭa.
6. The Cradle of Jesus (Mahd ‘Īsā) and Miḥrāb Maryam.
7. Miḥrāb Zakariyyā’.
8. The Gate of Mercy (Bāb al-Raḥma).
9. Al-Masjid al-Aqṣā.⁵⁸

All these sites, and several others, are mentioned (though not in this order) by Ibn al-Murajjā.⁵⁹ This tradition most probably testifies to the existence of an itinerary to the holy places on the Ḥaram. Its purpose is most probably to reinforce and praise their sanctity.⁶⁰

Stops in the Visitors' Itinerary to the Holy Places in Jerusalem, according to Ibn al-Murajjā

1. The Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra). Within the Dome of the Rock the Muslim should pray in the following holy places:

- 1a. The Black Paving Stone (al-Balāṭa al-Sawdāʾ).
- 1b. The Cave under the Rock.
- 1c. Maqām al-Nabī. Then the Muslim must turn toward the east, stand and pray at the eastern gate of the Dome of the Rock, which is:
 - 1d. The Gate of [the Angel] Isrāfil (Bāb Isrāfil). Then he goes out of the Dome towards:
 2. The Dome of the Chain (Qubbat al-Silsila). Then to:
 3. The Dome of Ascension [of the Prophet] to Heaven (Qubbat al-Miʿrāj). Then to:
 4. The Dome of the Prophet (Qubbat al-Nabī). Then to:
 5. The Gate of Mercy (Bāb al-Raḥma). Then to:
 6. Miḥrāb Zecharia (Zakariyyāʾ). Then to:
 7. Solomon's Chair (Kursī Sulaymān), which is located on a rock at the backside [= the southwest] of the mosque [i.e., the Ḥaram]. Then he goes on toward:
 8. The Gate of the Shekhina (Bāb al-Sakīna). Then to:
 9. The Gate of Ḥiṭṭa. Then to:
10. Al-Masjid al-Aqṣā. Within the Mosque the Muslim should pray in:
 - 10a. Miḥrāb ʿUmar.
 - 10b. Miḥrāb Muʿāwiya.
 - 10c. All the *miḥrābs* within the Mosque. Then he ought to descend to:
11. The Gate of the Prophet (Bāb al-Nabī). Then he continues toward:
12. Miḥrāb Maryam, also known as the Cradle of Jesus (Maḥd ʿĪsā). From there he goes down to:
13. The place which the Angel Gabriel drilled with his finger and tied up al-Burāq. From this place the Muslim can ascend to:
14. Al-Sāhira, which is the Mount of Olives (Ṭur Sīnā [= Ṭur Zaytā]),⁶¹ or enter:
15. Miḥrāb Dāwūd, which is [located] at the western gate of the city.

Notes

1. This article is based largely on Chapter II of my book, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden, 1995).
2. For a comprehensive discussion, see *ibid.*, Chapters I and III.
3. A full discussion appears in *ibid.*, Chapter IV.
4. Abū Bakr, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson

(Jerusalem, 1979), 81–83, no. 136—the tradition of the Jerusalem family of ‘Abd al-Rahmān, from Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa and Yazīd; Mondays and Thursdays were the days the Jews read the Torah; see also O. Livne, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam,” Ph.D. dissertation (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1985), 327, note 154, about Mondays and Thursdays, the days the Dome of the Rock was opened to the public; cf. the interesting tradition in the *Ṣahīfa* of Ibn Lahī’a: Khoury, Raif Georges. *‘Abdallāh Ibn Lahī’a (97–174/715–790), juge et grand maître de l’école égyptienne* (avec édition critique de l’unique rouleau de papyrus arabe conservé à Heidelberg) (Wiesbaden, 1986), 288, ll. 298–301.

5. Al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 4), 43–44, no. 60 and the parallel sources; Abū ‘l-Ma‘ālī, al-Musharrāf b. al-Murajjā, *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Shām wa-l-Khalīl* (ms. Tübingen VI 27), ed. by O. Livne (Shfaram, 1995), 58–62 (no. 47); both sources and others are mentioned by M. Gil, *Palestine during the First Muslim Period (634–1099)*, 3 vols. (Tel-Aviv, 1983), 72, no. 86 (Hebrew) (= *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, vol. I trans. from Hebrew by E. Broido [Cambridge, 1992], p. 60); see also Mujīr al-Dīn, Abū ‘l-Yumn, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad, al-Ḥanbalī, al-‘Ulaymī. *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta’rīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, I (Beirut-Amman, 1973), 281; Livne (above, note 4), 295.

6. Elad (above, note 1), 51–52.

7. *Ibid.*, 52 (and the discussion therein).

8. On al-Balāṭa al-Sawdā’, see *ibid.*, 78–81; on the Gate of Isrāfīl, see *ibid.*, 81–82.

9. B. M. Add, 23, 288, fols. 2b-3a; and Bodleian Library, Marsh 289, fols. 153b-155b; A. Elad, “Why Did ‘Abd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock? A Re-examination of the Muslim Sources,” *Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf: ‘Abd al-Malik’s Jerusalem*, eds. J. Raby and J. Johns, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art IX (Oxford, 1992), 33–58.

10. Aḥmad b. Abī Wādīḥ (known as al-Ya‘qūbī), *Ta’rīkh*, II (Leiden, 1882), 311.

11. Elad (above, note 9), 39–40.

12. For a detailed discussion of this text, the reader may consult Elad (above, note 9); *idem* (above, note 1), Chapter II.

13. For a full discussion and documentation, see *ibid.*, 61–62.

14. But cf. J. A. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford, 1993), esp. the last chapter (Conclusion).

15. A selected bibliography on the itineraries of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land may be found in M. Ish-Shalom, *Christian Travels in the Holy Land, Descriptions and Sources on the History of the Jews in Palestine* (Tel-Aviv, 1965), 3 (Hebrew).

See also J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin du Jérusalem*, I (Paris, 1969), 127–34; A. Grabois, “The Christian Pilgrimage in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages and its Consciousness Projection,” *The Mediterranean: Its Place in the History and Culture of the Jews and Other Nations*, ed. The Historical Society of Israel (Jerusalem, 1970), 68–85 (Hebrew); J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades* (Jerusalem, 1977); Gil (above, note 5), Eng. trans., I, 482–86, nos. 719–23; E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (Oxford, 1982); Taylor (above, note 14).

16. Hunt (above, note 15), 97f.

17. Wilkinson (above, note 15), I, 4–5.

18. English translation in the *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, II (London, 1896); III, (London, 1895); IV (London, 1893), which should be compared and often corrected against Wilkinson’s translation.

19. Gil (above, note 15), Eng. trans., I, 624–31, nos. 829–34; see also *idem* (with the participation of S. Safrai, A. Grossman, H. Ben-Shammai), “Immigration and Pilgrimage in the Arab Period (634–1099),” *Cathedra* 8 (1978), 123–35; and the discussion, *ibid.*, 136–46 (Hebrew).

20. J. Braslavi, "A Topography of Jerusalem from the Cairo Genizah," *EI*, VIII, L. A. Mayer Memorial Volume (Jerusalem, 1964), 69–80; mention also should be made of the Genizah document from the eleventh or twelfth century, dealing with the special prayer of the Jewish pilgrims at the gates of Jerusalem (*Ṣalawāt al-Abwāb fi 'l-Quds*). The document was first published by J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History*, II (Cincinnati, 1931), 458, and was republished by L. N. Goldfeld, "A Version of Prayer at the Gates of Jerusalem," *Ha'arets (Literary Supplement)* from 18th May, 1972.

21. A. Ya'ari, *Jewish Pilgrims' Travels to Eretz Israel from the Middle Ages until the Beginning of the Return of Zion* (Ramat Gan, 1976).

22. Y. Raghīb, "Essai d'inventaire chronologique des guides à l'usage des pèlerins du Caire," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 41 (1971), 259–60. Raghīb maintains that these early works did indeed deal with pilgrimage to the important Muslim holy sites, such as the Mosque of al-Madīna, Jerusalem, the tombs of the Prophet, 'Alī in najaf, al-Ḥusayn in Karbalā', etc.; see also J. Sourdel-Thomine's introduction to the French trans. of 'Alī b. Abī Bakr, al-Harawī, *Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage* (Damascus, 1957), XXX-XXXV; I. Goldziher, "Veneration of Saints in Islam," *Muslim Studies*, II, ed. S. M. Stern (London, 1971), 290, esp. note 2.

23. Elad (above, note 1), 62–68.

24. See, for example, S. D. Goitein, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in Early Islam," *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, ed. S. D. Goitein (Leiden, 1968), 28–30; Livne (above, note 4), 278–79.

25. Al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 4), 23, no. 29; Livne (above, note 4), 296.

26. Al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 4), 73–74, no. 119.

27. See Elad (above, note 1), 30–31.

28. *Ibid.*, Chapter II, note 5.

29. Al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 4), 13, no. 13; 44, no. 61, and the comprehensive bibliography of the editor therein; Livne (above, note 4), 301.

30. For example, 'Abdāllah b. Abī Zakariyyā' al-Khuzā'i, a well-known scholar from Damascus (d. 117/735–736) who, whenever he came to Jerusalem, would ascend the Mount of Olives; see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, XX (biographies of 'Ubāda b. Awfā-'Abdallāh b. Thawb) (Damascus, 1402/1982), 413 (his biography, *ibid.*, 403–15); for more on him, see Abū Nu'aym, Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh, al-Ḥafahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, V (Cairo, 1351 H.), p149–53; al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Ta'rikh (ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 101–120)* (Beirut, 1990), 396–97; *idem*, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, V (Beirut, 1982–85), 149–53.

31. See, for example, al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 4), 30, no. 42 (the end of the Umayyad period), and the editor's note therein; Livne (above, note 4), 280–81.

32. Al-Wāsiṭī (above, note 4), 24–25, no. 32, and the exhaustive bibliography therein; see also S. D. Goitein, "Jerusalem during the Arab Period," *Palestinian Jewry in Early Islamic and Crusader Times in the Light of the Geniza Documents* (Jerusalem, 1980), 13 (first published in *Jerusalem Researches of Eretz Israel* [Jerusalem, 1953], 82–103) (Hebrew); Livne (above, note 4), 281.

33. Goitein (above, note 32); Goitein quotes the Muslim jurist, al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 874/875 A.D.; *Aḥkām al-Awqāf* [Cairo, 1904–1905], 341), who permits Christians and Jews to send oil to illuminate the mosque in Jerusalem. Goitein comments: "And it is possible that the words of the *Abima'az Scroll* hint at this custom: 'Rabbi Shmuel . . . donated . . . and oil to the Temple at the Western Wall and to the altar within.'" And see also *idem*, "Did 'Umar Prohibit the Stay of Jews in Jerusalem," *Palestinian Jewry* (above, note 32), 41 (supplement) (first published in *Melilah* 3–4 (1950), 156–65, Hebrew); this is contrary to B.-Z. Dinaburg, "'House of Prayer and Study' for the Jews on the Temple Mount in Arab Times," *Zion* (Anthology) 3 (1929), 62 (Hebrew).

34. Elad (above, note 1), 64 and the bibliography therein.

35. *Ibid.*, 64–65.

36. Abū Muḥammad, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Tamīm b. Surūr, al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Muthīr al-Gharām ilā Ziyārat al-Quds wa-l-Shām*, ed. al-Khaṭīmi (Beirut, 1994), 359; in the printed edition of the last part of the book, ed. Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ al-Khālīdī (Jaffa, 1365 H.), 56: seventy (*sabʿīn*) instead of ninety (*tisʿīn*).

37. A. Elad, "Pilgrims and Pilgrimage to Hebron (al-Khalil) during the Early Muslim Period (638?–1099)," *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land, Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium of the Philip M. and Ethel Klutznick Chair in Jewish Civilization, October 2 and 3, 1994*, eds. B. F. Le Beau and M. Mor, *Studies in Jewish Civilization* 7 (Omaha, 1996), 28.

38. Elad (above, note 1), 65.

39. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqaṣīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm*, BGA III (Leiden, 1866), 243. In the preceding sentence, al-Muqaddasī mentions the pilgrimage customs of the Berbers. It may have been this that prompted Goitein to explain the sentence on their visit to Jerusalem as if the Berbers used to go up to Jerusalem to perform the *ihrām* from the Rock before their journey to Mecca for the *ḥajj*. However, the text is not so unequivocal, and could be understood otherwise—as if the Berbers came to Jerusalem after the pilgrimage, or perhaps even without any connection with Mecca and the *ḥajj*. Thus, the sentence just affirms generally the visit of the Berbers from North Africa to Jerusalem in the tenth century.

40. Elad (above, note 1), 65–66.

41. Cf. *Qurʾān* 81, v. 16; the visit to Mecca is the *ḥajj* or pilgrimage, whilst to Jerusalem it is simply a visit, *ziyāra*. In the second century, the primacy of Mecca is unchallenged.

42. Al-Muqaddasī (above, note 39), 183; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), 21.

43. Elad (above, note 1), 17.

44. *Ibid.*, 66, note 76.

45. On al-Awzāʿī, see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* I (Leiden, 1967), 516–17; J. Schacht, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², V (Leiden, 1986), s.v. "al-Awzāʿī."

46. *Muthīr al-Gharām* (above, note 36), 354, (*wa-lam yaʿrī shayʿan min al-mazārāt*); Livne (above, note 4), 300–301.

47. *Muthīr al-Gharām* (above, note 36), 356 (*wa-lam yazur shayʿan min tilka al-amākin*).

48. For this controversy, see M. J. Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques," *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), 193. (= *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, Variorum reprints XIV [London, 1988]).

49. On Jaʿfar b. Musāfir, see Elad (above, note 1), 67.

50. On Muʿammal b. Ismāʿil, see *ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. It was related about ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Zakariyyāʾ (on this figure, see *ibid.*, 63, note 60), that whenever he came to Jerusalem he used to ascend the Mount of Olives (Abū Zurʿa < Abū Mushir < Ibrāhīm b. Abī Shaybān < *qāla li Ziyād b. Abī l-Aswad: kāna ṣāḥibukum, yaʿnī Ibn Abī Zakariyyāʾ, idhā qadima hāhunā yaʿnī, Bayt al-Maqdis, ṣaʿida hādihā l-Jabal, yaʿnī Ṭūr Zaytā*).

53. *Ibid.*, p. 68, note 85 and the references therein.

54. Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 5), 66–81, nos. 54–69.

55. H. Busse, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam," *Judaism* 17 (1968), 466; I. Hasson, "Jerusalem in the Muslim Perspective: The *Qurʾān* and Tradition Literature," *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Islamic Period (638-1099)*, ed. J. Prawer (Jerusalem, 1987), 301 (Hebrew); Livne (above, note 4), 302; Elad (above, note 1), 69.

56. Livne (above, note 4); see also E. Sivan ("The Beginnings of Faḍāʾil al-Quds Litera-

ture," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 [1971], 271), who stressed the importance of the description of the itinerary by Ibn al-Murajjā.

57. Livne (above, note 4), 302–303.

58. Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 5), 268, no. 407; Livne (above, note 4), 302; Abū 'Abdallāh, Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn, Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Minhājī, Shams al-Dīn, al-Suyūṭī. *Ithāf al-Akhiṣṣā' bi-Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, I, ed. Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad (Cairo, 1982), 110–11: a corrupt tradition. The name of the dreamer: Abū 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīzī. The entire section dealing with the holy places visited is omitted.

59. All of these sites are discussed at length, in Elad (above, note 1), Chapters II and III.

60. Livne (above, note 4) also reached this conclusion.

61. Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 5), fol. 31a: Ṭūr Sīnā; Ibn al-Firkah (C. Matthews, "The K. Ba'ith al-Nufus of Ibnu-l-Firkah," *JPOS* 15 [1953], 68) copies Ibn al-Murajjā: Ṭūr Zaytā.