

OFER LIVNE-KAFRI

**The Muslim Traditions 'In Praise of Jerusalem' (*Faḍā'il al-Quds*):
Diversity and Complexity**

The development of the idea of the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam is mainly reflected in the literary genre of *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* ('The Praises of Jerusalem'), which is a branch of the *ḥadīth* literature. The earliest books in praise of Jerusalem known to us were composed in the eleventh century, but traditions of *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (or *al-Quds*) are older and most of them created during the seventh and the eighth centuries, especially during the Umayyad period (Kister 1981: 185-86).¹ The main issues reflected in these traditions are Jerusalem and its Muslim holy sites, the controversy among Muslim scholars on its religious status, the importance attached to it in cosmology and eschatology, the Jewish origins of the traditions concerning Jerusalem and, finally, the circles involved in the creation and spreading of the traditions in praise of Jerusalem.² I will discuss some key problems related to these traditions, through examples. I have chosen some traditions in praise of Jerusalem out of hundreds as a starting point for a further discussion. I will try to show the complexity and diversity of these traditions, which are evident even through the examination of single traditions or groups of traditions sharing common features. What seems at first to be a very simple account can branch out to many issues and aspects, at times unexpected, eventually becoming part of a larger, complex picture. However, the main purpose was not to create a monograph or a subject in itself but to point out some important guidelines. Because of the methodological nature of the presentation, this arti-

¹ On this literary genre and on the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam, its ideologies, practices, and controversies, see, e.g., Busse (1968); Hasson (1996); id. (1976); Elad (1995: 1-22); Kister (1969); Lazarus-Yafeh (1971); Livne-Kafri (1989); Sivan (1971).

² In addition to the articles mentioned above, see Hirschberg (1951-52); Busse (1991); Livne-Kafri (1993a); id. (in press). The problems concerning the research of traditions in praise of Jerusalem were raised in Livne-Kafri (1989: 36-40), without specific discussion of 'the single traditions'.

cle is written schematically, and parts of the information are intentionally presented as references.

Some Important Problems

a. Historical Background

The traditions in praise of Jerusalem open a wide scope of conceptions, tendencies, and customs, but the reality of the 'historical Jerusalem' is hardly reflected in them. In fact, medieval Arabic sources, including chronicles, are generally scant as regards the history of Jerusalem in the early Muslim period, and in particular on such matters as the town's structure, its demographic division and non-Muslim communities, the character of the local government and its relations with the central government, the economic and commercial activities, the administration and taxation system, and even the reactions of the townspeople to important theological controversies. Our assumption is that the development of ideas and conceptions is inseparable from social and political conditions, so that any research on the 'Heavenly Jerusalem' is necessarily defective without a detailed illustration of the 'Earthly Jerusalem'. In the absence of valuable information in the historical sources, the traditions can be considered as actual historical sources.³

b. Form and Content

In addition to the special collections in praise of Jerusalem, the traditions are scattered in hundreds of Arabic books (in print and as manuscripts) belonging to various literary genres.⁴ These traditions deal with biblical figures related to Jerusalem (Jacob's dream, David and Solomon and the glory of the

³ Even this literature contains only few accounts on historical events. On the historical value of traditions in praise of Jerusalem see Elad (1982a; 1991; 1995: 6 ff.). On important information derived from the *isnāds* see Livne-Kafri (1985: 28-52). On the historical value of apocalyptic traditions which relate to the struggle of Christendom against the Arabs, see Alexander (1968). Important sources for the history of Jerusalem in the early Muslim period are Goitein (1953; 1986) and Gil (1983: especially 54-61, 75-86).

⁴ Cf. the editor's introduction to al-Wāsiṭī (1979: 22-24) and the numerous sources quoted throughout the edition. See also the scientific edition of Ibn al-Murağğā (1995), based on about 300 medieval Arabic sources. These, in print and in manuscript form, are the *sīra* (i.e., the life of the Prophet Muḥammad), commentaries to the Koran, different *ḥadīṭ* collections and the literature of *ḥadīṭ* criticism, chronicles and biographical collections, the geographical literature, including travellers' diaries and local histories, judicial and sectarian literatures, the *adab*, the stories of the Prophets, epistles, specific monographs and the many collections dedicated to the merits of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Syria.

Temple, the destruction of the Temple); there are traditions relating to the Muslim conquest of the town and the construction of the Dome of the Rock, and in some collections we find as well a 'Guide to Pilgrims' which includes prayers to be recited at the Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem. Other traditions regard the various locations in Jerusalem, with special emphasis on the Dome of the Rock, sometimes with a biblical background, or with Koranic quotations. Especially noteworthy are the traditions relating to the diversion of the *qibla* (direction of prayer) from Jerusalem to Mecca, and the *isrā'* and the *Mi'rāğ* (Muḥammad's nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and his ascent to heaven). Additional traditions deal with miracles performed in Jerusalem, God's love for the town, the rewards for the living and the dead of Jerusalem, Jerusalem's foremost rank in cosmology and eschatology and its status in relation to the other holy cities of Islam, mainly Mecca and Medina, and other topics as well.

These traditions should be studied for the different tendencies they reflect, as for example, the religious, judicial, political, or social ones, as well as for the legendary elements and the tendentious changes of their different versions and the Jewish and the Christian material reflected. The apocalyptic traditions on Jerusalem deserve special attention because they worked out again their contents whenever a reaction was needed to contrast new phases of crisis. Medieval criticism of the authenticity of *ḥadīṭ* among Muslim scholars generally referred to the *isnād*, the chain of transmitters of the traditions. How far the *isnād* could be used as a historical source is an important question.⁵ Kister (1981) showed the general framework in which these traditions originated, and suggested a specific period for the creation of a certain *ḥadīṭ*. In fact, the exact identification of the place and date of a certain tradition or group of traditions is not always easy.

c. Jewish and Christian Sources

The absorption of Jewish and Christian traditions into the Muslim tradition was a prolonged process, which combined acceptance and controversy. It occurred through diversified sources representing different literary levels, different conceptions, and the encounter with customs and ways of life of non-Muslim communities in Arabia and in the territories conquered by the Muslims. The Muslim sources generally do not mention their non-Muslim sources, and the actual transmission of the material is generally unknown.⁶ The abun-

⁵ On the attitudes of *ḥadīṭ* critics to traditions in praise of Jerusalem see Hasson (1976: 53-55; 1996: 372).

⁶ The famous Iraqi ascetic Mālik b. Dīnār (d. ca. 748-49), who is connected to some important traditions in praise of Jerusalem (see Ibn al-Murağğā 1995: 230, no. 339; 316, no. 519; 180, no. 254, about a pilgrimage of his to Jerusalem), reported a discussion he had with a monk, and

dance of Jewish material proper to Christian literature implies that what appears as a Jewish source can sometimes be based on a Christian tradition. Jewish and Christian traditions incorporated in the Muslim tradition should be examined in terms of tendentious changes, polemical attitudes, and religious customs against the basic value system of Islam.

d. Holy Sites in Jerusalem

The Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem, especially the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque, are features in which abstract conceptions and ideas are well connected to what we have called 'Earthly Jerusalem'. In addition to their religious aspect, these sites' accounts may yield social and political information as, for example, the involvement of the Umayyads in their erection. The traditions on the Muslim holy sites of Jerusalem should be evaluated considering the ideological and functional background of a site, the rivalry and reconciliation among the different sites in Jerusalem and between the latter and other holy sites, mainly in Mecca and Medina. Other issues are the stands of scholars versus popular beliefs, the transfer of holy contents or the preservation of Jewish and Christian traditions in Muslim holy places. The archaeological research and the artistic and architectural characteristics of these sites are other matters to be considered.

e. Circles Involved in the Creation of Traditions Concerning Jerusalem

The main circles involved in the creation and spread of the traditions on Jerusalem are thought to be the Umayyad authorities, early Muslim ascetics (*zuhhād*), and Jewish converts to Islam. Goldziher (1971: 44-46) argued that the traditions on the sanctity of Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem were created out of the political needs of the Umayyads. Goitein opposed Goldziher's theory, holding that the original spur for the idea of the sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in early Islam was to be found not 'in the field of politics, but in the field of religion alone', and he highlighted the role of early Muslim asceticism in this respect (Goitein 1945-46: 121-26; 1966: 135-48; 1950: 104-8; Livne-Kafri 1997: 168-78).⁷ Such contradictory attitudes require new examinations

said that he borrowed a book from a collection in a monastery (Livne-Kafri 1996: 107-8), most probably written in Syriac. The need to be assisted by Jews (or converted Jews) and the latter's knowledge of the scriptures in the original language are hinted at in one of the traditions in praise of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Muraǧǧā 1995: 165, no. 226).

⁷ Goldziher relied upon a text from the *History* of al-Ya'qūbī, a ninth-century historian, according to which the Dome of the Rock was built by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in order to prevent the pilgrims to Mecca from swearing the oath of allegiance to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the rival caliph in Mecca. In fact, Goldziher's work was not an inde-

of the texts. Other circles mentioned in modern research are the storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) who used Jewish and Christian traditions freely, and the muezzins, the callers for prayer (Hasson 1976: 45-50; 1996: 363-65; see below pp. 181-82). The nature of this classification can be set against the general picture of Jerusalem in Islam as portrayed by modern research. The role of the scholars residing in Jerusalem is another important issue to consider.⁸

Single Traditions and Diversity of Contexts

a. 'One Stone upon Another'

According to a tradition attributed to Yazīd b. Maysara, an ascetic who lived between the seventh and the eighth century:

The Apostles said to Christ: O Messiah of God! Look at the House of God, how beautiful it is! He said: Amen, Amen, I tell you the truth, God will not leave of this Mosque one stone upon another and it will be destroyed because of the sins committed by its people. Verily, God is not pleased by gold, nor by silver, nor by these stones that excite your wonder. God is more pleased with the sound hearts through which, God, may He be exalted, keeps the land prosperous, or ruins it if they are not... (Ibn al-Murağğā 1995: 230, no. 340; al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 60, no. 95).

What at first merely appears as a proof of the access to Christian materials by Muslim scholars leads, on closer examination, to several unexpected considerations.

Christ's prophecy on the destruction of the Temple, in which there 'shall not be left one stone upon another' (Matthew 24:2; Mark 13:2; Luke 21:6), was a cornerstone in the Christian conception of Jerusalem: it reappeared through the ages as 'a proof to the truth of Christianity understood as the negation of Judaism' (Prawer 1967: 180, quoted in Livne-Kafri 1991: 73, n. 11), of which the most outstanding example is the destruction of the Jewish Temple and the ruins of the Jewish city. The other part of the tradition might hint at the view according to which Christianity is freed from the yoke of the Jewish 'law', an important part of which was the Temple cult. Even more obvious is the reflection of a certain trend in Muslim asceticism and mysticism which preferred inner contemplation to worship in specific sanctuaries. Such an at-

pendent study on Jerusalem but a very small part of his research on the reflection of governmental and dynastic tendencies in the *ḥadīṭ*. See the detailed and documented discussion in Elad (1995: 147 ff.).

⁸ On religious figures and transmitters of *ḥadīṭ* who paid a religious visit to Jerusalem or stayed there see Livne-Kafri (1985: 156-59).

titude might also be associated with a similar trend in Christianity concerning Jerusalem (Livne-Kafri 1991: 73-74; 1996: 125). The prophecy on the destruction of the Temple 'because of the sins committed by its people' is linked to another Christian attitude toward Jerusalem, the antagonism to the Jewish City charged with 'murdering the prophets' (Livne-Kafri 1991: 75-77).⁹ The role of Jerusalem in the Christian medieval polemic against Judaism seems to have served as a precedent in the development of certain Muslim attitudes to this city (ibid.: 72-80).¹⁰ These and other traditions that reflect Christian tendencies against Judaism are rare. In fact, the Jewish tradition absorbed in the traditions concerning Jerusalem is much more powerful. The very fact that Muslim sanctuaries were built on the Temple Mount made it, especially the Rock, the focus of absorption of Jewish legends.

Another aspect of the tradition is possible. The prophecy on the destruction of the Temple belongs to the so called the 'Little Apocalypse' of the Synoptic Gospels. The eschatological aspect seems less obvious in our tradition but it might have some significance. According to another tradition, the famous eighth-century ascetic Ibrāhīm b. Adham was asked for his opinion on what was lawful and what was disapproved by God according to Muslim law; he told his friends to ignore such matters. He regarded his period as 'the time of the punishments', most probably in an apocalyptic view, and he urged his friends to 'leave this world and to come to the Holy Land and to these mountains... and he pointed with his hand to the mountain of Jerusalem...' (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 190, no. 272a).¹¹ As in the first tradition, the reason for the 'abandoning of the laws' might arise from the same causes, but here the main aspect seems to be the futility of the life of 'this world' in the shadow of what were deemed to be the tribulations of the End. This is expressed even better in another tradition in praise of Jerusalem concerning the tribulations after the death of Mu'āwiya, the first Umayyad caliph (660-680).¹² The tradition also reflects the ascetic ideal of retirement from this world, most probably linked to a parallel monastic custom, especially in the mountains of Jerusalem, but also out of the wish to avoid embroilment in civil wars (Livne-Kafri 1996: 112; see below n. 37). The tradition not improbably also echoes the New

⁹ On the reflection in an inner Islamic antagonism (Shi'a versus the House of Umayya), see also Busse (1996: 7-16).

¹⁰ For a Muslim tradition which relate to the transference of sanctity from the site of the Jewish Temple to the Holy Sepulchre, see Livne-Kafri (1991: 78) and the discussion by Busse (1987: 279-89).

¹¹ On Ibrāhīm b. Adham see Jones (1971: 985-86). On solitary ascetics in the mountains of Jerusalem see Abū Nu'aym (1351/1932: IX, 299, 345). Cf. Livne-Kafri (1996: 109).

¹² According to the tradition on the authority of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, 'once the year sixty [AH] comes, the celibates should not get married' (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 172, no. 239). For another reason (celibacy among Muslim ascetics) see Livne-Kafri (1996: 111).

Testament verse from the chapters cited before: 'Then those who are in Judaea must take to the hills' (Matthew 24:16; Mark 13:14; Luke 21:21). The connection of early Muslim ascetics to Christian values and monastic models, together with these circles' veneration of Jerusalem based on Jewish sources,¹³ as against the anti-Jewish trends reflected in the traditions mentioned above, create some ambiguity, which also (in a different way) typified Christians' attitudes to Jerusalem. In fact, the traditions which reflect anti-Jewish Christian attitudes to Jerusalem are outside the mainstream, exactly as are traditions which reflect the expectations of Jewish converts to Islam of the rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem (Livne-Kafri 1991: 80-83).

b. *Hitām al-Qur'ān* ('The Completion of Reading the Koran') in Jerusalem

A tradition ascribed to Ṣadaqa b. Yazīd, a traditionalist who came from Khurasan and settled in Ramla (or: 'in the surrounding of Jerusalem') narrates:

I met Sufyān al-Ṭawrī in *Masǧid al-Ġamā'a* [al-Aqṣā Mosque] in Jerusalem, and I asked him: 'Have you [ever] come to the Dome [of the Rock]?' Had I not had a certain reservation, I would not have asked him. He answered: 'Yes, and I completed there the reading of the Koran [*wa-ḥatamtu fihā al-Qur'ān*] (Ibn al-Muraǧǧā 1995: 172, no. 240).¹⁴

Kister (1972: 232, n. 132), dealing with Muslim attitudes to reading the Torah, offers an interesting account:

Abū al-Jald al-Jawnī used to read the Koran and the Torah. He used to celebrate the end of each reading of the Torah (he read it for six days), summoning people [for this purpose], and used to quote a saying that Mercy descends at each end of the reading of the Torah.¹⁵

Kister uses this narration as an example of the way Jewish converts to Islam preserved their own heritage within Islam, as they 'disseminated stories from the Bible and Midrash, and even held parties upon completion of reading the Torah' (id. 1981: 186).¹⁶ The Muslim custom of *Hitām al-Qur'ān* most

¹³ Cf. n. 7; and the expansion of Goitein's theory in Livne-Kafri (1996: 105-29 and *passim*).

¹⁴ The tradition appears again (ibid.: 173, no. 242), probably due to a copyist's error. Cf. al-Maqdisī (1364: 51); Muǧīr al-Dīn (1283/1866: I, 259). On Ṣadaqa b. Yazīd who lived at the time of Sufyān al-Ṭawrī (n. 20 below) see Ibn al-Muraǧǧā (1995: 106, no. 113).

¹⁵ The same article cites important evidence on the different attitudes to the absorption of Jewish and Christian materials in Islam.

¹⁶ Cf. the discussion of Kister and Kister (1979: 243, n. 55) on the relation of the Jews in Arabia with the Halakhah of Palestine and Babylon. On Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (eighth century), who used to 'complete the reading of the Koran every year during twenty years', see Ibn Ḥaǧar

probably originated in Medina during the seventh century in connection with the Jewish cyclic custom of reading the Torah. There are various reports concerning the custom of *Ḥitām al-Qur'ān*, including gathering of people to complete, in company, the reading of the Koran (al-Dārimī 1386/1966: II, 336, nos. 3475-77).¹⁷

In the middle of the eighth century when the act of *Ḥitām al-Qur'ān* is attested at the Dome of the Rock, the Jewish roots of the custom do not seem to have much significance. It appears as a custom celebrated among pious men through which the rank of the Dome of the Rock is stressed. The completion of reciting the Koran was a practice which emphasized the sanctity of 'the Three Mosques' (of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem), especially that of Mecca:

The first generations thought it desirable for anyone who came to Mecca not to leave it without completing the reading of the whole Koran, especially during the *tawāf* [the circumambulation of the Ka'ba]. It has been transmitted that it was especially desirable with regard to the Three Mosques for which the Saddles [of the riding beasts] shall be fastened (al-Zarkašī 1385/1965: 181-82).¹⁸

intimating the famous tradition which gave recognition to the hierarchy of the Three Mosques (Kister 1969: 173). Sufyān al-Tawrī (d. 778) was a famous scholar and ascetic. Behind his assertion that he went to the Dome of the Rock and indeed also completed the reading of the Koran there, might lie the controversy concerning that place. Al-Aqṣā Mosque gave Jerusalem its high rank

(1325-27: XI, 219); Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (1995: 161, no. 215).

¹⁷ There are also many traditions in praise of the completion of the Koran (ibid.: II, 337, no. 3478 ff.). However, against the tendency to praise the reading of the Koran (Abū Nu'aym 1351/1932: VI, 29.) and especially the custom of completing the recital in a short period (al-Dārimī 1386/1966: II, 337, no. 3488), an opposition developed, both against making the mere act of reading the essence of the deed (*ahl al-kitāb* also used to read the Holy Scriptures, but this was not done according to the right path; cf. Ibn Ḥanbal 1313: II, 160), and against a 'quick reading' (al-Dārimī 1386/1966: I, 284, n. 173; Ibn Māḡa 1372-73/1952-53: I, 428, no. 1348). Another issue was objecting to exaggeration in ascetic habits (al-Dārimī 1386/1966: II, 338, no. 3489; Ibn Māḡa 1372-73/1952-53: I, 428, no. 1346). Cf. Abū Sinān al-Šaybānī, who dug his grave fifteen years before his death; 'he used to go there and complete the reading of the Koran' (Ibn Sa'd 1321-59/1904-40: VI, 236). On the custom in the mosques see Ibn al-Ġawzī (1970: 71). According to Goldziher (1971: II, 243, n. 4), the completion of reading the Koran became customary on solemn occasions, and there were special prayers for it. On this see also Ibn 'Asākir (1329-49: III, 356); Abū Nu'aym (1351/1932: II, 99, 220, 321, 338-39; III, 57, 58, 170; IV, 115, 162-63, 227, 273; V, 18, 79, 144; VI, 29-30); al-Muqaddasī (1906: 183). On *Ḥitām al-Qur'ān* during the night (which emphasizes its ascetic value), see Ibn Sa'd (1321-59/1904-40: VII, part 1, 81); Ibn al-Ġawzī (1355-56/1936-37: IV, 2).

¹⁸ An addition to the tradition there says: 'They thought it desirable that, when coming to Mecca, they should not leave unless they completed the reading of the Koran'.

as the third Holy City in Islam, on the ground of a prophetic saying. As regards the veneration of the Dome of the Rock, there was always antagonism among certain scholars, mainly because it was the focus of Jewish traditions.¹⁹ According to another account, Sufyān al-Ṭawrī in fact prayed in al-Aqṣā Mosque and did not go to the Dome of the Rock (al-Maqdisī 1364: 50). A kind of accommodation may be found in the following narrative:

And Sufyān al-Ṭawrī, about whom there is unanimity as regards high rank and piety, came to al-Aqṣā Mosque and prayed there... and he came to the exalted Dome of the Rock and completed there the reading of the Koran (al-Ḥanbalī 1283/1866: I, 259).

Goitein (1966: 142) cites Sufyān al-Ṭawrī as an example of the veneration of Jerusalem among ascetics and mystics: 'The greatest pleasure in life according to Sufyān al-Ṭawrī was to eat a banana in the shadow of the *qubbāt al-ṣakhra* [the Dome of the Rock]'.²⁰ He is mentioned also in other traditions in praise of Jerusalem, one of which expresses an ascetic ideal of humility with regard to the poor and the miserable (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 179, no. 252; Abū Nu'aym 1351/1932: VI, 367; see below p. 180).²¹

The custom of cyclic reading the Torah among Jews might have also influenced certain Christian circles. Origen in Caesarea in the third century apparently also practised the custom of completing the reading of the Scriptures every three years (Trigg 1983: 177). This shows parallelism in the processes in which the two religions preserved or absorbed Jewish customs rather than any connection between Christianity and Islam regarding this same custom.

c. From Ascalon to Jerusalem

It is reported of King Solomon that 'when God gave him back his kingdom, he went on foot from Ascalon to Jerusalem wearing a patched cloak (*hiraq* [sg. *hirka*]) as a sign of submission to God' (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 169, no. 233; al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 25, no. 33).²² King Solomon, also a prophetic figure according to the Koran, has an important role in the traditions in praise of Je-

¹⁹ This trend, which was powerfully formulated by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), the well-known fighter against popular beliefs (Kister 1969: 195-96), was in fact very old.

²⁰ Cf. Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (1995: 190, no. 272) and the parallels quoted there. On Sufyān al-Ṭawrī see Plessner (1934). See also Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (1995: 84, no. 73). Sufyān is also related to the traditions of the frontier towns (see, e.g., al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī dīkr ahl al-'ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 7a), so that it is not surprising to recur to the *Ḥitām al-Qur'ān* in relation to frontier towns: see Abū Nu'aym (1351/1932: VI, 29). Cf. below.

²¹ He also appears as a transmitter of an apocalyptic tradition about the coming of Gog and Magog to Jerusalem (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 256, no. 393).

²² 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Kitāb faḍā'il al-Quds al-Šarif*, MS Princeton 586, f. 10b.

rusalem, mainly as he was the builder of the First Temple, the site of the Rock in Jerusalem. The Jewish legend of Ashmedai (who took his place as a king), hinted at in this tradition, appears at length in another tradition (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 23, no. 16), where the loan from the Jewish legend might be also connected to the *quṣṣās*, the 'storytellers' (Hasson 1976: 48; 1996: 364).²³ Here the patched cloak, like the *Ṣūf* (wool), generally identified with ascetics and Sufis, is connected with a biblical model, like other ascetic customs (Livne-Kafri 1996: 112-13), e.g. Solomon's humility towards the poor, the ill, and the crippled (ibid.: 116, n. 122; see here n. 21). This ascetic ideal of modesty and humility is also reflected in the description of the caliph 'Umar on his way to Jerusalem (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 49-50, no. 36), which is somewhat reminiscent of the description of Jesus coming to Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (Ya'qōb of Serūg 1984: 25 ff.), or of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius in his procession from the Mount of Olives when he returned the Holy Cross (Limor 1978: 59-60). In fact, the first tradition belongs to 'a chapter [in Ibn al-Muraġġā's book] concerning him who walks on foot to Jerusalem thanking God...', one example there being that of Heraclius who made a pilgrimage on foot from Homs to Jerusalem out of gratitude to God after his victory over the Persians (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 168).²⁴ The admiration for Jerusalem of ascetics and mystics is a leitmotif in many traditions; however, is the relation between Ascalon and Jerusalem significant in any way?

It is also said of King Solomon that he used to ride the wings of the wind

²³ Some of the *quṣṣās* were close to ascetic circles. See the information on 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs b. Sinān, grandson of Wahb b. Munabbih (who introduced a wealth of Jewish and Christian material into the Muslim tradition; see Horowitz 1934:1084-85), that he transmitted the books of Wahb 'on the prophets, and the ascetics and the stories of the Sons of Israel' (Ibn Sa'd 1321-59/1904-40: VII, part 2, 97). Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī was of Jewish origin and he used 'to tell stories' (Ibn al-Ġawzī 1971: 57). Preaching and 'storytelling' were important tools of government (ibid.: 28-29), and there were preachers and storytellers among the traditionalists of *aḥādīth* in praise of Jerusalem who were close to the authorities, such as Ka'b al-Aḥbār. The whole phenomenon is most probably connected to popular preaching in Jewish and Christian societies. Tamīm al-Dārī, a friend of the Prophet Muḥammad, is considered in some sources to be the first storyteller (see on him Levi Della Vida 1934). He was a convert from Christianity. On storytellers in Christian society see Fox (1939: 141). The relations between ascetics, rulers, storytellers and converts from Judaism and Christianity presented here is significant because they seem to reflect the transfer (and the preservation) of social, religious, and governmental patterns (and even the popular and the scholarly) from the pre-Islamic period, especially the Byzantine.

²⁴ A pilgrimage on foot was most probably considered a pious act. There was a question about its worth compared with a pilgrimage by riding. See al-Subkī (1371/1952: 122); al-Zarkašī (1385/1965: 270). This issue concerning Jerusalem is old, going back at least to the eighth century. See Ibn al-Muraġġā (1995: 167, no. 229); al-Wāsiṭī (1979: 30, no. 42). On a similar Christian account see Diehl (1963: 31).

from Jerusalem to Qazvin,²⁵ an Iranian town, which was a stronghold against the attacks of the enemies from the northern border.²⁶ Sometimes Ascalon and Qazvin appear in the *ḥadīṭ* literature as having divine blessing, for example, 'Four are the gates of the Paradise in this world: Alexandria, Ascalon, Qazvin, and Abadan'.²⁷ These 'pairs of sanctity' attest to certain similarities amongst those towns, all of which functioned as strongholds (*ribāṭāt* and *tuḡūr*) against the infidels.²⁸ Elad gives a detailed description of the way in which the coastal towns of Palestine became the focus of the fighting against the Byzantines shortly after the Muslim occupation, in the '40s of the seventh century and later (Elad 1982*b*: 146 ff.; Sharon 1986: 88 ff.; Gil 1983: I, 88-89).²⁹ A tradi-

²⁵ Al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī ḍikr ahl al-'ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 13b (Su. *Saba*, 12). Cf. 'Allāh looks at the inhabitants of Qazvin each day twice' (ibid.: f. 3b, 1.9) and 'Allāh looks at the inhabitants of Jerusalem each day twice' (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 153, no. 194; al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 22, no. 25 and the sources cited there by the editors).

²⁶ Qazvin in northern Iran functioned as a stronghold facing the mountains to its Northwest, mainly against the Daylam area (Le Strange 1905: 218-20; Hillenbrand 1978: 857-63). Qazvin became a station for fighting the infidels during the caliphate of 'Uṭmān b. 'Affān and it was fortified by his governor in Kufa, Sa'id b. al-'Aṣ (al-Balāḍurī 1377/1957: II, 395); Ibn al-Faqīh 1885: 82; Noth 1966: 84). In fact, Qazvin functioned as a frontier town against the Daylam even in the time of the pre-Islamic Persian dynasty (al-Balāḍurī 1377/1957: 394).

²⁷ Al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī ḍikr ahl al-'ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 6b (the introduction to this book contains many traditions in praise of Qazvin as a frontier town), but the same tradition appears in special collections of 'forged traditions' (al-Suyūṭī 1317/1899: I, 460; Ibn al-Ġawzī 1386/1966: II, 51; al-Šawkānī 1380/1960: 429; Gruber 1975: 60). Cf. 'The Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him salvation, said: Allāh has chosen from amongst the angels four... and he chose amongst the *muhāḡirīn* four... and amongst the frontier towns [*tuḡūr*] he has chosen four: Alexandria in Egypt, Qazvin in Khurasan, Abadan in Iraq, and Ascalon in al-Šām' (Ibn 'Asākir 1371-73: I, 210-11); cf. al-Suyūṭī, Muḡammad b. Šams al-Dīn, *Iḥāf al-aḡiṣṣā bi-faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, MS The Hebrew University 116, ff. 31a-31b; al-Ḥanafī, Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-mustaṣṣā fī faḍā'il al-Masḡid al-Aqṣā*, MS Escorial 1767, f. 88a; Muḡīr al-Dīn (1283/1866: II, 407); Ibn al-Firkāh (1935: 70).

²⁸ On such pairs of sanctity see Grunebaum (1962: 31), and the skilful use of such an observation throughout Kister (1969: 184). On Alexandria during the early period see Elad (1982*b*: 167, n. 75). See also Elad's accounts concerning Egypt (ibid: 152 ff.) and Gil (1983: 89). A large body of traditions exists praising the *ribāṭ* in Egypt. See, e.g., Ibn Zawlāq, *Ta'riḡ Miṣr wa-Faḍā'iluhā*, MS Paris 1817, f. 2a ff.; al-Nuwayrī (1342-57/1923-38: I, 346-54); Ibn al-Šalāh, *Faḍā'il al-Iskandariyya wa-'Asqālān*, MS Berlin 198 (the whole tract); Noth (1966: 84, n. 399). Cf. Labib (1978: 132-37). On Ascalon see Yāqūt (1374/761955-57: IV, 74); al-Qazwīnī (1970: 419); Ibn Taymiyya (1936: 15); al-Iṣṭaḡrī (1929: 33); Gruber (1975: 65). See n. 26 concerning Qazvin.

²⁹ According to Elad (1982*b*: 165, n. 54), the term *ribāṭ* means 'a fortified place at a strategic point on the frontier of the Muslim world'. In respect of the coastal cities of Syria and Palestine, the fortified city itself was called a *ribāṭ*. See Elad's discussion, p. 156, and his quotation of Marçais (1936) concerning the *ribāṭāt* in North Africa. Cf. Gruber (1975: 60 ff.). As a verbal noun *ribāṭ* or *murābṭa* means 'presence in a border city while in a continual state of alert in preparation for a Holy War against the enemy' and 'the state of living in a border city'

tion reported in the work of Ibn al-Murağğā ascribes the following saying to Mu‘ād b. Ğabal:

The messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him salvation, said: ‘Oh Mu‘ād! Allāh will conquer *al-Šām* (Syria) for you after my death from al-‘Arīš to the Euphrates. [The inhabitants of *al-Šām*] the men, their wives and their bondwomen are people of *ribāṭ* [*murābiṭūn*] until the Day of Resurrection. He who alights on a shore of *al-Šām* or Jerusalem will be in *ġihād* until the Day of Resurrection’ (Ibn al-Murağğā 1995: 237-38, nos. 351-53).

This tradition appears in a special chapter dedicated to Jerusalem and the *ribāṭ*. In one of the three and similar traditions, the conclusion is: ‘... He who at that time alights at some shore will be in *ġihād*, and he who alights at Jerusalem and its surrounding will be in *ribāṭ*’. These traditions, since the conquest, grant prestige to the fighting in Syria, mainly on the borders and along the coasts. The emphasis on the relation between Jerusalem and the fighting on the coasts partly hints at the sanctification of the frontier towns deriving from the holy city, and especially so its immediate frontier.³⁰ Another tradition of a clearly apocalyptic tone speaks of Palestine and Jerusalem, the place of Ibrāhīm’s migration (*muhāğar Ibrāhīm*), as the most beloved places of God. In a promise to the Patriarch Abraham, He said:

(Elad 1982b: 165; Gil 1983: I, 88-89). Sometimes the connotation is of staying in a border city for devotional purposes, or combining fighting against the infidels with a worship of God (See Elad: *ibid.* and here below). The creation of a specific literature in praise of the *ribāṭ* (see, e.g., al-Šan‘ānī 1390-92/1970-72: V, 171-310; cf. Gruber 1975: 90 ff.), aiming mainly to attract people to settle and fight on the frontiers, also reflects some tension and a struggle to equate the religious status of the warriors of the *ribāṭ* and those of the *ġihād*. See, e.g., al-Dimyāṭī (1930: 39); al-‘Abdarī (1348/1929: II, 193). Cf. ‘Your best *ġihād* is the *ribāṭ* and your best *ribāṭ* is the *ribāṭ* of Ascalon’ (al-Suyūṭī 1317/1899: I, 462); al-Hindī (1364-77: IV, 195). Cf. Tyan (1965: 539), and Marçais (1936).

³⁰ Cf. a similar connection between Mecca and Jedda, its nearest coast: ‘Mecca is *ribāṭ* and Jedda is *ġihād*’ (al-Fāsī 1378-88/1958-68: I, 46). This might also reflect the reinforcement of coastal garrisons with soldiers from inland cities (Elad 1982b: 159, nn. 74-75). This is likewise attested in another account: according to a tradition, Wakī’ b. al-Ġarrāh (see on him Ibn al-Murağğā 1995: 40, no. 31) was asked: ‘Abū Sufyān, is praying in Mecca preferable or leaving for Jedda? He said: My opinion is that you shall stay in Mecca... when horrors and fear will come upon Jedda, you shall hurry there’ (al-Rāfi‘ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī ḍikr ahl al-‘ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 7a). This is also a kind of harmonization with tendencies to prefer staying on the frontiers to staying in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina: for example, ‘I prefer a stay of forty days in the *ribāṭ* of Qazvin to a sojourn of one year in Mecca’ (*ibid.*: f. 6b, in the margins); or ‘My people will possess a town named Qazvin. He who dwells there is better than he who dwells in the two Holy Cities’ (al-Šawkānī 1380/1960: 435; al-Rāfi‘ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī ḍikr ahl al-‘ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 5a; al-Hindī (1343: 120). For the story of Sa‘īd b. Jubayr see al-Rāfi‘ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī ḍikr ahl al-‘ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 6a-6b.

In the End of Days, I will bring there the best of my servants to fight the sons of Esau [the Byzantines]. Ibrāhīm asked: Oh Lord, in which place there? He answered: On the shore which is at the southern side of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 160, no. 212).³¹

Ascalon, on the southern coast of Palestine, may be referred to in that tradition, and traditions are actually found in its praise (Elad 1982a: *passim*; Sharon 1986: 96).³² Many traditions exist on the migration of Muslims to Syria, of which some with an eschatological connotation, others reflecting Umayyad tendencies (Livne-Kafri 1985: 80-89). Goitein (1945-46: 122, 126; 1966: 144-45) regarded the traditions on the migration to Syria as an expression of the veneration of Jerusalem and Palestine among the early Muslim ascetics, and he links sayings in praise of inhabiting Syria as originating in Jewish sources. However, they may have monastic origins as well (Livne-Kafri 1996: 109-10).

Many traditions aim at lending prestige to fighting the enemies of Islam in the frontier towns and glorify the *ribāṭ* (or *murābata*) fighting (and staying) in the borderline fortifications – for example, by granting the martyrs who were killed in them a special high rank.³³ One reason was to attract warriors and settlers to the frontier regions and the naval coastal fortifications, where there was perpetual bloodshed. Some of the frontier towns became a centre of religious visits, but there was also a struggle against certain elements of the rituals in *ribāṭ* towns.³⁴ One account is especially significant as it relates the

³¹ On the use of the expression 'sons of Esau' to denote the Byzantines (as heirs of the Romans) see, e.g., Even Shmuel (1954: 162). On this use in the Christian literature concerning the Greeks and the Romans see Aphrahat (1894: 220, 229).

³² Ascalon appears in one tradition as the best eschatological refuge place chosen for the Muslims in times of tribulation, even inside *al-Šām* (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 312-13, no. 511).

³³ Those who died in the *ribāṭ* were granted the same status as those who died in the battle of Badr, the martyrs of the highest degree. See Ibn al-Faqīh (1885: 283): 'Among the merits of Qazvin, is that the men who sanctified there the name of God by their death are of the same rank as the warriors who died as martyrs in the battle of Badr'. Cf. al-Qazwīnī (1970: 345), Gruber (1975: 60-61), and below, p. 181. The dead and their graves are regarded as an important element in the sanctity of the *ribāṭ* towns. Cf. al-Šawkānī (1380/1960: 429-31); al-Suyūṭī (1317/1899: I, 460-63); 'al-Šan'ānī (1390-92/1970-72: V, 287), al-Miknāsī, *Kitāb fihī faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-faḍā'il al-Šām*, MS Tübingen 25, f. 138b; Ibn Ḥanbal (1313: III, 225); al-Bustī (1390/1970: I, 267); see below, end of n. 34.

³⁴ Some traditionalists ascribe to famous scholars the injunction to perform a regular religious visit to a *ribāṭ* town like Qazvin. Sufyān al-Ṭawrī used to ask people who came to see him: 'Is there anyone among you who does not go to Qazvin [to perform religious duty] at least once a month?' (al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī ḍikr ahl al-'ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 6b.). Ibn Taymiyya (1936: 15) said that the pilgrimage to Ascalon ran counter to the laws of Islam ('*wa-ammā al-safar ilā 'Asqalān fa-laysa mašrū'an...*'). It was said that the governor of al-Mutawakkil (d. 861) in Qazvin cut down a tree that stood next to the mosque of Rabī' b. Ḥuṭaym, whose branches people used to touch in order to attain a blessing (al-Balāḍurī 1377/1957: II, 396). Regarding popular beliefs and customs cf. Kister (1969: 193-96). Ascalon

frontier towns and Jerusalem to the practise of a 'common pilgrimage'. It reports about a group of people, most probably Sufis, who used to travel along the same pilgrimage route every year, stopping at the frontier towns of Qazvin, Abadan, and Tarsus, the holy cities of Mecca and Jerusalem, and Basra in Iraq, where their *Šeyḥs* resided:

Four companions... used to come to our *Šeyḥs*, namely Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh and others, and salute them. Then they would turn to Abadan and fast there during the month of *ramaḍān*, and when the fast was over, they would go to Mecca and perform the *ḥaġġ* with the pilgrims, then they would go from Mecca to Jerusalem and pray there. They would then go from Jerusalem to Tarsus and hurry to make a raid there against the enemy. Then they would come from Tarsus to the town of Qazvin and stay there for *ribāṭ* [*fa-yurābiṭūna fihā*]. Then they would come to Basra to meet our *Šeyḥs*. Then they would turn to Abadan and fast there during the month of *ramaḍān*. This was their custom every year... (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 193-94, no. 278).³⁵

The same trend is reflected in another tradition ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad:

He who performs the *ḥaġġ* [the official pilgrimage to Mecca] and the '*umra* [a non-obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca, undertaken at any time of the year] and prays in Jerusalem and fights in the *ġihād* and *ribāṭ* has already brought my *sunna* [the way of life of Muḥammad that should be taken as a model for imitation] into perfection (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 94-95, no. 91 and the sources quoted there by the editor).

It is also seen in the case of Aḥmad b. Kaṭīr,³⁶ who asked God that he might

had some holy sites, of which the best known was the grave of the head of the Shi'ite martyr al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. See al-Harawī (1953: 32); Muġīr al-Dīn (1283/1866: II, 422); Ibn Šaddād (1382/1962: 291); al-'Abdarī (1388/1968: 232); Ibn Ḥaldūn (1961: III, 53). In Qazvin, people used to go on Fridays to the cemetery of the martyrs and ascetics (al-Qazwīnī 1970: 436). Though these sources are comparatively late, they seem to reflect an old tendency. Periods of tranquillity apparently lowered the importance of certain localities: 'And the reason [for the superiority of Ascalon] that it was a place of *ribāṭ*, and a frontier town, filled with fears. The enemy besieged it many times and many Muslims sanctified there the name of God as martyrs. But now the *ribāṭs* of other places should be preferred, because nowadays the encampment of the enemy is far from it' (Muḥammad b. Šams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Iḥāf al-aḥiṣṣā bi-faḍā'il al-Masġid al-Aqṣā*, MS The Hebrew University 116, f. 109a; cf. Ibn Taymiyya 1936: 15).

³⁵ The tradition is only partly quoted by Ibn al-Firkāḥ (1935: 60), and is so quoted by Kister (1969: 192, n. 97), and by Busse (1968: 467). The four companions are said to be *Bakrī*, '*Umarī*', '*Uṭmānī*' and '*Alawī*' (following the path of the 'rightly guided caliphs'). This reveals the somewhat legendary character of the tradition. But the tendency seemingly existed, as attested by the following quoted traditions. Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh is most probably Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tusatarī (d. 816; see on him Schimmel 1975: 55-57) or he may be Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Farḥān (see on him Abū Nu'aym 1351/1932: X, 212). On Tarsus see Buhl (1934); Elad (1982b: 157).

³⁶ On Aḥmad b. Kaṭīr see Ibn 'Asākir (1329-49: I, 445).

perform the *ḥaḡḡ*, the *ḡihād*, as well as prayers in Jerusalem and Ascalon and *ribāṭ* on all the shores (Ibn 'Asākīr 1329-49: I, 234; 1371-73: I, part 2, 107).

These traditions demonstrate a certain trend among ascetic circles, which were also known for their admiration of Jerusalem. God-fearing men felt a call to abandon the centres of the empire and go to the frontier areas to combine in war against the infidels appealing to the worship of God. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, the famous scholar and ascetic, has left to us early compositions on asceticism and *ḡihād* (al-Mubārak 1385/1966; 1391/1971). He is said to have rebuked an ascetic (*nāsik*) who lived in Baghdad to cleave the frontiers: '... You who wear woollen cloth, Baghdad is not a dwelling place worthy of the *zuhhād*' (al-Baḡdādī 1349/1931: I, 6, 21).³⁷ Indeed, Muslim ascetics who created traditions in praise of Jerusalem also developed the idea of the sanctity of the frontier towns.³⁸ The traditions are connected sometimes to a 'combined sanctity' on the ideological level and through a common pilgrimage. Traditions concerning Jerusalem were studied in the frontier towns,³⁹ and many of the figures connected to them lived in *ribāṭ* towns or stayed there for certain periods. The traditions in praise of these towns are partly connected with the same scholars, many of whom were ascetics (Elad 1982*b*: 157-59). The tendency among ascetics to go to the frontier regions was most probably favoured by the Umayyad (and the early Abbasid) governments. It removed an alienated element from the centres of governments and internal political controversies, and set in motion a religious factor which inspired the Muslims to relocate in the frontier areas. The ascetics included important scholars, like Sufyān al-Ṭawrī, and their mobility was also a mobility of ideas, including ascetic ideals and an extraordinary veneration for Jerusalem. The sanctification of the fron-

³⁷ On 'fighting asceticism' see mainly Noth (1966: 48 ff.); cf. Gruber (1975: 60 ff.). In fact, the ascetic retirement, aimed partly to avoid participation in the civil wars, was also channelled to fighting the infidels. According to one tradition the caliph 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib asked Rabī' b. Ḥuṭaym: 'What prevents you from fighting on our side [at the battle of Ṣiffin between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya in 657]? He said: I do not like to fight against you, or to fight for you. Show me a direction where I should go for *ḡihād* or *ribāṭ*. He said: You should turn to Alexandria or Qazvin' (al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī ḡikr ahl al-'ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 7a); cf. *ibid.*, f. 4a, lines 16-27: 'They saw in the *'uzla* [retirement] the best thing one should do in the time of civil wars'. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 6a, lines 1-13; Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Faḡā'il al-Iskandariyya wa-'Asqalān*, f. 5b; al-Balāḍurī (1377/1957: II, 395). It seems to me that the concept of the Holy Man in Islam, especially in Sufism, and even the terminology, was partly related to fighting tendencies among early Muslim ascetics. Cf. Livne-Kaffri (1996: 122-24; 1989: 50-51).

³⁸ For a detailed list of such figures connected with Jerusalem see Livne-Kaffri (1985: 142-44, n. 489).

³⁹ On Abadan and Qazvin (*bi-'Abādān fī al-ribāṭ / fī ribāṭ Qazwīn*) see Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (1995: 137, no. 170), quoted by Hasson (1976: 49, no. 19). On Ascalon (in the eleventh century) see Ibn al-Muraḡḡā (1995: 17, no. 10; 160, no. 212; 190, no. 272; 229, no. 337; 239, no. 355; 251, no. 379). On Tarsus see *ibid.*: 350, no. 578.

tier towns was in fact an enlargement of the 'sanctification circle' of Muslim towns in general. The relation of the frontier towns with Jerusalem was not restricted to common pilgrimages, but was also connected to the conceptual structure of Jerusalem in Islam.⁴⁰

The frontier towns claimed their sanctity from their connection with Jerusalem (Abadan was said to be created from the clay of Jerusalem),⁴¹ and this is especially obvious in the traditions regarding the Last Day:

Alexandria and Ascalon are two brides, and Alexandria is of a higher rank. When the Day of Judgement comes, it will be conducted as a bride to Jerusalem, along with its inhabitants.⁴²

The bridal metaphor of Jerusalem, known from the Revelation (chap. 21), is reserved for the Ka'ba, which 'will be conducted to Jerusalem in the Day of Resurrection as a bride to her bridegroom (*zaff al-'arūs*)', and is also used in connection with the Rock of Jerusalem (al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 93, no. 153; Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 211-13, nos. 305-9) in addition to other elements of the 'New Jerusalem' in the Muslim tradition, such as the precious stones of Jerusalem and the Rock (Livne-Kafri 1993a: 99-100). The precious stones of Jerusalem, which descend from heaven, appear in connection with the frontier towns:

On the Day of Resurrection, Allāh will turn three towns into topaz, and they will be conducted as brides to their husbands. These are Ascalon, Alexandria, and Qazvin (Ibn al-Ġawzī 1386/1966: II, 55; cf. al-Suyūṭī 1387/1967: I, 164).

According to one tradition the Ka'ba will come to Jerusalem and then both of them will be conducted to Paradise (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 211, no. 306; al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 40, no. 92; 92, no. 152, and the sources quoted there). It is even said that the men who were buried in the cemetery of Ascalon will be conducted to Paradise like a bride taken to her husband (Rubin 1976: 255, n.

⁴⁰ The importance of the frontier towns compared with other places is emphasized in a saying of al-Ġazālī, the famous Sufi theologian (d. 1111), that after the three holy cities, all places are of equal rank, with the exception of the frontier towns (*tuġūr*), because residing there for the purpose of *murābaṭa* is of great virtue (al-Ġazālī n.d.: 17).

⁴¹ al-Miknāsī, *Kitāb fihī faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-faḍā'il al-Šām*, MS Tübingen 25, f. 117a, quoted by Hasson (1976: 47, n. 14).

⁴² Ibn al-Šalāḥ, *Faḍā'il al-Iskandariyya wa-'Asqalān*, MS Berlin 198, f. 2b. Cf. al-Dahabī (1325/1907: I, 285): 'Ascalon is the bride of Paradise'. See also Ibn 'Arrāq (1378: II, 62), regarding the glorification of Qazvin that 'will become on the Day of Resurrection, having two wings with which it will hover between earth and heaven. It will be a white pearl. Carrying its inhabitants... it will declare: I am Qazvin, a part of Paradise. I will intercede for those who came to me'. On the role of the Ka'ba interceding for the pilgrims see Ibn al-Muraġġā (1995: 212-13, n. 309). Cf. Gruber (1975: 61).

137). The bride, then, is not the New Jerusalem descending from heaven, but the ascension of the earthly sites to heaven.

It should be noted that the 'Canonical Collections' of *ḥadīṭ* contain chapters in praise of *ribāṭ*, but traditions on specific towns are rare.⁴³ Perhaps this is because many traditions on the merits of individual towns were considered unreliable by the *ḥadīṭ* critics. A trend to reduce the number of Muslim holy places besides the 'Three Mosques' may also be at work. In fact, most of the traditions in praise of Jerusalem are not included in the 'Canonical Collections' either. This was perhaps due to the fear of admitting practices and beliefs springing out of the foreign influence of Judaism and Christianity (Hasson 1976: 53-55; Kister 1969: *passim*).

d. The Muezzins of Jerusalem

A tradition ascribed to Ḡābir b. 'Abd Allāh says:

A man came to the Prophet, may God bless him and save him, and said: Which of the people will be the first to enter Paradise? He said: The prophets. He asked: Who afterwards, oh Messenger of God? He said: The martyrs. He asked: Who then, oh Messenger of God? He said: The muezzins of the Ka'ba, then the muezzins of Jerusalem, then the muezzins of this mosque of mine [the mosque of Medina], afterwards the other muezzins, according to their deeds (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 155, no. 199).

According to other traditions the muezzins of Jerusalem come either after those of Medina (the usual order), or even before those of Mecca and Medina (*ibid.*). The dispute on the sanctity of Jerusalem, as described by Kister (1969), is well reflected in the versions of the tradition. There are some other traditions in praise of the muezzins of Jerusalem (i.e., the muezzins of al-Aqṣā Mosque), including sayings attributed to them.⁴⁴ Busse (1968: 449-50) pointed out the parallelism between a tradition about Bilāl, the muezzin of the Prophet, who called for prayer in Jerusalem after the conquest, and the story

⁴³ Regarding Ascalon, see Ibn Ḥanbal (1313: III, 225). A few traditions in Ibn Māḡa (1372-73/1952-53: II, 928) may have a connection to his being Qazwīnī.

⁴⁴ According to a tradition attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār, 'no one has ever been slain as a martyr in the cause of God, unless he hears the muezzins of Jerusalem. Indeed, the people of heaven hear the muezzins of Jerusalem' (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 156, no. 200). See some more examples in the editor's notes, and cf. Busse (1968: 465). It was said about Abū al-'Awwām, the muezzin of Jerusalem, that he used to call for the morning prayer, then he used to turn and say: 'By God, that there is no God but He, there is no *shahīd* ('martyr') on earth, but that he heard my call for prayer' (al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 37, no. 48; cf. Busse 1968: 465). See also traditions about Rustam al-Fārisī, the muezzin of Jerusalem 'during fifty years' and a miracle that happened to the Dome of the Rock on the night of an earthquake (al-Wāsiṭī 1979: 79-81, nos. 133-35; Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 117-19, nos. 139-41). Cf. Elad (1991: 53, n. 46).

on the conquest of Mecca, when Bilāl was the first to call to prayer from the roof of the Ka'ba. In Jerusalem Bilāl is said to withdraw from his decision not to call to prayer after Muḥammad's death (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 50, end of tradition no. 36). This seems to be a stereotype, because some other accounts hold that Bilāl withdrew from his decision (Arafat 1960: 1215). The muezzins of Jerusalem are also mentioned as transmitters of the traditions concerning Jerusalem which are not related to their own class.⁴⁵ These traditions are part of a large body of traditions in praise of the call for prayer and those who call to prayer.⁴⁶ In addition to the religious aspect there is the social aspect, namely the status of the muezzins in general and those of Jerusalem in particular.⁴⁷ The muezzins of Jerusalem wishing to have a part in the blessing and sanctity of the town join in the creation of the traditions elevating its rank. In the same manner the muezzins of other towns tried to enhance the status of their towns (and of themselves) by using the elements of 'the Three Mosques'. The muezzin Muḥammad b. Ḥālīd al-Ġanadī from Ġanad in Yemen, for example, transmitted a tradition in which his mosque is linked up to the three holy mosques.⁴⁸

e. Arḍ al-maḥṣar wa-l-manṣar ('The Land of the Final Judgment Gathering and of the Resurrection')

The struggle for the sanctity of the important shrines of Islam is demonstrated by traditions having common features; for example, their importance and hierarchy are measured in terms of the value of the prayers in the mosques (Kister 1969: 184). One instance is a tradition about Maymūna, the wife of Muḥammad, who asked him about Jerusalem. He said, 'It is *arḍ al-maḥṣar wa-l-manṣar*. Come there and pay a religious visit to it, because a prayer there

⁴⁵ See, e.g., Radīḥ b. 'Atiya al-Quraṣī (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 55, no. 42); the preacher Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn (ibid.: 70, no. 59); 'Imrān b. Bakkār (ibid.: 103, no. 107); Abū Huḍayfa (ibid.: 124, no. 149); Abū al-Zubayr (ibid.: 188, no. 269); Aḥmad b. 'Alī, a friend of the famous ascetic Sarī al-Saqāṭī (ibid.: 333, no. 551); Muḥammad b. Ḥālīd al-Ġanadī (see our n. 48). On a transmission by the muezzin of Jerusalem, Hāšim b. Muḥammad b. Ya'lā, see Ibn 'Asākir (1982: 367).

⁴⁶ E.g., on the high rank of muezzins in Paradise, see Ibn 'Asākir (1371-73: III, 301 ff.); Ibn Māḡa (1372-73/1952-53: I, 241); Ibn 'Arrāq (1378: I, 247, n. 12); Abū Nu'aym (1931-34: II, 198); Ibn Ḥanbal (1313: IV, 95, 98); Ibn al-Ġawzī (1386/1966: II, 88 ff.). Cf. Wensinck (1927: 11-13).

⁴⁷ In fact, in certain places the 'institution' of the call to prayer was partly hereditary (Pedersen 1936: 375).

⁴⁸ The transmitter Muḥammad b. Ḥālīd al-Ġanadī (see on him Ibn Ḥaḡar 1325-27: IX, 143), who adds the mosque of his town al-Ġanad in Yemen to the three Holy Mosques (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 84, no. 72, and the sources quoted there). In fact there are at least two other transmitters from Ġanad in the *isnād*. Cf. Kister (1969: 191, n. 85).

is worth a thousand prayers elsewhere...' (Ibn al-Murağğā 1995: 88, no. 79; Kister 1969: 185). According to another tradition connected with Maymūna, a certain woman was ill and she vowed to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem if she recovered. When she recovered she prepared provisions for the journey and went to Maymūna. The latter advised her to stay in Medina, to consume her provisions there, and fulfil her vow by praying in the mosque of Medina. Maymūna quoted the utterance of the Prophet that a prayer in that mosque was better than a thousand prayers in any other mosque except that of the Ka'ba (Kister 1969: 181; Ibn al-Murağğā 1995: 88, no. 79 and editor's references). These traditions are a part of a large body, quoted by Kister, regarding the controversy among religious scholars on Muslim holy places.⁴⁹

Other Muslim traditions recommend giving up a religious visit to Jerusalem and praying somewhere else, such as in Mecca, Medina, or Damascus (Kister 1969: 180-81, 189). A similar stereotype appears in Byzantine literature. Daniel the Stylite, on his way to Jerusalem, was convinced by an old man not to go there but to the second Jerusalem (Constantinople), or to a desolate place in Thrace or the Pontus (Stroumsa 1979: 122-23). Brown (1971: 141) sees in this anecdote a transfer of sanctity, in which the holiness associated with Jerusalem is transferred to the 'ruling city', the political centre, namely Constantinople. The Muslim traditions confirming the value of prayers in different holy sites, and the preference given to them, may also be seen as a parallel to the Christian tradition of comparing the pilgrimages to a monastery with visits to Jerusalem (cf. also Vööbus 1960: 319). Other reports that could be connected to Byzantine ideas and customs are generally linked to the world of monasticism and the reflection of monastic ideas in the world of Muslim asceticism. Some of these reports concern what seems to be a continuation of Byzantine patterns by Umayyads authorities. According to a narration told by the tutor of the children of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, the ascetic woman Umm al-Dardā' was greatly respected by the caliph. This might reflect the role of monks and ascetics in the Byzantine society and even in Byzantine court (Ibn al-Murağğā 1995: 185, no. 263).⁵⁰ The tradition of the caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (705-15) sending gold for the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Murağğā 1995: 250, no. 377)⁵¹ might reflect the custom of Byzantine emperors to transfer money to the needy in times of

⁴⁹ Among others were Damascus (Kister 1969: 188-89) and Kufa (ibid.: 189-90). The first was the capital of the Umayyads and the second was a holy site for the Shi'ites. Cf. Livne-Kafri (1993b: 130-36).

⁵⁰ Compare the accounts about ascetics in the courts of the Umayyads and the first Abbasids in Ibn Qutayba (1343-49/1925-30: II, 233 ff.). See, e.g., the attitude of the Empress Eudokia to the young Melanya (Holm 1982: 185; Dawse and Baynes 1977: 31, 46-47, 145).

⁵¹ According to the versions mentioned there, it was distributed to the *qurrā'* (Koran's readers) of Jerusalem.

distress (Wright 1882: 31), and especially gifts and money to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (ibid.: 66; Holm 1982: 103). In fact, the erection of the monumental buildings on the Temple Mount, the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque by 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walīd might be connected to Byzantine conceptions of religious architecture (Grabar 1959). The Byzantines raised sumptuous religious edifices as a tool to achieve and manifest political power.⁵²

The Rock is eschatologically identified as the stage of the final drama of humanity, namely the Resurrection and the Last Judgement. This is also connected to the narratives on the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, who showed personal interest in this aspect of the Rock (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 187, no. 267).⁵³ The importance of Jerusalem (and *al-Šām*) as *arḍ al-maḥṣar wa-l-manšar* in the first tradition about Maymūna seems in fact to be an old feature in the glorification of the Holy Land. This eschatological element is important in the halo of sanctity attached to Jerusalem, and was also used as an argument in political controversies. Mu'āwiya, the first Umayyad caliph trying to extol his own position, said to a mission from Iraq: 'you have come to the best caliph, and to the Holy Land and to the land of the gathering (for the Resurrection) and to the Resurrection, and you have come to a land in which are the graves of the prophets' (Ibn al-Faqīh 1885: 115).⁵⁴ In this respect many traditions glorify Jerusalem, especially the Rock: the angel Isrā'fīl will stand on the Rock, blowing the trumpet for the Resurrection, the Last Judgement, heaven and hell, the recognition of the 'New Jerusalem' as Dome on the Rock, made of gold and precious stones, as well as for the final battle between the forces of good and evil. Other traditions refer to the signs that will precede the Hour of Resurrection such as cosmic changes, the appearance of Gog and Magog and of the *daġġāl*, the antichrist of the Muslim legend. Jerusalem is also the centre in many of the political apocalypses of the Umayyad period and of the early Abbasid period (Livne-Kafri in press: 42-56). These should be examined in relation to the growth of Christian and Jewish apocalyptic literature as a reaction to the emergence of Islam and the establishment of the Muslim empire.

⁵² Also at the expense of a competition among the holy cities (above p. 183). Cf. the observation of the geographer al-Iṣṭaḥrī (1929: 70). About the bishops of Jerusalem looking for a position of power based on their holy sites see Brown (1981: 10, n. 38).

⁵³ The tradition is connected to Nūf al-Bakkālī, the son of Ka'b al-Aḥbār's wife. See on him Ibn al-Muraġġā (1995: 106, no. 112). The other tradition is connected with Ka'b himself and it tells about a discussion on the interpretation of a Koranic verse (al-Ṭabārī 1373/1954: XVI, 212).

⁵⁴ Hasson (1976: 46) was the first to mention the connection between Mu'āwiya and traditions in praise of Jerusalem and his role in giving Jerusalem a special status. Cf. Livne-Kafri (1991: 74-75). The eschatological aspect seems to be the most prominent in the traditions connected to the Rock (Livne-Kafri 1989: 61, nn. 183-85; Elad 1995: 158, based also on the interpretation of M. Rozen-Ayalon, an art historian).

The Single Traditions and the General Picture

So far I have showed the complexity of the matter examining a single tradition or groups of traditions with common features. At first sight these do not seem to have much in common or be important components in the main traditional issues of the research on Jerusalem, which regard such matters as the sanctity of Jerusalem as reflected in its Muslim holy sites, the controversy among Muslim scholars on its religious status, the importance attached to it in cosmology and eschatology, and the search into the Jewish origins of the traditions concerning Jerusalem. However, specific traditions prove to be important ingredients in these subject matters, and in this section we will try to present a more general picture, in which the 'single traditions' and the problems of the research work can be better understood. Obviously, this is not the only way to deal with the subject of Jerusalem in early Islam with reference to the starting point of specific traditions and their analysis, the disciplines, and the issues involved. The starting point from single traditions to monographs and towards a larger picture is not necessarily the method usually followed. For example, when we deal with conceptions and ideologies concerning Jerusalem in early Islam, we tend to rely on earlier research in Judaism and Christianity, considering their conclusions as a starting point.

The fact that an overwhelming quantity of Jewish and Christian material is found in the traditions in praise of Jerusalem is important. It reflects controversy and reconciliation as regards the absorption of foreign contents; but it also shows the flexibility and the openness of early Muslim society. But ideas and customs must also be measured with respect to the basic value system of Islam, into which they were absorbed, and according to the way in which they were moulded in a society in the making. It should also be noticed that the emphasis and focus on a certain matter in the Judaeo-Christian tradition can be different from what they are in the Muslim tradition. The problem of Islam as a new religion seeking for recognition in Judaism and Christianity, but at the same time wishing to express its own uniqueness, is manifest, for example, in the case of Jewish converts into Islam. It is reflected in their own personality: though they embraced Islam, they could not escape their cultural and religious origins. They introduced vast Jewish contents on Jerusalem, created a kind of 'Jewish apocrypha'⁵⁵ to justify and express Muslim needs, and supplied as well the Jewish background for the legitimation of the holy places accepted by the Muslims.⁵⁶ The process of absorption of the Jewish heritage was

⁵⁵ Cf. a tradition attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār that he had found 'in one of the Books' a prophecy on the building of the Temple by 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 63, no. 50).

⁵⁶ Identification of the sites in Jerusalem is also sometimes connected with converts such as Wahb b. Munabbih (Ibn al-Muraḡḡā 1995: 254, no. 389).

much larger than that of Christian tradition since when the Temple Mount was recognized by the caliph 'Umar as the place of the 'Mosque of David' and a Muslim place of prayer was built there. The great building activities started by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik, especially that of the Dome of the Rock on the site of the Jewish Temple, were a great incentive for the absorption of more traditions, especially from Jewish sources. Christian perceptions of Jerusalem were much less emphasized in the traditions in praise of Jerusalem. The fear of Christian influence lay in the power of Christianity as the religion of the larger non-Muslim community in Islamic territories (and most probably in Jerusalem itself) and in the rivalry with the Byzantine empire. The conflict with Christianity was expressed, for example, in the prohibition of visiting churches (Ibn al-Muraġġā 1995: 265, no. 401; 253, nos. 384-85).⁵⁷ Koranic figures such as Jesus, Mary, or Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, along with other biblical figures were another reason for the absorption of traditions and the erection of minor sites by the Muslims (Elad 1995: 93-97, 117).⁵⁸ Christian practices and ideas are more obvious as a model for Muslim ascetics, but the image of Jerusalem itself in such traditions reveals the positive attitudes of these circles to Jewish sources as well. Typical Christian attitudes on Jerusalem as expressed in our discussion of 'one stone upon another' are rare. The important rank of Jerusalem in Muslim tradition is generally connected to the Rock, for example, through its role in cosmology and eschatology. The way it was treated in the Muslim tradition, mainly with reference to Mecca, is similar to the way holy elements were transferred from the Jewish Temple to Golgotha (Wensinck 1916; Livne-Kafri 1993a; Busse 1987: *passim*). The Muslim apocalyptic traditions of Jerusalem on the Resurrection and the Last Judgement, also with a clear stamp of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, sometimes reflect anti-Jewish tendencies borrowed from the Christian tradition, and an anti-Christian polemic as well. Even historical apocalyptic traditions arising from inner Islamic religious and political conflicts require comparison with the Judaeo-Christian tradition because of the use of similar patterns and motifs, and because important Christian and Jewish apocalypses were composed at about the same time as apocalyptic Muslim traditions. The latter often reflect the political and military confrontation with the Byzantines, and the antichrist legend seems to have exerted a great effect on the political apocalyptic traditions of Islam (Livne-Kafri in press: 23-56).

Here are some comments on the problems set out at the opening of this article, beginning with the historical background. Historical accounts in the

⁵⁷ Goitein (1966: 147) emphasized competition with the Christian churches as a main reason for the construction of the Dome of the Rock.

⁵⁸ These sites and others might reflect the transference of sites and contents from the Mount of Olives to the sacred Muslim sites on Temple Mount (Livne-Kafri 1985: 343, n. 345).

traditions in praise of Jerusalem are rare, but much important social, religious and political information can be derived from them. In fact, all the other subject matters and questions mentioned there can be related to the 'historical problem'. Our basic assumption, that the research on the 'Heavenly Jerusalem' is necessarily defective without a detailed illustration of the 'Earthly Jerusalem' is also correct the other way round. Historical events (as reflected in the traditions in praise of Jerusalem) must also be understood in terms of ideologies, social connections, or public opinion, as for example – in the apocalyptic traditions of Jerusalem – expressions of hopes and fears in times of schisms, wars, and religious conflicts. Both literary forms and contents were the usual media to transfer and spread ideas, and while they needed the stamp of religious authorities, they expressed a wide range of interests. Both the content of the traditions (*matn*) and the chains of the transmitters (*isnāds*) are important. The different versions of the traditions on the 'Three Mosques' and the muezzins as expressed through the *matn*, for example, and the information derived from the content of the traditions, are important, but the *isnād* might serve as an effective tool as well.

This strict method of preserving the transmitters of a tradition lasted for centuries after it was formed. Ibn al-Murağğā, the important collector of traditions in praise of Jerusalem who lived in the eleventh century was meticulous in keeping full *isnāds* even of traditions quoted in well-known *ḥadīṭ* collections. I searched for all the personalities in the *isnāds* in his book on the Merits of Jerusalem, Hebron and Syria across a wide range of classical biographical sources; a similar search was made for the personalities mentioned in the *matn* (Ibn al-Murağğā 1995; Livne-Kafri 1985: *passim*) The cross-checking of this information with the contents of different texts could enrich our knowledge of the importance of the transmitters in general and of their role with regard to Jerusalem in particular. Goitein's emphasis on the religious aspect of the sanctity of Jerusalem, as against Goldziher's theory of political incentive, might be supported by our findings on additional ascetic issues as reflected in the traditions of Jerusalem, such as celibacy, miracles, fasting and charity, the beginnings of mystical conceptions, and the development of the idea of the holy man in Islam. Goitein's conclusions on the importance of ascetics and Sufis with regard to Jerusalem were based on scant information, as was his theory about the relation of Muslim ascetics to Christian monks. Both theories are found to be right. On the other hand, Goldziher's theory about the influence of the Umayyad authorities on the creation of the traditions is supported by traditions in whose creation the Umayyad caliphs themselves were involved, not to mention their contribution to the building of important holy sites in Jerusalem.

The long list of Jerusalem's Muslim scholars and traditionalists includes many who co-operated with the Umayyads, mainly by being appointed to official positions. Among them there were numerous ascetics who co-operated

with the Umayyads and the early Abbasids, despite a tendency to alienation from the authorities in ascetic circles (Livne-Kafri 1996: 126-28; 1985: 28-52).⁵⁹ In the case of Jerusalem the interest of the Umayyads to extol their own status inside and outside the empire seemingly agreed with the religious attitudes of ascetics and other scholars to Jerusalem; at least there was no sharp difference between them. Even in the political-apocalyptic traditions which grew up around the middle of the eighth century and the rise of the Abbasids, Jerusalem is the final aim of different groups in the eschatological battle, as the symbol of victory of the right party. The division into different circles connected with the traditions in praise of Jerusalem, as mentioned above, is somewhat artificial, because of the close connections between certain circles and because certain figures displayed characteristics of more than one circle (cf. *supra* pp. 168-69).⁶⁰ In some of the subjects dealt with, such as the Muslim apocalyptic literature or the history of early Muslim asceticism in general, the current research is unsatisfactory, so that to investigate the traditions about Jerusalem these fields must be specially studied, as is evident from the discussion on the 'single traditions'. Only in this way the research on Jerusalem becomes an important part of the wider research on early Islam.

Indeed, what makes this subject matter so fascinating is the diversity of the traditions in form and content, the intricacy of the discussion, and the discovery of a living world of religious, social, and political conceptions far beyond what seem at first to be 'technical scholarly texts'.

⁵⁹ This ambiguity is reflected in the personality of the pious Umayyad caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz, who upheld values of authority and asceticism. According to one tradition he wanted to leave the affairs of government and to remain on the frontier, but was prevented from doing so by his responsibilities: 'If I had someone who could relieve me of the care of my community, I would move to Qazvin together with my family, I would stay there as a *murābiṭ*, I would be killed in the cause of God, or else I would die being in a *ribāṭ*. So that on the day of Resurrection, I would rise up together with the martyrs of the battle of Badr' (al-Rāfi'i al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fi dīkr ahl al-'ilm bi-Qazwīn*, MS Lalehli 2010, f. 6b, 7a; Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Faḍā'il al-Iskandariyya wa-'Asqalān*, MS Berlin 198, f. 3b, line 5; f. 4b, lines 5, 8; al-Qazwīnī 1336: 57). Cf. a similar motif in Syriac literature regarding King David, who wished to be a solitary ascetic in the mountains but who, in order to save Israel, had to stay among his people. See Beck (1973: 29); cf. Elad (1991: 53).

⁶⁰ For example, certain ascetics were also preachers and 'storytellers'. Some ascetics who cooperated with the Umayyad government had an interest in promoting the status of Jerusalem (we find Umayyad rulers connected directly to traditions in praise of Jerusalem), and there were also 'storytellers' connected to the authorities. See especially Livne-Kafri (1985: 29 ff. [ascetics]; 146-47 [the 'storytellers']; 156 [traditionalists in Jerusalem]; 172-73). Jewish converts were associated with all of these circles. In fact, even basic values upheld exaggeratedly by ascetics, such as fasting or charity, existed in original Islam and could have been connected with other scholars. Of course, many other scholars and religious figure did not clearly belong to any of the circles mentioned; their contribution is generally not defined in modern research.

REFERENCES

- al-'Abdarī, Ibn al-Ḥaǧǧ (1348/1929) *Kitāb al-madḥal*, 4 vols. al-Qāhira.
 — (1388/1968) *Riḥlat al-'Abdarī*. Rabāt.
- Abū Nu'aym, al-Iṣbahānī (1931-34) *Kitāb dīkr aḥbār Iṣbahān* (ed. Sven Dederling), 2 vols. Leiden.
- (1351/1932) *Ḥilyat al-awliyā' wa ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*, 10 vols. al-Qāhira.
- Alexander, P.J. (1968) Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources. *The American Historical Review* 73, 997-1018. Washington.
- Aphrahat (1894) *Aphrahatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes* (ed. and trans. D.I. Parisot and A.R. Graffin). (Patrologia Syriaca 1). Paris.
- Arafat, W. (1960²) Bilāl b. Rabāḥ. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1, 1215. Leiden-London.
- al-Baǧdādī, al-Ḥaṭīb (1349/1931) *Ta'riḥ Baǧdād*, 14 vols. al-Qāhira.
- al-Balāḍuri, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (1377/1957) *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 3 vols., 2. al-Qāhira.
- Beck, E. ed. (1973) *The Epistle to the Mountaineers (attributed to St. Efraem the Syrian)*. (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 334; Ser. Syri. 148). Louvain.
- Brown, P. (1971) *The World of Late Antiquity*. London.
- (1981) *The Cult of the Saints*. Chicago.
- Buhl, F. (1934) Ṭarsūs. *Encyclopédie de l'Islām* 4, 712-13. Leyde-Paris.
- Busse, H. (1968) The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam. *Judaism* 17, 441-68. New York.
- (1987) The Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Church of the Agony, and the Temple, the Reflection of a Christian Belief in Islamic Tradition. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9, 279-89. Jerusalem.
- (1991) Jerusalem and the Story of Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascension. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14, 1-40. Jerusalem.
- (1996) The Destruction of the Temple. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20, 1-17 Jerusalem.
- al-Bustī, Muḥammad b. Ḥibār (1390/1970) *Kitāb al-Maǧrūḥin*, 2 vols. Haydarābād.
- al-Dahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1325/1907) *Mizān al-i'tidāl fi naqd al-riǧāl*, 4 vols. al-Qāhira.
- al-Dārimī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1386/1966) *Sunan*, 2 vols. al-Madīna.
- Dawse, E. and N.H. Baynes trans. (1977) *Three Byzantine Saints*. New York.
- Diehl, C. (1963) *Byzantine Empresses*. New York.
- al-Dimyāṭī, 'Abd al-Mu'min (1930) *Faḍl al-Ḥayl*. Ḥalab.
- Elad, A. (1982a) An Early Arabic Source Concerning the Markets of Jerusalem [in Hebr.]. *Cathedra* 24, 31-40. Jerusalem.
- (1982b) The Coastal Cities of Palestine During the Early Middle Ages. *The Jerusalem Cathedral* 2, 146-67. Jerusalem.
- (1991) The History and the Topography of Jerusalem During the Early Islamic Period. The Historical Value of *Faḍā'il al-Quds* Literature: A Reconsideration. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14, 41-70. Jerusalem.
- (1995) *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*. Leiden.
- Even Shmuel, Y. (1954) *Midreshei Geula* [in Hebr.]. Jerusalem.
- al-Fāsi, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1378-88/1958-68) *al-'Iqd al-tamīn fi ta'riḥ al-balad al-amīn*, 8 vols. al-Qāhira.
- Fox, M.M. (1939) *The Life and Times of St. Basil as Revealed in His Works* (Dissertation, The Catholic University of America). Washington.
- al-Ġazālī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad [n.d.] *Asrār al-ḥaǧǧ*. al-Qāhira.
- Gil, M. (1983) *Palestine During the First Muslim Period (634-1099)* [in Hebr.]. Tel Aviv.
- Goitein, S.D. (1945-46) The Sanctity of Palestine in Muslim Piety [in Hebr.]. *Yediot Haḥevra Laḥaqirat Eretz Israel ve-Atiqoteha* 12, 121-26. Jerusalem.

- (1950) The Historical Background to the Erection of the Dome of the Rock. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, 104-108. New Haven.
- (1953) Jerusalem During the Arabic Period [in Hebr.]. *Jerusalem Researches of Eretz Israel* 4, 82-103. Jerusalem.
- (1966) The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in Early Islam, in id. *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, 135-48. Leiden.
- (1986²) al-Ḳuds. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 5, 322-39. Leiden.
- Goldziher, I. (1971) *Muslim Studies* (ed. and trans. S.M. Stern), 2 vols. London.
- Grabar, O. (1959) The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. *Ars Orientalis* 3, 33-62. Washington.
- Gruber, A.E. (1975) *Verdienst und Rang, die Faḍā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islām*. Freiburg im Breisgau.
- Grunebaum, G.E. von (1962) The Sacred Character of Islamic Cities. *Mélanges Tāhā Ḥusayn*. Le Caire.
- al-Ḥanafī, Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-mustaḳṣā fī faḍā'il al-Masḡid al-Aḡṣā* (MS Escorial 1767).
- al-Harawī, 'Alī b. Abī Bakr (1953) *Kitāb al-iṣārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt*. Dimašq.
- Hasson, I. (1976) The Literature in Praise of Jerusalem in Islam (*Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maḡdis*) [in Hebr.], in M. Sharon (ed.), *Notes and Studies on the History of the Holy Land*, 43-68. Jerusalem.
- (1996) The Muslim View of Jerusalem – The Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth, in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 638-1099*, 349-85. Jerusalem.
- Hillenbrand, R.M. (1978²) Ḳazwīn. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 4, 857-63. Leiden.
- al-Hindī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. 'Alī (1343 [1924]) *Taḍkirat al-mawḍū'āt*. al-Qāhira.
- al-Hindī, al-Muttaqī (1364-77 [1944-57]) *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, 22 vols. Haydarābād.
- Hirschberg, J.W. (1951-52) The Sources of Muslim Traditions Concerning Jerusalem. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17, 314-50. Kraków.
- Holum, K.G. (1982) *Theodosian Emperresses*. Los Angeles.
- Horowitz, J. (1934) Wahb b. Munabbih. *Encyclopédie de l'Islām* 4, 1142-44. Leyde-Paris.
- Ibn 'Arrāq, 'Alī b. Muḥammad (1378 [1958]) *Tanzih al-šari'a al-marfū'a 'an al-aḥādīṭ al-mawḍū'a*, 2 vols. al-Qāhira.
- Ibn 'Asākir, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (1329-49 [1911-30]) *al-Ta'riḥ al-kabir*, 7 vols. Dimašq.
- (1371-73 [1961-63]) *Ta'riḥ madīnat Dimašq* (ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid), 4 vols. Dimašq.
- (1982) *Madīnat Dimašq* (ed. Sh. Faysal), 4 vols. Dimašq.
- Ibn al-Faqīh, Abū Bakr al-Ḥamadānī (1885) *Muḥtaṣar Kitāb al-buldān*. Leiden.
- Ibn al-Firkāh, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1935) *Kitāb bā'it al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-Quds al-maḥrūs* (ed. Ch. D. Matthews). *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15, 51-87. Jerusalem.
- Ibn al-Ġawzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī (1386/1966) *Kitāb al-mawḍū'āt*, 3 vols. al-Madīna.
- (1355-56/1936-37) *Kitāb šifat al-ṣafwa*, 4 vols. Haydarābād.
- (1970) *Salwat al-aḥzān*. Iskandariyya.
- (1971) *Kitāb al-quṣṣāš wa-l-mudakkirin*. Bayrūt.
- *Kitāb faḍā'il al-Quds al-šarif* (MS Princeton 586).
- Ibn Ḥaḡar, al-'Asqalānī (1325-27 [1907-9]) *Taḥḍīb al-taḥḍīb*, 12 vols. Haydarābād.
- Ibn Ḥaldūn, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (1956-61) *al-Ta'riḥ*, 7 vols. Bayrūt.
- Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (1313 [1895]) *Musnad*, 6 vols. al-Qāhira.
- Ibn Māḡa, Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (1372-73/1952-53) *Sunan*, 2 vols. al-Qāhira.
- Ibn al-Muraḡḡā, Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Muṣarrāf b. Ibrāhīm al-Maḡdisī (1995) *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maḡdis wa-l-Ḥalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Šām* (ed. O. Livne-Kafri). Shfaram.

- Ibn Qutayba, Abī Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Moslem (1343-49/1925-30) *'Uyūn al-aḥbār*, 4 vols. al-Qāhira.
- Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad (1321-59/1904-40) *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 9 vols. Leiden.
- Ibn Šaddād (1382/1962) *al-A'lāq al-ḥaṭira fi ḍikr umarā' al-Šām wa-l-Ġazira*. Dimašq.
- Ibn al-Šalāh, *Faḍā'il al-Iskandariyya wa-'Asqalān* (MS Berlin 198).
- Ibn Taymiyya, Aḥmad (1936) *Qā'ida fi ziyārāt Bayt al-Maqdis* (ed. Ch. Matthews). *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56, 7-21. New Haven.
- Ibn Zawlāq, *Ta'riḥ Mišr wa-faḍā'iluhā* (MS Paris 1817).
- al-Iṣṭaḥrī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (1929) *Masālik al-mamālik* (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 1). Leiden.
- Jones, R. (1971²) Ibrāhīm b. Adham. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3, 985-86. Leiden-London.
- Kister, M.J. (1969) You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques. A Study of an Early Tradition. *Le Muséon* 82, 173-96. Louvain.
- (1972) *Ḥaddithū 'an banī Isrā'īla wa-la ḥaraja*, A Study of an Early Tradition. *Israel Oriental Studies* 2, 215-39. Tel-Aviv.
- (1981) A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem. *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1, 185-86. Jerusalem.
- Kister, M.J. and M. Kister (1979) Comments on the Jews of Arabia [in Hebr.]. *Tarbiz* 48, 231-47. Jerusalem.
- Labib, S. (1978²) al-Iskandariyya. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 4, 132-37. Leiden.
- Lazarus-Yafeh, H. (1971) The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islamic Tradition [in Hebr.]. *Molad* 21, 219-27. Jerusalem.
- Le Strange, G. (1905) *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. Cambridge.
- Levi Della Vida, G. (1934) Tamīm b. Murr. *Encyclopédie de l'Islām* 4, 676-78. Leyde-Paris.
- Limor, O. (1978) *Christian Traditions of Mount Olives in the Byzantine and Arabic Period* (M.A. Thesis, The Hebrew University). Jerusalem.
- Livne-Kafri, O. (1985) *The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam* [in Hebr.]. (Ph.D. Thesis, The Hebrew University). Jerusalem.
- (1989) On Jerusalem in Early Islam [in Hebr.]. *Cathedra* 51, 35-66. Jerusalem.
- (1991) A Note on Some Traditions of Faḍā'il al-Quds. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14, 71-83. Jerusalem.
- (1993a) Jerusalem, the Navel of the World, in Islamic Tradition [in Hebr.]. *Cathedra* 69, 79-105. Jerusalem.
- (1993b) The Early Shī'a and Jerusalem [in Hebr.]. *Mağallat al-mu'allim* 14-15, 130-36. Giv'at Havivah.
- (1996) Early Muslim Ascetics and the World of Christian Monasticism. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20, 105-29. Jerusalem.
- (1997) The Roots of the Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam – in the Field of Politics or in the Field of Religion only? [in Hebr.]. *Mağallat al-mu'allim* 21, 168-78. Giv'at Havivah.
- (in press [1998]) Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days [in Hebr.]. *Cathedra* 86, 23-56. Jerusalem.
- al-Maqdisī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (1364 [1944]) *Kitāb mutir al-ḡarām bi-faḍā'il al-Quds wa-l-Šām* (ed. Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Ḥālidi). Jaffa.
- Marçais, G. (1936) Ribāṭ. *Encyclopédie de l'Islām* 3, 1230-33. Leiden-Paris.
- al-Miknāsī, *Kitāb fihī faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-faḍā'il al-Šām* (MS Tübingen 25).
- al-Mubārak, 'Abd Allāh b. (1391/1971) *Kitāb al-ḡihād*. Bayrūt.
- (1385/1966) *Kitāb al-zuhd wa-l-raqā'iq*. Malīgaon-Nasik.
- Muḡīr al-Dīn, al-Ḥanbalī (1283/1866) *Kitāb Uns al-Ġalīl bi-ta'riḥ al-Quds wa-l-Ḥalīl*, 2 vols. al-Qāhira.
- al-Muqaddasī, Šams al-Dīn (1906) *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fi ma'rifat al-aqālīm*. Leiden.
- Noth, A. (1966) *Heiliger Kriege und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum*. Bonn.

- al-Nuwayrī (1342-57/1923-38) *Nihāyat al-'Arab fi funūn al-adab*, 31 vols. al-Qāhira.
- Pedersen, J. (1936) Masǧid. *Encyclopédie de l'Islām* 3, 362-428. Leiden-Paris.
- Plessner, M. (1934) Sufyān al-Thawrī. *Encyclopédie de l'Islām* 4, 523-26. Leyde-Paris.
- Prawer, J. (1967) Christianity Between Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem [in Hebr.]. *Jerusalem Through the Ages, The Twenty-fifth Archaeological Convention, October 1967*. Jerusalem.
- al-Qazwīnī, Ḥamd Allāh (1336 [1917]) *Nuzhat al-qulūb*. Tehrān.
- al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (1970) *Ātār al-bilād*. Bayrūt.
- al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn fi dīkr ahl al-'ilm bi-Qazwīn* (MS Lalehli 2010).
- Rubin, U. (1976) *The Prophet Muḥammad in Early Ḥadīth Literature* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Tel Aviv University). Tel Aviv.
- al-Ṣan'ānī, 'Abd al-Razzāq (1390-92/1970-72) *al-Muṣannaf*, 11 vols. Simlak-Dabhil.
- al-Ṣawkānī (1380/1960) *al-Fawā'id al-muǧmū'a fi al-aḥādīth al-mawḍū'a*. al-Qāhira.
- Schimmel, A. (1975) *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Chapel-Hill.
- Sharon, M. (1986) The Cities of the Holy Land under Islamic Rule [in Hebr.]. *Cathedra* 40, 83-120. Jerusalem.
- Sivan, E. (1971) The Beginnings of the Faḍā'il al-Quds Literature. *Israel Oriental Studies* 1, 263-71. Tel-Aviv.
- Stroumsa, G. (1979) Which Jerusalem [in Hebr.]. *Cathedra* 11, 119-24. Jerusalem.
- al-Subkī, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfi (1371/1952) *Šīfā' al-saqām fi ziyārat ḥayr al-anām*. Hayderābād.
- al-Suyūṭī, Ġalāl al-Dīn (1317/1899) *al-La'ālī al-maṣnū'a fi al-aḥādīth al-mawḍū'a*, 2 vols. al-Qāhira.
- (1387/1967) *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fi dīkr aḥbār Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, 2 vols. al-Qāhira.
- al-Suyūṭī, Muḥammad b. Šams al-Dīn, *Ithāf al-aḥiṣṣā bi-faḍā'il al-Masǧid al-Aqṣā* (MS The Hebrew University 116).
- al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Ġarīr (1373/1954) *Ġāmi' al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 30 vols. al-Qāhira.
- Trigg, J.W. (1983) *Origen, the Bible and Philosophy in the Third Century Church*. Atlanta.
- Tyan, E. (1965²) *Ḍjihād*. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2, 538-40. Leiden-London.
- Vööbus, A. (1960) *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 197, Subsidia Tomus 17). Louvain.
- al-Wāsiṭī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1979) *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* (ed. I. Hasson). Jerusalem.
- Wensinck, A.J. (1916) *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth* (Verhandelungen Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde 12, 1). Amsterdam.
- (1927) *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*. Leiden.
- Wright, W. trans. (1882) *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*. Cambridge.
- Ya'qūb of Serūg (1984) *Tirgomō* (ed. S. Brock). The Monastery of St. Ephrem, Holland.
- Yāqūt, b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī (1374-76/1955-57) *Mu'ǧam al-buldān*, 5 vols. Bayrūt.
- al-Zarkašī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (1385/1965) *I'lām al-sāǧid bi-aḥkām al-masāǧid*. al-Qāhira.