

Gideon dies, for it is said that the Israelites were not grateful for all the good he had done to them (Judg 8:35).

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Stéphanie Anthonioz

See also →Jerubbesheth

Jerubbesheth

Jerubbesheth (MT *Yērubbešet*; ET: Jerubbaal; LXX *Ιεροβαάλ*) is mentioned only once in the HB/OT. After Uriah's death a messenger to David is instructed to make a comparison with Jerubbesheth: "Who smote Abimelech the son of Jerubbesheth?" (2 Sam 11:21). With this line, the author refers to the tragic end of the self-proclaimed king Abimelech who lost his life as a result of a careless military move during the siege of Thebes (Judg 9:50–54). According to Judg 9, Abimelech was the son of Jerubbaal. This was the Canaanite name of Gideon meaning "Let Baal contend." In order to be religiously correct, the author of 2 Samuel substituted the theophoric element *Ba'al* with *bōšet*, "shame." For more details see "Jerubbaal."

Bob Becking

See also →Jerubbaal

Jeruel

Jeruel (MT *Yēru'ēl*; LXX *Ιερουήλ*) is a desert place that appears in the speech of Jahaziel in 2 Chr 20:16, when he orders Jehoshaphat to attack the enemies in this region. Scholars have been unable to locate Jeruel precisely. The context situates it close to the ascent of Ziz and near the desert of Tekoa (2 Chr 20:16–20), namely in the south of Jerusalem. Hermann Gunkel made a connection between Jeruel and YHWH-*yir'eh* (Gen 22:14). Jeruel refers to the god El (*Ēl*) and comes from the root *y-r-h* (teach, lay foundation).

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Fabian Pfizmann

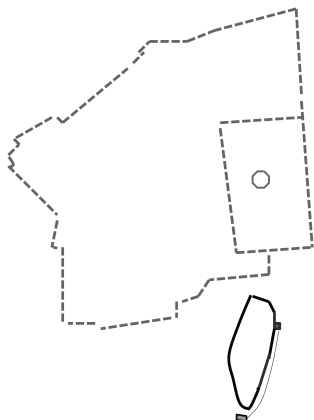
Jerusalem

- I. Archaeology
- II. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament
- III. New Testament
- IV. Judaism
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I. Archaeology

Jerusalem (MT *Yērušālayim*; LXX/NT *Ιερουσαλημ*) was an ancient Canaanite town that became the capital city of the Israelite kingdom of Judah, as reported in the HB/OT, and was also capital of the province of Judea during the NT period. Jerusalem and its ancient Temple Mount are mentioned more frequently than any other location throughout the entire HB/OT – twice in Genesis (Gen 14:15; 22:1), and hundreds of times throughout the Deuteronomistic History (Deut – 2 Kgs). Beginning in Deut 12:5 the Temple Mount of Jerusalem is alluded to as "the place which the Lord your God shall choose." Beginning in 2 Sam 5:7 the city is also called Zion (MT *Ṣyōn*; 2 Sam 5:7; cf. 2 Kgs 19:31), a name frequently repeated in the historical and prophetic books as a synonym for Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs. 19:31; Isa 1:27; 2:3). In two passages the city is referred to as Jebus (MT *Yēbūs*; Jud 19:10; 1 Chr 11:5), referring to the clan of Late Bronze III Canaanites called Jebusites (MT [*ha-*] *Yēbūsi*; cf. Josh 15:8; 18:16, 28) who lived at the site during the two centuries before it was captured from them by David ca. 1000 BCE (2 Sam 5:6–9). Jerusalem is referred to frequently in the NT (see below "III. New Testament").

1. Bronze Age Jerusalem. Ancient Jerusalem began as a small town of about 4 hectares (10 acres, 40 dunams) on the elongated ridge located south of Mount Moriah (Jerusalem's Temple Mount) (see map 1). The entire area of Bronze Age Jerusalem lies completely outside the medieval walls of today's Old City of Jerusalem. The original Jerusalem ridge, about 600 m long and 200 m wide, runs north-north east, and was bounded by valleys on its steep eastern and western slopes. The Kidron Valley (MT *Naḥal Qidrōn*; 2 Sam 15:23) separated Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives to the east, the slopes of which were used as a necropolis for the town. The other valley, a depression to the west of the ridge, is simply called "the valley" (MT *haggay'*, Neh 2:13; 3:13), but became known by the Greek term *Tyropoeon* (cf. τυροποιός, "cheese maker" – Josephus, J.W. 5.140) during the Hellenistic period, and is commonly referred to as the "central valley" in modern discussion. A third valley, the Hinnom (MT *Gē[Ben-]Hinnōm*) forms a confluence with both the



Map 1 Middle Bronze Age II

Kidron and the central valley where they meet at the south end of the city's ancient ridge. The single valley formed at that point, designated as the Kidron, runs a circuitous path southeastward to the Dead Sea. The ridge of original Jerusalem is referred to in most modern research literature as "the City of David" (Heb. *ʾIr Dāwid*) referring to David's establishment of the town as capital of his unified Israelite kingdom. The original water source for Jerusalem was a copious spring at the bottom of the ridge's eastern slope. The spring, called Gihon (MT *Gihon*; 1 Kgs 1:33; 2 Chr. 32:30), still flows in modern times.

The archaeological sequence of the site, as determined by various excavations (see list of excavators at conclusion), includes some thirty stratigraphic layers dating from the Early Bronze Age to the medieval periods, prior to current settlement on the ridge which began in the 20th century. Primary excavation areas include Area A, where K. Kenyon exposed a section of the Middle Bronze II city wall, Area A1/A2 around the Siloam Pool, Area C – the fortified corridor and interior water system, Area H – the Gihon spring and spring tower, Area G – the stepped stone structure excavated by Kenyon and later Y. Shiloh, and large stone structure above it excavated by E. Mazar, and Areas D and E – south of Gihon, exposing the city wall line, and the Giv'ati parking lot on the northwest side of the ancient town.

Bronze Age Jerusalem began as an urban site during Early Bronze Age I. Remains of two broad room structures from Early Bronze I were found by Shiloh in Area E1 on the southeast slope of the town, and Early Bronze I tombs were found lower on the eastern slope. Scant evidence from Early Bronze II, III, and Early Bronze IV–Middle Bronze I was discerned by Shiloh. The ridge was established

as a fortified town during Middle Bronze Age II, when a massive city wall was constructed. The wall, dated on ceramic evidence to the 18th century BCE, was constructed of huge uncut boulders (sometimes referred to as "cyclopean" stones), often measuring over 2 meters in size. Remains of the wall have been recovered on the eastern side of the city, running in a line about halfway up the slope. A section of this wall 12 m long was excavated in the trench cut by Kenyon into the eastern slope just north of the Gihon spring. Due to the corner turn in the structure, this segment was suggested to be a tower protruding from the wall line. A 30 m stretch of the same wall was excavated south of Gihon by Shiloh in Area E. The average width of the excavated portions of the city wall was some 2.7 m. The Middle Bronze II fortification wall showed two subsequent phases of repair or expansion, the latest in Iron Age II. With those enhancements, the wall served the city through the subsequent Late Bronze Age periods, and through Iron Age I all the way down to the end of Iron Age II, when the city and its wall were destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BCE.

Kenyon called the segment of the Middle Bronze II city wall she discovered a "Jebusite wall," referring to the biblical Jebusites. This term may be misleading, since city walls were not built in Canaan during the Late Bronze periods, and it is unknown if the Canaanites who originally built Jerusalem's wall in the Middle Bronze II period were of the same ethnic or cultural identity as the Late Bronze III Jebusites who, according to the biblical text, lived at the site in the 12th and 11th centuries BCE. The cultural setting for the Abraham narrative in Genesis is often identified as Middle Bronze II. Genesis 14:17–19 preserves a short narrative which identifies Melchizedek as king of Salem (MT *Šālēm* = Jerusalem). Jerusalem is mentioned in two different series of execration texts from Middle Kingdom Egypt in the 18th century BCE – an earlier series, inscribed on bowls (Sethe, texts e.27 and f.18) and a later series inscribed on figurines (Posener, text E.45). In these texts the name of the town appears as *Ru-shalim-um*. Here, the central element *shalim* is parallel to Salem of Gen 14, and with the prefix *Ru* the whole parallels the longer MT form *Yerūšālēm*. These literary sources suggest an 18th century BCE polity of some significance at Jerusalem.

A major feature of the city's fortifications was a high, massive tower built directly over the Gihon spring, east of the city wall line and lower down the ridge slope. The tower, nearly 20 m wide, was connected the city wall by a fortified corridor that ran perpendicular from the tower to the city wall. The total length of the tower and fortified corridor was some 50m. Walls of the tower and corridor were as large as 4 to 5 m in thickness. Both the tower and the corridor were built of the same type

of huge, uncut “cyclopean” boulders (2 to 3 m in size) that made up the lower courses of the main city wall. The corridor and spring tower were excavated from the 1995 to 2016. The structures and the water system they protected, like the city wall of which they were components, were in use, with repairs, for some twelve centuries, from ca. 1800 to 586 BCE, when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians at the end of Iron Age II.

At the time the Gihon water system and spring tower were built in Middle Bronze II, a water channel was cut along the eastern slope of Bronze Age Jerusalem, outside of and downslope from the eastern city wall. The channel brought water from Gihon to a pool or reservoir at the very south end of the town. It was cut through the bedrock of the lower slope, in some places as a tunnel through solid rock, and in other places as an open canal over which large stone slabs were laid to enclose the waterway. The enclosing slabs were put in place during Middle Bronze II, dating the channel’s construction to that period. The water channel and its terminal pool made Gihon spring water accessible to users who probably lived in the environs outside the walled city. In use for some eleven centuries, this channel and its pool became known by the name Shiloah (MT *Šilōāh*, alternatively Siloam, LXX Σιλωαμ). In Isa 7:14 the channel is referred to as “the conduit of the upper pool” (cf. Isa 36:2; 2 Kgs 18:17), and Isa 8:6 refers to “the waters of Shiloah.” Now commonly called the Siloam Channel, it was decommissioned shortly before 701 BCE by Hezekiah, who had a different water tunnel constructed (now commonly known as Hezekiah’s Tunnel or the Siloam Tunnel, see below). The decommission was noted in 2 Chr 32:30 – “Hezekiah stopped the upper water course of Gihon.” Prior to this, the Siloam Channel seems to have been in use through the Late Bronze and Iron I periods. The description of David’s fighters exploiting a “water-course” (MT *šinnôr*; 2 Sam 5:8) to enter into and conquer Jebusite Jerusalem ca. 1000 BCE may have reference to the Siloam Channel’s subterranean connection to the Gihon spring tower and its access to the city.

A naturally occurring karstic shaft near the Gihon Spring, known as Warren’s Shaft (after its modern discoverer, C. Warren), likely served during Iron II as an alternative access, inside the city, to water from the spring, channeled into the cavern at the bottom of the shaft. However, it was by no means a major feature of the water system, and is unlikely to have been utilized during the Bronze Age periods. Older theories suggesting it played a role in David’s conquest of Jerusalem (2 Sam 5) seem untenable.

The Egyptian *El-Amarna Letters* of the mid-14th century BCE confirm that Jerusalem was a significant city-state polity during Late Bronze II, control-

ling a wider territory known as “the land of Jerusalem” (EA 290) which perhaps stretched as far north as Beth Horon to as far south as Hebron. The king of Jerusalem in these correspondences was known as Abdi Heba (EA 287–290). The HB/OT preserves Adonizedek as the name of the king of Jerusalem in the late 13th century BCE (Josh 9:3). While the literary sources are compelling, archaeological evidence of Late Bronze Jerusalem is scant, consisting only of fragments of terrace walls and surfaces assigned to the period based on ceramics and stratigraphic sequence. The paucity of Late Bronze remains seems due to Iron Age construction activity which obliterated Late Bronze architecture in the areas so far excavated. Middle and Late Bronze tombs, probably of residents of the city, have been discovered on the Mount of Olives.

2. Iron Age Jerusalem. a. The City of David. The HB/OT tradition suggests that Canaanite Jebusites possessed Jerusalem during the 12th and 11th centuries BCE, essentially representing a Late Bronze III society during the period otherwise known as Iron Age I (1200–1000 BCE). Occupation in the city during this period is demonstrated by fragments of collar rim storage jars in the Late Bronze/Iron I terraces inside the city wall line. With David’s reported conquest of the city ca. 1000 BCE, and the construction of his palace (2 Sam 5:6–12), the city transitioned into the earliest phase of Iron II. Two large, interrelated structures were discovered from this general time period (late Iron I/early Iron IIA): the so-called “Stepped Stone Structure” revealed in Area G in 1978–85, and the similarly named “Large Stone Structure” excavated in 2005–7 directly above and west of Area G. The two structures are connected and interdependent, and appear to have been constructed as a single project.

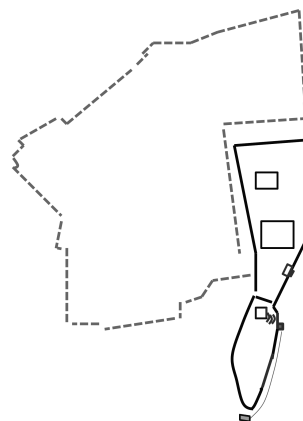
The Stepped Stone Structure, discovered on the steep slope of Area G, is a convex curved retaining structure which rests on bedrock and rises 18 meters, and consists of fifty-four stepped courses of rough stone blocks, each course recessed inward from the one below it. Its function seems to have been the stabilization of the steep slope above which the Large Stone Structure was built, and to support the thick eastern wall (Wall 20) of the Large Stone Structure itself. The southern half of the Stepped Stone Structure was completely dismantled in the 1960s by Kenyon, who did not fully recognize its function and significance. Shiloh excavated, correctly identified, and preserved the northern half of the structure. Its construction has been dated to late Iron I or early Iron IIA, based on finds of Iron I collar rim jar fragments in the terraces over which it was built. Due to its function as a support structure, built upon filled terraces and filling in a vertical depression in the slope beneath the Large Stone Structure, the Stepped Stone Structure has been suggested as the “Millo” mentioned in several

HB/OT passages (2Sam 5:9; 1Kgs. 9:15; 11:27; 12:20) – the Hebrew term *Millô*⁸ is derived from the verb *m-l-*⁹ meaning to fill or be filled. References to Solomon having built Millo (1Kgs 9:24) would thus refer to repair of the structure, as Hezekiah later repaired it (2Chr 32:5). With repairs, the Stepped Stone Structure was in use until the end of Iron II, and survived intact enough to be excavated in modern times.

Above Area G to the west, thick walls and fragmented surfaces of the Large Stone Structure were found in 2005. E. Mazar dated the structure to the late 11th or early 10th century BCE, at the transition from Iron I to Iron IIA, based on ceramics that included collar rim jar fragment of Iron I and imported Phoenician juglets from Iron IIA. The total area of the Large Stone Structure revealed through excavation is 30 m long north to south, and 20 m wide east to west, although the entire structure almost certainly continues in unexcavated areas to the north, west, and south. Its eastern exterior wall (Wall 20) was recovered to a length of 20 m north to south, and measures some 5 m in thickness. A large open area some 10 m square that featured a plastered surface may have served as a central court. Wall elements of smaller rooms around the court were found.

Mazar suggested the structure be identified as the house (i.e., palace) erected by Phoenician builders for King David (see 2Sam 5:11). However, A. Mazar offered the view that the Large Stone Structure and its supporting Stepped Stone Structure be identified as the *mšūdāt Štyôn* (“fortress of Zion” – 2Sam 5:7) taken by David upon his conquest of the city, in which he initially resided (2Sam 5:9) before his new house was built. The issue is not settled, and perhaps cannot be by way of available evidence. However, that the Large Stone Structure was a public building of considerable size and importance, likely connected to the ruling power of the city in the 11th and 10th centuries BCE, seems obvious.

Kenyon’s 1960s excavation in Area A, directly bordering Area G on the north, unearthed fragments of a proto-aedic capital (the top component of a squared column) which seems to have belonged to the architecture of the Large Stone Structure. Since the proto-aedic design is known to have originated in Iron IIA (10th/9th cent. BCE), it has been suggested that construction of the Large Stone Structure must indeed be assigned to that period. However, it is circumstantial evidence, and the capital could also be from an Iron IIA architectural alteration or expansion of the Large Stone Structure. What is clear, however, is that the use of the Large Stone Structure of the City of David can be connected to the earliest era of the Israelite monarchy in Jerusalem – the era of David and Solomon – prior to and also perhaps concurrent with the reported construction of Solomon’s much larger palace com-



Map 2 Iron Age IIA

plex some distance to the north, on the southern slopes of the Temple Mount (1Kgs 6–7). Excavations begun in 2007 by D. Ben Ami and T. Tchekhanovets in the Giv’ati parking lot in the north-west side of the City of David have reached remains of Iron Age II occupation in that area.

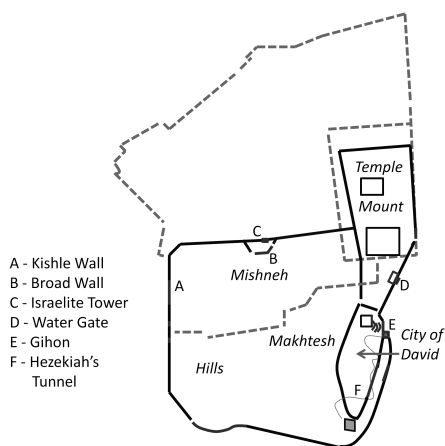
b. The Temple Mount. The HB/OT reports that King Solomon, ca. 950 BCE, built a temple and a royal palace (see 1Kgs 6–7) on Jerusalem’s Temple Mount during his reign (10th cent. BCE, early Iron IIA). No archaeological trace of either structure has ever been discovered *in situ*. This is probably due to a variety of factors, including the reported Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, including these two buildings (2Kgs 25:9–10), subsequent construction on the sites during the Second Temple period (537 BCE–70 CE), construction there in the late Roman, Byzantine, and Omayyad periods (117–750 CE), and the presence of Islamic shrines on the site (the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā’ Mosque) which prevent modern archaeological excavation from being carried out on the Temple Mount itself. The report of a wall built by Solomon around Jerusalem, built at the time of the construction of the temple and the palace (see 1Kgs 9:15), reflects the annexation of the Temple Mount to the City of David (see map 2).

Following the 1967 war, wide scale excavations were carried out in the area south and immediately west of the al-Aqṣā’ Mosque (that is, south and west of the Herodian Temple Mount walls), under the direction of B. Mazar and M. Ben-Dov. The area is known today as the Davidson Center Archaeological Park. An Iron II water cistern was discovered in 1972 in the bedrock beneath the medieval Triple Gate. The cistern was dated by the yellow plaster that sealed it and the Iron II pottery vessels found

in its fill – the cistern probably served one of the royal buildings of the royal palace complex. Further to the south, remains of a multiple room structure from Iron Age II were discovered just north of the modern roadway. Excavation in this area was carried out in 1986–87, when some of the remains were identified as a city gate complex. The gate and rooms were some of the southernmost structures of the royal palace compound. The gate complex, dubbed the “Water Gate” (borrowed from Neh 3:26), was located along the eastern city wall extension which annexed the Temple Mount. It featured a tall, broad tower (Building B) which extended outward from the wall line – the outer face of this tower was discovered by Warren in his tunneling explorations of 1867–70. Mazar interpreted the tower as an outer gate structure, with an outer gateway in the southwest wall. The east wall of a smaller structure (Building A) was discerned by Kenyon in 1967. The inner gate (Building C) was a four chamber design typical of Iron II. Only the southwest room of the four chambers was found intact, but the foundation elements of the other three chambers were detected, allowing its plan to be reconstructed. The gate opening, at its threshold, was 3.25 m wide (6 cubits), and the walls of the gate rooms were 1.35 m wide (2.5 cubits). East of the gatehouse a series of rooms (Building D) was discovered, and dubbed the “Royal Building.” These rooms featured walls of 1.08 m (2 cubits) and 2.16 m (4 cubits) thickness, and the eastern wall of the “Royal Building” was also 2.16 m thick – the thicker walls may have supported upper stories of the building. In two of the four rooms of the “Royal Building” broken pieces of a dozen large, completely restorable *pithoi* (tall storage jars) were found. Earliest ceramic remains within these structures dated to Iron IIA (10th or 9th cent. BCE), and the buildings were in use until Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BCE.

B. and E. Mazar suggested that area of the “Water Gate” and “Royal Building,” and also the area directly to the west of the structures, was the *Ophel* of ancient Jerusalem. The Hebrew term “Ophel” (MT *ʾOṣel*; LXX *Οφελ*) indicates an elevation or region of higher ground, and occurs in two passages about Jerusalem (2 Chr 27:33; 33:14) in the HB, although it is not certain the term actually dates to Iron II in its usage in these passages. It seems to refer to the area ascending north from the City of David to the royal complexes on the Temple Mount, and may be legitimately rendered as acropolis, the high ground from which the city was governed.

3. Iron Age II – Jerusalem Expansion. A HB/OT passage in Zephaniah (ca. 610 BCE) mentions “the hills,” the *Mišneh*, and the *Maktēš* (Zeph 1:10–11) as areas of Jerusalem late in the Judahite monarchy (see map 3).



Map 3 Iron Age IIB-C

When counted with the City of David and the royal Temple Mount enclosure, these designations suggest that five distinct areas of the city had developed by the end of Iron II – the “five boroughs” of ancient Jerusalem. The city had already begun to expand outside the environs of the City of David as Iron IIA progressed, due to population growth as the city developed in its role as capital of Judah. Occupation of the west slope of the central valley probably began already in the 9th century BCE. This area became known as the *Maktēš* – a Hebrew term indicating a steep hollow, aptly describing the central valley. Iron IIB saw the population expand to the western hills (the area today called Mount Zion) during the early 8th century BCE. Access to fresh water from the pool of Shiloah (Isa 8:6) was convenient from these two areas. In the decades after 735 BCE, movement of refugees into Judah from the neighboring northern Kingdom of Israel, a result of the Assyrian conquests there, led to the settling of an additional area in the location of today’s Jewish Quarter, which became called the *Mišneh* – a Hebrew term meaning “second” or “additional.” Iron IIB ceramics and architectural remains, including walls of four room houses, were found in Jewish Quarter excavations directed by N. Avigad from 1968 to 1983, and on Mount Zion in the 1970s by M. Broshi. Iron IIB-C finds, including ceramics and an inscribed seal, were also excavated just west of the Western Wall plaza. It was apparently King Hezekiah that built a thick fortification around the western hills late in the 8th century BCE (2 Chr 32:5), in anticipation of the Assyrian attack on Judah in 701 BCE. Significant portions of Hezekiah’s wall were excavated in the Jewish Quarter in 1969–70. Dubbed the “broad wall” (Neh 3:8) and also the “Israelite wall,” the fortification measured 7 m in

thickness. Its foundation survived to a height of 3 m; its original height estimated at 8 to 10 m. It was built of squared blocks of hard limestone on the exterior and interior lines, with a stone rubble core. A 65 m long stretch of the “broad wall” of Hezekiah was excavated in the Jewish Quarter. A large section is visible today in an open plaza in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem’s Old City. Other sections are visible in viewing ports located in the modern Cardo Mall.

In the Jewish Quarter excavations, the original east-west line of Hezekiah’s north city wall deviated southward to circle around the southern tip of topographical depression known as the transverse valley. A tower was constructed in that depression during Iron IIC (late 7th cent. BCE), apparently to fortify the depression and straighten the northern city wall line. The tower, dubbed the “Israelite tower,” was preserved to a height of 8 m. Outside the tower, burnt destruction layers and 5 metal arrowheads (4 iron, 1 bronze) were found from the Babylonian attack and destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE. Avigad suggested that this tower belonged to a gateway built at this point in the wall line, in the transverse valley depression; possibly the “middle gate” mentioned in Jer 39:3.

Prior to 1967, disagreement existed as to how large Jerusalem was in Iron Age II. The minimalist model, supported by Kenyon, suggested Jerusalem was confined to only the City of David and the Temple Mount during the entire period of the Judahite monarchy. The maximalist model maintained that the city expanded to occupy the western hills of today’s Mount Zion, running as far north as today’s Jaffa Gate. Avigad’s excavations demonstrated that the maximalist model is most likely correct. Another section of the Iron IIB city wall, with the same masonry features as Avigad’s “broad wall,” was excavated in 2001 by A. Re’em in the Kishle, along the wall line south of Jaffa Gate. This demonstrated with certainty that the western extent of Iron Age II Jerusalem indeed reached the same line as the current western wall of Jerusalem’s Old City today. On the southern ridge of the southwestern hill (today’s Mount Zion) Bliss and Dickie traced a lengthy portion of wall line in 1894 which they attributed to this period.

a. Hezekiah’s Tunnel. The water system of Jerusalem was significantly altered near the end of Iron IIB, prior to the 701 BCE Assyrian attack on Judah. The changes were attributed to King Hezekiah (see 2 Kgs 20:20). The Siloam Channel, cut centuries earlier in Middle Bronze II, was decommissioned, broken, and blocked. Hezekiah’s engineers cut a tunnel through the solid rock of the City of David ridge, following pre-existing fissures, in order to create a new subterranean water course from the Gihon spring, on the east side of the ridge, to a reconfigured reservoir (pool of Siloam) on the west

side of the ridge, inside the newly built wall line at the south end of the central valley (2 Chr 32:30). Known today as Hezekiah’s Tunnel, and also as the Siloam Tunnel, the water course runs a circuitous path through the solid rock beneath the City of David. It was constructed by teams cutting from both the west and east sides of the ridge, who met each other at a point one third of the way along the course from the Gihon spring. The two teams cut their respective courses at the same elevation, in the effort to meet each other deep inside the bedrock, and afterward lowered the tunnel floor as it proceeded westward, allowing the water of Gihon to flow gently downward and southwest to the Siloam pool. This resulted in the height of the tunnel being only 2 m at the Gihon end, but nearly 5 m high as it emerges from the ridge near the Siloam pool. The total water course was about 650 m long. At the west end of the tunnel an inscription was carved into the southern wall some 5 m before it exited the ridge. Known as the Siloam Inscription, the six line text reports the two teams of workers chiseling through the rock ridge to successfully meet each other. The inscription reports the length of the water way from the spring to the Siloam Pool as 1,200 cubits, which probably means the distance measured was to the pool unearthed by Reich. The Siloam Inscription, discovered in 1880, is now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. The tunnel carried water to the Siloam pool from Iron II until the Roman period, after which it gradually silted up, stopping the flow after the Byzantine Period (the Siloam pool also silted in and was lost until modern times). The silted tunnel was explored by Robinson (1838) and Warren (1865); the latter suggested it as the work of King Hezekiah. It was cleared of silt by the Parker expedition of 1911.

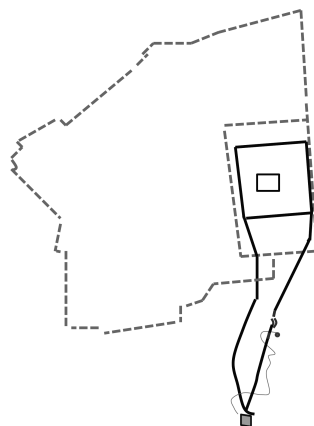
b. Expansion in the City of David. In the latter half of the 7th century BCE (Iron IIC) the City of David area saw a surge in new construction, probably due to population pressure. Iron IIC structures were built directly against the Gihon spring tower – the Middle Bronze II fortification remained in use until the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE. Shiloh excavated a number of four-room houses that had been built atop terraces constructed on the slope of the Stepped Stone Structure. One completely excavated structure was dubbed the “House of *Ahî’el*” due to a sherd found inscribed with this name found in the ruins. A small room attached to the north side of the house featured a deep pit topped by a carved stone toilet seat (see → plate 15a). Another structure, partially excavated down the slope, was called the “Bullae House.” In it, some fifty-one bullae (clay stamped seal impressions) were found, bearing names written in archaic Hebrew script. These included the name *Gemaryahu ben Shaphan*, a royal scribe known from Jer 36:10. The bullae suggest that an archive of sealed docu-

ments may have been kept in the structure, perhaps connected to the royal government of the city, since it was located just several meters downslope from the older Large Stone Structure.

c. Iron Age Inscriptions. Numerous inscriptions from Iron II have been unearthed in archaeological excavations in Jerusalem, mostly preserved on pottery handles and sherds and as seal impressions on clay bullae. More than 120 storage jar handles bearing *lmlk* stamp impressions, have been found in all locations of Iron Age Jerusalem – forty-four in the Jewish Quarter excavations alone, a dozen by Kenyon and more than thirty by Shiloh in the City of David, and more than twenty by B. and E. Mazar in the southern Temple Mount area. The four letter term *lmlk* (*le-melekh*) indicates “property of the king,” and jars stamped with this term originate in the 8th century BCE, probably during Hezekiah’s reign. In addition to the bullae discovered in Area G (see above) tens of other seal impressions were found in excavations at various sites in Jerusalem, including several names known from the HB/OT. In 2005 a seal was found by E. Mazar in the Large Stone Structure, bearing the name *Yehukhal ben Shelemiyahu* (Jehucal son of Shelemiah, an emissary of King Zedekiah), known from Jer 37:3. In 2015 Mazar found a seal bearing the inscription “Hezekiah King of Judah” (*Hizqiyahu Melekh Yehudah*) in the southern Temple Mount excavations just northeast of the Water Gate. Such finds enhance the view that the southern Temple Mount area and the Large Stone Structure were connected to the royalty of Judah.

A pair of inscriptions found engraved on small silver amulets was discovered in the excavation of a large Iron Age IIC tomb complex at Ketef Hinnom excavated by G. Barkay, just across the Hinnom Valley to the southwest of the ancient city. The amulets (KH-1 and KH-2) were small, thin scrolls of silver, 3 x 10 cm and 1 x 4 cm respectively. On each was engraved, in archaic Hebrew of the late 7th to early 6th centuries BCE, several lines from the “priestly benediction” of Num 6:24–26, demonstrating that these passages of biblical text were known in late Iron Age Jerusalem.

d. Iron Age Tombs. The necropolis of Iron Age Jerusalem was located all around the city. Rock hewn burial caves from Iron Age IIB and IIC have been discovered on the Silwan slope east of the City of David (including the Tomb of Pharaoh’s Daughter and the Royal Steward tomb), on the Mount of Olives east of the Temple Mount, on the south and west slopes of the Hinnom Valley (including the Ketef Hinnom complex), and north of the Old City along Nablus Road (including the St. Etienne complex and the so-called Garden Tomb). Tombs were also found across the central valley just west of the Temple Mount and the City of David (unlike the late Second Temple period, there seems to have



Map 4 Persian Period

been no proscription on burial directly west of the city or the temple in Iron Age II). When the city expanded to the *Mishneh* in the 8th century BCE, the central valley tombs were emptied and used for storage. A rock hewn complex at the south end of the City of David was excavated by Weill in 1914, who identified it as the royal tomb complex of King David. This identification is now rejected, and tombs are not thought to have been located inside the ancient city. Iron II tombs generally featured one or more rock hewn benches where the deceased was laid for decomposition. Desiccated bones were gathered and placed in hollow repositories often carved out underneath the burial benches.

4. Persian Period and Hellenistic Period Jerusalem. Following the destruction of the Iron II Jerusalem in 586 BCE, the city was reoccupied again fifty years later in 537 BCE by Jews returning from exile in Babylon. The two centuries from 537 to 332 BCE are called the Persian period, since the province of Judah (known as *Yahud* in the Aramaic of the era) was part of the Achaemenid Persian empire. By 515 BCE the returnees built a Second Temple, the Temple of Zerubbabel, on the Temple Mount (see Ezra 3–6). More than a century passed after the return to Jerusalem before the fortification wall of was rebuilt, ca. 445 BCE during Nehemiah’s administration as governor of Judah (see Neh 2–6). The populated area was confined to the City of David ridge, and the Persian period city wall apparently followed a course higher up on the ridge than the wall of the Bronze and Iron Ages. The new wall also enclosed a 500 cubit (270 m) square area around the Temple Mount (see map 4).

Few architectural remains, all fragmentary, have been discovered from the two Persian period centuries. Part of the city wall line was identified

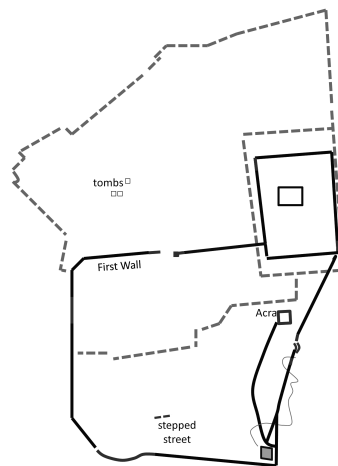
by Macalister and Duncan in 1925 along the upper eastern ridge, incorporating the Iron Age Stepped Stone Structure. Towers on the north and south of the Stepped Stone Structure were identified as of Hasmonean origin, but presumably enhanced the Persian period wall line, part of which Kenyon identified near the north tower. Ceramics of the period were found in Area G, including seal stamps bearing the province title *Yahud*. Coins, first introduced into the region during the Persian period, also bear the Hebrew title *Yahud*.

After Alexander's conquest of the Levant in 332 BCE, the Persian period limits of Jerusalem continued into the Hellenistic period (332–164 BCE) throughout Ptolemaic Egyptian control of the land throughout the third century and into the 2nd century BCE when Seleucid Syrian control commenced. Judah (*Yahud*) also became frequently referred to by the Greek version of the name, Judea, commencing with the Hellenistic period. Coins and other inscriptions found in archaeological contexts began to appear in Greek, in addition to Hebrew or Aramaic.

a. Hasmonean Period. During the brief period of Syrian rule over Judea (198–164 BCE) occupation of the western hills recommenced, with a small *polis* named Antioch founded in the area of the modern Jewish Quarter during the administration of Antiochus IV and the High Priest Jason. The wall of Nehemiah around the City of David was destroyed in places by Antiochus' forces, and a fortified tower known by the Greek term *Acra* ("high place") was built south of the Temple Mount to dominate the city ridge and the temple area (1 Macc 1:29–33; Josephus, *Ant.* 12:93; etc.). Its location has been disputed, with suggestions ranging from a spot on the western hills to a spot on the southeast corner of the Persian period Temple Mount. During the 1970s, B. Mazar and M. Ben-Tov believed they had found part of the foundation of the *Acra* directly south of the Herodian Temple Mount. Structural remains identified in 2015 by Ben Ami and Tchekhanovets as the *Acra* were unearthed in the Giv'ati parking lot area at the north of the City of David (see map 5).

On the Temple Mount itself, a line of ancient ashlar which constitute the bottom step of the platform stairway northwest of the Dome of the Rock was identified by L. Ritmeyer as a surviving portion of the outer face of the Temple Mount western wall of the Hasmonean period, and perhaps earlier. Known simply as the "step wall," this masonry is presently visible, although the stones' outer margins are overlaid with modern paving.

The desecration of the Temple of Zerubbabel by Antiochus IV and the liberation of Jerusalem during the Hasmonean revolt began a process of renewed expansion in Jerusalem. The *Acra* was razed by the Hasmonean ruler Simon in 141 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.*



Map 5 Hasmonean Period

13.182; cf. 1 Macc 13:49–50). The Temple Mount platform was apparently expanded some 42 m southward. An *in situ* segment of the eastern wall line of the Hasmonean extension, with margined ashlar and protruding bosses, was revealed by Kenyon's work outside the southeast Temple Mount wall. The Hasmonean masonry begins at a point called the "bend," identified by Warren in 1867, located 74 m north of the current southeast corner. The "bend," discernable only in the visible upper courses of the current eastern wall, seems to mark the southern limit of the Persian period enclosure and the beginning of the Hasmonean extension. Two tunnels under the extension, known in sources as the Huldah Gate tunnels, gave access to the Temple Mount from the Ophel are south of the enclosure, via gates in the new south wall.

In the City of David, the wall of Nehemiah was repaired and fortified with square towers of margined ashlar along its eastern line. Macalister and Duncan revealed two Hasmonean towers in their 1925 excavations, one on each side of the Stepped Stone Structure, and they are now visible in Area G.

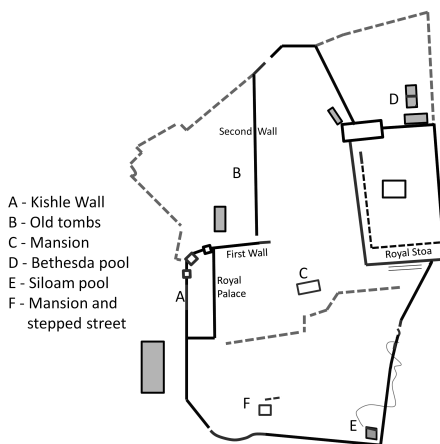
The population of Jerusalem expanded again to the western hills, and after 150 BC reconstruction of the city wall around the western hills was commenced by the Hasmonean ruler Jonathan. This wall, called the "old wall" or the "first wall" in Josephus' reports (J.W. 5.158) followed the line of the Iron II city wall, incorporating some of its ruined but surviving architecture. In the Jewish Quarter, Avigad excavated parallel portions of the Hasmonean "first wall" beneath the remains of the Byzantine Cardo. At this point the Hasmonean wall abutted remains of the earlier Iron II city wall, demonstrating that remnant of the earlier structure were incorporated into the Hasmonean rebuild of

the wall line. These wall remains were preserved by the modern excavators, and are visible in the Cardo Mall of the present Jewish Quarter. Avigad speculated that the opening between the two parallel segments of Hasmonean city wall at this point must represent the location of the “Gennath gate” noted by Josephus (J.W. 5.146). He also discovered remains of a Hasmonean tower in the wall line, built directly against the east side of the earlier Israelite tower of Iron II which enclosed the hollow of the transversal valley in the city wall line. This Hasmonean tower, along with the two identified by Macalister in the City of David (Area G) and the one excavated at David’s Citadel (see below), were part of the sixty towers which Josephus reported in the “old wall” or “first wall” of Jerusalem (J.W. 5.158). Several hundred meters of the Hasmonean wall were traced by Bliss and Dickey along the south ridge of the southwestern hill (Mount Zion) in 1894. A Hasmonean tower and the rounded north-west corner of the “first wall” were discovered inside the Citadel of David at Jaffa Gate, and portions of the “first wall” were revealed in the *Kishle* (the police station just south of the Citadel) and further to the south on the western limit of the Old City. In all these cases the “first wall” runs along the course of the Iron II city wall, sometimes parallel to it, often incorporating its surviving elements. Hasmonean period features discovered within the ancient wall line include also numerous remains of private houses.

Tombs of the period were placed north, east, and south of the city. An Iron Age II quarry area north of the “first wall” became a cemetery where burial caves with horizontal loculi (*kokhim*) were cut out, some of which survive at the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

b. Herodian Period. Hasmonean control of Judea and its capital was abruptly taken over by Rome with Pompey’s capture of Jerusalem in 63 BCE. With the appointment of Herod the Great as client king over Judea, Jerusalem experienced a period of monumental construction and expansion (see map 6).

The urban area which spread northward along the upper extent of the central valley, as far as the present Damascus Gate, was annexed with the construction of the “second wall.” The “second wall” may be understood from Josephus’ account (J.W. 5.146) which describes it as beginning at the Gennath gate of the “first wall” and running north before returning to meet the Antonia Fortress. Exactly when the wall was built is uncertain – it was possibly underway late in the Hasmonean period – but it was complete during Herod’s reign. Few remains of the “second wall” have been located, but a foundation course of its northern gate was excavated at Damascus Gate, directly beneath the western tower of Hadrianic Roman gate. This indicates that the northern extent of the “second wall” reached the



Map 6 Herodian Period

Damascus Gate area before turning back south and east to the Antonia.

With construction of the “second wall” the cemetery of Hellenistic/Hasmonean tombs in the quarry directly west of the new city wall became ineligible for further use. This was due to Jewish purity laws forbidding burial or unclean industry west of the city – a prohibition recalled by R. Akiva (*bBB* 25a). New tombs were forbidden in that area, and old tombs cleared. Two of the old tombs are preserved in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built on that site in the Byzantine period. However, since no new burial cave could have been cut in that location ca. 30 CE, as described in the NT (John 19:41), and since no burials could occur there in any event, the Holy Sepulchre is highly unlikely to have been the burial site of Jesus.

Excavated remains from the Herodian period inside the city are mostly from south of the “first wall” in the Jewish Quarter and on Mount Zion (the southwest hill). Avigad’s excavations in the Jewish Quarter revealed extensive remains from the Herodian period, including portions of a several 1st centuries BCE/CE houses built on the eastern slope of the western hill. The house remains were of ground floor or cellar levels, and featured mosaic carpet floors, frescoed plaster wall remains, baths, *mikva’ot* (ritual immersion baths), and cisterns carved into the bedrock below the structures. One house, now known as the Burnt House, featured a kitchen, a courtyard, a *mikveh* (ritual immersion bath), and four other rooms in which some type of industry was maintained, probably involving oils and perfumes. Numerous small weights, mortars, and juglets were recovered, including a stone weight bearing the name “Katros,” known from the Talmud as a priestly family of Jerusalem (*bPes* 57a). Coins from

the Jewish Revolt and a short iron spear were found, as well as the bones of a young female's hand and arm, indicating a violent end to the house's occupation. The structure was badly burned in the 70 CE Roman destruction of Jerusalem.

The Palatial Mansion, located in what excavators dubbed the "Herodian Quarter," was a multi-level residence constructed on terraces stretching west to east over a 20 by 30 m area, totaling some 600 sq m. A large, open courtyard paved with stone, measuring 8 m square, was surrounded by a dozen rooms, including large 6.5 by 11 m hall decorated with frescoes of colorful geometric shapes. The residence was built in the 1st century BCE, during the reign of Herod, over the razed remains of an earlier Hasmonean period house, as determined from coin and ceramic evidence. Mosaic tiled halls, baths with rosette mosaics, *mikva'ot*, and frescoed private rooms apparently served a very wealthy family in the 1st centuries BCE/CE. The large hall was redecorated in the 1st century CE – its frescoes deliberately chipped so that layer of white plaster could be applied, which was then finished to resemble Herodian ashlar masonry. Burnt roof beams collapsed atop the mosaic tiled floor of the mansion's vestibule evidenced the destruction of the mansion by the Romans in 70 CE.

Extensive excavation on Mount Zion (the southwestern hill) by various investigators revealed numerous remains from the Herodian period, mainly of residential buildings, *mikva'ot*, and cisterns. Of biblical interest is the Crusader period building housing the traditional Tomb of David and the Coenaculum (the "upper room" of Jesus' last Passover supper). The structure was investigated in 1949 by J. Pinkerfeld, who determined that its foundations and some courses of its ashlar walls had belonged to a Roman period synagogue erected in the late 1st century CE over the remains of a Herodian period residence. It was noted by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux in the 4th century CE as a Judaeo-Christian synagogue. The structure was incorporated into the Byzantine Hagia Sion church, and was apparently depicted on the Byzantine mosaic map of Jerusalem at Madaba.

On the eastern slope of Mount Zion, at St. Peter Gallicantu, excavations exposed a large Herodian period mansion in Area G, north of the modern church, and a mikveh and five cisterns directly east of the church. Directly beneath the church itself, construction terraces cut into bedrock bear remnants of another Herodian period, with a large mikveh and basement chambers cut into the bedrock. In excavations at the church site, a 2.5 m long carved stone lintel was found bearing the Aramaic phrase *le asham hu korban* (*Pašam hū' kōrban*), suggesting a priestly connection to the residence. The mansion was located on the south side of the Hasmonean stepped street, still in use in Herodian Je-

rusalem. Early Christian tradition identified the modern church site as the house of the high priest Caiaphas, where Jesus was interrogated (Luke 22:54). Alternatively, palace remains excavated on the grounds the Armenian monastery, higher up on Mount Zion, have also been suggested as the house of Caiaphas.

Excavations conducted at the Giv'ati parking lot since 2007, in the northwest area of the City of David, revealed remains of a spacious palace of the Herodian period, thought to be the house of Queen Helena of Adiabene. The large structure with many rooms featured a mikveh in the basement and was dated by coins to the 1st century CE. It was destroyed in the Roman assault of 70 CE.

According to Josephus Herod built a large royal palace on the west side of the city. The complex, apparently covered most of the modern space from Jaffa Gate and the Citadel of David southward through the Armenian Garden (ca. 300 m long and 80 m wide area). The northern component of the palace, according to Josephus, was a fortification with three towers built by Herod as additions to the Hasmonean "first wall," protecting both the palace and western entry of the city. As described by Josephus (J.W. 2.439; 7.1) the towers were called, from west to east, Hippicus, Phasael, and Miriam. The remains of one of these are visible in the massive Tower of David in the present Citadel at Jaffa Gate. It preserves sixteen courses of Herodian masonry to a height 19 m, at which point it is still solid throughout, and measures 21.5 m long by 17 m wide. This seems most consistent with Josephus' report of Phasael, which was 40 by 40 cubits (21.5 m square; J.W. 5.166), with a solid base 40 cubits high and a total height of 90 cubits (48.5 m), the multi-storied upper portion of which featured a bath and lavish apartments. If this is the case, the Hippicus tower, reportedly 25 by 25 cubits (13.5 m square), may have been built on the discovered remains of the middle or south tower foundations discovered in the Citadel. However, some scholars maintained the "Tower of David" was the Hippicus tower. Herod's three-towered citadel probably also included the dungeon cells mentioned in the account of Peter's imprisonment (see Acts 12:4–10).

c. The Herodian Temple Mount. Herod began work transforming the Temple Mount in 20 BCE, ultimately converting it into the largest temple complex in the Roman Empire. The 500 year old Temple of Zerubbabel was dismantled and a new, more splendid edifice erected in its place. No archaeological trace of the temple itself remains, and its dimensions and appearance are understood from the description of Josephus (J.W. 5.207–209) and the Talmud tractates *Middot* and *Yoma*. The interior measurements of the earlier temple (20 x 60 cubits, 45 cubits height) were retained, but the exterior dimensions of the new structure, including side

rooms and porch, were greatly increased to 60 by 100 cubits (32.4 by 54 m), and 90 cubits (48.6 m) in height. The eastern façade was increased in height to 100 cubits (54 m), and the same in width. The building was reportedly finished with white and rose colored limestone ashlar and other decorative stones of blue and green (bBB 4a, bSuk 51b), and its ornately carved capitals, cornices, and crenellations were overlaid with gold leaf or painted in colors of yellow, crimson, and blue. It is generally maintained that the interior floor of the temple's holy of holies was the elevated bedrock of Mount Moriah now enshrined inside the Dome of the Rock, as it had been in the temples of Solomon and Zerubbabel. Destroyed in 70 CE, no trace of Herod's Temple remains. In the 1970s, archaeological studies to reconstruct the size and position of the temple and its courts were undertaken by B. Mazar and L. Ritmeyer.

The platform and court on which the temple stood was essentially the same elevation as the current platform of the Dome of the Rock. Around that platform was a separation wall called the *soreg*, built of limestone ashlar blocks. At frequent locations in this wall, certain ashlar bore a carved inscription warning gentiles, upon pain of death, against entering the holy court. One of these inscribed ashlar was discovered in 1871 near the Omariyya madrasa boys' school at the northwest end of the Temple Mount – it is now on display at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. A broken portion of another stone bearing the same inscription was found outside Lion's Gate, near the northeast corner of the mount, and is now in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

Herod expanded the Temple Mount courts on the northern, southern, and western sides, resulting in a roughly rectangular multi-level platform. Only the eastern wall remained as earlier. The foundations and lower courses of all four walls still exist, and finely crafted Herodian masonry is visible along three sides. The northern wall line is 315 m long, the eastern wall 470 m long, the southern wall 280 m long, and the western wall 485 m long. The walls encompassed an area of 144,000 sq. m, the largest shrine area in the empire.

At the northwest corner of the Temple Mount stood the Antonia fortress, built by Herod on a high, bedrock podium, the rock-cut southern face of which is still visible at beneath the Omarriya madrasa boys' school. No other trace remains of the fortress, which was completely destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE. Overlooking the Temple Mount, the fortress provided policing security for the area. Christian tradition placed the story of Jesus being beaten, crowned with thorns, and sentenced to death at the pavement (Λιθόστρωτος) of the Antonia fortress (John 19:13), also called the *πραιτώριον* (Mark 15:16). Some scholars, however, place these

events at the Herodian royal palace on the west side of the city. Paul addressed crowds at the temple from steps leading up to the fortress (Acts 21:40), and was held inside the fortress for three nights (Acts 22:24–23:24).

The eastern wall line of the Temple Mount was the only one not altered by Herod, as it stood atop the deep slope of the Kidron Valley, with no practical way of extending it eastward. Both Josephus (J.W. 5.185) and the NT associate the wall line with Solomon, and Jesus is reported to have taught in the portico called Solomon's Porch during the Hānukkah season (John 10:22–23). The current Golden Gate in the eastern wall line probably preserves the location of the ancient Susa Gate of the Herodian period. Beneath the present gate the arch of a previous gateway is visible inside an Arab tomb. The arch is probably Byzantine or later, since straight lintels were the style in the Herodian period. But the presence of the arch indicates a tradition of gate placement that precedes the current Golden Gate.

A Royal Stoa, or basilica, stood along the entire south end of Herod's expanded temple enclosure, occupying the entire length of the south wall. Josephus described it (*Ant.* 15.413–415) as having two tall stories, the second with clerestory windows, all supported by a ground level structure of 160 massive columns in four rows of sixty running from west to east, creating three elongated halls within the basilica. After 30 CE, the east end of the basilica served as headquarters of the Sanhedrin. The trial of Jesus' apostles (Acts 5:27–40) perhaps occurred here. From 1997 to 2005, workers converting "Solomon's Stables" into Islamic prayer halls unearthed numerous architectural remnants; Carved, decorated capitals, some bearing traces of gold leaf and red or blue paint were found, as well as several columns of colored marble and granite in various colors. Some of these may have been components of the Herodian Royal Stoa. Samples were placed on view in the open court of the Islamic Museum in 2006.

A feature known as the "straight seam," located 32 m north of the southeast corner of the Temple Mount's eastern wall, marks the point where the fine Herodian masonry of the extension meets the earlier Hasmonean masonry. Atop this extension the Royal Stoa was built, and a stairway and entrance into the basilica's east end – the spring of an arch immediately south of the "straight seam" marks the spot of the entrance. The vaulted area inside the extension, rebuilt during the Crusader period, became known as "Solomon's stables."

Within the extension, two tunnel complexes gave access to the temple courts from the Ophel area. Both tunnels passed below the Royal Stoa, connecting with the earlier Huldah Gate tunnels of the Hasmonean period, to emerge upward onto the

temple platform. The western tunnel exited a double gate in the southern wall. Interior Herodian masonry and ornate dome-vaulted ceilings of the western tunnel entry chambers survived the Roman destruction and are still visible at present. Large broken pieces of ornate dome-vaults were found outside the triple gate of the eastern tunnel, and presumably were originally part of that gate's entry chambers.

The two tunnels were approached from outside via a grand stairway that stretched for 65 meters along the southern wall of the Herodian extension. The stairway, with alternating wide and narrow steps, was cut into the bedrock of the Ophel slope, with paving stones laid to complete it where the slope fell. The eastern tunnel was entered through a triple gate located at the east end of the stairway, and the western tunnel featured a double gate. The foundation courses of both gates are still visible – the double gate now partially obscured by an abutting cross wall of the Crusader period. The two southern gates are known in the Mishnah as the Huldah gates (*mMid* 1:3), a name that had applied to the two shorter Hasmonean tunnels and gates as well as the expanded Herodian tunnels and gates. The eastern triple gate above the grand stairway may be the place where the Talmud says Gamliel stood with the elders (*tSan* 2:2), and the double gate may be where Jesus exited the temple to anoint the man born blind (*John* 9:1–7). The grand stairway and the public *mikva'ot* below it were excavated by B. Mazar and Ben-Tov from 1968. The temple platform was also extended to the west, filling in the central valley and building a new western retaining wall to the west of the older Persian/Hasmonean western wall line. The southwest corner of the extended retaining wall was the most prominent feature of the expanded Temple Mount's exterior. At the base of this corner the master course of ashlar featured stones of 10 m in length, weighing an estimated 200 tons. Also at this corner, a monumental royal stairway rose up and arched over the central valley street to the gate entering the west end of the Royal Stoa. The spring of the arch which supported the stairway at this location is now known as Robinson's Arch, who identified it in 1837. The arch was located directly beneath the gate, and 17.7 m above the Herodian street level, with its markets and shops. Atop the gate, at the southwest corner, was a station featuring a niche for a person to stand while sounding the trumpet from this corner of the Temple Mount. The rounded limestone parapet or ledge of this station bore a carved inscription reading "for the place of trumpeting of the..." (*le-bet ha-teq'ah le-ha*) after which the text is broken, perhaps reading "the priests" or "the announcing." Jewish priests stood at the spot to sound the trumpet at the onset of Sabbaths and festivals (Josephus, *J.W.* 4.582). The

corner parapet ledge was elevated some 35 m above the street and markets below it, and fell to the street below in the Roman destruction of 70 CE. The inscription is in the Israel Museum. The "place of trumpeting" has been suggested as the site from which Jesus was tempted to jump off the "pinnacle of the temple" (*Matt* 4:5–7).

A 10 m wide street, paved with thick smooth stones, ran along the temple's Herodian western retaining wall. A 75 m stretch of this street was excavated from the southwest corner northward. Massive piles of broken ashlar, often 2 m or more in size, were found lying on the street, having been dropped there from the heights of the Temple Mount walls when the Romans destroyed the complex in 70 CE. The fallen stones broke the street pavement and penetrated the sub-street sewers in several places. The ruins of shops on both the west and east side of this central valley street were discovered.

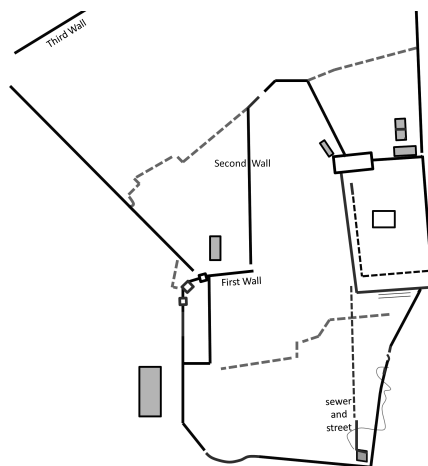
Proceeding north along the western wall line of the Temple Mount, the traditional "Western Wall" (Heb. *Kotel*) preserves Herodian masonry that has been visible for centuries prior to modern archaeological excavation. From Wilson's Arch at the north end of the open plaza in front of the wall, an archaeological tunnel was dug along the entire outer face of the western wall line all the way north to the Antonia Fortress area. It revealed Herodian masonry covered since the destruction of the temple in 70 CE. Among the more spectacular finds was a master course of masonry with remarkably huge stones, one measuring over 12 m in length and estimated to weigh over 400 tons.

Four gates (two of which are named after their modern discoverers) entered into the Temple Mount along the Herodian western wall. Proceeding north these were (1) the Royal Stoa gate above Robinson's Arch, (2) Barclay's Gate, which entered the complex from the central valley street, (3) the gate entering the temple across the bridge above Wilson's Arch, and (4) Warren's Gate, which entered the complex from the central valley street directly west of the temple. The gateway below the massive lintel identified in 1860 by J. Barclay is now filled in, but is visible at the south end of the women's section at the Western Wall prayer plaza. Wilson's Arch, at the north end of the men's section of the prayer plaza, marks the spot of both the Hasmonean and larger Herodian arched bridges that spanned the central valley from the upper city to the Temple Mount platform. The elite gate that entered the platform from that bridge may be the Coponius gate mentioned in the Talmud (*Middot* 1:3). The current arch was rebuilt during the early Arab period. The Gate, identified in 1867 by C. Warren, was a large portal entering the Temple Mount from street level. The gate stood directly west of the Temple. Its threshold and masonry posts are currently visible inside the Kotel Tunnel.

d. Water in Herodian Jerusalem. As the population of Jerusalem grew during the late Hasmonean and Herodian periods the need for more water became vital. Additionally, a great deal more water was required for the expanded capacity of operations at the Temple of Herod. Some thirty-seven large cisterns existed in the bedrock below the Temple Mount, according to Warren's exploration of 1869. The so-called low-level aqueduct was constructed to bring water to Jerusalem and the Temple Mount from springs as far away as the hills near Hebron 30 km to the south. The water was carried in a series of open canals, tunnels, and closed stone pipelines which followed a circuitous course some 60 km in length through the hills south of Jerusalem until it arrived at the city and the temple. Large pools (reservoirs) were also cut into bedrock at key points around the city, and plastered in order to make them waterproof. Annual rainwater was channeled into these pools, and also into hundreds of private cisterns which were carved into the bedrock underneath virtually every house in the city. Pools excavated and visible at present include the Serpent's Pool (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.108 – now called the Sultan's Pool), which was the major reservoir west of the city in the upper Hinnom valley, and the Amygdalon Pool (Towers' Pool) just northeast of Herod's royal palace (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.468 – now Hezekiah's Pool inside the Old City). The Struthion Pool (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.467) was just outside the northwest corner of the Antonia Fortress, and is now accessible beneath the Via Dolorosa at the Sisters of Zion convent. The Pool of Israel, just outside the northern wall of the Temple Mount was surveyed by Warren in 1869.

The Bezetha Pool, also north of the Temple Mount, was specifically referred to in the NT as the Pool of Bethesda. It was a double reservoir, cut deep into bedrock, with a bedrock bridge running between the two separated pools. Porticoes which reportedly surrounded the four sides of the whole, and also stood on its separation bridge, were the "five porches" spoken of in the account of Jesus' healing a man there (John 5:1–9). Excavations by J. Rousée exposed corners of the pool, revealing its dimensions. The two reservoirs were 15 m deep, with multiple layers of plaster over bedrock. The whole was 95 m long north to south, and the south edge of the southern pool was 60 m wide, while the north edge of the northern pool was 50 m wide. Smaller rock cut immersion basins were found just east of the pools, and were perhaps involved in the back story of John 5, since entry into either of the deep Bethesda reservoirs would have been dangerous. The double pool and basins are on display St. Anne's Church.

The Pool of Siloam, located at the south end of the City of David, still received fresh spring water from Gihon via Hezekiah's Tunnel (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.145). It was expanded and enhanced with stone



Map 7 Herodian Period, 70 CE

paving at its stepped edges during the Herodian period. The two northern corners of the pool, and much of its 69 m northern edge, were excavated in 2004 by Reich and Shukron. Most of the pool remains buried. This reservoir may be the site mentioned in the NT story of Jesus giving sight to a man born blind (John 9:7). Inside the City of David, water was also available directly from the Gihon Spring – a corbel roofed tunnel and vaulted entry chamber cut through the debris on the eastern slope allowed access to the Bronze/Iron Age tunnel that led down to the spring.

e. The Third Wall. The "third wall" described by Josephus (*J.W.* 5.147) as surrounding the built up areas of Jerusalem that developed north of the "second wall" in the decades after 30 CE. Work began on the wall, according to Josephus, as early as the brief reign of Herod Agrippa I over Judea (41–44 CE). Whether it was completed by the time of the First Jewish Revolt (66–70 CE) is unclear. The northern line of the "third wall" was placed 450 m north of the "second wall" limit (at Damascus Gate), and doubled the size of the walled city. Several segments of the "third wall" have been excavated along an 800 m line from the Russian Compound east to Salah ed-Din Street (see map 7).

During this expansion, and after the construction of Herod's Temple complex was complete, a project to pave all of the city's streets with limestone was begun. Some of this paving has been discovered in the central valley street that leads north from the Pool of Siloam. A 400 m length of Herodian period sewer, stretching as far north as Robinson's Arch, has also been exposed.

Graves during the Herodian period were located primarily north, east, and south of the city. Hundreds of rock cut burial caves have been found and

excavated in these areas, including the tombs at the Sanhedriya neighborhood, the so-called Tomb of the Kings, the tombs of Simon the Temple Builder and Yehohanan ben Hagkol (the crucified man) at Givat Hamivtar, and graves south of the Old City, including the tomb of the High Priest Joseph Caiaphas. Many graves were placed on the Mount of Olives, including elaborate burial monuments such as the tomb of the priestly Hezir family, the so-called Tomb of Zechariah, and so-called Absalom's Pillar. In the majority of these tombs the interred were placed in horizontal burial vaults known as loculi (Heb. *kokhim*) cut into the walls of the tomb chamber. In some of the tombs there were rock cut burial benches upon which the deceased were laid until desiccation. Benches arranged along one, two, or three of walls of the tomb chamber, but not on the entrance wall. Many bench tombs also featured *arcosolia*, in which the burial bench was set in an arched recess in the tomb wall. Desiccation of the corpse generally took a year, after which the deceased's bones were placed for permanent in a stone carved box chest called an ossuary (referred to in Jewish sources as *gluskema*). Many ossuaries were decorated with geometric or floral motifs, and sometimes bore the name of the deceased in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek.

5. Roman Period Jerusalem: Aelia Capitolina. With the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, the 2000 year long period of the city described in the HB/OT and the NT came to a close. The city itself, however, revived and lived on. After 70, units of the Roman Tenth Legion settled in the citadel of Herod's palace, the destroyed area now called the Jewish Quarter, and near the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount. In the 2nd century CE the city was rebuilt as a Roman colony by the emperor Hadrian, who renamed it Aelia Capitolina. It was an unwall town, but featured some monumental architecture, including free-standing triple-arch triumphal gates at the location of Damascus Gate and at Ecce Homo on the Via Dolorosa. Remains at Damascus Gate include the façade of the preserved eastern entry. The current Ecce Homo arch over Via Dolorosa preserves the high middle entry and the lower northern entry of the triumphal arches erected on the site of the Bethesda double pool. A Roman temple to Jupiter was reportedly built on the Temple Mount, although no trace of it remains. Another Roman temple dedicated to Venus-Aphrodite was built at the former quarry site that would become the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Remains of its *temenos* wall and an arch of its eastern court are preserved at the Russian Orthodox Alexander Nevsky Church in the Christian Quarter. These remains, and also the triumphal arches at Damascus Gate, were built of Herodian style margined ash-lars, probably taken from the destroyed Temple Mount for reuse.

A stone paved N-S main street, the *Cardo Maximus*, ran from the Damascus Gate south to the forum area where the temple of Venus-Aphrodite stood. A second *cardo* ran from Damascus Gate down the central valley to the Wilson's Arch area which accessed the Temple Mount and Jupiter temple. Known as *Cardo Valensis*, portions of flagstone paving of this valley *cardo* were found just west of the Western Wall plaza. Also excavated just inside Damascus Gate was the plaza of the column, where the two *cardos* diverged. Jews were banished from the city and region by Hadrian following the Second Jewish Revolt (Bar-Kokhba revolt) of 132–135 CE. Many Christians who were ethnically Jewish were also banished, and the city assumed a fully pagan theme.

6. Byzantine Period Jerusalem. During the Byzantine period Jerusalem recalled its biblical heritage, largely with themes from the NT. After reuniting the Roman Empire in 324 CE, the emperor Constantine designated Jerusalem as a holy Christian city, and sent his mother, Queen Helena, to identify holy sites upon which churches would be erected. Helena identified the pagan temple of Venus-Aphrodite as the site of Jesus' crucifixion and burial (apparently unaware of Herodian period dynamics and Jewish law that forbade burials at that spot in the 1st cent. CE). The temple was razed and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was constructed at the site by 336 CE. It stood for nearly seven centuries until destroyed in 1009; numerous of its elements later incorporated into the Crusader rebuilding of 1149. Other large Byzantine churches built in the city included the New Church of St. Mary, usually called simply the Nea Church (Nea = new) in what is now the southern part of the Old City Jewish Quarter, and the Hagia Sion (Holy Zion) Church on Mount Zion, covering the area from the synagogue at David's Tomb/Coenaculum to the modern Dormition Abbey. The main north-south street, *Cardo Maximus*, was extended southward from the Holy Sepulchre church past the Nea Church all the way to the Hagia Sion Church, connecting the city from Damascus Gate to Mount Zion. A lengthy segment of this *cardo* was excavated by Avigad in the Jewish Quarter and is now a visitor center and pedestrian mall. The Damascus Gate and its column plaza, the Holy Sepulchre Church, the Nea Church, the Hagia Sion chapel, and the *Cardo Maximus* are all depicted on the mosaic map of Byzantine Jerusalem found at Madaba in Jordan (see "Madaba Map").

The secondary main avenue, *Cardo Valensis*, which ran from Damascus Gate southeast down the central valley to access other churches, was extended beyond today's Dung Gate down the east side of the City of David to the Siloam Pool area. The Herodian Siloam Pool having silted in by this time, a smaller elongated basin became the Byzan-

tine “pool of Siloam” and a church was built there recalling the events of John 9. This valley *cardo* is also seen on the Madaba map, including the segments found west of the Western Wall plaza, and other portions of its paving are visible further south, just inside and outside current Dung Gate. North of the Temple Mount, where the pagan temple of Jupiter was destroyed and the platform left in ruins, the road beneath Hadrian’s triple arch at Ecce Homo led east to the Bethesda pools, where a church was built to commemorate the events of John 5:1–9, and also the childhood of Mary, who was believed to have lived in the area of modern Lion’s Gate with her parents Joachim and Anna.

On the Mount of Olives a chapel was built near the Kidron Valley (the location of the current Church of All Nations) at the site identified as Gethsemane, recalling Jesus’ prayer in the garden (see Mark 14:32–52), and a nearby grotto that had housed an oil press which was identified as the site of Jesus’ arrest (see Matt 26:36–56). At another site at the mountain’s summit (the location of the current Pater Noster church) a chapel was built on the site identified as the spot where Jesus ascended into heaven (see Luke 24:50–52; Acts 1:9–12). The chapel, known as the Eleona Church, was built by Constantine at the wayside spot Queen Helena identified as the locale on the road to Bethany where Jesus was taken up.

Byzantine Jerusalem was a large and thriving city, and was surrounded by a city wall which followed the Herodian period line on the east, south, and west, and the modern Old City line on the north. Remains of domestic housing with mosaic floors have been found in several areas within those lines, including finds by Avigad in the Jewish Quarter and by Mazar and Ben-Dov south of the Temple Mount. Similar remains were found in the Giv’ati parking lot.

7. Early Arab Period Jerusalem. Omar’s conquest of Jerusalem in 638 CE introduced Islam as the main theme of the city for the next four and a half centuries. Many Christian institutions remained, but endured as minority status entities under Islamic rule. Mosques began to appear in the city, soon outnumbering churches. On the Temple Mount, the Dome of the Rock was commenced in 687 and completed in 691. Constructed by order of the Omayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik, the eight sided structure rose 29 meters in height (its current height is 31.8 m). Its dome roof was lead, and its exterior décor was glass mosaic in shades of blues, greens, yellow and white. The dome centered over the rock (Arab. *as-Sakhra*) which was the foundation stone of the Holy of Holies in the First and Second Jewish Temples. The shrine was built to rival the Christian shrines in the city, and to commemorate the visionary “Night Journey” of Muhammad to Jerusalem and his mirage ascent into Paradise. Is-

lamic lore and literature of the 7th century, and down to the 20th century, identify the Dome of the Rock as occupying the site of the biblical era temples.

The quadrangle of the Temple Mount, which retained its Herodian period dimensions, became known as the Haram al-Sharif (the “Noble Sanctuary”). At the south end of the enclosure, in the area of the Herodian royal stoa, a large mosque was built in 710 by order of Caliph al-Walid and named the al-Aqsā’ Mosque (meaning “the furthest” mosque, a reference to the “Night Journey” from S 22 of the Qur’ān). South of the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount, a large hospice was built to lodge Muslim visitors to the shrines – major portions of the structure were excavated and preserved by B. Mazar and Ben-Dov in the 1970s. The Holy Sepulchre Church was destroyed in 1009 by order of the Egyptian Fatimid Caliph Hakim. It had begun to be rebuilt by 1095, under Seljuk Turkish rule, prior to the arrival of the Crusaders in 1099. Jews were allowed to return to the city in the early period of Islamic rule, and established a community in the City of David area. The city wall continued to follow the Byzantine period line until the earthquake of 1033 toppled it. The wall was rebuilt along the line of the current city walls by 1065. Thereafter, the Jewish community moved to the location of today’s Jewish quarter within the new wall line. The general outlines of the Christian, Armenian, and Muslim quarters of the city were also established at this time.

8. Crusader Period Jerusalem. The European Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099 and controlled it until 1187. The city became Christian controlled again, but with a Roman Church theme rather than the earlier Byzantine. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was rebuilt by 1144, and has endured in its Crusader architectural form until the present. Although the Nea Church had been destroyed, and was not rebuilt, nearly all other Byzantine Christian chapels and shrines were restored or enhanced during Crusader rule. New churches were also built, such as St. Anne’s Church at the Pool of Bethesda. The Citadel at Jaffa Gate was fortified and enhanced, and the southern wall of the Temple Mount was built up. Inside it, the vaulted arches of Solomon’s Stables were built reusing Herodian masonry. The Crusader order of Templars established themselves at the Temple Mount, taking over the Muslim shrines for use as churches, renaming the Al-Aqsā the “Temple of Solomon” and the Dome of the Rock the Templum Dominum (“Temple of the Lord”). These structures, and many from the Crusader period, are present in the Old City today.

9. Mameluke and Ottoman Jerusalem. With Salah ed-Din’s capture of Jerusalem in 1187, Crusader control ended and Islamic rule was restored to the city. In the ensuing Mameluke period (1200–1517)

the city wall that had stood through the Crusader period was torn down, and the town remained un-walled. The shrines on the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount were restored to Muslim use, and many churches in the city were also converted to Islamic purposes. The Mamelukes left their mark in the iconography of Jerusalem's masonry, an example being the stylized carved relief lions above the Lions Gate (which was not torn down).

Ottoman Turkish control of Jerusalem began in 1517, and the city walls were rebuilt along their current lines in 1537–40 by order of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. Damascus Gate, in its current architectural form, was built as the pearl in the walls of Ottoman Jerusalem. The Citadel at Jaffa Gate was refortified and resumed its current form. Restoration work on the Dome of the Rock was undertaken, and the old and broken mosaics on its exterior replaced with Turkish style tiles made by craftsmen brought from Iznik. The current tile exterior of the Dome of the Rock retains the Iznik styling. The reduced size and form of the al-Aqṣā' Mosque also dates to the 16th century Ottoman restoration.

10. Significant Excavations in Jerusalem. Significant archaeologists, excavations, and investigations in Jerusalem (with the years of investigation activity in parentheses) include: E Robinson (1837–38), C. Wilson (1863–68), C. Warren (1867–70), C. Shick (1872–1901), C. Clermont-Ganneau (1874–83), F. Bliss and A. Dickie (1894–97), M. Parker and L. H. Vincent (1911), R. Weill (1913–14, 1923–24), R. A. S. Macalister and J. G. Duncan (1923–25), E. Sukenik (1924–46), J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Fitzgerald (1925–27), C. Johns (1934–37), N. Avigad (1945–47 and 1967–83), M. Pierre and J. Rousee (1956–95), K. Kenyon (1961–67), D. Ussishkim (1968–71), E. Netzer (1968 and 1977), R. Amiran and A. Eitan (1968–69), V. Tzaferis (1968), B. Mazar and M. Ben-Dov (1968–85), A. Mazar (1969–72), D. Bahat and M. Broshi (1970–72), G. Barkay (1975–89), H. Geva (1976–80), A. Kloner (1971–78), Y. Shiloh (1978–84), M. Magen (1979–84), B. Pixner, D. Chen, M. Margalit (1979–86), G. Solar and R. Sivan (1980–88), H. Goldfus (1983), A. Maeir (1987–89), F. Diez (1992–2000), R. Reich and E. Shukron (1995–2011), A. Reem (2001–), E. Mazar (1986–87, 2005–), S. Wexler Bdolah and A. Onn (2006–), D. Ben Ami and Y. Tchekhanovets (2007–), J. Uziel and N. Szanton (2011–), Gadot (2013–), S. Gibson (2014–).

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Jeffrey R. Chadwick

II. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

At around the turn of the 2nd to the 1st millennium, Jerusalem became Judean. Second Samuel 5:6–12 attributes this to David's conquest. Jerusalem became an urban center and royal seat of the tribal state of Judah, which remained limited to the region of the Judean mountains until the 8th century. Most scholars believe that Jerusalem and the Judahite kingdom began to expand to the south-west Shephelah and Negev no later than the late

9th century BCE, and perhaps, according to some, even earlier. It was only by the periods of kings Hezekiah and especially Josiah in the 8th–7th centuries, after the Northern Kingdom of Israel with its capital Samaria had been conquered by Assyria, that Judah, and Jerusalem along with it, gained importance. Its population increased from ca. 2,000 inhabitants in the early monarchic period to more than 10,000 during Josiah's reign. The city's area of settlement expanded from the southeastern to the southwestern hill, covering the area of today's Jewish quarter in Jerusalem's old city. There is, however, some debate as to when exactly the expansion took place and some scholars claim that development could have started as early as the 10th century, others assert though the 9th century.

The HB/OT passages about Jerusalem, which date back to the times of David and Solomon, set the increase in Jerusalem's importance during Josiah's reign. However, they still seem to preserve the historically recorded memory according to which Solomon erected not only a royal palace in Jerusalem, but also in connection with the palace, the temple as the palace's place of worship for the Judean monarchic dynasty, the Davidides (1 Kgs 6–7*). Even before Josiah's times, Jerusalem held religious importance as YHWH's sanctuary, since YHWH's presence as god of the king (Pss 47*; 93) and dynastic god of the Davidides was directly associated with the ark of the covenant as a part of the divine throne. YHWH was attributed with rescuing Zion from Assyria in 701 BCE, when the Assyrians abandoned their siege of the city. As a result, the theology of divine presence associated with the temple was integrated into a theology of Zion directly tied to Jerusalem (Pss 46*; 48). Motifs of divine presence in the temple were transferred to Mount Zion and then onto the city of Jerusalem, which was able to take on the role as the royal seat (Jer 3:16–17). References to YHWH adopted traits similar to those of an ancient Near Eastern city god, who vouched for a city's security its against enemies (Pss 46:2–8; 48:5–9) and whose political and cosmic powers were expressed by means of the city's invulnerable fortification (Ps 48:13–14). As “city of YHWH” (Isa 60:14) and as “holy city” (Isa 48:2; 52:1; Neh 11:1, 8), which, it was hoped, YHWH would call “my city” (Isa 45:13), Jerusalem came to be personified in the form of a female figure, almost like a goddess at YHWH's side (Isa 52:2; Zeph 3:14; Zach 9:9), and to be exalted as YHWH's foundation (Isa 14:32). The idea for this personification originated initially in the references to Mount Zion as “daughter/woman Zion.”

The tradition surrounding David's conquest of Jerusalem caused tensions which were counterbalanced by a theology of Jerusalem's election by YHWH (Ps 132:13–14), strongly connected to the election of the Davidic royal dynasty (Ps 132:11–

12). This resulted in Jerusalem receiving the epithet, “city of David” (1 Kgs 8:16; 33:14–22; Ps 78:68–72). The majority of such motifs stem from post-exilic literature, but – in terms of the history of religion – the motifs have pre-exilic roots. Josiah had already integrated them into accounts of his fending off Neo-Assyrian hegemonic aspirations. Second Kings 23:4–14* is the earliest report of king Josiah's cultic reform. It contains characteristic Priestly-apotropaic language, which points to a pre-Deuteronomistic origin, and reports the cleansing of the YHWH cult of Aramaic-Assyrian religious influences, which is limited, however, to the temple and the city of Jerusalem. Deuteronomy, then, expanded this vision to the entire land in order to eradicate the many different local YHWH manifestations (considered unsuitable anymore due to the influence of foreign religions) in favor of only one legitimate sanctuary. Evidence of this in Deuteronomy is the commandment of centralization (Deut 12:13–19) and the centralization formula: “But you shall seek the place that YHWH your God will choose out of all your tribes as his habitation to put his name there. You shall go there” (Deut 12:5). Exilic and post-exilic *Fortschreibungen* of Deuteronomy show clearly that it was indeed the temple in Jerusalem that was meant by “this one sanctuary chosen by YHWH.”

From a biblical perspective, Josiah's 7th century reform was not able to halt the divine punishment for obeying foreign religious influences. The punishment appeared in the form of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem and the destruction of its temple (2 Kgs 23:27). Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic authors of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE reflected upon the failure of Josiah's cultic reform and upon the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, prophesied by Moses in Deut 13:13–17 and 18–19 as the consequence for the entire city's apostasy. The authors do so by adopting the narrative of Josiah's cultic reform 2 Kgs 23:1–15 in Deut 12:2–7, 29–31* and by incorporating Jerusalem's topography in the narrative of the golden calf in Deut 9. The authors of a post-exilic *Fortschreibung* of Deuteronomy drew upon the book of Jeremiah in which Moses prophesies the siege of Jerusalem and the scattering of its inhabitants (Deut 28:47–68) as a prophecy of doom among the maledictions of Deuteronomy. In a post-exilic environment, the fictional locations Horeb and Sinai of the covenant between YHWH and Israel from remote Moisaic times in the desert, as well as the Torah in the meantime a “portable sanctuary,” took on the role of Jerusalem's destroyed temple. The authors of the books of Kings, using Deuteronomy as their benchmark in the exilic and particularly in post-exilic period, emphasized Solomon's building the temple as the realization of the Moisaic commandment of centralization in Deut 12. This is especially emphasized by

cross-references to 2 Sam 7 and 1 Kgs 8. The establishment of the Israelite imperial sanctuaries in Bethel and Dan was denounced as a breach of law leading to Israel's downfall, and caused the destruction of Jerusalem as prophesied by Moses. Deuteronomy's authority was strengthened in its post-exilic form by its offering solace during a period of historic upheaval. At the same time, the Priestly writings developed a theology founded on God's dwelling in a tent sanctuary (as prophesied at Sinai) as a counterintuitive to the idea of YHWH's presence in the temple of Jerusalem.

In the early Persian period, upon the insistence on the part of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, Jerusalem's temple was rebuilt. Consequently, the Priestly writings – expanded by adding the narrative of the construction of the tent sanctuary in Exod 30–40 and the ritual laws in Lev 1–16 – could be reinterpreted as a Mosaic model and a Sinaitic etiology of the temple of Jerusalem, which fulfilled Deuteronomy's commandment of one exclusive sanctuary. In the 5th century, Jerusalem's political significance as an administrative center for the Persian province Yehud was strengthened as a result of Nehemiah's mission. According to Neh 2–6, Nehemiah had the city walls re-erected and helped increase the city's population by synoikism (according to Neh 11). Since the 8th century, the prophets had vehemently criticized the theology of YHWH's presence in Jerusalem, reflected in the psalms of Zion, because it brought about self-centeredness, egotism and the lack of empathy for society's weaker members. The prophets proclaimed that the consequence would be the destruction of Jerusalem and God's mountain (Mic 3:12; Jer 7:1–15). They thereby created the basis for a theological explanation for the destruction of the city and the temple, which was attributed to the Judeans' religious and ethical misdeeds and was ostensibly not a sign of YHWH's powerlessness in YHWH's role as Jerusalem's city-god, but rather a display of his power to trace deeds back to their offenders and to cause their downfall. A post-exilic 4th-century *Fortschreibung* of the book of Ezekiel revoked the vision of judgment (using Babylonian *Vorlagen* as a model) of the withdrawal of YHWH's glory from the temple and the city (Ezek 10:18; 11:22). It did so by anticipating the return of God's glory (Ezek 43:2–3), which was to turn the temple, and Jerusalem along with it, into the religious center of an eschatological new Israel, Jerusalem becoming in geographical terms the central point in new Israel.

The 3rd-century amalgamation of the prophetic canon with the Torah – in the form of the Pentateuch, in which by the 4th century Deuteronomy and the Priestly writings had become intertwined and extensively updated in post-exilic times – was adopted by prophetic theology. Whereas the Torah shifted the presence of YHWH's "glory" from Jeru-

salem to the desert of Mosaic times, it was thought to have found a home in the Jerusalem temple after the parts of the canon were merged 480 years after the exodus from Egypt (1 Kgs 6:1), according to the post-exilic revision of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple in 1 Kgs 8:1, 6–9. Then, however, YHWH's "glory" left Jerusalem once again due to the catastrophe in the 6th century (Ezek 8–11) and would only return to the future new Jerusalem (Ezek 43). The books of the former prophets of Joshua to 2 Kings now interpreted history from the death of Moses (Deut 34) until the fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 25) as a history of failures, which transcends this particular history and envisions the future prophetic expectations of the prophetic corpus; two of which are the glorification of Jerusalem (as in Ezek 40:2) and Jerusalem's eternal and continued existence from generation to generation (Joel 4:20). As a result, as stated in Isa 2:2–4, many pilgrims would go to Jerusalem, its temple mount would tower over all other mountains' peaks, and the city would become a source of guidance and a peaceful kingdom among the nations, in which swords would be beat into plowshares and the art of warfare would not be learned anymore.

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III. New Testament

The NT mentions the city of Jerusalem and its temple more than any other ancient city or holy place. Jerusalem is named 142 times, with the vast majority of these instances found in the Gospels and Acts. Several synonyms for the city are also used: “holy city” (e.g., Matt 27:53; Rev 21:10) and “city of the Great King” (Matt 5:35) refer to the earthly city of Jerusalem, while “Zion” usually describes the fulfillment of prophecy (e.g., John 12:15; Rom 9:33) or the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb 12:22; Rev 14:1). In all, the NT references to Jerusalem center on (1) Jesus’ interactions with the city leading up to his crucifixion and resurrection; (2) the city as epicenter of the early Christian movement; and (3) speculation on a future and heavenly Jerusalem.

1. Jerusalem in the Gospels. The term Jerusalem appears sixty-eight times in the Gospels, with nearly half of these in Luke (31). These references are found primarily in accounts of Jesus’ final week in Jerusalem, though Matthew and Luke also name the city in connection with their accounts of Jesus’ early years. Though the gospel writers all see Jerusalem as a place of opposition, their perspectives on the city are also tightly bound to their respective views on the Jerusalem temple, and their tendency to negatively evaluate the temple influence their views on the city.

2. Mark and John. Mark narrates several instances in which Jesus receives popular support from Jerusalem’s inhabitants (11:8–10, 18; 12:12, 37; 14:2) after which this support fades (15:11, 29). John presents Jesus’ ministry as vacillating between Galilee and Jerusalem (2:13; 4:45; 5:1; 7:25; 10:22). Though neither gospel makes any explicit pronouncements regarding the city itself, their views of Jerusalem may be gleaned from their estimations of the Jerusalem temple. Mark appears to respect the temple as an institution (1:44; 11:17a), but he has serious misgivings as to its present fitness (11:12–21) and future usefulness (12:9–10; 13:1–2). The Markan Jesus’ contrast between a future temple “not made with hands” with the present temple “made with hands” (14:58) likely reveals Mark’s own view of the temple, and by extension, his estimation of the present city of Jerusalem. John juxtaposes Jesus and the temple by noting that the destruction and rebuilding of this sanctuary would actually be fulfilled in Jesus’ own body (2:19–21). Both Mark and John present the temple as something that would soon be superseded, which negatively colors their view of the city.

3. Matthew. Matthew is often said to be both the most Jewish and anti-Jewish of the Gospels. This paradox extends to Matthew’s view of Jerusalem. Sprinkled throughout the narrative are affirmations of the city. In 5:35 Jesus states that his followers should not swear by Jerusalem because it is “the city of the Great King.” Jerusalem is twice described

as the “holy city” (4:5; 27:53). And the temple is identified as the place in which God dwells (23:21). Nevertheless, Matthew’s overall presentation of the city is negative. Jesus laments that the temple will be left desolate, for Jerusalem is the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it (23:37–38). In the parable of the wedding banquet, Matthew alone includes the king’s threat to burn the murderer’s city (22:7) and remarks that “something greater than the temple” is now here (12:6). The inhabitants of the city are also presented as being alarmed by, and opposed to, Jesus. In response to the Magi’s query as to the birthplace of the king of the Jews, King Herod was frightened and “all Jerusalem with him” (2:3), and at the triumphal entry, the “whole city” was in turmoil (21:10). Moreover, the pivotal moment in Jesus’ trial turns on the people as a whole proclaiming “his blood be on us and on our children” (27:25).

4. Luke-Acts. Jerusalem and its temple are especially prominent in Luke, with the gospel opening and closing in the sanctuary in Jerusalem (1:8–22; 24:52–53). Luke alone records Jesus’ presentation in the temple as an infant (2:22–38), pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the age of twelve (2:41–51), and final temptation in Jerusalem on the “pinnacle of the temple” (4:9–12). Whereas Matthew and Mark portray Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem only after a lengthy Galilean ministry, Luke narrates Jesus’ time in Galilee in a mere six chapters. Beginning in 9:51, Jesus sets his face toward Jerusalem, and the focus now shifts from Galilee to Jerusalem. From 9:51–19:27 Jesus is on his way to Jerusalem, and the city is frequently mentioned throughout this “travel narrative” (13:33–35; 17:11; 18:31; 19:28). On arrival he weeps over the city (19:37–44), teaches daily in the temple (19:47; 21:37), and discusses the fate of Jerusalem in greater detail than do the other gospels (21:20–24). In contrast to Matthew (and Mark), Jesus’ resurrection appearances all take place in and around Jerusalem (24:13–15), with the disciples explicitly instructed to remain in Jerusalem (24:49).

While Luke’s Gospel describes Jesus’ march toward Jerusalem, in Acts he narrates the early Christian movement away from the city. Acts opens with Jesus’ ascension on the Mount of Olives, and remains exclusively in Jerusalem throughout the first seven chapters. It is in this city where the disciples are commanded to stay (1:4), the Holy Spirit comes upon the disciples (2:1–4), Peter preaches the first Christian sermon (2:17–36), and the first conversions to the new faith occur (2:37–42). Peter, John, and others are continually presented as proclaiming the name of Jesus in and around the temple courts (3:1, 11; 4:1, 16–17, 27–29; 5:25, 42; 6:7). Beginning in ch. 8 the narrative moves out into the Gentile world and eventually reaches Rome (28:16), but Jerusalem remains a constant presence in the story

(e.g., the first church “council” in 15:1–21) and the place to where people frequently return (8:25; 9:26; 11:2, 22, 30; 15:2; 18:22; 19:21; 21:17). Jerusalem also represents a place of conflict and persecution. Here the apostles are first arrested (4:3; 5:18; 6:12), Stephen is martyred (7:57–60), and Paul is opposed (21:27–22:30).

5. Paul. Although Paul had direct knowledge of the city of Jerusalem and its Jewish-Christian church (Gal 1–2; Acts 8:1; 9:26–30; 15:2–30; 21:17–23:31), the city itself plays only a minor role in his letters. Jerusalem is mentioned in connection with the collection that he planned to personally deliver to those in Judea (Rom 15:25; 1 Cor 16:3), and may also be in view in his discussion of persecution of the saints on the part of those in Judea (1 Thess 2:14–15). In Gal 4:25, however, Paul refers to the city in a more theological, and negative, manner. Paul’s allegory of Abraham’s two sons (Ishmael and Isaac) and their respective mothers (Hagar and Sarah) equates the “present Jerusalem” with Hagar and slavery, and the “Jerusalem above” with Sarah and freedom. Paul associates the believer in Jesus with the Jerusalem above, and not with the earthly Jerusalem. This devaluation of the present city of Jerusalem is tied to his overarching concern in Galatians for the independence of his ministry from the “circumcision faction” that is connected to Jerusalem, and likely does not reflect his own estimation of the city.

6. Hebrews and Revelation. This idea of the “Jerusalem above” is also found in Hebrews and Revelation. Whereas in Hebrews the heavenly Jerusalem is the city of the living God and the place in which the blood of Jesus seals the new covenant (12:22), in Revelation the “new Jerusalem” descends from God and functions as the Christian alternative to the earthly Babylon/Rome (3:12; 21:1–22:5). Described as both the holy city and bride of the Lamb, this new Jerusalem is built of precious metals and stones, represents God’s abiding presence with the saints, and inaugurates the eternal reign of God and the Lamb on earth.

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Timothy Wardle

IV. Judaism

■ Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism ■ Rabbinic Judaism ■ Medieval Judaism ■ Modern Judaism

A. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism

The narratives about the post-exilic restoration focus on Jerusalem and the temple (Levine: 8–31). Cyrus’ decision to rebuild Jerusalem is regarded as God’s own in Deutero-Isaiah, where it is connected not only with the temple but also with the rebuilding of other sites in Judah (Isa 44:26–28). But Jerusalem is the place where God lives; it is there that Ezra is allowed to lead the Babylonian Jews (Ezra 1:3–4; 7:13–15). Jerusalem appears as the acknowledged center of the Jewish people, where political and religious institutions are located and assemblies of the returnees take place. But even after the completion of Nehemiah’s wall, the city is said to have been largely depopulated (Neh 7:4); as a solution to this problem, the people in the surrounding villages cast lots, and every tenth person was obliged to settle in Jerusalem (11:1–2). Still, Jerusalem’s status as the capital of Persian Yehud must have enhanced its importance in Jewish eyes as well. The community of Elephantine directed its letters not only to the Persian governor but also to the high priest of Jerusalem (Frey: 173–80), and traditions about Jerusalem as God’s habitation and capital of the Davidic Empire were revived and extended in the Persian period (Levine: 41–42; Beentjes: 115–27).

In the Ptolemaic period, decentralizing tendencies that led to the emergence of new local elites such as the Tobiads seem to have diminished Jerusalem’s political importance to some degree (Schwartz), but its religious and symbolic significance probably remained intact. The legend of Alexander in Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.331–39) may have originated in this period (its central character is an Oniad high priest), and the book of Tobit explicitly states that Jerusalem is the city chosen by the Israelite tribes, that it is the habitation of God and that pilgrimage is an important obligation (Tob 1:4–6). Due to lack of sources, the role of Jerusalem in Oniad dynastic representation is largely unknown. Ben Sira mentions Jerusalem by name only twice: it is the dwelling place of both wisdom (24:11) and God himself (36:13 MT). Both claims relate more to the temple than to the city as such. But the praise for Simon II, who built walls and fortified “his city” (50:4), refers to current building activities after the conquest of Antiochus III in 200 BCE.

This conquest, actively supported by the Jews who helped expel the Ptolemaic garrison, brought the city into the orbit of Seleucid administration. Jerusalem was acknowledged as “the” city of the Jews (ἡ πόλις in the letter cited in Josephus, *Ant.* 12.138); both the city itself and the temple received financial privileges. That the temple was seen as the

city's dominant feature is shown by Antiochus' measures as well as the report by Polybius, who has Antiochus approach "the Jews who live near the temple called Jerusalem" (cited in Josephus, *Ant.* 12.136). Little is known about direct consequences of the Seleucid conquest until the early 170s. The legend of Heliodorus' visit to the temple in order to confiscate money, prohibited by divine intervention (2 Macc 3:8–40), probably contains a kernel of truth, although recent attempts to connect the events with a new Seleucid inscription from Maresa are not convincing (SEG 57.1838; cf. Eckhardt: 45–47). A major change in the Jewish and Seleucid conceptualization of Jerusalem was introduced in 175 BCE, when Antiochus IV granted the request of Jason and his followers to transform Jerusalem into a Greek city. This involved the creation of new institutions and buildings such as a *gymnasion* and an *ephebeion* (2 Macc 4:9–12; cf. Ameling). The city's name seems to have been changed to Antiocheia (cf. the "Seleuceians in Gaza" attested on coins). The reform enhanced Jerusalem's international prestige, but in the course of the Maccabean revolt against the religious persecution of 168, this idea was apparently given up. Neither the *gymnasion* nor the *ephebeion* are ever mentioned again, and Hasmonean coinage generally prefers Hebrew over Greek legends.

Hasmonean rule was characterized by a centralizing tendency that clearly privileged Jerusalem over other cities (Eckhardt: 77–87). The destruction of alternative centers such as Samaria further enhanced the status of Jerusalem as the only capital city in the region, the seat of the Hasmonean monarchs (Tal: 59–61). In 1 and 2 Maccabees, all the relevant political procedures take place in the city, and 2 Maccabees begins and ends its narrative about Judas' victories over the Seleucids with references to Jerusalem, "the holy city" (3:1). In the book of *Jubilees*, Mount Zion is presented as the center of the world (Werman), and this belief may have been widespread. Still, Jerusalem is never mentioned on Hasmonean coins (but a bulla of Jannaeus calls him "high priest of Jerusalem"; Avigad).

The centrality of the city to Judaism was perhaps not always felt as vividly in the Diaspora as it was in Palestine. The *Letter of Aristeas* contains a long description of Jerusalem and Judea based on literary models rather than on personal experience (83–120; Honigman). Whereas Palestinian texts contain prayers for the ingathering of the exiles, no such ingathering was apparently sought for by Diaspora Jews themselves (Chazon). The Hasmoneans tried to develop stronger ties between Jerusalem and at least the Egyptian Diaspora. They encouraged pilgrimage by requesting participation in festivals at Jerusalem; if the temple tax was revived or even invented in the Hasmonean period (Baumgarten), it would have to be regarded as another el-

ement of this tendency. Jerusalem's (and hence Hasmonean) pre-eminence over Diaspora Judaism was further strengthened by the claim that the city was the only source of reliable Jewish tradition. The (unauthentic) letter of Judas Maccabeus to the Egyptian Jews urges the addressees to send envoys in order to receive from Jerusalem those books that were missing in Egypt (2 Macc 2:13–15). The colophon of the Greek version of Esther states that this "letter on Purim," brought to Alexandria in 78/77 BCE, had been translated by Lysimachus, "a man from Jerusalem" (*Add Esth* 10:31). Jerusalemite origin proves the authenticity of biblical tradition (Cavalier). It is possible that other translations of the LXX originated in Jerusalem and were distributed in the same manner and for legitimizing purposes (van der Kooij).

For Jews in Palestine and the Diaspora, the importance of Jerusalem was inextricably connected to the temple. Temple-ideology also determines the way Jerusalem is represented in the DSS (Davies). The sect's attitude towards Jerusalem cannot be separated from its attitude towards the temple and the claim that the sect itself is a sanctuary, taking over functions of the defiled Jerusalem temple (1QS 8:5–6; 9:5–6). Jerusalem is relevant only because it is the place where both the current and the future temple are situated, which leads to ambiguous terms like "city of the temple," possibly referring not to Jerusalem as a whole, but only to the temple complex (Schiffman). The "Aramaic New Jerusalem," a composition along the lines defined by Ezek 40–48, focuses on the new temple but may by implication criticize the current, "secular" functions of Hasmonean Jerusalem (Tigchelaar). 4QMMT still argues with its addressees about the purity-rules relating to Jerusalem (equating the city with the "camp" of the wilderness tradition), and 11QT, although concerned with an ideal and eschatological situation, may still be regarded as an attempt to influence current attitudes towards the city. As the separation from Jewish society crystallized more clearly, Jerusalem and its temple ceased being objects of polemics (Kapfer).

However, the *Psalms of Solomon* with their lamentation about the fall (in 63 BCE) of Jerusalem, in which the city is the speaker in the first psalm and personified in others (*Pss. Sol.* 1; 2:20–23; 11:7–8), demonstrate the cohesive power of Jerusalem even in circles that were otherwise alienated from mainstream Jewish society. They come from a period after Pompey had reduced the size of the Hasmonean kingdom. For some years, the political centrality of Jerusalem was in doubt even for those parts of Palestine that remained under Jewish control. But the decentralizing policy of Gabinius, who in 57 BCE reduced the status of Jerusalem to one among five Synhedria (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.70; *Ant.* 14.91), was revised in 47 BCE at the latest.

Under Herod the Great, the fame and splendor of Jerusalem reached new heights. The general policy carried out by him and his successors had ambivalent effects, however. The special status of the city as a religious center was strengthened through building projects (especially the enlargement of the temple) but also by avoiding there the visible signs of cultic honors for Augustus that were erected elsewhere. The growing size of the population and the monumental sanctuary increased the city's attractiveness for pilgrims and made Jerusalem the most illustrious city in the region (cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 5.70). At the same time, other cities, especially Caesarea Maritima, were consciously built up as counter-models to the traditional center of Judaism, so a decentralizing tendency may also be detected. When Judea was transformed into a Roman province in 6 CE, Caesarea, not Jerusalem, became the seat of Roman administration.

In the Jewish War, Jerusalem became a major symbol of Jewish resistance against Rome. This is evident from the coins issued by the rebels: for the first time in the history of Jewish coinage, they directly refer not only to the temple (as had the coinage of Antigonus Mattathias) but to the city itself. Silver coins bear the legend "Jerusalem the holy," and bronze coins of the second and third year proclaim "the liberation of Zion" (Ariel). Political and eschatological hopes were closely intertwined. According to Josephus (*J.W.* 6.98), John of Giscala based his resistance on the claim that God's city could never fall. Similar ideas are found in the *Enochic Book of Parables* (1 *En* 56:5–8), while Josephus himself argued that prophecies and an (unknown) oracle rather foretold the city's destruction (6.108–10; Flusser: 63–66). The destruction of its temple in 70 CE marks a break in the history of Jerusalem. Its symbolic significance was still acknowledged by Hadrian when he renamed it Aelia Capitolina, but the central role the city had played for centuries in Jewish politics and religion was not to return during this period.

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Benedikt Eckhardt

B. Rabbinic Judaism

The emergence of the rabbinic movement coincided with a severe decline in Jewish settlement in and around Jerusalem. There is little to substantiate the assertion of Eusebius that Jews were barred from the city after its reestablishment as the Roman military colony of Aelia Capitolina in 135 CE (*Hist. eccl.* 4.6.3–4). Ample archaeological remains as well as Jewish and Christian textual witnesses attest to uninterrupted Jewish activity in and around the city through the late antique period. Yet the arrival of large numbers of Roman veterans and the ensuing transformation of the city's urban landscape evidently deterred those Jews offended by what they perceived as the defilement of their holy city. Among these were the rabbinic sages. Except for occasional somber visits to the Temple Mount, the sages and their disciples generally avoided Aelia (cf. *SifDeut* 43; *yPes* 7:11 [35b]). Nevertheless, the city that it replaced remained central in their thoughts. Even removed from its sacred confines, the sages and their disciples meditated on Jerusalem's alternating histories of triumph and tragedy, ever expressing confidence in the timeless prophetic assurance of its future restoration. The diverse concepts, customs, and tributes which they devised in reference to Jerusalem are far too numerous to catalogue

here. An account of major themes exhibited in the works of the *tanna'im* and *amora'im* will have to suffice. For a more thoroughgoing treatment incorporating later and typically more elaborate textual witnesses, see Gafni (1999).

Jerusalem regularly appears in rabbinic texts as a historical setting. Talmudic narratives involving personalities of the Second Temple period, e.g., Jewish kings (*yBer* 7:2 [11b]; *bQid* 66a; *bBB* 3b–4a), high priests (*bBer* 29a; *bYom* 69a), and notable Pharisees (*yHag* 2:2 [77d]; *yKet* 8:8 [32c]; *bPes* 26a; *bYom* 71b) are invariably set in Judea's former seat of governance. Many of these tales allude to the temple and its sacrificial rites, subjects of tremendous interest to the sages even in their abeyance. The Mishnah and Tosefta contain countless technical details of the temple's sacrificial services ostensibly reflecting firsthand knowledge of those bygone rites (*mBer* 1:1, *mBik* 1; *mPes* 5–9; however, on the late provenance of some rabbinic descriptions of temple ritual, see Rosen-Zvi). While it is impossible to assess the documentary qualities of these traditions, their frequent agreement with earlier Jewish witnesses such as Josephus suggest direct, albeit obscure, channels of transmission between the first generations of rabbinic sages and their Pharisaic predecessors in early 1st-century Jerusalem. Seemingly less reliable are their rapt accounts of the temple's physical dimensions (*mMid* 2:1–2), its architectural features (*mMid* 1:1–3), its magnificent appearance (*bBB* 4a), its cultic officers (*mSheq* 5:1; *mTaan* 4:2), and its throngs of worshippers during pilgrimage festivals (*tPes* 4:15). Likewise, their occasional descriptions of Jerusalem's physical topography outside the temple precinct are typically told in stylized language (*yMeg* 3:1 [73d]; *EkhR* 1:2) or in idealized terms reflecting not reality but their own ritual priorities (*bBQ* 82b).

Counterbalancing those fond memories are bitter recollections of Jerusalem's besiegement during the Jewish revolt against Rome of 66–70 CE. Wistful accounts of the days before the war fill the pages of *Ekhah Rabbah*, an exegetical companion to the book of Lamentations. These stories generally depict a lively city at peace with God but frequently bothered by corrupt civic officials and meddlesome Gentiles. The sages were understandably regretful of the actions of the Jewish insurgents whom they believed had invited their people's ruin by violating the laws of the Torah. Corresponding talmudic narratives likewise warn readers of the divine punishments liable to befall future Jewish generations given to such moral lapses (*yTaan* 4:8 [69a]; *bGit* 55a–56b; cf. *bShab* 119b; *bYom* 9b). The sages naturally heaped much scorn on Titus, whose forces ultimately breached Jerusalem's walls and burned the temple to the ground (*WayR* 22:3; *bGit* 56b–57a). Subsequent rabbinic generations would constantly revisit these catastrophic events as exceptionally ag-

onizing moments in their people's long and trying history of subjugation to the Romans.

But these harrowing moments elicited more positive reflections as well. One popular legend reports that Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, at odds with Jerusalem's rebel leadership, organized a daring escape by posing as a corpse and having his disciples carry him to safety beyond enemy lines. Upon reaching the Roman camp, Johanan is introduced to the Roman general Vespasian, who recognizes the Jewish refugee as a trustworthy ally. As a reward for his loyalty, Johanan requests that he and his fellow sages be permitted to retire to the seaside town of Yavneh/Jamnia in order to pursue lives of quiet devotion. Vespasian agrees, prompting Johanan to foretell the general's forthcoming victory and accession to the Roman throne (*ARN* 4; *EkhR* 1:31; *bGit* 56a–b). The lesson of this unlikely anecdote is clear. Johanan's removal from Jerusalem in the interests of peace and piety serve to transfer some of the doomed city's sanctity to the otherwise unremarkable locale where later rabbinic sages believed their discipline to have taken root. To their minds, the fall of Jerusalem fortuitously enabled the birth of the movement that would sustain the Jewish people in the aftermath of that tragedy.

The destruction of the temple and the failure of the Bar Kokhba rebellion of 132–35 CE to restore Jerusalem to Jewish hands weighed heavily on the Jewish people. The loss of their central cultic institution made it impossible to serve God to the precise ritual specifications of the Torah. The sages, for their parts, never lost hope in Jerusalem's divine deliverance. Hence, apparently, their aforesaid efforts to remember (or construct) the most minute details of the temple services, and eventually to record those details for the sake of future reference. As those secondhand memories grew less relevant with the passage of time, the sages turned their attentions to the temple itself still lying in ruins outside the walls of Aelia. Legends of the old cult fused with knowledge of its physical remains on the Temple Mount. Renewing traditions of old, the sages devised halakhot or ritual regulations for those visiting its sacred grounds (*mBer* 9:5; *Sifra Qedoshim* 7:1; *yMQ* 3:7 [83b]; *bMQ* 26a). They expounded on the holiness emanating from the site and filling the entire land of Israel (*mKel* 1:6–9). They identified the Temple Mount as Mount Moriah, the site of the binding of Isaac (*WayR* 13:2; cf. *TO* at Gen 22:14). They considered it the birthplace and the center of the world (*tYom* 2:14; *yYom* 5:4 [42c]; *bYom* 54b). They prayed facing in its direction (*tBer* 3:15–16; *SifDev* 29; *yBer* 4:6 [8b–c]). Even in its absence, the temple defined the Jerusalem of the rabbinic imagination.

The aspirations of the sages to return to Jerusalem grew more nostalgic as that prospect grew less tenable. During the 4th century, Aelia began an un-

foreseen transformation into the Christian holy city of Jerusalem. Under the Byzantine emperor Constantine and his successors, local clerics and pilgrims flocked to the city in unprecedented numbers, paying homage to the Christian saints thought to have traversed its ancient streets. The Temple Mount, the last remaining Jewish holy site in the city's vicinity, was arrogated for Christian worship. Although these developments did not register in the rabbinic record, they served to inform a new narrative of Jerusalem's restoration told in eschatological terms. The sages of the late antique period routinely expressed their longing for Jerusalem by revisiting scriptural prophecies originally foretelling the end of the Babylonian exile and its promise of a Jewish return to Zion. In this expository medium, Jerusalem was cast as supernatural space where Jews the world over and the righteous of all nations would be gathered at the end of days (ARN 28, 35; *ShirR* 7:11; *bPes* 50a; *bBB* 75a). In one enduring rabbinic image, the impeccable Jewish city of rabbinic fantasy was accounted as the "Jerusalem of above" in contradiction to the "Jerusalem of below" embodied in its imperfect past and wholly untenable present (*bTaan* 5a).

Although their visions of terrestrial Jerusalem evolved with its changing function in Jewish communal life, the rabbis never wavered in their perceptions of its sacred significance. As noted, some sages residing in Palestine evidently continued to visit the ruined Temple Mount as long as it remained open to Jewish traffic. But those visits were rare. More routine expressions of hope were inscribed in the seminal rabbinic prayer cycle known as the *Amidah* or the Eighteen Benedictions, which include pleas for the restoration of the temple and Jerusalem's rehabilitation as a Jewish city (*tBer* 3:25; *yBer* 2:4 [4d–5a]; *bMeg* 17b). The sages included similar invocations in the *Birkat ha-mazon*, the order of benedictions which they formulated for recitation after meals (*bBer* 45b). They extended the scope of the Ninth of Av, an established fast day commemorating Jerusalem's conquest by the Babylonians, to memorialize the city's more recent fall to Rome (*mTaan* 4:6; *bTaan* 29a). They devised occasional halakhot for mourning Jerusalem and the temple (*mSot* 15:10–15). Even at jubilant wedding ceremonies they reserved time to contemplate their people's past losses (*mSot* 9:11; *bBB* 60b). Throughout the liturgies they composed for recitation in gladness and in sorrow, the same salutary formula resounds: "Next year in Jerusalem!" That hope has resonated through the centuries, its call for the continued vitality of the city neither less impassioned nor less relevant since the dream of its Jewish resettlement has become a reality.

Finally, two disclaimers are in order. The major rabbinic treatise known as the Jerusalem Talmud was not compiled in Jerusalem but at various lo-

cales in the Galilee region of northern Palestine during the late 3rd and the early 4th centuries. In view of this misnomer, many contemporary scholars will refer to this work as the Palestinian Talmud or the Talmud of the Land of Israel in contradistinction to the Babylonian Talmud. In addition, the Babylonian Talmud alludes to a so-called "holy congregation" of rabbinic disciples active in Jerusalem during the late 2nd or early 3rd century (*bBer* 9b; *bYom* 69a; *bBets* 14b, 27a; *bRH* 19b; *bTam* 27b). This is probably a mistaken attribution by later Babylonian editors who presumed to locate that obscure group in the Jewish holy city for lack of more substantive information on the source of their reputed holiness (cf. *yMSh* 2 [53b]; *QohR* 9:9).

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Joshua Ezra Burns

C. Medieval Judaism

When dealing with Jerusalem in medieval Jewish thought, especially in philosophical and mystical literature, it is necessary to distinguish between the physical Jerusalem as a destination for pilgrimage and the spiritual Jerusalem of philosophical and mystical speculation. In its function as *axis mundi* and given the dynamic relationship between the earthly and the heavenly city – or the concept of the heavenly Jerusalem as the extension of the earthly one – these two aspects intertwine and the geographical-cosmic center is regarded as the focal point of mystical contemplation or allegorical-philosophical interpretation. One must also be aware that in certain texts Jerusalem, Zion, temple, etc. may be used interchangeably, whereas in others these terms refer to different entities in order to create an erotic tension in a transformative and dy-

namical intellectual process, wherein Jerusalem/*Shekhinah* is conceived as the feminine counterpart of a male deity.

1. Poetry and Philosophic Thought. As one of the most famous and beautiful poems of medieval literature Judah ha-Levi's (1075–1141) *Tsiyon ha-lo tish'ali* ("Zion, will you not ask"), today appearing among the *qinot* (laments) for the 9th of Av, expresses the poetic longing for the terrestrial city, the return to Zion (meaning both Jerusalem and the Land of Israel) and communion with God. Such an Israel-centric view was imitated by numerous *payyetanim* known as the "Zionides." Judah ha-Levi himself went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and according to legendary reports, died when entering the gates of the holy city.

When Nahmanides (1194–1270) emigrated to the land of Israel, he also strained to reach Jerusalem, whose desolated state in these times of war he sadly described in the second part of his "Prayer at the Ruins of Jerusalem" (first printed in the edition of his Commentary on the Torah, Rome 1480); it includes the quotation of Isa 64:9, which in the context of *bMQ* 26a has to be recited when facing the ruins of Jerusalem (Nahmanides 1962: 1:428). In the first part, which starts with Ps 122:2, he refers to the specific status and holiness of the city as the center for the festivals (Ps 122:4), the housing of the "ark of the covenant of the Lord of the whole earth" (Josh 3:11), and the Menorah (Exod 31:8), while in the last part he expresses his hope for Jerusalem's future glory (Isa 2:2; Ezek 40:21), concluding with the benediction of Neh 9:5.

On the basis of his view of the "seven climates" as real and natural regions created by God and embedded in the earth as an integral part of the divine plan for creation (comm. on Ps 89:12 and Job 38:5; Sela 1999: 248–49), Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164) repeatedly emphasized that Jerusalem is located at the very center of the inhabited world (Sela 2003: 161). Being in this particular location in the middle of the seven climates, Jerusalem is destined to receive particularly favorable astrological influence.

According to him, Eccl 1:12 has to be interpreted in such a way that Jerusalem is a city located in a place especially appropriate for receiving wisdom.

For it is known that the inhabited part of the earth is divided into seven parts and it is impossible that upright people, capable of receiving wisdom, should be found anywhere except in the middle three sections. For in the first and the last pairs of sections, excessive heat or cold prevents [the formation of] a sound human temperament. And it is known that the latitude of Jerusalem is 33°, that is, the middle of the *oekumene*. (Sela 2003: 161)

Of special importance for the further interpretation of Jerusalem as both geographical and spiritual center is the philosophical-allegorical conception within the Maimonidean school in terms of intel-

lectual quality. Already in Joseph ibn Aqnin's (1150–1220) commentary on the Song of Songs, allegorical perceptions of Jerusalem are present (Ibn Aqnin: 279, 306–7). Jacob Anatoli (1194–1256) was the first to further develop Maimonides' allegorical approach to Jerusalem. He wrote that whenever Jerusalem appears in the biblical text without reference to the physical city, it should be read as an allegory for divine intellection (*haššagah elohit*; Anatoli: 171b–172a). His interpretation of Ps 73:17 "Until I entered into the sanctuary of God (*miqdeshei el*), and considered their end" explains the plural form of *miqdeshei* as both referring to the terrestrial and the heavenly sanctuaries, which are bound together. Spiritual powers (*koḥot ha-nefesh*) extend to the active intellect as indicated in the plural expressions in Ps 122:1–3 "let us go," "our feet are standing within the gates of Jerusalem," and "Jerusalem, built up, a city bound together" (*ke-ir she-ḥubberah lah yaḥdaw*). Although the person may actually stand in the concrete city, the deeper sense deals with Jerusalem in heaven as the object of unification (*ibid.*).

Heavenly Jerusalem could be regarded as the divine intellect and the lower city as an allegory for the human soul (Idel 1991: 284; Mottolese: 307). The term "daughters of Jerusalem" (Song 2:7) should therefore be understood as "powers of the soul" (*koḥot ha-nefesh*) and Jerusalem itself is regarded as the soul, "the source of these powers." Moses Ibn Tibbon (1195–1274) refers to a similar allegory in his commentary on Song of Songs (11b, *Haqdamah* p. 12). Both Anatoli and Ibn Tibbon refer also to the lower Jerusalem as a sacred city in addition to their allegorical understanding of it as the human intellect or soul, but the latter stresses also the physical implication: keeping the *mitsvot* refers to the "earthly" Jerusalem, while the intellectual activities facilitate entrance into the supernal realm. Ibn Tibbon's understanding of "Zion" in Obad 1:21 ("and saviors shall come up on Mount Zion") (*Sefer Pe'ah* [Book of the Corner of the Field], Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Opp. 241 [Neub. 939], fol. 27a–b) suggests that the intellect must reign over the bodily powers in order to perfect the soul. In consequence, Isa 59:20 ("a redeemer will come to Zion") must be read as an allegory (*remez*): "Zion" refers to the soul, which redeems the body when reaching perfection.

2. Early Christian and Gnostic Conceptions of a Female Jerusalem. Of special interest in medieval kabbalistic literature is the integration of ancient motifs of Jerusalem or the land of Israel as the divine feminine, which were derived from ancient Jewish mythologumena of feminine hypostases (Idel 1991; Mopsik). Such descriptions of Jerusalem as feminine part of the divine world – with its multifaceted religious, political and social frameworks in various religious groups and writers – shaped the

concept, image, and status of the city in a dramatic way (Idel 2009: 69). Each mystical system developed its own new conceptual framework in keeping with its inner structure. In the Diaspora, the spiritual significance of the city was enhanced (Urbach: 157–71), as Jews were unable to visit it as pilgrims, leaving Jewish authors to attempt to integrate Jerusalem's existence on two levels (earthly and heavenly) into their works. In theosophical-theurgic kabbalistic works, the essential connection between the spiritual and terrestrial cities was emphasized, thus reinforcing the situation wherein the earthly city receives its sanctity from its heavenly counterpart.

The first erotic conceptions of Jerusalem as bride are found in the NT (Rev 21:1–2; Gal 4: 26) and in gnostic literature on Jerusalem, which refers to it as a feminine cosmic entity, Sophia, the spouse of the “Joint Fruit” of the *pleroma* (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 6.29; ANF 5:88), or as material from which the world was created (ibid., 6.25; ANF 5:86 with reference to Gen 1:2 “The earth was unformed and void” and Lev 20:24 with Jerusalem as primordial chaos turned by creation into “a land flowing with milk and honey”). Such developments allude to the impact of such literary sources on mystical concepts of Jerusalem as a supernal feminine hypostasis. The *Gospel of Philip* (Isenberg: 142), with its description of the “Holy of Holies” as the bridal chamber where redemption takes place, allows us to assume the existence of earlier pre-gnostic Jewish traditions in which Jerusalem was symbolized as a feminine entity at the end of the divine *pleroma*.

3. Catalanian and Provençal Mysticism (early 13th cent.). Judah ben Ya'qar of Barcelona (early 13th cent.) and Ezra ben Solomon of Gerona (d. ca. 1240) refer to Zion and Jerusalem as related to the bridegroom and bride. In his commentary on the Song of Songs (2:495), Ezra reads this as the sefirotic relationship between *Hesed* (mercy) and *Gevurah/Din* (strength, justice), interpreting the “mount of myrrh” (*har ha-mor*; Song 4:6) as Jerusalem/red/*Gevurah*, and the “hill of frankincense” (*giv'at halevonah*) from the same verse as Zion/white/*Hesed*. According to Isa 1:21 (“where righteousness dwelt”) Jerusalem is depicted as the attribute of strict justice, and Zion as the attribute of mercy. In a further passage on this erotic heterosexual relationship between Jerusalem and Zion – *Gevurah/Din* and *Hesed* – Ezra interprets Hos 11:9, “I will not come into the city,” as “I shall not copulate,” reading *avo* (I shall come/enter) in the sense of “having intercourse.” With reference to Jerusalem in Zech 14:11 (“and Jerusalem shall dwell”), Isa 1:21 (“filled with justice, where righteousness dwells”), and Zion in Isa 8:18 (“from the Lords of Hosts, who dwells on Mount Zion”) and Ps 146:10 (“the Lord shall reign forever”), Ps 135:21 (“Lord of Zion, He who dwells in Jerusalem”), and Jerusalem “built up” (Ps 122:3), both partners, Zion (Lord,

male) and Jerusalem (female, dwelling, righteousness), are being united/knit together as the heavenly one and the earthly one (*Liqqutei shikhehah u-fe'ah*: fol. 6b). In a similar way, Jerusalem and Zion are referred to as two different entities, male and female, in Ps 132:13. Such a polar sexual understanding of the symbolic values of the terms Jerusalem and Zion became a basis for further kabbalistic discussions in the zoharic, Cordoverian and Lurianic corpora. In his “Commentary on the Talmudic Aggadol” (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 1390, fol. 113b) Ezra adds in the name of Isaac the Blind (ca. 1160–1235) that the spinal cord, the middle line, waters Jerusalem as a feminine power, from the brain, the origin of male semen, and from there to the sinews in all directions.

However, Azriel of Gerona (1180–ca.1240) regards Zion as masculine, as opposed to the feminine Jerusalem, which symbolizes peace (Azriel: 30). He also seems to identify Zion with *Kenest Yiśra'el* (on Isa 51:16) or *Malkhut*, an expression which appears again in the school of Naḥmanides (anonymous “Comm. on the Ten Sefirot,” British Lib. MS Reg. 16 A.X., fol. 93b) on Ezek 39:15 “he shall erect a marker (*tsiyun*) beside it” with a much weaker heterosexual distinction between Jerusalem/*Shalem*/*Hokhmat Shelomoh* and Zion as *tsiyun*, based on the semantic link between Zion (*Tsiyon*) and *tsiyun*.

4. The School of Naḥmanides (mid 13th cent.). In his commentary on Gen 14:18 “and Melchizedek, king of Salem” (1:86–88) Naḥmanides identifies Salem with Jerusalem, depicting it as “the choicest of all places, in the center of the inhabited world,” known among the nations, “oriented towards the heavenly sanctuary, where the divine glory of the Blessed Holy One, who is called *tsedeq* (righteousness) abides.” With reference to *BerR* 43:6,

Jerusalem is called *tsedeq* because this place makes its inhabitants righteous. And Melchizedek means “the lord of *tsedeq*.” Jerusalem is called *tsedeq*, as it is said (Isa 1:21) “*tsedeq* lodged in it.”

Among the students of Naḥmanides, Zion is identified as a symbol for the ninth *sefirah*, *Yesod*. In his supercommentary on Naḥmanides' secrets (Paris BN MS 774, fol. 76a), Shem Tov ibn Gaon (1283–1330) also refers to the identification of Zion/*Yesod* as the male part, called also the “Wisdom of Solomon” (*Hokhmat Shelomoh*), whereas in the anonymous *Ma'arekhet ha-elohut* ([The Order of Divinity] 66b–67a) Zion is *Malkhut* (the tenth *sefirah*), according to an oral tradition from Naḥmanides. There were thus different traditions within this school with regard to the identification of Zion. A passage from Shem Tov ibn Gaon's *Keter Shem Tov* (Scholem: 172) identifies the heavenly Jerusalem as Zion, the symbol of all powers, namely *Malkhut*. In contrast, in another text from the same school, the “symbol

(*tsiyyun*) of all powers” is equated with Zion (Ps 135:21; “the Lord from Zion”) as *Yesod* or *Tiferet* (the term *kol* in Isa 44:24). Therefore, the phrase “symbol of all powers” has both a feminine (*Malkhut*) and a masculine meaning (*Yesod/Tiferet*) in early 14th-century traditions, as does the word Zion itself. The expression “symbol of all powers” recalls the Gnostic depiction of Jesus as husband of *Sophia*, the “fruit of the *pleroma*.”

In any case, the polarity perceived by kabbalists between Zion and Jerusalem as the sexual relationship between two *sefirot* – either *Hesed* and *Gevurah* or later *Yesod* and *Malkhut*, was established by employing the symbolism of Zion and Jerusalem as male and female partners in the biblical texts.

5. Castilian Kabbalah (late 13th cent.). The diverging symbolism of Zion and Jerusalem played a crucial role in the further elaborated erotic images in Castilian systems of the 13th century and the aspired unification between the male *sefirot* (*Yesod* or *Tiferet*) and the female *Malkhut*. In Zohar 1:36b on Ps 128:5 “May the Lord bless you from Zion; may you share the prosperity of Jerusalem” the verse is split into two, the first dealing with Zion as *Yesod*, denoting the male sexual organ, which contains the blessing (seed), and the second with Jerusalem, the female part, receiving the blessing from Zion. The continuing passage depicts the righteous person as substitute for the rainbow/*Yesod* as he is capable of coupling with the *sefirah Malkhut* in the place of *Yesod*. In Zohar 3:296a–b (on Isa 1:27 and Ps 133:3), Zion and Jerusalem are presented as two different *sefirot*/levels in the term “Holy of Holies,” where “Holies” is the seed that descends from the brain, gathered from all limbs into the sexual organ, to become white. “Holy” is *Malkhut*, the female, which receives the Holies, blessing, and life. In subsequent developments, this idea of Zion as “white seed” is considered the “point of Zion,” a limited place (of the male as seed) in the feminine *Malkhut*, being the result of the penetration of *Yesod* into *Malkhut*.

In another Castilian source, the *Sha'arei orah* of Joseph Gikatilla (1248–1305), the “mountains of Zion” (Ps 133:3) are identified as *Netsah* and *Hod*, the final source of the fine oil drawn to Zion (*Yesod*) and descending on Jerusalem (*Malkhut*) (Gikatilla: 130). Both in the Zohar and in Joseph Gikatilla (1248–1305) the same verse (Ps 133:3) is used in order to describe the relationship between Zion and Jerusalem as symbols of *Yesod* and *Malkhut*. The “Holy of Holies” as the location of the coupling (Zohar 3:296a–b) may be compared to the bridal chamber in the *Gospel of Philip* from Nag Hammadi and the comments of Ezra of Gerona.

An additional function of the male Zion as “tower of Zion/owner/righteous/Mount Zion” protecting the female Jerusalem/righteousness from the evil powers/Mount Esau (symbolizing Christi-

anity), or regaining and redeeming his female partner from the hands of the nations, is established by Gikatilla in his interpretation of Obad 1:21 and Isa 27:13 (Gikatilla: 133–34). The idea of Mount Zion/*Yesod* as a heavenly power protecting the earthly or heavenly Jerusalem from accusers/demonic powers, found also in other sources, presents Jerusalem as the subject of rivalry between the divine and demonic male powers.

6. The Two Jerusalems in the Late Medieval Kabbalistic Theosophy (14th–16th cent.). In kabbalistic theosophies, celestial Jerusalem, an idealized duplicate of the lower one, was transformed into a female attribute of the divine system. The affinity between the terrestrial and the supernal was changed by this emphasis on the feminine nature of the higher one. In an additional development, the lower Jerusalem was understood as a symbol for a divine power, and the heavenly divine power ascended to an even higher level. In a tradition derived from Isaac of Acre (fl. late 13th–early 14th cent.), transmitted via various channels in a much more complex system than the ten *sefirot*, the terrestrial-celestial dichotomy was transferred to the relations between the inner divine powers (*Shoshan sodot* [Lily of secrets] Koretz 1784, fol. 69a). The rabbinic dictum “the earthly Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem are separated by only eighteen mils” (BerR 69:7) is said to refer to the heavenly Jerusalem as *Keter 'elyon* (“the supreme crown,” i.e., the first *sefirah*) being separated from the lower one, *Malkhut*, by the nine *sefirot*, each referring to two different aspects, mercy and judgment ($2 \times 9 = 18$). The eighteen mils are compared to the eighteen vertebrae of the spine between the brain, the heavenly Jerusalem, and the male organ, *tsaddiq/Yesod*, the place of circumcision. With the ascent of Jerusalem and its twofold presence as both the peak of the system and its lowest point, the male *tsaddiq/Yesod* is placed between two female aspects, and an apotheosis of Jerusalem as *Keter*, the female partner of male *En Sof* (the realm of the infinite God) may be observed. The descent of the divine influx from the brain as the descent of semen to the lower region in the Zohar seems to be connected to the concept of two female Jerusalems as the two extremities of a cord, conceived as the median line of the sefirotic world. A similar projection of the terrestrial Jerusalem on high as a second feminine power is also found in Moses Cordovero’s (1522–1579) *Pardes rimmonim* ([Orchard of Pomegranates] 8:13) in his special organization of the Holy Family (Idel 2007: 381–82), where the higher couple is constituted of *abba/Hokhmah* (the second *sefirah*) and *imma/Binah* (the third *sefirah*) and the lower one of bridegroom/*Tiferet* and bride/*Malkhut*. In both cases the mothers are not only identified as Jerusalem, but also as two mothers. This concept of double motherhood includes an interdependence of the lower and the

higher couple, and simultaneously a dependence of the lower one on human behavior.

In Lurianic Kabbalah, the idea of *Binah*, the supernal mother, possessing a “point of Zion” like the lower mother *Malkhut* is introduced, indicating a projection of concepts of the lower couple to the higher one. The dynamics within the sefirotic system, resulting from the mapping of a static geographic place onto the divine organism, in their further development reveal a greater concentration on the processes between the higher and the lower parts of the sefirotic system and less between the terrestrial and the heavenly realm.

7. Omphalic Concepts of the Hypostatic Jerusalem. In other theosophical conceptions like those of Jacob ben Sheshet's *Sefer ha-Emunah we-ha-bittahon* (“The Book of Faith and Trust”: 385) or Isaac ibn Sahula's interpretation of Song of Songs 7:3, the omphalic connection between the physical and divine counterparts was taken over, which allowed the integration of the earthly Jerusalem, which was central to the Midrash, and the heavenly Jerusalem, the focal point of kabbalistic thought. The kabbalists created a system in which the earthly and heavenly cities could not be sundered, as the supernal one was directed towards the lower one, emanating blessing towards it. The emphasis placed on the connection between the lower and the upper worlds, passing through the earthly Jerusalem, retained the importance of the physical city. Such kabbalistic mapping successfully integrated these two planes of reality as parts of a continuum and maintained the role of the feminine divine power as mediating the contact between the two worlds in a vital way. The omphalic conception of the universe and the task of transmitting the motherly vital supply to the lower realm, the child, maintained the central status of this feminine hypostasis in the divine system as the focus of worship.

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Moshe Idel and Elke Morlok

D. Modern Judaism

In the early 19th century, Jerusalem was a small walled mountain town of about 9,000 people, mostly Muslim. There was a sharp contrast, often remarked on at the time, between the present reality of the city and its prominence in Jewish prayer and memory.

Jerusalem was also one of four “Holy Cities” of the Jews (Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed being the others). The Jewish communities of the 19th century, the so-called Old Yishuv or Kollelim, were centers of Jewish Orthodoxy, supported by funds raised in the Diaspora communities. The Old Yishuv leadership opposed the large-scale settlement of Jews in Palestine proposed by Sir Moses Montefiore, a devout Jewish philanthropist, and insisted that, poor as many of their residents were, they were destined for Torah and Talmud study and not for manual labor.

Jerusalem's primacy among the four holy cities was furthered by its designation by the Ottomans in 1840 as the capital of the new province of Jerusalem. At the same time, it began to attract Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, and by the middle of the century, Jews represented the majority of Jerusalem's population.

Although the name “Zionism,” first coined by Nathan Birnbaum (1864–1937), might seem to imply a special concern for Jerusalem (“Zion”), the early Zionist movement was not in fact focused on Jerusalem at all. Rather, beginning as early as the 1880s, the Zionist movement preferred to settle

Jewish workers in many other parts of Palestine, particularly in rural areas distant from Jerusalem that were more suitable for agriculture. Despite the potent symbolism of Jerusalem and its burgeoning Jewish population, Herzl and his successors could not wholeheartedly advance its position as a capital city, due to fear of repercussions from the Vatican and other opponents. Herzl considered the internationalization of the Old City, and in 1902 went so far as to consider excluding Jerusalem, and areas to the south, in exchange for Jewish sovereignty over the rest of Palestine. The importance of Jerusalem's growing Jewish population was difficult to ignore, and the Zionist movement established the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus in 1925. Traditional Jews continued to recite the ancient prayers for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and to repeat at each Passover Seder, "Next year in Jerusalem." However, at the start of the British Mandate, many Zionists saw Jerusalem as a city populated by ultra-Orthodox *Luftmenschen*, a symbol of everything they had rejected.

Under late Ottoman rule and during the British Mandate, several Jewish groups began to sponsor settlements at the edges of Jerusalem, outside the city walls. The first, Mishkenot Sha'ananim ("Dwellings of Delight"; cf. Isa 32:18), was established by Montefiore in 1860. Some, like Me'ah She'arim ("a hundredfold [harvest]," cf. Gen 26:12), had building codes based on halakhic principles recorded in their bylaws.

The British declaration of 1924 established Jerusalem, by now a city of some 50,000, as the capital of Palestine. The British were averse to allowing any one religious group to be dominant over the others, further inhibiting any Zionist aims to make Jerusalem a Jewish capital. The Zionist movement during the Mandate period tended to center its activities in the modern Hebrew city of Tel Aviv, but Jerusalem was seen by its increasingly non-religious Jewish citizens not as the sacred and ancient city of the Bible, but as a modernizing metropolis, with amenities such as the Zion Cinema, the King David Hotel, and an English-language newspaper, the *Palestine Post* (later the *Jerusalem Post*).

After the 1936 Arab insurrection, the British formulated a partition plan keeping Jerusalem and Bethlehem under perpetual British control. Trying to establish a claim on West Jerusalem in the event of an eventual partition, the Jewish National Fund accelerated its property purchases in the Jerusalem area in the early 1940s.

After the end of World War II, the Zionist leadership, spread thin and struggling to accommodate Jewish refugees, agreed to the United Nations Partition Plan of 1947, which excluded Jerusalem from the boundaries of the Jewish state. However, the plan was never executed, due to the outbreak of armed struggles before and during the 1948 War

of Independence. The armistice that ended the war recognized Jordanian control of the Old City and East Jerusalem, and Israeli control of the bulk of municipal West Jerusalem, plus Mount Scopus, site of the Hebrew University. During the war, West Jerusalem had been besieged, and the population had been rigidly segregated. The Jewish population of the Israeli-controlled parts of the city had fallen during the war by more than 30%, but nearly the entire Arab population had either fled or been driven east, while the Jewish population of the Old City had been driven west.

A United Nations resolution late in 1949 called again for Jerusalem's internationalization. The proposal foundered when the Swedish diplomat Count Bernadotte was assassinated by Jewish extremists.

Jewish attitudes toward Jerusalem as part of Israel solidified, and in a volte-face, the new Israeli Parliament passed a resolution in 1949 calling Jerusalem "an inseparable part of the State of Israel and its eternal capital" (quoted in Elon: 241). Despite protests from the diplomatic community, government offices were slowly relocated to Jerusalem. The Israeli government built a series of major structures in Jerusalem, including the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial (1957), the new Hadassah Hospital (1961), with its famous stained-glass windows by Marc Chagall, depicting the twelve tribes of Israel, the Shrine of the Book, housing the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Israel Museum (1965). Many religious Jews began to say at the Passover Seder, "Next year in rebuilt Jerusalem" (*le-shanah ha-ba'ah biYrushalayim ha-benuyah*; cf. Ps 122:3).

During the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel conquered the Old City and East Jerusalem, among other territories. The chief rabbi of the Israeli army, Shlomo Goren, was one of the first soldiers to reach the Western Wall of the Temple Mount (the Kotel) and the Haram al-Sharif (the Islamic holy site containing the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, which sit on the ruins of the Second Temple). He carried a Torah scroll and blew a shofar. The recapture of the Kotel was enthusiastically celebrated in Israel, and thousands flocked there after the fighting was over. The Kotel quickly became the most significant destination for Jewish pilgrims and tourists.

However, a minority of Jews rejected the new enthusiasm for the Kotel and for Israeli sovereignty over all of Jerusalem and warned of repercussions. Some cited Theodor Adorno's twist on an old saying, "one does not speak of the noose in the house of the hangman (originally "in the house of the hanged"; quoted in Monk: 171), as a warning against creating resentment. The religious thinker Yeshayahu Leibowitz referred to Goren in an interview as a "buffoon who blasts the *shofar*." Leibowitz later published a letter titled "The Diskotel," in the largest daily newspaper in Israel, arguing that the

Kotel had become an object of Jewish idolatry, excommunicating Jews for fetishizing the location and for purchasing souvenirs there on the Sabbath. An opponent of theocracy, he cynically proposed setting up a plaza in front of the Kotel as “the largest discothèque in the State of Israel, and calling it *“disqoteq ha-shekhinah*, [Discothèque of the Divine Presence] ... a symbol of the atheist/clerical regime of a secular country that is recognized by the public as religious” (quoted in Monk: 175–76).

After the 1967 war, much emphasis was put on the notion of the “reunification” of Jerusalem. The vision of longtime Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek (1911–2007) was of a mosaic of different communities, united in peaceful coexistence. However, since the First Intifada (1987–93) and still more since the Second (or “Al-Aqsa”) Intifada of 2000–2004, there has been less and less interaction and commerce between Jewish and Palestinian quarters. The Second Intifada led Israel to construct a security barrier between Jewish and Arab areas of settlement on the West Bank, but including all of East Jerusalem and some adjoining Arab settlements on the western (Jewish) side of the wall.

When referring to “Jerusalem” in the 1940s, David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973) and other Zionist leaders meant no more than the western new city of Jerusalem plus the smaller Old City, including the Kotel. In the last decade, moreover, there has been increasing pressure from the religious right in Israel to “reinvent” the city by planting more Jewish settlements within predominantly Arab East Jerusalem, a move Dumper (7) describes as “resacralization” or “religious reclamation.” This has led to protests from the international community, as well as from liberal Diaspora Jews and Israelis, such as the writer David Grossman.

The desires of the adherents of the three Abrahamic faiths for access to their holy sites and control over them have been an ongoing source of tension in Jerusalem, now a city of nearly a million inhabitants. So is the contrast between the concept of the “non-fungibility of sacred places” (Hassner: 15) and the view that land can be resacralized. This makes the struggles over Jerusalem different from those over cities seen as “secular,” and it raises the barriers to peaceful coexistence in this “many-bordered city” (Dumper: 5).

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Libby Cone

V. Christianity

- Patristics and Orthodox Churches ■ Medieval Times and Reformation Era ■ Modern Europe and America
- New Christian Movements

A. Patristics and Orthodox Churches

Memory and memorial culture are central aspects of Christianity and the way it is expressed in piety and traditions. Memory is connected with time and space. Among the central places of memory in Christianity is, understandably, the city of Jerusalem (*Colonia Aelia Capitolina*). Jerusalem was important for early Christianity in a twofold way. Jerusalem was the place where many of the events described in the Bible had taken place, especially many events connected with the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. As such it was of outstanding attraction for Christianity as place of memory. Therefore, elements of this spatial memory were also copied at other places. One of the most important examples is the *Via Crucis*, which has influenced piety as imagery and also became a method of prayer. A *Via Crucis* can be found in many cities as spatial means to commemorate what happened to Jesus during his suffering; the fasting before Easter is the typical period where the *Via Crucis* as spatial memory is used to activate a historical memory. The biblical image of the heavenly Jerusalem (cf. Rev 21) is also one of the metaphors describing the world to come.

Jerusalem as central place of memory was of little importance during the first three centuries of

Christianity as can be deduced from the absence of this topic in the literature from the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Heyden: 49); only the cave of the birth (Origen, *Cels.* 1.51) and the cave at the Mount of Olives as the place where Jesus taught the disciples (*Prot. Jas.* 19:1–3; 21:3) are of some importance (Bieberstein: 66).

It was during and after the reign of Constantine that the city became a central feature in Christian piety and practice. This is due in part also to the buildings erected during this time in Jerusalem; central among them is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre built in 325 at the place where the cross of Jesus was found during a visit of Helena, mother of the emperor Constantine. Two other churches built during this time are the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. These three churches can be related to central events of Christian faith mentioned together as *regula fidei* e.g., by Irenaeus of Lyons (*Haer.* 1.10.1 “was incarnate”: church in Bethlehem; “he suffered and rose again”: church of Holy Sepulchre; “ascended into heaven”: church of Ascension). The church that commemorated the prayer of Jesus on the Mount of Olives is an example of a space where Christians convened in order to commemorate historical events (Eusebius, *Onom.* 74.16–18) and where later a church was built to preserve this memory (mentioned by Jerome in his translation of the *Onomasticon* [Sf. 75.18]; cf. Isaac: 30). Only shortly after these buildings were erected a church commemorating the entrance of Jesus on Palm Sunday was built as well. Thus, there was a tendency to fill space that was important to Christian memory with monuments in order to preserve the historical memory attached to the place. This led to further churches being built in Jerusalem and its vicinity; it seems possible to interpret the monumental preservation of memory of the passion of Jesus as an expression of the evolving creed expressed in the councils of 325, 381, 431, and 451 (Bieberstein: 67–69).

The earliest extant account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land is the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* from the year 333 (Bieberstein: 75). The account of Egeria, who visited Jerusalem in 381–84, gives insight into the practice of celebrating the historical events as detailed in the Bible “at the right time and the right place” (*apte loco et diei*; Buchinger: 295). This spatial memory implies liturgical practices which – understandably – culminate in the Holy Week. This liturgical memory includes other elements connected to Jerusalem as memory of Christianity, like the holy cross; the veneration of the holy cross during the celebration of Easter is described by Egeria. The liturgy of Jerusalem also influenced the liturgy in other places; the pilgrims brought back to their places of origin the liturgical structures of the celebrations (especially the Holy Week) in which they

had taken part (Bieritz: 176–77). It is obvious that the accounts of the pilgrims also helped to embed this spatial memory of Jerusalem firmly into Christian practice. The accounts were used not only as guides for those who could visit the Holy Land but also by those who could not visit and had to imagine the places connected with Christian memory; images of holy places in Jerusalem were also dispersed throughout the ancient world especially on pilgrim flasks, mass produced *ampullae* which contained oil or water from holy places (Irvine: 125). Jerusalem was an important topic in Christian art (Heyden: 306). It may well be that the original roof of the Holy Sepulchre, which probably was a pyramidal broach roof (as depicted on many pilgrim flasks from the 5th and 6th century and also to be seen in a reproduction found in Narbonne from the 4th cent.; cf. Heyden: 289) was replaced by a flat roof (also preserved in visual arts from the 5th century onwards) due to the mental images of local reproductions which were carried back to the Holy Land by the pilgrims (Bieberstein: 76–77). All these elements contributed to Jerusalem’s influence on Christian architecture, liturgy, and piety (Wilkinson: 621–23).

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Hans Förster

B. Medieval Times and Reformation Era

Jerusalem was a fundamental point of reference and focus of devotion for Christians throughout the Middle Ages. It was shown centrally on some medieval world maps, such as the 14th-century Hereford Map, reflecting Ezek 5:5: “This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the center of the nations” (also Ps 74:12). As the location of Christ’s passion, the city inspired pilgrimage and participation in the Crusades, the construction of architectural replicas, and practices of imagined pilgrimage. Yet if the significance of individual *loca sancta* primarily derived from the NT, references to Jerusalem as a whole drew on the OT. Those who traveled there would have engaged with the city already through Scripture, and their responses to it might employ the words of the Bible. Mariano of Siena, entering the city in 1431, recited “Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem” (Ps 147) and

"Glorious things are said of you, city of God" (Ps 86:3) (Mariano: 24). Describing his own entry in the 1480s, Felix Fabri cited Tob 13:13–14: "Nations from afar shall come to thee" (Fabri: 1:236). Crusade preaching also used biblical language to encourage listeners to participate in the Crusades. James of Vitry (d. 1240) rebuked those uninterested in recovering the Holy Land with the words of Ps 136:5: "If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand wither," while Gilbert of Tournai (d. 1284) used Zech 12 to present the city as a test: "I shall place Jerusalem as a heavy stone for all peoples" (Maier: 89, 187).

Interest in the city's past paid particular attention to moments of destruction and rebuilding. In a tradition deriving from Augustine that divided the history of the world into six ages, the fourth ended with the Babylonian captivity and the sacking of Jerusalem as described in 2 Kgs 25:8–21. Representations of the city in historical works reflect this emphasis. A circular plan of Jerusalem in the *Compendium Historiale in Genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205) draws ultimately on the book of Ezra-Nehemiah in the context of the rebuilding of the city after the return from Babylon (Worm: 129–39). The *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493 uses a related image when discussing the building of Jerusalem by David and includes a representation of the destruction of Jerusalem between the fourth and fifth ages. Later episodes in the history of the city were understood in terms of the Bible. The sack of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus in 70 CE was related to Christ's prophecy regarding the fall of the city (Luke 19:43–44), with the Romans seen as taking vengeance for his death, and the events of the Crusades were also understood to have been prefigured. Robert the Monk (d. 1122) presented the Frankish capture of the city in 1099 as fulfilling biblical prophecies; its re-capture by Saladin was subsequently compared to the Babylonian captivity by Ralph of Coggeshall (fl. 1207–26) in his *Chronicon Anglicanum* (Yeager: 80, 89). Similarly, the liturgical commemoration of the fall of Jerusalem included Ps 78, with its statement "they have laid Jerusalem in ruins," while a Crusade sermon by James of Vitry invoked Isa 64:10: "Jerusalem has been made a desert" (Maier: 89).

Connections were also made between Jerusalem and other locations and institutions. Reflecting the exegetical tradition in which references to Jerusalem might signify not only the earthly city, but also the church, the human soul, and the heavenly Jerusalem, Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) drew comparisons between the suffering Jerusalem of Jeremiah and Lamentations and the sinful Roman church (Yeager: 85–86). In the context of the Reformation, in which the Roman Church was identified instead with Babylon, a gloss on Lamentations hostile to the papacy, the *Lamentationes Germanicae nationis* (1520), identi-

fied the tribulations of the Jews with those of the Germans. Furthermore, Protestant reformers such as Martin Luther and John Calvin evoked the destruction of Jerusalem with the aim of encouraging their contemporaries to mend their ways. The theme of the fall of Jerusalem as a morality tale was popular among English reformers whereby preachers would compare the biblical Jerusalem to the new Jerusalem of England (Groves: 109–12).

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Lucy Donkin

C. Modern Europe and America

Christian pilgrimage from Europe to Jerusalem ground to a halt when in 1516 Jerusalem was captured by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I. Along with the rise of the Ottoman empire, other events and trends in Europe and the Americas forced the West, in the wake of the loss of a real, tangible Jerusalem, to re-image the city: the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century, with its emphasis on faith rather than works, cast doubt on the efficacy of pilgrimage in general (other factors contributed to anti-pilgrimage rhetoric: some reformers bemoaned the social disruption that pilgrimages caused); the religious wars that consumed western Europe from the late 1500's to the mid 1600's diverted attention and resources away from pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and European attention shifted to the Americas. All these events and trends required "Jerusalem" to be re-purposed, since they meant that Jerusalem was no longer accessible to westerners as a physical location.

The place names given to early settlements in North America attest to this re-purposing: Salem (1626), Rehoboth (1645), Hebron (1709), and Canaan (1739), to name only a few. Some Puritan ministers – Increase Mather, for example – used the imagery of Rev 21:10–22:5 to interpret the apocalyptic mission of their communities: the new Jerusalem described in the book of Revelation would be created in New England. John Winthrop's "city on a hill" (Matt 5:14) imagery in his 1630 "Arbella" sermon seems to point to a similar use of Jerusalem; Winthrop supplied the basis for the development of the idea of "Manifest Destiny" (a term coined in 1845). John Davenport, Puritan co-founder of the colony of New Haven, conceived of the "new Jerusa-

lem” as a quest for reform, not as the center of a millennial kingdom.

The apocalyptic fervor of the early Puritans eventually faded, but preachers such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield (one of the founders, with the Wesleys, of Methodism) re-kindled American religious passion in the 1730’s and 1740’s, in what is known as the Great Awakening. Edwards proclaimed that the “the latter day glory” would begin in America. Uses of “Jerusalem” and “new Jerusalem” during the Great Awakening provide a window into the extended use of the terms.

In a hymn by Charles Wesley, “Jerusalem” is clearly synonymous with “Heaven”:

We have no abiding city here,
But seek a city out of sight;
Thither our steady course we steer,
Aspiring to the plains of light,
Jerusalem, the saints’ abode,
Whose founder is the living God.
Patient the appointed race to run,
This weary world we cast behind;
From strength to strength we travel on,
The new Jerusalem to find;
Our labour this, our only aim,
To find the new Jerusalem.

The evangelist George Whitefield, in a sermon, de-claims:

The poor state of the church makes many a minister
and close walker with God to weep over the desolations
of the sanctuary, and to mourn for those that will not
mourn for themselves: thus our Lord wept over Jerusa-
lem, *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered
thy children, as a hen gathereth her chickens*, but it is over
with thee now: the decree is gone forth, and Jerusalem
shall suffer.

Here, at least, in Whitefield’s works “Jerusalem” is a metaphor for the church.

In London, William Blake publishes a poem in 1808 (known as “Jerusalem,” orig. “And did those feet in ancient times”) that contains this much-discussed stanza:

I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand:
Till we have built Jerusalem,
In England’s green & pleasant Land.

Blake’s intention seems to be to stir change and reform in industrial age England.

Joseph Smith, founder of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, wrote in the 1840’s that the “new Jerusalem” would be founded on the North American continent.

With the 19th-century rise of American and European tourism to the Middle East and the increased Western presence in Jerusalem as the Ottoman Empire weakened, a more physical interpretation of Rev 21–22 emerged. (This interpretation has also been strengthened by the founding of the modern state of Israel in 1948.) So, for

example, dispensational premillennialist Christians believe that God will establish a throne on the site of Solomon’s temple in Jerusalem and reign in a millennial kingdom. This belief is based on the teachings of John Nelson Darby (1800–82), popularized in the *Scofield Reference Bible* (first appeared in 1909).

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D. New Christian Movements

While many Christians have viewed the concept of Jerusalem as symbolizing Christ’s new kingdom (Rev 21:2), other present-day movements have regarded Jerusalem as having a literal role in end time events. Orson Hyde, a Mormon elder, visited Jerusalem in 1841, and from its earliest years the Latter-day Saints have believed that Armageddon will take place near Jerusalem, heralding Jesus’ return on Mount Scopus, on which the Brigham Young University Jerusalem Center for Near Eastern Studies has been built. Mormons hold that Jerusalem will then have a new temple (Zech 2:12; 12:16).

Seventh-day Adventists hold that Jerusalem will be the physical location of Christ’s return, citing Acts 1:9–12, which states that his return will be “in like manner” to his ascension. Armageddon, which heralds this event, will involve the final destruction of all earthly armies, enabling Christ to rule the world from Jerusalem. The Makuya of Christ, founded in 1948, is a Japanese pro-Israel organization which looks to the unification of Jerusalem as a fulfilment of biblical prophecy, once the “times of the Gentiles” have been completed (Luke 21:24). Meanwhile, it encourages pilgrimage to the city.

The International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem (ICEJ), founded in 1980 with its headquarters in Katamon, Jerusalem, is a Christian Zionist organization which regards Jerusalem as destined to be the true, eternal, and undivided capital of Israel, with the Jews to be restored to their homeland in accordance with the Abrahamic covenant (Gen 15:18–21), while living in peace with their neighbors. The ICEJ particularly encourages supporters to celebrate Sukkoth in Jerusalem annually: this festival has particular significance since Gentiles are included (Deut 13:12; 2 Chr 6:32–33), and it has prophetic significance, since Zechariah predicted a time when all nations would celebrate this feast (Zech 14:16).

Other mainstream Christians have been troubled by Christian Zionism’s associations between Jerusalem and apocalyptic events. Several mainstream Christian leaders signed the Jerusalem Declaration on Christian Zionism on August 22, 2006, which expressed the disquiet with the movement on theological and political grounds.

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VI. Islam

According to tradition, Jerusalem is the third holiest city of Islam after Mecca and Medina. Hints in the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth literature, other early reports and a specific literary genre devoted to the virtues of Jerusalem attest to its high status and underline the religious standing of such holy sites as al-Aqṣāʾ Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. The foundation of the State of Israel has given rise to renewed religious attention to the city and to its meaning for Islam.

1. Jerusalem in the Qurʾān and Qurʾān Exegesis.

Jerusalem is not mentioned by name in the Qurʾān. Some exegetes have identified as many as seventy indirect references to the city (El-Khatib: 35–36), though these are not accepted by everyone. For instance, the reference to Holy Land in S 5:21 was usually regarded by early exegetes as the whole of Syria including Palestine (al-Shām) and not only the city itself; the statement "we settled the children of Israel in a sure settlement" in S 10:93 was thought by some to refer to Jerusalem (Muqātil: 2:248; cf. Hirschberg: 324) but by others to Jerusalem and Syria or other places (al-Ṭabarī: xi, 166). For those who saw references to Jerusalem in the Qurʾān, the many stories about patriarchs and prophets located in the Holy Land and in the city itself (Tottoli: 329–31) made it easy to find allusions (e.g., S 2:58 on an undefined city; 20:80; 21:71 on Abraham; 23:50; 95:1–3).

The verse most often thought to refer to Jerusalem is S 17:1: "Glory be to Him who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque (*al-masjid al-aqṣāʾ*)," explained as an allusion to Muḥammad's night journey and ascension to heaven. Although alternative interpretations are given, the identification with Jerusalem is consistent from an early time in the exegetical tradition (Neuwirth: 382–3). In some accounts, Muḥammad had to overcome the incredulity of the Meccans by describing what he had seen in Jerusalem (Ibn Hishām: i, 399), while in others he ascended from the Rock situated on the Temple Mount and was shown the seven heavens, paradise and hell, and finally a vision of God himself. Stories based on this incident are told throughout the Muslim world, and constitute a literary genre of their own (cf. Colby; Gruber-Colby).

The other passage explained as referring to Jerusalem is S 2:142–45, which instructs Muslims to change their previous direction of prayer and now pray towards the Holy Mosque (Mecca). Although the Qurʾān does not mention the directions specifi-

cally, all exegetical traditions agree that the previous direction was Jerusalem, and that after the migration to Medina the earliest Muslim community used to pray towards Jerusalem until this instruction was revealed. There is some evidence that in Mecca before the migration Muḥammad had also prayed towards Jerusalem, or even aligned himself towards both the Kaʿba and the Rock on the Temple Mount (Wensinck: 78–80). According to some reports, Jerusalem was the direction of prayer (*qibla*) of all the pre-Islamic prophets (Ibn al-Murajjā: 98 no. 99; cf. Tottoli: 337–39).

Though all these details come from interpretations of the qurʾānic text and not from explicit mentions, they confer on Jerusalem a unique connection with two major episodes in the life of Muḥammad, and as a result contributed to its importance for the early Muslim community.

2. Ḥadīth and Early Traditions. Jerusalem appears under a number of names in Arabic sources: Bayt al-Maqdis, Bayt al-Muqaddas, Iliyāʾ (Aelia al-Quds). In addition to the traditions connected to the Qurʾān, many sayings of Muḥammad (Ḥadīth) further attest its importance in early Muslim piety and devotion. A number underline the primordial origin of al-Aqṣāʾ Mosque and thus of the whole city, stating that the mosque was founded only forty years after the Sacred Mosque in Mecca (al-Bukhārī: iv, 465 no. 3366; Muslim: i, 370 no. 520). Other reports continue this line of thought by attesting that God first created Mecca, then Medina and Jerusalem, and then after a thousand years the rest of the earth (al-Wāsiṭī: 16 no. 18; Ibn al-Murajjā: 10 no. 2).

A number of Ḥadīths underline the special status of Jerusalem in Islamic cosmological beliefs: it is not only the navel of the earth, but also the centre of it; the Rock is the source of all the sweet water on earth, and from it the four rivers of paradise flow (cf. Livne-Kafri 2007: 47–49, 55); the Rock is the closest place on earth to heaven (Ibn al-Murajjā: 108 no. 118) and is connected to the throne of God.

The most significant and widespread Ḥadīth attesting to the religious status of the city in Muslim devotion is the one in which Muḥammad says: "You shall only set out for three mosques: the Sacred Mosque (in Mecca), my mosque (in Medina) and al-Aqṣāʾ Mosque (in Jerusalem)" (al-Bukhārī: no. 1189; Muslim: no. II, 975). It has been argued that this was promoted in Umayyad times for political reasons to enhance the status of Jerusalem (see El-Khatib: 27–29). Similarly, a number of Ḥadīths and reports emphasize the value of acts of devotion performed in Jerusalem (Kister 1969: 184–88), or state that anyone who dies in either Mecca or Jerusalem dies as a martyr. Other Ḥadīths, probably with the opposite political intention, underline the reduced importance of Jerusalem and dismiss any religious value associated with visiting and with

acts performed there (cf. Lazarus-Yafeh: 68). A number of reports in 'Abd al-Razzāq's (d. 826) *al-Muṣannaf* state that it is not necessary to visit Jerusalem for a vow; Mecca and Medina can replace it ('Abd al-Razzāq: v, 454–57 nos. 15886–894). A typical Ḥadīth of this kind affirms that a prayer in Mecca is as valuable as a multitude of prayers in Medina, and that a prayer in Medina is as valuable as a multitude of prayers in Jerusalem (Kister 1969: 185–87; Busse 1968: 467; Tottoli: 342–43). All this material shows that in the first two centuries of Islam the belief that Jerusalem was a holy city was so widespread that scholars saw the need to underline its secondary status after Mecca and Medina.

Another major theme refers to Jerusalem in relation to the end of the world (cf. Tottoli: 243–44). The numerous traditions that describe the “signs of the Hour” place most of the attendant events in Syria and Palestine, and often refer to Jerusalem: it will be a refuge for believers, and the Antichrist (al-Dajjāl) will not enter because Jesus will return there; the angel Isrā'fīl will blow the final trumpet from the Rock, which is the place where humankind will gather for the Last Judgement; according to some traditions hell is located alongside paradise in Jerusalem (Livne-Kafri 2006: 388–89).

3. Jerusalem and the Prophets. Jerusalem is mentioned often in connection with the stories of the patriarchs and prophets (cf. Elad: 93–94), and some exegetical works identify allusions to the city in Qur'ān narratives on the prophets (El-Khatib: 46–48). To connect a prophet with a place was the most common way to enhance its sacredness or to underline its religious importance. Thus, Jerusalem held a privileged position, since according to the Qur'ān most of the prophets were Israelite, and many of them spent their lives there or thereabouts. A special position is accorded to David and Solomon, who respectively started and completed the building of the Sacred places. David is also connected with the tower (*miḥrāb Dāwūd*) close to the Jaffa Gate in the Old City (Busse 1994). But without doubt it is Solomon who is most closely connected to the city. He completed the building of the Mosque over a number of years and magnificently enriched its interior, as is often described in great detail (Mujīr al-Dīn: i, 117–21).

Many other prophets and religious figures are also connected with Jerusalem. For instance, some traditions attest that after Adam fell to earth in India, in his wanderings he finally fell prostrate on the Rock in Jerusalem (Ibn al-Murajjā: 114). According to some reports, his grave is in the city near the Rock: he gave instructions that he was to be buried there and Noah carefully carried his remains in the Ark (Kister 1993: 171–72). Noah also had connections with the city, in that the Ark floated over the site of Mecca one week and of Jerusalem another (Ibn al-Murajjā: 171 no. 236). Mary was kept in a

miḥrāb in the city as Zechariah tried to prevent her from entering the Temple service (a role only for men) as her mother had vowed (cf. S 3:37; Elad: 91–93). The Qur'ān also mentions the *miḥrāb* of Zechariah, where angels told him of the birth of John the Baptist (S 3:39, 19:11). Qur'ānic exegesis and later narratives locate both these *miḥrābs* near the temple, where the Dome of the Rock was built.

Many other reports add further details which connect other figures to particular sites or to the city as a whole. This close connection is further enhanced by traditions which state that the tombs of a thousand prophets are in Jerusalem and Palestine (Ibn al-Murajjā: 206 no. 296). To make connections between a prophetic figure and a place became a widespread activity as a means of stressing its importance over others. No place could count on such a rich tradition of connections with the prophets, together with key episodes in Muḥammad's life, as Jerusalem.

4. Early Islamic Rule and the Dome of the Rock.

Islamic historical traditions describe major events in the first decades of Muslim domination of Jerusalem. The conquest of the city took place quite early thanks to the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 634–44) in 636, only four years after the death of Muḥammad. It was 'Umar who had the first mosque built, south of the Rock, rejecting the suggestion made by the converted Jew Ka'b al-Aḥbār to build it to the north so as to combine the two *qiblas* of the Rock and Mecca. All the studies on the sacredness of Jerusalem in the Islamic period have underlined the importance of this tradition (Goitein: 140; Elad: 30–31), though it is still not clear whether 'Umar built the mosque on the site of the present al-Aqṣā Mosque or in some other place. One major date in connection with the status of Jerusalem in early Islam is related to the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty (661–750) and to the moving of the capital by the Caliph Mu'āwiya (r. 661–80) from Medina to Damascus, placing Jerusalem in a position near the centre of power. It is most probable that early traditions enhancing the role of Jerusalem originated in this period, with the aim of giving it and the region as a whole religious prominence.

It is in this situation that the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705) made a decisive contribution to the sacred character of Jerusalem. He had the Dome of the Rock built on the site of the Jewish Temple as a place of devotion in memory of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, and also most probably to balance the number of churches in the city. This would explain why the most ancient inscriptions in the Dome and on the cupola do not quote S 17:1, which was interpreted as referring to Muḥammad's ascension, but rather the polemical verses against Jesus and Christians (cf. Shani).

According to some sources, in addition to the religious and polemical purposes, there was also a

third possible reason that prompted 'Abd al-Malik in his building activity in Jerusalem. Starting from the first comprehensive formulation of Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1920), some scholars have considered the possibility that the caliph had the Dome built in order to divert the annual pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem. The traditions about the exalted status of the city would have served to give substance to this project and underpinned the intention of moving the focus of the festival from the Arabian Peninsula to a place closer to the new capital. At this time, Mecca and the surrounding region were under the control of the rebel 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr (d. 692), and diverting the pilgrimage was a probable prelude to a permanent division of the new Islamic Empire. This hypothesis is, in fact, mentioned by the Shī'ī historian al-Ya'qūbī (d. 897), though it is dismissed by other sources and by many other scholars. More recently, A. Elad has underlined that this interpretation is quoted in some Sunnī sources (Elad: 147–63; cf. also Goitein: 135–38; Caskel: 24–28; El-Khatib: 31–33). Whatever the true aim of this building activity, there is no doubt that the Umayyad period and the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik were of crucial importance for the Islamic traditions regarding the city and for its present state. When the 'Abbasids moved the capital away to Iraq, Jerusalem was diminished in importance, and it never regained whatever political prominence it had possessed.

As regards its religious position, early reports give Jerusalem a significant role and forever enhance its standing in relation to other places in the Islamic world. Later enlargements and identifications further enrich these traditions, mainly in connection to al-Aqṣā' Mosque, the Dome of the Rock and surrounding holy sites. These reports, appearing in all literary genres, but mainly in the literature devoted to the merits (*faḍā'il*) of the holy city, take the form of stories about pre-Islamic prophets and religious figures (Elad: 78–146). Recent studies have also discussed how the significance of these places emerged, and how they were the result of policies prompted by the various dynasties which governed the city and were responsible for its sacred sites up to Ottoman times (cf. Kaplony).

5. The Literary Genre of the "Merits" of Jerusalem. The early traditions and literary attestations that mention or describe Jerusalem were collected into specific works, and thus gave rise to a literary genre devoted solely to the "merits" of Jerusalem (*faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*). Works of this genre, in general devoted to accounts of the religious importance of towns or regions, were written about many places in the Middle Ages, among them Jerusalem. It is not easy to reconstruct the history of the genre and early examples of it, given that many early works have been lost. The first extant book on the topic dates from the 11th century, written by al-

Wāsiṭī, followed by the major work in the genre, Ibn al-Murajjā's *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*. In later centuries many other works on the *faḍā'il* of Jerusalem were written, thus giving rise to a literary genre that includes dozens of works (cf. al-'Asālī; Ibrāhīm; Sivan 1971: 166–67). These bring together Ḥadīth and Ḥadīth-like reports relating to the holy character of the city and of the sites within it, usually as far as the time of the building of the Dome of the Rock (though later ones add further historical information). The most substantial ones, such as Ibn al-Murajjā's, include most of the traditions on Jerusalem, and not only those considered sound or more widely known.

Though reports on the status of Jerusalem in the literature as a whole suggest that discussion about it originated most probably at the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, the first works are indeed only attested from the 11th century, even though the first works that praise the merits of other cities less important than Jerusalem go back to the 9th century. It is difficult to explain why, but a few hypotheses can be suggested. Although Jerusalem was close to Damascus and the centre of the empire in the first century of Islam, this was no longer the situation after the advent of the 'Abbasids in the mid-8th century, and questions regarding its holy character were soon only important for theological debates and little else. It was most probably the occupations of Palestine under various conquerors and anti-Christian feelings through time, along with the damage suffered by the holy places at the beginning of the 11th century, that would have prompted authors and experts on religious traditions interested in the region to compile reports about the *faḍā'il* of Jerusalem. A few decades later, the Crusades encouraged this literary activity further and promoted the rise in later developments of the *faḍā'il al-Quds* genre that is attested from the 12th century onwards (Sivan 1967: 152–53; Hasson 1981: 172–73). In fact, the Crusades were without doubt a fundamental historical event that prompted reconsideration of the Islamic sacredness of Jerusalem, even though they did not instigate the *faḍā'il al-Quds* genre. Recent studies have numbered the total known works devoted to the topic of the "merits" of Jerusalem as more than forty. Some of them have recently been edited or else excerpts have been made available to readers (cf. Ibrāhīm: 85–97), thus allowing better knowledge of the genre. However, a comprehensive study is still awaited.

To *faḍā'il* traditions and chapters meant as guides for pilgrims more recent works usually add accounts of events associated with rulers and their activities in the city, and of the scholars connected with it through the ages. An important work of this kind is *Al-uns al-jalīl* by Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī (d. 1522), which underlines the veneration of particu-

lar rulers for Jerusalem as attested by their exploits and the institutions they founded and patronized, and also descriptions of other religious edifices financed and built by less prominent Muslims (cf. Little). In addition, this work is particularly devoted to profiles of scholars who worked there and to the connections they had with the Muslim world as a whole, probably as a way of giving it prominence at a time when it was becoming increasingly marginalized in the Ottoman Empire. This attitude is to be compared with descriptions of Jerusalem by geographers through the ages, showing the substantially peripheral character of the city in comparison with the Islamic Empire as a whole, notwithstanding the significance of the holy sites and its religious importance (Benigni: 274–81).

6. Contrasting Opinions and Recent History.

The tendency to limit the importance of Jerusalem to the religious sphere and to circumscribe its prominence above all in relation to Mecca and Medina has been attested since the early traditions and Ḥadīths. This attitude, not only towards Jerusalem but towards other holy places in Islam, is well represented by a scholar such as Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), who was driven by the widespread attestation of many places connected with devotion in and around al-Aqṣā' Mosque and the Dome of the Rock in Mamluk times to write a treatise against the traditional references and traditions about Jerusalem. In his *Risāla fī ziyārat Bayt al-Maqdis* (Treatise on the visit to Jerusalem) he attacks traditional reports connected with the cult of the Rock and with eschatological events related to it, and shows particular opposition to the identification of the tombs of the prophets which served as cult places; these he dismissed as Jewish and Christian in origin (Olsen: 193–211). Though he maintained the soundness of the Ḥadīths that attributed a special status to the city, he considered them to refer to personal devotion and not to the sacredness of the place itself. No doubt, his dismissal attests to the survival of contrasting attitudes towards the *faḍā'il* literature, and thus to the use of theological arguments in the rivalries between Muslim centres. Other examples of this kind are not lacking and have been studied (cf. Sadan), though Ibn Taymiyya's strong rejection is almost unique and agrees with some other positions of his. Notwithstanding his rejection, however, the traditions on Jerusalem have been regarded as so significant and important that its status as the third holiest city of Islam has never been seriously debated. This status has always been strong among Muslims, and was one of the reasons for the attention given to the city following the Crusades, first under the Mamluks and then the Ottomans.

This religious significance is further employed in the harsh conditions that preceded and have followed the birth of the state of Israel, and the politi-

cal confrontations and conflicts which have involved the Old City and its Muslim holy places. In the contrasting visions and political struggles, the connection and even ownership of the holy places and sites in Israel and in the Palestinian occupied territories have revived questions connected with the Islamic sacredness of Jerusalem as a whole and with the many religious traditions related to it and to the places of worship in and around it (cf. Breger et al.). From the point of view of religious and literary imagery, this situation has prompted renewed interest in the city both for its religious significance in Islamic traditions and also in connection with Palestinian political concerns. This is also reflected in Arabic literature, where this interest in the city has prompted new studies which must be considered in close relationship to Jewish and Israeli policy, above all after the occupation of the eastern quarters and the Old City following the 1967 war. As has been widely discussed and analyzed, and literary works representations of the city combine differing attitudes, from the religious and the political to the social and the literary, ranging from realism to idealization (al-Khabbāṣ). The close connection of this activity and of a new centrality of Jerusalem to the political situation is evidenced by the spread and importance of this kind of literature on Jerusalem in the 20th century on both the Israeli and the Palestinian sides (cf. Benigni: 291–328).

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VII. Literature

In traditional Jewish literature such as liturgical and non-liturgical poems, Jerusalem is presented in a redemptive framework that combines its glory during the kingdoms of David and Solomon with its two destructions and the hope for its restoration. For instance, the 12th-century Spanish poet-philosopher Yehuda Halevi emphasizes in a poem, allegedly written shortly before embarking from Egypt to his final destination Jerusalem, that although God had been present in Egypt, he and his people belong in Jerusalem:

God may have turned aside there,

the way a traveler stops to rest beneath an oak or terebinth,
 but His real roots are in Jerusalem,
 where majesty and Torah come together,
 judgment joins with mercy,
 and labors of a lifetime are rewarded.
 (Scheindlin: 201)

Although in both traditional and modern Christian literature heavenly Jerusalem takes prime importance over its earthly counterpart, the earthly Jerusalem has found a significant place in the Christian literary tradition. Jerusalem has served as the *axis mundi*, the spatial and temporal center of the world. For instance, in his account of his purported travels to the East (1356–66), John de Mandeville refers to Ps 24:12 ("God our king wrought salvation in the midst of the earth before the beginning of the world.") when writing about Jerusalem:

And however much a man climbs when he goes from our country to Jerusalem, he must descend as much to the land of Prester John. ... For it is a commonplace that Jerusalem is in the middle of the earth. (Mandeville: 129)

Mandeville's work represents also a second motif in Christian writing that is particularly present in crusader, colonial and premillennial literature. Famously represented in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1580), this motif is that of a redemptive Christian conquest of Jerusalem:

For Christ desires not that it should long remain in the hands of traitors or sinners, Christian or otherwise. And now unbelievers have held that land seven score years and more – but by the grace of God they shall not keep it for long. (Mandeville: 77)

An example in recent fiction of the notion of Jerusalem under Christian sovereignty can be found in the bestselling *Left Behind* series, which describes how Jerusalem returns to Christian hands – actually to Christ himself – during the millennium following Armageddon. In the series' last volume (*Kingdom Come* 2007), Jerusalem is the scene of the final battle between the forces of good and "the Other Light," led by Lucifer himself.

Another Christian motif is Jerusalem as the negative counterpart to a sublime, heavenly, Jerusalem, which also can be found in *Left Behind* where after his victory over Satan Christ destroys Jerusalem and a "New Jerusalem" descends. Descriptions of Jerusalem in 19th-century Christian travel literature are similarly negative about Jerusalem. The city deepened Gogol's depression rather than relieved him of it, and in *Innocents Abroad* (1869) Mark Twain describes Jerusalem and its population in the direst terms. Herman Melville, in his travel dairies and in his long poem *Clarel* (1876), destabilized his initial biblical associations by e.g., describing certain rocks not only as "honey-combed" (Judg 14:8 – Samson and the lion's carcass) but also as "rotting bones of mastodons" (Melville 1933: 91),

thus challenging a biblical landscape with a more ancient one of decline and decay.

More often than leading to a negative view, the Christian emphasis on the contrast between the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem creates equivocalness, as in Selma Lagerlöf's *Jerusalem* (1901–2), which describes the disappointments and physical hardships of Swedish religious immigrants in Jerusalem as well as their attachment to what they consider a sacred place.

The struggle and subsequent success to regain Jewish control over Jerusalem has often obscured the city's biblical identity such as in Philip Roth's modern Jerusalem in *Operation Shylock* (1993), or caused ambivalence. The primitive and impoverished late Ottoman Jerusalem Y.H. Brenner described in *Breakdown and Bereavement* profoundly oppresses its already lost immigrant protagonist, and in Uri Zvi Greenberg's early poem "be-Yerushalayim" (1927/8, In Jerusalem), his fellow Jewish immigrants in Jerusalem are "like domesticated wolves/ and the Torah of my Father is under their skin" (*kemo ze'evim limmudei-yeshuv/we-torat avi taḥat 'oram*; Greenberg: 92).

Recent literature has also conveyed criticism of the biblical ideology of the city as the sacred center of the Jewish world. In the historical novel *Melakhim 3* (2008), Yochi Brandes offers an alternative biblical narrative in which her protagonists from the tribe of Ephraim bitterly recount how the king of Judah destroyed their local means to worship God (14, 19), followed by the Judean monopoly over the biblical narrative: "Stories are a more effective weapon than swords." (21, 75). Likewise, the Jerusalem poets Yehuda Amichai and Mahmoud Darwish explore the contrast between the biblical city and the one they live in: In "In Jerusalem" Darwish walks in "Jerusalem, and I mean within the ancient walls ... from one epoch to another without a memory to guide me" and does so "as if I were another. And my wound a white biblical rose. And my hands like two doves on the cross hovering and carrying the earth" (Darwish 2007: 211).

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Alexander van der Haven

VIII. Visual Arts

Visual representations of Jerusalem refer to single sites or groups of places, or show a complete view over the whole city. Due to the location of many biblical sites in the immediate vicinity outside Jerusalem's city walls, e.g., on the Mount of Olives, or in the Valley of Jehosaphat, maps and topographical views often include these areas in order to unfold a whole salvation geography.

Cityscapes of Jerusalem could serve as an architectural stage for several biblical and/or apocryphal scenes shown simultaneously in one image, or as a background for one single biblical or historical event (e.g., Jesus' crucifixion, the women at Jesus' tomb, siege and capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders). Pure architectural representations of the city without any narrative elements occur from the end of the 15th century on. The urbanistic elements could relate to the contemporary urban appearance of Jerusalem or of other towns, or show architecturally historicizing aspects, sometimes being even mere inventions. Furthermore, many visual representations combine elements of the earthly and the Heavenly Jerusalem.

1. The Temple Mount. The most frequently depicted site mentioned in the HB/OT is the Jewish temple (Rosenau; Sarfati; Talgam). The earliest known images of the former Jewish temple are shown on coins minted during the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 CE) displaying an architectural façade with four columns. One of the frescoes in the synagogue of Dura Europos (ca. 245 CE) shows the holy site as a gabled temple secluded by a wall with three portals. In most pictorial representations, the temple, thus, was portrayed by the objects referring to the cult and its continuity rather than by references to its architecture. Symbolic representations of the Jewish temple often refer to the twin columns of Jachin and Boaz which (according to 1 Kgs 7:15–22) flanked the Salomonic Temple's entrance. In medieval and early Modern art and architecture, they could have the shape of knotted (e.g., Würzburg Cathedral, ca. 1230) or twisted columns (e.g., the twisted marble columns of the Constantinian foundation of St Peter's at Rome from the 13/14th cent. on were believed to be spolia from the Salomonic Temple).

After the erection of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock on the temple platform in 691 CE, representations of the Jewish (Salomonic) temple adopt the appearance of this octagonal building, in Jewish as well as in Christian and Muslim contexts (Berger). Islamic representations of the Haram al-Sharif and its single monuments, however, are extremely rare (Baer; Roxburgh). Diagrammatic representations reflecting the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa mosque as well as the Dome of Chains, occur on Muslim pilgrims' scrolls and in illuminated manuscripts in Ottoman times (e.g., *Book of Wonders*, ca. 1590, Bavarian State Library, Munich, Cod. arab. 461, fol. 45r).



Fig. 20 Reuwich, E., *Jerusalem* (1486)

2. Early Christian Mosaics. In early Christian churches, depictions of Jerusalem appear on wall and on floor mosaics, often blending elements of the heavenly and the earthly city. The earliest known example is the apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome showing Christ teaching his apostles in the center of an architectonic setting, identified as Jerusalem by the rock of Golgota rising behind Christ (beginning of the 5th cent.). At the apse arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–440 CE) images of two cities are inscribed as *Hierusalem* and *Bethleem*. Their jewelled walls allude to apocalyptic visions, but the images are nonetheless representations of the real cities, including some of their characteristic buildings, such as Jerusalem's colonnaded street and the Anastasis rotunda (see Steigerwald). The Jerusalem city vignette in the floor mosaic of Tayyibat al-Imam (Syria), created in 442 CE, is dominated by a huge basilica probably representing the Constantine-era Martyrium Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The oldest example of a geographic depiction of the whole city is a floor mosaic laid out in a church at Madaba (Jordan) from around the middle of the 6th century (Piccirillo/Alliata). Jerusalem is shown in the center of a map that unrolls a cartographic view of the Holy Land from the Nile Delta to the Lebanon. The representation of Jerusalem presents a walled, oval city, is titled as “*Η ΑΓΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΥΣΑ[ΛΗΜ]*” (The Holy city of Jerusalem), and shows some identifiable urbanistic elements of the city (e.g., the *cardo maximus* as a colonnaded street, the Anastasis rotunda with a golden cupola, the Hagia Sion church, and the huge Nea church built by Justinian). Astonishingly, a representation of the Temple Mount is completely missing.

3. Jerusalem Maps and Plans. The theologically significant, central position of Jerusalem (based on the exegesis of Ezek 5:5 and Ezek 38:12) is also kept in medieval *mappae mundi* (e.g., *Ebstorf map*, 13th cent.; Hereford map, ca. 1285; Harvey; see → EBR 12, plate 7a). From the crusader period and the

13th and 14th centuries, around a dozen maps of Jerusalem are known. Their city plan is mostly oriented towards the east (at the top), and symbolically shaped as a circle divided by a cross (Meuwese). Maps of Jerusalem from the time of the Crusades mainly focus on two sites, the Church of the Resurrection, and the Dome of the Rock (considered as the *Templum Domini*), while the citadel, the Temple Mount, and several city gates sometimes are discernible as well. Three of these buildings – the Church of the Resurrection, the citadel, and the *Templum Domini* – regularly represent the city of Jerusalem on the seals of the crusader kings of Jerusalem (Mayer/Sode). Some of the medieval maps show pilgrims as wandering groups between the holy sites (Brussels map, ca. 1150, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique MS 9823-24, fol. 157r).

Many medieval and early modern maps showing Jerusalem were part of cosmographies, atlases, or of pilgrims' travel accounts of the Holy Land. Medieval copies of Arculf's pilgrim's account recorded by Adomnan in the late 7th century, for example, comprise the earliest known schematic ground plans of singular buildings at Jerusalem, namely of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Hagia Sion Church, and the Ascension rotunda on the Mount of Olives (Gnāgi). Before 1454, Pietro del Massaio and Ugo Comminelli's compilation of Ptolemy's “*Cosmographia*,” presented a map of the walled city of Jerusalem in a rectangular shape showing several contemporary buildings at holy sites (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 4802, fol. 135r.)

The most important late medieval map of the Holy Land with view of Jerusalem was produced by Erhard Reuwich, probably following his own pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the years 1483/84, and printed in 1486 as illustration for Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Ross). In the center of a 1.52 m wide landscape panorama from Damascus to Alexandria, the holy city rises behind the port of Jaffa drawn in the fore-

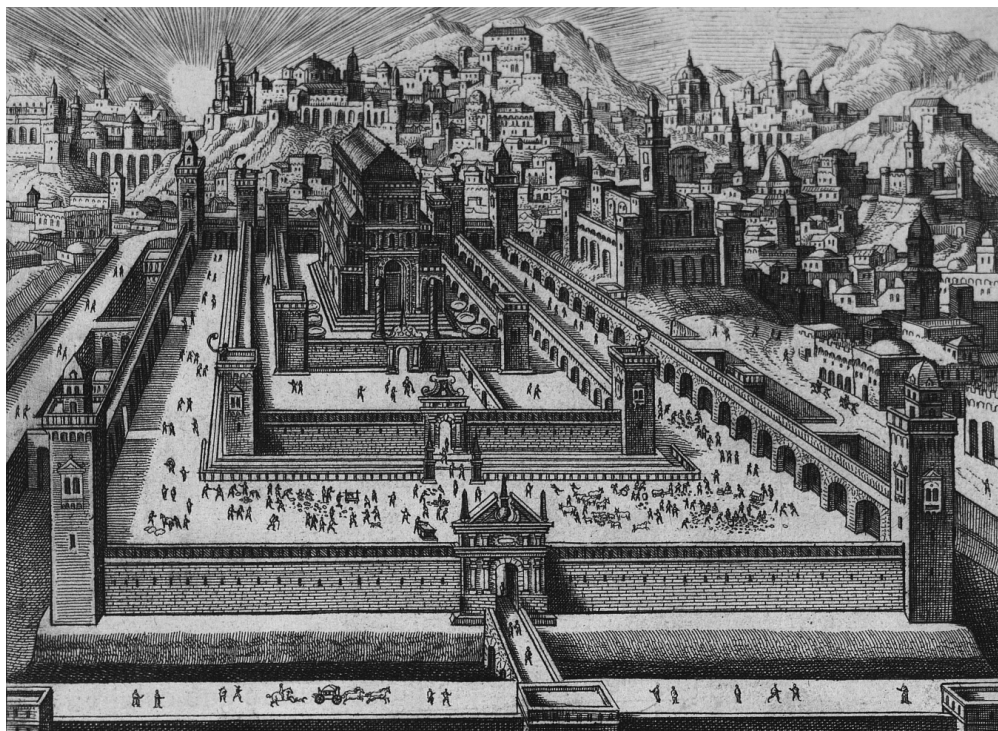


Fig. 21 Mariette, P.J. (based on M. Merian), *Temple of Solomon* (1670).

ground (see fig. 20). Jerusalem's cityscape is seen from the west, the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre thus presented from the south. Reuwich was the first artist who intended to merge all available topographical and architectural information on the contemporary shape of Jerusalem in one map. The back of the map's foldout shows additional prints of the Holy Sepulchre.

From the time span between the late 15th century and the beginning of the 19th century, more than 300 maps of Jerusalem survive (Rubin 1999). Most of them depict the city from the east in a diagonal bird's-eye perspective. The maps belong to two main categories: they are either presenting a realistic panorama of the contemporary city (e.g., the one published by Reuwich in 1486, or by Franciscus Quaresmius in 1639), or are imaginative historical reconstructions (e.g., by Adam Reisner in 1563, by Juan Bautista Villalpando in 1604, or by Wenzel Hollar in 1670). Matthäus Merian's imaginative view of the precincts of the Salomonic Temple in the foreground of the city panorama, printed in 1627 as part of his *Icones bibliae* (see fig. 21), was the prototype for the much copied *Amsterdam Haggadah* edition by Abraham ben Jacob of 1695. A unique early ideal model of the city of Jerusalem showing the Salomonic Temple was realized by Jakob

Sandtner for the Kunstkammer of the Duke of Bavaria (ca. 1570, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; Goren 2014).

The first accurately measured plans and sections of singular buildings in Jerusalem were, according to his own statement, carried out and published by the Guardian of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land, Bernardino Amico, in his *Trattato delle piante et immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (1591, edited at Rome in 1609, and at Florence in 1620). Moreover, this publication contains the first depictions of the Via Dolorosa. Between 1724 and 1744, the Franciscan Elzear Horn adapted the course of the Via Dolorosa to Jerusalem's actual street map (*Ichonographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae*), and numbered in detail each single station of the cross.

In the following of the systematic geographical surveys of Palestine at the beginning of the 19th century, the city maps of Jerusalem became based on trigonometric calculations and precise measurements of distances and directions.

4. Jerusalem as a Visual Setting of Biblical and Historical Narratives. Many depictions of Jerusalem panoramas or of the city's particular sites combine topographical information with biblical or historical narratives. In the 6th/7th centuries, the first representations of Jerusalem's holy places within

narrative scenes occur on pilgrims' devotionalia from Palestine (*eulogia ampullae*, S. Sanctorum reliquary). Narrative scenes of the biblical events commemorated at a specific place (Jesus' crucifixion, his resurrection with the women at the empty tomb, his ascension, and Pentecost) were amended by architectural elements of the respective contemporary shrines (e.g., the Anastasis rotunda, or the aedicule over Christ's tomb), sometimes even by elements of the liturgy performed there (Weitzmann, Kühnel 2003). Medieval pilgrimage ampullae from Jerusalem (2nd half 12th cent.) show characteristic elements of the rebuilt crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre consecrated in 1149, especially the new Anastasis cupola, the bell tower, and Christ's sarcophagus with three holes in its front (Boertjes). Since the 12th century, medieval book illuminations figuring Christ's ascension on the Mount of Olives contain either a stone block, or Christ's footprints on a rocky surface as references to the real locus shown in the Crusader Church on site (Worm). The first known example integrating Christ's footprints in this iconography is an illustration in the *Landgrafenpsalter*, written between 1208 and 1213 (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS HB II 24, fol. 109v).

In the 14th and 15th centuries, Jerusalem appears as visual topic in illuminated manuscripts, especially in passion scenes, but also in Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates*, or in pilgrims' or historical accounts on the Holy Land (e.g., Jean de Tavernier, *Voyage en la terre d'Outre-mer*, Lille 1455, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Fr. 9087) (Robin; Flick; Hoppe).

In the late 14th and 15th centuries, the city of Jerusalem and its holy sites often serve as backdrop for representations of biblical events, namely of passion scenes (e.g., Hubert van Eyck [?], *Three Marys at Christ's Tomb*, ca. 1420, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, see → plate 15b). These cityscapes can be grouped in three categories (Flick): unspecific towns with one or two highlighted buildings, cityscapes symbolizing Jerusalem but echoing native European cities from the artists' own horizons of experience, and views with architectural elements citing real contemporary buildings at Jerusalem.

In the course of the 15th century, an attention for the temporal quality of differing stylistic forms arose among European artists and architects as a phenomenon of pre- and early Humanist ideas. It was the Flemish artist Jan van Eyck who, following a presumptive travel to Palestine around the year 1426, started to integrate architectonic details into his religious paintings which referred to specific elements of contemporary monuments at Jerusalem. Several features in his works allude to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in particular (e.g., circular rows of columns on high pedestals: *Virgin and Child*

with Canon van der Paele, 1434/36, Bruges, Groeningemuseum, see → EBR 8, plate 2b) (Hoppe).

From the 1460s/70s on, several works of early Netherlandish and German painters present Jerusalem as a continuous, bird's-eye cityscape housing a set of sequential biblical events, e.g., of the life and passion of Christ (woodcut fragments, Cologne, ca. 1450–60, Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire). In two respective panels originally situated at Bruges, Hans Memling uses groups of figures traversing the pictorial space in order to link these spatially arranged successive scenes (*Scenes from the passion of Christ*, 1470/1, Galleria Sabauda, Turin; *Seven Joys of the Virgin Mary*, ca. 1480, Alte Pinakothek, Munich). Memling translocates the shown events from Jerusalem to contemporary Bruges by citing existing local architecture and referring to local liturgical practice (Schlie).

Representations of Jerusalem often occur on pilgrims' devotional objects, either produced in the Holy Land and brought home from the pilgrimage, or commissioned after arriving back home from the Holy Land. At home, they could also serve as a stimulant for mental pilgrimage (Rudy). In the Western tradition some of the objects show portraits of the pilgrims (e.g., *View on Jerusalem and surroundings with prayer portrait of Frederick the Wise of Saxony*, after 1493, Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha; *The Holy Places of Jerusalem*, colored wool and silk tapestry fabricated at Brussels in 1541, 4.25 x 5.17 m, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, showing the Elector Palatine Ottheinrich's pilgrimage in the year 1521; Fey; Goren 2007; Goren 2014).

Specific Orthodox pilgrims' memorabilia were so-called *proskynetaria*, manufactured at Jerusalem from the 17th to the 19th centuries by monasteries affiliated with the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate (e.g., icon by Isaak Demetrikes, 1818, Ikonenmuseum, Frankfurt). These artistically modest oil paintings on canvas, portable by being wrapped, were sold to pilgrims and brought by them to Russia, the Balkans, and Egypt (Immerzeel; Skalova; Rubin 2013). In the center of the *proskynetaria* appears the Church of the Resurrection, drawn in section and recognizable by its dome and Christ's sepulchre. The Holy Sepulchre is surrounded by other Christian *loca sancta* in Jerusalem, all arranged in a topographical order in a diagonal bird's-eye view. Behind the walled city expands a whole sacred landscape, studded with further biblical OT and NT scenes, the whole painting sometimes being framed by cartouches with images of holy persons and events (e. g. of Mary and scenes of the Akathistos Hymn).

Besides the painted ones, there were also *proskynetaria* printed on paper or cloth. One example, kept in the church of St Paraskevi in Siatista (Greece), not only includes Christian holy sites, but also Muslim shrines (Papastratos: 2:531–34). This

icon was conceived by Jerusalem's Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, but printed in Vienna around the year 1723. By adding Latin and Greek inscriptions, the monuments on it became identifiable for Western and Eastern Christians equally.

Since the 14th century, the Franciscan order was the main provider of guidance to Christian (later: Catholic) Holy Land pilgrims, and produced different types of pilgrims' souvenirs. In the 17th century, precious models of the church of the Holy Sepulchre out of olive wood with mother of pearl inlays were manufactured in Franciscan milieu.

From the 16th century on, it became popular among European pilgrims to acquire tattoos on the inner arms as signs for an accomplished pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Lewy). Recorded 17th-century pilgrims' tattoos, e.g., showed Christ's resurrection from the sepulchre aedicule (in its contemporary appearance), and the stone of his unction, or a whole map of the Via Dolorosa. Back home, these images could become a devotional tool for contemplation. This practice of tattooing principally originated in the Franciscan milieu, as well, and was later taken over by Coptic inhabitants of Jerusalem. For the 19th century, the practice of site-specific tattooing in Jerusalem is also documented for Jewish pilgrims by the existence of local stencils with motifs of the Temple Mount and Wailing Wall with the Hebrew inscription "*Jeruschalajim*" (Lewy: 38–39).

5. Architectural Copies and Sacred Geographies.

Returning pilgrims and crusaders brought to Europe a distinct, not only visual, but also architectural knowledge of Jerusalem's holy places. During the Middle Ages, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as a whole and the aedicule over Christ's tomb became models for architectural copies throughout Europe recalling the sacred prototypes (e.g., Fulda, St. Michael, ca. 822, rebuilt in the 11th cent.; Gernrode, ca. 1100; Bologna, S. Stefano, after 1141; Kroesen; Ousterhout). Especially after the Muslim re-conquest of Palestine when pilgrimage to the Holy Land became more difficult, Jerusalem's sacred geographies were symbolically proliferated and inscribed into churches and towns, and onto landscapes elsewhere (*viae crucis*, end of 14th cent.; *sacri monti* in Northern Italy, 15th–18th cent.; Kühnel et al. 2014; Bartal/Vorholt).

6. 19th and 20th centuries Representations.

During the 19th century, Jerusalem achieved an important status as subject in Orientalist paintings (Khatib). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the city of Jerusalem also became a subject for diverse new mass consumption media (Wharton: 145–80). David Roberts' Holy Land lithographies, first published between 1840 and 1845, made views of diverse buildings in Jerusalem available to a wide audience in Europe and America. Of further importance for the imagination of Jerusalem worldwide

were Gustave Doré's Bible illustrations (first published in 1866) that even served as prototypes for some stage sets in the earliest movies of Jesus' life and passion. Several huge panoramas, the first installed in 1884, showed the city of Jerusalem at the moment of Jesus' crucifixion. One of them, created in 1903 by Gebhard Fugel at Altötting (Germany), today is Europe's sole originally preserved panorama presenting a religious topic (measuring 95 m in length by a height of 12 m). Even larger and older is the Jerusalem cyclorama in the church of Sainte-Anne-de Beaupré near Québec, Canada, by Paul Philippoteaux (1895, 14 x 110 m). Stereoscopic photographs and richly illustrated books like *Picturesque Palestine* (1881–83, translated into German in 1884) were extremely successful as virtual tours of the Holy Land, presenting Jerusalem's most important sites and cityscapes for home viewing (Long). The most influential photographic company for travel souvenir photography in the Near East, La Maison Bonfils, opened in 1867. Bonfils' views of Jerusalem and of the holy sites in the city belonged to the most popular photos sold worldwide.

At the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, a walk-through replica of Ottoman Jerusalem (scale 1:1) covered an area of 11 acres. A famous scientific model of Jerusalem (scale 1:50), representing the city at Herod's time before the destruction by the Romans in 70 CE, was constructed between 1964 and 1974 at the Holy Land Hotel in Jerusalem under the guidance of Israeli archaeologists (now at the Israel Museum).

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Ute Versteegen

IX. Music

The earliest notated references to Jerusalem in Western music feature both in Gregorian plainchant (ca. 950 CE), and Ambrosian plainchant (from

ca. 8th cent. CE and 11th–12th cent. CE), in settings of the Mass, and in the hymns, psalmody, and responsories of the Liturgy of the Hours, also known as the Divine Office. Numerous references also feature in Byzantine chant of various traditions in Eastern liturgies. Gregorian chant, in particular, has inspired the composition of many works of classical music, especially early music from the 15th and 16th centuries. For example the plainchant hymn, *Urbs Ierusalem Beata* also called *Caelestis Urbs Ierusalem*, (Rev 21; Eph 2:20, and 1 Pet 2:5) which is sung at Vespers and Matins (stanzas 1–4) and at Lauds (stanzas 5–8), including the Office of the Dedication of a Church, was set as a polyphonic motet by Guillaume Dufay, Cristóbal de Morales, and Tomás Luis de Victoria.

The city of Jerusalem has been depicted in a vast corpus of music inspired not only by plainchant but in every genre of vocal and instrumental music down through the centuries. Well-known works with Jerusalem in the title include the 12th-century hymn *Jerusalem the Golden* (Rev 21 and 22) by Bernard of Cluny. Translated by John Mason Neale (1818–1866) it was set to the tune “Ewing” (1853). In the 16th–17th centuries there was a proliferation of motets based on the theme of Jerusalem. William Byrd, for example, lamented the captivity of the Catholic Church in Elizabethan England in his highly expressive Jerusalem motets, as well as in the non-liturgical motet *Plorans Plorabit* (“Weeping [My Eye] Shall Weep”), inspired by Jer 13:17–18, and published in *Gradualia, ac cantiones sacrae, Liber Primus* (1605).

In the 17th and 18th centuries, well-known references to Jerusalem are included in the English Coronations anthem *Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem* by Henry Purcell (Z.46, ca. 1689) for the coronation of William and Mary in 1689, and a setting of the same text by Jeremiah Clarke for the coronation for Queen Anne in 1702 (Pss 147:12; 48:8; 21:13 and Isa 49:23). Other well-known compositions include Johann Sebastian Bach’s cantata *Preise, Jerusalem, den Herrn* (“Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem”) BWV 119 (1723) based on Ps 147:12–14, and the motet *Lauda Jerusalem* (Ps 147) for soprano, chorus, orchestra and continuo by Antonio Vivaldi (R. 609, ca. 1720), which was also set by Claudio Monteverdi, among others, in his *Vespro della Beata Vergine* (1610). Settings of Ps 122, with its numerous references to Jerusalem, feature in the Introit and coronation anthem *I Was Glad*. It was set to music by several composers, among them Purcell (1685), William Boyce (1761) and the best known setting by Hubert Parry (op. 51, 1902). Psalm 51, known as the Miserere and one of the Penitential Psalms, includes a reference to Jerusalem and to the yearnings of the people for the restoration of the temple (Ps 51:20). The best known setting by Allegri for two choirs of four and five voices alternates falsobordone with monophonic chant.

The allegorical daughters of Jerusalem from the Song of Songs feature in numerous compositions during the 15th–18th centuries, most notably in Vivaldi's *Filiae maestae Jerusalem* (RV 638, ca. 1715) and in the opening choral-movement of Bach's *St Matthew Passion* (BWV 244, 1727), where one of the daughters of Zion is sung by a tenor voice. References to Zion also feature in George Frideric Handel's best-known oratorio *Messiah* (HVV 56, 1741) in the soprano's airs "Rejoice Greatly, O Daughter of Zion," and "O Thou that tellest Good Tidings to Zion," and in the well-known funeral anthem for Queen Anne, *The Ways of Zion do Mourn* (HWV 264, 1737).

Two of the best known English songs of the 19th and 20th centuries, both entitled *Jerusalem*, were written by composer Michael Maybrick, alias Stephen Adams, with words by Frederick E. Weatherly (1892), and Hubert Parry (1916). The former is a sacred song inspired by Rev 21:2 and the latter an English unison song/hymn based on William Bake's poem "And did those feet in ancient time" (1808). Also known as England's unofficial anthem, Hubert Parry's *Jerusalem* features at rugby matches, and also as part of the last night of the BBC Proms every year to an orchestration by Edward Elgar. Inspired by the apocryphal story of Jesus' visit to Glastonbury, and based on Rev 3:12 and 21:2, it describes the Second Coming of Christ and the establishment of the New Jerusalem. It was originally sung at a demonstration of the Suffragettes in 1917, where it became known as the Women's Voters' hymn of the National Union of Suffrage Societies in 1918, and later it was adopted by the Women's Institute as their anthem in 1924.

In more recent times, notable compositions include Krzysztof Penderecki's choral symphony, *Symphony No 7: Seven Gates of Jerusalem* for five soloists (SSATB), narrator, three mixed choruses, and orchestra, commissioned to celebrate the Holy City's third millennium (1996). Inspired by texts from the Psalms (48; 137; 130; 96), Isaiah (26:2; 52:1; 59:19; 60:1–2, 11), Ezekiel (37:1–10), Jeremiah (21:8) and Daniel (7:13), the number seven features prominently in the seven movements, along with other technical uses of the number seven in the music.

A selection of well-known works based on the history of Jerusalem from the OT and NT include the following:

1. Old Testament. a. The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek. While the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek features in the liturgies of the Western and Eastern Christian churches, there are no major works of music devoted to this event. However given the prominence of Ps 110 in the Office of Vespers, the *Dixit Dominus*, and the reference to Melchizedek, King of Salem, in v. 4, this psalm has been set to music by numerous composers including

Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Handel, Claudio Monteverdi, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Domenico Scarlatti and Antonio Vivaldi including many more.

b. Mount Moriah. The association between the place of Isaac's sacrifice in the land of Moriah to Temple Mount in Jerusalem is often implied in music composed on this theme (as in Metastasio's libretto *Isacco figura del Redentore*, see "Aqedah VIII. Music"). Examples of oratorios entitled *Mount Moriah* include works by J.H. Rolle (1777), and J.F. Bridge (1874).

c. King David's Entry into Jerusalem. David's dance before the ark on its journey to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:14–16) is told in many works including the suite for piano *Le Danze del Re* by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (op. 37, 1925), the wind ensemble *King David's Dance* by American composer Stephen Shewan (2006), and in a work for organ *Four Biblical Dances* by Petr Eben, based on the dance of David before the ark (2 Sam 6:14–15).

d. Solomon and the Building of the Temple. The building of the temple in Jerusalem and the arrival of the Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem are recounted in the oratorio *Solomon* by Handel (HWV 67, 1748; rev. 1759), based on 1 Kgs 3–11 and 2 Chr 1–9 and Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*. Act 1 opens with a song of praise by the priests celebrating the opening of the temple ("Your harps and cymbals sound to great Jehovah's praise"). On a similar theme, Walford Davies' oratorio *The Temple* (op. 14, 1902) was inspired by the biblical accounts of David's desire to build a temple and Solomon's fulfillment of his father's wish.

e. Sennacherib's Siege of Jerusalem. The Assyrian King Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem is told in two oratorios both entitled *Hezekiah* by John Truman Wolcott (op. 11, 1908) and Philip Armes (1878). Inspired by Isa 36–37, each one opens with an instrumental "March of Sennacherib's Army upon Jerusalem" to set the scene of the Assyrian Siege of Jerusalem (701 BCE). Wolcott concluded his oratorio with the joyful chorus "Great and Marvellous are thy Works" (Rev 15:3), alluding to the death of the 185,000 Assyrian troops by the Angel of Death. This biblical story also features in a cantata entitled *The Destruction of Sennacherib* by Modest Mussorgsky (1866–67; rev. 1874) based on 2 Kgs 18:13–19:37.

f. The Destruction of Jerusalem and Babylonian Exile. Isaiah's prophecies of judgment on sinful Jerusalem are told in the cantata *Ariel: Visions of Isaiah* for soprano, baritone, and orchestra by Robert Starer (1959), based on Isa 23:1–4; 1:4, 7; and Isa 3:16–24. The opera *Nabucco* by Giuseppe Verdi (1842) develops this theme by telling of the destruction of Jerusalem and exile of the Israelites in Babylon (Jer 21:10). Loosely based on the biblical story of Nabucco (Nebuchadnezzar), king of Babylon, it includes the well-known chorus of the Hebrew slaves

"Va pensiero," from the end of act 3, recalling Ps 137 ("By the Waters of Babylon") and the lamentations of the Jewish people in Babylon. Other well-known settings of Ps 137 in music feature in numerous compositions by composers down through the centuries, including *Super Flumina Babylonis* by Palestrina, *Al Naharot bavel/There by Streams we sat* by Salamone Rossi, *An den Wassern zu Babel saßen wir und weinten* (SWV 37, 1619) by Heinrich Schütz, and *By the Waters of Babylon* by William Boyce (1740).

g. Lamentations of Jeremiah. Jeremiah's lamentations over the destruction of Jerusalem feature in the motet *Gallia: Lamentation* by Gounod (1871), scored for soprano solo, chorus, orchestra, and organ. Based on the text of Lamentations (Lam 1:1–2, 4, 12 and 9), it was written as a lament for the people of France after their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Other notable works include the Lamentations of Jeremiah, famously set to music by Thomas Tallis. Other works on this theme include Leonard Bernstein's *Jeremiah Symphony* (1943) and Igor Stravinsky's *Threni, id est* (1958).

h. The Rebuilding of the Temple. One work, namely the anthem *And When the Builders* by Edmund Rubbra, inspired by Ezra 3:10–13, tells the biblical story of the building of the Second Temple. A sustained pedal note in the organ accompaniment suggests the foundation, while trumpets and cymbals represent the joyful celebrations of the priests and Levites.

i. Judas Maccabaeus. Judas Maccabaeus, the third son of Mattathias the Hasmonean was set to music in an oratorio by Handel (HWV 63, 1746) to a libretto by Thomas Morell. Inspired by apocryphal book 1 Macc 2–8, it compares the victory of Judas Maccabaeus over the Seleucids to Prince William's victory over the Jacobites in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745–76. It concludes with the chorus "See, the conqu'ring hero comes," sung by the Israelites in praise of their hero Judas Maccabaeus.

2. New Testament. a. The Nativity. References to Jerusalem in Christmas hymns, carols, and motets extol Jerusalem to rejoice at the birth of the Christ-child. Well-known examples include the motet *Noe, noe, psallite noe* by Jean Mouton (1459–1522) based on Ps 24:7–10; the carol *Illuminare Jerusalem* by Judith Weir (1986), and the 16th-century English carol *Jerusalem My Happy Home*. Popular Advent music includes the plainsong communion for the second Sunday of Advent *Jerusalem Surge* ("Arise O Jerusalem") based on Bar 5:5 and 4:36, it was set as a polyphonic motet by Palestrina among many more.

b. The Presentation of Jesus at the Jerusalem Temple. The Feast of the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, also known as Candlemas and the Feast of the Purification, is celebrated in Western and Eastern Churches. In the evening liturgies of Eastern and Western traditions, the canticle *Nunc Dimittis* ("Now

Lord Let Your Servant Depart") recalls the song sung by Simeon when he held the baby Jesus in his arms at the temple of Jerusalem (Luke 2:28–35). This text has been set to music by numerous composers down through the history of music.

c. The Lamentation of Jesus over Jerusalem. Jesus' words of lamentation over Jerusalem (Luke 13:34–35) were set on several occasions, in a well-known motet *Jerusalem, Jerusalem* by the 16th century Flemish composer Giaches de Wert, by Felix Mendelssohn in the soprano's aria "Jerusalem! die du tötest die Propheten" ("Jerusalem! Thou that killest the Prophets") in the oratorio *St Paul* (op. 36, 1834–36), and in a more recent work by John Tavener who included it alongside Ps. 137 in Stanza III of his *Lament for Jerusalem: A Love Song* (2002).

d. Jesus' Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem. Jesus' triumphant entry into Jerusalem, which is celebrated in the Palm Sunday liturgy, is set to music in the well-known anthem based on Matt 21:9, *Hosanna to the Son of David* by Thomas Weelkes, and by Orland Gibbons, and in the motet, *Hosanna Filio David* by Tomás Luis Victoria. A vast corpus of Passion Music (see "Passion") recounting Jesus' last week in the city of Jerusalem has been composed by numerous composers down through the centuries.

e. Descent of the Holy Spirit. Works focusing on the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles in Jerusalem (Ps 103:30; Acts 2:1–13), include the well-known Gregorian hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Sung at the Feast of Pentecost, it has been set in vocal and instrumental music by numerous composers down through the centuries. Other notable works include Richard Wagner's *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel* ("The Love Feast of the Apostles") (WWV 69, 1843) inspired by Acts 2:1–13, and Elgar's oratorio *The Kingdom* (op. 51, 1906), based on the activities of the Apostles and the Holy Women in Jerusalem following Jesus' Ascension from Acts 1.

f. The New Jerusalem. John's vision of the New Jerusalem has enjoyed numerous settings in music. Some well-known works include Edgar Bainton's late-Romantic anthem, *And I Saw a New Heaven* (Rev 21:1–4); Olivier Messiaen's *Couleurs de la Cité Céleste* (1963), inspired by texts from the book of Revelation (Rev 4:3; 8:6; 9:1; 21:11, 19–20), describes in sound the radiant colors of the celestial city; Hildegard of Bingen's canticle in praise of St Rupert, *O Jerusalem, aurea civitas* ("Jerusalem, the golden city"), which combines text from Revelation (Rev 21) and the Gospels in her mystical description of the celestial city whose foundations are adorned with precious stones (Rev 21:19–20). Vaughan William's oratorio in ten parts, *Sancta Civitas* (The Holy City, 1923–25), which opens with an account of the rejoicing in heaven following the fall of Babylon (Rev 19), continues with a vision of the new heaven and the new earth (Rev 21), and the salvation of the great multitude (Rev 22:1–7). On a similar theme,

the well-known American Gospel hymn *When the Saints Go Marching In* with words by Luther G. Presley inspired by Rev 6:12, 13, 7, 8–11; 14:1–5; 19:12; 1:14, and music by Virgil Oliver Stamps, alludes to the “144,000” (Rev 7:4–8; 14:1–5) i.e., “the Saints” entering heaven’s gateway.

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Siobhán Dowling Long

X. Film

Numerous films feature Jerusalem, most often because of its connection to historic events, but also for the promise of the city as an idealized home.

Biblical epics, naturally, present Jerusalem as a backdrop for their storylines. A listing of such movies might include *Ben-Hur* (dir. William Wyler, 1959, US), *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (dir. George Stevens, 1965, US), *Monty Python’s Life of Brian* (dir. Terry Jones, 1979, UK), *King David* (dir. Bruce Beresford, 1985, UK/US), and *The Passion of the Christ* (dir. Mel Gibson, 2004, US). Israel, however, rarely serves as a filming location. As a result, the depiction of the city tends to attempt some replication of Jerusalem stone, and monumental backdrops for the Temple or palace. Such an imagination likely reflects passages such as Mark 13:1, which speak of both.

For more mundane settings, narrow alleyways and dusty streets typify the visual commonplaces. *The Passion of the Christ*, with its many claims of biblical and historical accuracy, typifies this approach. Shot in Italy, it features locales from the old town of Matera and the abandoned city of Craco. The stone structures of both sites easily suggest Jerusalem, and Gibson, as a director, frequently shoots the dust rising up in a film from the streets.

Historical struggles over the city of Jerusalem (as in the Crusades) likewise generate drama that often captures the imagination of filmmakers. For example, *Kingdom of Heaven* (dir. Ridley Scott, 2005, UK/D/US) dramatizes the defense of the city by Balian (Orlando Bloom) and his men against Saladin (Ghassan Massoud). As with biblically based movies, historical accuracy regarding the details of the city itself (not to mention details of the persons, events, and siege warfare at the time) prove less important than the drama.

This movie, however, does place emphasis on the place of the city in the imagination of two religious traditions. For instance, in a scene negotiating the terms of surrender, Balian asks Saladin as he walks away “What is Jerusalem worth?” Initially, the commander replies dismissively, “nothing” and continues on his way. Then, however, in a moment shaped for maximum narrative impact, he turns back and with a sly smile says “everything.”

In that regard, the film speaks not only to contemporary struggles over the city, but also to its

symbolic power from biblical times forward. Psalm 125, for instance, celebrates the eternal and unmovable presence of God in this location. Psalm 132:13–14 describes it as a place that prompts the desire of God. Its value, then, rests less in strategic importance to any military or political plans, and more as the result of a long association with a particular and powerful expression of the divine presence.

Apart from history, however, the city of Jerusalem also turns up as a larger symbol of hope for peoples under siege or seeking out new possibilities. In *World War Z* (dir. Marc Foster, 2013, US), for instance, the government of Israel encircles part of the city with a defensive wall to withstand an invasion of rapidly moving zombies threatening the earth. This enclave, contrary to modern history, brings people together regardless of ethnicity or religion. Behind its imposing fifty-foot barrier and under the armed protection of the Israelis, Jerusalem becomes like the city described in Ps 147 – a refuge, place of protection, and guarantor of peace.

Ironically, however, in celebrating their unity in survival, the people within the safe parameters of the wall break into song. This noise rouses the marauding zombies who scale the wall and attack the city. As in many biblical epics, the features of the city portrayed include stone walls, narrow alleyways, and dry, dusty conditions. A panoramic shot of the city from above features the Dome of the Rock to the east – outside of the wall and the hilly landscape. In that same shot, the walled-in portion of west Jerusalem fails to show any of the taller, modern buildings that characterize the contemporary city.

By contrast, *JeruZalem* (dir. Doron and Yoav Paz, 2015), an Israeli horror movie, also tells the story of a zombie invasion. In this instance, however, the filmmakers use actual shots of the city itself. The visiting Americans who come under siege use a technology much like Google Glass within the film. That narrative detail explains the “found” footage that not only shows off some of the city’s most magnificent sights, but also reveal some of its dark and cramped qualities as the group struggles to survive.

These filmmakers explicitly reference a quotation from the Talmud at the opening of the film. The insert reads: “(Jeremiah 19, Talmud) ... There are three gates to hell. One in the desert, One in the ocean, and One in Jerusalem.” Drawn from *BER* 19a, the texts actually says: “R. Jeremiah b. Eleazar further stated: Gehenna has three gates; one in the wilderness, one in the sea and one in Jerusalem.” The rabbinic discussion of the underworld and a place of burning transforms in the film’s adaptation to Jerusalem as a place where the powers of darkness emerge to trouble humanity with deadly intent.

Jerusalem also, however, appears onscreen as a powerful symbol of hope in other film contexts.

Two musical references immediately make the point.

In *Babette's Feast* (dir. Gabriel Axel, 1987, DK) the two sisters Martine and Philippa live not only in the cold and isolation of a Danish island, but also of their father's strict religious sect. One of the hymns that the congregation sings regularly – "Jerusalem, My Heart's True Home" – envisions a transformed world where provision for all becomes the norm. One particular line expresses this ideal most keenly. "Your [the city's] kindness is second to none. You keep us clothed and fed; Never would you give a stone; To the child who begs for bread." The eschatological wealth of the city's resources takes center stage here. It recalls Ezek 47:7–12 with a restored temple at the heart of Jerusalem and its flow of living water that produces abundant food even in the desert.

Likewise, in *Working Girl* (Mike Nichols, 1988, US), the Academy Award winning Carly Simon song "Let The River Run" also uses Jerusalem as a cipher. In this instance, it represents a beautiful ideal filled with possibilities. She sings: "Let the river run; Let all the dreamers; Wake the nation; Come, the New Jerusalem." Within the parameters of the film, New York City becomes a beacon for New Jersey secretary Tess McGill (Melanie Griffith) as she seeks more for and from her life. This "silver city" that rises evokes a New York City skyline that glitters in the sunlight (not to mention twinkles thanks to thousands of electric lights by night). One cannot help but hear the description of the perfected city coming down from heaven like a bride in Rev 21, radiant (v. 11) and filled with promises of a new age and the end of pain and struggle (vv. 3–5).

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Sandie Gravett

See also → City of David; → Egeria; → Holy Land; → Jebus, Jebusites; → New Jerusalem; → Salem; → Zion

Jerusalem Bible

The Holy Bible translated into French under the direction of the École biblique de Jérusalem was the first Catholic translation into a modern language not based on the Latin Vg. After its publication in French in 1956 readers soon renamed it "La Bible de Jérusalem," with the English translation, "The Jerusalem Bible." It set a new standard for versions of the Bible. It has been adapted in more than twenty languages and millions of copies are sold today. It owes its creation to the École biblique, brought about by Thomas Chiffot O.P. (1908–1964), then the associate Director General of the publishing house Les Éditions du Cerf, owned by the French Dominicans. In early 1943, he antici-

pated the major progress in biblical studies that would follow Pius XII's requests in *Divino Afflante Spiritu*.

1. The Model. The model for translation was that of the classics in the La Pléiade series (Gallimard). Great care was taken to provide an original text basis; translators relied fully on textual criticism. The modern sense of "historicity" supplied the standard for the notes that presented the best results of historical criticism together with Catholic highlights of disputed texts. Special attention was paid to the introductions, which situated each book in its historical and cultural setting. The introductions were also written to help the modern reader understand ancient writings, in which literary composition and historical aspects are different from contemporary texts.

More than twenty renowned French-speaking biblical scholars joined the Dominican fathers of the École to work on this Bible. Famous authors like Albert Béguin, Etienne Gilson, and Henri-Irénée Marrou, participated in the steering committee guaranteeing the cultural quality of the project.

2. Main Editions. A first fascicule appeared in 1948 and the first complete Bible in 1956. In 1973, a new edition complied with the objectives for a more literal translation of the MT. A third revised edition was published in 1998. Favorable public reception of the French translation showed that the annotations were the main contribution of the new Bible. The English publishers of the Jerusalem Bible (1966) confirmed this reaction of the French public. Under the leadership of Alexander Jones, they were interested above all in the introductions and notes. The English text is, therefore, primarily a translation from the French. There were some who felt that for intelligibility the original text was to be on occasion paraphrased, rather than translated. The editorship is evident throughout the volume, for example in the rendering of introductions to speech as in a modern novel ("In that case," he said, "I will go away." E.g., Mark 7:28; Luke 5:12; John 4:11). Another characteristic was the avoidance of "know" (e.g., Eph 5:5: "You can be quite certain"; Jas 2:20: "realise"; 5:20: "be sure"). It adopted the rendering "Yahweh" for the divine name (Gen 2:4; 15:1; 1 Sam 2:12; Prov 8:22), and avoided the second person singular ("thee/thou"), which had been standard in all Bible translations, even the most recent by Ronald Knox in the 1940s. Other features were in the book-production, to increase the acceptance of the Bible as a readable book: there was no double-column, but each page a single column – unusual in English Bibles; verse-numbers appeared only in the "ditch" to avoid interrupting the flow; the text was divided into sections/pericopes with cross-headings.

The New Jerusalem Bible, begun by Michael Longman and completed by Henry Wansbrough,