

Napomene

PREDGOVOR

- [1] Aldous Huxley quoted in A. Elon, *Jerusalem* 62. G. Flaubert, *Les Oeuvres complètes* 1.290. Flaubert on Jerusalem: Frederick Brown, *Flaubert* 231–9, 247, 256 – 61. Melville on Jerusalem: H. Melville, *Journals* 84–94. Bulos Said quoted in Edward W. Said, *Out of Place* 7. Nazmi Jubeh: interview with author. David Lloyd George in Ronald Storrs, *Orientalisms* 394 (henceforth Storrs). For my introduction I am indebted to the superb discussions of identity, coexistence and culture in Levantine cities in the following books: Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem: Living City 1517–1917*; Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean*; Mark Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts*; Adam LeBor, *City of Oranges: Jews and Arabs in Jafa*.*

PROLOG

- [1] Josephus, *The New Complete Works*, ‘The Jewish War’ (henceforth JW) 5.446–52. This account is based on Josephus; the Roman

* Zbog eventualnog interesovanja čitalaca za dubljim bavljenjem ovom tematikom beleške autora o izvorima kojima se služio ostavljene su u originalu radi lakšeg nalaženja literature koja je ovde korišćena i citirana. (Prim. ured.)

sources; Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem: the Clash of Ancient Civilisations* (henceforth Goodman), and also the latest archaeology.

[2] JW 5.458–62, 4.324.

[3] JW 4.559–65.

[4] JW 5.429–44.

[5] JW 6.201–14. All biblical quotations from the Authorized Version: Matthew 8.22.

[6] JW 6.249–315.

[7] JW 9. Tacitus, *Histories* 13. This account of the archaeology is based on: Ronny Reich, ‘Roman Destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE: Flavius Josephus’ Account and Archaeological Record’, in G. Theissen et al. (eds), *Jerusalem und die Länder*. City peculiar, bigotry: Tacitus 2.4–5. Jews and Jerusalem/Syrians/death agony of a famous city/Jewish superstitions/600,000 inside: Tacitus 5.1–13. Jerusalem before siege: JW 4.84–5.128. Titus and siege: JW 5.136 – 6.357. Demolition and fall: JW 6.358–7.62. Titus’ prowess: Suetonius, *Twelve Caesars* 5. Prisoners and death: Goodman 454–5. Josephus saved crucified and friends: Josephus, ‘Life’ 419 and JW 6.418–20. One-third of population dead: Peter Schäfer, *History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World* (henceforth Schäfer) 131. Arm of woman/ burnt house: Shanks 102. Escape of Christians: Eusebius, *Church History* 3.5. Escape of ben Zakkai: F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophet from the Days of Abraham to the Beginning of Modern Times* (henceforth Peters) 111–20. Ronny Reich, Gideon Avni, Tamar Winter, *Jerusalem Archaeological Park* (henceforth *Archaeological Park*) 15 and 96 (Tomb of Zechariah). Oleg Grabar, B. Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem’s Sacred Esplanade* (henceforth *Sacred Esplanade*): Patrich, in *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73.

PRVI DEO: JUDAIZAM

[1] Ronny Reich, Eli Shukron and Omri Lerna, ‘Recent Discoveries in the City of David, Jerusalem: Findings from the Iron Age II in the Rock-Cut Pool near the Spring’, *Israel Exploration Journal* 57 (2007) 153–69. Also conversations with Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron. On population and shrine-castles over springs: conversations with Rafi Greenberg. Richard Miles, *Ancient Worlds* 1–7.

[2] Tel Armarna: I. Finkelstein and N.A. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology’s New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of*

- its Sacred Text* (henceforth Finkelstein/Silberman) 238–41. Peters 6–14.
- [3] Egypt, Moses and Exodus: Exodus 1. ‘I am who I am’: Exodus 3.14. Abraham covenant: Genesis 17.8–10. Melchizedek King of Salem: Genesis 14.18. Isaac: Genesis 22.2. Ramases II and Exodus: Toby Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt* (henceforth *Egypt*) 324–45; Merneptah 343–5; Israel, Sea Peoples, Philistines 343–53. Nature of God and the two biblical writers: Lester L. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel* 150–65. Finkelstein/Silberman 110. Robin Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 49–57, 57–70, 92, 182, 198–202. Wayne T. Pitard, ‘Before Israel: Syria–Palestine in the Bronze Age’, in M. Coogan (ed.), *Oxford History of the Biblical World* (henceforth *Oxford History*) 25–9. Edward F. Campbell, ‘A Land Divided: Judah and Israel from Death of Solomon to the Fall of Samaria’, in *Oxford History* 209. Two sets of Ten Commandments: see Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5. Two sackings of Shechem: Genesis 34 and Judges 9. Goliath two versions: 1 Samuel (henceforth S) 17 and 2 S 21.19. T. C. Mitchell, *The Bible in the British Museum* (henceforth *BM*), 14. Merneptah Stela. Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, ‘Tenth Century to 586 BC: House of the Lord (Beyt YHWH)’, in *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35. H. J. Franken, ‘Jerusalem in the Bronze Age’, in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History* (henceforth Asali) 11–32.
- [4] Saul and David: 1 S 8–2 S 5. David and Goliath 1 S 17 and 2 S 21.19. Saul’s armourbearer and lyre-player: 1 S 16.14–23. Anointed by Samuel: 1 S 16.1–13. Marries Saul’s daughter: 1 S 18.17–27. Ziklag: 1 S 27.6. Rule in Hebron: 2 S 5.5. Lament: 2 S 1.19–27; King of Judah: 2 S 2.4. David’s Philistine and Cretan guards: 2 S 8.18 and 1 Chronicles (henceforth C) 18.17. Ronald de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (henceforth de Vaux) 91–7. Slings: James K. Hofmeier, *Archaeology of the Bible* (henceforth Hofmeier) 84–5. Reich, Shukron and Lernau, ‘Findings from the Iron Age II in the Rock-Cut Pool near the Spring’, *Israel Exploration Journal* 57 (2007) 153–69.
- [5] 2 S 6, 2 S 7.2–13. Takes Jerusalem: 2 S 5, 2 S 24.25, 2 S 5.6–9, 2 S 7.2–3, 2 S 6.13–18. Renames Jerusalem: 2 S 5.7–9 and 1 C 11.5–7. Builds wall: 2 S 5.9. Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35. David’s palace and terraced structure: Dan Bahat, *Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem* (henceforth Bahat) 24. God and the Ark: de Vaux 294–300 and 308–10. Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35.
- [6] 2 S 6.20.

- [7] Bathsheba: 2 S 11–12.
- [8] Absalom and court politics: 2 S 13–24.
- [9] 2 S 24.6 and 1 C 21.15. Abraham: Genesis 22, 1 Kings (henceforth K) 5.3. Threshingfloor and altar: 2 S 24.19–24, 1 C 21.28–22.5, 1 K 1. David bloodshedder: 1 C 22.8 and 28.3.
- [10] Death and Solomon anointment: 1 K 1 and 2, 1 C 28–9. Burial: 1 K 2.10. Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35. John Hyrcanus plunders David's tomb: Josephus, 'Jewish Antiquities' (henceforth JA) VII.15.3.
- [11] Seizure of power: 1 K 1–2.
- [12] Solomon, chariots/horse-gate: 1 K 9–10, 2 K 11.16. Horse-dealing/chariots: 1 K 10.28–9. Gold: 1 K 10.14. Megiddo, Hazor, Gezer: 1 K 9.15. Ark installed and Temple inaugurated: 1 K 8 and 2 C 7. David's spears in Temple: 2 K 11.10. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 134–40 and 191–5. 1 K 2–7 and 1 K 10. Horses, chariots, magnificence: 1 K 10.14–19. Gateways: 1 K 9.15–27. Fleet: 1 K 9: 26–8 and 1 K 10.11–13. Empire and administration: 1 K 4.17–19. Wives: 1 K 11.3. 3,000 proverbs and 1,005 songs: 1 K 4.32. With whips: 1 K 12.11. Temple and palace: 1 K 6 –7, 2 C 2–4. Ezekiel 40–4. 1 C 28.11–19. The Rock tomb: Shanks 165–74. Carol Meyers, 'Kinship and Kingship: The Early Monarchy', in *Oxford History* 197–203. Traditions of the rock: Rivka Gonen, 'Was the Site of the Jerusalem Temple Originally a Cemetery?', *Biblical Archaeology Review* May–June 1985, 44–55. BM, lavers 45; Phoenician style 61. Trade with Hiram and Phoenicians/craftsmen/ origin of Phoenicians/Temple designs and as 'corporations' with barbers, prostitutes: Richard Miles, *Carthage Must be Destroyed* 30–5. Israelites and Phoenicians, purple, alphabet: Miles, *Ancient Worlds*, 57–68. Temple as 'site par excellence for divine-human communication': A. Neuwirth, 'Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorary Names of the City', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917* (henceforth OJ) 219. Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35. Graeme Auld and Margreet Steiner, *Jerusalem 1* 54. Solomon and Pharaoh, spoils and daughter: 1 K 9.16. Pharaoh Siamun raid; daughter marriage: Wilkinson, *Egypt* 404. Tel Qasile potsherd on gold in Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 235–40. De Vaux 31–7, 108–14, 223–4, 274–94. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel* 113–18. Ivory in Sargon's Palace in Assyria and King Ahab in Samaria: 1 K 22.39. Phoenician/Syrian parallels: Shanks 123–34 and 165–74. Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade*

- 15–35. On archaeology: author conversations with Dan Bahat and Ronny Reich. New dating of Megiddo, Hazor, Gezer: Finkelstein/Silberman 134–41; Omrid building in Megiddo vs Solomon: Finkelstein/Silberman 180–5. Nicola Schreiber, *CyproPhoenician Pottery of the Iron Age*, on the chronology of Black-on-Red and its implications 83–213, especially Section I ‘10th Century and the Problem of Shishak’ 85–113. Ayelet Gilboa and Ilan Sharon, ‘An Archaeological Contribution to the Early Iron Age Chronological Debate: Alternative Chronologies for Phoenicia and their Effects on the Levant, Cyprus and Greece’, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 332, November 2003, 7–80.
- [13] Israel breakaway: 1 K 11–14 Rehoboam. Kings of Israel Asa to Omri: 1 K 15–17 – Zimri’s massacre – pisseth against wall 1 K 16.11. Sheshonq (Shishak), attack on Jerusalem: Wilkinson, *Egypt* 405–9. Osorkon: Hofmeier 107. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel* 81. Campbell, *Oxford History* 212–15. Meyers, *Oxford History* 175. De Vaux 230. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 260. Omrid vs Solomonic structures: Finkelstein/Silberman 180–5.
- [14] Ahab/Jehoshaphat: 1 K 15–18, 2 K 1–8. Jehoshaphat: 1 K 15–24 and 2 C 17–20. Finkelstein/Silberman 231–4. Jehu: 2 K 10.1–35. Tel Dan stele: Hofmeier 87. Ahab vs Assyria/Shalmaneser Monolith inscription: Campbell, *Oxford History* 220–3. Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III: *BM* 49–54. Moabite Stone: *BM* 56.
- [15] Jehu: 2 K 9–11, 2 C 22. *BM* 49–56. Tel Dan inscription: Campbell, *Oxford History* 212. Athaliah: 2 K 11–12. Campbell, *Oxford History* 228–31. Reich, Shukron and Lernau, ‘Findings from the Iron Age II in the Rock-Cut Pool near the Spring’, *Israel Exploration Journal* 57 (2007) 153–69; Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35. Uzziah/Jotham: 2 K 13–16. Expanding Jerusalem: 2 C 26.9. Fall of Israel/Jerusalem transformed: Finkelstein/Silberman 211–21, 243–8.
- [16] Ahaz and Isaiah – all references from Book of Isaiah: vision of Jerusalem as sinful nation 1.4; Jerusalem as woman-harlot 1.21 and mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem 10.32; Jerusalem as guide to nations 2.1–5; Zion in every place 4.5; God in temple 6.1–2; Ahaz 7; Emmanuel 8.8 and a child born 9.6–7; judgement and justice/wolf and lamb, guidance to gentiles 11.4–11; judgement day 26.1–2 and 14–19. Fall of Israel: 2 K 15–17. Finkelstein/Silberman 211–21, 243–8. Jews of Iran: K. Farrokh, *Shadows in the Desert: Ancient Persia at War* (henceforth Farrokh) 25–7. M. Cogan, ‘Into

- Exile: From the Assyrian Conquest of Israel to the Fall of Babylon', in *Oxford History* 242–3. Campbell, *Oxford History* 236–9. Latest findings on Jewish genetics: 'Studies Show Jews' Genetic Simililarity', *New York Times* 9 June 2010.
- [17] Hezekiah: 2 K 18–20, 2 C 29–31. New walls, houses: Isaiah 22.9–11. New Jerusalem: swords into ploughshares: Isaiah 2.4; justice 5.8–25, 1.12–17. Sennacherib and Hezekiah: Isaiah 36–8. New rites: 2 C 30. Jeremiah 41.5. Deuteronomy 28.49. Hezekiah's tunnel and building: 2 K 20.20 and 2 C 32.30. New quarters: 2 C 32.5. Siloam Inscription: Bahat, *Atlas* 26–7. Jar-handles belonging to the king: *BM* 62. *Lmlk*: for the king – Hofmeier 108. Reich, Shukron and Lernau, 'Findings from the Iron Age II in the Rock-Cut Pool near the Spring', *Israel Exploration Journal* 57 (2007) 153–69. Royal Steward inscription: *BM* 65 – confirming Isaiah 22. 15–25. Judaeen headdress: *BM* 72. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel* 169–70. *Archaeology* 66; the wall, 137, possibly Nehemiah 3.8. Finkelstein/Silberman 234–43 and 251–64. Hurowitz, *Oxford History* 15–35.
- [18] Sennacherib and Assyria: this section is based on J. E. Curtis and J. E. Reade (eds), *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum*, including: the dress of a Judaeen soldier 71; the dress of Sennacherib on campaign is based on the reliefs of various Assyrian kings on campaign; the siege of Jerusalem is based on the Lachish reliefs of Nineveh. Assyria: Miles, *Ancient Worlds* 68–77. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel* 167; Assyrian texts 185. Egyptian rule: Wilkinson, *Egypt* 430–35. Disaster of war: Nahum 3.1–3. Micah 1.10–13. Isaiah 10: 28–32 and chapters 36–8. Cogan, *Oxford History* 244–51.
- [19] Manasseh: 2 K 21. Child sacrifice: Exodus 22.29. Kings of Jerusalem child sacrifice: 2 K 16.3 and 21.6. See also: 2 C 28.3, Leviticus 18.21, 2 K 17.31, 2 K 17.17, Jeremiah 7.31 (see Rashi commentary) and Jeremiah 32.35. Phoenician/Carthaginian child sacrifice and discovery of *tophet* in Tunisia: Miles, *Carthage Must be Destroyed* 68–73. On Manasseh: Finkelstein/Silberman 263–77. Miles, *Ancient Worlds*, Grabbe, *Ancient Israel* 169. Cogan, *Oxford History* 252–7. Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35.
- [20] Isaiah 8.1; 9.6–7; 11.4–11; 26.1–2, 14–19. Josiah: 2 K 22 and 23, 2 C 35.20–5. De Vaux 336–9. Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35.
- [21] Fall: 2 K 24–5. Jeremiah 34.1–7, 37–9, 52. Depravity, hunger, cruelty, cannibalism, menstruous lamentation 1.17; cruelty of women 4.3; children meat 4.10. Psalms 74 and 137. Daniel 1.4 and 5; Desolation,

- Daniel 11.31. Lachish ostracon: *BM* 87–8. Iron arrowheads, Bahat, *Atlas* 28. Lavatory/sewer: Auld and Steiner, *Jerusalem* 44. House of the Bullae: *Archaeological Park* 52–4. Gemariah son of Shephan: Jeremiah 36.9–12. Ivory sceptre: Hofmeier 98. The section on Babylon is based on I. L. Finkel and M. J. Seymour, *Babylon: Myth and Reality*; D. J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon*; Finkelstein/Silberman 296–309; Wilkinson, *Egypt* 441–4; Tom Holland, *Persian Fire* 46–7. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 69–71. Cogan, *Oxford History* 262–8. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel* 170–84. De Vaux 98. Hurowitz, *Sacred Esplanade* 15–35.
- [22] Cyrus and the Persians: A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (henceforth Olmstead) 34–66. Farrokh 37–51. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 269–71. M. J. W. Leith, ‘Israel among the Nations: The Persian Period’, in *Oxford History* 287–9. E. Stern, ‘Province of Yehud: Vision and Reality’ in Lee I. Levine (ed.) *Jerusalem Cathedra* (henceforth *Cathedra*) 1.9–21. Cogan, *Oxford History* 274. Mythical stories of Cyrus and his rise: Herodotus, *Histories* 84–96. Holland, *Persian Fire* 8–22. On Cyrus Cylinder: *BM* 92. Cyrus and President Truman: Michael B. Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East* 501. Return: Isaiah 44.21–8, 45.1 and 52.1–2. Ezra 1.1–11 and 3–4. Josephus, ‘Against Apion’ 1.154. Leith, *Oxford History* 276–302. First mention of Jew: Esther 2.5. *Archaeological Park* 138.
- [23] Darius the Great: Ezra 4–6. Haggai 1–2. Zechariah 1.7–6.15. Isaiah 9.2–7. Olmstead, 86–93, 107–18, 135–43; Zerubbabel/Darius possibly in Jerusalem 136–144. The description of Darius is based closely on that of Olmstead 117. Mythical stories of Darius’ rise/ the mare’s vagina: Herodotus 229–42. Farrokh 52–74. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 78–85 and 271. Leith, *Oxford History* 303–5. Holland, *Persian Fire* 20–62. Joseph Patrich, ‘538 BCE–70 CE: The Temple (Beyt ha-Miqdash) and its Mount’, in *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73. Miles, *Ancient Worlds* 115–19.
- [24] Nehemiah 1–4, 6–7, 13. *Archeological Park* 137. Leith, *Oxford History* 276–311. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 85 and 277–81. JA 11.159–82.
- [25] Fall of Darius III and rise of Alexander: Olmstead 486–508. Farrokh 96–111. JA 11.304–46. Schäfer 5–7. Gunther Holbl, *History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (henceforth Holbl) 10–46. Maurice Sartre, *The Middle East under Rome* (henceforth Sartre) 5–6, 20.

- [26] Ptolemy Soter and Wars of Successors: JA 2. Josephus, 'Against Apion' 1.183–92. Ptolemies, style, festival in 274, Wilkinson, *Egypt* 469–30. Miles, *Ancient Worlds* 158–70. Adrian Goldsworthy, *Antony and Cleopatra* (henceforth Goldsworthy) 37–41. On Aristeas: Goodman 117–19, quoting Aristeas. For full text see Aristeas, *Letter of Aristeas*. Schäfer 7–18 including Agatharchides on Ptolemy taking Jerusalem. *Cathedra* 1.21. Ptolemy II/Aristeas: Holbl 191. Patrich, *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73.
- [27] Simon the Just: Ecclesiasticus 50.1–14 and 4. JA 12.2 and 12.154–236. Tobiads: C. C. Ji, 'A New Look at the Tobiads in Iraq alAmir', *Liber Annuus* 48 (1998) 417–40. M. Stern, 'Social and Political Realignments in Herodian Judinea', in *Cathedra* 2.40–5. Leith, *Oxford History* 290–1. Schäfer 17–23. Holbl 35–71. Edwyn Bevan, *House of Seleucus* 2.168–9. Patrich, *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73.
- [28] Antiochus the Great and the Seleucids: Bevan, *Seleucus* 1.300–18 and 2.32–3 and 51–94. Holbl 127–43 and 136–8. JA 3 and 12.129–54. Seleucid court/dress/army: Bevan, *Seleucus* 2.269–92. Schäfer 29–39. New Greek Jerusalem: 2 Maccabees 3.1–4.12.
- [29] Ecclesiasticus 50. Schäfer 32–4. Henri Daniel-Rops, *Daily Life in Palestine at the Time of Christ* – theocracy 53–5; city life 95–7; punishments 175–8. Sabbath: de Vaux – sacrifices/holocaust 415–7; Sabbath 3482–3; festivals 468–500; high priest 397. Patrich, *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73.
- [30] Antiochus IV Epiphanes: 1 Maccabees 1, 1 Maccabees 4. Jason/ Menelaos/ Antiochus: 2 Maccabees 1 and 2 Maccabees 4–6, 2 Maccabees 8.7. JA 12.237–65. Antiochus enters temple: 2 Maccabees 5.15. Debauchery in the Temple: 2 Maccabees 6.2. Character: Polybius, *Histories* 31 and 331; festival 31.3. On Antiochus/festival: Diodorus, *Library of History* 31.16. This account closely follows Bevan, *Seleucus* 2.126–61; character 128–32; God manifest 154; death 161. Schäfer 34–47. Sartre 26–8. Building the gymnasium: 2 Maccabees 4.12. Religious edicts: 1 Maccabees 1.34–57, 2 Maccabees 6.6–11. Abomination: Daniel 11.31, 12.11. Schäfer 32–44. Holbl 190. Shanks 112–15; face on coins: silver tetradrachm in Shanks 113. Sartre 9–14. Martyrs and atrocities: 2 Maccabees 6. Greek culture: Goodman 110. Crucifixion: JA 12.256.
- [31] Judah and Maccabee Revolt: JA 12.265–433. 1 Maccabees 2–4. The Hammer: 2 Maccabees 5.27. Hasidim: origins of Essenes and apocalyptic thought: Book of Enoch 85–90 and 93.1–10 and 91.12–17.

- JA 12.7. Lysias: 1 Maccabees 4, 2 Maccabees 11. Hanukkah: 1 Maccabees 4.36–9, 2 Maccabees 10.1–8. JA 12.316. Judah in Jerusalem: 1 Maccabees 4.69. Conquests: 1 Maccabees 4– 6. Jewish rights restored by Antiochus V: 1 Maccabees 6.59. Lysias vs Jerusalem: 2 Maccabees 11.22–6. Alcimus: 1 Maccabees 7, 8 and 9, 2 Maccabees 13.4–8, 14, 15. JA 8, 9, 10. Nicanor threatens defeat head, tongue, hand: 1 Maccabees 7.33–9, 2 Maccabees 14.26, 2 Maccabees 15.36, 2 Maccabees 15.28–37, 1 Maccabees 8.1. Bacchides/death of Judah: 1 Maccabees 8–9. Bevan, *Seleucus* 2.171–203. Joseph Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I* (henceforth Sievers) 16–72. Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine: A Political History from the Bar Kochba War to the Arab Conquest* (henceforth Avi-Yonah) 4–5. Sartre 9–14. Resurrection and apocalypse: Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 98–100. Daniel 12.2–44. Isaiah 13.17–27. Jeremiah 51.1. Acra foundation: *Archeological Park* 45. Patrich, *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73.
- [32] Jonathan: 1 Maccabees 9–16 and JA 13.1–217. Philometer: 1 Maccabees 11.6–7. Onias IV: Holbl 190. JA 12.65–71, 14.131. Holbl 191–4. Schäfer 44–58. Bevan, *Seleucus* 2.203–28. Sievers 73–103. Simon: JA 13.187–228. Simon as high priest, captain and leader: 1 Maccabees 12 and 13, 1 Maccabees 13.42–51. Acra falls/purple and gold: 1 Maccabees 13.51, 14.41–4. Antiochus VII Sidetes: 1 Maccabees 15.1–16. Simon death: JA 13.228. 1 Maccabees 16.11. Schäfer 56–8. Bevan, *Seleucus* 2.227–43. Sievers 105–34. Sartre 9–14. Acra foundations: *Archeological Park* 45; wall 90. Hasmonean walls – Avi-Yonah, 221–4. Peters, *Jerusalem* 591. Ptolemy VII Euergetes II: Jews and elephants Josephus, ‘Against Apion’ 2.50–5. Holbl 194–204.
- [33] Hyrcanus: JA 13.228–300. Schäfer 65–74. Hasmonean walls: Avi-Yonah, 221–4. Peters, *Jerusalem* 591. Walls: *Archeological Park* 90, 138. Bahat, *Atlas* 37–40. Conversions with Dan Bahat. Hyrcanus fortress residence: JA 14.403, 18.91. JW 1.142. Mass conversions: Goodman 169–74. Conversions and conquest: Sartre 14–16. Negotiations with Parthians: Marina Pucci, ‘Jewish–Parthian Relations in Josephus’, in *Cathedra* quoting the Book of Josippon. Greek culture: Goodman 110. Jewish contributions to Temple wealth: JA 14.110. Aristobulus: JA 13.301–20. Alexander Jannaeus: JA 13.320–404. Sartre 9–14. M. Stern, ‘Judaea and her Neighbours in the Days of Alexander Jannaeus’, in *Cathedra* 1.22– 46. Alexandra Salome: JA 13.405–30. Hyrcanus II vs Aristobulus II: JA 14.1–54. Bevan,

- Seleucus* 2.238–49. Sievers 135–48. Shanks 118. Roman treaty: Sartre 12–14.
- [34] Pompey: JA 14.1–79, including capture of city and entering Holy of Holies 14.65–77; Scaurus/Gabinius/Mark Antony: JA 14.80–103. Antipater: JA 14.8–17. Pompey reduces wall: JA 14.82. Greek allegations about Temple: see Apion and Josephus, ‘Against Apion’. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.8–9. Cicero, *For Flaccus*, quoted in Goodman 389–455. John Leach, *Pompey the Great* 78–101 and 212–14. Goldsworthy 73–6. Patrich, *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73.
- [35] Crassus: Farrokh 131–40. JA 14.105–23, especially 110.
- [36] Caesar, Antipater, Cleopatra: JA 14.127–294. This analysis and account of Cleopatra and Caesar is based on Goldsworthy 87–9; 107; 125–7; 138; 172–81; Holbl 232–9; Schäfer 81–5; Sartre 44–51; Wilkinson, *Egypt* 492–501. Cleopatra, Mark Antony Plutarch, *Makers of Rome*; Antipater origins and early career: Niko Kokkinos, *Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (henceforth Kokkinos) 195–243.
- [37] Antony, Herod, Parthia: JA 14.297–393. Parthian invasion/Antigonos: Farrokh 141–3. Parthian society, cavalry: Farrokh 131–5. This account of Antony and Cleopatra is based on Holbl 239–42; Goldsworthy 87–9, 183, 342–3; Schäfer 85–6; Sartre 50–3; Wilkinson, *Egypt* 501–6. See Plutarch, *Makers of Rome*. Massacre of Sanhedrin: M. Stern, ‘Society and Political Realignments in Herodian Jerusalem’, in *Cathedra* 2.40–59.
- [38] Herod takes Judaea 41–37 BC: JA 14.390–491. Farrokh 142–3; Antony’s Parthian war 145–7. Schäfer 86–7. Sartre 88–93.
- [39] Antony, Cleopatra, Herod: JA 14–15.160. Holbl 239–42.
- [40] JA 15.39–200. Herod, Actium and Augustus: this account of Cleopatra including the note on the fate of their children is based on Holbl 242–51; Goldsworthy 342–8; Actium 364–9; death, 378–85; Wilkinson, *Egypt* 506–9 Herod and Cleopatra: JA 15.88–103. Herod as best friend of Augustus and Agrippa: JA 15.361. Description of Augustus: see Suetonius. Herod and Augustus: JA 15.183–200.
- [41] Herod and Mariamme 37–29 BC: marriage JA 14.465. Relationship: JA 15.21–86 and 15.202–66. Kokkinos 153–63; on Salome 179–86 and 206–16. Herod as king: this account of Herod is based on JA; Kokkinos; P. Richardson, *Herod the Great: King of the Jews, Friend of the Romans*; Stewart Perowne, *Herod the Great*; Michael Grant, *Herod the Great* 117–44. Herod’s court: Kokkinos 143–53 and 351

- quote on Herod’s cosmopolitanism. Wives and concubines: JA 15.321–2. Kokkinos 124–43 and Herod’s education 163–73. Sartre 89–93. Schäfer 87–98. Herod’s wealth: Grant, *Herod* 165. Games and theatres: JA 15.267–89. Fortresses/Sebaste/ Caesarea: JA 15.292–8; 15.323–41. Famine relief: JA 15.299–317. Citadel and Temple: JA 15.380–424.
- [42] Herod’s Jerusalem. Temple: JA 15.380– 424 and JW 5.136 –247. Bahat, *Atlas* 40–51. On stones/seam – Ronny Reich and Dan Bahat, conversations with author. Seam and extension of Temple Mount: *Archeological Park* 90. The street probably paved by Agrippa II: *Archeological Park* 112–13; on Vitruvius and engineering, my explanation is based on *Archeological Park* 29–31. Philo on Augustus’ sacrifices in Temple: Goodman 394. Trumpeting place: JW 4.12. *Cathedra* 1.46–80. Simon temple-builder: Grant, *Herod* 150. Shanks 92–100. Patrich, *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73. The Red Heifer: Numbers 19. Heifer: this modern research is based on Lawrence Wright, ‘Letter from Jerusalem: Forcing the End’, *New Yorker*, 20 July 1998.
- [43] Herod, Augustus/sons to Rome/many wives: JA 15.342–64; with Agrippa/Crimea/Diaspora Jews etc: JA 16.12– 65. Grant, *Herod* 144–50. Augustus and Agrippa sacrifices: Goodman 394; Philo, *Works* 27.295.
- [44] Herod family tragedies/Augustus’ rulings/execution of princes/ four wills/last massacre and of innocents/death: JA 16.1– 404 and 17.1–205. Kokkinos 153–74. Grant, *Herod* 211. Diagnosis of death: Philip A. Mackowiak, *Post Mortem* 89–100. Jesus birth, Bethlehem Massacre, King of Israel/escape to Egypt: Matthew 1, 2 and 3. Sacrifice in Temple/tax/Bethlehem/circumcision: Luke 1–2, Isaiah 7.14. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version*, on timing of birth: 202. Brothers, sisters: Mark 6.3, Matthew 13.55, John 2.12, Acts 1.14. Speculative Cleophas theory: James D. Tabor, *The Jesus Dynasty* (henceforth Tabor) 86–92.
- [45] Varus’ war/Archelaus before Augustus and reign and downfall: JA 17.206 –353. Goodman 397– 401. Sartre 113 –14. Archelaus: Herod of Luke 1.5. Kokkinos – on coins/using name of Herod, 226. Schäfer 105–12. Zealots founded by Judas the Galilean: JA 18.1–23. Gabriel’s Revelation: Ethan Bronner, ‘Hebrew tablet suggests tradition of resurrected messiah predates Jesus’, *New York Times*, 6 August 2008.
- [46] Jesus the life and ministry. Pinnacle of temple: Matthew 5.5. Aged twelve in Temple: Luke 2.39–51. Herod Antipas threat to Jesus/

Pharisees/the hens/prophet outside Jerusalem: Luke 13.31–5. (Matthew's version of the same speech is set in the Temple during Jesus' last visit: Matthew 23.37.) Destruction of Jerusalem and armies foreseen: Luke 22.20–4. Jesus, John resurrected – Herod: Mark 6.14. I beheaded John, but reborn: Luke 9.7–9. Visit to high mountain and meeting with Moses and Elias (similarity to Muhammad's Night Journey): Mark 9.1–5. Vision of King of Heaven: Matthew 24.3–25.46. Repent Kingdom of Heaven coming: Matthew 5.17. Blessed be the poor: Matthew 5.3. Not destroy law: Matthew 5.17. Exceed righteous Pharisees: Matthew 5.20. Let dead bury dead: Matthew 8.22. Apocalyptic sword and vision of Judgement Day: Matthew 10.21–32. Gnashing of teeth and furnace: Matthew 13.41–58. Son of Man and glory: Matthew 20.28. Must go to Jerusalem: Matthew 16.21. Nations judged: Matthew 25.31–4. Life eternal for righteous: Matthew 25.41 and 25.46. Elite followers, Joanna, wife of Herod's steward: Luke 8.3. City of great king: Matthew 5.35. Earlier visits to Temple/early version of cleansing of Temple: John 2.13–24. Son of Man: Daniel 7.13. Vision of Kingdom of Heaven, End of Days, Son of Man, be ready: Matthew 24.2–25.46. Early visits to Jerusalem and escapes from stoning: John 7, 8, 10.22. Jesus and John the Baptist – same message, repentance/Kingdom of Heaven: Matthew 3.2 and 5.17. John the Baptist, birth: Luke 1.5–80. Mary visits John's parents: Luke 1.39–41. John denounces Herod and Herodias: Luke 3.15–20. Herod Antipas and John the Baptist beheading: Mark 6.14–32. John baptizing Jesus: Luke 3.21, Matthew 3.16. Herod Antipas: JA 18.109–19 (story of Herodias, Aretas' daughter and John the Baptist). JA 18.116–19. Kokkinos 232–7, including identity of Salome. Antipas and Philip's Tetrarchy and Nabataean war: JA 18.104–42. Salome: Mark 6.17–19. Matthew 14.3–11. Jesus on that fox: Luke 13.32 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (henceforth MacCulloch) 83–91.

[47] Jesus in Jerusalem. King of Israel entrance: John 12.1–15. Insurrection, Pilate, Siloam: Luke 13.1–4. Prediction of abomination, destruction: Mark 13.14. Hens, vision of desolation: Matthew 23.37–8. In Temple, vision of King of Heaven and Judgement Day: Matthew 24.3–25.46. Jesus in the Temple/not one stone: Mark 13.1–2 and 14.58 and later Stephen quote Isaiah: Acts 7.48. Not one stone: Matthew 24.1–3. Jewish traditions against Temple: Isaiah 66.1. The days in Jerusalem: Mark 11–14 and John 12–19. JA 18.63. Early

version of cleansing of Temple: John 2.13–24. Portrait of character is based on Geza Vermes, *The Changing Faces of Jesus*; Geza Vermes, *Jesus and the World of Judaism*; Geza Vermes, ‘The Truth about the Historical Jesus’, *Standpoint*, September 2008; MacCulloch; Charles Freeman, *A New History of Early Christianity*; A. N. Wilson, *Jesus*; F. E. Peters, *Jesus and Muhammad, Parallel tracks, Parallel Lives*. Jerusalem in Jesus’ time. Many nations: Acts 2.9–11. Daniel-Rops, *Daily Life in Palestine in the Time of Christ* 80–97. MacCulloch 91–6. Palatial Mansion and *mikvahs*, see *Archeological Park*. Bahat, *Atlas* 40–53 and 54–8. Adiabene queen and Jewish kingdom in Iraq: JA 18.310–77. Queen Helena: JA 20.17–96. Goodman 65. Ossuaries: Tabor 10. Son of Man: Daniel 7.13. Upper Room/Last Supper/Pentecost Holy Spirit: Mark 14.15, Acts 1.13–2.2. Patrich, *Sacred Esplanade* 37–73. For Jesus’ movements in city: see Shimon Gibson, *The Final Days of Jesus*, especially map facing 115; entry into city 46–9; Last Supper 52–5; Gethsemane 53–5; Gibson’s research and excavations on the pools of Bethesda and Siloam, showing that they may have been *mikvah* purification pools 59–80; arrest 81–2. Healings at the pools: John 5.1–19 and 9.7–11. Caiaphas in John 11.50. Conversations with Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron on excavations of the first-century Siloam Pool.

[48] Pilate: JA 18.55–63; Samaritan disturbances JA 18.85–95. Pilate’s violence: Philo quoting Agrippa I in Sartre 114–15; Goodman 403. See also Daniel R. Schwartz, ‘Josephus, Philo and Pontius Pilate’, in *Cathedra* 3.26–37. (On Pilate’s actions, Philo says it was shields; Josephus says military standards.) Philo, *Works*, vol. 10, Embassy to Gaius 37.301–3. Trial: John 18–19 and Mark 14 and 15. Daughters of Jerusalem: Luke 23.28. Powers of Sanhedrin/trial: Goodman 327–31, including Josephus quotation and other examples such as sentencing of James brother of Jesus in AD 62. Barabbas: Mark 15.7. Insurrection, Pilate, Siloam: Luke 13.1–4. Herod and Pilate: Luke 23.12. Arrest and trial: Gibson, *Final Days of Jesus* 81–106. MacCulloch 83–96.

[49] Crucifixion: this account of technique and death is based on Joe Zias, ‘Crucifixion in Antiquity’ on www.joezias.com. Crucifixion, nakedness, burial and new shroud evidence discovered by Shimon Gibson: *Final Days of Jesus* 107–25 and 141–7; tomb 152–65. This account is based on John 19–20, Mark 15, Matthew 28. JW 7.203 and 5.451. Tabor 246–50. Resurrection: quotation from Luke 24.

- Matthew 27–8. Mark 16. Caiaphas: Matthew 27.62–6 and 28.11–15. Judas, silver and Potters Field: Matthew 27.5–8 and Acts 1.16–20. Removal of body: Matthew 27.62–4, and 28.11–15 for story of priests offering guards bribes to claim disciples removed the body. Gospel of Peter (probably dating from early second century) 8.29–13.56 in which a crowd surrounds the tomb, then two men remove the body: for analysis, see Freeman, *New History of Early Christianity* 20–1 and 31–8. Resurrection to Ascension: John 20–1 (including Doubting Thomas). James the Just as leader, early days of sect: Acts 1–2 and Galatians 1.19, 2.9, 12. Pentecost and tongues: Acts 2. Beautiful Gate healing: Acts 3. Stephen: Acts 6 and 7; stoning 7.47–60. Saul at death of Stephen/persecutor/conversion and acceptance by Church: Acts 7.58–60 and 8.1–9.28. Various sources reflect the Jewish Christianity: Gospel of Thomas; Clement of Alexandria; the Ascents of James and the Second Apocalypse of James – all quoted and discussed by Tabor, 280–91. Pilate, Samaritans, downfall: JA 18.85–106. Sartre 114–15. Schäfer 104–5. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 297–9, 283–303. Peters, *Jerusalem* 89–99. *Archeological Park* 72, 82, 111. Judas, Potter's Field: Matthew 27.3–8. Tacitus, *Histories* 15.44. MacCulloch 92–6. Sartre 336–9. Kevin Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East* (henceforth Butcher) 375–80.
- [50] Herod Agrippa I: JA 18.143–309, 19.1–360. Persecution of James and Peter: Acts 12.20–3. Kokkinos 271–304. Third Wall: *Archeological Park* 138. Bahat, *Atlas* 35. Sartre 78–9 and 98–101. Approved by Mishnah: Peters, *Jerusalem* 96–7. James son of Zebedee and Peter: Acts 11.27–12.1–19. Herod Agrippa reads Deuteronomy: Goodman 83. On Philo, see Philo, *Works* vol. 10, Embassy to Caligula. Goodman 88, 118. Caligula character: Suetonius, Caligula. Claudius expels Jewish Christians/Chrestus: Suetonius, Claudius.
- [51] Herod Agrippa II and sisters, Claudius, Nero, Poppaea, the procurators: JW 2. 250–70. JA 20.97–222. Goodman 375–82. Kokkinos 318–30. Stewart Perowne, *The Later Herods* 160–6. Sartre 79–80.
- [52] Paul: origins Acts 9–11 and 22–5; Saul at death of Stephen/conversion and acceptance by Church 7.58–60 and 8.1–9.28; return to Jerusalem Acts 11. Quotations from Galatians 11–2.20, 6.11; sin offering 2 Corinthians 5.21; James, Peter, John as 'pillars' Galatians 2.6 and 9; Paul's new Jerusalem, new Israel, Galatians 4.26; on circumcision Philippians 3.2–3; later visit to Jerusalem, arrest, Felix, Agrippa Acts 21–8. Analysis is based on the following: A. N. Wilson, *Paul: The Mind*

of the Apostle; MacCulloch 97–106; Freeman, *New History of Early Christianity* 47–63; Tabor 292–306; Goodman on Paul's vast ambition 517–27. James the Just: see Gospel of Thomas and Clement of Alexandria/Eusebius, quoting Hegesippus; the Ascents of James in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions; the Second Apocalypse of James – quoted in Tabor 287–91. Apostles in Temple: Acts 2.46, 5.21, 3.1–2. 'Christian' first used later in Antioch: Sartre 298, 336–9; Acts 11.26.

- [53] James the Just: death/succession of Simon. James as priest. Paul: life and conversion Acts 7–11 and 22–5. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Church History: Life of Constantine the Great* 2.23. Peters, *Jerusalem* 100–7. On James as righteous priest – Hegesippus; succession of Simon, Hegesippus, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Tabor 321–32.
- [54] Josephus, his life and visit to Rome: Josephus, 'Life' 1–17. Book of Revelation: MacCulloch 103–5; Freeman, *New History of Early Christianity* 107–10: the note on Number of the Beast code is based on Freeman 108. Nero persecutions: see Tacitus, *Histories*. Jewish Revolt starts: Josephus, 'Life' 17–38. JW 2.271–305. JA 20.97–223, 20.252–66. Goodman 404–18. Perowne, *Later Herods* 98–108 and 117–18. Sartre 113–21. Schäfer 114–23. Nero: death of Peter and Paul, citing Origen, Goodman 531.
- [55] War, Josephus' defection and Vespasian as emperor including portents: Suetonius, Vespasian 5; Tacitus, *Histories* 1.11; Titus and Berenice, Tacitus 2.1–2; emperor/Agrippa II's support/Berenice in best years and at height of her beauty: Tacitus 2.74–82. JW 2.405–3.340, Josephus defects: JW 3.340–408. War, Gamala and after: JW 4.1–83. Suetonius, Titus 7; wasted a day 8; looks 3. Schäfer 125–9. Sartre 123–7.

DRUGI DEO: PAGANIZAM

- [1] Triumph: JW 7.96–162. This analysis of Roman attitudes to Judaism from AD 70 owes much to Goodman 452–5. Tacitus 2.4–5, 5.1–13. Masada: JW 7.163–406 (quotation on Jerusalem is Eleazar in JW). Titus, Agrippa II and Berenice after AD 70: Tacitus 2.2. Suetonius, Titus 7. Cassius Dio quoted in Goodman 459. Agrippa II's political career: Goodman 458–9; diamond of Berenice quoting Juvenal in Goodman 378. Josephus after AD 70: Josephus, 'Life' 64–76. Last Herodians: Kokkinos 246–50 and 361. Last Herodian under Marcus Aurelius: Avi-Yonah 43.

- [2] Flavians, Nerva and Trajan. Domitian, Jerusalem and Book of Revelation: MacCulloch 103–5. Nerva relaxes Jewish tax: Goodman 469. On Trajan and revolts of 115: Goodman 471–83. Simon, Jesus' cousin, persecution of House of David, execution 106: Tabor 338–42 quoting Eusebius and Epiphanius as sources on Flavian and Trajan executions of Davidians. Synagogues in Jerusalem: Eusebius, *Church History* 4.5. Epiphanius quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 125. Sartre 126–8. Eschatological hopes in Palestine: Sibylline Oracles 4–5; Greek Apocalypse of Baruch III and the Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch II. Zakkai: Schäfer 135–40. Jerusalem: Eusebius quoted in Perowne, *Later Herods*, half city destroyed and seven synagogues, 191. Judaism/ben Zakkai and Jews could live in Jerusalem 70–132: Avi-Yonah 12–54. Trajan: Goodman 471–81, including quote of Appian on Trajan destroying Jews in Egypt; and of Arrian on general destruction of Jews. Jewish revolt: Dio Cassius 68.32.1–2. Eusebius, *Church History* 4.2.1–5. Schäfer 141–2. Sartre 127–8. Butcher 45–50.
- [3] Hadrian: Dio Cassius 69.12.1–13.3. Character both admirable and bad: Anthony R. Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor* 301–7, including *Historia Augusta* 'cruel and merciful' etc. and *Epitome de Caesaribus* 'diverse, manifold, multiform'. Frank McLynn, *Marcus Aurelius* 26–39. Aelia: Bahat, *Atlas* 58–67. Thorsten Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict* – career 34–68 and bar Kochba 89–97 and Antinous 168–91. Goodman 481–5. *Archeological Park* 140. Yoram Tsafrir, '70–638 CE: The Templeless Mountain', in *Sacred Esplanade* 73–99.
- [4] Simon bar Kochba/Hadrian: this account is based on Dio Cassius 69.12.1–13.3 and 69.14.1–3; Eusebius, *Church History* 4.6 and Justin. See Opper, *Hadrian* 89–97, including latest finds from the Cave of Letters. Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor*: influence of Antiochus Epiphanes 228–9; coins on visit to Judea 231; foundation of Aelia 232–4; revolt, bar Kochba 268–78; Book of Numbers/ Akiba/ correspondence/Justin and Eusebius/fall of Betar/plan of new Jerusalem with Hadrian statue on horseback on Holy of Holies with idol of Jupiter from Eusebius, and statue of pig from Jerome, all quoted in Birley. McLynn, *Marcus Aurelius* 26–39. Bahat, *Atlas* 58–67. Goodman 485–93, including Roman burial of memories of conflict, even more disastrous than the triumphalism of 70, continuity of Hadrian to Severan dynasty meant no incentive to challenge

Hadrian's ethos 496. See also: Yigal Yadin, *BarKokhba* – clothes, keys 66; Babatha documents 235. Avi-Yonah 13, probably took Jerusalem/seventy-five settlements destroyed/ Palestinian Jewish population – 1.3 million. Did Hadrian destroy Temple?: Shanks 47, quoting Chronicon Paschale, Julian, rabbinical references to Third Temple destroyed by Hadrian. Cave resistance: Amos Klauer, 'Subterranean Hideaways of Judean Foothills', in *Cathedra* 3.114–35. After 335: Sartre 320–5. Post bar Kochba and Simon bar Yohai: Avi-Yonah 15–39, 66. Tsafrir, *Sacred Esplanade* 73–99.

- [5] Hadrianic city/Roman administration: Butcher 135–300, 240–50, 335–45. Sartre 155, 167–9. Archaeological mysteries, Tenth Legion/Roman finds south of Temple Mount, Herodian ashlar in foundations of Hadrianic Temple: Shanks 43–53. Statues of emperors still on Temple Mount for visit of Bordeaux Pilgrim 333: Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itinerary* 592–3. Tsafrir, *Sacred Esplanade* 73–99. Deliberate burying of Golgotha: Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3.26–8. Sozomen, *Church History* 2.1, quoted in Peters 137–42. Zalatinos/Alexander Church/Hospice, Hadrianic walls and outside wall of Helena's Church: author conversations with Gideon Avni and Dan Bahat. Syncretism of Aelia gods: Sartre 303–21. Attitude to Jews and Roman Aelia: Goodman 490–5. Relaxation of Antoninus Pius: Sartre 320–5. Visit of Marcus Aurelius: Goodman 498. Marcus Aurelius: Butcher 46–8. Herodian Governor of Palestina Julius Severus: Avi-Yonah 43–5. Marcus Aurelius in Aelia quoting Ammianus Marcellinus: Goodman 498. Today's Old City is Hadrianic shape: David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture* (henceforth Kroyanker) 14. Jews: Visit of Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Judah haNasi: Goodman 496–7, 506–11. Severus: Butcher 48–51. Judaism/Judah haNasi: Sartre 319–35. Visits to Jerusalem, Judah haNasi: Avi-Yonah 50–6, 140; Tana'im and court of Nasi/patriarchs up to Judah the Prince 39–40, 54–75; Jerusalem, rending garments 79–80; Severans and Judah the Prince and small group of Rabbi Meir's students of Holy Community settle in Jerusalem 77–9. Severus and civil war, Caracalla: Sartre 148–9, 157; Butcher 48–51. Jewish return to Jerusalem: Sartre 321–2; Goodman 501–8. Jewish traditions on Jerusalem, in Tosefta, Amidah etc. quoted in Goodman 576–7. Simon Goldhill, *Jerusalem: A City of Longing* 179. Christian beliefs and persecutions: Goodman 512–24. Isaiah Gafni, 'Reinterment in Land of Israel', in *Cathedra* 1.101. Christianity after 135: Freeman, *New History*

of *Early Christianity* 132–41; Ebionites 133; Gnostics 142–54. Early Christians, Gnosticism: MacCulloch 121–37; relations with Roman state 156–88; Christian alternative to Rome 165; Severus, to third-century crisis, Mithraism, Mani, Diocletian 166–76. Joseph Patrich, ‘The Early Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Light of Excavations and Restoration’, in Y. Tsafrir (ed.), *Ancient Churches Revealed* 101–7. Synagogues: seven synagogues; one remained on Mount Zion in AD 333: Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itinerary* 592–3. Epiphanius quoted: Peters, *Jerusalem* 125–7. Schäfer 168. Christianity and persecutions and decay of Roman power: Butcher 86–9; revolts against Romans 65–6. Twenty-five changes of emperor in 103 years/Zenobia; Diocletian visits Palestina 286: Avi-Yonah 91–127 and 139–49. Michael Grant, *Constantine the Great* 126–34. Sartre 339. On Palmyran empire and Zenobia: P. Southern, *Empress Zenobia: Palmyra’s Rebel Queen*.

TREĆI DEO: HRIŠĆANSTVO

- [1] Constantine. Rise and character: Warren T. Treadgold, *A History of Byzantine State and Society* (henceforth Treadgold) 30–48. Grant, *Constantine* 82–4, 105–15; Sun God 134–5; Milvian Bridge vision 140–55; Church 156–86. Judith Herrin, *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (henceforth Herrin) 8–11. Patron gods of Caesar Augustus and Aurelian, smallness of Christian religion, Jews as detestable mob, Jewish history as Roman history: Goodman 539–48. Crispus/Fausta sexual offence: Treadgold 44. AviYonah 159–64. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 247. MacCulloch 189–93. Last years: Grant, *Constantine* 213. John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries* (henceforth Norwich) 1.31–79. Fred M. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* 10–11. On Christological debates and shock-troop monks: Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (henceforth Wickham) 59–67.
- [2] Helena in Jerusalem. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3.26–43. Sozomen, *Church History* 2.1, 2.26. Helena barmaid: Grant, *Constantine* 16–17; visit 202–5. Zeev Rubin, ‘The Church of Holy Sepulchre and Conflict between the Sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem’, in *Cathedra* 2.79–99 on early visit of Constantine’s mother-in-law, Eutropia, in 324. Founding of Church: MacCulloch 193–6. Temple Mount,

space and holiness to Jews/defeat of old revelation and victory of new: Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* 28. Goldhill, *City of Longing* 179. Peters, *Jerusalem* 131–40. New Jerusalem: Goodman 560–77; Jewish reverence for Jerusalem 576–7. Jews: Avi-Yonah 159–63; small Jewish revolt reported in John Chrysostom 173. Basilicas and ceremonies of church: MacCulloch 199; Arianism 211–15. Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itinerary* 589–94; see also Peters, *Jerusalem* 143–4, including new name for Zion. Confusion about real Zion: 2 Samuel 5.7, Micah 3.12. Tsafirir, *Sacred Esplanade* 73–99.

- [3] Constantius: Avi-Yonah, 174–205. Julian: Treadgold 59–63. Jews/Temple: Yohanan Levy, 'Julian the Apostate and the Building of the Temple', in *Cathedra* 3.70–95. Temple: Sozomen, *Church History* 5.22. Isaiah 66.14. *Archeological Park* 22. Norwich 339–100. Did Jews remove statues?/Isaiah inscription: Shanks 53–5. Arab revolts of Queen Maria and Saracen War in 375: Butcher 65–6.
- [4] The first pilgrims fourth/fifth century/Hun invasion: Zeev Rubin, 'Christianity in Byzantine Palestine – Missionary Activity and Religious Coercion', in *Cathedra* 3.97–113. Cheating, adultery – Gregory of Nyssa quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 153; prostitutes, actors – Paulinus of Nola quoted 153; Jerome on Paula quoted 152. Jerome: Freeman 274–84, including quotes on sex, virginity and swine. Festivals evolve, cross-biting: Egeria, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Places*, 50, 57–8, 67–74; and Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itinerary* 589–94. Jerome on Britons: Barbara W. Tuchman, *Bible and Sword* (henceforth Tuchman) 23. Byzantine guides to Jerusalem: Breviarus and Topography of the Holy Land, quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 154–7. The Jews in Jerusalem/Temple Mount with statues: Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itinerary* 589–94. Mob of wretches: Jerome quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 145. Jewish revolt: Treadgold 56. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 213–14. Shanks 57. Peters, *Jerusalem* 143–4. Zion: 2 Samuel 5.7, Micah 3.12. Tsafirir, *Sacred Esplanade* 73–99. Monasticism: Wickham 59–67.
- [5] Eudocia, Barsoma, Christianity in Palestine: Rubin, 'Christianity in Byzantine Palestine – Missionary Activity and Religious Coercion', in *Cathedra* 3.97–113. Treadgold 89–94. Bahat, *Atlas* 68–79. Remains of Eudocia's walls/Siloam Church: *Archeological Park* 42–4, 137 and 138. Eudocia and Barsoma: Peters, *Jerusalem* 157–62, including Piacenza Pilgrim seeing her tomb. Christology, monastic

shocktroops: Wickham 59–67. Relics: Stephen Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (henceforth Runciman) 1.40 and 49. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 25, 37. Christianization and anti-Jewish laws: Theodosius I and II: Avi-Yonah 213–21, 240–5; on Jerome – Jewish worms quoted at 222; end of patriarchate 225–30. Norwich 139–51. Creed and righteous behaviour: Donner, *Muhammad* 10–17. MacCulloch on monasticism including lollipop stylite pillar: 200–10; on Nestorius/Monophysitism 222–8. End of Hillelite patriarchs: G. Krämer, *A History of Palestine* (henceforth Krämer) 24. Armenian monks and asceticism: Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, ‘Historical Itinerary of the Armenian People in Light of its Biblical Memory’, ms.

- [6] Justinian – Byzantine climax. Justin and Justinian: Treadgold 174–217. Donner, *Muhammad* 5–6; apocalyptic vision of the Last Emperor 16; Yemenite Jewish kingdom 31–4; Justinian’s vision 4–17. Wickham 92–5. Vision and building: Herrin 50–7. Gossip: see Procopius, *Secret Life*. Building: Bahat, *Atlas* 68–79. Building and pilgrims: Peters, *Jerusalem* 162–4; Piacenza Pilgrim; ‘Life of Sabas’ by Cyril of Scythopolis; Procopius, ‘On Buildings’, quoted in Peters. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 38–40, including Cyril quote; life in Jerusalem 24–38, including concepts of holy space/churches facing or backing on to Temple Mount. Jewish tragedy: Avi-Yonah 221–4 and 232–7, but c. 520 new Sanhedrin chief from Babylon to Tiberias, ruling Jews for seven generations until move to Jerusalem in 638; Justinian anti-Jewish legislation 246–8; Jews in Tiberias in contact with Jewish kings of Yemen 246–8. Treadgold 177. Butcher 383. Temple menorah – Byzantine triumph then to Jerusalem in 534: Perowne, *Later Herods* 177. Norwich 212. Byzantine style of dress: see Ravenna mosaic and Herrin on Theodora and ladies-in-waiting 67. Houses, mosaics and churches: on Orpheus semi-pagan/semi-Christian: Ashar Ovadius and Sonia Mucznik, ‘Orpheus from Jerusalem – Pagan or Christian Image’, in *Cathedra* 1.152–66. Nea Church: Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 34–8; Madaba Map 27. M. Avi-Yonah, ‘The Madaba Mosaic Map’, *Israel Exploration Society*. See also article: Martine Meuwese, ‘Representations of Jerusalem on Medieval Maps and Miniatures’, *Eastern Christian Art* 2 (2005) 139–48. H. Donner, *The Mosaic Map of Madaba: An Introductory Guide*. Nea, last column in Russian Compound: Shanks 86–7. Byzantine rich houses south and west of Temple Mount: *Archeological Park* 147 and 32–3; extended Cardo 10 and 140; bathhouses near Jafa Gate

125; Nea 81; monks in First Temple Jewish tombs 39. Burial with bells: see Rockefeller Museum. Jerusalem chariot-racing: Yaron Dan, 'Circus Factions in Byzantine Palestine', in *Cathedra* 1.105–19. Tsafirir, *Sacred Esplanade* 73–99.

- [7] Persian invasion. The Persian general's full name was Razmiozan, known as Farrokhan Shahrbaraz – the Royal Boar. Justin II to Phocas – decline: Treadgold 218–41. Sassanian king, state and religion: Donner, *Muhammad* 17–27. Avi-Yonah, 241, 254–65, including Midrash of Elijah and 20,000 Jewish soldiers quoting Eutychius; Salvation Midrash/Book of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah stories 265–8; Jews expelled 269–70. Sebeos, *Histoire d'Héraclius* 63–71. See also: A. Courret, *La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses*; and Norwich 279–91. Arab tribes: Butcher 66–72. Jerusalem chariotracing: Dan, 'Circus Factions in Byzantine Palestine', in *Cathedra* 1.105–19. Sassanids rise: Farrokh 178–90; Khusrau II 247–61. Sassanians before the Arab conquest: Hugh Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests* 98–111. Destruction of Jerusalem: F. Conybeare, 'Antiochus Strategos: Account of the Sack of Jerusalem', *English Historical Review* 25 (1910) 502–16. City destroyed: Bahat, *Atlas* 78–9. Bones of monks in Monastery of St Onufrius: *Archeological Park* 137. Jewish role and Lion's Cemetery where martyrs buried in Mamilla: J. Prawer, *History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* 57 and 241. Dan, 'Circus Factions in Byzantine Palestine', in *Cathedra* 1.105–19, inscription on Blues. Massacre myths: Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 36 – 43. Traces of a Jewish building on Temple Mount, seventh century but dating from Persian or early Islamic period: Tsafirir, *Sacred Esplanade* 99.
- [8] Heraclius: this is based on Walter E. Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium*. Treadgold 287–303. Farrokh 256–61. Butcher 76–8. Herrin 84–6. Norwich 291–302. Entering Jerusalem: Conybeare, 'Antiochus Strategos' 502–16. Defeated Romans: Koran (trans. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem) 30.1–5. Golden Gate – Byzantine or Umayyad: Bahat, *Atlas* 78–9. Goldhill, *City of Longing* 126. Heraclius and Jews, Benjamin of Tiberias: Avi-Yonah 260–76. First Crusader: Runciman 1.10–13. Heraclius in Jerusalem: Abu Sufyan's memory: Kennedy, *Conquests* 74; Palestine in decline 31–2. Tsafirir, *Sacred Esplanade* 73–99. Heraclius and campaigns: Donner, *Muhammad* 17–27; Last Emperor 17–18. Wickham 256–61.

ČETVRTI DEO: ISLAM

- [1] Muhammad: Arabia before Prophet: this is based on the following: Koran; Ibn Ishaq, *Life of Muhammad*; Al-Tabari, *Tarikh: The History of alTabari*. Analysis and narrative – for conventional approach: W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman*; Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*. For new analysis: Donner, *Muhammad*; F. E. Peters, *Muhammad and Jesus, Parallel Tracks, Parallel Lives*. Apocalypse in Koran/Last Days/The Hour: Hour is near: Koran 33.63, 47.18. Hour nigh: Koran 54.1. Koran: Introduction ix–xxxvi. Isra and Miraj: Koran 17.1, 17.60, 53.1–18, 81.19 and 25. Change of *qibla*: Koran 2.142–50; Solomon and djinns in temple: Koran 34.13. Jewish sins and Nebachadnezzar fall of Temple: Koran 17.4–7. Jihad/killing/sword verse/People of the Book/*dhimmi*: Koran 16.125, 4.72–4, 9.38–9, 9.5, 9.29; no compulsion in religion 2.256, 3.3–4, 5.68, 3.64, 29.46. Donner, *Muhammad* 27–38; life and rise of Muhammad and limits of his biography 39–50; limits of sources, quotes of Thomas the Presbyter 50–7; beliefs of early Islam, Donner’s theory of Believers vs Muslims and number of mentions in Koran: 57–61; rituals 61–9; ecumenism of early Believers especially attitude to Jews and the *umma* document 72–4; Prophet and Apocalypse 78–82; militant jihad 83–6; ecumenical openness to Jews and Christians – quotations from Donner 87–9; Abu Sufyan and Meccan elite co-opted 92–7. Ibn Ishaq, *Muhammad* 200–10. Jesus meets Moses and Elijah: Mark 9.1–5. Muhammad, mystery of early Islam; doubts of some scholars of entire history before 800, question of conquest, early caliphs: Wickham 279–89. Armstrong, *Muhammad* 94; *qibla* 107; relations with Jews 102, 111, 161–3. Muhammad in Syria: Kennedy, *Conquests* 77. Early Islam: Chase F. Robinson, *Abd alMalik* 13. Herrin 86–8. Muhammad’s rise: Kennedy, *Conquests* 45–7; no one more destitute than us, among us who would bury our daughters, God sent us a well-known man, the best among us, Arabian tribes before Muhammad, letters of Muslim soldiers vs Persians, 47. Letters of Muslim soldiers on Persian conquest: al-Tabari, *Tarikh* 1.2269–77, 2411–24; 2442–4; 2457–63. These sources describe the Arab invaders of Persia just after the Palestinian conquest. Sophronius: Peters, *Jerusalem* 175. Relations with the Arabian Jewish tribes, first *qibla* etc., Israiliyat: Isaac Hassan, ‘Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem’,

in *Cathedra* 1.170–2. Importance of advice of Jewish converts: Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (henceforth Ibn Khaldun) 260.

- [2] Abu Bakr to Othman. The first successors to Prophet, sources: Donner, *Muhammad* 91–5; Prophet and Apocalypse 78–82 and 97; knowledge of Syria 96; jihad 83–6; ecumenical openness to Jews and Christians – quotations from Donner 87–9; caliph title used only (possibly) by Abu Bakr but more usually Commander of the Believers and succession 97–106; the nature of Islamic expansion, churches not destroyed 106–19; early version of *shahada* (without ‘Muhammad is his prophet/apostle’) 112; Bishop Sebeos and Jewish governor 114; ecumenical 114–15; on sharing churches 114–5; on Cathisma Church with *mihrab* and in Jerusalem itself 115; Abu Bakr conquests 118–33. Apocalypse/The Hour: Koran 33.63, 47.18. Hour nigh: Koran 54.1. Early armies at Yarmuk and al-Qadisiyah, only 30,000 men, power of religious propaganda and motivation: Ibn Khaldun 126. Development of title khalifa: Ibn Khaldun 180. Omar takes title Commander of the Faithful: Kennedy, *Conquests* 54–6 and 72–5. Barnaby Rogerson, *The Heirs of the Prophet Muhammad and the Roots of the Sunni-Shia Schism* (henceforth Rogerson) 83, 128–9, 169. Omar takes Palestine, Byzantine empire, weaknesses, plague, poverty: Kennedy, *Conquests*, 142–98; settlement of Palestine and Iraq 95–7; Amr al-As 46–51 and 70–3; Khalid bin Walid 70–3. Yaqubi, *History* 2.160–70, and al-Baladhuri, *Conquest of the Countries*, quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 176–7. Defeat of Byzantines: Runciman 1.15 Khalid in command at Damascus and Yarmuk: Kennedy, *Conquests* 75–89. Early administration: Rogerson 220.
- [3] Omar enters Jerusalem: Koran 17.1, change of *qibla*: Koran 2.142–4. Concept of Day of Judgement: Koran 3.185 33.63, 47.18. 54.1. Covenant – Tabari, *Annals* 1.2405, in Peters, *Jerusalem* 18. Muthir al-Ghiram in Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* 139–44. Eutychius quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 189–90. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 45–50. Omar looks, character, stories: Ibn Khaldun 162. Kennedy, *Conquests* 125–30. Rogerson 171–82. Donner, *Muhammad*: Omar conquest of Jerusalem, 125; Jews 114–15; Apocalypse 78–82 and 97; militancy 83–6; openness to Monotheists – quotations from Donner 87–9. Shlomo D. Goitein, ‘Jerusalem in the Arab Period 638–1099, in *Cathedra* 2: 168–75. Omar takes surrender: Kennedy, *Conquests* 91–5. Abdul Azis Duri, ‘Jerusalem in the Early

Islamic Period', in Asali, 105; early *hadith* and *fada'il*: in Asali, 114–16. Jerusalem further place of prayer: Koran 17.1. On importance of Holy Land, Jerusalem and Aqsa: Mustafa Abu Sway, 'The Holy Land, Jerusalem and the Aqsa Mosque in Islamic Sources', in *Sacred Esplanade* 335–43. Wickham 279–89. Jewish hopes, move to Jerusalem: J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* (henceforth Mann) 1.44–7. Jewish traditions – Israiliyat and Kaab quotations: Hassan, 'Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem,' in *Cathedra* 1.170–2. Meir Kister, 'A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem', in *Cathedra* 1.185–6. The names of the city: Angelika Neuwirth, 'Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorific Names of the City', in *OJ* 77–93. Seventeen Muslim names/seventy Jewish in Midrash/multiplicity is greatness, quoted in Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 187. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 112. Omar on Temple Mount: Isaac ben Joseph quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 191–2; on Jews cleansing Temple Mount and banning: Salman ben Yeruham quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 191–4. Filth on Temple Mount deliberately placed by Helena – Mujir al-Din, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron* (henceforth Mujir) 56–7, and on Jews cleansing Temple Mount. Earliest mosques: Kennedy, *Conquests* 121 and 134. First cemetery and early burials of Companions of Prophet: Kamal Asali, 'Cemeteries of Old Jerusalem', in *OJ* 279–84. Sophronius, abomination: in Peters, *Jerusalem* 190. First sight of Jerusalem from hill: Sari Nusseibeh, *Once Upon a Country* 29. Hussein bin Talal, King Hussein of Jordan, *My War with Israel* 122. Arculf in Thomas Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* 1–5. Jews in Omar's armies – see Professor Rood in *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007. Jewish aspirations: Sebeos quoted in Goldhill, *City of Longing* 76. Mann 1.44–7. Shared church and mosques: Ross Burns, *Damascus: A History* 100–5. Donner, *Muhammad*: see earlier references. Early names of Jerusalem: see *Sacred Esplanade* 13. Palestine/ Syria holy land: Koran 5.21. Jewish worship on Temple Mount: Miriam Frenkel, 'Temple Mount in Jewish Thought', in *Sacred Esplanade* 346–8. The Arabs and armies – elite, tactics, armies, motivation, poverty including camel hair mixed with blood: Ibn Khaldun 162–3; 126. Kennedy, *Conquests* 40–2, 57–65; style of soldiers and female booty 111–13. Al-Tabari, *Tarikh* 1.2269–77, 2411–24, 2442–4, 2457–63. These sources describe the Arab invaders of Persia just after the Palestinian conquest. Duri in Asali, *Jerusalem* 105–9.

- [4] Muawiya: this portrait is based on R. Stephen Humphreys, *Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan: From Arabia to Empire* 1–10 and 119–34; family 38–42; rise 43–53. Donner, *Muhammad: Muawiya admired by Jews and Christians* 141–3; Apocalypse 143–4; first civil war 145–70; reign of Muawiya 171–7; openness 87–9. Jews plan new Temple: Sebeos quoted in Guy Stroumsa, ‘Christian Memories and Visions of Jerusalem in Jewish and Islamic Context’, in *Sacred Esplanade* 321–33 especially 329–30. Building on Temple Mount, Persian or early Islamic: Tsafir, ‘70–638 CE: The Templeless Mountain’, *Sacred Esplanade* 99. Jewish worship on Temple Mount ended by Caliph Omar ibn Abd al-Malik 717–20: Frenkel, ‘Temple Mount in Jewish Thought’, *Sacred Esplanade* 346–8. Ibn Khaldun: on *bayah* 166–7; change from theocratic to royal authority 160–8; Christian administration 192; Muawiya – develops the *mihrab* after attempted assassination 222; introduces sealing of letters 219; introduces throne due to fatness 216. Caesar of the Arabs: Rogerson 326. Mosque: Arculf, St Adaman, *Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land* 1.1–23. Lover of Israel (Muawiya) hews Temple Mount, built mosque – Simon ben Yahati quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 199–200; possibility of Muawiya making Jerusalem the capital of Arab empire/adapting Herodian platform from square to rectangular and lowering Antonia Fortress 201. Jewish Arabian food: S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 1.72. Apocalyptic Midrash and al-Mutahar ibn Tahir attribute building of prayer place on Temple Mount to Muawiya: Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 76. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 50. Administration by Christians: Mansur ibn Sargun: Burns, *Damascus* 100–15. Administering Palestine: Rogerson 189–92, including quotation ‘I apply not my sword...’ Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 174. Othman: Rogerson 233–87. Muawiya’s palaces: Humphreys, *Muawiya* 10–12; politics of lineage 26–37. Muawiya on Judgement Day/on Syria/sanctifying land/land of ingathering and Judgement: Hassan, ‘Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem’, in *Cathedra* 1.170. On Judgement Day: Neuwirth, ‘Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorific Names of the City’, *OJ* 77–93. War against Byzantines: Herrin 91–2. Dome of the Chain: Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 130. *Bayah* allegiance – Tabari quoted in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 111–2. Walks through Christian sites: Humphreys, *Muawiya* 128–9. Umayyads and Jerusalem: Asali, *Jerusalem* 108–10. Patron and sheikh: Chase F. Robinson, *Abd al Malik* 65. Yazid and succession: Humphreys, *Muawiya* 96–102. Yazid: Ibn Khaldun 164.

- [5] Abd al-Malik and Dome. This portrait of the caliph and imagery and significance of the Dome is based on Andreas Kaplony, 'The Mosque of Jerusalem', in *Sacred Esplanade* 101–31; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*; and Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock*; Donner, *Muhammad*; and Chase F. Robinson, *Abd alMalik*. Islamic traditions: al-Tabari, *Tarikh* 1.2405, and Muthir al-Ghiram quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 187–9. Donner, *Muhammad*: civil war 177–89; community of believers into organized Islam 194–9; Last Judgement and Dome of Rock 199–203; Believers into Islam and caliphate, emphasis on caliph/Koran/double *shahada/hadith*/God's deputy 203–12; development of Islamic rituals 214; development of Islamic origins, history 216–18. Political mission and religious aims: Wickham 289–95. Abd al-Malik looks: Robinson, *Abd alMalik* 52–61; on concubines 20; on flattery 85; rise 25–43; Umayyad residences 47–8. On royal authority: Ibn Khaldun 198–9. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* 114–20 and 144–51. Description and aesthetics of the Dome: Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 52–116. On services based on Jewish Temple, quote on Temple rebuilt, Koran as Torah: Kaplony, *Sacred Esplanade* 108–112, including Umayyad ritual from al-Wasiti, *Fadail Bayt alMuqaddas* 112. Building the Dome. Robinson, *Abd alMalik* 4–9 and 98–100; character 76–94; milestones around Ilya 113–12. On aim to overshadow Church of Sepulchre see al-Muqaddasi, *A Description of Syria Including Palestine* (henceforth Muqaddasi) 22–3. Caliph Omar ibn Abd al-Malik 717–20: Frenkel, *Sacred Esplanade* 346–8. Jews dream of rebuilding Temple and granted access – Salman ben Yeruham quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 193, and Isaac ben Joseph at 191–2. Jewish attendants of Dome: Mujir 55–7. Jews and Temple: Sebeos quoted in Stroumsa, *Sacred Esplanade* 321–33 especially 329–30. Traces of building, seventh century, Persian or early Islamic: Tsafirir, *Sacred Esplanade* 99. Mosque: Arculf, St Adamnan, *Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land* 1.1–23. Eating a banana; Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 190 quoting Ibn Asakir's *fadail*. Caliph Suleiman ibn Abd al-Malik in Jerusalem/*bayah*/plan to make it imperial capital/Jewish attendants in Dome: Mujir 56–8. The Dome: Duri in Asali, *Jerusalem* 109–11. Peters, *Jerusalem* 197. Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 174. Jewish attendants, other buildings: Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 175–80. Byzantine influences on Dome: Herrin 90. Shanks 9–31. On importance of Holy Land, Jerusalem and Aqsa: Mustafa Abu Sway, *Sacred Esplanade* 335–43.

- [6] Umayyad Jerusalem. Al-Aqsa – Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 117–22; Aphrodito papyri 12; Umayyad caliphs in Jerusalem, Sulayman and Umar 111; palaces to south of Temple Mount 107–10; the Haram Double and Triple Gates/Gate of Prophet and possibly Golden Gate 122–8 and 152–8; four major domes 158; sceptical that the new Umayyad public buildings south of Temple Mount are necessarily palaces 128–30; Haram 122–8; Dome of the Chain 130–2; city life, Christians and Jews in city 132–5. Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 178. Kroyanker 32. Umayyad residences Robinson, *Abd alMalik* 47–8. Herrin 90. Shanks 9–31. Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine* 69–74 and 104. Mann, 1.44–5. Day of Judgement: Koran 3.185. Byzantine wooden beams in Rockefeller Museum. On apocalyptic geography and site of Divine–human communication: Neuwirth, *OJ* 77–93. This account of Islamic End of Days is substantially based on Kaplony, *Sacred Esplanade* 108–31, especially 124. Decline of Umayyads and rise of Abbasids: Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 178–81. Dynasties have a natural span like individuals: Ibn Khaldun 136. On associations of Apocalypse and Divine Judgement with Jewish traditions of creation and Apocalypse: Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 133. Jewish worship on Temple Mount 717–20: Frenkel, *Sacred Esplanade* 346–8. On Jewish living areas, on Umayyad palaces: Bahat, *Atlas* 82–6. Jews banned from Haram and praying at walls, gates: Isaac ben Joseph quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 191, and Solomon ben Yeruham at 193. Mujir 56–7. On Christian pilgrims and festivals and Sepulchre: Arculf, St Adamnan, *Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land* 1.1–23. Williband and Arculf, quoted in Peters 202–12. Umayyad palaces: *Archeological Park* 26–7, including old stones and lavatory. Walid I and the desert *qasrs*, Umayyad singing stars: *The Umayyads: The Rise of Islamic Art* 110–25. Walid II/Hisham – Palace of Khirbet al-Mafjar near Jericho – paintings at Rockefeller Museum. Decline of Umayyads and rise of Abbasids: Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 180–1. Abbasid denunciation of Umayyads: Humphreys quoting Tabari. Abbasid revolution: Wickham 295–7.
- [7] Al-Mansur. Take surname titles to separate themselves: Ibn Khaldun 181; Abbasid black banners and change to green 215. Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 180–1. Kennedy, *Conquests* 11–50, including the dead Alids 16; Baghdad 133; court life 139; House of Wisdom/translation of Greek texts 252–60. House of Wisdom, 6,000 books: Wickham 324–31. Jonathan Lyons, *House of Wisdom* 62–70 and 89–90.

- Al-Mansur and al-Mahdi visits to Jerusalem: Peters, *Jerusalem* 215–17. Abbasid Haram: Kaplony, *Sacred Esplanade* 101–31. Al-Mansur and meanness of restorations: Mujir 59. Mahdi visit: Muqaddasi 41–2. Duri in Asali, *Jerusalem* 112–13. Decline in Jerusalem/quote of Thaur ibn Yazid: Neuwirth, *OJ* 77–93.
- [8] Haroun al-Rashid and Charlemagne. Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 181–2. Kennedy, *The Court of the Caliphs: The Rise and Fall of Islam's Greatest Dynasty* 51–84. Peters, *Jerusalem* 217–23, including Benedict Chronicle and Memorandum on the Houses of God and Monasteries in the Holy City, listing staf and taxes; and Bernard, Itinerary. Hywel Williams, *Emperor of the West: Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire*, 230–3. William of Tyre, *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (henceforth William of Tyre) 1.64–5. Gift to Charlemagne: Lyons, *House of Wisdom* 45. On legend see: Anon., *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*. Charlemagne as David: Wickham 381.
- [9] Maamun. Climax of Arab culture – marriage of al-Maamun and Buran: Ibn Khaldun 139. Maamun: Kennedy, *Court of the Caliphs* 252–260; House of Wisdom, 6,000 books: Wickham 324–31; Lyons, *House of Wisdom* 62–70 and 89–90. Inscription of Maamun on al-Aqsa: Nasir-i-Khusrau, *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*. Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 182. Abbasid Haram: Kaplony, *Sacred Esplanade* 101–31. Abbasid culture: Kennedy, *Conquests* 84–129; Tahirids and Abd Allah ibn Tahir liberates Jerusalem 91 and 203; sumptuous marriage 168; singing girls 173; Maamun in Syria and Egypt 208–9 and death 211–12. Maamun and House of Wisdom, 6,000 books: Wickham 324–31. Translation of Greek texts: Kennedy, *Court of the Caliphs* 252–60.
- [10] Destruction of dynasty prestige and rise of Persian/Turk *ghulam*: Ibn Khaldun 124; title of sultan, Abbasids lose power 155 and 193; decay of Abbasids 165–6. Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 182–3. Al-Mutasim, peasant revolts 840s, Turkish *ghulam*: Kennedy, *Court of the Caliphs* 213–17; *dhimmi* forced to wear yellow clothing by Caliph al-Mutawwakil in 850 240. Peasant revolt 841: Duri in Asali, *Jerusalem* 113; Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 182. Khazar debate: see K. A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*; A. Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe*; S. Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People*; on the latest findings on Jewish genetics: 'Studies Show Jews' Genetic Similarity', *New York Times* 9 June 2010.

-
- [11] Ibn Tulun and Tulunids: Thierry Bianquis, 'Autonomous Egypt from Ibn Tulun to Kafur 868–969', in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol 1: *Islamic Egypt 640–1517* (henceforth *CHE* 1) 86–108; the Carmatian rebellion 106–8; special role of Jerusalem 103. Karaites: Norman Stillman, 'The Non-Muslim Communities: The Jewish Community', in *CHE* 1.200. Rise of Karaites: Mann 1.60–5. The Turkish amir Amjur and son Ali ruled Palestine for the Abbasids from 869 and were praised by Patriarch Theodosius for tolerance: Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 183. Kennedy, *Court of the Caliphs* 84–111. Khazars: Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria* 96–8; Mann, 1.64. Gideon Avni: conversations with author, Khazar synagogue in Jewish Quarter quoted in Geniza. Khazars respect Jerusalem Academy: Mann 1.64–5.
- [12] Ikhshids and Kafur: Bianquis, *CHE* 1.109–19. Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 183–4. Byzantine advance on Jerusalem: John Tzimiskes text in Peters, *Jerusalem* 243.
- [13] Ibn Killis: Bianquis, *CHE* 1.117. Stillman, *CHE* 1.206. Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 184.
- [14] Fatimids/Jawhar/Killis as vizier, Fatimids: Paul E. Walker, 'The Ismaili Dawa and the Fatimid Caliphate', in *CHE* 1.120–48. Paula A. Sanders, 'The Fatimid State', in *CHE* 1.151–4. Bianquis, *CHE* 1.117. Messianic Fatimids: Wickham 336–8. Jewish potentates: Stillman, *CHE* 1.206–7. Goitein, 'Jerusalem' 184. On Killis, Jewish Governor of Palestine-Syria, Christian viziers: Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* 1.33–4.
- [15] Paltiel/Jews and Christians in Jerusalem under the Fatimids. On Paltiel and places of prayer in Jerusalem: Ahima'as, *The Chronicle of Ahima'as* 64–6, 95–7. Moses Maimonides, *Code of Maimonides* Book 8 *Temple Service* 12, 17 and 28–30. On Paltiel and family: Mann, 1.252. Fatimids pay Jewish subsidy: Peters, *Jerusalem* 276 – proved by al-Hakim's cancellation. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy: Jews in Jerusalem/Paltiel's funeral attacked in 1011: 144–50, 162–8*. Mourners of Zion/call for aliyah by Daniel al Kumisi: Peters, *Jerusalem* 227–9; Karaites 229–32. Moshe Gil, 'Aliyah and Pilgrimage in Early Arab Period', in *Cathedra* 3.162–73. Jewish Academy: Peters, *Jerusalem* 232–3; poverty and begging letters 233–4; place of worship – Mount of Olives – Geniza says above Absalom's monuments 603. Pilgrimage – aura of distinction and Jewish/Christian emulation of Muslims: Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* 1.55 Stillman, *CHE*

- 1.201–9. Christian pilgrimages from Egypt: Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Continuation of the Chronicle of Damascus* (henceforth Qalanisi) 65–7. Duri in Asali, *Jerusalem* 118–19.
- [16] Al-Muqaddasi and Islamic Jerusalem under the Fatimids: quotations are from Muqaddasi – on beauty of Dome, Haram and al-Aqsa 41–68; on mystics and cheeses 67–9; Jews and Christians 75–7; on Day of Judgement, filthy baths, water 34–7. Day of Judgement and arrival of Mahdi: Ibn Khaldun 257–8. Fatimid Haram: Kaplony, *Sacred Esplanade* 101–31. Duri in Asali, *Jerusalem* 119. A banana at the Dome: Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 190 quotes Ibn Asakir.
- [17] Al-Hakim: Christian mother – William of Tyre 1.65–7. Sanders, *CHE* 1.152. Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 185. Islamic seeking of knowledge: Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* 1.51. Runciman 1.35–6. Mann 1.33–41. On al-Khidr shrine see William Dalrymple, *From Holy Mountain* 339–44. Jaber el-Atrache, ‘Divinity of al-Hakim’, *Lebanon through Writers’ Eyes* (eds.) T. J. Gorton and A. F. Gorton, 170–1.
- [18] Holy Fire: Qalanisi 65–7. Martin Gilbert, *Rebirth of a City* 160. Shudder with horror – Mujir 67–8. Holy Fire, descriptions in Peters, *Jerusalem* 262, including first mention AD 870 of ritual in Bernard *Itinerary* 263. Christian pilgrims, including Fulk: David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* 35–7. Runciman 1.43–9.
- [19] Hakim, Holy Sepulchre and Death: Gilbert *Rebirth of a City* 160. Holy Fire: Mujir 67–8. Holy Fire, descriptions in Peters, *Jerusalem* 262, including first mention AD 870 of ritual in Bernard *Itinerary* 263. Christian pilgrims: Runciman 1.43–9. Fatimid Haram: Kaplony, *Sacred Esplanade* 101–31. Qalanisi 65–7. Yahya ibn Said quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 260; Jewish persecutions, loss of subsidy 276. Hiyari in Asali, *Jerusalem* 132. Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 185–6. Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* 1.1–5, 18, 34, 71. On Sweyn, Duke Robert of Normandy: Douglas, *William Conqueror* 35–7; Tuchman 3–4. ‘Divinity of Hakim’, *Lebanon* 170–1.
- [20] Al-Zahir and al-Mustansir, rebuilding of Holy Sepulchre, walls, Christian Quarter: Kaplony, *Sacred Esplanade* 101–31. Al-Zahir: William of Tyre 1.67–71; walls, Amalfitan hospice, Quarter 1.80–1; area of Muristan rebuilt 2.240–5. Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 188. Rebuilding: Peters, *Jerusalem* 267; walls of Jerusalem and protection of Christian Patriarchs’ Quarter – Yahya quoted in Peters. Hiyari in Asali, *Jerusalem* 132–3. Christian pilgrimage, al-Mustansir, Jewish viziers: Stillman, *CHE* 1.206–7. Norman/Royal/aristocratic

pilgrims: Douglas, *William Conqueror* 35–7. German pilgrimage led by Arnold Bishop of Bamberg and bloodbath outside Jerusalem 1064: Peters, *Jerusalem* 253. Bloodbath: see Florence of Worcester, *Chronicle*. Age of pilgrims: Runciman 143–9. Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (henceforth Tyerman) 43. Dangers and persecution of Christian pilgrims: William of Tyre 1.71 and 81. Tortures and burst bowels, Urban II quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 251; Jews, al-Zahir security 277. Jewish pilgrimage and travel: Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* 1.55–61. Muslim pilgrimage, Nasir-i-Khusrau: all quotations are from Nasir-i-Khusrau, *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*; on Nasir, Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 137–8, 145–53. Holiness of Jerusalem: Hasson, *Cathedra* 1.177–83. Sanctity: Ibn Khaldun 269. Consecration of *haj* from Jerusalem: Duri in Asali, 118. Tustari grand viziers: Mann 1.74–6. Solomon ben Yehuda, gaon of Jerusalem 1025–51 – things ‘so bad like of which didn’t occur since the Jews returned’/on fall of Tustari; Jerusalem threatened by Arab rebels 1024–9; tolerance of al-Zahir of Jews and Karaites: Mann 1.134–6. Gaon and Nasi Daniel ben Azarya in Jerusalem eleven years 1051–62 succeeded as gaon by Elijah Hakkohen – but fled Jerusalem to Tyre: Mann 1.178–80; Arab revolt of Hassan of Banu Jarrah 1.158–71. Treaty with Byzantines: Runciman 1.35–7.

- [21] Seljuks: Ibn Khaldun 252. Atsiz takes Jerusalem, revolt and storming; Tutush and Ortuqids: Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen, ‘The Turkoman Defeat at Cairo’, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* January 1906. Hiyari in Azali, *Jerusalem* 135–7. Goitein, ‘Jerusalem’ 186. Joshua Prawer, *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* 7–9. Turkish military tactics: Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* 111–14. Ortuq and arrow: Runciman 1.76; Seljuks 1.59. Muslim revival including visit of al-Ghazali and Ibn al-Arabi: Mustafa A. Hiyari in Asali, *Jerusalem* 130–7. Dangers and persecution of Christian pilgrims: William of Tyre 1.71. Tortures, Urban II: Peters, *Jerusalem* 251; Jews flee to Haifa then Tyre 277. Ruins of Jerusalem sites: Halevi, *Selected Poems of Judah Halevi*, ed. H. Brody 3–7. Maimonides, *Code* 28–30. Peters, *Jerusalem* 276–9. Muslims: Ghazali quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 279–80 and 409; Mujir 66 and 140; Nusseibeh, *Country* 126–7. Popular history of the Seljuks: John Freely, *Storm on Horseback: Seljuk Warriors of Turkey* 45–64.

PETI DEO: KRSTAŠI

- [1] Crusade, Godfrey, taking of Jerusalem. This account of the Crusades is based on the essential classics Steven Runciman, *The Crusades*; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*; Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus* (henceforth Pringle); the works of Benjamin Z. Kedar; and the excellent new books Christopher Tyerman, *God's War*; Jonathan Phillips, *Holy Warriors*; and Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades*; along with primary Christian sources William of Tyre, Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond d'Aguilers, and Muslim sources Ibn al-Athir, and later Ibn Qalanisi and Usama bin Munqidh; on warfare, Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*; on life in Jerusalem, Adrian Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*. Raymond and Gesta are quoted in August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* 242–62; al-Athir and al-Qalanisi are quoted, unless otherwise sourced, in Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (henceforth Gabrieli). Storming: al-Athir, Gabrieli 10–11. Tyerman 109–12. 3,000 dead, smaller massacre: Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in Western Historiography of the Crusades', in *Crusades* 3 (2004) 15–75. Phillips, *Warriors* 24; Asbridge, *Crusades* 90–104. 3,000 killed on Haram and women killed in Dome of Chains: Ibn al-Arabi quoted in Benjamin Z. Kedar and Denys Pringle, '1099–1187: The Lord's Temple (Templum Domini) and Solomon's Palace (Palatium Salomonis)', in *Sacred Esplanade* 133–49. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 15–33. On Jerusalem image and Holy War: Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* 26 and 35–8; massacre 217–19. The Princes of the Crusade: Tyerman 116–25; Crusader psychopaths 87. Fragmentation of Arabs and Islamic city states – see William of Tyre and al-Athir quoted in Tyerman 343 and Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 18. Runciman 1.280–5. Hiyari in Asali, *Jerusalem* 137–40. On Crusader buildings of Jerusalem, thanks to Professor Dan Bahat who gave the author a Crusader tour. On Arnulf morals: B. Z. Kedar, 'Heraclius', in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (eds), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem* 182. B. Z. Kedar, 'A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah Ransomed from the Crusaders', in *Cathedra* 2.320. *OJ* 281. Storming and ransoming

of Jews: Praver, *Jews in the Latin Kingdom* 19–40. On Jews: Mann 198–201. William of Tyre 1.379–413. The campaign: Tyerman 124–153; storming 155–64; few knights 178. Massacre: al-Athir in Gabrieli 10–11. Storming: *Gesta Francorum* 86–91. Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem* 1.xxiv and xxxiii and 2.vi. up to bridle reins in blood – quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 285. City population statistics: Tyerman 2–3. Turkish tactics: Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* 111–14; Frankish tactics 118–22.

- [2] Baldwin I. This portrait is based on William of Tyre 1.416–17; Fulcher, *History*; Tyerman 200–7; Runciman 1.314–15 and 2.104, including Baldwin’s wives and Adelaide’s arrival in Jerusalem and Sigurd visit 92–3. ‘Saga of Sigurd’ quoted in Wright, *Early Travellers* 50–62. Building – use of Citadel, spolia from al-Aqsa for Sepulchre: Boas, *Jerusalem* 73–80. The Crusader Haram: Kedar and Pringle, ‘1099–1187: The Lord’s Temple (Templum Domini) and Solomon’s Palace (Palatium Salomonis)’, *Sacred Esplanade* 133–49. Holy Sepulchre: Charles Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* 19–20. Kroyanker 40–3. N. Kenaan, ‘Sculptured Lintels of the Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre’, in *Cathedra* 2.325. Runciman 3.370–2. The traditions and calendar, pilgrims: Tyerman 341. Holy Fire – Daniel the Abbott quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 263–5; methesep and administration of city 301. Calendar and rituals: Boas, *Jerusalem* 30–2; chief political posts and courts 21–5; coronation 32–5; Golden Gate, on possible Crusader domes 63–4, citing Pringle; Crusader graves on Temple Mount 182; John of Wurzburg says ‘illustrious’ people buried near Golden Gate, Crusader style and workshop on Temple Mount 191–8. Praver, *Latin Kingdom* 97–102 on coronations; True Cross 32–3; crown 94–125. On True Cross: Imad quoted in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 136. James Fleming, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, January–February 1969, 30. Shanks 84–5. Red tent of king: Runciman 2.458–9; Crusader style 3.368–83. Style and reuse of Herodian stones, citadel and towers: Kroyanker 4, 37–43.
- [3] Baldwin II: Tyerman 206–8. Gift for kingship: al-Qalanisi, Gabrieli 40. Jerusalem: Bahat, *Atlas* 90–101. Royal palaces, palace close to Sepulchre: Boas, *Jerusalem* 77–80. Palace: Arnald von Harf quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 355. On the Orders, this is based on Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310*; Piers Paul Read, *The Templars*; Michael Haag, *The Templars*:

History and Myth; Boas, *Jerusalem*; and Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*. Templar Temple Mount: Theodorich, *Description of the Holy Places* 30–2. Templar traditions, rules: Anonymous Pilgrim quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 323. Military organization, knights, Turcopoles: Tyerman 220, 228 and orders 169. Orders: Boas, *Jerusalem* 26–30; Templar Temple Mount, baths 142–60; stables quoting John of Wurzburg and Theodorich (10,000 horses) 163; Hospitallers 156–9. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 252–79. Orders: Runciman 2.312–14. Crusaders on Temple Mount: Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* 163. The Crusader Haram: Kedar and Pringle, *Sacred Esplanade* 133–49. On Temple Mount: Church on Antonia site, Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Survey* 204–5; Templar Hall on south-west corner of Temple Mount 260–1; Templar Augustinian Canons north of Dome. Single gate with access to Solomon's Stables: *Archaeological Park* 31. On Armenian settlement and rebuilding of St James's Cathedral after 1141: Dorfmann-Lazarev, 'Historical Itinerary of the Armenian People in Light of its Biblical Memory'.

[4] Fulk and Melisende, based on William of Tyre 2.50–93 and 135; character of Melisende 2.283. Tyerman 207–9. Runciman 2.178, 233, 190. Coronation of Jerusalem kings: *Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Old French Continuation of William of Tyre and Sources in Translation* (henceforth *Continuation*) 15. Calendar and rituals: Boas, *Jerusalem* 30–2; chief political posts 21–5; coronation 32–5. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 97–102 on coronations. Zangi and Edessa: al-Athir, Gabrieli 41–3 and 50–1; character and death 53–5; Qalinisi 44–50; Usamah on life in Zangi army, Zangi king of amirs 38 and 169–71. Zangi: Phillips, *Warriors* 75–6; Ibn Jubayr quoted on wedding 47; coronation 56–8; penalties for adultery 60–1; psalter as Fulk's gift 69–71; Holy Sepulchre 103. Zangi, character: Abridge, *Crusades* 225–7.

[5] Usamah bin Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades* (henceforth Usamah – scholar, cavalier, Muslim 26; Zangi king of amirs 38; brutality of amirs 169–71; hunting with Zangi 202–3; loss of library 44; importance of Islam and jihad, father 63–4 and 202; Eastern doctors 66; Franks' medicine 145–6; meetings with Fulk 76–7; goshawk 205–6; pilgrimage to Jerusalem 250; buying hostages 93; meeting Baldwin II 94; father cuts arm of servant 129; Frankish converts to Islam 142–3; nature of Franks' invitation to

Europe 144; at Temple 147–8; women and pubic shaving 148–50; law 151–2; Franks acclimatized to East 153; small things and death 156; victory and God 160. Description of markets and streets: condition of the city of Jerusalem 1187 quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 298–303. The Crusader Haram: Kedar and Pringle, *Sacred Esplanade* 133–49. Commerce: Praver, *Latin Kingdom* 408–9. On Syrian doctors, see William of Tyre on death of Baldwin III and Amaury. Population and adoption of Eastern customs: Fulcher, *History* 2.vi, 6–9 and 3.xxxvii. Different peoples in Jerusalem: anonymous pilgrim in Peters 307–8. Ali al-Harawi, on pictures in Dome: Peters, *Jerusalem* 313–18. Templars ride out to practise daily: Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* 20–3; see also Wright, *Early Travellers*. Jerusalem in 1165, ‘people of all tongues’, Jews pray at Golden Gate: Benjamin of Tudela quoted in Wright 83–6. Jerusalem 1103: Saewulf quoted in Wright, *Early Travellers* 31–9. On festivals, City of Jerusalem guide and al-Harawi: Peters *Jerusalem*, 302–18. On Armenian settlement and rebuilding of St James’s Cathedral after 1141: Dorfmann-Lazarev, ‘Historical Itinerary of the Armenian People in Light of its Biblical Memory’. On Melisende building, settlement, Armenians under Crusades: Kevork Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* 18–23 and 25–8. On Armenian settlement of refugees – thanks to George Hintlian. Armenian Quarter develops: Boas, *Jerusalem* 39. Crusader plans for Bab al-Silsila St Giles Church: author’s visit to Temple Tunnels, guided by Dan Bahat. Crusader churches on Bab al-Silsila: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 443 and on site of Antonia 204–5. On Melisende Fulk regime: Tyerman 206–11. Runciman 2.233. On building: Grabar, Dome of Rock grille 167. On churches: see Pringle. Building – use of Citadel, spolia from al-Aqsa for Sepulchre: Boas, *Jerusalem* 73–80. Kedar and Pringle, *Sacred Esplanade* 133–49. Holy Sepulchre: Couasnon, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* 19–20. Kroyanker 40–3. Kanaan, ‘Sculptured Lintels of the Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre’, in *Cathedra* 2.325. Burial rites and shrines as theatre: Jonathan Riley-Smith, ‘The Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre, 1099–1291’, *Crusades* 7 (2008): burial sites, holy places as stage-sets, including quote from Riley-Smith, on burial of Beckett’s murderers. Death in Jerusalem/Mamilla: Praver, *Latin Kingdom* 184. Boas, *Jerusalem* 181–7, including Aceldama and burial on Temple Mount of Frederick, Advocate of Regensburg,

- died 1148; Conrad Schick found bones near Golden Gate. Archery practice, Boas, *Jerusalem* 163. Psalter, arts: Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 416–68. Runciman 3.383. See also J. Folda, *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291*. Population and dress of military orders and Jerusalemites: Boas, 26–30 and 35–40. Tavern with chains: conversations with Dan Bahat. Life in Jerusalem, baths, Venetian and Genoese streets, *poulains*: Runciman 2.291–3. Life and luxury, turbans, furs, burnous, baths, pork, Ibelin Beirut palace: Tyerman 235–40. Maps and vision of Jerusalem: fourteen maps of Frankish Jerusalem, eleven of them round, usually with the cartographic convention of the cross within a circle on the streets: Boas, *Jerusalem* 39 in royal palace on Cambrai map. Royal palace: Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 110–11. Sex and women on Crusade: Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* 174–7. Whores in Outremer – Imad al-Din quoted in Gabrieli 204–5. Muslims: Ali al-Harawi quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 381. Jews – visit of Judah Halevy: Brenner 88–90. Prawer, *History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom* 144. *Selected Poems of Judah Halevi*, trans. Nina Salaman; also see Peters, *Jerusalem*: 278. Runciman 3.370–2. The traditions and calendar, pilgrims: Tyerman 341. Holy Fire – Daniel the Abbott quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 263–5, methesepe and administration of city 301. Calendar and rituals: Boas, 30–2; 21–5; 32–5. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 97–102; True Cross 32–3; crown: 94–125. On True Cross: Imad quoted in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 136. Golden Gate: Boas, 63–4; Crusader graves 182; Temple Mount 191–8. J. Fleming, *Biblical Archaeology Review* January–February 1969, 30. Shanks 84–5. Red tent of king: Runciman 2.458–9; Crusader style 3.368–83. Style and reuse of Herodian stones: Kroyanker 4, 37–43. Dome of Rock: Ali al-Harawi quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 318. Zangi, character, deathbed witness, Asbridge, *Crusades* 225–7. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, ‘Zengi and the Fall of Edessa’, in M. W. Baldwin (ed.), *The First Hundred Years*, vol. 1 of K. M. Setton (ed. in chief), *A History of the Crusades* 449–63.
- [6] Second Crusade: Qaliniqi quoted in Gabrieli 56–60; al-Athir 59–62. William of Tyre: on Eleanor and Raymond 2.180–1; on debacle of Damascus 2.182–96. Zangi’s character, death: Asbridge, *Crusades* 225–7. Gibb, ‘Zengi and the Fall of Edessa’, in Baldwin, *First Hundred Years* 449–63. The most recent account is Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade* 207–27. On Louis and Eleanor: Ralph V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine* 70–98. Tyerman 329–37. Fourteen maps

- of Frankish Jerusalem, Boas, *Jerusalem* 39. Royal palace: Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 110–11. On Church of Holy Sepulchre, this account and analysis is closely based on Riley-Smith, ‘Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre, 1099–1291’, *Crusades* 7 (2008); Pringle; Folda, *Crusader Art*, Couasnon, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* 19–20; Kroyanker 40–3; Kanaan, *Cathedra* 2.325; Boas, *Jerusalem* 73–80; Runciman 3.370–2.
- [7] Baldwin III: character, William of Tyre 2.137–9; the account of his reign is based on 2.139–292; death and grief 2.292–4. Tyerman 206–8. Runciman 2.3.334, 2.242, 2.361–3; Ortuqids attack 2.337; Ascalon 2.337–58. Nur al-Din and Sunni revival: Qalinisi 64–8. Tyerman 268–73. Asbridge, *Crusades* 229–33. Nur al-Din polo: Phillips, *Warriors* 110. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, ‘The Career of Nurad-Din’, in Baldwin, *First Hundred Years* 513–27. On Andronicus: Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (henceforth *Leper*) 173–4.
- [8] Amaury and Agnes, sleaziness of Jerusalem politics: *Leper* 26–32. Tyerman 208–10. Amaury builds Royal Palace: Boas, *Jerusalem* 82. On Egyptian strategy/negotiations with Assassins: *Leper* 63–75. Five Egyptian invasions: Tyerman 347–58; Syrian doctors 212. Runciman 2.262–93; death of kings 2.398–400. Overmighty military orders – e.g. Hospitallers vs patriarch, William of Tyre 2.240–5; Templar disobedience to Amaury. Agnes married Reynard of Marash; engaged to Hugh of Ibelin; married Prince Amaury then Hugh of Ibelin then Reynard of Sidon, who divorced her; lovers allegedly included Amaury of Lusignan and Heraclius the Patriarch: Runciman 2.362–3, 407.
- [9] William of Tyre: life and link with Usamah’s library: Introduction, William of Tyre 1.4–37. Usamah’s books 44. Baldwin IV, leprosy: William of Tyre 2.397–8. *Leper* 26–32.
- [10] Moses Maimonides: this account is based on Joel L. Kraemer, *Maimonides: The Life and World of One of Civilisation’s Greatest Minds*; refusal to serve Crusader king probably between 1165 and 1171, 161; Jerusalem visit 134–41; Fatimid doctor 160–1; doctor of Qadi al-Fadil and then Saladin 188–92; al-Qadi al-Fadil 197–201; Saladin’s doctors 212 and 215; fame and court life – doctor of al-Afdal 446; Taki al-Din/sex life 446–8. Prawer, *History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom* 142. Did Maimonides pray in the Dome of the Rock?: Kedar and Pringle believe he did – *Sacred Esplanade* 133–49.

Benjamin of Tudela on Jewish dyers, David's Tomb and Alroy: see Wright, *Early Travellers* 83–6, 107–9. Michael Brenner, *Short History of the Jews* (henceforth Brenner), on Alroy 80; on Maimonides 90–92.

- [11] Books/Usamah, William of Tyre 1.4–37. Usamah, 44. Baldwin IV, leprosy: William of Tyre 2.397–8. *Leper* 26–32.
- [12] Baldwin IV. Death of Nur al-Din – al-Athir, in Gabrieli 68 – 70. William of Tyre, death of kings, 2.394 – 6; succession and symptoms 2.398–9. Along with William of Tyre, this is based on *Leper* 32–197; on leprosy see article by Dr Piers D. Mitchell in *Leper* 245–58. Heraclius and mistress, child: *Continuation* 43–5. Tyerman 216. Heraclius debauchery unfairly exaggerated – for a more positive view see B. Z. Kedar in Kedar, Mayer and Smail (eds), *Outremer* 177–204. W. L. Warren, *King John*: Heraclius' tour and Prince John, 32–3. Burial of Baldwin V and sarcophagus: Boas, *Jerusalem* 180. Tyerman 210–13 and 358–65. Runciman 2.400–30. Reynard of Chatillon: *Leper* 104–5. Reynald raids Mecca caravan and takes Saladin's sister: *Continuation* 29.
- [13] Guy and Sibylla: road to Hattin, crowning and spy in Sepulchre: *Continuation* 25–9; Reynald, torture of Mecca caravan: *Continuation* 25–6. Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* (henceforth Shaddad) 37. For sympathetic analysis of Guy: R. C. Smail, 'The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan', in Kedar, Mayer and Smail (eds), *Outremer* 159–76. Tyerman 356–65. Runciman 2.437–50. Coronation: Kedar, *Outremer* 190–9. M. C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: Politics of Holy War* (henceforth *Saladin*) 246–8. Massacre of Templars and political unity: *Continuation* 32–5. Hattin/killing of Reynald: *Continuation* 37–9, 45–8. Cresson and invasion: Shaddad 60–3. For Raymond's role see M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem*.
- [14] Saladin and Hattin: Shaddad 37–8. *Continuation*, 36–9 and 45–8. Battle, Reynald: Shaddad 73–5. Al-Athir: Gabrieli 119–25; Imad al-Din (army, battlefield, killing of Reynald, True Cross, killing Templars): Gabrieli 125. B. Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin* 190–207. N. Housley, 'Saladin's Triumph over the Crusader States: The Battle of Hattin, 1187', *History Today* 37 (1987). Promise to kill Reynald: *Saladin* 246–8; the battle 252–65. Runciman 2.453–60. Tyerman 350–72. Saladin splits infantry from knights: Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* 124–6.

- [15] Saladin takes Jerusalem: Shaddad 77–8; Shaddad joins service of Saladin 80; visits to Jerusalem for festivals 89. *Continuation* 55–67. Al-Athir quoted in Gabrieli 139–46; Imad al-Din 146–63 (women). *Saladin* 271–7; campaign after Jerusalem 279–94. Runciman 2.461–8. Fall of the city: Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, ‘1187–1260: The Furthest Mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) under Ayyubid Rule’, in *Sacred Esplanade* 151–75.
- [16] Saladin, character, career, family, court: this is based on the primary sources Ibn Shaddad and Imad al-Din; on Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*; and R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus 1193–1260*. Shaddad: early life 18; beliefs and character 18; modesty, old man, crises with Taki al-Din, justice 23–4; lack of interest in money 25; illness 27, 29; jihad 28–9; crucifixion of Islamic heretic 20; visits to Jerusalem 28; sadness over Taki 32; court life, asceticism 33; fill of worldly pleasures 224; mud on clothes 34; geniality like Prophet holding hands until released 35; Frankish baby 36; rise to power 41–53; favourite son 63; special advice to Zahir on ruling 235; crises and conflict with amirs and grandees 66; swap of Zahir and Safadin 70. Youth in Damascus polo, *Saladin* 1–29; debauchery satire of Taki 118–20; challenges of Taki and sons 244–6; distribution of new conquests 279–94; war 364–74. Saladin’s style of ruling: Humphreys, *Ayyubids* 15–39. Saladin’s mistakes: al-Athir quoted in Gabrieli 180. As court physician to Saladin and Taki al-Din, sex life: Kraemer, *Maimonides*, doctor of Qadi al-Fadil and then Saladin 188–92; 197–201; Saladin’s 212 and 215; doctor of al-Afdal 446; Taki al-Din 446–8.
- [17] Saladin and Islamic Jerusalem. Ibn Shaddad in charge of Jerusalem, Salahiyya Shafii madrasa, appoints governors: *Saladin* 236–7. Imad al-Din: Gabrieli 164–75, including Taki al-Din and princes cleaning the Haram, opening up of Rock, robe for preacher, Citadel of David restored with mosques; convent for Sufis in patriarch house, Shafii madrasa in St Anne’s; Adil encamped in Church of Zion. Turkish military tactics: Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* 111–14; Saladin’s multinational army 228; Saladin’s image 229–32. Ayyubid architecture on the Haram: Burgoyne, ‘1187–1260: The Furthest Mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) under Ayyubid Rule’, *Sacred Esplanade* 151–75. Saladin and Afdal’s buildings and changes: Hiyari in Asali, *Jerusalem* 169–72 and Donald P. Little, ‘Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks’, in Asali, *Jerusalem* 177–83. Saladin’s madrasa,

khanqah, Muristan/Afdal's Mosque of Omar: Bahat, *Atlas* 104–7. Qubbat al-Miraj – Dome of Ascension, either Crusader baptistery or built with Crusader spolia; Bab al-Silsila built with Crusader spolia: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47–8. Armenian Jerusalem: Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* 1–5; Muazzam pays for Armenian building 43. Jewish return, Harizi: Prawer, *History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom* 134 and 230. Saladin invitation and return: Yehuda al-Harizi quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 363–4. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 233–47. On the Nusseibehs: see Mujir al-Din who saw Saladin's signature on appointment to Sepulchre/Khanqah Salahiyya. Hazem Zaki Nusseibeh, *The Jerusalemites: A Living Memory* 395–9.

- [18] Richard and Third Crusade: unless otherwise stated, this portrait of Richard I is based on John Gillingham, *Richard I. Crisis on second march to Jerusalem*: Shaddad 20–122; sadness over Taki death 32; fury over amirs' refusal to fight at Jafa 34. *Continuation* 92–121. Runciman 3.47–74. Acre: Shaddad 96 –8; arrival of Richard 146 –50; fall and killing of prisoners 162–5; infant child 147; killing of Frank prisoners 169; negotiations with Adil and Richard 173 –5; Arsuf 174–80; inspection of Jerusalem 181; Adil and Richard letters 185; marriage 187–8, 193; best course is jihad 195; marriage to Richard's niece 196; winter in Jerusalem 197; advance on Jerusalem/attack on Egyptian caravan 205–7; crisis at Jerusalem; love of city move mountains 210–12; prayers in Jerusalem 217; Jafa red-haired Richard 223; Saladin no worldly pleasures 224; Jerusalem walls 226; Richard ill 227; Treaty of Jafa visitors to Jerusalem, Saladin and Adil to Jerusalem 231–4; Saladin's advice to son Zahir 235; Shaddad in charge of Jerusalem, Salahiyya Shafii madrasa, appoints governors 236–7. Acre: al-Athir quoted in Gabrieli 182–92 and 198–200; Imad al-Din 200 –7, including women; Richard 213–24; negotiations up to Treaty of Jafa 235–6. See also *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, quoted in Thomas Archer, *Crusade of Richard I. Phillips, Warriors* 138–65. *Saladin* 295–306, 318–30; Saladin and Richard 333–6; Arsuf 336 –7; negotiations 343–8; advance on Jerusalem 350–4; Jafa 356–60; treaty 360–1; to Jerusalem 13 September and Fadil's anxiety about city 362–3. Long siege of Acre: Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* 133; Richard's genius at Arsuf 124–6 and 143; Turkish military tactics 111–14; Saladin and Richard 229–32; sex and women on Crusade 174–7. Frank McLynn, *Lionheart and Lackland* 169–218.

- [19] Saladin's death: this is based, unless otherwise stated, on Shaddad and Humphreys, *Ayyubids*. Ayyubid dynasty to Safadin: death, Shaddad 238–245. Rise of Safadin: Humphreys, *Ayyubids* 87–123; investment of Muazzam with Damascus in 1198 108; Muazzam moves to Jerusalem in 1204 145; Safadin character and rule, brilliantly successful, the ablest of his line 145–6, 155–6; Muazzam in Jerusalem 11; inscriptions, title of sultan, independent ruler 150–4; Muazzam independent after death of Safadin 155–92; character of Muazzam 185–6, 188–90. War of Saladin's sons: Runciman 3.79–83. Jerusalem under Afdal, Safadin and Muazzam, architecture, Burgoyne, '1187–1260: The Furthest Mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) under Ayyubid Rule', *Sacred Esplanade* 151–75. Inscriptions of Adil in citadel and fountains on Haram and Muazzam's Ayyubid Tower, madrassas, Haram, walls, khan in Armenian Gardens: Bahat, *Atlas* 104–7. Adil and Muazzam on al-Aqsa: Kroyanker 44. Qubbat al-Miraj – Dome of Ascension; Bab al-Silsila 1187–99: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 47–8; Muazzam golden age of Ayyubids, restored south-east stairway to Dome 1211, built Nasiriyya Zawiya at Golden Gate 1214, central portal of al-Aqsa 1217, walls restored, built Qubbat al-Nalwiyya 1207 at south-west corner of Haram as a Koran school, Hanafi madrasa 48–9. M. Hawari, 'The Citadel (Qal'a) in the Ottoman Period: An Overview', in *Archeological Park* 9, 81. On Muazzam character: Mujir 85–7 and 140. Muazzam – seven towers plus mosque at Citadel: Little in Asali, *Jerusalem*; Muazzam's Jerusalem 177–180; Ayyubid panic 183–4. John of Brienne and Fifth Crusade: Tyerman 636–40. Runciman 3.151–60; al-Athir quoted in Gabrieli 255–6. Panic in Jerusalem: Little in Asali, *Jerusalem* 183. Jews leave: Praver, *Latin Kingdom* 86–90.
- [20] Frederick II: character – this is based on David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, especially concept of monarchy 137; lance of Christ 127; Jews 143–4; crushing Muslims 145–7; Jews and Muslims 147–53; Lucera 147; marriage 150–4; crusade 171–82; songs, culture 274; Michael Scot magician 261. On Kamil and Muazzam: Humphreys, *Ayyubids* 193–207. Runciman 3.175–84. Tyerman 726–48, 757.
- [21] Frederick in Jerusalem: Ibn Wasil quoted in Gabrieli 269–73 and al-Jauzi 273–6. Abulafia, *Frederick II* 182–94; gifts to Kamil 267; songs to 'flower of Syria' 277. Little in Asali, *Jerusalem* 184–5. Building

- in Jerusalem: author discussion with Dan Bahat. Tyerman 752–5. Runciman 3.188–91. Phillips, *Warriors* 255.
- [22] Latin Jerusalem 1229–44. Franks refortify Jerusalem; Nasir Daud takes city; then faced with Thibault of Navarre/Champagne restored to Franks along with part of Galilee; Nasir Daud retakes; then in spring 1244 Jerusalem again returned to Franks, allowed to control Haram: Humphreys, *Ayyubids* 260–5. New Frankish building, invasion of Nablusites, siege of Nasir Daud: Boas, *Jerusalem* 20 and 76. Tyerman 753–5, 765. Runciman 3.193 and 210–11. Jews: Prawer, *Latin Kingdom* 90. Goitein, *Palestinian Jewry*, 300. B. Z. Kedar, ‘The Jews in Jerusalem’, in B. Z. Kedar (ed.), *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages: Selected Papers* 122–37. Hiyari in Asali, *Jerusalem* 170–1. Templars in Dome of the Rock: Little in Asali, *Jerusalem* 185. J. Drory, ‘Jerusalem under Mamluk Rule’, in *Cathedra* 1.192. Wine in Dome: Ibn Wasil quoted in C. Hillenbrand, *Crusaders* 317.
- [23] K hwarizmian Tartars/Barka Khan: author visit to Khalidi Library, Barka Khan *turba* in Silsila Street, thanks to Haifa Khalidi. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 109–216 and 380. Humphreys, *Ayyubids* 274–6. Tyerman 771. Runciman 3.223–9. On tomb: conversation with Dr Nasmi Joubeh.
- [24] Fall of Ayyubids/assassination of Turanshah and rise of Baibars: character portrait based on Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (henceforth Irwin). Ibn Wasil quoted in Gabrieli 295–300; Baibars at war, Ibn Az-Zahir quoted in Gabrieli 307–12. Tyerman 797–8. Runciman 3.261–71. Rise of Baibars, ferocious, nervous, sleepless, inspections, character, the rise of the Mamluks, Irwin 1–23; career 37–42. Humphreys, *Ayyubids* 302–3; Baibars in Palestine Syria 326–35; Nasir gets Jerusalem again, Baibars moves down to Jerusalem and plunders it 257. Nachmanides: Prawer, *History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom* 160–1, 252–3. King Hethum II: Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* 4–5. Mamluk as Islam’s Templars: Ibn Wasil quoted in Gabrieli 294. Baibars, Aibek and Shajar diamonds, clogs: Phillip, *Warriors* 258–69. Khalidi Library: author interview with Haifa Khalidi; Jocelyn M. Ajami, ‘A Hidden Treasure’, in *Saudi Aramco World Magazine*. Mongol raids into Jerusalem 1259/60: Reuven Amitai, ‘Mongol Raids into Palestine 1260 and 1300’ in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, number 2 (1987), 236–255.

ŠESTI DEO: MAMELUCI

- [1] Baibars in power: Irwin 37–42 and 45–58. Tyerman 727–31, 806–17. Runciman 3.315–27. Mamilla – the Zawiyā al-Qalandariyya and Turba al-Kabakayya (tomb of exiled Governor of Safed, al-Kabaki): Asali in *OJ* 281–2. On Mamluk rise: this account of the Mamluks is based on Linda S. Northrup, ‘The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate’, in *CHE* 1.242–89, especially on nature of Mamluk relationships 251; quotation from Ibn Khaldun (grouse/House of War) 242; Baibars military power 259; Mamluk favourite Sufism vs Taymiyya 267; pressure on Christians and Jews 271–2; Baibars victory over Mongols, Crusaders, Seljuks 273–6. Mamluk culture, on horseback, rules: Stillman, ‘The Non-Muslim Communities: The Jewish Community’, *CHE* 1.209, and Jonathan P. Berkey, ‘Culture and Society during the Middle Ages’, *CHE* 1.391. Mamluk emblems, Baibars’ lions: Irene A. Bierman, *CHE* 1.371–2. Baibars at war: Ibn Az-Zahir quoted in Gabrieli 307–12; sarcastic letter on Cyprus campaign 321. Burns, *Damascus* 198–200. Baibars’ death: Runciman 3.348. Jerusalem/Baibars: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 58–9, 66, 77. Donald P. Little, ‘1260–1516: The Noble Sanctuary under Mamluk Rule – History’, in *Sacred Esplanade* 177–87. Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, ‘The Noble Sanctuary under Mamluk Rule – Architecture’, in *Sacred Esplanade* 189–209. Baibars builds Khan al-Zahir: Mujir 239. Baibars’ violent, perverted Sufi adviser Sheikh Khadir: Irwin 54. Asali, *OJ* 281–2. *Cathedra* 1.198. Edward I Crusade: Tyerman 810–12; Runciman 3.242–3. M. Prestwich, *Edward I*, 66 and 119.
- [2] Qalawun, Ashraf Khalil, Nasir Muhammad: the portrait of Qalawun is based on Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of alMansur Qalawun and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria*, and on Irwin. Irwin 63–76. Jerusalem titles: Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan* 175. Repair of al-Aqsa roof: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 77 and 129. Khalil and Acre: Irwin 76–82. Fall of Acre: Runciman 3.387–99, 403–5, 429.
- [3] Ramban and other Jewish visitors: Prawer, *History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom* 155–61 and 241. Peters, *Jerusalem* 363 and 531. Minaret: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 513.
- [4] Armenians and Mongols 1300: Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* 4–5. Reuven Amitai, ‘Mongol Raids into Palestine’, *JR AS* 236–55. Niccolo of Poggibonsi quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 410.

- [5] Mamluk Jerusalem: this is based on Burgoyne's *Mamluk Jerusalem*; Irwin on Mamluk politics; Kroyanker. Nasir visit 1317 and building: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 77–85; Sufis 419–21; Nasir and Tankiz 278–97 and 223–33; Citadel 85; Mamluk style 89; blind Ala al-Din 117; tradition of Mamluk tombs from Nur al-Din 167–8. Mamluk style: Kroyanker 47–58. On building: Drory, *Cathedra* 1.198–209. Citadel rebuilt: Hawari, *OJ* 493–518. Nasir Muhammad: this portrait is based on Irwin 105–21, including Irwin quote greatest and nastiest. On Nasir and killing of amirs: Ibn Battutah, *Travels* 18–20; on Jerusalem 26–8. Nasir: Burns, *Damascus* 201–16. Administration: Little in Asali, *Jerusalem* 187–9; on Muslim literature of *fadail*; 193–5, Sufis 191–2. On Nasir *waqfs*, building, Mujir 102; on parades in Jerusalem 181–2. Irwin: Mamluk executions 86; on religious jurist Ibn Taymiyya 96–7; anti-Christian and anti-Jewish policies 97–9; Mongols 99–104. Mamluk religion, Sunni and Sufism: Northrup, *CHE* 1.265–9; politics, rise of Nasir and autocracy 251–3. On proximity to Haram: Tankiz inscription 'pure neighbour': Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 65. On *waqfs*: Ibn Khaldun quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 381. Al-Hujr poem on hell and paradise: quoted by Mujir 184. Bedouin attacks: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 59; on Sufis 63. New sanctity of Jerusalem: *Book of Arousing Souls* by al-Fazari quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 374; Ibn Taymiyya 375–8. King Robert and Franciscans: Clare Mouradian, 'Les Chrétiens: Un Enjeu pour les Puissances', in C. Nicault (ed.) *Jérusalem, 1850–1948: Des Ottomans aux Anglais, entre coexistence spirituelle et déchirure politique* 177–204. Franciscans and King Robert of Apulia/Calabria: Felix Fabri, *The Book of Wanderings* 2.279–82. Ludolph von Suchem in Peters, *Jerusalem* 422. Little, *Sacred Esplanade* 177–87. Burgoyne, *Sacred Esplanade* 189–209. Irwin: brutality 86; Ibn Taymiyya 96–7; anti-minority policies 97–9; Mongol invasion 99–104.
- [6] Ibn Khaldun and Tamurlane: Ibn Khaldun 5, 39, 269. Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane* 14–17, 45–8. Jerusalem *ulema* offer keys: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 59. Local Jerusalem: Anu Mand, 'Saints' Corners in Medieval Livonia', in Alan V. Murray, *Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* 191–223.
- [7] Non-Muslim Jerusalem under late Mamluks: Little, *Sacred Esplanade* 177–87; Burgoyne, *Sacred Esplanade* 189–209. Stillman, *CHE* 1.209. New minarets at Salahiyya Khanqah in 1417: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 517; on Jews 64 – on tranquillity – Isaac ben Chelo

1374; on trades Elijah of Ferrara. New minarets over Christian and Jewish shrines: Mujir 69, 163, 170; attack on Christians 1452, 254–6. A. David, ‘Historical Significance of Elders Mentioned in Letters of Rabbi Obadiah of Bertinoro’, and Augusti Arce, ‘Restrictions upon Freedom of Movement of Jews in Jerusalem’, in *Cathedra* 2.323–4. Prayers at Golden Gate: Isaac ben Joseph quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 192; population and prayers, Meshullam of Voltera 408; Obadiah, prayers at gates 408; gradual ruin, jackals, attacks during drought, Obadiah’s disciple, seventy families, Jewish study house near Western Wall?, facing Temple on Olives 392, 473, 407–9; Meshullam and Obadiah, Jewish pilgrims 407–9; Isaac ben Joseph 1334 on French Jews, law studies, Kabbala 474–5. Jewish prayers at Zechariah tomb, cemetery, and visit to the gates, Huldah, Golden Gate: *Archaeological Park* 36, 98, 107. Christians: Armenians and Jaqmaq: Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* 5. On visit to Haram in disguise, interest in others and learning phrases: Arnold von Harf quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 406–7. Governor’s house and concubines: Fabri, *Book of Wanderings* 1.451; Barsbay and Jewish bid for Tomb of David 1.303–4; rules for pilgrims 1.248–54; entering Sepulchre, hair, stalls, Saracens, bodies, grafti, traders, exhaustion, stress, questions 1.299, 341, 363, 411–15, 566–7, 2.83–7. History of Franciscans: Elzear Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* 81–3. Pay or beaten to death: Niccolo di Poggibonsi (1346) quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 434; way of the Cross 437; on Mount Zion, King Rupert etc.: Elzear Horn quoted at 369; burning of four monks 1391, 459; no entry on horseback, Bertrandon de la Brocquière 1430s, 470. Henry IV: Tuchman 45. Henry V: Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* 174. Qaitbay. Parades: Mujir 182; beauty 183, quotes Ibn Hujr; Qaitbay visit 142–4, 288. Ashrafiyya and *sabil*: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 78–80, 589–608; royal residence Tankiziyya 228. Kroyanker 47. Qaitbay and omelette: Peters, *Jerusalem* 406. Door of Aqsa: Goldhill, *City of Longing* 126. Drory, *Cathedra* 1.1196–7. Governor’s house and concubines: Fabri, *Book of Wanderings* 1.451; also Qaitbay allows refurbishment of Sepulchre 1.600–2; town, Obadiah on Jerusalem Jews 1487: Peters, *Jerusalem* 475–7. AlGhawry: Carl F. Petry, ‘Late Mamluk Military Institutions and Innovation’, in *CHE* 1.479–89. Rise of Ottomans: Caroline Finkel, *Osman’s Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1923* (henceforth Finkel) 83–4.

SEDMI DEO: OSMANLIJE

- [1] Selim the Grim. Fall of Mamluk Sultan Ghawri: Petry, *CHE* 1.479–89. Rise of Ottomans – taking the city, desire of all possessors, wars, possession of Padishah Sultan: Evliya Celebi, *Evliya Tshelebi's Travels in Palestine* (henceforth *Evliya*) 55–9 and 85; Evliya Celebi, *An Ottoman Traveller* 317. Selim's rise, character, death: Finkel 83–4.
- [2] Suleiman, walls, gates, fountains, citadel: this account is based on Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917* (*OJ*: volume one unless otherwise stated). Amnon Cohen, '1517–1917 Haram al-Sherif: The Temple Mount under Ottoman Rule', in *Sacred Esplanade* 211–16. Bahat, *Atlas* 118–22. Citadel and Haram, Suleiman's dream, Sinan in charge of works, beauty of Suleiman's works: *Evliya* 63–75; Evliya Celebi, *An Ottoman Traveller* 323–7 including Suleiman dreams and Sinan. Roxelana waqf: Dror Zeevi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* 27. Sultan's Pool, *Archeological Park* 128. Hawari, *OJ* 493–518. Fountains: *OJ* 2 and 2.15. Planned visit 1553 of Suleiman: *OJ* 2.709–10. Fountains: Khadr Salameh, 'Aspects of the *Sijills* of the Shari'a Court in Jerusalem', in *OJ* 103 – 43. Suleiman fountains, population Haram: *OJ* 4–8. Spolia in Jafa Gate: Boas, *Jerusalem* 52. Suleiman and Roxelana, political ethos: Finkel 115–18, 129–30; 133, 144–5, 148–50. Solomon of his age, politics, imperial projection: David Myres, 'An Overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem', *OJ* 325–54. Abraham Castro, gates, Sinan planner, *Archeological Park* 8. Walls, second Solomon: Yusuf Natsheh, 'The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem', in *OJ* 583–655. Urban renewal, number of tiles, and Dome/ al-Aqsa: Beatrice St Laurent, 'Dome of the Rock: Restorations and Significance, 1540–1918', in *OJ* 415–21. Khassaki Sultan project: *OJ* 747–73. David Myres, 'Al-Imara al-Amira: The Khassaki Sultan 1552', in *OJ* 539–82. Ottoman style: Hillenbrand, *OJ* 15–23. Hereditary architect dynasty of al-Nammar: Mahmud Atallah, 'The Architects in Jerusalem in the 10th–11th/16th–17th Centuries', in *OJ* 159–90. Jewish Jerusalem: Selim, Suleiman reigns, sees Wailing Wall as place of worship – in 1488 Rabbi Obadiah does not mention Western Wall as site of prayer but Rabbi Israel Ashkenazi in 1520 says he prayed there and by 1572 Rabbi Isaac Luria was praying there: Miriam Frenkel, 'The Temple Mount in Jewish Thought', in *Sacred Esplanade* 351.

Rabbi Moses of Basola, in Peters, *Jerusalem* 483–7; House of Pilate, one synagogue, David Reubeni of Arabia 490–2; population 484. Asali, *Jerusalem* 204. Yusuf Said al-Natsheh, ‘Uninventing the Bab al-Khalil Tombs: Between the Magic of Legend and Historical Fact’, *JQ* 22–3, Autumn/Winter 2005. Franciscans: Boniface of Ragusa, St Saviour’s, Way of Cross develops: Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* 160–6. Ottoman repairs on Haram: St Laurent, *OJ* 415–21. Economy: Amnon Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem* 1–124.

- [3] Duke of Naxos: Cecil Roth, *The House of Nasi: The Duke of Naxos* 17–28, 75–111; Duke of Mytilene 205. Brenner 142–3. Finkel 161. Bedouin attack: Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem* 120 and 166. French consuls and constant changes of *praedominium*: Bernard Wasserstein, *Divided Jerusalem: The Struggle for the Holy City* (henceforth Wasserstein) 15–23. Kabbalists such as Shalom Sharabi in Jerusalem: Martin Gilbert, *Jerusalem: Rebirth of a City* 125; early Jerusalemites such as Meyugars family. Kuski family from Georgia arrived eighteenth century: conversation with Gideon Avni. Yehuda ha Hasid and Ashkenazi immigrants: Hurva Synagogue, Goldhill, *City of Longing* 167. French consul from Sidon, fighting between Christian sects, disdain for Orthodox feigned body of Christ with spices and powders, fancied corpse, tattoos of pilgrims, Holy Fire, Bedlam and burnt beards: Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697* 80–100 and 125–30. Muslim attitudes to Easter (Feast of Red Egg); and Church: Evliya, *Ottoman Traveller* 330–7 and 352. Way of the Cross develops: Peters, *Jerusalem* 437. Ferdinand and Isabella; Columbus; voyages and dreams of Jerusalem; Edict of Expulsion of the Jews: Hugh Thomas, *Rivers of Gold: the Rise of the Spanish Empire*, 53–78; especially 77–8; April 1492: 85–95; voyage 105; Jerusalem 223 and 233 and 283/4; Ferdinand and Jerusalem 578. David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: a Human History of the Mediterranean*, on Ferdinand and Expulsion 405–410. On Inquisition see B. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*.
- [4] Ridwan and Farrukh, seventeenth century: Zeevi, *Ottoman Century* 20–5; Ridwan 35–1; Farrukhs 43–56; downfall 57–61. Ridwan building on Haram, *OJ* 831–57. Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *Province of Damascus 1723–83* 57. Druze chieftain threatens Palestine: Finkel 179. Suicidal Christians: Peters, *Jerusalem* 461. Way of the Lord/Stations

of the Cross: Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* 160–86. Sepulchre, Henry Timberlake in Peters, *Jerusalem* 508–9; Sanderson 488–90, 510–15. Commerce: George Hintlian, ‘Commercial Life of Jerusalem’, in *OJ* 229–34; Cohen, *Sacred Esplanade* 211–16. French *praedominium*: Wasserstein 15–23.

- [5] Christians early seventeenth century. George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun AD 1610* 147–9, 154–73. Sandys and American views of Jews and Jerusalem: Hilton Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania* 14–23. Timberlake in jail: Peters, *Jerusalem* Peters, 511–2; John Sanderson accused of being Jew 512–14. American Puritans, Cromwell, End of Days and conversion: MacCulloch 717–25. Oren, *Power*; Sandys, Bradford and *Mayflower* quotation, early Awakenings 80–3. Mysticism: Evliya, *Ottoman Traveller* 330–7. Cohen, *Sacred Esplanade* 211–26. Armenian visitor Jeremiah Keomurdjian reports Easter parade led by Pasha of Jerusalem with drums and trumpets: Kevork Hintlian, ‘Travellers and Pilgrims in the Holy Land: The Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the 17th and 18th Centuries’, in Anthony O’Mahony (ed.), *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land* 149–59. Cromwell, Menasseh bin Israel: Brenner 124–7. Bible as national epic – Thomas Huxley quoted in Tuchman 81; on Sanderson and Timberlake, on Cromwell and return of Jews 121–45. Zeevi, *Ottoman Century* 20–5; Ridwan 35–41; Farrukh 43–56; downfall 57–61. Rafeq, *Province of Damascus* 57. *Praedominium*: Wasserstein 15–23.
- [6] Sabbatai: this account is based on Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*; on G. G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Zevi: The Mystical Messiah*; on David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*; on Brenner. Scholem, *Mysticism* 3–8, *Zohar* 156–9, 205, 243; influence of Spanish exodus and Isaac Luria 244–6; Sabbatai 287–324. Mazower, *Salonica* 66–78. Kabbalists such as Shalom Sharabi in Jerusalem: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 125. Yehuda ha Hasid, Hurva Synagogue: Goldhill, *City of Longing* 167. Sabbatai: Finkel 280.
- [7] Evliya: portrait is based on Robert Dankof, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*; Evliya Celebi, *An Ottoman Traveller* 330–7 including Easter at the church; Jerusalem as the Kaaba of the poor and Dervishes 332; and on Tshelebi, *Travels in Palestine*. Dankof, *Çelebi* 9–10; quote on longest and fullest travel book 9; uncle

tomb in Jerusalem 22; education 31; courtier and page of Murad IV 33–46; female circumcision 61; Dervish 117; sex 118–19; unfair executions 139; as Falstaff and shitty martyr 142–5, 151; checking myths on Solomon ropes and Holy Fire 197–8. Evliya, *Travels in Palestine* 55–94. Sufism: Mazower, *Salonica* 79–82. Sufism and Islamic customs on entering/touring shrines: Ilan Pappé, *Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: the Husaynis 1700–1948* (henceforth Pappé) 26–7. Laxness on Haram, Qashashi, *Jewels on the Excellence of Mosques* quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 496–8. Zeevi *Ottoman Century* quotes criticism of Abu al-Fath al-Dajani on conduct on Haram 25–8. Laxness on Haram: Claudia Ott, ‘The Songs and Musical Instruments of Ottoman Jerusalem’ in *OJ* 305. Ill-treatment of Christian pilgrims, Timberlake in jail: Peters, *Jerusalem* 511–12. Fighting, Holy Fire: Maundrell, *Journey* 80–100, 125–30. Dangers for Jewish pilgrims: Abraham Kalisker quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 525; Ashkenazi Jews immigration 1700, Gedaliah quoted at 526–34; use of Wailing Wall, Moses Yerushalmi and Gedaliah 528. Minna Rozen, ‘Relations between Egyptian Jewry and the Jewish Community in Jerusalem in 17th Century’, in A. Cohen and G. Baer (eds), *Egypt and Palestine* 251–65. Cohen, *Sacred Esplanade* 216–26. Gilbert, *Rebirth* 125. Hurva: Goldhill, *City of Longing* 167. Western struggle for *praedominium*: Wasserstein 15–23. Zeevi, *Ottoman Century* 20–5; 35–41; 43–56; downfall 57–61. Christian sects, rivalry of Powers and *praedominium*: Mouradian, ‘Les Chrétiens’, in Nicault, *Jérusalem* 177–204.

- [8] Naqib al-Ashraf revolt: Minna Rozen, ‘The Naqib al-Ashraf Rebellion in Jerusalem and its Repercussions on the City’s Dhimmis’, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18/2, November 1984, 249–70. Adel Manna, ‘Scholars and Notables: Tracing the Efendiya’s Hold on Power in 18th-Century Jerusalem’, *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007. Butris Abu-Manneh, ‘The Husaynis: Rise of a Notable Family in 18th Century Palestine’, in David Kushner (ed), *Palestine in Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation* 93–100; and Pappé 23–30. Fall of the Ashkenazis: Gedaliah quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 530–4. Ottoman change in attitude to Jews: Finkel 279. Zeevi, *Ottoman Century* 75. M. Hawari, *OJ* 498–9, shelling of Dome. Gilbert, *Rebirth* 125. Goldhill, *City of Longing* 167. Jewish pilgrims Abraham Kalisker quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 525; Ashkenazi Jews 526–34; Wall, Moses Yerushalmi, Gedaliah 528. Wasserstein 15–23.

- [9] The Families/early to late eighteenth century: Adel Manna, 'Scholars and Notables Tracing the Efendiya's Hold on Power in 18th Century Jerusalem', *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007. On change of name: Pappe 25–38; Illan Pappé, 'The Rise and Fall of the Husaynis', Part 1, *JQ* 10, Autumn 2000. Butrus Abu-Manneh, 'The Husaynis: Rise of a Notable Family in 18th Century Palestine', in David Kushner (ed.), *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation* 93–100. Thanks to Adel Manna and also to Mohammad al-Alami and Bashir Barakat for sharing his research into the origins of the Families. Zeevi, *Ottoman Century* 63–73. A. K. Rafeq, 'Political History of Ottoman Jerusalem', *OJ* 25–8. Families, name changes, religious background, Alamis, Dajanis, Khalidis, Shihabis, al-Nammars: Mohammad al-Alami, 'The Waqfs of the Traditional Families of Jerusalem during the Ottoman Period', in *OJ* 145–57. Hereditary architect dynasty of al-Nammar: Atallah, *OJ* 159–90. Lawrence Conrad, 'The Khalidi Library', in *OJ* 191–209. Sari Nusseibeh, *Country* 1–20, killing of two Nusseibeh tax collectors by Husseinis and marriage alliance 52. Nashashibi family Mamluk origins: Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 60. Families build monuments on the Haram: Khalwat alDajani, Sabil al-Husseini, Sabil al-Khalidi – *OJ* 2.963, 966, 968. Alamis and house: author interview with Mohammad al-Alami. On family name changes and origins, Hazem Zaki Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemites* 398–9. Christians and Jews: sects in Sepulchre, food, diseases, squalid lavatories, Greek vomit: Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* 60–78. Bells, strings, lines, 300 people in Sepulchre: Henry Timberlake quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem* 508–9. Fighting, Holy Fire: Maundrell, *Journey* 80–100, 125–30. Church like a prison: Evliya Celebi, *Ottoman Traveller* 332. Holy Week riots 1757: Peters, *Jerusalem* 540. Ottoman repairs on Haram: St Laurent, *OJ* 415–21. Rise of Ayan Notables: Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century* 1–10; instability of Ottoman garrison and fighting and debauchery 271–80. Jerusalem promised by Bulutkapan Ali to Russia: Finkel 407–9; treaty 1774 with Russia 378–9. Most evil people: Constantin Volney, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie* 332.
- [10] Zahir al-Umar: Rafeq, *OJ* 28–9. D. Crecelius, 'Egypt's Reawakening Interest in Palestine', in Kushner, *Palestine in Late Ottoman Period* 247–60; Cohen 12–19 and 92, including plan to take Jerusalem, 47; Zahir's North African troops 285; Vali's expedition, the *dawra*

147–250. Pappe 35–8. Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* (henceforth Rogan) 48–53. Zahir as ‘first King of Palestine’: Karl Sabbagh, *Palestine: A Personal History* 26–46. Bulutkapan Ali: Finkel 407–9; Russia 378–9.

OSMI DEO: CARSTVO

- [1] Napoleon Bonaparte and Jazzar Pasha. Rise and tortures and mutilations: Constatin de Volney, *Voyage en Eg ypte et en Syrie* 235. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* 2.1.359–88, 2.2.3–5. *Voyage and Travels of HM Caroline Queen of Great Britain* 589–91. Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century* 20–9, 68–70, 285. Pappe 38– 46. Finkel 399– 412. Krämer 61–3. Nathan Schur, *Napoleon in the Holy Land* (henceforth Schur) 17–32. Paul Strathern, *Napoleon in Egypt* (henceforth Strathern) 185, 335–7.
- [2] Napoleon in Palestine: this account is based on Schur and Strat-hern. Jafa massacre Schur 67; Acre 140–6; retreat 163; Governor of Jerusalem in Jafa 163–7. Strathern, origins of expedition 6–17; siege of Acre 336–46; Solomon’s Temple 317; Jafa massacre 326. Jewish offer: Schur 117–21. Strathearn 352– 6. Napoleon’s tent: Hintlian, *JQ* 2, 1998. Pappe on Jerusalem Families: 46–51.
- [3] Sidney Smith – this account of his life is based on: Tom Pocock, *A Thirst for Glory: The Life of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith*, in Acre, Jafa, Jerusalem 100–20. Also: John Barrow, *The Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith* 207. Strathern 337–40; Na-poleon’s retreat 371–81; killing of sick 378; Kléber 409. Franciscan welcome in Jerusalem: Peter Shankland, *Beware of Heroes: Admiral Sir S. Smith* 91–5. Smith’s vanity, talking of himself: Colonel Bun-bury quoted in Flora Fraser, *The Unruly Queen: The Life of Queen Caroline* 136. March into Jerusalem: Clarke, *Travels in Various Co-untries* 2.1.520. James Finn, *Stirring Times* (henceforth Finn) 157. Edward Howard, *The Memoirs of Sir Sidney Smith* 146. Old Jazzar: Schur 171. 1808 fire in Sepulchre: Peters, *Jerusalem* 542. Population by 1806 – 8,000: *OJ* 4–5. Jerusalem and Gaza same population, c. 8,000 in 1800: Krämer 41–4. Jazzar versus Gaza: Pappe 47–51.
- [4] Early visitors and adventures: N. A. Silberman, *Digging for Jerusa-lem* (henceforth Silberman) 19–29. Y. Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century* 31–67. Peters, *Jerusalem* 582–62. A. Elon, *Jerusalem:*

- A City of Mirrors* 217. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries* 2.1.393–593, 2.2.3.
- [5] F. R. de Chateaubriand, *Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt and Barbary during the Years 1806 and 1807* 1.368–86 and 2.15–179. Chateaubriand's servant: Julien, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem par Julien, domestique de M. de Chateaubriand* 88–9. On last of pilgrims, first of cultural imperialists including Chateaubriand: Ernst Axel Knauf, 'Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes', in *OJ* 73–6. Pappé 49–53.
- [6] 1808 fire, Suleiman Pasha conquest: Hawari, *OJ* 499–500. Rafeq, *OJ* 29. Pappé 49–50. Suleiman and Sultan Mehmet II restore Dome tiles: Salameh, *OJ* 103 – 43. Suleiman Pasha builds Iwan al-Mahmud II, pavilion, restores Maqam al-Nabi, Nabi Daoud 1817, see Hillenbrand, *OJ* 14. Peters, *Jerusalem* 582. Cohen, *Sacred Esplanade* 216–26.
- [7] Caroline and Hester: thanks to Kirsten Ellis for generously sharing her unpublished research on Hester and Caroline. First visit of Montefiore: Moses and Judith Montefiore, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore* (henceforth Montefiore) 36 – 42. Abigail Green, *Moses Montefiore: Jewish Liberator, Imperial Hero* (henceforth Green) 74–83. Alphonse de Lamartine, *Travels in the East Including Journey to the Holy Land* 78–88. Pappé 60–65.
- [8] Disraeli: Jane Ridley, *Young Disraeli* 79–97. On his various pedigrees, fantasies of Jewish settlement in conversations with Edward Stanley and his possible authorship of pre-Zionist memorandum 1878 'Die jüdische Frage in der orientalischen Frage': Minna Rozen, 'Pedigree Remembered, Reconstructed, Invented: Benjamin Disraeli between East and West', in M. Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam* 49–75. Disraeli's 1857 pre-Zionist ideas of Rothschilds buying Palestine for Jews: Niall Ferguson, *World's Banker: A History of the House of Rothschild* (henceforth Ferguson) 418–22 and 1131. Pappé 66–76. Jewish life: Tudor Parfitt, *Jews of Palestine 1800–1882* ch. 2. Tuchman 220–3.
- [9] Mehmet Ali/Ibrahim Pasha: Finkel 427, 422–46, 428. Rogan 66–83. On Mehmet Ali regime: Khaled Fahmy in *CHE* 2.139–73. Pappé 66–76. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* 63–90. William Brown Hodgson, *An Edited Biographical Sketch of Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia*. Rafeq, *OJ* 31–2. Judith M. Rood, 'The Time the Peasants Entered Jerusalem: The Revolt against Ibrahim Pasha in the Islamic Court Sources', *JQ*

27, Summer 2006. Judith M. Rood, 'Intercommunal Relations in Jerusalem during Egyptian Rule 1934–41', *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007 and *JQ* 34, Spring 2009. Jews and synagogues – Y. Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century*, 25–30; Ibrahim and fellahin revolt 67–70. Holy Fire: R. Curzon, *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant* 192–204. Restoration of Hurva and four Sephardic synagogues: Goldhill, *City of Longing* 169. Montefiore, meetings with Muhammad Ali/1839 visit: Montefiore 177–87; Green ch. 6. Thomsons in Jerusalem, baby and book: Oren, *Power* 121–5. Mouradian, 'Les Chrétiens', in Nicault, *Jérusalem* 177–204.

[10] On Shaftesbury, Palmerston, James Finn and return of Jews, Christian Zionism: David Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography* on Mehmet Ali crisis 211–37; on religion and Shaftesbury 416–21; Norman Bentwich and John M. Shaftesley, 'Forerunners of Zionism in the Christian Era', in *Remember the Days: Essays on Anglo-Jewish History Presented to Cecil Roth* 207–40. Green 88–9. Tuchman 175–207. Shaftesbury/British interest: Wasserstein 26–9; on the consuls and Anglo-Prussian bishopric 29 and 34–7. Rise of British power: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 14–27, 42–5. M. Vereté, 'Why was a British Consulate Established in Jerusalem?', *English Historical Review* 75 (1970) 342–5. M. Vereté, 'The restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1790–1840', *Middle Eastern Studies* 8 (1972) 4–50. Ruth Kark, *American Consuls in the Holy Land* (henceforth Kark) on US missionaries 26–9 on nature of Jerusalem consulates 55, 110–11; on consuls 128–90; on Livermore and American millenarians, quote by US consul in Beirut 212–27, 307–10. On Lieutenant Lynch: Silberman 51–62. James Finn as evangelist, and wife daughter of evangelist, character, brave, tactless, Diness scandal: James and Elizabeth Finn, *View from Jerusalem, 1849–58: The Consular Diary of James and Elizabeth Anne Finn* (henceforth Finn diaries) 28–35 and 51; blood libel 107–15. Consular rivalries and pretensions: Finn 2.141, 2:221. Shaftesbury, Finn and Gawler's Hebraism/evangelism: Green 214–19 and 232–3. Return of patriarchs: Mouradian, 'Les Chrétiens', in Nicault, *Jérusalem* 177–204.

[11] Cresson and American millenarianism: Warder Cresson, *The Key of David*, on Anglican conversion of Jews 327–30; leaving Philadelphia for Jerusalem 2; charges of insanity and defence 211–44. Levi Parsons, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons* 357–79. On American Second Awakening, first pilgrims Fisk and Parsons, John Adams, Robinson,

- Livermore, Joseph Smith Blackstone Memorial: Oren, *Power* 80–92, 142–3. Obenzinger, *American Palestine*, on early Americans and Cresson 4–5 and 188–27. MacCulloch 903–7. Harriet Livermore – thanks to Kirsten Ellis for access to her unpublished chapters. US missionaries, Silberman 31–6. US Christian Zionism: W. E. Blackstone, Memorial, in Obenzinger, *American Palestine* 269–70. Herzl and Zionism: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 217–22. Zangwill, Galveston settlement, Africa, Argentina, Angola and Territorialism: M. Obenzinger, *JQ* 17 February 2003. Jews in Jerusalem, 1895: 28,000; 1905: 35,000; 1914: 45,000; Krämer 102–3 and 138. Kark 19–37. W. Thackeray, *Notes on a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (henceforth Thackeray) 681–99. H. Melville, *Journals* 84–94; on Clarel 65–81. Knauf, *OJ* 74–5. Challenge to US consular flag: Finn diaries 260–77. Finn’s evangelism: Green 219 and 232–33. Mouradian, ‘Les Chrétiens’, in Nicault, *Jérusalem* 177–204.
- [12] Nicholas I: W. Bruce Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, handsome 49, Victoria 223, Russian God 243–6, Our Russia 251, Paul and knight, quote of Marquis de Castelbajac (French ambassador) 291, Jerusalem and the Eastern Question, French monk, legend of Alexander I and Russian love of Jerusalem 330–4. Orlando Figes, *Crimea: The Last Crusade* (henceforth Figes) 1–17; on Nicholas 36–7. Pushkin on Jerusalem, letter to P. Chaadayev 19 October 1836: Julian Henry Lowenfeld, *My Talisman: the Poetry and Life of Alexander Pushkin* (New York 2010) 95. H. Martineau, *Eastern Life*, 3: 162–5. Fo 78/446, Finn to Aberdeen and Fo 78/205 Finn to Palmerston. Gogol: V. Voropanov, ‘Gogol v Ierusalime’, *Pravoslavny Palomnik* (2006) 2, 44–6 and 3. 35–59. 1.99–105. P. A. Kulish, *Zapiski iz zhizni N. V. Gogolia sostavlennye iz vospominaniy ego druzey i znakomykh i iz ego sobstvennykh pisem* 2.164–89. N. V. Gogol, *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy: Pisma, 1848–52* vol. 14. I. P. Zolotusky, *Gogol* 394–401. Elon, *Jerusalem* 138–9. Jerusalem Syndrome: Yair Bar-El et al., *British Journal of Psychiatry* 176 (2000) 86–90.
- [13] Start of Crimean War: W. B. Lincoln, *Nicholas I* 330–40. Figes 100–8; Nicholas instability 155–7; Nicholas’ ‘solely Christian purpose’ 157. Writers: Finkel 457–60. Elon, *Jerusalem* 70–1. Gilbert, *Rebirth* 67–9, 83–6. Finn 2: 192–32. Fo 195/445 Finn to Clarendon 28 April 1854. Ben-Arieh, 66–8. Derek Hopwood, *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine* 1–49. Lynch diaries quoted in Gilbert, *Rebirth* 51. Karl Marx, *New York Daily Tribune* 15 April 1854. Colin

Shindler, *A History of Modern Israel* 23. Americans, Lynch: Oren, *Power* 137–40. James Finn, wars against Arab/Bedouin warlords of Hebron, Abu Ghosh, fighting and Pasha military expeditions: Finn 230–50. Murders, Holy Fire: Finn diaries 104 and 133–57. On nature of Jerusalem: Finn xxvii, 4, 40–2; on governor's prison etc. 159–74; Holy Fire fighting 2.458–9; Sudanese guards on Haram 2.237. Split in Jews between Hassidim and Perushim: Green 116–17; 1839 trip 119–32; Nicholas I and Montefiore 181; 1859–60 purchase of land for Montefiore Cottages 235–57; windmill 324–38; witty reply 1859 to Cardinal Antonelli 'Not as much as I gave your lackey' 277. On Montefiore legend in Russia, Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (henceforth Weizmann) 16. David F. Dorr, *A Colored Man Round the World by a Quadroon* 183–4 and 186–7. G. Flaubert, *Notes de voyage* in vol. 19 of *Les Oeuvres complètes* 19. Frederick Brown, *Flaubert: A Life* 231–9, 247, 256–61; also Elon, *Jerusalem* 37 and 139–41. Antony Sattin, *Winter on the Nile* 17–18. Flaubert on Du Camp official mission: Ruth Victor-Hummel, 'Culture and Image: Christians and the Beginnings of Local Photography in 19th Century Ottoman Palestine', in Anthony O'Mahony (ed.), *Christian Heritage in the Holy Land* 181–91. Americans: Oren *Power* 236–47. Melville: Melville, *Journals* 84–94; on Clarel 65–81. Obenzinger, *American Palestine* 65–82, including Jew mania; Grant/Lincoln 161; on Blyden and Dorr 227–47. Knauf, *OJ* 74–5. Alexander Kinglake, *Eothen* 144–58, 161–2. Lynch, Jewish picnic outside walls: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 51. On Gogol see note 12 above.

[14] End of Crimean War, 1850s: Finkel 457–60. Elon, *Jerusalem* 70–1. Gilbert, *Rebirth* 67–9, 83–6. Finn 1.2–4, 78, 2.452. Ben-Arieh, 66–8. Hopwood, *Russian Presence* 1–49. Mouradian, 'Les Chrétiens', in Nicault, *Jérusalem* 177–204. Gilbert, *Rebirth* 51. Figs 415–16; Montefiore Balaclava Railway 418; brawl 464–5.

[15] Montefiore: all quotations unless otherwise stated are from the *Diaries*. Green 176–94, 227, 35–53, 59; fifth visit 1857 63–9; Montefiore windmill and almshouses 1860 109–16; death of Judith 140; sixth visit 1866 171–86; Jerusalem views 338; awning for Wailing Wall and removal of slaughterhouse 332–3; pre-Zionist views, Jewish empire 320; negotiations with Ottomans 324. Rothschilds: Montefiore missions funded; Disraeli comment; reluctance to involve in Jordan; Ferguson, 418–422, and 1131. Melville on Montefiore, 'this Croesus – a huge man of 75': Melville, *Journals* 91–4. Hurva

Synagogue: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 98–100. Ben-Arieh, 42–4. Visits and tensions: Finn diaries 197, 244; Montefiore and Col Gawlon Jewish settlements: Green 50–9. Flaubert, *Notes de voyage* 19. Brown, *Flaubert* 231–9, 247, 256–61; also Elon, *Jerusalem* 37 and 139–41. Flaubert on Du Camp official mission: W. B. Lincoln, Nicholas I, war and death 340–50. Victor-Hummel, ‘Culture and Image’ 181–91.

[16] Archaeologists and emperors, spiritual imperialism: Wasserstein 50–65. Robinson: Silberman 37–47, 63–72; Wilson 79–85; Warren 88–99; British Palestine Archaeology 79, 86, 113–27; Bliss on Mount Zion 147–60; German archaeology 165–70. French: Ben Arieh, 169; frenzy to identify biblical sites 183–5. Saulcy: Goldhill, *City of Longing* 216. Gilbert, *Rebirth*, on Robinson and Smith xxii, 4–7 and 65–7; on Warren 128–35; Jewish principality a separate kingdom guaranteed by the Great Powers 128–32. American missionaries and archaeologists, Robinson: Oren, *Power* 135–7; U. S. Grant and American visitors 236–8. Lane Fox, *Unauthorized Version* 216–19. Kark on Robinson 29–30. Obenzinger, *American Palestine*, on Titus Tobler 253. Ben-Arieh, 183–5. Ruth Hummel, ‘Imperial Pilgrim: Franz Josef’s Journey to the Holy Land in 1869’, in M. Wrba (ed.), *Austrian Presence in the Holy Land* 158–77. Russians: Simon Dixon, ‘A Stunted International: Russian Orthodoxy in the Holy Land in the 19th Century’, draft paper. Romanov pilgrimages: N. N. Lisovoy and P. V. Stegnyy, *Rossiia v Svyatoy Zemle: Dokumenty i materialy* 1.125–7; Grand Duke Constantine 1859 visit 128–35. Hopwood, *Russian Presence*, Grand Duke Constantine 51. Russian pilgrims: Bertha Spaford Vester, *Our Jerusalem* (henceforth Vester) 86–7. Spiritual imperialism: Wasserstein 50–65. British, American and German archaeology, Silberman 113–27; 147–53–70; Moabite Stone 100–12; Moses Shapira 131–40. Americans: Obenzinger, *American Palestine*, 161. Consuls and Selah Merrill: Kark 128–30 and 323–5. British royals: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 109–14 and 177–80. Rider Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage* 267. Edward Lear in Elon, *Jerusalem* 142; 1881 Crown Prince Rudolf 144–5. Kitchener/Gordon: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 187. Pollock, *Kitchener: Saviour of the Realm* 29–37 and 31. Kitchener photographs Muristan, in Boas, *Jerusalem* 160. Gordon in Goldhill, *City of Longing* 21; Elon, *Jerusalem* 147; Grabar, 16.

[17] 1860–9: Hummel, ‘Imperial Pilgrims’ 158–77. Russians: Dixon, ‘A Stunted international.’ Lisovoy and Stegnyy, *Rossiia v Svyatoy*

Zemle 1.125–45. Hopwood, *Russian Presence* 51. Vester 86–7. Wasserstein 50–65.

- [18] Edward W. Blyden, *From West Africa to Palestine* 9–12 on Jerusalem mind; arrival 165; Holy Sepulchre 166; Bible in hand 170; black Muslims 180; Wall 280–3; second coming 199. Obenzinger, *American Palestine* 161–2; Blyden and Dorr 227–47. Mark Twain, Mediterranean Hotel and Ariel Sharon: see *Haaretz* 15 July 2008. Quotations from Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or the New Pilgrims' Progress*. Green: Judith Montefiore 140; visit 1866, 171–86; views 338; awning for Wailing Wall and removal of slaughterhouse; 332–3. U. S. Grant, Twain, Lincoln: Oren, *Power* 189, 236–8, 239–47. On archaeology, picturesque visions, new travel: Mazower *Salonica* 205–21.
- [19] Yusuf Khalidi and Ottoman Jerusalem: Alexander Scholch, 'An Ottoman Bismarck from Jerusalem: Yusuf Diya al-Khalidi', *JQ* 24, Summer 2005. K. Kasmieh, 'The Leading Intellectuals of late Ottoman Jerusalem', in *OJ* 37–42. Execution: Warren quoted in Goldhill, *City of Longing*, 146. Conrad, 'Khalidi Library,' *OJ* 191–209. Arab mansions, Ben-Arieh, 74–6. Martin Drow, 'The Hammams of Ottoman Jerusalem', *OJ* 518–24. Arab mansions: Sharif M. Sharif, 'Ceiling Decoration in Jerusalem during the Late Ottoman Period: 1856–1917', in *OJ* 473–8. Houses, slaves, women: Susan Roaf, 'Life in 19th Century Jerusalem', in *OJ* 389–414. Clothes: Nancy Micklewright, 'Costume in Ottoman Jerusalem', in *OJ* 294–300. Ott, 'Songs and Musical Instruments of Ottoman Jerusalem', in *OJ* 301–20. Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *Al Quds Al Othmaniyah Fi Al Muthakrat Al Jawhariyyeh* on Jewish Purim shared with other sects 1.68; Jewish Picnic at Simon the Just tomb and singing of Christian, Muslim and Spanish Jewish songs 1.74; musicians, belly dancers, Jews and Muslims 1.148. Salim Tamari, 'Jerusalem's Ottoman Modernity: The Times and Lives of Wasif Jawhariyyeh', and 'Ottoman Jerusalem in the Jawhariyyeh Memoirs', *JQ* 9, Summer 2000. Vera Tamari, 'Two Ottoman Ceremonial Banners in Jerusalem', in *OJ* 317. Joseph B. Glass and Ruth Kark, 'Sarah la Preta: A Slave in Jerusalem', *JQ* 34, Spring 2009. Sephardic Jews shared festivals, circumcision, *matzah*, welcome after *haj*, Sephardis pray for rain at request of Muslim leaders, Valero relations with Nashashibis and Nusseibehs: Ruth Kark and Joseph B. Glass, 'The Valero Family: Sephardi–Arab Relations in Ottoman and Mandatory Jerusalem', in *OJ* 21, August 2004. Greek Orthodox

anti-Semitism/Easter songs – reported by British visitors 1896: Janet Soskice, *Sisters of the Sinai* 237. On Arabs calling Jews ‘Jews sons of Arabs’ see Wasif Jawhariyyeh, diary, note 4, Zionism section. Weddings. Pappe 53 and 97–8. Nusseibehs’ castle house: Sari Nusseibeh, *Country* 48–9. Khalidis, Khalidi Library: Nazmi al-Jubeih, ‘The Khalidiyah Library’, *JQ* 3, Winter 1999. Conrad, ‘Khalidi Library’, *OJ* 191–205. Author interview with Haifa Khalidi. Ajami, ‘Hidden Treasure’, *Saudi Aramco World Magazine*. Kasmieh, ‘Leading Intellectuals of Late Ottoman Jerusalem’, *OJ* 37–42. Husseinis: Illan Pappe, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Husaynis’, Part 1, *JQ* 10, Autumn 2000; ‘The Husayni Family Faces New Challenges: Tanzimat, Young Turks, the Europeans and Zionism, 1840–1922’, Part 2, *JQ* 11–12, Winter 2001. New wealth of the Families: Pappe 87–91. *Nahda*: Rogan 138–9. Nationalism: Krämer 120–8, all nations develop in the light of history, modern articulation of imagined communities etc., but opposition not yet based on Arab Palestinian identity. Nabi Musa: Wasserstein 103. Privatization of *waqfs*: Gabriel Baer, ‘Jerusalem Notables and the Waqf’, in Kushner, *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period* 109–21. Yankee Doodle: Vester 181; Nabi Musa/Sufis 114–17; kerosene lamps 69; Ramadan fair, peepshows, horseraces 118. Clan-fighting around Jerusalem: Rafeq, *OJ* 32–6. Photography: Victor-Hummel, ‘Culture and Image’ 181–91. Abdul Hamid: Finkel 488–512. Herzl on Abdul Hamid. Tuchman 292. Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (henceforth Schneer), on Abdul-Hamid 17–18. Cohen, *Sacred Esplanade* 216–26. Eclectic building in imperial age: Kroyanker 101–41. On numbers of foreign monasteries and monks: Mouradian, ‘Les Chrétiens’, in Nicault, *Jérusalem* 77–204. 17,000 Jews: Brenner 267. American Colony: this account is based on Vester. Family: Vester 1–64; the Husseinis house 93 and 187; Gordon 102–4; Jacob and Hezekiah, Siloam Tunnel 95–8; simples and lunatics 126–41; Dutch countess 89. *Detroit News* 23 March 1902. See: J. F. Geniesse, *American Priestess*. On Overcomers vs Selah Merrill, anti-Semitism: Oren, *Power* 281–3. Kark 128–30 and 323–5. Husseinis and schools: Pappe 104–7. Schick and his buildings, new styles of late nineteenth century including French, British, Russian, Greek and Bokhara areas: Kroyanker 101–41. Abdul Hamid: Finkel 488–512. Archaeological national expeditions and rivalries: Silberman 113–27; 147–70; 100–12. Kark on con sul/Selah Merrill 128–30; 323–5.

- [20] Gilbert, *Rebirth* 14 and 177–80; Kitchener/Gordon 187. Haggard, *Winter Pilgrimage* 267. Edward Lear in Elon, *Jerusalem* 142; Rudolf 144–5. Pollock, *Kitchener* 29–37. Kitchener photographs Boas, *Jerusalem* 160. Gordonin Goldhill, *City of Longing* 21; Elon, *Jerusalem* 147; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy* 16. Russians: Dixon, ‘A stunted international’. Russians and Westerners: Stephen Graham, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (henceforth Graham) – clothes, sea journey, obsession with death 3–10; Montenegrin guide 35; life in Compound 40–2; Romanov visits and charges in Compound 44–6; ludicrous English tourists 55; Holy Sepulchre 62–4; corruption in Jerusalem, the Jew Factory, corrupt degenerate priests 69–76; pageant of Easter and Holy Fire 101–10; Arab women selling booze in Compound 118; Holy Fire 126–8; meetings in the street 130–2. Lisovoi and Stegnii, *Rossia v Sviatoi Zemle* 1.125–7; diary of Archimandrite Antonin 1881 and visits of Grand Duke Sergei 1888 1.147–60. Palestine Society and Russian Compound: Hopwood, *Russian Presence* 70–115. Christopher Warwick, *Ella: Princess, Saint and Martyr*: Sergei character and first visit 85–101; visit with Ella 143–53; Jewish pogrom Moscow 162–6. Tsarist policies and pogroms: Brenner 238–43. Vester 86–7. Jewish *aliyah*: Ben-Arieh 78. Modernization and Ottoman reforms, Arab reactions: Krämer 120–8. Nusseibeh, *Country* 48–9. Al-Jubeh, ‘Khalidiyah Library’. Kasmieh, ‘Leading Intellectuals of Late Ottoman Jerusalem’, *OJ* 37–42. Anti-Zionist measures: Pappe 115–17.

DEVETI DEO: CIONIZAM

- [1] Herzl, Zionism 1880s: Shindler, *History* 10–17. Assyrian profile: Jabotinsky quoted in Colin Shindler, *The Triumph of Military Zionism* 54–61, including Christmas tree. Desmond Stewart, *Herzl* 171–222, 261–73. Zionism, Herzl, new fashion for racial anti-Semitism: Brenner 256 – 67. Relations with Rothschilds, Ferguson 800–4. Tuchman 281–309. Jewish majority by 1860?: Paolo Cuneo, ‘The Urban Structure and Physical Organisation of Ottoman Jerusalem in Context of Ottoman Urbanism’, in *OJ* 218. Hassidics and other groups arrive: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 118–23 and 165–73; Hebrew culture 185–9, 207–15. Jewish immigration and population figures: Ben-Arieh 31–40 and 78 on First Aliyah figures. First Aliyah, Hess, pogroms and reaction of Tolstoy/Turgenev: Shmuel Ettinger and

Israel Bartal, 'First Aliyah, Ideological Roots and Practical Accomplishments', in *Cathedra* 2.197–200. Yemenite *aliyah*: Nitza Druyon, 'Immigration and Integration of Yemenite Jews in 1st *Aliyah*', in *Cathedra* 3.193–5. Immigration of Bokharans: author interview with Shlomo Moussaief. Karl Baedeker (1876), 186 Spanish Jews vs squalid Polish brethren. Kalischer, Alkalai and early proto-Zionists: Green 322–4. Evangelist Zionism: W. E. Blackstone, in Obenzinger, *American Palestine* 269–70. Herzl and Zionism: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 217–22. Zangwill, Galveston settlement, Africa, Argentina; Angola and Territorialism: Obenzinger, *JQ* 2003. Jews in Jerusalem 1895: 28,000; 1905: 35,000; 1914: 45,000: Krämer 102–11, 138; pogroms and rise in Jewish population 197–9. Martin Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews*, Churchillian Territorialism in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica 249. Kark 19–37. Jewish neighbourhoods: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 140–5. Tom Segev, *One Palestine Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate* 221–3. Jewish suburbs: Ben-Arieh 48–58. Herzl on extra-territorial Temple Mount: Wasserstein 320. Weizmann, *Trial and Error*: on Herzl style, character, not of people 41, 63; Sir Francis Montefiore, Rothschilds, Herzlian Zionism 62–5. Early Zionism distaste for Jerusalem: Sufian Abu Zaida, "A Miserable Provincial Town": The Zionist Approach to Jerusalem 1897–1937', *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007. Rothschild bids to buy Wall: Pappe 116–17.

- [2] Kaiser and Herzl in Jerusalem: *New York Times* 29 October 1898. Cohen, *Sacred Esplanade* 216–26. Travel agent Cook: *New York Times* 20 August 1932. Thomas Cook: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 154–60. Luxury Thomas Cook and Rolla Floyd tents: Vester 160–1. Luxury tourist tents: Ruth and Thomas Hummel, *Patterns of the Sacred: English Protestant and Russian Orthodox Pilgrims of the Nineteenth Century*, photograph. Kaiser, Jews and Herzl: John Rohl, *Wilhelm II: The Kaiser's Personal Monarchy 1888–1900* 944–54; on Church of Redeemer 899; I alone know something; all of you know nothing 843; on Jews 784. Kaiser and anti-Semitism: John Rohl, *The Kaiser and his Court* 190–212; on sexual hijinks at court/poodle 16. German architecture: Kroyanker 24. Visit to Temple Mount: *OJ* 270–1. Vester 194–8. Silberman 162–3. Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin–Baghdad Express*, on Kaiser in Jerusalem and letters to tsar 14–16. Stewart, *Herzl* 261–73. Goldhill, *City of Longing* 140. Gilbert, *Rebirth* 223–7. Modernity, Kaiser and photography: Victor-Hummel, 'Culture and Image' 181–91. Photos: *OJ* 267. Ben-Arieh 76. On Arab politics and

Ruhi Khalidi: Marcus, *Jerusalem, 1913: Origins of Arab–Israeli Conflict* 39–44 and 99. Krämer 111–15. Herzland Uganda: Lord Rothschild's introduction, Ferguson 802–4. Herzl, Uganda, Lloyd George as lawyer in two applications for Sinai homeland in 1903 and 1906: David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace* (henceforth Fromkin) 271–5. Churchillian Territorialism: Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews* 249. Zangwill, Galveston settlement, Africa, Argentina, Angola and Territorialism: Obenzinger, *JQ* 2003 17. Pappe 108–11. Ilan Pappe, 'Rise and Fall of the Husaynis', Part 1, *JQ* 10, Autumn 2000; 'Husayni Family Faces New Challenges', Part 2, *JQ* 11–12, Winter 2001. Wasserstein 320. Amy Dockser Marcus, *Jerusalem 1913: Origins of the Arab–Israeli Conflict* 30–60. Yusuf al-Khalidi to Chief Rabbi of France Zadok Khan in Nusseibeh, *Country* 23. Kasmeh, 'Leading Intellectuals of Late Ottoman Jerusalem', *OJ* 37–42.

- [3] The portrait of Ben-Gurion throughout the book is based on the biography Michael Bar-Zohar, *BenGurion*; David Ben-Gurion, *Recollections*; Weizmann; Shindler, *History and Military Zionism*; conversations with Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Yaacovy. Ben-Gurion, *Recollections* 34–43, 59–61. Bar-Zohar, *BenGurion* 1–12, 26–8. Krämer 111–15. Political philosophy, articles in 1914 and 1920: Shindler, *History* 21–35, 42–4 and 99–101. Weizmann: Herzl Ugandaism and El Arish plans 119–122; meeting with Plehve and Kishinev pogroms 109–18. *Protocols of Elders of Zion*: David Aaronovitch, *Voodoo Histories* 22–48. Early Zionist distaste for Jerusalem: Abu Zaida, "A Miserable Provincial Town", *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007.
- [4] Young Turk Revolution and Arab nationalism: this section is based on Wasif Jawhariyyeh, *Al Quds Al Othmaniyah Fi Al Muthakrat Al Jawhariyyeh*, vol. 1: 1904–1917, vol. 2: 1918–1948, trans. for this book by Maral Amin Quttieneh (henceforth Wasif). Among the diary entries used are 1.160, 167, 168–9, 190, 204, 211, 217, 219, 231. Also based on: Tamari, 'Jerusalem's Ottoman Modernity', *JQ* 9, Summer 2000. On cafés, atmosphere, women in the city: Salim Tamari, 'The Last Feudal Lord in Palestine', *JQ* 16, November 2002. Salim Tamari, 'The Vagabond Café and Jerusalem's Prince of Idleness', *JQ* 19, October 2003. Antebi: Marcus, *Jerusalem 1913* 50–73. Baedeker on city of no entertainment: Gilbert, *Rebirth* 154–60. Baedeker (1912) xxii, 19, 57. On Arab nationalism and Young Turk revolution/Khalil Sakakini quote: Norman Rose, *A Senseless Squallid War: Voices from Palestine* 8. Arab renaissance, disappointed

- nationalism, Young Turks: Rogan 147–9. Shindler, *History* 23 –8. Young Turks, seizure of power by Committee of Union and Progress, Turkish nationalism, rise of Enver: Efraim Karsh and Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand: Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East 1789–1923* (henceforth Karsh) 95–117. See also: P. S. Khoury, *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism: The Politics of Damascus 1860–1920*. On CUP: Mazower, *Salonica* 272–290. Football/school: Pappé 124–6; early nationalism 127–9; anti-Zionism 39–46.
- [5] Russia n pilgrima ge/R a sputin: G. E. R a sputin, *Moi mysli i razmyshleniia. Kratkoe opisaniie putesthestviya po svyatym mestam i vyzvannye im razmyshleniya po religioznym voprosam* 60–74. Garb, journey, deathcaps Graham 3–10; kvass 35; accommodation 44–6; Westerners 55; Sepulchre 62–4; corruption in Jerusalem, 69–76; Easter 101–10; booze in Compound 118; Holy Fire 126–8; street embraces 130–2. Russian shoot-out in Sepulchre; Martin Gilbert, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century* (henceforth Gilbert, *JTC*) 20. Eduard Radzinsky, *Rasputin* 180–3. Hummel, *Patterns of the Sacred* 39–61.
- [6] This account is based on the Parker family archive: special thanks to the present Earl of Morley and his brother the Hon. Nigel Parker for their help and papers. *The Times* (London) 4 May 1911. *New York Times* 5 and 7 May 1911. Major Foley, *Daily Express* 3 and 10 October 1926. Philip Coppens, ‘Found: One Ark of the Covenant?’, *Nexus Magazine* 13/6, October–November 2006. Silberman 180–8. On riots and high jinks: Vester 224–30. Pappé 142.
- [7] 1910–14. Rogan 147–9. 1908 to rise of Enver: Karsh 95–117. Majower: 280–90 Excitement 1908: Marcus, *Jerusalem 1913* 66–8, 186. Young Turks and Three Pashas: Finkel 526 –32. Abdul-Hamid’s clock: Krämer 75. Visit of Pr Eitel Fritz 1910, fight at Sepulchre; Gilbert, *JTC* 20–4; Zionist settlement and politics 25–40. Jerusalem as Babel by Weizmann 3– 4. Wasserstein 70 –81. Augusta Victoria: Storrs 296. Enver coup: Karsh 94–101. Pappé 139–150.
- [8] Jemal Pasha/First World War. Arrival of Pasha, and ‘beautiful’ parade of Mecca Sheikh Sayeed Alawi Wafakieh with green flag, Wasif 1:167. Kress von Kressenstein on Sheikh’s parade and Suez expedition, Sean McMeekin, *Berlin–Baghdad Express*, 166 –179. Jemal, al-Salahiyya, Enver visit: Wasif 1.232. *OJ* 57– 62. Pappé 150–9. Most quotes from Jemal are either from the diaries of his private secretary Falih Rif ki quoted in Geoffrey Lewis, ‘An Ottoman Ofcer in

Palestine 1914–18', in Kushner, *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period* 403–14, or from Djemal Pasha, *Memoirs of a Turkish Statesman 1913–19*. Franz von Papen, *Memoirs* 70. Terror, urban planning in Damascus: Burns, *Damascus* 263–5. Rudolf Hoess, *Commandant of Auschwitz* 38–41. Rudolf Hess: Vester 209 and 263. On high politics/military: Karsh 105–17; Suez attacks 141; repression of Zionists, NILI spy-ring 160–70. Krämer 143–7. Finkel 533–40. On war declaration and al-Aqsa allegiance, Count Ballobar and Jemal: Segev, *Palestine* 15–20. Hanging Mufti of Gaza: Storrs 371; Jews welcome Kressenstein 288; on Ballobar 303. Arrival of Armenians: Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land* 65–6. Gilbert, *JTC* 41–5. Jemal character: Vester 259–67; destruction of Jerusalem plan 81; Rudolf Hess in Jerusalem 208–9 and 263. Fromkin: Jemal terror 209–11. Military campaign: Roger Ford, *Eden to Armageddon: World War I in the Middle East* 311–61. Jemal takes Faisal to hangings; Jemal, Enver most ruthless: T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (henceforth Lawrence) 46, 51. The start of the war: George Hintlian, 'The First World War in Palestine and Msgr. Franz Fellingner', in Marion Wrba, *Austrian Presence in the Holy Land in the 19th and Early 20th Century* 179–93. Wasserstein 70–81. Jemal repressions: Karsh 161–70.

- [9] Death and sex under Jemal. This section is based on the diarists Wasif, Ihsan Turjman, Khalil Sakakini. Political thought, Jerusalem life, nationalism, Jemal and Turkish debauchery, prostitutes in schools, at Turkish parties, on street, Tennenbaum: Salim Tamari, 'The Short Life of Private Ihsan: Jerusalem 1915', *JQ* 30, Spring 2007. Vester, 264–7, 270–1. Wasif 1.160, 167, 168–9, 190, 204, 211, 217, 219, 231. Tamari, 'Jerusalem's Ottoman Modernity', *JQ* 9, Summer 2000. Adel Manna, 'Between Jerusalem and Damascus: The End of Ottoman Rule as Seen by a Palestinian Modernist', *JQ* 22–23, Autumn/Winter 2005. Jemal repressions: Karsh 161–70. On Syrian nationalism and terror: see Khoury, *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism*. Pappé 150–9. Ofer of Wailing Wall to Jews: Henry Morgenthau, *United States Diplomacy on the Bosphorus: The Diaries of Ambassador Morgenthau 1913–1916* 400: thanks to George Hintlian for bringing this to my attention. Jemal and Jews/Albert Antebi exiled October 1916; asks Jemal 'What have you done to my Jerusalem?': Marcus, *Jerusalem 1913* 138–44; 156–9. Jews, deportations, tired of hangings, Aaronsohn/NILI: Karsh 166–70. Jemal's peace offer:

Raymond Kevorkian, *Le Génocide des Arméniens* ch. 7. Prostitution: Vester 264. Leah Tennenbaum and Villa Leah: Segev, *Palestine* 7. On Jemal, Leah Tennenbaum, feasts, and bons mots on Three Pashas see Conde de Ballobar, *Diario de Jerusalén* – 26 May 1915 and 9 July 1916. On analysis of Ballobar, see R. Mazza, ‘Antonio de la Cierva y Lewita: Spanish Consul in Jerusalem 1914–1920’, and ‘Dining Out in Times of War’, *JQ* 40, Winter 2009, and 41, Spring 2010. On ‘bon garçon’ Jemal by Ballobar: Storrs 303 – 4. See also R. Mazza, *Jerusalem from the Ottomans to the British*.

- [10] Portrait of Lawrence is based on Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia: The Authorized Biography of T. E. Lawrence*, until otherwise stated. Lawrence, action and reflection: Wilson, *Lawrence* 19; on Sherif Hussein 656 and unfit to govern 432; Lawrence views pro-Brit pro-Arab 445; ‘tragi-comic’ demands of Sherif 196; Hogarth on Lawrence as moving spirit of McMahan and Revolt 213; early plan for Jerusalem book of *Seven Pillars* 74; Jerusalem and Beirut, shop-soiled hotel servants 184–5; on the McMahan letters and negotiations, and plan to include Jerusalem in Egypt 212–18; Gertrude Bell on Lawrence intelligence 232; Lawrence on characters of Abdullah and Faisal 305–9 and 385–7; his concept of guerilla warfare and insurgency 314; killing, Bufalo Bill 446; on sexual comedy 44; 27 Articles on how to lead an Arab insurgency 960–5; clothes 333–5; Sykes 230–3; can’t stand lies 410–12; Sykes–Picot, Lawrence informs Faisal 361–5; Aqaba plan 370–81; executes murderer 383; American description of Lawrence at Versailles 604–5. Lawrence lack of scruples, ‘genius for backing into the limelight’: Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and its Attempt to End War* 399–401. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* 8–12, 245–50. Rogan 150–7. Karsh on Lawrence and Arab Revolt: man with the gold 191. Janet Wallach, *Desert Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Gertrude Bell*: imp 299. Hashemite/Sherifian dynasty: Avi Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace* 1–10. Schneer 24– 6. Lawrence: Storrs 467 and 202. Silberman 190–2. Sherifian descent and family: Lawrence 48; Abdullah too clever 64–7, 219–20; Faisal Arab clothes 129; Lawrence character, ‘brain as quick and silent as a wild cat’ 580–1; egotistical curiosity 583; Faisal pity 582. Arab Revolt: Karsh 199–221; Sykes–Picot 222– 43. Karl E. Meyer and S. B. Brysac, *Kingmakers: The Invention of the Modern Middle*

East on Arab Revolt, Sykes–Picot 107–13. Karsh: 171–221; Sykes–Picot 222–46. Fromkin 218–28; Kitchener and views of Wingate and Storrs 88–105 and 142; Sykes 146–9; McMahon 173–87; Sykes–Picot 188–99. The best detailed account of McMahon remains Elie Kedourie, *In the AngloArab Labyrinth: The McMahon–Husayn Correspondence and its Interpretations*. Schmeer gives an excellent account 32–48 and 64–74.

- [11] Arab Revolt/British advance/Falkenhayn: Papen, 7–84. Jemal shows Falkenhayn Dome: *OJ* 276. Antonius, *Arab Awakening* 8–12, 245–50. Rogan 150–7. Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan* 1–10. Lawrence: Storrs 467 and 202; Silberman 190–2. On Sherifians: Lawrence 48, 64–7, 219–20, 129, 582; on himself 580–3. Taking of Aqaba and report to Allenby: Wilson, *Lawrence* 400–20; rape at Deraa 462–4. Arab Revolt: Karsh 171–221; Sykes–Picot 22–43. Meyer and Brysac, *Kingmakers* 107–13. Fromkin 88–105, 142; Sykes 146–9, 218–28; McMahon 173–87; Sykes–Picot 188–99; Jemal terror 209–11; Jemal bids for power himself 214–15. Jemal peace offer. S. McMeekin, *Berlin–Baghdad Express* 294–5. Scheer 87–103; on NILI ring 171–2. Enver visit: Wasif 1.232–3. Enver/ wartime Jerusalem: Vester 246–71. On spy-rings, Sakakini, Levine, Jemal terror, brothels, NILI: Manna, ‘Between Jerusalem and Damascus’, *JQ* 22–23, Autumn/Winter 2005 (quoting Turkish security policeman Aziz Bey). Sakakini and Levine: Segev, *Palestine* 13–15. Aaronsohn: Fromkin 309. Marcus, *Jerusalem 1913* 149–51.
- [12] Balfour, Lloyd George, Weizmann: Documents, motives and process of Declaration drafting: Doreen Ingrams (ed.), *Palestine Papers, 1917–1922: Seeds of Conflict* 7–18, quoting from William Ormsby-Gore memo on origins Declaration 7–8; on hopes to win Russian/US support; Balfour memo to Cabinet 9; Cabinet minutes 31 October quoting Balfour 16. John Grigg, *Lloyd George: War Leader* 339–57, especially 347–9 on Weizmann; Lloyd George to Weizmann quote; Samuel cold and dry; Asquith to Venetia Stanley on Lloyd George keeping Jerusalem from atheistic France; on Zionism serving British empire 349. R. J. Q. Adams, *Balfour: The Last Grandee* 330–5. MacMillan, *Peacemakers*: on Lloyd George character 43–51; on Balfour’s frivolity, silk handkerchief, Jewish genius, Zionism only worthy thing he did 424–6. Krämer 148–54 and 167. Segev, *Palestine* 33–50. Balfour on propaganda in Russia and America: Rogan 153–6. Weizmann: Hebrew university 100; first meeting with Balfour 143–5;

1906 Jerusalem, university land bought, why Jerusalem, 169–76 and 181; C. P. Scott, Lloyd George's account not true, may get Jerusalem 190–8; 'I... a Yid' 207; opponents of Zionism, Claude Montefiore, Leopold de Rothschild, Edwin Montagu 200–30 and 252; religious old statesmen 226; maze of personal relationships 228; Germany negotiates with Zionists 234–5; drafting of Declaration 252–62; Weizmann mistaken for Lenin 358. Weizmann as well-nourished Lenin: MacMillan, *Peacemakers* 423. Sykes on Jews/black people, Schneer 44–6; Lloyd George on Samuel's race, 126; on British Jews, Zionists vs Assimilationists, Rothschilds, Montefiores 124–61, Sykes on Power of Jews 166–8; power to Zion, Armenians, Arabs (Sykes), on possible Ottoman peace 349–59, Curzon quote 350. German Zionists, negotiations with German Ottomans (Jemal), Talaat's promise to German ambassador, and British alarm at Zionism as German idea (Sir Ronald Graham); McMeekin, *BerlinBaghdad Express* 340–51. Herbert Samuel, *Memoirs* 140. Meyer and Brysac, *Kingmakers* 112–26. Max Egremont, *Balfour* 293–6. Karsh 247–58. Fromkin 276–301, including Leo Amory on Bible, Brandeis and Wilson. Avi Shlaim, *Israel and Palestine* 3–24. Lloyd George grabbing Palestine: Rose, *Senseless Squalid War* 16–17. Karsh 247–58. Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews*: Churchill, Weizmann and acetone 23–30; biblical prophet 95. George Weidenfeld, *Remembering My Good Friends* 201–20, on Weizmann, character and style. Lord Rothschild support for Zionism: Ferguson 977–81. Early Zionist views: Abu Zaida, "A Miserable Provincial Town", *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007.

- [13] Fall of city/surrender. Allenby's orders from Lloyd George, Jerusalem by Christmas: Grigg, *Lloyd George: War Leader* 339–43. Germans unmoved by withdrawal, Storrs 303–5; mayor well bred 292. Alter Levine and Sakakini: Marcus, *Jerusalem 1913* 149–51. Levine and Sakakini, Sakakini quote on artillery: Segev, *Palestine* 30. Moshe Goodman, 'Immortalizing a Historic Moment: The Surrender of Jerusalem', in *Cathedra* 3.280–2. Vester 273–80. Husseinis meeting; marriageable virgins; blouse and bedsheets: Pappe 162–6. Diary of Bishop Mesrob Neshanian quoted in Hintlian, 'First World War in Palestine and Msgr. Franz Fellinger', in Wrba, *Austrian Presence* 179–93. Rumours, debate with Sakakini, Germans vs Turks on surrender: Tamari, 'Last Feudal Lord in Palestine', *JQ* 16, November 2002. Manna, 'Between Jerusalem and Damascus', *JQ* 22–23, Autumn/Winter 2005. Diary: K. Sakakini 20 January 1920. Arab

Syrian nationalism: Nasser Eddin Nashashibi, *Jerusalem's Other Voice: Ragheb Nashashibi and Moderation in Palestinian Politics 1920–1948* (henceforth Nashashibi) 134–5, 130–1; Ben-Gurion and Alami on small sofa 69. Faisal and Weizmann: Krämer 158–62. Carriage stolen from American Colony: Frederick Vester to Storrs 14 March 1919, American Colony Hotel archive. Anti-Semitic frenzy of Turks in Jerusalem: Ballobar, *Diario* 30 November 1917.

[14] Allenby: Grigg, *Lloyd George: War Leader* 342–5. Wasif 2.280. Storrs 305–7. Lawrence 330; on Jerusalem 341, 553; Lawrence rape at Deraa, entry into city, thoughts of rape as Allenby speaks; effects of rape trauma later 668. Absurdly boyish: Wilson, *Lawrence* 459–66; Gilbert, *JTC* 45–61. Segev, *Palestine* 23–4 and 50–5. Allenby's book: Meyer and Brysac, *Kingmakers* 109. Allenby and Storrs in Jerusalem: Fromkin 308–29. War Ofce advice: Elon, *Jerusalem* 167. Vester 278–80. Allenby and Crusader comments to Husseini and to Nusseibehs: Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemites* 426–7. Thanks to my cousin Kate Sebag-Montefiore for researching William Sebag-Montefiore's role in Palestine. Thanks to Peter Sebag-Montefiore and his daughter Louise Aspinall for the private archive of Major Geoffrey Sebag-Montefiore: reports quoted of 24 April 1918 (sex with local women); VD prevalent 11 June 1918; VD rampant 16 June 1918; guarding holy places 23 June 1918; Desert Mounted Corps in brothels 29 June 1918; brothels troublesome and VD rampant 14 July 1918; brothels moved, thirty-seven arrested 18 August 1918; women astray 1 September 1918; brothels VD, nothing else to report 8 September 1918; Australians in brothels 13 October 1918 and 18 November 1918. Pappe 165–75: Maghrebis interested in sale of Wall 234.

[15] Storrs, most brilliant: Lawrence 56–7. Lawrence visits and meets Lowell Thomas: Wilson, *Lawrence* 489; Faisal and Lawrence's attitude to Zionism, hope for Zionist Jewish advisers and financiers for Faisal Syria, Lawrence on Zionism and letter to Sykes, Faisal meetings with Weizmann near Aqaba and in London 442–4, 513–14, 514 and 576–7; on 12 December 1918 meeting in London, Faisal and Weizmann, Faisal says there is room in Palestine for 4–5 million Jews 593. Shindler, *Military Zionism* 61–7. Ben-Gurion article 'Towards the Future' on sharing Palestine, on Jabotinsky and article 'Iron Wall' 1923: Shindler, *History* 26–30; Jabotinsky, Fascists, Duce as bufalo 131. Weizmann: Jabotinsky 86; on Allenby, Storrs,

- Protocols of Elders of Zion* 265–81, 273; on Faisal meetings and Lawrence 293–6; founding of Hebrew University 296; Nabi Musa riots 317–21. *Protocols of Elders of Zion*: Aaronovitch, *Voodoo Histories* 22–48. Early Zionist attitude: Abu Zaida, “A Miserable Provincial Town”, *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007. Pappe 166–87: Grand Muftiship; Husseini estates’ involvement with King Faisal; Musa Kazem’s career 111–12; Amin in Damascus 170–1; Nabi Musa 189–203.
- [16] Herbert Samuel, arrival: Storrs 352–8 and 412–14. Stifsh character: Segev, *Palestine* 155. Oyster: Schnee 122–6. Cold, dry: Lloyd George quoted in Grigg, *Lloyd George: War Leader* 348. Wooden: Edward Keith-Roach, *Pasha of Jerusalem* 73. Chaim Bermant, *The Cousinhood: The AngloJewish Gentry* 329–54. Politics: Krämer 213–24. Segev, *Palestine* 91–9. Gilbert, *JTC* 88. Samuel, *Memoirs* 154–75. Luke and Keith-Roach, *Handbook of Palestine* 86–101. Jabotinsky, revisionism: Shindler, *Military Zionism* 50, 61–5, 85–92; Samuel and watering down of Balfourism 1–32. Political philosophy of evolution, socialist cooperation and move towards ruthless pragmatism, strongman of Zionism, articles in 1914 and 1920: Shindler, *History* 21–35. Abu Zaida, “A Miserable Provincial Town”, *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007.
- [17] Churchill: Martin Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life* 428–38; also Gilbert, *JTC* 92. Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews*, WSC boyhood essay 1; as Manchester MP and early meetings with Weizmann 7–15; Zionism and First World War 24–33; on article on International Jew 37–44, quoting Sunderland speech and *Illustrated Sunday Herald* 8 February 1920; colonial secretary trip to Cairo and Jerusalem 45–64; Rutenberg concession 78–85; created Transjordan ‘one Sunday afternoon’ 109. Faisal and Abdullah kingdoms: Shlaim, *History* 11–20. Lawrence as adviser, Hussein crass: Wilson, *Lawrence* 540; Sherifian solution, Cairo conference and Jerusalem meetings with Abdullah, Lawrence on Churchill 643–63 and 674. Karsh 309–25, especially 314–16, 318. Rogan 178–85. Fromkin 424–6, 435–48, 504–29. Khorury, *Urban Notables and ArabNationalism* 80–90. Cairo: Wallach, *Desert Queen* 293–301. Segev, *Palestine* 143–5. Krämer 161–3. Saudis vs Sherifians: Rogan 179–84. On Lawrence and Last Crusade: Fromkin 498–9. Faisal, Lawrence and Zionism: Weizmann 293–6. Thomas and Lawrence: Oren, *Power* 399–402.
- [18] Husseini vs Nashashibi. Portraits written with reference to Mahdi Abdul Hadi (ed.), *Palestinian Personalities: A Biographical*

Dictionary. Mufti, character, career: Pappe 169–73; selection of mayor and mufti 201, 212–45. Gilbert Achcar, *The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab–Israeli War Narratives*, (henceforth Achcar) on Mufti policies and character 123–0; on megalomania 127, on variety of Arab opinions, liberals, Marxist nationalists, Islamicists 41–123; quote 52. On political parties, on blond mufti, jokes without laughter: author interview with Nasser Eddin Nashashibi. Nashashibi 14–19; election of mufti 38 and 126–8; mufti leader 79; differences between mufti and Nashashibi 75; Nashashibi brought down by Sir Arthur Wauchope 32. Wasserstein 324–7. Krämer 200–7 and 217–22. On Notables and rivalries: Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab–Israeli War* 13–14. Mufti, poacher, British intimidated: Weizmann 342. Totalitarianism enlightened: Keith-Roach quoted in Segev, *Palestine* 4–9. Mufti, cause just, method unwise and immoral: John Glubb Pasha *A Soldier with Arabs* 41. Sole qualifications, pretension of family: Edward Keith-Roach, *Pasha of Jerusalem* 94. Sari Nusseibeh, *Once Upon a Country*: disastrous 36. Projection of holiness and importance of Haram for nation: Krämer 237 and redemption of the land 251–3; family political parties 239–40. Tamar, ‘Jerusalem’s Ottoman Modernity’, *JQ* 9, Summer 2000. Tamar, ‘Vagabond Café and Jerusalem’s Prince of Idleness’, *JQ* 19, October 2003. On Haile Selassie and kings: John Tleel, ‘I am Jerusalem: Life in the Old City from the Mandate Period to the Present’, *JQ* 4, Spring 1999. Amos Oz, *A Tale of Love and Darkness* (henceforth Oz) 23, 38–42, 62, 118–19, 307, 324, 325, 329. Partition plans: Wasserstein 108–12. Shlaim, *Israel and Palestine* 25–36. ‘Harem Beauties Drive Fords thro Jerusalem’, *Boston Sunday Herald* 9 July 1922. British dislike Jews: John Chancellor quoted in Rose, *Senseless Squalid War* 31; easy to see why Arabs preferred to Jews, Richard Crossman 32. High British life and George Antonius’ swinging party: Segev, *Palestine* 342–5; Ben-Gurion, evolving views and proposals to Musa Alami and George Antonius 275–7. Stalin/Birobidzhan: Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin: Court of the Red Tsar* and *Young Stalin*; Arkady Vaksberg, *Stalin against the Jews* 5.

[19] Buraq Uprising and after: Wasif 2.484. Pappe 233 – 45. Achcar 128–133. Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemmites* 39–43. Ilan Pappe, ‘Haj Amin and the Buraq Revolt’, *JQ* 18, June 2003. Shindler, *Military Zionism* 94–104. Keith-Roach, *Pasha* 119–22. Nusseibeh 31. Rogan 198–201. Krämer 225–37. Segev, *Palestine* 296–333. Gilbert, *JTC* 119–28. A.

J. Sherman, *Mandate Days: British Lives in Palestine* 73–93. Mufti visits Nazi consul: Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* 16–17 and 29. Koestler quotes: Michael Scammell, *Koestler: The Indispensable Intellectual* 55–65. Ben-Gurion, evolution, socialism, pragmatism: Shindler, *History* 21–35. White Paper, Black Letter, Passfield: Weizmann 409–16; deposed as president 417–22. Fall of Weizmann, rise of Ben-Gurion, Jabotinsky as Il Duce: Bar-Zohar, *BenGurion* 59–67.

- [20] British Mandate life. Architecture: Kroyanker 143–65. *Boston Sunday Herald* 9 July 1922. British anti-Semitism: John Chancellor quoted in Rose, *Senseless Squalid War* 31; Richard Crossman 32. High British life, Antonius' party: Segev, *Palestine* 342–50; author interview with Nasser Eddin Nashashibi. Kai Bird, *Crossing Mandelbaum Gate* (henceforth Bird), including 'she was naughty' quote, open marriage 16–19 and 22–42. Colonel P. H. Massy, *Eastern Mediterranean Lands: Twenty Years of Life, Sport and Travel* 69–70. Hunting etc.: Keith-Roach, *Pasha* 89; modern city, beauty parlour 95; Plumer and Chancellor good-looking actor 99/100. Brawl between Latins and Greeks with umbrella: Harry Luke, *Cities and Men: An Autobiography* 207; staf 213; life 241–5; toastmaster 218. King David Hotel: Gilbert, *JTC* 101–19 and 130. Private aeroplane: John Birman and Colin Smith, *Fire in the Night: Wingate of Burma, Ethiopia and Zion* 79. Plumer and Chancellor: Segev, *Palestine* 289. Café life: Tamari, 'Vagabond Café and Jerusalem's Prince of Idleness', *JQ* 19 October 2003. Neighbourhoods: Oz, *Tale* 23, 38–42. The May family: Miriam Gross, 'Jerusalem Childhood', *Standpoint* September 2010. Burial of Grand Duchess Ella: Warwick, *Ella* 302–12; Luke, *Cities and Men* 214. The Families and the British: Storrs 423–5. Nusseibeh, *Country* 28–36, 62. Krämer 257–66. Congreve: Segev, *Palestine* 9; Wauchope and new Government House, duck-shooting 342–8. Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemmites*: exhilarating city 52; Katy Antonius 133; houses, bookshops, families, white suits 409–25; no choice but armed rebellion 44–7. Immigration figures: Segev, *Palestine* 37. Churchill and Moyne visit King David Hotel: Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews* 102; Woodhead Commission and increase in population of Arabs and Jews 152; partnership and characters of Ben-Gurion and Weizmann 76–9; negotiations with Musa Alami 82–7; on love life 118–19. On Ben-Gurion books and reading: author conversation with Shimon Peres. On Ben-Gurion Napoleon joke: conversation

with Itzik Yaacovy. Weizmann character and attitude to Ben-Gurion: Weidenfeld, *Remembering my Good Friends* 201–20. Achcar, variety of Arab opinions, nationalists, liberals, Marxists, Islamicists 41–123. Mufti and Zionist proposal for shared states and two-tier legislatures: Pappe 226–8.

- [21] Arab Rebellion: Krämer 259–65. Rogan 204–7. Morris, *1948* 18–20. Achcar 133–40; on breadth of Arab opinions 41–133. Tarboush and gangs: Nashashibi 97–103 and 46–57. Wasif 2.539–49. Ruthless methods: Segev, *Palestine* 350–2, 361–74, 382–8, 402, 414–43. Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemmites* 42–9: first shots. Revolt, Wingate, like Lawrence: Weizmann 489–91 and 588. Destruction of compromise and Judah Magnes: Oren, *Power* 436–8. Walid Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 20–2, 33–5 Abd al-Kadir Husseini, portrait written with reference to Hadi, *Palestinian Personalities*. Pappe quoted 278; on mufti violence 246–82; Abd al-Kadir 225; 260–2; 269; 292–6.
- [22] Wingate and Dayan, Arab Rebellion: Wasif 2.539–49. Ruthless methods: Segev, *Palestine* 400–2, 414–43. Bierman and Smith, *Fire in the Night* 29–30, 55–130. Moshe Dayan, *Story of my Life* (henceforth Dayan) 41–7; Montgomery executions: Rose, *Senseless Squalid War* 45. Walid Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, 20–2, 33–5. Dayan: Ariel Sharon, *Warrior* 76, 127, 222. Revolt, restraint: Segev, *Palestine* 420–43; Wingate, negotiations 489–91 and 588. Wasserstein 115–16. Ben-Gurion emergence as strongman of Zionism: Shindler, *History* 21–35; restraint 35–6; Sadeh and Wingate 36–8. St James's Palace conference/White Paper/war: Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion* 93–105. Moderates undermined: Oren, *Power* 436–8. Jerusalem lost to Arabs 17 October 1938: Pappe 287; Abd al-Kadir Husseini 292–6.
- [23] Mufti in Berlin, Second World War: Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World*, with Hitler 73–9, 185–9; with Himmler 199–203. Views on Holocaust and Jews: Morris, *1948* 21–2. Achcar: mufti's extremist views; mufti's views unrepresentative of Arab views 140–52. Pappe 305–17. Decadence Asmahan: Mansel, *Levant* 306–7; Philip Mansel, *Asmahan, Siren of the Nile* (unpublished ms). Wartime: Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemmites* 49–51. Rogan 246–50. Dayan 48–74. Krämer 307–10. Pappe 305–17. Second World War Jewish fears; Wasif 2.558–60; Abd el-Kadir Husseini 2.601–2. Musa Budeiri, 'A Chronicle of a Defeat Foretold: The Battle for Jerusalem in the Memoirs of Anwar Nusseibeh', *JQ* 3, Winter/Spring 2001.

Begin parochial not poetical: Rose, *Senseless Squalid War* 63–5. Koestler quotes on Begin/Ben-Gurion: Scammell, *Koestler* 331. Begin's military Zionist clash with Jabotinsky: Shindler, *Military Zionism* 205–12, 219–23, Begin's character and ideology including quote on hunter from ex-Israeli ambassador to Britain and paraphrased quote on maximalist ideology, emotional Judaism: Shindler, *History* 147–150. Pappe 323–7. Menachem Begin, *The Revolt* (henceforth Begin) 25; *shofar* at Wall 88, 91; Descartes 46–7; attacks in Jerusalem 49, 62; operations and United Command 191–7; King David 212–20. Christopher Andrew, *Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5* 352–66, including King David bomb 353. Population 93,000: Wasserstein 121; MacMichael plan 116; Fitzgerald/Gort plan 120–3; Truman/Anglo-American Commission 122; population 100,000 128. Katy Antonius parties: author interview with N. Nashashibi. Stalin and FDR at Yalta: S. M. Plokhy, *Yalta: The Price of Peace* 343. Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews* 139. FDR, Stalin and Truman on Zionism: Morris, *1948* 24–5. Churchill and Stalin to Jerusalem: Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill* 7.1046–7, 1050, 1064 – thanks to Sir Martin Gilbert for bringing this to my attention. Truman and founding of Israel: quotes from David McCullough, *Truman* 415 and 595–620. Truman, character: Oren, *Power* 475–7. Lord Moyne, East Prussia offer: Bar-Zohar, *BenGurion* 106. Katy Antonius, divorce, death of George, relationship with Barker: Segev, *Palestine* 480, 499; also Katy Antonius obituary, *The Times* 8 December 1984; author interview with N. Nashashibi; Bird 16–19 and 37–43.

[24] 1947/Farran: Rogan 251–62. Krämer 310–12. Pappe 328–41. Gilbert, *JTC* 186–271. Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews*, speech 'senseless squalid war' 261–7. The Farran story is based on David Cesarani, *Major Farran's Hat: Murder, Scandal and Britain's War against Jewish Terrorism 1945–8*: Montgomery's crackdown and rising terrorism 10–58; Farran character 63–81; policing style and kidnapping 90–8; trial 173–4. *The Times* 6 June 2006 obituary. Ben-Gurion price of statehood: Wasserstein 125. Montgomery at Katy Antonius: author interview with N. Nashashibi. Truman 'Biblical scholar': Clark Clifford quoted in Rose, *Senseless Squalid War* 73. US Soviet attitude to Palestine: Morris, *1948* 24–5. McCullough, *Truman* 415, 595–620. Truman, put an underdog on top: Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews* 266. Anti-Jewish comments by British officials: Efraim

Karsh, *Palestine Betrayed* quoting Cunningham 75. Katy Antonius and Barker: Segev, *Palestine* 480, 499; also Katy Antonius obituary, *The Times* 8 December 1984; author interview with N. Nashashibi: Bird 16–18 and 37–43. Churchill on anti-Semitism among British officials: Gilbert *Churchill, and the Jews* 190; Irgun vilest gangsters 270. British security forces: Andrew, *Defence of the Realm* 352–66; Keith Jeferey, *MI6* 689–97.

- [25] 1947–May 1948, Deir Yassin and Abd al-Kadir Husseini: Rogan 251–62. Wasserstein 133–424; Nigel Clive quote on clapping children, 150. Abd al-Kadir Husseini, character: Hadi, *Palestinian Personalities*. Ben-Gurion: Oz, *Tale* 424. Dayan 48–74. Yitzhak Rabin, *The Rabin Memoirs* (henceforth Rabin): childhood 1–10; battle for Jerusalem 16–27. Krämer 310–12. Gilbert, *JTC* 186–271. Nusseibeh, *Country* 38–56, including appeal to Abdullah; heroic Abd al-Kadir Husseini 52–4; fighting after UN vote 43; father shot 56. Fighting at Montefiore between Jews, Arab and British: during the Montefiore battle, 10 February 1948: Avraham-Michael Kirshenbaum was killed by British sniper at Montefiore Battle. Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemmites* 64–5. End of Mandate: Wasif 2.603–5. Abd el-Kadir Husseini: Wasif 2.601–2. Budeiri, ‘Chronicle of a Defeat Foretold’, *JQ* 3, Winter/Spring 2001. Abdullah: Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan* 20–49. On Gaza Palestine government: Shlaim, *Israel and Palestine* 37–53. Oz, *Tale* 318–21; Ben-Gurion diary quoted at 333; UN vote 343. On mufti’s role: Achcar 153–6. This account of the war is based on Morris, *1948*, including Plan D 121; also on Shindler, *History*; Pappé 336–41; Rogan; *Nakhba* personal account by Wasif. Wasif 2.603–5. War, Abd al-Kadir Husseini and breakdown: Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemmites* 59–77. Declaration of independence and choice of state names: Shindler, *History* 38–42; Ben-Gurion’s views 43–4 and 99–100; war and troop numbers 46. Arab Liberation Army, 5,000 troops maximum: Morris, *1948*: 90; Jerusalem under Abd al-Kadir Husseini 91; civil war 93–132, including Plan D 122; Husseini poem and Kastel, mutilation of bodies at Kastel 121–5; Deir Yassin 126–8; 13 April attack on Hadassah ambulances 128–9; battle for Jerusalem 129–32. Bertha Spaford Vester and intervention in Arab ambush of Hadassah convoy: Bird 11. Abd al-Kadir Husseini, Deir Yassin and revenge and postcards of corpses, Plan D: Rogan 255–61. War 262–9 and the Catastrophe, *Nakhba*, origin of word Achcar 268–9. Katy Antonius mansion and letters found: Segev 480, 499. Bird 16

and 37–43. Battle of Jerusalem: Bar-Zohar, *BenGurion* 164–70. Abd al-Kadir Husseini and brother Khaled: Pappe 334–5. Bertha Spafford Vester's anti-Israel mission to USA and quotations on Truman: Odd Karsten Tveit, *Anna's House: The American Colony in Jerusalem* (Nicosia, Cyprus 2011) 389–394.

[26] Unless stated otherwise, this account of the war is based on Morris, 1948; Rogan 262–9, Pappe 323–41; and Shindler, *History* 45–9. Regular war 1948–9, Abdullah: Abdullah bin Hussein, King of Jordan, *Memoirs* 142–203. Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan* 20–49. Storrs 135. Luke, *Cities and Men* 243 and 248. Abdullah: Lawrence 67–9, 219–21. On Abdullah character: Hussein bin Talal, King Hussein of Jordan, *Uneasy Lies the Head* 1–18. Rabin 16–27. John Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs*, on Abdullah 50–5, 271–5; the battle 105–31; on Jerusalem 43–4, 213. Abdullah, 'I want to be the rider': Karsh, *Palestine Betrayed* 96. Burial of Hussein I in Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 358. The account of Abdullah and negotiations is based on Avi Shlaim, *The Collusion across the Jordan*, and Benny Morris, *The Road to Jerusalem: Glubb Pasha, Palestine and the Jews*. Krämer 315–19. Destruction in Jewish Quarter: Elon, *Jerusalem* 81. Assassination: author interview with witness N. Nashashibi. Hussein, *Uneasy Lies the Head* 1–9. Glubb, *Soldier with the Arabs* 275–9; Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan* 398–417. Pappe on assassination, and Musa al-Husseini 313 and 343–5. Nusseibeh, *Country* 62–75. Nashashibi 20–1, 215–20. Budeiri, 'Chronicle of a Defeat Foretold', *JQ* 3, Winter/Spring 2001. Split Jerusalem: Nusseibeh, *Country* 59–64; Jordanian city 64–94. Oz, *Tale* 369–70. Fall of Jerusalem: Begin 160. King of Jerusalem: Wasserstein 165; nobody takes Jerusalem 169; Nabi Musa 188; lions and zoo 182. Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemites* 59–77. Weizmann, Swiss president, Weidenfeld Jerusalem campaign: Weidenfeld, *Remembering My Good Friends* 201–20. Author interviews with Lord Weidenfeld. Let Jews have Jerusalem: Churchill quoted by John Shuckburgh in Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews* 292. Weizmann on dislike of Jerusalem as president: Weizmann 169. Battle of Jerusalem: Bar-Zohar, *BenGurion* 164–70. Truman, 'I am Cyrus': Oren, *Power* 501.

[27] King Hussein 1951–67. Succession and early reign: Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan* 49; PLO 218–27; war 235–51. Nigel Ashton, *King Hussein of Jordan: A Political Life* (henceforth Ashton) 13–26; war 113–20. Hussein, *Uneasy Lies the Head* 110. Mufti's last visit March 1967;

Pappe 346; Arafat, Mufti's heir 337. Renovations of Dome etc.: Cresswell in *OJ* 415–21. Author interview with Princess Firyal of Jordan. Goldhill, *City of Longing* 38. Nusseibeh, *Country* 62–8; father's career 72–5; rise of Arafat, Fatah 62–94. Budeiri, 'Chronicle of a Defeat Foretold', *JQ* 3, Winter/Spring 2001. Oz, *Tale* 70. Mandelbaum Gate – not gate not Mandelbaum, snipers, divided city/population: Wasserstein 40, 180–2, 191–2, 200. Life in divided Jerusalem, Mandelbaum Gate, return of Katy Antonius, small town, Bertha Spaford Vester: Bird 10–11; Katy Antonius, dragon and flirt, café 16–20; quotation by Kai Bird on 'jarring series of ad hoc fences' 19; Mandelbaums 20–4; Russian émigré vs Soviet Churches and CIA payments 32, including Kai Bird quotation on Cold War in Jerusalem (as ardently as Berlin alleyways); Orient House hotel 33. Nasser discusses Jerusalem: author interview with N. Nashashibi. Orthodox Jews: Yakov Lupo and Nitzan Chen, 'The Ultra-Orthodox', in O. Ahimeir and Y. Bar-Simon-Tov (eds), *Forty Years in Jerusalem* 65–95. Also: Yakov Loupo and Nitzan Chen, 'The Jerusalem Area Ultra-Orthodox Population', ms. Elon, *Jerusalem* 189–94. Ben-Gurion and Eichmann: inter view with Yitzhak Yaacovy. Haram quiet, few Muslim visitors in 1950s: Oleg Grabar, *Sacred Explanade* 388. Hussein, PLO, United Kingdom plan: Nusseibeh, *Jerusalemites* 133–53.

[28] Six Day War: this is based on Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*; Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, the War and the Year that Transformed the Middle East*; Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan*; Jeremy Bowen, *Six Days: How the 1967 War Shaped the Middle East*; and Rogan 333–43, including Nasser–Amer conversation; and Nasser hope to claim victory without war, post-war Palestinian nationalism/Arafat 343–53. Nasser not Abdullah: Nashashibi 228. Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan* 235–51. Ashton 113–20. Dayan 287–381. Gilbert, *JTC* 272–97. Dayan personality: Shindler, *History* 101. On Dayan: author conversation with Shimon Peres. Michael Bar-Zohar, *Shimon Peres: A Biography* 87–90. Bar-Zohar, *BenGurion* on Dayan's sex life 118–19. Dayan character: Ariel Sharon, *Warrior* 76, 127, 222.

[29] Wall liberated: Dayan 13–17. On Dayan: author conversation with Shimon Peres. Ashton 118–20, Shlaim, *Lion of Jordan* 248–51 and 258. Hussein weeps for city: Noor, Queen of Jordan, *Leap of Faith*, 75–7.

EPILOG

- [1] 1967–present: population Wasserstein 212, 328–38; peace plans 345; white flight of secular Jews, falling proportion of Jews from 74 per cent in 1967 to 68 per cent in 2000. Forty peace plans for Jerusalem: Shlaim, *Israel and Palestine* 229, also 25–36; on Jerusalem 253–60. Population in 2000 including 140,000 Orthodox Jews: Loupo and Chen, ‘Ultra-Orthodox’, Ahimeir and Bar-Simon-Tov, *Forty Years in Jerusalem* 65–95. Population 2008: figures based on Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies. After 1967 and Resolution 339 Rogan 242. ‘Jerusalem’s Settlements’, *The Economist* 3 July 2010 ‘Jerusalem Mayor Handing City to Settlers’ *Haaretz*, 22 February 2010 and ‘Jerusalem Master Plan’, *Haaretz*, 28 June 2010. Jerusalem Syndrome: Yair Bar-El et al., *British Journal of Psychiatry* 176 (2000) 86–90. Views of Bertha Spaford Vester on Israeli rule/her death: Odd Karsten Tveit, *Anna’s House: The American Colony in Jerusalem* 398.
- [2] This cursory account of the political developments since 1967 is based, unless otherwise stated, on: Krämer; Rogan; Shindler, *History*. Arafat and Fatah: Rogan 343–53; Hussein recognition of PLO to West Bank 378; First Intifada, Hamas and Nusseibeh and Faisal Husseini roles 429–37 and 465–7; Netanyahu settlements 476; Second Intifada 478–9. PLO years: Achcar 211–31. Pappé: Arafat 337 and 351 (Husseini connection); Faisal al-Husseini 348–9. On ideology of settlement of Jerusalem and West Bank: Ariel Sharon, *Warrior* 354–72; ‘how to secure Jerusalem as permanent capital of the Jewish people... to create an outer ring of development around Arab neighbourhoods’ 359; ‘flow of pioneering nationalism’ 364. On Menachem Begin and redemptionist/maximalist Judaism: Shindler, *History* 147–50. On peace talks: Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace*, on Sadat and Begin 146–71; the Oslo talks and Arafat on Jerusalem 247–84. In my conclusion, I have been greatly helped by the following outstanding works on history, nationalism and cities: Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem: Living City 1517–1917*; Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean*; Mark Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts*; Adam LeBor, *City of Oranges: Jews and Arabs in Jafa*. Palestinian portraits written with reference to: Hadi, *Palestinian Personalities*. Modern Russian links to Jerusalem: ‘Where Pity

Meets Power', *The Economist* 19 December 2009. Archaeology: see Raphael Greenberg, 'Extreme Exposure: Archaeology in Jerusalem 1967–2007', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 2009, vol. 11, 3–4, 262–81. Islamic, Christian and Jewish fundamentalism: On American millennial speculation about Armageddon; Sarah Palin, Pentecostals' view on Second Coming; Latter Rain prophecies; America as new Jerusalem: Sarah Curtis, 'Sarah Palin's Jerusalem and Pentecostal faith', *Colloquy Text Theory Critique* 17 (2009) 70–82. Numbers 19, modern apocalyptic expectations. Lawrence Wright, 'Letter from Jerusalem: Forcing the End', *New Yorker* 20 July 1998. Marwan Mosque vs Temple Tunnel, Temple Institute parallel to Northern Islamic Movement, plan to bury Arafat on Haram: Benjamin Z. Kedar and Oleg Grabar, 'Epilogue', in *Sacred Esplanade* 379–88. Islamicism, Hamas Charter, *Protocols*: Achcar 233–40. *Protocols of Elders of Zion*: Aaronovitch, *Voodoo Histories* 22–48, including Hamas Charter. On Palestinian denial of Jewish heritage: Ben-Ami 247–84; 'PA study claims Kotel was never part of Temple Mount', *Jerusalem Post*, 23 November 2010. On challenges of the division of Jerusalem in one or two states: Michael Dumper, 'Two State Plus: Jerusalem and the Binational Debate', *JQ* 39, Autumn 2009. Sari Nusseibeh, 'Haram al-Sharif', in *Sacred Esplanade* 367–73. Sepulchre: Nusseibeh, *Country* 72. Religions ignore each other: Ethan Bronner, 'Jews and Muslims Share Holy Season in Jerusalem', *New York Times* 28 September 2008. Quotations from author's conversations/with Shimon Peres, Amos Oz, Rabbi S. Rabinowitz, Wajeeh al-Nusseibeh, Aded al-Judeh, Adeb al-Ansari and Naji Qazaz.

Bibliografija

ČASOPISI

AlFajr alAdabi

American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures

Associated Christian Press

Biblical Archaeologist

Biblical Archaeology Review

British Journal of Psychiatry

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites

Crusades

Eastern Christian Art

The Economist

English Historical Review

GraecoArabia

History Today

Israel Exploration Journal

Jerusalem Quarterly (Institute of Jerusalem Studies, al-Quds University) (JQ)

Jewish Chronicle, London

Jewish Quarterly

Journal of Asian and African Studies

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (JRAS)
Liber Annuus (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem)
Middle Eastern Studies
New York Times
The New Yorker
Palestine Exploration Fund Annual
Palestine Exploration Quarterly
Pravoslavny Palomnik
Revue des Etudes Juives
Saudi Aramco World
Standpoint
Tadias Magazine
The Times, London

ČLANCI

- Abu Zaida, Sufian, "‘A Miserable Provincial Town’: The Zionist Approach to Jerusalem 1897–1937", *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007
 Amitai, Reuven, 'Mongol Raids into Palestine 1260 and 1300,' *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, number 2 (1987), 236-255.
 Anon., 'Where Piety Meets Power (Russia in Jerusalem)', *Economist* 19 December 2009
 Ayele, Negussay, 'Deir Sultan, Ethiopia and the Black World', *Tadias Magazine* August 2008
 Bar-El, Yair et al, 'Jerusalem Syndrome', *British Journal of Psychiatry* 176 (2000)
 Bronner, Ethan, 'Jews and Muslims Share Holy Season in Jerusalem', *New York Times* 28 September 2008
 Budeiri, Musa, 'A Chronicle of a Defeat Foretold: The Battle for Jerusalem in the Memoirs of Anwar Nusseibeh', *JQ* 3, Winter/Spring 2001
 Conybeare, F., 'Antiochus Strategos: Account of the Sack of Jerusalem', *English Historical Review* 25 (1910) 502–16
 Curtis, Sarah, 'Sarah Palin's Jerusalem and Pentecostal Faith: A Hysteric Symptom of American Utopianism', *Colloquy Text Theory Critique* 17 (209)

- Der Matossian, Bedross, 'The Young Turk Revolution: Its Impact on Religious Politics of Jerusalem (1908–1912)', *JQ* 40, Winter 2009
- Dixon, Simon, 'A Stunted International: Russian Orthodoxy in the Holy Land in the 19th Century', unpublished ms, January 2009
- Dorfmann-Lazarev, Igor, 'Historical Itinerary of the Armenian People in Light of its Biblical Memory', unpublished ms, 2009
- Dumper, Michael, 'Two State Plus: Jerusalem and the Binational Debate', *JQ* 39, Autumn 2009
- Gilboa, Ayelet and Sharon, Ilan, 'An Archaeological Contribution to the Early Iron Age Chronological Debate: Alternative Chronologies for Phoenicia and their Effects on the Levant, Cyprus and Greece,' *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 332, November 2003
- Glass, Joseph B. and Kark, Ruth, 'Sarah la Preta: A Slave in Jerusalem', *JQ* 34, Spring 2009
- Gonen, Rivka, 'Was the Site of the Jerusalem Temple Originally a Cemetery?', *Biblical Archaeology Review* May–June 1985
- Greenberg, Raphael, 'Extreme Exposure: Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1967–2007', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol 11, no. 3–4, 2009
- Gross, Miriam, 'A Jerusalem Childhood', *Standpoint* September 2010
- Hintlian, George, 'Armenians of Jerusalem', *JQ* 2, Autumn 1998
- Housley, Norman, 'Saladin's Triumph over the Crusader States: The Battle of Hattin, 1187', *History Today* 37 (1987)
- Ji, C. C., 'A New Look at the Tobiads in Iraq al-Amir', *Liber Annuus* 48 (1998) 417–40
- Al-Jubeh, Nazmi, 'The Khalidiyah Library', *JQ* 3, Winter 1999
- Kark, Ruth and Glass, Joseph B., 'The Valero Family: Sephardi–Arab Relations in Ottoman and Mandatory Jerusalem', *JQ* 21, August 2004
- Kedar, Benjamin Z., 'The Jerusalem Massacre of 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades* 3 (2004) 15–75
- Loupo, Yakov and Chen, Nitzan, 'The Jerusalem Area Ultra-Orthodox Population', unpublished ms
- Lutfi, Huda, 'Al-Quds Al-Mamelukiyya: A History of Mamluk Jerusalem Based on the Haram Documents', *JQ* 2, Autumn 1998
- Manna, Adel, 'Yusuf Diyaddin al-K halidi', *AlFajr alAdabi* 35 – 6 (1983)

- Manna, Adel, 'Scholars and Notables Tracing the Efendiya's Hold on Power in 18th Century Jerusalem', *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007
- Manna, Adel, 'Between Jerusalem and Damascus: The End of Ottoman Rule as Seen by a Palestinian Modernist', *JQ* 22–23, Autumn/Winter 2005
- Mazza, Roberto, 'Antonio de la Cierva y Lewita: Spanish Consul in Jerusalem 1914–1920', and 'Dining Out in Times of War', *JQ* 40, Winter 2009, and 41, Spring 2010
- Meuwese, Martine, 'Representations of Jerusalem on Medieval Maps and Miniatures', *Eastern Christian Art* 2 (2005) 139–48
- Mouradian, Clare, 'Les Chrétiens: Un enjeu pour les Puissances', in Catherine Nicault (ed.), *Jérusalem, 1850 –1948: Des Ottomans aux Anglais, entre coexistence spirituelle et déchirure politique*, Paris, 1999, pp. 177–204
- Al-Natsheh, Yusuf Said, 'Uninventing the Bab al-Khalil Tombs: Between the Magic of Legend and Historical Fact', *JQ* 22–23, Autumn/Winter 2005
- Pappe, Ilan, 'The Rise and Fall of the Husaynis', Part 1, *JQ* 10, Autumn 2000
- Pappe, Ilan, 'The Husayni Family Faces New Challenges: Tanzimat, Young Turks, the Europeans and Zionism, 1840–1922', Part 2, *JQ* 11–12, Winter 2001
- Pappe, Ilan, 'Haj Amin and the Buraq Revolt', *JQ* 18, June 2003
- Peters, F. E., 'Who Built the Dome of the Rock?', *GraecoArabia* 2 (1983)
- Reich, Ronny, 'The Roman Destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE: Flavius Josephus' Account and Archaeological Record', in Gerd Theissen et al. (eds), *Jerusalem und die Länder*, Göttingen 2009
- Reich, Ronny, Shukron, Eli and Lernau, Omri, 'Recent Discoveries in the City of David, Jerusalem: Findings from the Iron Age II Rock-Cut Pool Near the Spring', *Israel Exploration Journal* 57/2 (2007)
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, 'The Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre, 1099–1291', *Crusades* 7 (2008)
- Robson, Laura C., 'Archeology and Mission: The British Presence in Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem', *JQ* 40, Winter 2009
- Rood, Judith M., 'The Time the Peasants Entered Jerusalem: The Revolt against Ibrahim Pasha in the Islamic Court Sources', *JQ* 27, Summer 2006

- Rood, Judith M., 'Intercommunal Relations in Jerusalem during Egyptian Rule', Parts 1 and 2, *JQ* 32, Autumn 2007, and 34, Spring 2009
- Rozen, Minna, 'The Naqib al-Ashraf Rebellion in Jerusalem and its Repercussions on the City's Dhimmis', *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18/2, November 1984, 249–70
- Rozen, Minna and Witztum, Eliezer, 'The Dark Mirror of the Soul: Dreams of a Jewish Physician in Jerusalem at the End of the 17th Century', *Revue des Etudes Juives* 151 (1992) 5–42
- Scholch, Alexander, 'An Ottoman Bismarck from Jerusalem: Yusuf Diya al-Khalidi', *JQ* 24, Summer 2005
- Tamari, Salim, 'Ottoman Jerusalem in the Jawhariyyeh Memoirs', *JQ* 9, Summer 2000
- Tamari, Salim, 'Jerusalem's Ottoman Modernity: The Times and Lives of Wasif Jawhariyyeh', *JQ* 9, Summer 2000
- Tamari, Salim, 'The Last Feudal Lord in Palestine', *JQ* 16, November 2002
- Tamari, Salim, 'The Vagabond Café and Jerusalem's Prince of Idleness', *JQ* 19, October 2003
- Tamari, Salim, 'The Short life of Private Ihsan: Jerusalem 1915', *JQ* 30, Spring 2007
- Tamari, Salim, 'With God's Camel in Siberia: The Russian Exile of an Ottoman Officer from Jerusalem', *JQ* 35, Autumn 2008
- Tleel, John, 'I am Jerusalem: Life in the Old City from the Mandate Period to the Present', *JQ* 4, Spring 1999
- Vereté, M., 'Why was a British Consulate Established in Jerusalem?', *English Historical Review* 75 (1970)
- Vereté, M., 'The Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1790–1840', *Middle Eastern Studies* 8/1 (1972)
- Voropanov, V. A., 'Gogol v Ierusalime', *Pravoslavnyy Palomnik* (2006) 2
- Wright, Lawrence, 'Letter from Jerusalem', *The New Yorker* 20 July 1998
- Zias, Joe, 'Crucifixion in Antiquity', www.joezias.com
- Zweig, Zachi, 'New Substantial Discoveries in Past Waqf Excavations on Temple Mount: New Information from Various Temple Mount Digs', *New Studies on Jerusalem*, Conference of Ingeborg

Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies at Bar-Ilan University, November 2008

PRIMARNI IZVORI

- Abdullah bin Hussein, King of Jordan, *Memoirs*, London 1950
- Ahima'as, *The Chronicle of Ahima'as*, ed. and trans. M. Salzman, New York 1924
- Albert of Achen, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington, London 2007
- Anon., *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*, trans. G. S. Burgess and A. E. Cobbs, New York 1988
- Antonius, Soroya, *Where the Jinn Consult*, London 1987
- Arculf, Saint Adamnan, *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land*, ed. and trans. J. R. Macpherson, London 1895
- Aristeas, *Letter of Aristeas*, ed. and trans. H. S. J. Thackeray, London 2009
- Al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn AlAthir for the Crusading Period from Al Kamil Fi' lTa'rikh: Years 589– 629/1193–1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace Part 3*, Aldershot 2008
- Baedeker, Karl, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipzig/London 1876 and 1912
- Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, trans. P. Hitti and F. Murgotten, New York 1916–24
- Ballobar, Conde de, *Diario de Jerusalén*, Madrid 1996
- Barclay, James Turner, *City of the Great King*, Philadelphia 1858
- Begin, Menachem, *The Revolt*, Jerusalem 1952/1977
- Ben-Gurion, David, *Recollections*, London 1970
- Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. M. N. Adler, London 1907
- Bird, Kai, *Crossing Mandelbaum Gate: Coming of Age between the Arabs and Israelis 1956–78*, London 2010
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, *From West Africa to Palestine*, Freetown 1873
- Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, London 1987
- Brothers, Richard, *Plan of the Holy City the New Jerusalem*, London 1800

- Cassius Dio, *Roman History* LXIX, New York 1925/1989
- Celebi, Evliya, see Evliya
- Chateaubriand, F. R. de, *Journal de Jérusalem: Notes inédites*, Paris 1950
- Chateaubriand, F. R. de, *Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt and Barbary during the Years 1806 and 1807*, London 1812
- Clarke, Edward Daniel, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, London 1810
- Cresson, Warder, *Jerusalem: Centre and Joy of the Universe*, Philadelphia 1844
- Cresson, Warder, *The Key of David*, Philadelphia 1852
- Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Old French Continuation of William of Tyre and Sources in Translation*, ed. Peter W. Edbury, Aldershot 1998
- Curzon, R., *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant*, London 1849
- Daniel the Abbot, *Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land*, New York 1917
- Dayan, Moshe, *Story of My Life*, London 1976
- Diodorus, *Library of History*, New York 1989
- Djema! Pasha, *Memoirs of a Turkish Statesman 1913–19*, London 1922
- Dorr, David F., *A Colored Man Round the World by a Quadroon*, Cleveland 1858
- Egeria/Sylvia, *Pilgrimage of Saint Sylvia of Aquitaine to the Holy Places*, trans. J. Bernard, London 1891
- Eusebius of Caesarea, *Church History [and] Life of Constantine the Great*, trans. A. C. McGifert and others, New York 1890
- Evliya, Celebi, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Books of Travels of Evliya Celebi*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankof and Sooying Kim, London, 2010
- Fabri, Felix, *The Book of Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, ed. and trans. Aubrey Stewart, London 1887–97
- Finn, E. A., *Reminiscences of Mrs Finn*, London 1929
- Finn, James, *Stirring Times*, London 1878
- Finn, James and Elizabeth, *View from Jerusalem, 1849–58: The Consular Diary of James and Elizabeth Anne Finn*, ed. Arnold Blumberg, Madison NJ 1981

- Flaubert, G., *Les Oeuvres complètes de Gustave Flaubert*, vol. 19: *Notes de voyage*, Paris 1901
- Florence of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ed. T. Forester, London 1854
- Fosdick, H. E., *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, London 1930
- Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. F. R. Ryan, Knoxville TN 1969
- Gabrieli, Francesco, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, London 1969
- Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill, London 1962
- Glubb, John, *A Soldier with the Arabs*, London 1957
- Gogol, N. V., *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy*, vol. 14: *Pisma*, 1848–52, Moscow 1952
- Graham, Stephen, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, London 1913
- Hadi, Mahdi Abdul (ed.) *Documents on Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1996
- Haggard, Rider, *A Winter Pilgrimage*, London 1900
- Halevi, Judah, *Selected Poems*, trans. Nina Salaman, Philadelphia 1946
- Halevi, Judah, *Selected Poems*, ed. H. Brody, New York 1924/1973
- Harf, Arnold von, *Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harf*, London 1946
- Al-Harizi, Judah, *The Tahkemoni: The 28th Gate*, trans. V. Reichert, Jerusalem 1973
- Al-Harawi, Abu al-Hasan, *Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage*, trans. J. Sourdel-Thomime, Damascus 1957
- Herodotus, *Histories*, London 1972
- Herzl, Theodor, *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, London/ New York 1960
- Hess, Moses, *Rome and Jerusalem*, New York 1943
- Hill, R. (ed. and trans.), *The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, London 1962
- Hodgson, William Brown, *An Edited Biographical Sketch of Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia*, Washington DC 1835
- Hoess, Rudolf, *Commandant of Auschwitz*, London 1959
- Horn, Elzear, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae 1724–44*, ed. and trans. E. Hoade, Jerusalem 1962
- Hussein bin Talal, King Hussein of Jordan, *Uneasy Lies the Head*, London 1962

-
- Hussein bin Talal, King Hussein of Jordan, *My War with Israel*, London 1969
- Ibn Battutah, *Travels of Ibn Battutah*, ed. Tim Mackintosh-Smith, London 2002
- Ibn Ishaq, *The Life of Muhammad*, ed. A. Guillaume, Oxford 1955
- Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Princeton 1967
- Ibn Shaddad (Baha al-Din Ibn Shaddad), *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards, Aldershot 2002
- Ibn al-Qalini, *Continuation of the Chronicle of Damascus: The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. H. A. R. Gibb, London 1932
- Ingrams, Doreen (ed.), *Palestine Papers 1917–1922: Seeds of Conflict*, London 1972/2009
- Jawhariyyeh, Wasif, *Al Quds Al Othmaniyah Fi Al Muthakrat Al Jawhariyyeh* (The Jawhariyyeh Memoirs: Ottoman Jerusalem, 1904–1917), vol. 1, and *Al Quds Al Intedabiyeh Fi Al Muthakrat al Jawhariyyeh* (The Jawhariyyeh Memoirs: British Mandate Jerusalem, 1918–1948), vol. 2, ed. Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, Jerusalem 2001
- Jemal Pasha, see Djemal
- John of Wurzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, ed. and trans. Aubrey Stewart, London 1896
- Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. Caroline Smith, London 2008
- Joseph, B., *Faithful City: Siege of Jerusalem, 1948*, New York 1960
- Josephus, *The New Complete Works of Josephus*, ed. Paul L. Maier, trans. William Whiston, Grand Rapids MI 1999
- Julien, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem par Julien, domestique de M. de Chateaubriand*, Paris 1904
- Keith-Roach, Edward, *Pasha of Jerusalem*, London 1994
- Kinglake, A. W., *Eothen*, London 1844
- Ha-Kohen, Solomon ben Joseph, 'The Turkoman Defeat at Cairo', ed. Julius Greenstone, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* January 1906
- Kollek, Teddy, *For Jerusalem*, New York 1978

- Krey, August C., *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, Princeton/London 1921
- Kulish, P. A., *Zapiski iz zhizni N. V. Gogolya, sostavlennye iz vospominaniy ego druzhey i znakomykh i iz ego sobstvennykh pisem*, St Petersburg 1856
- Lagerlöf, Selma, *Jerusalem*. Dearborn MI 2009
- Lamartine, Alphonse de, *Travels in the East Including Journey to the Holy Land*, Edinburgh 1839
- Lawrence, T. E., *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, London 1926
- Le Strange, Guy, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500*, London 1890
- Lisovoy, N. N., *Russkoe dukhovnoe i politicheskoe prisutstvie v Svyatoy Zemle i na Blizhnem Vostoke v XIX–nachale XX v*, Moscow 2006
- Lisovoy, N. N. and Stegniy, P. V., *Rossia v Svyatoy Zemle: Dokumenty i materialy*, Moscow 2000
- Luke, Harry, *Cities and Men: An Autobiography*, London 1953–6
- Lynch, William, *Narrative of the US Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, Philadelphia 1853
- Maimonides, Moses, *Code of Maimonides*, Book 8: *Temple Service*, trans. M. Lewittes, New Haven 1957
- Martineau, Harriet, *Eastern Life: Present and Past*, London 1848.
- Massy, Colonel P. H. H., *Eastern Mediterranean Lands: Twenty Years of Life, Sport and Travel*, London 1928
- Maundrell, Henry, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697*, Beirut 1963
- Melville, Herman, *Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant*, Princeton/New York 1955
- Melville, Herman, *Journals*, ed. Howard C. Horsford and L. Horth, Chicago 1989
- Melville, Herman, *Clarel: A Poem and Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*, Chicago 1991
- Montefiore, Moses and Judith, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, London 1983
- Morgenthau, Henry, *United States Diplomacy on the Bosphorus: The Diaries of Ambassador Morgenthau*, ed. Ara Sarafian, Princeton 2004

-
- Mujir al-Din, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron: Fragments de la Chronique de Mujir alDin*, ed. and trans. Henry Sauvaire, Paris 1876
- Al-Muqaddasi, *A Description of Syria Including Palestine*, ed. and trans. Guy Le Strange, London 1896
- Nashashibi, Nasser Eddin, *Jerusalem's Other Voice: Ragheb Nashashibi and Moderation in Palestinian Politics 1920–1948*, Exeter 1990
- Nasir-i-Khusrau, *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, ed. and trans. Guy Le Strange, London 1893
- Niccolo of Poggibonsi, *A Voyage Beyond the Sea 1346–50*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade, Jerusalem 1945
- Noor, Queen of Jordan, *Leap of Faith*, London 2003
- Nusseibeh, Hazem Zaki, *The Jerusalemites: A Living Memory*, Nicosia/London 2009
- Nusseibeh, Sari, with Anthony David, *Once Upon a Country: A Palestinian Life*, London 2007
- Oz, Amos, *My Michael*, London 1984
- Oz, Amos, *A Tale of Love and Darkness*, London 2005
- Papen, Franz von, *Memoirs*, London 1952
- Parsons, Levi, *Dereliction and Restoration of the Jews: A Sermon, Sabbath Oct 31 1819*, Boston 1819
- Parsons, Levi, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons*, New York 1977
- Peters, F. E. (ed.), *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginning of Modern Times*, Princeton 1985
- Peters, F. E. (ed.), *The First Crusade: Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, Philadelphia 1998
- Philo, *Works*, trans. F. H. Colson, Cambridge MA 1962
- Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis*, trans. H. T. Riley, London 1857
- Plutarch, *Makers of Rome*, London 1965
- Polybius, *The Histories*, Oxford 2010
- Procopius, *Of the Buildings of Justinian*, ed. and trans. Aubrey Stewart, London 1896
- Procopius, *The Secret History*, London 2007
- Rabin, Yitzhak, *The Rabin Memoirs*, London 1979
- Rasputin, G., *Moi mysl'i i razmyshleniya: kratkoe opisaniye puteshestviya po svyatyam mestam i vyzvannyye im razmyshleniya po religioznyam voprosam* (My Thoughts and Reflections: Brief Description

- of a Journey to the Holy Places and Reflections on Religious Matters Caused by This Journey), Petrograd 1915
- Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. and trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, Paris 1969
- Robinson, Edward, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, Boston 1841
- Rose, John H. Melkon, *Armenians of Jerusalem: Memories of Life in Palestine*, London/New York 1993
- Saewulf, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, ed. and trans. Rt Rev. Bishop of Clifton, London 1896
- Said, Edward, *Out of Place*, London 1999
- Samuel, Herbert, *Memoirs*, London 1945
- Sanderson, John, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant*, ed. W. Forster, London 1931
- Sandys, George, *A Relation of a Journey begun AD 1610*. London 1615
- Saulcy, F. de, *Les Derniers Jours de Jérusalem*, Paris 1866
- Sebeos, *Histoire d'Heraclius*, trans. F. Macler, Paris 1904
- Sharon, Ariel, *Warrior: An Autobiography*, New York 1989
- Spaford, Bertha, see Vester
- Stanley, Arthur, *Sinai and Palestine in Connection with their History*, London 1856
- Storrs, Ronald, *Orientalisms*, London 1939
- Suchem, Ludolph von, *Description of the Holy Land and the Way Thither*, ed. and trans. Aubrey Stewart, London 1895
- Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, London 1957 Al-Tabari, *Tarikh: The History of alTabari*, ed. Y. Yarshater, Albany 1985–98
- Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, London 1956
- Tacitus, *The Histories*, London 1964
- Thackeray, William, *Notes on a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo*, London 1888
- Theodorich, *Description of the Holy Places*, ed. and trans. Aubrey Stewart, London 1896
- Thomson, William M., *The Land and the Book*, New York 1859
- Timberlake, Henry, *A True and Strange Discourse of the Travels of Two English Pilgrims*, London 1616/1808
- Twain, Mark, *The Innocents Abroad, or the New Pilgrims' Progress*, New York 1911

- Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, ed. and trans. Paul M. Cobb, London 2008
- Vester, Bertha Spaford, *Our Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1988
- Vincent, H. and Abel, F. M., *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Paris 1912/1926
- Volney, C.-F., *Travels through Syria and Egypt*, London 1787
- Warren, C., *Underground Jerusalem*, London 1876
- Warren, C. and Conder, C. R., *Survey of Western Palestine*, Jerusalem 1884
- Weidenfeld, George, *Remembering my Good Friends*, London 1995
- Weizmann, Chaim, *Trial and Error*, London 1949
- Wilkinson, J., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Jerusalem 1977
- Wilkinson, J., *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, Warminster 1918
- William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, New York 1943
- Wilson, C. *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London 1865
- Wilson, C. (ed.), *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, ed. Aubrey Stewart, New York 1971
- Wright, Thomas, *Early Travels in Palestine*, Mineola NY 1848/2003
- Yizhar, S., *Khirbet Khizeh*, Jerusalem 1949
- Zakharova, L. G., *Perepiska Imperatora Aleksandra II s Velikim Kniazem Konstantinom Nikolaevichem; Dnevnik Velikogo Kniazia Konstantina Nikolaevicha*. Moscow 1994

SEKUNDARNI IZVORI

- Aaronovitch, David, *Voodoo Histories*, London 2009
- Abel, F. M., *Histoire de la Palestine*, Paris 1952
- Abulafia, David, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, London 2002
- Abulafia, David, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*, London 2011
- Abu-Manneh, Butros, 'The Husaynis: Rise of a Notable Family in 18th Century Palestine', in David Kushner (ed.), *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation*, Leiden/Boston 1983
- Abu Sway, Mustafa, 'Holy Land, Jerusalem and the Aqsa Mosque in Islamic Sources', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z., Kedar (eds),

- Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Achcar, Gilbert, *The Arabs and the Holocaust: The Arab-Israeli War of Narratives*, London 2010
- Adams, R. J. Q., *Balfour, The Last Grandee*, London 2007
- Ahimeir, O., and Bar-Simon-Tov, Y. (eds), *Forty Years in Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 2008
- Ahlstrom, Gosta W., *History of Ancient Palestine*, Minneapolis 1993
- Al-Alami, Muhammad Ali, 'The Waqfs of the Traditional Families of Jerusalem during the Ottoman Period', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517-1917*, London 2000
- Al-Khalili, Jim, *The House of Wisdom*, London 2010
- Allmand, Christopher, *Henry V*, New Haven/London 1998
- Andrew, Christopher, *Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5*, London 2009
- Ansary, Tanim, *Destiny Disrupted: A History of the World through Islamic Eyes*, London 2009
- Antonius, George, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*, London 1938
- Archer, Thomas, *Crusade of Richard I*, London 1988
- Armstrong, Karen, *The First Christian: St Paul's Impact on Christianity*, London 1983
- Armstrong, Karen, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, London 2001
- Armstrong, Karen, *A History of Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths*, London 2005
- Asali, K. J. (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Asali, K. J., 'The Cemeteries of Ottoman Jerusalem' and 'The Libraries of Ottoman Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517-1917*, London 2000
- Asbridge, Thomas, *The First Crusade: A New History*, London 2005
- Asbridge, Thomas, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, London 2010
- Ascalone, Enrico, *Mesopotamia*, Berkeley 2007

- Ashton, Nigel, *King Hussein of Jordan: A Political Life*, London 2008
- Atallah, Mahmud, 'The Architects in Jerusalem in the 10th–11th/16th–17th Centuries', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Auld, Graeme and Steiner, Margreet, *Jerusalem 1: From Bronze Age to Maccabees*, Cambridge 1996
- Auld, Sylvia, and Hillenbrand, Robert. (eds), *Ayyubid Jerusalem: the Holy City in Context 1187/1250*, London 2009
- Auld, Sylvia and Hillenbrand, Robert (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Avigad, N., *Discovering Jerusalem*, Nashville 1983
- Avi-Yonah, Michael, *The Jews of Palestine: A Political History from the Bar Kochba War to the Arab Conquest*, Oxford 1976
- Avi-Yonah, Michael, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954
- Azarya, V., *Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1984
- Bahat, Dan, with Chaim T. Rubinstein, *Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, New York 1990
- Bahat, Dan, 'Western Wall Tunnels', in H. Geva (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem 2000
- Bahat, Dan, *The Western Wall Tunnels: Touching the Stones of our Heritage*, Jerusalem 2007
- Baldwin, M. W., *Raymond III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem*, Princeton 1936
- Baldwin, M. W. (ed.), *The First Hundred Years*, vol. 1 of K. M. Setton (ed. in chief), *A History of the Crusades*, Madison WI 1969
- Ballobar, Conde de, *Jerusalem in World War I: the Palestinian Diary of a European Diplomat* (ed Eduardo Manzano Moreno and Roberto Mazza), London 2011
- Barr, James, *Setting the Desert on Fire: T. E. Lawrence and Britain's Secret War in Arabia 1916–18*, London 2006
- Barrow, J., *The Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith*, London 1848
- Bar-Zohar, Michael, *BenGurion*, New York 1977
- Bar-Zohar, Michael, *Shimon Peres*, New York 2007
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Arab–Israel Tragedy*, London 2005

- Ben-Arieh, Y., *Jerusalem in the 19th Century: The Old City*, New York 1984
- Ben-Arieh, Y., *Jerusalem in the 19th Century: Emergence of the New City*, Jerusalem 1986
- Ben-Arieh, Y., *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the 19th Century*, Jerusalem 2007
- Ben-Dov, Meir, *The Western Wall*, Jerusalem 1983
- Bentwich, Norman and Shaftesley, John M., 'Forerunners of Zionism in the Victorian Era', in John M. Shaftesley (ed.), *Remember the Days: Essays on AngloJewish History Presented to Cecil Roth*, London 1966
- Benvenisti, Meron, *Jerusalem: The Torn City*, Jerusalem 1975
- Benvenisti, Meron, *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land since 1948*, Berkeley 2000
- Berlin, Andrea and Overman, J. A., *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, London 2002
- Bermant, Chaim, *The Cousinhood: The AngloJewish Gentry*, London 1971
- Bevan, Edwyn, *The House of Seleucus*, London 1902
- Bevan, Edwyn, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, London 1904
- Bianquis, Thierry, 'Autonomous Egypt from Ibn Tulun to Kafur 868–969', in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt 640–1517*, Cambridge 1998
- Bickermann, E. J., *Jews in the Greek Age*, Cambridge MA/London 1988
- Bierman, John and Smith, Colin, *Fire in the Night: Wingate of Burma, Ethiopia and Zion*, London 1999
- Birley, Anthony R., *Hadrian: the Restless Emperor*, London 1997
- Blake, R., *Disraeli*, London 1967
- Blake, R., *Disraeli on the Grand Tour*, London 1982
- Bliss, F. J. and Dickie, A., *Excavations at Jerusalem*, London 1898
- Boas, Adrian, *Crusader Archeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*, London/New York 1999
- Boas, Adrian, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, London/New York 2001
- Bosworth, C. E., *The Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh 1967

-
- Bowen, Jeremy, *Six Days: How the 1967 War Shaped the Middle East*, London 2004
- Brenner, Michael, *A Short History of the Jews*, Princeton 2010
- Brook, Kevin Alan, *The Jews of Khazaria*, Lanham MD 1999
- Brown, David, *Palmerston: A Biography*, Yale 2010
- Brown, Frederick, *Flaubert: A Life*, London 2007
- Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton, with Richards, D. S., *Mamluk Jerusalem: an Architectural Survey*, London 1987
- Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton, '1187–1260: The Furthest Mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) under Ayyubid Rule', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Burgoyne, Michael Hamilton, 'The Noble Sanctuary under Mamluk Rule', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Burns, Ross, *Damascus: A History*, London 2005
- Butcher, Kevin, *Roman Syria and the Near East*, London 2003
- Campbell Jr, Edward F., 'A Land Divided: Judah and Israel from the Death of Solomon to the Fall of Samaria', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Carswell, John, 'Decoration of the Dome of the Rock', in Sylvia Auld, and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Cesarani, David, *Major Farran's Hat: Murder, Scandal, and Britain's War against Jewish Terrorism 1945–8*, London 2009
- Chamberlain, Michael, 'The Crusader Era and the Ayyubid Dynasty', in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt 640–1517*, Cambridge 1998
- Cline, Eric H., *Jerusalem Besieged: From Ancient Canaan to Modern Israel*, Ann Arbor 2004
- Cogan, Mordecai, 'Into Exile: From the Assyrian Conquest of Israel to the Fall of Babylon', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Cohen, A. and Baer, G. (eds), *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association (868–1948)*, Jerusalem 1984

- Cohen, Amnon, *Palestine in the 18th Century*, Jerusalem 1973
- Cohen, Amnon, *Jewish Life under Islam: Jerusalem in the 16th Century*, Cambridge MA/London 1984
- Cohen, Amnon, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem*, Cambridge 2002
- Cohen, Amnon, '1517–1917 Haram-al-Sherif: The Temple Mount under Ottoman Rule', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Cohn, Norman, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, London 1958/1993
- Conrad, L., 'The Khalidi Library', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Coogan, Michael, 'In the Beginning: The Earliest History', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Coogan, Michael (ed.) *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Couasnon, Charles, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London 1974
- Coughlin, Con, *A Golden Basin Full of Scorpions: The Quest for Modern Jerusalem*, London 1997
- Courret, A., *La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses*, Orleans 1876
- Curtis, J. E. and Reade, J. E. (eds), *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum*, London 1995
- Cust, L. G. A., *The Status Quo in the Holy Place*, Jerusalem 1929
- Dalrymple, William, *From the Holy Mountain: A Journey in the Shadow of Byzantium*, London 1998
- Daly, M. W. (ed.), *Modern Egypt from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, vol 2 of *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Cambridge 1998
- Dan, Yaron, 'Circus Factions in Byzantine Palestine', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 1. Jerusalem 1981
- Daniel-Rops, Henri, *Daily Life in Palestine at the Time of Christ*, London 1962

-
- Dankof, Robert, *An Ottoman Mentality: The world of Evliya Celebi*, Leiden/Boston 2006
- De Vaux, Ronald, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, New York/London 1961
- Donner, Fred M., *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton 1981
- Donner, Fred M., *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam*, Cambridge MA 2010
- Donner, H., *The Mosaic Map of Madaba: An Introductory Guide*, Kampen 1992
- Douglas, David C. *William the Conqueror*, New Haven/London 1964
- Dow, Martin, 'The Hammams of Ottoman Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Drory, J., 'Jerusalem during the Mamluk Period', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 1, Jerusalem 1981
- Duri, Abdul Aziz, 'Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Egremont, Max, *Balfour*, London 1980
- Elior, Rachel, 'From Priestly and Early Christian Mount Zion to Rabbinic Temple Mount', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds) *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Ellenblum, Ronnie, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*, Cambridge 2007
- Ellis, Kirsten, *Star of the Morning: The Extraordinary Life of Lady Hester Stanhope*, London 2008
- Elon, Amos, *Herzl*, New York 1975
- Elon, Amos, *Jerusalem: A City of Mirrors*, London 1991
- Farrokh, Kaveh, *Shadows in the Desert: Ancient Persia at War*, London 2007
- Ferguson, Niall, *The World's Banker: The History of the House of Rothschild*, London 1998
- Figes, Orlando, *Crimea: the Last Crusade*, London 2010.
- Finkel, Caroline, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1923*, London 2005

- Finkel, I. L. and Seymour, M. J., *Babylon: Myth and Reality*, London 2008
- Finkelstein, Israel and Silberman, Neil Asher, *The Bible Unearthed: Archeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of its Sacred Text*, New York 2002
- Finucane, R., *Soldiers of the Faith*, London 1983
- Fischel, Walter J., *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, Berkeley 1952
- Folda, Jaroslav, *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1099–1291*, Farnham 2008
- Folda, Jaroslav, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre*, Cambridge 2005
- Ford, Roger, *Eden to Armageddon: World War I in the Middle East*, London 2009
- Franken, H. J., 'Jerusalem in the Bronze Age', in K. J. Asali, (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Fraser, Flora, *The Unruly Queen: The Life of Queen Caroline*, London 1997
- Freely, John, *Storm on Horseback: Seljuk Warriors of Turkey*, London 2008
- Freeman, Charles, *A New History of Early Christianity*, New Haven 2009
- Freeman, Charles, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust*, Yale 2011
- Frenkel, Miriam, 'The Temple Mount in Jewish Thought', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Friedman, Thomas L., *From Beirut to Jerusalem*, New York 1989
- Fromkin, David, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, New York 1989
- Garcin, J. C., 'The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks', in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt 640–1517*, Cambridge 1998
- Gelvin, James, *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire*, Berkeley 1998
- Geniesse, Jane Fletcher, *American Priestess: The Extraordinary Story of Anna Spaford and the American Colony in Jerusalem*, New York 2008
- Geva, H. (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem 2000

-
- Gibb, Hamilton A. R., 'The Career of Nur-ad-Din', in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1: *The First Hundred Years*, ed. M. W. Baldwin, Madison WI 1969–89
- Gibb, Hamilton, A. R., 'Zengi and the Fall of Edessa', in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1: *The First Hundred Years*, ed. M. W. Baldwin, Madison WI 1969–89
- Gibson, Shimon, *The Final Days of Jesus*, New York 2009
- Gil, Moshe, 'Aliyah and Pilgrimage in Early Arab Period', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 3, Jerusalem 1983
- Gil, Moshe, *A History of Palestine*, Cambridge 1992
- Gilbert, Martin, *Jerusalem: Illustrated History Atlas*, London 1977
- Gilbert, Martin, *Jerusalem: Rebirth of a City*, London 1985
- Gilbert, Martin, *Churchill: A Life*, London 1991
- Gilbert, Martin, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century*, London 1996
- Gilbert, Martin, *Israel: A History*, London 1998
- Gilbert, Martin, *Churchill and the Jews*, London 2007
- Gilbert, Martin, *In Ishmael's House: A History of the Jews in Muslim Lands*, London/New Haven 2010
- Gillingham, John, *Richard I*, London 1999
- Glass, Charles, *Tribes with Flags: A Journey Curtailed*, London 1990
- Glass, Charles, *The Tribes Triumphant: Return Journey to the Middle East*, London 2010
- Goitein, S. D., *A Mediterranean Society*, 5 vols, Berkeley 1967–88
- Goitein, S.D., 'Jerusalem in the Arab Period 638–1099', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 2, Jerusalem 1982
- Goldhill, Simon, *The Temple of Jerusalem*, London 2005
- Goldhill, Simon, *Jerusalem: A City of Longing*, London/Cambridge MA 2008
- Goldsworthy, Adrian, *Antony and Cleopatra*, London 2010
- Goodman, Martin, *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilisations*, London 2007
- Gorton, T. J. and A. F. (eds.), *Lebanon Through Writers' Eyes*, London 2009
- Grabar, Oleg, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem*, Princeton 1996

- Grabar, Oleg, *The Dome of the Rock*, Cambridge MA 2006
- Grabar, Oleg, *Jerusalem*, Aldershot 2005
- Grabar, Oleg and Kedar, Benjamin Z. (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin, Texas 2009
- Grabbe, Lester L., *Ancient Israel*, New York 2007
- Grabbe, Lester L., *Good Kings and Bad Kings: The Kingdom of Judah in the Seventh Century BCE*, London 2007
- Grant, Michael, *Herod the Great*, New York 1971
- Grant, Michael, *Cleopatra*, London 1972
- Grant, Michael, *History of Ancient Israel*, London 1984
- Grant, Michael, *Emperor Constantine*, London 1993
- Green, Abigail, *Moses Montefiore: Jewish Liberator, Imperial Hero*, London 2010
- Greenberg, Raphael and Keinan, Adi, *Present Past of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Israeli Archaeology in the West Bank and East Jerusalem since 1967*, Tel Aviv 2007
- Grigg, J. Lloyd George: *War Leader*, London 2002
- Haag, Michael, *The Templars: History and Myth*, London 2008
- Hackett, Jo Ann, 'There Was No King in Israel: The Era of the Judges', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Hadi, Mahdi Abdul, *Dialogue on Jerusalem*, PASSIA Meetings 1990–8, Jerusalem 1998
- Hadi, Mahdi Abdul, *100 Years of Palestinian History: A 20th Century Chronology*, Jerusalem 2001/2005
- Hadi, Mahdi Abdul, *Palestinian Personalities: A Biographical Dictionary*, Jerusalem 2005
- Halpern, Ben, *A Clash of Heroes: Brandeis, Weizmann and American Zionism*, New York 1987
- Hamilton, Bernard, *The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 2000
- Hamilton, R. W., *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque: A Record of Archaeological Gleanings from the Repairs of 1938–42*. Jerusalem/London/Oxford 1949
- Hare, David, *Via Dolorosa*, London 1998
- Harrington, D., *The Maccabee Revolt: Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution*, Wilmington DE 1988

- Hassan bin Talal, Crown Prince of Jordan, *A Study on Jerusalem*, London 1979
- Hassan, Isaac, 'Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 1, Jerusalem 1981
- Hawari, M., 'The Citadel (Qal'a) in the Ottoman Period: An Overview', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Hawting, G. R., *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate, AD 661–750*, London 2000
- Heaton, E. W., *Everyday Life in Old Testament Times*, London 1956
- Herf, Jeffrey, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World*, New Haven 2009
- Herrin, Judith, *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire*, London 2007
- Hillenbrand, Carole, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, New York 2000
- Hintlian, George, 'The First World War in Palestine and Msgr. Franz Fellinger', in Marian Wrba (ed.), *Austrian Presence in the Holy Land in the 19th and Early 20th Century*, Tel Aviv 1996
- Hintlian, George, 'Commercial Life of Ottoman Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Hintlian, Kevork, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1989
- Hintlian, Kevork, 'Travellers and Pilgrims in the Holy Land: The Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 17th and 18th Century', in Anthony O'Mahony (ed.), *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London 1995
- Hirst, David, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, London 2003
- Hiyari, M. A., 'Crusader Jerusalem', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Hofmeier, J. K., *The Archaeology of the Bible*, London 2008
- Holbl, Gunther, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London 2001
- Holland, Tom, *Persian Fire: The First World Empire, Battle for the West*, London 2005
- Holland, Tom, *Millennium: The End of the World and the Forging of Christianity*, London 2008

- Hopwood, Derek *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843 – 1914: Church and Politics in the Near East*, Oxford 1969
- Hourani, Albert, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1981
- Hourani, Albert, *History of the Arab Peoples*, London 2005
- Housley, Norman, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land*, London/New Haven 2008
- Howard, Edward, *The Memoirs of Sir Sidney Smith*, London 2008
- Hudson, M. C., 'Transformation of Jerusalem', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Hummel, Ruth and Thomas, *Patterns of the Sacred: English Protestant and Russian Orthodox Pilgrims of the Nineteenth Century*, Jerusalem 1995
- Hummel, Ruth Victor-, 'Culture and Image: Christians and the Beginning of Local Photography in 19th Century Ottoman Palestine', in Anthony O'Mahony (ed.), *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London 1995
- Hummel, Ruth, 'Imperial Pilgrim: Franz Josef's Journey to the Holy Land in 1869', in Marian Wrba, (ed.), *Austrian Presence in the Holy Land in the 19th and Early 20th Century*, Tel Aviv 1996
- Hummel, Ruth Victor-, 'Reality, Imagination and Belief: Jerusalem in Photography', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Humphreys, R. Stephen, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus 1193–1260*, Albany 1977
- Humphreys, R. Stephen, *Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan: From Arabia to Empire*, Oxford 2006
- Huneidi, Sahar and Khalidi, Walid, *A Broken Trust: Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians*, London 1999
- Hurowitz, V. A., 'Tenth Century to 586 BC: House of the Lord', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Irwin, Robert, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250 – 1382*, Carbondale and Edwardsville IL 1986
- James, Lawrence, *Golden Warrior: The Life and Legend of Lawrence of Arabia*, New York 1993

- Jefery, Keith, *MI6: History of the Secret Intelligence Service 1909–1949*, London 2010
- Johnson, Paul, *History of the Jews*, London 1987
- Joudah, A. H., *Revolt in Palestine in the Eighteenth Century: The Era of Shaykh Zahir alUmar*, Princeton 1987
- Al-Jubeih, Nazmi, 'Basic Kaegi, Walter, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2003
- Kaplony, Andreas, 'The Mosque of Jerusalem', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Kark, Ruth, *American Consuls in the Holy Land 1932–1914*, Jerusalem 1994
- Karsh, Efraim, *Palestine Betrayed*, New Haven 2010
- Karsh, Efraim and Karsh, Inari, *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East 1789–1923*, Cambridge MA 2001
- Kasmieh, Khairia, 'The Leading Intellectuals of Late Ottoman Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Kedar, Benjamin Z. (ed.), *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages: Selected Papers*, Jerusalem 1979
- Kedar, Benjamin Z., 'A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah Ransomed from the Crusaders', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 2, Jerusalem 1982
- Kedar, Benjamin Z. (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin*, London 1992.
- Kedar, Benjamin Z, Mayer H. E. and Smail, R. C. (eds), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, Presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem 1982
- Kedar, Benjamin Z. and Pringle, Denys, '1099–1187: The Lord's Temple (Templum Domini) and Solomon's Palace (Palatium Salominis)', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Kedourie, Elie, *In the AngloArab Labyrinth: The McMahan–Husayn Correspondence and its Interpretations*, Cambridge 1976
- Kennedy, Hugh, *Armies of the Caliphs*, London 2001

- Kennedy, Hugh, *The Court of the Caliphs: The Rise and Fall of Islam's Greatest Dynasty*, London 2004
- Kennedy, Hugh, *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In*, London 2007
- Kenyon, K. M., *Digging Up Jerusalem*, London 1974
- Khalidi, Rashid, *British Policy towards Syria and Palestine 1906–14*, London 1980
- Khalidi, Rashid, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, New York 1998
- Khalidi, Rashid, 'Intellectual Life in Late Ottoman Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Khalidi, Rashid, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*, London 2009
- Khalidi, Walid, *From Haven to Conquest: readings in Zionism and the Palestinian Problem until 1948*, Beirut 1987
- Khoury, Philip S., *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism: The Politics of Damascus 1860–1920*, Cambridge 2003
- Kister, Meir, 'A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 1, Jerusalem 1981
- Kokkinos, Nikos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse*, Shefeld 1998
- Kollek, Teddy and Pearlman, Moshe, *Jerusalem, Sacred City of Mankind: A History of Forty Centuries*, Jerusalem 1968
- Kraemer, Joel L., *Maimonides: The Life and World of One of Civilization's Greatest Minds*, New York 2008
- Krämer, Gudrun, *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel*, Princeton 2008
- Kroyanker, David, *Jerusalem Architecture*, New York 1994
- Kushner, David (ed.), *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation*, Leiden/Boston 1983
- La Guardia, Anton, *Holy Land, Unholy War*, London 2001
- Lane Fox, Robin, *Alexander the Great*, London 1973
- Lane Fox, Robin, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible*, London 1991

- Leach, John, *Pompey the Great*, London 1978
- LeBor, Adam, *City of Oranges: Arabs and Jews in Jafa*, London 2006
- Leith, Mary Joan Winn, 'Israel among the Nations: The Persian Period', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Levine, Lee I. (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, Jerusalem 1981–3
- Levy, Y., 'Julian the Apostate and the Building of the Temple,' in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 3, Jerusalem 1983
- Lewis, Bernard, *The Arabs in History*, New York 1966
- Lewis, Bernard, *The Middle East*, London 1995
- Lewis, David Levering, *God's Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe 570–1215*, New York 2010
- Lewis, Donald M., *The Origins of Christian Zionism: Lord Shaftesbury and Evangelical Support for a Jewish Homeland*, Cambridge 2009
- Lewis, Geoffrey, *Balfour and Weizmann: The Zionist, the Zealot and the Declaration which Changed the World*, London 2009
- Lewis, Geoffrey, 'An Ottoman Officer in Palestine 1914–18', in David Kushner (ed.), *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation*, Leiden/Boston 1983
- Lincoln, W. Bruce, *Nicholas I*, London 1978
- Little, Donald P., 'Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Little, Donald P., '1260–1516: The Noble Sanctuary under Mamluk Rule', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Loupo, Yakov and Chen, Nitzan, 'The Ultra-Orthodox', in O. Ahimeir and Y. Bar-Simon-Tov (eds), *Forty Years in Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 2008
- Lubetski, Meir (ed.), *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform*, Shefeld 2007
- Luke, Harry Charles and Keith-Roach, Edward, *The Handbook of Palestine*, London 1922
- Lyons, Jonathan, *House of Wisdom*, London 2009

- Lyons, M. C. and Jackson, D. E. P., *Saladin: Politics of Holy War*, Cambridge 1982
- Maalouf, Amin, *Crusades through Arab Eyes*, London 1973
- McCullough, David, *Truman*, New York, 1992
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years*, London 2010
- Mackowiak, P. A., *Post Mortem: Solving History's Great Medical Mysteries*, New York 2007
- McLynn, Frank, *Lionheart and Lackland*, London 2008
- McLynn, Frank, *Marcus Aurelius: Warrior, Philosopher, Emperor*, London 2009
- McMeekin, Sean, *The Berlin–Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power, 1898–1918*, London 2010
- MacMillan, Margaret, *Peacemakers: The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and its Attempt to End War*, London 2001
- Mamluk Art: Splendour and Magic of the Sultans*, Museum with No Frontiers, Cairo 2001
- Mann, J., *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, 2 vols, New York 1970
- Manna, Adel, *Liwa' al Quds fi Awasit al Ahd al othmani al idarah waal mujtama mundhu awasit al qarn al thamin ashar hatta hamlat Mohammad Ali Basha sanat 1831* (The District of Jerusalem in the Mid-Ottoman Period: Administration and Society, from the Mid Eighteenth Century to the Campaign of Mohammad Ali Pasha in 1831), Jerusalem 2008
- Mansel, Philip, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe the Mediterranean*, London 2010
- Mansel, Philip, *Asmahan: Siren of the Nile* (unpublished ms)
- Maoz, M. (ed.), *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period*, Jerusalem 1975
- Marcus, Amy Dockser, *Jerusalem 1913: Origins of the Arab–Israeli Conflict*, New York 2007
- Mattar, Philip, *The Mufti of Jerusalem: AlHajj Amin alHussayni and the Palestinian National Movement*, New York 1988
- Mazar, Benjamin, *The Mountain of the Lord*, New York 1975
- Mazar, Benjamin, 'Jerusalem in Biblical Times', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 2, Jerusalem 1982

-
- Mazower, Mark, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews*, London 2005
- Mazza, Roberto, *Jerusalem from the Ottomans to the British*, London 2009
- Mendenhall, G. E., 'Jerusalem from 1000–63 BC', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Merkley, P. C., *The Politics of Christian Zionism 1891–1948*, London 1998
- Meyer, Karl E. and Brysac, S. B., *Kingmakers: The Invention of the Modern Middle East*, New York 2008
- Meyers, Carol, 'Kinship and Kingship: The Early Monarchy', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Miles, Richard, *Carthage Must Be Destroyed*, London 2009
- Miles, Richard, *Ancient Worlds: The Search for the Origins of Western Civilization*, London 2010
- Mitchell, T. C., *The Bible in the British Museum*, London 1998
- Morris, Benny, *The Road to Jerusalem: Glubb Pasha, Palestine and the Jews*, London 2002
- Morris, Benny, *1948: A History of the First Arab–Israeli War*, London 2008
- Murphy-O'Connor, J., *The Holy Land: An Archaeological Guide*, Oxford 1986
- Murray, Alan V., *Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, Farnham 2009
- Myres, David, 'An overview of the Islamic Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem', 'Restorations on Masjid Mahd Isa (the Cradle of Jesus) during the Ottoman Period', 'Al-Imara al-Amira, The Charitable Foundation of Khassaki Sultan' and 'A Grammar of Ottoman Ornament in Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Nashashibi, Nasser Eddin, *Jerusalem's Other Voice: Ragheb Nashashibi and Moderation in Palestinian Politics 1920–1948*, Exeter 1990
- al-Natsheh, Yusuf Said, 'The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000

- Netanyahu, Benzion, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain*, New York 1995
- Neuwirth, Angelika, 'Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorific Names of the City', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Newby, Martine S., *The Shlomo Moussaief Collection: Byzantine MouldBlown Glass from the Holy Land*, London 2008
- Nicault, Catherine (ed.), *Jérusalem, 1850–1948: Des Ottomans aux Anglais, entre coexistence spirituelle et déchirure politique*, Paris, 1999
- Northrup, Linda S., *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of AlMansur Qalawun and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678– 689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)*, Wiesbaden 1998
- Northrup, Linda S., 'The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate', in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt 640 – 1517*, Cambridge 1998
- Norwich, John Julius, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*, London 1988
- Norwich, John Julius, *The Normans in the South*, (2 vols), London 1967
- Nusseibeh, Sari, 'The Haram al-Sharif', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Obenzinger, Hilton, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain and the Holy Land Mania*, Princeton 1999
- Olmstead, A. T., *History of the Persian Empire*, Chicago 1948
- O'Mahoney, Anthony, *Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London 1995
- Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, London 2008
- Oren, Michael B., *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*, New York 2002
- Oren, Michael B., *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present*, New York 2007
- Ott, Claudia, 'Songs and Musical Instruments', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Pappe, Ilan, *The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis, 1700–1948*, London 2010

-
- Pappe, Ilan, *The Making of the ArabIsraeli Conflict 1947–51*, London 1994
- Pappe, Ilan, *History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*, London 2006
- Pappe, Ilan, *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, London 2007
- Parfitt, Tudor, *The Jews of Palestine 1800 –82*, London 1987
- Patrich, J., '538 BCE–70 CE: The Temple (Beyt ha-Miqdash) and its Mount', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Perowne, Stewart, *Herod the Great*, London 1956
- Perowne, Stewart, *The Later Herods*, London 1958
- Peters, F. E., *Jesus and Muhammad: Parallel Tracks, Parallel Lives*, Oxford 2010, see primary sources
- Peters, F. E., *The Distant Shrine: Islamic Centuries in Jerusalem*, New York 1993
- Petry, Carl F. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt 640 –1517*, Cambridge 1998
- Phillips, Jonathan, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom*, London 2007
- Phillips, Jonathan, *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades*, London 2009
- Pitard, Wayne T., 'Before Israel: Syria–Palestine in the Bronze Age', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Plokhy, S. M., *Yalta: The Price of Peace*, New York 2010
- Pocock, Tom, *A Thirst for Glory: The Life of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith*, London 1996
- Pollock, John, *Kitchener: Saviour of the Realm*, London 2001
- Praver, Joshua, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London 1972
- Praver, Joshua, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford 1988
- Prestwich, Michael, *Edward I*, New Haven/London 1988
- Pringle, Denys, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, Cambridge 1993–9
- Rabinowitz, E., *Justice Louis D. Brandeis: The Zionist Chapter of his Life*, New York 1968

- Rafeq, Abdul-Karim, *The Province of Damascus 1723–83*, Beirut 1966
- Rafeq, Abdul-Karim, 'Political History of Ottoman Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Rafeq, Abdul-Karim, 'Ulema of Ottoman Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Raider, M. A., *The Emergence of American Zionism*, New York 1998
- Read, Piers Paul, *The Templars*, London 1999
- Redford, Donald P., *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, Princeton 1992
- Redmount, Carol A., 'Bitter Lives: Israel in and out of Egypt', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Reich, Ronny, Avni, Gideon and Winter, Tamar, *The Jerusalem Archeological Park*, Jerusalem 1999
- Reiter, Y. and Seligman, J., 'Al-Haram al-Sherif/Temple Mount (Har-ha-Bayit) and the Western Wall', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Richardson, Peter, *Herod the Great: King of the Jews, Friend of the Romans*, New York 1999
- Ridley, Jane, *Young Disraeli*, London 1995
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310*, London 1967
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277*, London 1973
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London 1987
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The Crusades: A Short History*, London 2005
- Roaf, Susan, 'Life in 19th-Century Jerusalem', in Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (eds), *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, London 2000
- Robinson, Chase F., *Abd alMalik*, Oxford 2007
- Rogan, Eugene, *The Arabs: A History*, London 2009
- Rogerson, Barnaby, *The Heirs of the Prophet Muhammad and the Roots of the Sunni–Shia Schism*, London 2006

- Rohl, John C. G., *The Kaiser and his Court*, Cambridge 1987
- Rohl, John C. G., *Wilhelm II: The Kaiser's Personal Monarchy 1888–1900*, Cambridge 2004
- Rood, Judith, *Sacred Law in the Holy City: The Khedival Challenge to the Ottomans as Seen from Jerusalem, 1829–1841*, Leyden/Boston 2004
- Rose, Norman, *A Senseless Squalid War: Voices from Palestine 1945–8*, London 2009
- Rose, Norman, *Chaim Weizmann: A Biography*, London 1986
- Roth, Cecil, *The House of Nasi: The Duke of Naxos*, Philadelphia 1948
- Roux, G., *Ancient Iraq*, London 1864
- Royle, Trevor, *Glubb Pasha*, London 1992
- Rozen, Minna, 'The Relations between Egyptian Jewry and the Jewish Community of Jerusalem in the 17th Century', in A. Cohen and G. Baer (eds), *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association (868–1948)*, Jerusalem 1984
- Rozen, Minna, *Jewish Identity and Society in the Seventeenth Century: Reflections on the Life and Works of Refael Mordekhai Malki*, Tübingen 1992
- Rozen, Minna, 'Pedigree Remembered, Reconstructed, Invented: Benjamin Disraeli between East and West', in Martin Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*, Tel Aviv 1999
- Rubin, Zeev, 'Christianity in Byzantine Palestine – Missionary Activity and Religious Coercion', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 3, Jerusalem 1983
- Ruderman, David B., *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History*, Princeton NJ
- Runciman, Steven, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols, Cambridge 1951–4
- Sabbagh, Karl, *Palestine: A Personal History*, London 2006
- Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, New York 1978
- Sand, Shlomo, *The Invention of the Jewish People*, London 2009
- Sanders, Paula A., 'The Fatimid State', in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt 640–1517*, Cambridge 1998

- Sanders, Ronald, *The High Walls of Jerusalem: A History of the Balfour Declaration and the Birth of the British Mandate for Palestine*, London 1989
- Sartre, Maurice, *The Middle East under Rome*, Cambridge MA 2005
- Satlof, Robert, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands*, London 2007
- Sattin, Anthony, *A Winter on the Nile: Florence Nightingale, Gustave Flaubert and the Temptations of Egypt*, London 2010
- Scammell, Michael, *Koestler: The Indispensable Intellectual*, London 2010
- Schäfer, Peter, *The History of the Jews in the GrecoRoman World*, London 1983
- Schneer, Jonathan, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, London 2010
- Scholch, A., 'Jerusalem in the 19th Century', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Scholem, G., *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York 1961
- Scholem, G., *Sabbatai Zevi: The Mystical Messiah*, Princeton 1973
- Schreiber, Nicola, *CyproPhoenician Pottery of the Iron Age*, Leiden/Boston 2003
- Schur, Nathan, *Napoleon in the Holy Land*, London 1999
- Schurer, E., *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Edinburgh 1973/1979
- Schwartz, Daniel, 'Josephus, Philo and Pontius Pilate', in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedral: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 3, Jerusalem 1983
- Schwartz, Daniel, *Agrippa the First, the Last King of Judaea*, Tübingen 1990
- Segev, Tom, *One Palestine Complete: Jews and Arabs under The British Mandate*, London 2000
- Segev, Tom, *1967: Israel, the War and the Year that Transformed the Middle East*, London 2007
- Shanks, Hershel, *Jerusalem's Temple Mount*, New York/London 2007
- Shepherd, Naomi, *The Zealous Intruders: The Western Rediscovery of Palestine*, London 1987
- Sherman, A. J., *Mandate Days: British Lives in Palestine 1918- 48*, London 1997

- Shindler, Colin, *A History of Modern Israel*, Cambridge 2008
- Shindler, Colin, *The Triumph of Military Zionism*, London 2010
- Shlaim, Avi, *Collusion across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement and the Partition of Palestine*, New York 1988
- Shlaim, Avi, *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace*, London 2007
- Shlaim, Avi, *Israel and Palestine*, London 2009
- Sievers, J., *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus*, Atlanta 1990
- Silberman, Neil Asher, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration, Archaeology and the Secret Struggle for the Holy Land 1799–1917*, New York 1990
- Slater, Robert, *Rabin of Israel*, London 1996
- Smail, R. C., 'The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan', in Benjamin Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (eds), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, Presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem 1982
- Soskice, Janet, *Sisters of Sinai: How Two Lady Adventurers Found the Hidden Gospels*, London 2009
- Stager, Lawrence E., 'Forging an Identity: The Emergence of Ancient Israel', in Michael Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford 1998
- Stern, M., 'Judaea and her Neighbours in the Days of Alexander Jannaeus', *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 1, Jerusalem 1981
- Stewart, Desmond, *Theodor Herzl*, London 1974
- Stillman, Norman A., 'The Non-Muslim Communities: The Jewish Community', in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt 640–1517*, Cambridge 1998
- Strathern, Paul, *Napoleon in Egypt*, London 2007
- Stroumsa, G. G., 'Christian Memories and Visions of Jerusalem in the Jewish and Islamic Context', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Tabor, James D., *The Jesus Dynasty*, London 2006
- Tamari, Salim, *Mountain Against the Sea: Essays on Palestinian Society and Culture*, Berkeley/LA/London 2009

- Tchamkerten, Astrig, *The Gulbenkians in Jerusalem*, Lisbon 2006
- Thomas, Hugh, *Rivers of Blood: The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, London 2010
- Thompson, Thomas L., *The Bible in History: How Writers Create a Past*, London 1999
- Thubron, Colin, *Jerusalem*, London 1986
- Tibawi, A., *British Interests in Palestine*, Oxford 1961
- Tibawi, A., *Jerusalem: Its Place in Islam and Arab History*, Beirut 1967
- Tibawi, A., *The Islamic Pious Foundations in Jerusalem: Origins, History and Usurpation by Israel*, London 1978
- Treadgold, Warren T., *A History of Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford 1997
- Tsafir, Yoram (ed.), *Ancient Churches Revealed*, Jerusalem 1993
- Tsafir, Yoram, 'The Templeless Mountain', in Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (eds), *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, Jerusalem/Austin 2009
- Tuchman, Barbara, *Bible and Sword*, London 1998
- Turner, R. V., *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, New Haven 2009
- Tveit, Odd Karsten, *Anna's House: The American Colony in Jerusalem*, Nicosia, Cyprus 2011
- Tyerman, Christopher, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, London 2007
- The Umayyads: The Rise of Islamic Art*, Museum with No Frontiers, Amman/Vienna 2000
- Van Creveld, Martin, *Moshe Dayan*, London 2004
- Vermes, Geza, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, London 1987
- Vermes, Geza, *Jesus and the World of Judaism*, London 1993
- Vermes, Geza, *The Changing Faces of Jesus*, London 2000
- Vermes, Geza, *The Story of the Scrolls: The Miraculous Discovery and True Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London 2010
- Vincent, L. H. and Abel, F. M., *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Paris 1914–26
- Walker, Paul E., 'The Ismaili Dawa and Fatimid Caliphate', in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol 1: *Islamic Egypt 640–1517*, Cambridge 1998
- Wallach, Janet, *Desert Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Gertrude Bell*, London 1997
- Warren, W. L., *King John*, New Haven/London 1981

-
- Warwick, Christopher, *Ella: Princess, Saint and Martyr*, London 2006
- Wasserstein, Bernard, *The British in Palestine: Mandatory Government and the ArabJewish Conflict 1917–29*, Oxford 1991
- Wasserstein, Bernard, *Herbert Samuel: A Political Life*, Oxford 1992
- Wasserstein, Bernard, *Divided Jerusalem: The Struggle for the Holy City*, London 2001
- Watt, W. Montgomery, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford 1961
- Watt, W. Montgomery, *Muhammad's Mecca: History in the Quran*, Edinburgh 1988
- Whitelam, Keith, *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History*, London 1997
- Wickham, Chris, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, London 2009
- Wilkinson, J., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster 1977
- Wilkinson, J., 'Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium', in K. J. Asali, *Jerusalem in History*, New York 1990
- Wilkinson, Toby, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt: The History of a Civilization from 3000 BC to Cleopatra*, London 2010
- Williams, Hywel, *Emperor of the West: Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire*, London 2010
- Wilson, A. N., *Jesus*, London 1993
- Wilson, A. N., *Paul: The Mind of the Apostle*, London 1998
- Wrba, Marion, *Austrian Presence in the Holy Land in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Tel Aviv 1996
- Ze'evi, Dror, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*, New York 1996