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3 JW 5.559–65.

4 JW 5.429–44.


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6 2 S 6.20.

7 Bathsheba: 2 S 11–12.

8 Absalom and court politics: 2 S 13–24.


11 Seizure of power: 1 K 1–2.
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16 Ahaz and Isaiah – all references from Book of Isaiah: vision of Jerusalem as sinful
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46 Jesus the life and ministry. Pinnacle of temple: Matthew 5.5. Aged twelve in Temple:
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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.


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51 Paul: origins Acts 9–11 and 22–3. 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 Philippans 3.2–3; later visit to Jerusalem, arrest, Felix, Agrippa
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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
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1 Muhammad: Arabia before Prophet: this is based on the following: Koran; Ibn Ishaq, Life of Muhammad; Al-Tabari, Tarikh: The History of al-Tabari. 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.


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Muhammad 94; qibla 107; relations with Jews 102, 111, 161–3.


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.


Jewish hopes, move to Jerusalem: J. Mann, The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under
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On importance of Holy Land, Jerusalem and Aqsa: Mustafa Abu Sway, Sacred Esplanade 335–43.

Umayyad Jerusalem. Al-Aqsa – Grabar, Shape of the Holy 117–22; Aphrodito papyri
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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.


36. 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
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1 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 61–4 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 off 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.


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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 34; 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.


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2 Qalawun, Ashraf Khalil, Nasir Muhammad: the portrait of Qalawun is based on Linda Northrup, From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Mansur 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: Bur-
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7 Evliya: portrait is based on Robert Dankanoff, An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Celebi; Evliya Celebi, An Ottoman Traveller 330–7 including Easter at the church; Jerusalem as the Kaaba of the poor and Dervishes 332; and on The French, Travels in Palestine. Dankanoff, Celebi 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; 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 Pappe, Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: the Husaynis 1700–1948 (henceforth Pappe) 26–7.


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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.


