Muqaddasi's Gates of Jerusalem — A New Identification Based on Byzantine Sources

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IN the description of Jerusalem of A.D. 985 by Muqaddasi, the famous Arab topographer of Jerusalem, eight iron gates in the wall of the city are mentioned: (1) Bāb Sihyūn (Gate of Zion); (2) Bāb at-Tīh (Gate of the Desert of the Wanderings); (3) Bāb al-Balāṭ (Gate of the Palace or Court); (4) Bāb Jubb Armiyā (Gate of Jeremiah's Pit); (5) Bāb Silwān (Gate of Siloam); (6) Bāb Arīḥā (Gate of Jericho); (7) Bāb al-'Amūd (Gate of the Column); (8) Bāb Miḥrāb Dāūd (Gate of David's Oratory).[1]

According to the identification of Jerusalem's gates given by a number of scholars, among them le Strange, Vincent and Abel, they would appear to have been listed by Muqaddasi without any apparent order, moving now in this direction, now in that.[2] The discovery by Broshi of a medieval gate-tower, some 100 m. east of the present Zion Gate,[3] stimulated M. Sharon and the author to re-examine Muqaddasi's list. Sharon suggested, following Clermont-Ganneau,[4] that the reading of the second name in the list be corrected to Bāb an-Nia, after the Nea, the famous church built in Jerusalem by the emperor Justinian. As the remains of the Nea were discovered in the southern section of the Jewish Quarter by Avigad,[5] the identification of Muqaddasi's Bāb an-Nia with the tenth-century gate, which most probably was built very close to the Ayyubid gate-tower excavated by Broshi, became very reasonable. To this problem and the general order of the gates in Muqaddasi's list, Sharon

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1 Muqaddasi, 167, quoted in G. le Strange: *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, pp. 212–213.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 212–217; L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel: *Jérusalem nouvelle*, II, Paris, 1926, pp. 940–941, Fig. 384; F.M. Abel, in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 7 (1927), cols. 2305–2306, s.v. *Jérusalem*; and more recently: A. Miquel: Jérusalem arabe, notes de topographie historique, *Bulletin d'études orientales* 16 (1958–1960), pp. 7–13.

3 M. Broshi: Recent Excavations along the Walls of Jerusalem, *Qadmoniot* 9 (1976), pp. 77–78 (Hebrew). I wish to thank Mr. Broshi for his generous sharing of information and useful discussions on the subject.

4 C. Clermont-Ganneau: La Néa, ou église de la Vierge de Justinian à Jérusalem, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, III, Paris, 1900, p. 56.

5 N. Avigad: Excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, *IEJ* 20 (1970), pp. 137–138. See also above, pp. 145–151, and M. Ben-Dov: Discovery of the Nea Church — Jewel of Byzantine Jerusalem, *Christian News from Israel*, 26 (1977), p. 88.

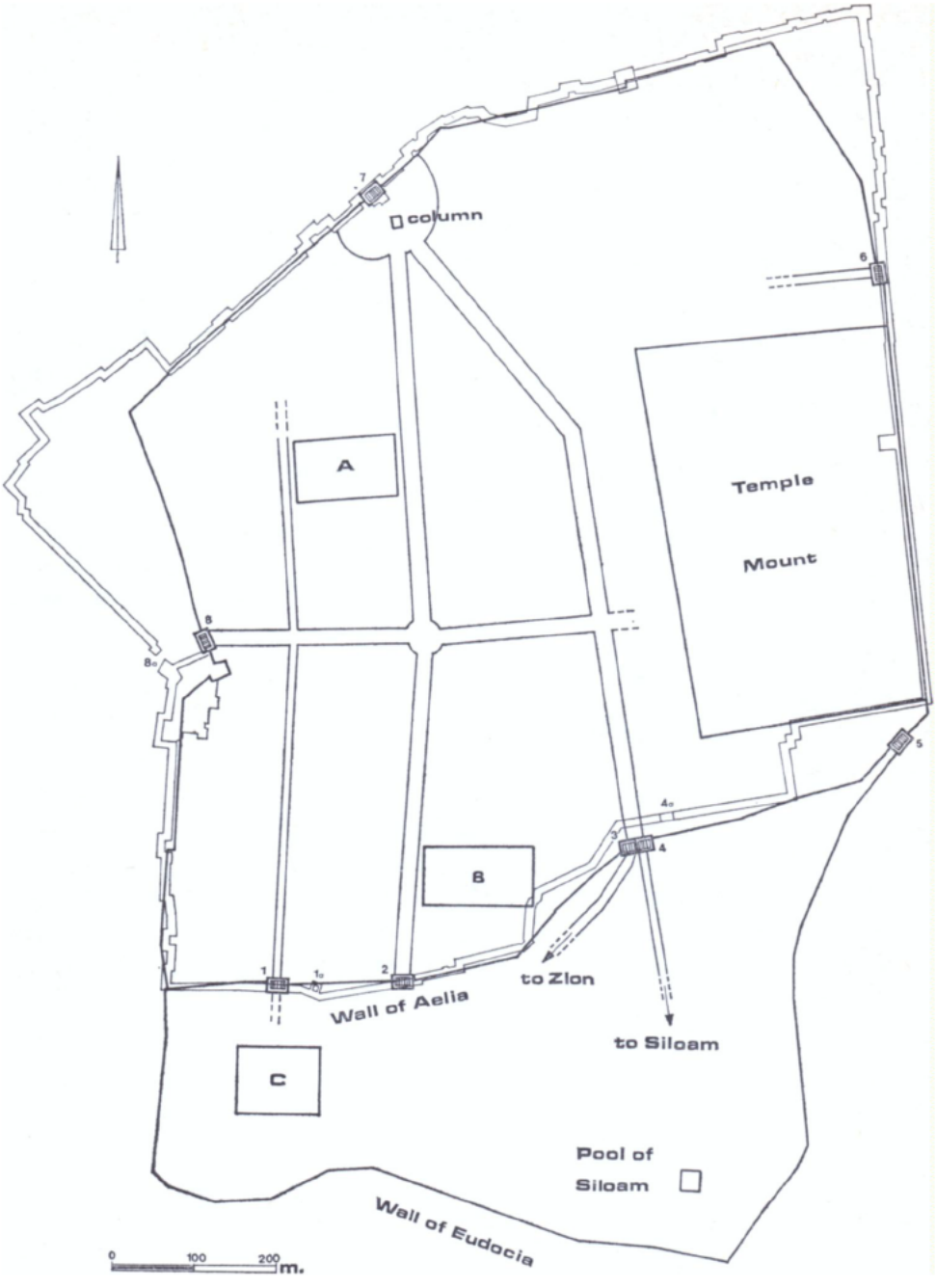

Fig. 1. The walls and gates of Jerusalem at the time of Muqaddasi. The present-day Turkish wall is shown by a double line, and the Byzantine and Arabic walls by a single line. *Gates* (present-day gates in brackets): 1 — Bāb Sihyūn (1a — Zion Gate); 2 — Bāb an-Nia; 3 — Bāb al-Balāṭ; 4 — Bāb Jubb Armiyā (4a — Dung Gate); 5 — Bāb Silwān; 6 — Bāb Arīḥā (St. Stephen's Gate); 7 — Bāb al-'Amūd (Damascus Gate); 8 — Bāb Miḥrāb Dāūd (8a — Jaffa Gate). *Churches*: A — Church of the Holy Sepulchre; B — Nea Church; C — Church of Zion.
Note: the streets shown in the plan are those of the Byzantine city, which gradually changed during the Arab period.

and the author devoted long discussions.[6] In a separate article,[7] with which this one should be read, Sharon widely discusses the problem of the Bāb an-Nia as well as other aspects of the list, including an examination of it from the philological point of view. To discover the order in which Muqaddasi names the gates, it is necessary first to establish the line of the city wall in his description (Fig. 1).

THE LINE OF THE WALL OF JERUSALEM AT THE TIME OF MUQADDASI

It has already been pointed out elsewhere that the wall which Muqaddasi saw was, in its general delineation, more or less the same as the Turkish wall which now encloses the Old City of Jerusalem.[8] For the time being there are no archaeological data for the definite location of the eastern gate (the Jericho Gate), but one would hardly doubt the generally accepted opinion that this gate was near, if not actually beneath, the Turkish Lions Gate (St. Stephen's Gate). The northern gate, Bāb al-'Amūd, as it is still called today, can almost certainly be identified with the site of the Turkish Damascus Gate, since remains of the Roman-Byzantine gate were uncovered there by Hamilton,[9] and remains of the Crusader gate by Hennessy.[10] The western gate, Bāb Miḥrāb Dāūd, was certainly situated some tens of metres east of the present-day Jaffa Gate, in the area of the square inside this gate. We know this from the excavations of Johns, in the courtyard of the Citadel of Jerusalem, which proved that it was the Crusaders who moved the line of the wall westward as far as the present site of the Jaffa Gate.[11] Remains of the pre-Crusader wall were discovered in the courtyard of the Citadel, but no remains of the gate were found there. It may reasonably be assumed that this was located north of 'David's Tower', called by Muqaddasi Miḥrāb Dāūd, at the site of the watershed between the wadi descending eastwards towards the Temple Mount (present-day David Street) and the one descending westwards towards the Valley of Hinnom.

The problem of the southern wall at the time of Muqaddasi, which is central to this study, is much more complicated. It is well-known that there existed two walls here at some distance from each other, which served alternately as city walls in different historical periods, ever since the time of the Second Temple. One line is that of the

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6 Lecture and discussion in the 'Cathedra on the History of Eretz-Israel', Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem, 17 December 1975; also summarized in Y. Tsafrir: *Zion — The South-western Hill of Jerusalem and its Place in the Urban Development of the City in the Byzantine Period*, Ph. D.Thesis, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 272–274 (Hebrew, unpublished).

7 To be published in the near future. I owe thanks to Dr. Sharon for sharing with me his useful ideas and broad knowledge of the literature of the period, and for his offer to treat the subject jointly.

8 M. Broshi and Y. Tsafrir: The Excavations at Zion Gate, Jerusalem, *IEJ* 27 (1977), pp. 28–37.

9 R.W. Hamilton: Excavations against the North Wall of Jerusalem 1937–8, *QDAP* 10 (1944), pp. 1–26.

10 J.B. Hennessy: Preliminary Report on Excavations at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, *Levant* 2 (1970), pp. 22–27.

11 C.N. Johns: The Citadel, Jerusalem, *QDAP* 14 (1950), pp. 152–158.

First Wall of the Second Temple period, built south of the ridge of Mount Zion, which included within the town limits the whole of Mount Zion and its slopes, the south-eastern hill — David's City, and the district of Siloam. The other line left all the sections just mentioned outside the city; the Turkish wall is built mostly along the latter line.

The latest excavations reveal that the Turkish wall was built on top of an earlier wall, which guarded Jerusalem at the south in the Ayyubid period. This wall was discovered first by Margovsky in his excavations next to Burj Kibrit,[12] by Broshi and the author near the Zion Gate,[13] by Broshi in his excavations about 100 m. east of the Zion Gate,[14] and by Ben-Dov outside the southern wall in the section between the Dung Gate and Burj Kibrit.[15] Both in Broshi's and in Ben-Dov's excavations, and perhaps also in the excavation near the Zion Gate, gate-towers of this wall were uncovered. An inscription commemorating the building of the gate-tower in A.D. 1212, during the reign of el-Malek el-Muazzam, was found in Broshi's excavations and provided conclusively the date of the wall. Broshi and Ben-Dov agree that this wall existed already before the Ayyubids, i.e. at the time of the Crusaders or even earlier. In my opinion, which is shared by Broshi, this wall (or another one running on the same line) already existed at the time of Muqaddasi, in the late tenth century. It can be proven that the earliest wall following this line was erected towards the end of the third century A.D. in the time of Aelia Capitolina.[16] Unlike the line of the Turkish wall, which closes in on the southern wall of the Temple Mount in the centre of the latter (at the Double Gate), it may be assumed that the wall of Aelia and likewise the medieval wall reached the wall of the Temple Mount at its south-eastern corner.[17] That Muqaddasi indeed knew and described the wall following this line can be proven by clarifying the history of the other southern wall, the First Wall, which runs about 300 m. further south. The building of this wall began during the Hasmonean monarchy; it was destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70, and remained in ruins until the middle of the fifth century. During that period the wall of Aelia was built, to remain the

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12 I. Margovski: Bordj Kabrit et environs (chronique archéologique), *RB* 78 (1971), pp. 597–598.

13 Broshi and Tsafrir, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 8).

14 Broshi, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 3).

15 M. Ben-Dov: *Dapim le-Morei Derekh* (*Papers for Tourists' Guides*), Ministry of Tourism, Jerusalem, January 1976, pp. 16–20 (Hebrew).

16 On sections of this wall in the north of the city, see Hamilton, *op. cit.* (above, n. 9), pp. 1–53. On sections of the wall in the west, see Johns, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 11), and generally M. Avi-Yonah, in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, II, Jerusalem, 1976, pp. 610–611, s.v. *Jerusalem*; Y. Tsafrir, in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, III, Stuttgart, 1975, cols. 544–552, s.v. *Jerusalem*.

17 This is contrary to the reconstruction suggested by the author in *ibid.*, Abb. 8, according to which the wall of Aelia joins the wall of the Temple Mount at its south-western corner. Remains of both these walls — one from the Middle Ages, the other, somewhat south of it, attributed to the end of the time of Aelia — were discovered recently in Mazar's excavations near the southern wall of the Temple Mount; see Ben-Dov, *op. cit.* (above, n. 15), pp. 12, 14.

southern line of defence for about 150 years. Towards the middle of the fifth century, the First Wall was rebuilt by the Empress Eudocia, thus greatly expanding Jerusalem to the south. Both phases of this wall were discovered by Bliss and Dickie,[18] and in the soundings of Kenyon the attribution of the later phase of this wall to the Byzantine period was confirmed.[19] This wall of Eudocia served as the city wall from the middle of the fifth century onwards, but we do not know at what time it was abandoned.

A number of hints in the Byzantine sources and in particular the representation on the Madaba map confirm that the wall of Aelia continued to exist, at least in parts, throughout the later Byzantine period, when it served only as an interior city wall.[20] When the wall of Eudocia was abandoned, the wall of Aelia once again served as the southern limit of Jerusalem. Just as the rebuilding of the wall by Eudocia was a concrete sign of the growth in size and strength of Jerusalem during the Byzantine period, the abandoning of that wall and the retreat northwards symbolized a phase of decline. This development came in the wake of the general decline of settlement in Palestine from the Abbasid period onwards, but it is surprising that we have no definite knowledge, either chronological or historical, about this event.[21] Archaeological research does not supply us, for the time being, with a satisfactory answer. It becomes evident from excavations that the wall of Eudocia certainly existed in the seventh century, while the wall of Aelia was in use again in the thirteenth century, possibly at some distance from the original line. However, these chronological limits are very far apart, and in order to narrow them we must re-examine the historical sources.

Because they are mainly descriptions by pious pilgrims, the Christian sources are not well-founded topographical descriptions of the city, but tend to emphasize the churches, monasteries and holy places in Jerusalem. Whether Mount Zion lay within the walled city or without, may be clarified by what the sources say about the churches and monasteries in this area, especially about the Church of Zion, which later became the traditional site of the Dormition, David's tomb and the Coenaculum.

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18 F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie: *Excavations at Jerusalem* 1894–1897, London, 1898. The first to identify the late wall uncovered by Bliss and Dickie with the wall attributed in the sources to Eudocia were C. Schick, in F.J. Bliss: Excavations at Jerusalem, *PEFQSt* (1894), p. 254, and J.N. Dalton: Note on the First Wall of Ancient Jerusalem and the Present Excavation, *PEFQSt* (1895), pp. 26–29. For an extensive discussion of the sources and the finds, see Tsafrir, *op. cit.* (above, n. 6), pp. 132–135, 205–232.

19 Kathleen Kenyon: *Digging Up Jerusalem*, London, 1974, pp. 268–270.

20 E.g. M. Avi-Yonah: *Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem, 1954, pp. 50–60; Tsafrir, *op. cit.* (above, n. 16), cols. 575–588.

21 According to Abel's theory, in Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2), p. 940, the southern wall was abandoned and the area of the city reduced by the Fatimid rulers of Jerusalem in order to shorten the line of defence after the raid of John Zimisces in A.D. 975. Crowfoot, who cites Abel's proposal, summarizes the excavations on the Ophel Hill in only a very general way: 'Zion was inside the walls in the ninth century, outside them in the eleventh'; see J.W. Crowfoot: Ophel Again, *PEQ* (1945), p. 77.

In the Madaba map of the second half of the sixth century, the Church of Zion and the Siloam region are depicted within the town. Also Arculf (as passed on by Adamnanus), who describes Jerusalem in *c.* A.D. 680, indicates the same situation, although there are considerable difficulties in this text.[22] In the first half of the eighth century, the pilgrim Willibald visited Jerusalem and found the Church of Zion within the city.[23] Later, in A.D. 870, the monk Bernard visited the Church of Zion (erroneously named St. Simon in the manuscript). He mentions it, together with the Church of St. Peter in Gallicantu, among the churches which lie within the city, in contrast to the churches in the Valley of Jehoshaphat outside the city.[24]

Next chronologically is the description of Muqaddasi, which is open to discussion, as he does not mention specifically the line of the city wall or the situation of the churches on Mount Zion. But it seems that we may understand from his description of Siloam that already in his time the wall of Eudocia had been abandoned and the wall rebuilt farther north near the old wall of Aelia. According to Muqaddasi, the village of Siloam and the spring at its foot were located outside the town.[25] Such a description of the Siloam pool would have been entirely impossible while the wall of Eudocia existed, since it enclosed the Siloam pool at the south. Nasir i-Khosro describes the situation in 1047, about sixty years later. He tells of Jerusalem being surrounded by strong walls and iron gates, but relates that one has to go some distance out of the city in order to reach the pool of Siloam.[26] A Jewish document of the year 1064, found in the Cairo Geniza, probably reveals the same situation.[27] Still less

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22 Adamnanus, I, 1, 6 (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, 175, Turnhout, 1965 [hereafter *CCSL*] p. 185). The difficulties are caused by the fact that Adamnanus inserted into the original description of Arculf references to quotations from the description by Eucherius, which is about 240 years earlier. On this problem, see Tsafrir, *op. cit.* (above, n. 6), pp. 174–176.

23 Wilibaldus X, in T. Tobler and A. Molinier (eds.): *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, I, Geneva, 1879, p. 291.

24 Bernardus Monachus XII, in *ibid.*, pp. 315–316.

25 Muqaddasi, 171, in le Strange, *op. cit.* (above, n. 1), p. 221.

26 Nasir i-Khosro, in *ibid.*

27 M. Gil: The Jewish Quarters of Jerusalem during Early Muslim Rule, *Shalem*, II, Jerusalem, 1976, pp. 20–21, 30–36 (Hebrew). In the document, dated by Gil to 1064, two of the gates in the southern wall are mentioned: the Zion and Siloam Gates. Through either one could go out of the wall to the Karaite quarter named *smrtqa* or *Sela' ha-Elef*. Gil's interpretation is that the wall mentioned here is the southern (Eudocia's). Therefore he had to locate the quarter of *smartqa* outside Eudocia's line, i.e. on the eastern, steep slope of the south-eastern (Ophel) hill, where there was no room for such a quarter and no medieval buildings were found in the excavations. Other evidence brought here suggests that the wall mentioned in the document of 1064 should be located on the northern line. By doing so, the old question of the location of the Byzantine-medieval quarter of *smartqa* (or 'Samaritan woman'?) also finds a general answer: it was located either on the eastern slope of Mount Zion, or, more likely, on the Ophel Hill. See Gil's important discussion and bibliography (*ibid.*, pp. 33–35) and the valuable discussion of J.T. Milik: La Topographie de Jérusalem vers la fin de l'époque byzantine, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 37 (1960–1961), pp. 133, 136–137, and esp. pp. 163–167 (discussed by Tsafrir, *op. cit.* [above, n. 6], pp. 138–140).

ambiguous is the description of Jerusalem of the last years before the Crusader conquest (*c.* 1095). Here, Mount Zion is described as an area near Jerusalem, outside the town.[28] We learn from both Christian[29] and Arab[30] sources that after the Crusader conquest, Mount Zion was still situated outside the fortified city, and that the city wall followed the line of the wall of Aelia.

Seen in this sequence, it becomes evident that the description of Muqaddasi is the first in the list of descriptions of Jerusalem which depict its more limited boundaries. This change, which left Mount Zion and the region of Siloam outside the southern limits, and whose direct cause is unknown, occurred therefore at some time within the 115 years between Bernard's description (A.D. 870) and that of Muqaddasi (A.D. 985). The line of the wall of Aelia, which had stood in ruins for four or five hundred years, or served in part as an interior wall, returned to use when a new city wall was built near it. This wall was almost certainly the one discovered under the Turkish wall in several places, whose foundation date is as yet unknown.

THE IDENTIFICATION AND LOCATION OF THE GATES

As mentioned above, it is not difficult to locate in general the three main city gates in the east (Bāb Arīḥa), the north (Bāb al-'Amūd) and the west (Bāb Miḥrāb Dāūd). Considerable difficulty, however, is caused by the identification of the five other gates: Bāb Sihyūn, Bāb at-Tīh, Bāb al-Balāṭ, Bāb Jubb Armiyā and Bāb Silwān. In my opinion, all these are situated along the southern city wall and named by Muqaddasi from west to east.[31] The main difficulty which seems to have been encountered by such scholars as le Strange, Vincent, Abel and Miquel was their attempt to base their identifications of Muqaddasi's gates on information from sources later than Muqaddasi, such as Mujir ad-Din of the late fifteenth century, or on generally accepted traditions of later periods. The facts become much clearer if we explain Muqaddasi's description on the basis of traditions accepted prior to his time in the Byzantine period. These find their expression in the Christian sources. Sharon correctly points out[32] how the vague concept 'Bāb at-Tīh' can be explained much better by placing the gate of this name in the south instead of the west, with le Strange, and identifying it as Bāb an-Nia. The discovery of the building complex of the Nea in the

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28 Tobler and Molinier, *op. cit.* (above, n. 23), p. 348.

29 E.g. Saewulf, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, IV, London, 1896, p. 19; Abbas Daniel XL, in B. de Khitrowo (ed.): *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Geneva, 1889, pp. 35–36.

30 E.g. Idrissi, 1154, in G. le Strange: The Arabic Geographers, *PEFQSt* (1888), p. 34.

31 It is certainly not easy to explain the fact that Muqaddasi names five gates in the south, with only one on each of the other sides. The existence of such a large number of gates may be attributed to the settlers who continued to live on Mount Zion and the Ophel Hill, although this area was no longer within the fortified city. These people needed to pass freely to the town centre, both in peace and still more in times of danger. As we shall see, the difficulty is somewhat reduced if we assume that two of the southern gates are in fact two openings in a single gate.

32 See above, p. 152 and n. 7.

southern Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem proves the proximity of these buildings both to the line of the southern city wall, as described by Muqaddasi and to the assumed meeting point of the *cardo maximus* of Roman-Byzantine Jerusalem with the city wall and the exit from the town through the gate.

It is also possible to arrive at the origin of the names and the sites of two more gates through the study of the early traditions: Bāb al-Balāṭ and Bāb Jubb Armiyā. Just as in the case of the Nea, here the gates are called after a building or important site located in their vicinity inside the city.[33] Previously the origin of the name Bāb al-Balāṭ was sought in the Latin word *palatium* — palace. I would suggest instead that the name was derived from the name Pilatus, the Roman governor, whose house was nearby. At first, the Arabic form was Bāb al-Bilāṭ, but in time the pronounciation changed to Bāb al-Balāṭ, a concept which in Arabic has a meaning — the gate of the square, the pavement. While in the sources there is no hint of any *palatium* in Jerusalem, we know very well the site of Pilate's house. It stood on the slope of the central valley (the Tyropoeon Valley of the Second Temple period), not far from the present-day Dung Gate, according to the description of the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (A.D. 333). Walking through the centre of the town northwards toward the Neapolis (Damascus) Gate, he sees in the valley below, at his right side, walls which indicate the site of the house or Praetorium of Pontius Pilate.[34]

In the first half of the sixth century, Theodosius described the site of this structure according to its relative distance from other, known places. From the House of Caiaphas to Pilate's Praetorium there are about 100 *passūs*, where there stands the Church of St. Sophia, and nearby is the site where Jeremiah was thrown into the dungeon. Later, he adds that the Siloam pool is a distance of 100 *passūs* from Jeremiah's dungeon. From the house of Pilate to the Pool of the Probatica there are about 100 *passus*.[35] If we accept this description literally, it is very hard to comprehend, as the calculation of the distances according to their absolute values (the *passūs* equals 1.48 m.) does not lead to any satisfactory result. But if we take the values as relative to one another, placing the house of Pilate and the nearby Dungeon of Jeremiah at approximately half the distance between the pool of Siloam and that of the Probatica, we arrive at a site lying some tens of metres to the north of the present-day Dung Gate.[36] Still more exact is the description given by a companion of Antoninus of Placentia in the second half of the sixth century. Antoninus reached the site of the Praetorium from the west, the direction of the Nea: 'We prayed in the Praetorium,

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33 To this group belong also the names of Bāb al-'Amūd and Bāb Miḥrāb Dāūd. The gates of the other group are named after the place to which the road through them leads, either in the distance, as Bāb Arīḥā, or nearby, as Bāb Silwān or even Bāb Sihyūn.

34 *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (*CCSL*, pp. 16–17).

35 Theodosius, 7–8 (*CCSL*, p. 118).

36 On the problem of the distances in the description of Theodosius, see in detail Tsafrir, *op. cit.* (above, n. 6), pp. 143–149.

the place where the Lord was judged and where there stands now the basilica of St. Sophia, in front of the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, below the street which descends to the spring of Siloam outside the porch of Solomon. In this basilica there is a seat on which Pilate sat when he judged the Lord . . . From here we came to an arch, where there was an old gate of the city. On this spot there is some putrid water, into which they threw Jeremiah. From this arch one descends in many steps to the Siloam . . .'.[37] Antoninus confirms the proximity of the house of Pilate and the dungeon of Jeremiah. This, then, is the origin of the names of the two gates. The proximity of the two sites suggests that the names may refer to two openings of one double gate.[38]

It seems nearly impossible to err in the location of the gate (or the two gates) in question. The site was located near Jeremiah's dungeon and the church of St. Sophia, not far from the ruins of Solomon's Temple. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux says it is in the valley and Antoninus near the street. Steps descended from it to Siloam. Antoninus knows it also as an ancient city gate, and indeed this gate (or its ruins) existed in his time, over one hundred years after the wall of Eudocia had been built, serving as a passageway within the city. No doubt this is the same spot where the Pilgrim of Bordeaux went out of Jerusalem to ascend through Siloam to Zion.[39] This gate was situated at the exit from the city of the secondary longitudinal street of Jerusalem, which passed through the central valley and descended from the town to Siloam. Thus this gate served as a kind of forerunner of the Turkish Dung Gate and the thirteenth century (or earlier) gate discovered nearby.[40] Some scholars believe that the gate is also represented on the Madaba map.[41]

On either side of these were the remaining gates: at the west, the Zion Gate (Bāb Sihyūn). We cannot tell exactly where it lay, below the Turkish Zion Gate where the gate probably existed already in the thirteenth century,[42] or, as would appear to be more likely, some tens of metres to its west, where apparently the Zion Gate was located in the Byzantine period.[43] About Bāb Silwān we have no definite knowledge.

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37 Antoninus, 23–24 (*CCSL*, p. 141). The cisterns of Jeremiah and Siloam are also mentioned one after the other in the later legendary 'Life of Constantine and Helene' — M. Guich: *Un βιος di Constantino*, Rome, 1908, p. 52. As the date of this source has not yet been established, it is difficult to draw any conclusion from it.

38 As for example the Golden Gate, which has two openings, each with a different name: Bāb ar-Raḥamah and Bāb at-Taubah (Gate of Mercy and Gate of Repentence).

39 *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (*CCSL*, p. 16).

40 Ben-Dov, *op. cit.* (above, n. 15), pp. 19–20.

41 Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.* (above, n. 20), p. 53.

42 Broshi and Tsafrir, *loc. cit.* [above, n. 8).

43 This can be seen by continuing the section of the Byzantine street discovered by Broshi near the Armenian House of Caiaphas (M. Broshi: Excavations on Mount Zion, *IEJ* 26 [1976], p. 87) towards the north, until it meets the line of the present-day Street of the Christians. This seems to be the street depicted in the Madaba map west of the *cardo maximus* and parallel to it, leading from the town centre to the Church of St. Zion; its origin was perhaps the *via praetoria* of the camp of the

However, it seems reasonable to assume that it was situated at the eastern edge of the wall, not far from the spot where the southern wall joined the south-eastern corner of the Temple Mount, and from where there was a road leading to the Siloam village or pool.

SUMMARY

Jerusalem's city wall, as described by Muqaddasi, ran in general parallel to that of Suleiman of the sixteenth century, although in detail the lines of the two walls are not identical. Muqaddasi's list of city gates starts with the Zion Gate and the south-western corner of the wall and goes on to enumerate the southern gates counter-clockwise: Bāb an-Nia, situated at the exit of the main street from the town, about 120 m. east of the present-day Zion Gate; Bāb al-Balāṭ and Bāb Jubb Armiyā, situated at the exit of the secondary *cardo* from the town, not far from the present-day Dung Gate, possibly being two openings of one gate; Bāb Silwān, located near the juncture of the wall with the south-eastern corner of the Temple Mount; then Bāb Arīhā in the east at the site of the present-day Lion Gate; Bāb al-'Amūd in the north, at the site of the Damascus Gate; and Bāb Miḥrāb Dāūd in the west, somewhat east of the Jaffa Gate.

Roman army (see Tsafrir, *op. cit.* [above, n. 16], pp. 562, 579; *idem, op. cit.* [above, n. 6), pp. 268–269, 308–310). Later, at the time of the Crusaders, as can be seen from several descriptions of Jerusalem (on the subject of the Zion Gate at the entrance to St. Zion, see Milik, *op. cit.* [above, n. 27], pp. 142–143), the name 'Zion Gate' moved eastwards. It seems that at that time it was given to the gate of exit of the *cardo maximus*, i.e. Bāb an-Nia in Muqaddasi's nomenclature (Vincent and Abel, *loc. cit.* [above, n. 2]).