JERUSALEM BESIEGED

JERUSALEM BESIEGED

From
ANCIENT CANAAN
to
MODERN ISRAEL

ERIC H. CLINE

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2004 All rights reserved Published in the United States of America by The University of Michigan Press Manufactured in Singapore ® Printed on acid-free paper

2007 2006 2005 2004 4 3 2 I

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher.

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cline, Eric H.

Jerusalem besieged : from ancient Canaan to modern Israel / Eric H. Cline.

2004007661

p. cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

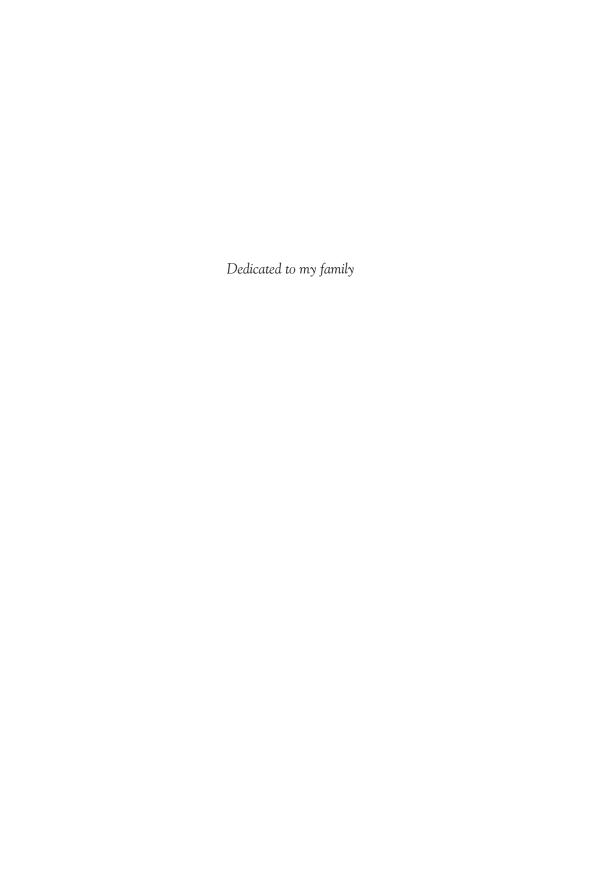
ISBN 0-472-11313-5 (cloth: alk. paper)

1. Jerusalem—History, Military. I. Title.

DS109.9.C63 2004

956.94'42—dc22

Text design by Jillian Downey



Pray for the peace of Jerusalem:

"May they prosper who love you.

Peace be within your walls,
and security within your towers."

For the sake of my relatives and friends
I will say, "Peace be within you."

(Psalm 122:6–8, New Oxford Annotated Bible)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I WOULD LIKE to gratefully acknowledge the following individuals who all assisted in the preparation of this book in one way or another: Elizabeth Fisher, John Ziolkowski, Marc Saperstein, Dina Rizk Khoury, Max Ticktin, Samia Montasser, and Nancy Kocher of George Washington University; Shmuel Ben-Gad and the staff of the Gelman Library at George Washington University, as well as the staff members of the various libraries within the Washington Research Library Consortium; Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Oded Lipschits of Tel Aviv University; Baruch Halpern and Ann Killebrew of Pennsylvania State University; Jodi Magness of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Rose Mary Sheldon of the Virginia Military Institute; Uzi Baram of the New College of Florida; P. Kyle McCarter of Johns Hopkins University; Peter Warnock of the University of Missouri; Holt Parker and Barbara Burrell of the University of Cincinnati; James Russell of the University of British Columbia; Louis Feldman of Yeshiva University; Morris Silver of the City College of New York; Oded Borowski of Emory University; Victor Matthews of Southwest Missouri State University; Rhoads Murphey of the University of Birmingham, England; Ezra Marcus of the University of Haifa; Michael Oren of the Shalem Center in Jerusalem; Paul Scham of the Truman Institute for Peace in Jerusalem; Allen Packwood and Rachel Lloyd of the

Churchill Archives Centre; Jack Meinhardt and Molly Dewsnap Meinhardt of the Biblical Archaeology Society; Yigal Carmon and Angi Jacobs of the Middle East Media Research Institute; Gregory Nagy and the staff of the Center for Hellenic Studies and Alice-Mary Talbot and Deborah Brown of Dumbarton Oaks, both in Washington, DC; and Simone Bercu, Solomon Borodkin, Jane Cahill, Douglas Feith, Jake Fratkin, Michael Klitsch, Lewis Lipkin, Alan Mairson, John and Carol Merrill, Sandra Scham, and Colin Winston.

I owe much to the many scholars, authors, and historians of Jerusalem who have gone before me, and I hope that I have properly and adequately documented all of the many primary and secondary sources used in the writing of this book; apologies are offered in advance if any grievous errors or omissions of attribution remain. I have also tried to take into account all of the feedback received from colleagues, friends, family, and audience members on various earlier drafts and public presentations of sections from this manuscript; in particular I would like to thank Uzi Baram, Oded Lipschits, Jodi Magness, John Merrill, Paul Scham, and Rose Mary Sheldon, who each read and commented on rough drafts of various chapters.

Without a doubt, this book would not be in its present form without the guiding hands of Geoff Skinner and Martin J. Cline, editors extraordinaire, to whom I owe a debt beyond words. I would also like to thank my agent, Nina Graybill, and the people at the University of Michigan Press, especially Chris Collins, Sarah Mann, Collin Ganio, Erin Snoddy, Jessica Sysak, Peter Sickman-Garner, and Michael Kehoe. Last but certainly not least, I am indebted to my immediate family—Diane, Hannah, and Joshua—who have had to live with me and all the besiegers of Jerusalem for the past few years.

Visits to Jerusalem itself were made during even-numbered summers from 1994 to 2000, before and after the excavation seasons at Megiddo. Financial support for research and writing was provided by a grant from the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC, for the summer of 2001; by a Junior Scholar Incentive Award from George Washington University for the summer of 2002; and by both another Junior Scholar Incentive Award and a University Facilitating Fund grant from George Washington University for the summer of 2003. All of this financial assistance is very gratefully acknowledged.

All of the maps used in this book were produced by Mark Stein of Mark Stein Studios; although some are new, most were first published in Professor Karen Armstrong's book Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996) and are reproduced here with her permission. David Roberts's Jerusalem lithographs were photographed by Aaron Levin and are reproduced here by kind permission of George Lintzeris and his Petra Fine Art gallery in Baltimore, Maryland (http://www.petrafineart.net), who carefully and lovingly saw to the restoration of the original prints. The upper portion of the cover illustration is from a photograph by Ammar Awad, Tear Gas at the Dome of the Rock, April 2, 2004, used here by permission from Reuters; the lower portion of the cover art is from a lithograph by Louis Haghe (ca. 1850) CE), based in turn upon the original oil painting The Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under the Command of Titus, A.D. 70, by David Roberts (ca. 1847–49 CE); the lithograph was restored and digitally enhanced by Robert E. Browning and is reproduced here courtesy of Mr. Browning and American Vision (http://www.americanvision.org).

CONTENTS

xv Abbreviations

xvii List of Maps

xix List of Illustrations

xxi List of Tables

I Introduction: A Lonely Ship on a Hostile Sea

CHAPTER I

A Rock and a High Place
DAVID AND THE JEBUSITES, 1000 BCE

CHAPTER 2

The End of the Beginning NEBUCHADNEZZAR AND THE NEO-BABYLONIANS, 586 BCE

CHAPTER 3

68 Oil upon Troubled Waters THE MACCABEAN REBELLION, 165 BCE

CHAPTER 4

96 In Blood and Fire
THE FIRST AND SECOND JEWISH REVOLTS, 70 AND 135 CE

CHAPTER 5

136 The "Holy House"
THE ARRIVAL OF ISLAM, 638 CE

CHAPTER 6

164 For God, Gold, and Glory THE CRUSADERS AND SALADIN, 1099 AND 1187 CE

CHAPTER 7

The Sultan and the City SELIM I AND THE OTTOMANS, 1516 CE

CHAPTER 8

Peace to Their Ashes, Honor to Their Memory Allenby and the Allied Forces, 1917 CE

CHAPTER 9

267 Jerusalem of Gold THE ARAB-ISRAELI WARS, 1948 AND 1967 CE

CHAPTER IO

299 Speak Tenderly to Jerusalem The Intifadas and Beyond

311 Notes

361 Bibliography

397 Index

ABBREVIATIONS

AE American Ethnologist

AHR American Historical Review

AJHG American Journal of Human Genetics

AO Archaeology Odyssey ASQ Arab Studies Quarterly

AUSS Andrews University Seminary Studies

BA Biblical Archaeologist

BAR Biblical Archaeology Review

BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BeO Bibbia e Oriente BN Biblische Notizen BR Bible Review

CBQ Catholic Biblical Quarterly EHR English Historical Review

GRBS Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies

HTR Harvard Theological Review IEJ Israel Exploration Journal IOS Israel Oriental Studies

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JAS Journal of Archaeological Science JBL Journal of Biblical Literature JHS Journal of Hebrew Scriptures
JJS Journal of Jewish Studies

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies JPS Journal of Palestine Studies JQR Jewish Quarterly Review

JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

JRS Journal of Roman Studies

JSAI Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament

JSQ Jewish Studies Quarterly JSS Journal of Strategic Studies LDA Les Dossiers d'Archeologie NT Novum Testamentum

PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly

PNAS Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United

States of America

QDAP Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine

RB Revue Biblique

SCI Scripta Classica Israelica

ST Studia Theologica

TA Tel Aviv

UF Ugarit-Forschungen VT Vetus Testamentum WI Die Welt des Islams

ZAW Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
 ZDPV Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

MAPS

I.	The ancient Near East	4
2.	Ancient Canaan	14
3.	Ancient Jerusalem	23
4.	Jerusalem under David and Solomon	31
5.	The kingdoms of Israel and Judah	40
6.	Jerusalem during the First Temple period, 1000–586 BCE	43
7.	Jerusalem and Judah, after 722 BCE	47
8.	Jerusalem and the province of Yehud during the	
	Persian period	71
9.	Jerusalem at the time of Nehemiah	72
10.	The Hasmonean kingdom	83
ΙI.	Jerusalem in the Hasmonean period	84
12.	Herodian Jerusalem, 4 BCE–70 CE	103
13.	Roman Palestine	107
14.	Aelia Capitolina, 135–326 CE	133
15.	Byzantine Jerusalem, 326–638 CE	140
16.	Moslem Jerusalem, 638–1099 CE	152
17.	Crusader Jerusalem, 1099–1187 CE	169
18.	The Islamization of Jerusalem under the Ayyubids,	
	1187–1250 CE	209
19.	Development in Mamluke Jerusalem, 1250–1517 CE	217

20.	Suleiman's Jerusalem, 1540 CE	222
21.	Allenby's Jerusalem, 1917 CE	244
22.	The city boundary of Jerusalem, 1948–67 CE	271
23.	The frontiers of the state of Israel, 1949–67 CE	283
24.	Divided Jerusalem, 1948–67 CE	287

ILLUSTRATIONS

Ι.	Jerusalem from the south	24
2.	Jerusalem from the north	24
3.	The "Tower of David" (perhaps the Tower of Hippicus)	104
4.	The "Pool of Bethesda" (perhaps part of the Antonia)	104
5.	The "Church of the Purification" (perhaps on	
	the site of Justinian's "Nea" church)	141
6.	The "Mosque of Omar" (the Dome of the Rock)	153
7.	Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives	170
8.	The Damascus Gate	170
9.	The entrance to the citadel	210
0.	Jerusalem, from the road leading to Bethany	245

TABLES

Table 1. Jerusalem Conflicts from 2000 BCE to 2000 CE	8
Table 2. Chronology from 1000 BCE to 582 BCE	67
Table 3. Chronology from 586 BCE to 63 BCE	94
Table 4. Chronology from 1077 CE to 1840 CE	234