

# PROCHE-ORIENT CHRÉTIEN

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**Christian Attitudes Reflected in the  
Muslim Litterature in Praise of Jerusalem**

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*DIALOGUE INTERRELIGIEUX*

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**CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES REFLECTED IN THE  
MUSLIM LITERATURE IN PRAISE OF JERUSALEM**

From its rise Islam was obliged to manifest its own uniqueness in contrast to religions it recognized as based on divine revelation, mainly Judaism and Christianity<sup>1</sup>. In the lifetime of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam, conflict already existed with the Jews, and after the great conquests, when the Muslims met large new populations, the need to form a clear distinction was even greater, in terms of ideology, social connections, customs, and cults. The Muslims also felt the need for such a distinction from *Ġāhili*, namely, pre-Islamic, customs<sup>2</sup>, and basically the process was not different from the wish of early Christianity to have “independence from Judaism”. Muslim attitudes to Jerusalem, the holy city for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, might provide a good example of the reaction of Islam to Jewish and Christian beliefs and practices. This study is dedicated to Christian attitudes evident from the Muslim literature “in Praise of Jerusalem” both as an illustration of general trends and as part of the specific issue of Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M.J. KISTER, ““Do Not Assimilate Yourselves...””, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 12 (1989), p. 324: “The main concern of the religious leaders of the Muslim Society was to establish some barrier between the Muslim community and the communities of the Jews, Christians and Magians. This separation was to be upheld in the various spheres of social relations, as well as in rites and customs”; in his extensive study “*ḥadditū ‘an banī isrā’īla wa-la-ḥaraġa*”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), pp. 215-239, he discusses in detail the debate among Muslim scholars on whether or not it is lawful to rely on Jewish or Christian sources. See also the definitions of Menahem Kister (Appendix to M.J. KISTER, ““Do Not Assimilate Yourselves...””), p. 354: “The first trend evidences a clear desire on the part of early Islām for a self definition, as well as a concern over the presence of Jewish influences and practices among its earliest believers...”; p. 356: “The second trend manifests itself in Islām after it became an established religion, self-confident and certain of the impropriety of the Jewish practices”.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., U. RUBIN, “Direction of Prayer in Islam: On the History of a Cult’s Struggle”, *Historia* 6 (2000), pp. 5-29 (in Hebrew).

a branch of the *ḥadīṭ* (the Muslim Tradition) literature<sup>4</sup>. These traditions rely generally on a chain of transmitters (*isnād*), and their interpretation is not always easy. The study of the traditions needs examination of the different tendencies reflected through them, such as the religious, judicial, political, or social aspects, as well as the examination of legendary elements, tendentious changes in the different versions of a tradition, and the nature of the Jewish and Christian material reflected in them<sup>5</sup>. The traditions tell of biblical and Koranic figures connected with Jerusalem: Jacob's dream, David, Solomon; the erection of the Temple and its destruction; Jesus, Mary, and Zacharias; traditions relating to the Muslim conquest of the city and the construction of the Dome of the Rock and other holy locations, sometimes against a biblical background, or based on Koranic quotations; in some of the collections "in Praise of Jerusalem" we find a "Guide for Pilgrims" which includes prayers to be recited at the Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem. Especially noteworthy are the traditions concerning the diversion of the *qibla* (direction of prayer) by Muḥammad from Jerusalem to Mecca, and the *isrā'* and *mi'rāğ* (Muḥammad's nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and his ascent to heaven); Jerusalem's foremost rank in cosmology and eschatology and its status in relation to the other holy sites of Islam, mainly Mecca and Medina; pilgrimage of Muslim personalities of high rank, among them caliphs and well known ascetics and scholars, and other issues. The connection to traditions "in Praise of Syria" and "in Praise of Hebron" is very significant<sup>6</sup>.

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field was my doctoral Dissertation: *The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam according to the Arabic genre of "The Merits of Jerusalem"*, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1985 (in Hebrew; thesis supervisor Prof. J.M. Kister).

<sup>4</sup> On the genre of *ḥadīṭ* in general see J. ROBSON, "Ḥadīṭh", *EP*, vol. 3 (1971), pp. 23-28; I. GOLDZIEHER, *Muslim Studies*, ed. and trans. S.M. Stern (London, 1971), vol. 2.

<sup>5</sup> For example, what appears to be in a tradition content based on a Jewish source might have passed through a Christian one. Cf. LIVNE-KAFRI, *On Jerusalem in Early Islam* (above, note 3), p. 38 ("Framework of discussion and research issues") and LIVNE-KAFRI, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 3), p. 167-168.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Murağğā's book (above note 3), *Kitāb Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām* (The Praises of Jerusalem, Syria, and Hebron) includes the earliest composition on Hebron we know of and one of the earliest compositions in Praise of Syria.

## ARABIC SOURCES

The development of the idea of the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam is mainly reflected in Muslim traditions belonging to the literary genre of *faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis* (The Praises of Jerusalem)<sup>3</sup>, which is

<sup>3</sup> These traditions collected in specific books from the eleventh century on, are also scattered throughout the different genres of Arabic literature of the Middle Ages (commentaries to the Koran, different *ḥadīṭ* collections, chronicles, geographical sources, "the Stories of the Prophets" (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*), etc.: see I. HASSON, "Muslim View of Jerusalem – The Qur'ān and the Ḥadīṭ", in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 638-1099*, ed. J. PRAWER and H. BEN-SHAMMAI (Jerusalem, 1996), pp. 349-385. On the literary genre of *faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis* see e.g., I. HASSON, *ibid.*; M.J. KISTER, "A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem", *The Jerusalem Cathedral* 1 (1981), pp. 185-186; as regards basic publications concerning the sanctity of Jerusalem in early Islam see, e.g., M.J. KISTER, "You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques, A Study of an Early Tradition", *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), pp. 173-196; H. BUSSE, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam", *Judaism* 17 (1968), pp. 441-468; A. ELAD, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1995).

My own many publications in this field are:

- a. ABŪ, AL-MA'ĀLĪ AL-MUŠARRAF B. AL-MURAĞĠĠĀ B. IBRĀHĪM AL-MAQDISĪ, *Kitāb Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, ed. O. Livne-Kafri (Shfaram, 1995). This is a critical edition of the most important composition belonging to the literary genre of "The Praises of Jerusalem". It was written in the first half of the eleventh century and it preserves an enormous amount of earlier materials mainly from the seventh and the eighth centuries.
- b. Miscellaneous studies: O. LIVNE-KAFRI, "The Muslim Traditions 'in Praise of Jerusalem' (Faḍā'il al-Quds): Diversity and Complexity", *Annali* 58 (1998), pp. 165-192; "A Note on Some Traditions of *Faḍā'il al-Quds*", *JSAI* 14 (1991), pp. 71-83 (Hebrew version: "Muslim Traditions on Jerusalem between Judaism and Christianity", *Cathedra* 83 [1997], pp. 45-54); "The Early Shī'a and Jerusalem", *Arabica* 48 (2001), pp. 112-120; the book *Jerusalem in Early Islam – Selected Essays* (Jerusalem, 2000 [in Hebrew]), including the articles: "On Jerusalem in Early Islam", *Cathedra* 51 (1989), pp. 35-66; "Jerusalem, the Navel of the World in Muslim Tradition", *Cathedra* 69 (1993), pp. 79-104; "Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days", *Cathedra* 86 (1998), pp. 23-56; "Jerusalem and the Sanctity of the Frontier Cities in Islam", *Cathedra* 94 (1999), pp. 75-88; "Prayers in a Jerusalem Guide for Muslim Pilgrims", *Cathedra* 66 (1992), pp. 57-60; "Early Arabic Literary Works on Jerusalem", *Cathedra* 44 (1987), pp. 21-26; "A Tradition in Praise of Jerusalem – *Khitām al-Qur'ān* (The Ending of Reading the Koran)", *Maof ve-Maase* 3 (1996), pp. 105-115; "The Muezzins of Jerusalem and Their Role in the Creation of Traditions In Praise of Jerusalem", *Maḡallat al-Mu'allim* 18 (1995), pp. 228-236 (both in Hebrew), and others; my article "Early Muslim Ascetics and the World of Christian Monasticism", *JSAI* 20 (1996), pp. 105-129 includes many examples concerning Jerusalem. My first work in that

New Testament passages in the Muslim traditions regarding Jerusalem, as well as other sources, but one should exercise utmost caution when studying them in the Muslim context<sup>12</sup>. Generally a Muslim tradition does not mention its specific non-Muslim origin, although a Jewish or Christian origin (real or invented) is often hinted<sup>13</sup>. Muslim circles involved in the creation and the spread of traditions of "Christian origin" are hard to identify as a group with specific characteristics: we can find among them converts to Islam<sup>14</sup>, pious figures and ascetics<sup>15</sup>, Koran commentators, and scholars of *ḥadīṭ*<sup>16</sup>, storytellers (*quṣṣās*)<sup>17</sup>, members of ruling circles, and many others<sup>18</sup>.

ing up the form and content of the faith, and which appear in the form of isolated technical expressions, Bible legends, and so forth; but we mean those borrowing which are presented in a more definite shape, and evince a certain, if not very extensive, knowledge of the Christian Scriptures". Cf. T. ANDRAE, *Les Origines de l'Islam et le Christianisme*, trans. J. Roche (Paris, 1955); M. J. KISTER, "*Ḥaddīṭū 'an banī isrā'īla*" (above, note 1), where he discusses at length the whole question of absorbing Jewish and Christian ideas and conducts into the Muslim system of values.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. LIVNE-KAFRI, *A Note on Some Traditions of Faḍā'il al-Quds* (above, note 3), p. 73; IDEM, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 3), pp. 169-171.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. O. LIVNE-KAFRI, "Some notes on the Muslim Apocalyptic Traditions", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 17 (1999), pp. 81-82.

<sup>14</sup> Not necessarily Christians, like Wahb b. Munabbih: see below, note 55. Traditions of Christian character are also attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār, a Jewish convert to Islam (see M. SCHMITZ, "Ka'b al-Aḥbār", *EP*, vol. 4 [1978], pp. 316-317); e.g., our note 58.

<sup>15</sup> See T. ANDRAE, "Zuhd and Mönchtum", *Le Monde Oriental* 25 (1931), pp. 296-327; S.D. GOITEIN, "The Sanctity of Palestine in Muslim Piety", *Yediot*, 12 (1946), pp. 120-126 (in Hebrew; for the English version see our note 19). LIVNE-KAFRI, *Early Muslim Ascetics* (above, note 3).

<sup>16</sup> Like in the *Tafsīr* (commentary) of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 768; below, note 58); on his early chapter on the Praises of Jerusalem see M.J. KISTER, *A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem* (above, note 3). On scholars of *ḥadīṭ* see, e.g., the many traditionalists in IBN AL-MURĀĞĠĀ, *Faḍā'il*. For an important study on the matter see A. ELAD, "The History and Topography of Jerusalem during the Early Islamic period: The Historical Value of *Faḍā'il al-Quds* Literature: A Reconsideration", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991), 41-70.

<sup>17</sup> "Storytelling" was a phenomenon which most probably continued popular preaching in Jewish and Christian societies. Tamīm al-Dārī, a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, was a convert from Christianity; some sources consider him the first *qāṣṣ* (storyteller). See G. LEVI DELLA-VIDA, "Tamīm al-Dārī", *EP*, vol. 4 (1934), pp. 646-648.

The Jewish heritage is far more emphasized than the Christian<sup>7</sup>. This is probably due to the fact that right after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Muslims in 638 the Temple Mount was chosen as a sacred site identified with the Temple of David and Solomon. This site was earlier degraded by the Byzantines, who made it the dunghill of the city<sup>8</sup>. The erection of the monumental buildings by the Umayyads, especially the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque, made Jerusalem a focus for the absorption and the creation of more traditions concerning Jerusalem. Although Islamic prestige is derived mainly from al-Aqṣā Mosque<sup>9</sup>, the Rock, identified with the Jewish Temple was the subject of many more traditions<sup>10</sup>.

The Christian heritage reflected in the traditions "in Praise of Jerusalem" is perhaps less obvious, but it is still very significant. It is not a part of one dominant scheme but it is to be found in various sources, circles, and trends. Koranic perceptions, such as the last day, or Koranic figures such as Jesus and Mary, are linked to Jerusalem through commentaries on the Koran or the *ḥadīṭ* literature, which is the main source of most religious trends in early Islam. I. Goldziher, a century ago, demonstrated the connection of *ḥadīṭ* to Christian sources, including the New Testament<sup>11</sup>. In fact, we find allusions to

<sup>7</sup> Cf. J.W. HIRSCHBERG, "The Sources of Muslim Traditions Concerning Jerusalem", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951-1952), pp. 314-350.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. notes 42-43.

<sup>9</sup> Following the acceptance of the *ḥadīṭ* "you shall only set out for three mosques: the Sacred Mosque (in Mecca), my mosque (in Medina), and al-Aqṣā mosque"; see in detail, KISTER, *The Three Mosques* (above, note 3).

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., HIRSCHBERG (above, note 7); LIVNE-KAFRI, *Navel* (above, note 3); or ELAD, *Medieval Jerusalem* (above, note 3), index.

<sup>11</sup> GOLDZIHHER, *Muslim Studies* (above, note 4), pp. 346-362; see, e.g., the opening lines: "The fact that Islam regarded Christianity as a religion from which something could be learnt, and did not disdain to borrow from it, is acknowledged by the Muslim theologians themselves, and the early elements of *ḥadīṭ* literature offer us a great wealth of examples which show how readily the founders of Islam borrowed from Christianity. We do not here allude to those vague borrowings which in the earliest times of Islam, through verbal communications with Christian monks [cf. LIVNE-KAFRI, *Early Muslim Ascetics* (above, note 3), pp. 107-108: 'the famous ascetic from Baṣra, Mālik b. Dinār (d. circa 748/9), related that he met a monk on a mountain and consulted with him regarding a certain question of asceticism. The same Mālik described how he entered a monastery in order to borrow a book from their collection'] or half-educated converts, helped in build-

victory over the *dağğāl* in Jerusalem. He will first appear in the mosque of Damascus, where the Muslims, Christians, and Jews have gathered, each group hoping to have Jesus for itself. A lottery by means of arrows will decide in favour of the Muslims<sup>22</sup>. An anti-Christian trend is evinced in the representation of Jesus as son of Mary<sup>23</sup>, a well-known element in the Muslim-Christian polemics<sup>24</sup>. Jesus even appears as breaking the symbols of Christianity<sup>25</sup>. In our tradition this antagonism is shown by the different calls to prayer among the groups, an obvious daily "confrontation". The victory in the lottery of the Muslim muezzin over the Jewish blower of the horn (*shophar*) and *ṣāhib nāqūs al-naṣārā* (he who strikes the *nāqūs* of the Christians)<sup>26</sup> calls to mind an interesting story. Whenever Khalīd b. Sa'īd heard in Jerusalem the *nāqūs* being struck to call the Christians for prayer, he went to pray (probably out of protest), on "the rock which is north to the *ṣahra*"<sup>27</sup>. Similarly Mālik b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaṭ-'amī started praying whenever he heard the sound of the *nāqūs* in any city<sup>28</sup>.

#### REFLECTIONS OF CHRISTIAN ANTI-JEWISH ATTITUDES

Christian polemics against Judaism served as a precedent in the development of a certain (though rare) Muslim attitude to Jerusalem<sup>29</sup>.

Cf. Y. EVEN SHMUEL, *Midreshei Geula* (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 79, 96. An interesting fact is that neither of the terms *mahdī* (the Messiah) and *al-Dağğāl* appears in the Koran.

<sup>22</sup> IBN AL-MURAGĠĠĀ (above, note 3), pp. 217-218, no. 318.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219, no. 320.

<sup>24</sup> The inscriptions carved on the walls of the Dome of the Rock also expressed polemics against the deification of Jesus (above, note 20). Cf. our note 97.

<sup>25</sup> H. LAZARUS-YAFEH, "On the Messianic Idea in Islam", in *Messianism and Eschatology*, ed. Z. Baras (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 173 (in Hebrew).

<sup>26</sup> The *nāqūs* (pl. *nawāqīs*) is a kind of metal or wood board that is struck to call for prayer (in the eastern church); see D. AYALON and P. SHIN'AR, *An Arabic-Hebrew Dictionary* (Jerusalem, 1965), p. 383.

<sup>27</sup> ABŪ NU'AYM AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ, *Ḥilyat al-Awliā'* (Cairo), vol. 6, p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* On the attitude of the famous scholar and ascetic Sufyān al-Thawrī (see M. PLESSNER, "Sufyān al-Thawrī", *ET*, vol. 4 [1934], pp. 500-502) to the *nāqūs* see IBN QUTAYBA, *Uyūn al-Aḥbār* (Cairo, 1925), vol. 1, pp. 140, 198.

<sup>29</sup> J. PRAWER, "Christianity between Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem", *Jerusalem*

## CONTINUITY AND ANTAGONISM

The origins of the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam were a subject of debate among modern scholars. S.D. Goitein in more than one article argued, contrary to Goldziher, that the roots of the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam lie in religious motives and they are not connected to political interests. He maintained that an important reason for the erection of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (built by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in 792) was rivalry with the splendour of the Christians churches, which might have made a great impression on the second generation of the Muslims<sup>19</sup>. The many anti-Christian inscriptions in the Dome supported that theory<sup>20</sup>. Goitein argued also that Muslim ascetic circles were involved in the traditions in Praise of Jerusalem, and he raised the possibility that they had connections with Christian monks and hermits. Indeed, continuity and contrast, dependence and alienation, sympathy and dislike are obvious features in our materials. Sometimes there appears a reflection of Christian attitudes to Judaism, or antagonism of both Islam and Christianity to Judaism arises. Hostility to the Byzantine Christian empire, a bitter enemy of the Muslim empire, is also reflected in the traditions.

REFLECTION OF RIVALRY  
IN TERMS OF "DAILY CONFRONTATION"

One example lies in the legend of the *dağğāl* (the anti-Christ of the Muslim tradition), which itself is influenced by the Christian tradition<sup>21</sup>. In one tradition 'Īsā (Jesus) as the Muslim messiah will win a

<sup>18</sup> Like the role of Umayyad caliphs in extolling the status of the Holy Land, Jerusalem, and the Rock; see, e.g., LIVNE-KAFRI, *Some Notes on the Muslim Apocalyptic Traditions* (above, note 13), p. 83. In fact any sharp division of these groups is somewhat artificial, since close connection sometimes existed among the circles involved (cf. *ibid.*, p. 90).

<sup>19</sup> S.D. GOITEIN, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine", in his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 138-139, 147 (for the first version [in Hebrew] see above, note 15).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. HASSON, *Muslim View of Jerusalem* (above, note 3), p. 357, note 32.

<sup>21</sup> See A. ABEL, "al-Dağğāl", *EP*, vol. 2 (1987), p. 75. The source of the name is from the Syriac (*mshihā daggālā*). On the basic development of such a conception related to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, see D. H. HALPERIN, "The Ibn Sayyād Traditions and the Legend of *al-Dajjāl*", *JAOS* 16 (1976), pp. 213-225.



Yazīd b. Maysara was a preacher (*wā'iz*), ascetic (*zāhid*), and of deep spiritual insight (*ʿarif*). It seems that in the Muslim context, the tradition related by him falls within a certain trend of Islamic asceticism and Sufism: to prefer the "duties of the heart" and inner contemplation to worship in specific sanctuaries. This attitude is probably connected to a similar trend in Christianity ("The Palace of Heaven is opened from Jerusalem as it is opened in Britain, because the Kingdom of Heaven exists inside us")<sup>34</sup>. Such a trend is of very early origin in Muslim asceticism. A tradition on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Hubayra<sup>35</sup> said: "Abū al-Dardā' (died 32 A.H.; an ascetic who was a judge in Damascus)<sup>36</sup> wrote to Salmān al-Fārisī<sup>37</sup> to come to the Holy Land (*al-ard al-muqaddasa*) and to the land of *Ġihād*, and he wrote to him (in reply) that the land does not sanctify anybody, but a man is sanctified by his own deeds..."<sup>38</sup>

Such an attitude appears later, for example, in the Sufi poetry of Yūnūs Emre (d. 1321 A.D.):

"When you seek God, seek him in your heart –  
He is not in Jerusalem, nor in Mecca, nor in the *ḥaḡḡ*..."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> PRAWER, *Jerusalem* (above, note 29), p. 54; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 55-56, 60; G. STROUMSA, "Which Jerusalem?" *Cathedra* 11 (1979), p. 122 (in Hebrew).

<sup>35</sup> Died in 127 A.H. See IBN S'AD, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, (Leiden, 1904-1940), vol. 7, part 2, p. 201; al-BUHARĪ, *al-Tarīḥ al-Kabīr* (above, note 32), vol. 5, p. 222; IBN ABĪ ḤĀTIM AL-RĀZĪ, *Kitāb al-Ġarḥ wa-l-Ta'dīl* (Hyderabad, 1371-1373), vol. 2, part 2, p. 194.

<sup>36</sup> On him see A. JEFFERY, "Abū al-Dardā'", *EP*, vol. 1 (1960), pp. 113-114.

<sup>37</sup> Died in 36 A.H. See G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Salmān al-Fārisī", *EP*, vol. 4 (1934), pp. 116-117.

<sup>38</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 180, no. 253; cf. MĀLIK B. ANAS, *al-Muwṭṭa'*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Cairo, 1951), vol. 2, p. 769; ABŪ NU'AYM AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ, *Ḥilyat al-Awliā'* (above, note 27), vol. 1, p. 205; IBN 'ASĀKIR, *Ta'riḥ Madīnat Dimasq*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaḡḡid (Damascus, 1951), vol. 1, p. 139; *Faḏā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Šām* (anon.), MS Cambridge Qq 91/2, f. 139/a; AL-ŠA'RĀNĪ, *Lawāqīḥ al-Anwār* (Cairo, 1961), pp. 512-513; MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR AL-HINDĪ, *Taḏkirat al-Mawḏū'āt* (Cairo 1343), p. 218; IBN AL-DAYBA', *Tamyīz al-Ṭayyib* (Cairo 1347), p. 17; AL-ĠARRĀHĪ, *Kašf al-Ḥafā' wa-Muzīl al-Ibbās* (Cairo 1351-1352), vol. 1, p. 116, no. 321. This *ḥadīṭ* could also be included in a large body of traditions concerning the sanctity of Syria and Palestine and the struggle against Byzantium. While these traditions sometimes display a distinctly Umayyad spirit, their religious significance should not be overlooked.

<sup>39</sup> A. SCHIMMEL, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapell Hill, 1975), p. 106.

Christ's prophecy on the destruction of the Temple, in which there "shall not be left one stone upon another" (Matthew 24:2; Mark 13:2; Luke 21:6) was a cornerstone in the Christian conception of Jerusalem; it reappeared through the ages as "a proof to the truth of Christianity understood as the negation of Judaism"<sup>30</sup>, of which the most outstanding example is the destruction of the Jewish Temple and the ruins of the Jewish city<sup>31</sup>. This New Testament passage appears in a Muslim tradition, recorded on the authority of Yazīd b. Maysara, without mentioning the source: "The Apostles said to Christ: O Messiah of God! Look at the House of God, how beautiful it is! He said: Amen, Amen, I tell you the truth, God will not leave from this Mosque one stone upon another and it will be destroyed because of the sins committed by its people. Verily, God is not pleased by gold, nor by silver, nor by these stones that excite your wonder. God is more pleased with the sound hearts through which God, may He be exalted, keeps the land prosperous, or ruins it if they are not..."<sup>32</sup> The other part of the Muslim tradition might hint at the view according to which Christianity is freed from the yoke of the "law" of the Old Testament, an important part of which was the cult of the Jewish Temple. Another tradition relates that the Jews were exiled because of their sins: God abandoned the laws of the Torah and the Sons of Israel were scattered to the extremes of the Earth...<sup>33</sup>.

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*Through the Ages, The Twenty-fifth Archaeological Convention October 1967* (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 179-192 (henceforth: PRAWER); IDEM, "Jerusalem in Jewish and Christian Thought of the Early Middle Ages", *Cathedra*, 17 (1980), pp. 40-72 (henceforth: PRAWER, *Jerusalem*); A. LINDER, "Jerusalem as a Focal Point in the Conflict between Judaism and Christianity", *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 5-26 (henceforth: LINDER); IDEM, "Jerusalem between Judaism and Christianity in the Byzantine Period", *Cathedra*, 11 (1979), pp. 110-119 (henceforth: LINDER, *Jerusalem*; all in Hebrew).

<sup>30</sup> PRAWER (above, note 29), p. 180.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. PRAWER, *Jerusalem* (above, note 29), pp. 47, 55, 62; LINDER (above, note 29), pp. 9-10.

<sup>32</sup> IBN AL-MURAĠĠĠĀ (above, note 3), 230, no. 340; cf. ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-WĀSITĪ, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 60, no. 95. Yazīd b. Maysara was a traditionalist who lived between the first and the second centuries A.H. For further information about him see MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ'IL AL-BUḤĀRĪ, *al-Ta'riḥ al-Kabīr* (Hyderabad, 1360-1364), vol. 8, p. 35; AL-ḌAHABĪ, *Tariḥ al-Islām* (Cairo, 1367-1369), vol. 5, p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> IBN AL-MURAĠĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 31.

father<sup>45</sup>. The "boiling blood" motif appears also in connection with Šī'ite martyrdom. A tradition on the authority of al-Zuhrī says that when al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was murdered, not a stone was upturned in Jerusalem without fresh blood being found beneath it<sup>46</sup>. The Muslim tradition here draws a parallel between the figure of al-Ḥusayn and that of John the Baptist<sup>47</sup>, so that the image of "Jerusalem murdering its prophets" is transferred to the Umayyad city killing the saints of the Šī'a. According to another tradition, blood also appeared in Jerusalem on the day when 'Alī, al-Ḥusayn's father, was killed. The fear of the Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, that such a tradition would spread is expressed in this *ḥadīth*<sup>48</sup>. On this matter we can adduce a citation "from the Torah" to the effect that "Jerusalem is a cup of gold filled with scorpions"<sup>49</sup>. An accompanying comment states: "And the meaning of scorpions (God knows best) is the Sons of Israel who were disobedient, and this nation [the Muslims] has nothing to do with it, because He said, 'filled with scorpions', and the clear utterance proves that they were there at that time, and if he had meant people belonging to this nation [the Muslims] he would have said, 'I will fill it with scorpions' in the future tense"<sup>50</sup>. The impres-

<sup>45</sup> Cf. H. SCHWARTZBAUM, "The Destruction of the Temple in Islamic Tradition", in *The Adam-Noah Braun Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem, 1969; in Hebrew), pp. 439-463, especially p. 441, note 9; LIMOR (above, note 43), p. 118; *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, s.v. "Zacharias"; "John the Baptist"; G. LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), p. 111.

<sup>46</sup> IBN AL-MURAĞĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 170, no. 235; *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, anon. (above, note 38), f. 84b; AL-WĀSIṬĪ (above, note 32), p. 55, no. 83.

<sup>47</sup> U. RUBIN, "Muḥammad the Prophet in the Early Literature of Ḥadīth", Ph.D. dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 1976, p. 130 (in Hebrew). Cf. AL-IṢṬAḤRĪ, *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, BGA (Leiden 1929), p. 60; IBN ḤAWQAL, *Kitāb Šurāt al-Ard*, BGA (Leiden 1938), p. 175, on the display of the heads of John the Baptist and al-Ḥusayn at the gate of Ġairūn in Damascus.

<sup>48</sup> IBN AL-MURAĞĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 170, no. 234. 'Abd al-Malik's fear is emphasized in AL-ḤĀKIM AL-NAYSABURĪ, *al-Mustadrak* (Hyderabad, 1334-1342), vol. 3, p. 113; AL-WĀSIṬĪ (above, note 32), no. 83, editor's note no. 4.

<sup>49</sup> AL-WĀSIṬĪ, *ibid.*, no. 93.

<sup>50</sup> IBN AL-MURAĞĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 231, no. 341. Cf. IBN AL-DAYBA', *Tam-yiz al-Ṭayyib* (above, note 38), p. 52; AL-ĠARRĀHĪ, *Kašf al-Ḥafā'* (above, note 38), vol. 1, p. 291; al-SAHĀWĪ, *al-I'lān* (Damascus, 1349), p. 137; AL-QĀRĪ, *al-Mašnū' fī Ma'rīfat al-ḥadīth al-Mawḍū'* (Ḥalab, 1969), p. 50. al-Muqaddasī adds to this tradition the defects of Jerusalem in his time: AL-MUQADDASĪ, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rīfat al-Aqālīm*, BGA (Leiden, 1906), p. 167.

This is in fact only one aspect, because Jerusalem, like Mecca, played a very important part for ascetics and mystics<sup>40</sup>.

Another Christian attitude to Jerusalem, namely antagonism to the Jewish City, reproached with “murdering the prophets”<sup>41</sup>, is also reflected in Muslim tradition. According to one account<sup>42</sup>, the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius said that the dunghill on Temple Mount had been erected by the Christians “out of antagonism to the Jews...”. Heraclius told his men that those who erected that dunghill should be put to death on that same dunghill (for desecrating the holy place); in the same manner it was told that the Sons of Israel were killed because of the blood of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā<sup>43</sup>. The murder of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā’ is also mentioned in the story of Jerusalem’s conquest by Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed the first Temple. The massacre ceased only when the boiling blood of Yaḥyā was removed from the city<sup>44</sup>. Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā’ is identified with John the Baptist, and the Muslim legend identifies him here probably with Zachariah, son of Berekiah, who was slain between the Temple and the altar (Matthew 23: 35; Luke 11: 51), and with Zechariah son of Jehoiada (Chronicles 2: 24,17-22) through association with the name of John the Baptist’s

<sup>40</sup> Cf. GOITEIN, *The Sanctity of Palestine in Muslim Piety* (above, note 15) and our chapter “Asceticism”.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. PRAWER (above, note 29), p. 54. The “persecution of prophets and messengers” is also a well known theme in the Koran!

<sup>42</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), pp. 51-52, no. 38; cf. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SURŪR AL-MAQDISĪ, *Kitāb Muṭīr al-Ġarām bi-Faqā’il al-Quds wa-l-Šām*, MS Paris 1667, f. 38/a-39/a. This dunghill symbolized the humiliation of the national and religious Jewish existence; see PRAWER, *Jerusalem* (above, note 29), p. 51.

<sup>43</sup> According to the tradition, Heraclius ordered his people to cleanse the dunghill, but this task was accomplished only when ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb conquered the city. Another tradition (IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ, [above, note 3], p. 168, n. 231) relates that Heraclius walked from Ḥimṣ to Jerusalem, praising God for his victory over the Persians. This subject is included in a discussion on the legal position of Muslims who vowed to go to Jerusalem on foot. Note that the description of ‘Umar’s entrance into Jerusalem (IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ, *ibid.*, pp. 49-50, no. 36) might be connected to a Christian description of Heraclius’ entrance into Jerusalem; see O. LIMOR, *Christian Traditions Concerning the Mount of Olives in the Byzantine and Arabic Period*, MA thesis [in Hebrew],<sup>2</sup>The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1978, pp. 59-60, who cites a Christian author of the ninth century A.D.

<sup>44</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), pp. 28-29, no. 20.

faith<sup>53</sup>. An anti-Christian attitude is reflected in a Koranic interpretation<sup>54</sup> according to which the Christians are guilty of helping Nebuchadnezzar<sup>55</sup> to destroy the Temple, and this was the reason for their disgrace under Muslim rule<sup>56</sup>. The struggle against the Byzantines led to an interpretation holding that those Christians were the Byzantines (*al-rūm*) and that their disgrace in this world (Su. 2:114) will be the conquest of Constantinople in the time of the *Mahdī*, the Muslim Messiah<sup>57</sup>. In the name of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, a kind of "new covenant" with the nation of Muḥammad is spoken of:

"This House (*bayt al-maqdis*) complained before God, may He be exalted, about the destruction and God revealed Himself saying: I manifest to you a new Torah, which means the Koran, and new inhabitants, which

<sup>53</sup> Cf. LIVNE-KAFRI, *Some notes on the Muslim Apocalyptic Traditions* (above, note 13), pp. 80-82.

<sup>54</sup> IBN AL-MURAĞĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 40, no. 30 (for Su. 2:114 and Su. 9:29).

<sup>55</sup> Nebuchadnezzar is described according to a tradition, *ibid.*, p. 36, no. 26; cf. ABŪ NU'AYM AL-İSBAHĀNĪ, *Hilyat al-Awliā'* (above, note 27), vol. 4, p. 64 as calling for belief in the unity of God (*Tawḥīd*): "... Wahn [a convert from Southern Arabia who introduced a vast amount of Jewish and Christian materials into Islam; d. 101 A.H. See J. HOROVITZ, "Wahn b. Munabbih", *EP*, vol. 4 (1934), pp. 1084-1085] was asked: Did he die as a believer? He said: I found that the People of the Book disagreed about him. Some said that he believed before he died, and some said: He killed the prophets, burnt the Books and destroyed the Temple, and that his repentance was not accepted..." An attempt to rehabilitate him, since he was an instrument in the hands of God, is also connected with a Jewish conception (see SCHWARTZBAUM [above, note 45], p. 451, note 37); but maybe we can trace here a Christian trend, similar to the attitude to Hadrian, Vespasian, and Titus (LINDER [above, note 29], pp. 8-10; PRAWER, *Jerusalem* [above, note 29], p. 62). For a set of legends about Nebuchadnezzar and Vespasian see SCHWARTZBAUM, pp. 443-444.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. MUĞİR AL-DĪN AL-ḤANBALĪ, *Kitāb al-Uns al-Ġalīl bi-Ta'riḥ al-Quds wa-l-Ḥalīl* (Cairo, 1283 AH), vol. 1, p. 136; MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-KANĠĪ, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-Faḍl al-Ṣalāt fihā*, MS Tübingen 26, f. 94a.

<sup>57</sup> ĠALĀL AL-DĪN AL-SUYŪṬĪ, "al-'Urf al-Wardī fī Aḥbār al-Mahdī", in *al-Hawī li-l-Fatāwā*, (Cairo, 1351), vol. 2, p. 213. Cf. MUQĀṬIL B. SULAYMĀN, *Tafsīr*, MS Saray Ahmad III, no. 74, vol. 1, f. 20/a; MUḤAMMAD B. ĠARİR AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ġāmi' al-Bayān* (Cairo, 1954), vol. 1, p. 497; AL-BAYDĀWĪ, *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Ta'wīl* (Leipzig, 1846-1878), vol. 1, p. 80; AL-ṬABARĪ, *Maġma' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1954-1957), vol. 1, 428. For another tradition predicting the destruction of Constantinople because it rejoiced at the destruction of *Bayt al-Maqdis* see IBN AL-MURAĞĠĠĀ (above, note 3), pp. 231-232, no. 342; cf. MUḤAMMAD B. ĠARİR AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ta'riḥ al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk* (Leiden, 1879-1901), vol. 5, p. 2409.

sion is that the Jewish image of Babylon ("Babylon was a golden cup in Yahweh's hand..." (Jeremiah 51: 7) had been transferred to Jerusalem with an anti-Jewish twist<sup>51</sup>. On the other hand many traditions concerning the Jewish Temple are included in Arabic writings, some of which preserve memories of the Jewish anguish at the destruction of the Temple and expectations of its rebuilding<sup>52</sup>. Such traditions are sometimes associated with Jewish converts to Islam, like Ka'b al-Aḥbār, who tried to preserve their own inheritance within their new

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Rabbi J.L. MAYMON, "Jerusalem in the Talmud and the Midrash" in *Yerushalaim 'Ir Hakodēsh ve-Hamikdash* (Jerusalem, 1977), p. 21 (in Hebrew) without a reference: "Jerusalem is called a cup because the nations will drink from it a cup of calamities"; cf. Jeremiah 51:7, the end of verse 25:15 and Obadiah 1:16. See also the description in Revelation 14: 8; 17:2; 18:3-6.

<sup>52</sup> Some traditions connect the rebuilding of the Temple with the rise of Islam, and this may be an echo of eschatological tension in circles of Jewish converts. Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845) quoted the following tradition on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī, a man of Jewish origin (see AL-BUḤARĪ, *al-Tarīḥ al-Kabīr* [above, note 32], vol. 1, p. 216; AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ, *Ḥilyat al-Awliā'* [above, note 27], vol. 3, p. 212; AL-ḌAHABĪ, *Tarīḥ al-Islām* [above, note 32], vol. 4, p. 199; IBN ABĪ ḤĀTIM AL-RĀZĪ, *al-Ġarḥ wa-l-Ta'dūl* [above, note 35], vol. 4, part 1, p. 67): "God revealed Himself to Jacob and said: I shall send from your descendants kings and prophets, till I send the Prophet of the *ḥaram* that his nation will build the Temple (*ḥaykal*) of Jerusalem and he is the seal of the prophets and his name is Aḥmad" (IBN S'AD, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* [above, note 35], vol. 1, part 1, p. 107). A very interesting tradition concerns the erection of the Dome of the Rock by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. It relates that Ka'b al-Aḥbār "found in one of the books: Rejoice, Jerusalem [*Īrūṣalāim*; the addition is taken from NĀSĪR AL-DĪN AL-ḤANAFĪ, *Kitāb al-Mustaṣṣā fī Faqā'il al-Masḡid al-Aqṣā*, MS Escorial, no. 1767, f. 28b] that is to say *bayt al-maḡdis* and the Rock (*al-Ṣaḥra*) and it is called the Temple (*al-ḥaykal*). I will send you my servant 'Abd al-Malik and he will build you and embellish you, and I shall restore *bayt al-maḡdis* to its former sovereignty (*mulk*) and I shall crown it with gold and silver and pearls, and I shall send to you my people, and I shall place my Throne on the Rock, and I am God, the Lord, and David is the king of the Sons of Israel..." (IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ [above, note 3], pp. 63-64, no. 50; AL-WĀSIṬĪ [above, note 32], no. 138; AL-ḤANAFĪ [this note], f. 28a). Here appears a very obvious expression of the wishes of Jews who link the reconstruction of the Temple to a renewal of worldly rule. The Temple is identified with the Dome of the Rock, a new Temple; 'Abd al-Malik is executing a divine command (cf. LINDER [above, note 29], p. 8, discussing Constantine the Great in Greek and Eastern liturgy in the form of the figures of David and Solomon, the builders of biblical Jerusalem; see also PRAWER, *Jerusalem* [above, note 29], p. 49). The end of the tradition brings us to an important element in Jewish eschatology: the "House of David". Cf. note 80.

tion on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih<sup>60</sup> (in paraphrase), "Oracles on the Arabs", Isaiah 21:13-15 is interpreted as the victory of Muḥammad in the battle of Badr. The commentator continues with an explanation of Isaiah 35: 6-9 ("... for water gushes in the desert, streams in the wasteland"), saying that it is a prophecy of safety on the routes of the *ḥaġġ*. He then returns to verse 2 ("The glory of Lebanon is bestowed on it, the splendour of Carmel and Sharon"), claiming that Carmel and Lebanon are Syria and Jerusalem: "... it means, I shall give the honour that was there, through revelation and the appearance of the prophets, to the desert and to the Prophet (Muḥammad), may peace be upon him..."<sup>61</sup>. Later on he says in relation to Isaiah 60:11 ("And your gates lie open by day or by night"): "And they will take you as a *qibla* (direction of prayer) and you will be called afterwards the City of God" (cf. Isaiah 60:14 "They will call you City of God, Zion, the Holy One of Israel"). In another source<sup>62</sup>, a prophecy is quoted to the effect that God will cause the appearance of a praiseworthy Crown (*iklīl maḥmūd*) in Zion. The interpretation is this: "The crown means authority, and praiseworthy (*maḥmūd*) means Muḥammad...". In a commentary on Isaiah 28:16 ("That is why the Lord Yahweh says this: See how I lay in Zion a stone of witness, a precious cornerstone..."), Zion, "the city of God", is Mecca, and the stone is the Black Stone of the Ka'ba<sup>63</sup>.

#### LITERARY FORMS AND IMAGES

In addition to the original influence of the language and style of Classical Arabic, especially of the Koran, and the original contribution of Islam, our materials also reflect the language, style, literary forms, and images derived from Jewish and Christian sources gener-

<sup>60</sup> IBN AL-MURAĠĠĀ (above note 3), p. 32, no. 21. On Wahb b. Munabbih see our note 55.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ (above, note 59), vol. 1, p. 71.

<sup>62</sup> AL-ĀMILĪ, *Iṭbāt* (above, note 59), vol. 1, p. 399.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ (above, note 59), p. 69. Cf. AL-IṢṬAḤRĪ, *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* (above, note 47), p. 58 on Nablus as Jerusalem, according to the Samaritan conception; on Zion in Byzantium see YAQŪṬ, *Mu'ġam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1975), p. 436. This section is likewise based chiefly on my article "A Note on Some Traditions of Faḏā'il al-Quds" (above, note 3).

means the nation of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. They will hover towards you like the hovering of the eagle, and they will long for you as the dove longs for its eggs and they enter you prostrating and bowing..."<sup>58</sup>

#### BIBLE'S EXEGESIS

Many traditions in Praise of Jerusalem are connected to Jewish sources, including passages from the Torah, especially as regards the Rock, which became a focus of the absorption of ancient legends. According to a certain type of interpretation of Jewish Scriptures, sometimes in the spirit of Christian *typologia*, Jerusalem in the prophecy of Isaiah turns out to be Mecca, the cradle of Islam<sup>59</sup>. In a tradi-

<sup>58</sup> IBN AL-MURAGĠĠĀ (above, note 3), pp. 153-154, no. 195; MUĠĪR AL-DĪN AL-ḤANBALĪ, *Kitāb al-Uns al-Ġalīl* (above, note 56), vol. 1, pp. 203-204; MUṢṬAFĀ AS'AD AL-LUQAYMI, *Laiā'if al-Uns al-Ġalīl bi-Taḥā'if al-Quds wa-l-Ḥalīl*, MS The Hebrew University, Yahuda 807, f. 5a; IBRĀHĪM B. YAḤYĀ AL-MIKNĀSĪ, *Kitāb fīhi Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-Faḍā'il al-Šām*, MS Tübingen 25, f. 20b-21a; words of consolation to Jerusalem and the ruined Temple are also found in IBN AL-MURAGĠĠĀ (this note), pp. 154-155, no. 196-198. This section (Reflections of Christian anti-Jewish attitudes) is largely based on my article "A Note on Some Traditions of Faḍā'il al-Quds" (above, note 3).

<sup>59</sup> The advent of Muḥammad and Islam is announced by interpretation of biblical passages: "It was Isaiah who rejoiced while announcing the appearance of the Prophet [Muḥammad] and that of Jesus..." (IBN AL-MURAGĠĠĀ, *ibid.*, p. 30); cf. MUQĀTIL B. SULAYMĀN, *Tafsīr* (above, note 57), vol. 1, f. 6b; IBN QUTAYBA, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (Cairo, 1934), p. 23; IBN ḤANBAL, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313), vol. 1, p. 461; 'ALĪ B. BURHĀN AL-DĪN AL-ḤALABĪ, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya* (Cairo, 1320), vol. I, p. 202; MUḤAMMAD B. ĠARĪR AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ta'riḥ al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk* (above, note 57), vol. 2, p. 638; IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, *al-Wafā bi-Ahwāl al-Muṣṭafā* (Cairo, 1969), vol. 1, p.36 ff.; IBN ḤALIKĀN, *Kitāb Taġ al-Ma'ārif*, MS Biblioteca Ricardiana 206, f. 6b. A commentary on Deuteronomy 33:2 runs, "Is it not to be found in the Torah that Allāh came from Mount Sinai and shone from the mountains of Sha'būn (?) and obtained light from the mountains of Fārān? ... And what he said (i.e. that Allāh came from Mount Sinai) means that Allāh spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai (and shone from the mountains of Sha'būn) means, from the mountains of Jerusalem, it means... the Messiah, (and obtained light from the mountains of Fārān) through Muḥammad..." (IBN AL-MURAGĠĠĀ (this note), p. 266, no. 402); cf. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-'ĀMILĪ, *Iḥbāt al-Hudāh bi-l-Nuṣūṣ wa-l-Mu'ġizāt* (Qumm, no date), vol. 1, pp. 398-399; IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ (this note), vol. 1, p. 62; M. PERLMANN, "Polemics Between Islam and Judaism", in *Religion in a Religious Age*, ed. S.D. Goitein (Cambridge 1974, p. 114) adduces a similar interpretation from Ibn Hazm's writings. I am indebted to Prof. H. Ben Shammai for the last reference.



b. Heavenly Jerusalem and the bridal metaphor. Some Muslim traditions speak of a heavenly Jerusalem, of which the most important element is a heavenly Temple oriented to the earthly one. The origin of this idea is most probably Jewish and it is also connected to the idea of a heavenly shrine facing the Ka'ba in Mecca<sup>71</sup>.

Some of these traditions speak of precious stones in the Jerusalem to Come<sup>72</sup>, and it seems, at least partly, that there is a connection to the New Testament Revelation. One of these traditions expresses the idea that the hour of resurrection will not come until seven walls of precious stones, gold, silver, clouds, and light are set around Jerusalem<sup>73</sup>. According to another tradition,

“Allāh, may He be exalted, will send four winds from the sea in the direction of Jerusalem. They will uncover every stone and building and they will purify them from all the damages of men. Then he will build around it seven walls: a wall of light, upon which are the angels of holiness, and a wall of clouds, and a wall of topaz, and a wall of sapphires, and a wall of pearls, and a wall of silver, and a wall of gold. It will be like a lamp. The religion at that time will be the religion of truth; truth will appear and Jesus son of Mary and the believers in him from this nation [i.e., the Muslims] will be the ones who will manifest the true religion, and he will be then in Jerusalem...”<sup>74</sup>.

Or:

“Allāh said to Jerusalem: Days and nights will not pass until I will send down on you a dome from heaven, that I shall build with my own hands, and the angels will carry it. It will shine on you as the light of the sun and no human being will enter to it... and I will place around you a wall and a fence of clouds and five walls of topaz and sapphires and pearls and gold and

KAFRI, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 3), pp. 183-184.

<sup>71</sup> LIVNE-KAFRI, *Navel* (above, note 3), pp. 97-98.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. A. APTOWIZER, “Heavenly Temple according to the Aggadah”, *Tarbiz* 2 (1941), pp. 270 ff.; E.U. URBACH, “Heavenly Jerusalem and Earthly Jerusalem”, *Yerushalaim le-Doroteha* (Jerusalem, 1969), pp. 169-171 (both in Hebrew).

<sup>73</sup> IBN AL-MURAĞĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 208, no. 299; cf. AL-MAQDISĪ, *Muḥir al-Ġarām* (above, note 42), f. 72a; MUĠĪR AL-DĪN (above, note 56), p. 213; see also IBN AL-FAQĪH AL-HAMADĀNĪ, *Muḥtāṣar Kitāb al-Buldān* (Lien, 1885), p. 97, line 11.

<sup>74</sup> IBN AL-MURAĞĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 210, no. 304; cf. HIRSCHBERG (above, note 7), p. 327.

ally adapted to the value system of Islam. Not always is the identification certain, as in the following examples.

a. According to a tradition connected with Maymūna, the wife of Muḥammad, a certain woman was ill and she vowed to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem if she recovered. When she did recover she prepared provisions for the journey and went to Maymūna. The latter advised her to stay in Medina, to consume her provisions there, and fulfil her vow by praying in the mosque of Medina. Maymūna quoted the utterance of the Prophet that a prayer in that mosque was better than a thousand prayers in any other mosque except that of the Ka'ba<sup>64</sup>. This tradition is a part of a large body of traditions, quoted by Kister, regarding the controversy among religious scholars over Muslim holy places<sup>65</sup>. Other Muslim traditions also recommend conceding a religious visit to Jerusalem and praying somewhere else, such as in Mecca, Medina, or Damascus<sup>66</sup>. A similar stereotype appears in Byzantine literature. Daniel the Stylite, on his way to Jerusalem, was convinced by an old man not to go there but to the second Jerusalem (Constantinople), or to a desolate place in Thrace or the Pontus<sup>67</sup>. P. Brown sees in this anecdote a transfer of sanctity, in which the holiness associated with Jerusalem is transferred to the "ruling city", the political centre, namely Constantinople<sup>68</sup>. The Muslim traditions confirming the value of prayers at different holy sites, and the preference given to them, may also be seen as a parallel to the Christian tradition of likening pilgrimages to a monastery to visits to Jerusalem<sup>69</sup>. Though the parallelism is not certain, in the framework of other Byzantine ideas and customs reflected in the Muslim traditions of Jerusalem, it seems not improbable<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> KISTER, *The Three Mosques* (above, note 3), p. 181; IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 88, no. 79 and editor's references.

<sup>65</sup> Important examples are Damascus (the Umayyads' capital) and al-Kūfa, holy city for the Šī'ites (cf. KISTER, *ibid.*, pp. 188-190).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181, 189.

<sup>67</sup> STROUMSA, *Which Jerusalem* (above, note 34), pp. 122-123.

<sup>68</sup> P. BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London, 1971), p. 141.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. also A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 197, Subsidiā Tomus 17), Louvain, 1960, p. 319.

<sup>70</sup> For the possible adoption of some Byzantine patterns of customs see LIVNE-

al-Aḥbār mentioned earlier, the caliph “Abd al-Malik will build Jerusalem (*Īrūsālāyim*) which is Bayt al-Maqdis and the Rock which is called *al-haykal* [*hekhal* in Hebrew: the Temple; literally: a palace] with gold, silver and pearls...”<sup>80</sup> The “bride motif”, that appears in Revelation (“I saw the Holy City, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready like a bride adorned for her husband”)<sup>81</sup> features differently in the Muslim traditions. According to one, which carries an obvious Jewish character (such as in the phrase “I shall not forget you until I shall forget my right hand”; cf. Psalms 137:5), Allāh says to the Rock: “... Days and nights will not pass unless each Mosque, in which the name of Allāh was mentioned, gathers to you. They will surround you just as the riders surround the bride when she is carried to the house of her family...”<sup>82</sup>. This image is reserved for the Ka‘ba, which on the Day of Resurrection will be conducted to Jerusalem as a bride is conducted to her husband, and it will intercede for the people who performed a pilgrimage to it<sup>83</sup>. One tradition tells that the Ka‘ba will visit Jerusalem on the Day of Judgment, and then both of them will be conducted to heaven with their

AL-KANĠĪ (this note), f. 72a; AL-MAQDISĪ, *Muṭīr al-Ġarām* (above, note 42), f. 70a; ABŪ FAḌL ALLĀH AL-‘UMARĪ, *Masālik al-Aḥsār fī Mamālik al-Aḥsār* (Cairo, 1342), p. 138; MUĠĪR AL-DĪN (above, note 56), p. 209; IBN AL-MURAGĠĀ (this note), p. 104, no. 109. On the Black Stone, which is a precious stone from Paradise see H. LAZARUS-YAFEH, “The religious Problematics of Islamic Pilgrimage”, *The Proceedings of the Israeli Academy of Sciences*, vol. 5, no. 11 (1976), p. 233 (in Hebrew); on the spread of Jerusalem see URBACH (above, note 72), p. 159.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. note 52. This tradition has a very evident Jewish hue. Goitein connects the issue of the precious stones to Jewish sources, speaking of the external cover of the walls of the Dome of the Rock in mosaics and precious stones. See S.D. GOITEIN, “Jerusalem during the Arab Period”, *Jerusalem Researches of Eretz Israel* 4 (1953), p. 89 (in Hebrew); cf. above, note 52.

<sup>81</sup> Revelation 21:2. According to Werblowski, obvious evidence on heavenly Jerusalem as a bride (or a mother) is not found in ancient Jewish sources, but he believes that this idea existed already in the Second Temple period. See R.J.Z. WERBLOWSKI, “Metropolis for all the Countries”, *Yerushalaim Ledoroteha* (Jerusalem, 1969), p. 75.

<sup>82</sup> IBN AL-MURAGĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 110, no. 123.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211, no. 307; cf. AL-WĀSIṬĪ (above, note 32), p. 93, no. 153; See also *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, anon. (above, note 38), ff. 50a-50b; AL-KAŠĀNĪ, *al-Mahagġa al-Bayda’* (Teheran, 1339 AH), vol. 2, p. 154; cf. LAZARUS-YAFEH, *The Religious Problematic* (above, note 79), p. 236.

silver. To you is the gathering (for the resurrection) and from you is the resurrection<sup>75</sup>.

It was also transmitted that it was written in the Torah that Allāh said to Bayt al-Maqdis:

“... I shall send to you water from beneath the Throne of Glory, and I shall wash you until I leave you like crystal [This is only one of the meanings of the word *mahā*] and I shall put around you a wall of clouds, its width twelve miles, and a fence of fire. I shall put over you a dome that I created with my hands...”<sup>76</sup>.

The last two traditions appear, with certain changes, also regarding the rock of Jerusalem<sup>77</sup>. Unlike Revelation 21, the Muslim traditions do not mention the city descending from heaven, but similarly to what is said there, they mention precious stones and the number twelve. There is also a connection between the Muslim traditions and what is said in Revelation regarding the width of the wall, the lack of need for the light of the sun, and water coming out from the Throne of Glory<sup>78</sup>. According to another tradition, the Rock which on the Day of Judgement will be the place of the Throne of Glory and the place of judgement, will turn to be a white pearl, and its width will be like the width of heaven and earth<sup>79</sup>. According to an apocalypse of Ka‘b

<sup>75</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 208, no. 300; regarding the Dome cf. A.J. WENSINCK, *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth* (Verhandelingen Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen: Letterkunde XII, 1), Amsterdam 1916, p. 39, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>76</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 209, no. 301; cf. HIRSCHBERG (above, note 7), p. 327, n. 1.

<sup>77</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 109, no. 122; cf. AL-WĀSĪTĪ (above, note 32), p. 71, no. 116; ABŪ NU‘AYM AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ, *Hilyat al-Awliā’* (above, note 27), vol. 6, p. 43 (item “Ka‘b al-Aḥbār”); *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, anon. (above, note 38), ff. 49a-50a; AL-MIKNĀSĪ (above, note 58), ff. 42a-43b; cf. AL-MAQDISĪ, *Kitāb Muṭīr al-Ġarām* (above, note 42), f. 69b-70a; see also IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (this note), p. 110, no. 123; cf. AL-WĀSĪTĪ (this note), p. 72, no. 118; AL-ḤANAFĪ, *al-Mustaḡṣā* (above, note 52), f. 31b.

<sup>78</sup> On the width of the wall see Revelation 21:12 ff. On not needing the light of the sun, see *ibid.*, v. 23; on water coming from the Throne of Honour, *ibid.*, 22:1.

<sup>79</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 104, no. 108; cf. AL-NUWAYRĪ, *Nihāyat al-‘Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923), vol. 1, p. 336; IBN AL-FIRKĀḤ AL-FAZĀRĪ, *Kitāb Bā’ it al-Nuḡūs ilā Ziyārat al-Quds al-Maḥrūs*, ed. Ch. D. Matthews, JPOS 14 (1934), p. 64; IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, *Kitāb Faḍā’il al-Quds al-Šarīf*, MS Princeton 586, f. 29a; *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis*, anon. (above, note 38), ff. 48a-48b; AL-KANĠĪ (above, note 56), f. 78a; AL-MIKNĀSĪ (above, note 58), ff. 41a-41b; cf.

## ASCETICISM

Muslim ascetics were a prominent circle in the creation and spread of traditions in Praise of Jerusalem, as shown by Goitein<sup>88</sup>. My study "Early Muslim Ascetics and the World of Christian Monasticism" (note 3) was based to a great extent on examples concerning Jerusalem; it shows on the one hand the veneration of ascetics (*zuhhād*) and mystics (Sufīs) for Jerusalem, and on the other hand it demonstrates a wide range of ascetic ideas and practices, many of them clearly related to the world of Christian monasticism and asceticism. As in Christianity, sometimes the models are biblical figures. We already mentioned the element of "Jerusalem which is in our heart" as an ascetic and mystic idea (notes 34-39). A few more examples are presented here: Monks in the mountains of Jerusalem might have been a model for the famous ascetic Ibrāhīm b. Adham, who advised his friends to leave "this world" and go to the Holy Land and the mountains of Jerusalem<sup>89</sup>. The custom among *zuhhād* and sufīs of wearing wool (*sūf*) or a patched cloak (*hirqa*) was most probably adapted from monastic practices; among the examples in *fadā'il bayt al-maqdis* we find Jesus and John the Baptist<sup>90</sup>. There are also instances of the principle of *tawakkul*, "complete trust in God and self-surrender to Him", which might lead to extreme passivity, waiting for God's mercy. This is supported by New Testament passages. Then there is the ideal of poverty, which may well be related to Christian concepts, as reflected, for example, in the modest conduct of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb when he travelled to Jerusalem to accept

<sup>88</sup> S.D. GOITEIN, *The Sanctity of Palestine in Muslim Piety* (above, note 15), was the first to emphasize the role of Muslim ascetics in the glorification of Jerusalem and Palestine. In some studies of mine I enlarged this picture, e.g., LIVNE-KAFRI, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam* (above, end of note 3), pp. 28-145; IDEM, *On Jerusalem in Early Islam* (above, note 3), pp. 45-55; IDEM, *Jerusalem and the Sanctity of the Frontier Cities in Islam* (above, note 3), pp. 83-88.

<sup>89</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 190, no. 272a. See R. JONES, "Ibrāhīm b. Adham", *EP*, vol. 3 (1971), pp. 985-986. Cf. LIVNE-KAFRI, *Early Muslim Ascetics* (above, note 3), p. 109. For the phenomenon of wandering ascetics, see *ibid.*, p. 112, for example, a certain ascetic who was said to be in the mountains of Jerusalem.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

inhabitants<sup>84</sup>. This is not the descent of heavenly Jerusalem to earth, but the ascension of the Ka'ba and Jerusalem to heaven.

The bride motif was applied to other towns also<sup>85</sup>, especially towns that constantly confronted external enemies (*riḥāṭāt; tuḡūr*). This is especially obvious in the traditions regarding the Last Day:

“Alexandria and Ascalon are two brides, and Alexandria is of a higher rank. When the Day of Judgement comes, it will be conducted as a bride to Jerusalem, along with its inhabitant”<sup>86</sup>.

The precious stones of Jerusalem, which descend from heaven, appear also in connection with the frontier towns:

“On the day of resurrection, Allāh will turn three towns into topaz, and they will be conducted as brides to their husbands. These are Ascalon, Alexandria, and Qazvīn”<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 211, no. 306; cf. AL-WĀSĪṬĪ (above, note 32), p. 40, no. 55; p. 92, no. 152; cf. IBN ŠADDĀD, *al-A'lāq al-Ḥaḥira fī Dīkr Umarā' al-Šām wa-l-Ġazīra* (Damascus, 1962), p. 189. On the heavenly Paradise descending to Jerusalem see IBN AL-FAQĪH, *Buldān* (above, note 73), p. 94 (above, note 3). On the entire issue see also LIVNE-KAFRI, *Navel* (above, note 3), pp. 99-101; IDEM, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days* (above, note 3), pp. 34-38.

<sup>85</sup> Cf., e.g., IBN AL-FAQĪH, *ibid.*, p. 104: “the two brides of this world are Ray and Damascus”; AL-ḌAHABĪ, *Mizān al-I'tidāl fī Naqd al-Riḡāl* (Cairo, 1325 AH), vol. 1, p. 285: “Ascalon is the bride of Paradise”.

<sup>86</sup> 'UṬMĀN B. AL-ŠALĀḤ, *Faḍā'il al-Iskandariyya wa-'Asqalān*, MS Berlin 198, f, 2b. See also IBN 'ARRĀQ, *Tanzīh al-Šarī'a al-Marfū'a 'an al-Aḥādīṭ al-Mawḍū'a* (Cairo, 1378 AH), vol. 2, p. 62 regarding the glorification of Qazvīn, which “will become on the day of resurrection, having two wings with which it will hover between earth and heaven; it will be a white pearl. Carrying its inhabitants... it will declare: I am Qazvīn, a part of Paradise. I will intercede for those who came to me”. On the role of the Ka'ba interceding for the pilgrims see IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), pp. 212-213, no. 309. Cf. A.E. GRUBER, *Ferdienst und Rang, die Fadd'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975), p. 61. On the issue as a whole see also LIVNE-KAFRI, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 3), pp. 173-181; IDEM, *Jerusalem and the Sanctity of the Frontier Cities* (above, note 3).

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82; IDEM, *Diversity and Complexity*, p. 180. Cf. ĠALĀL AL-DĪN AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-'Urf al-Wardī fī Aḥbār al-Mahdī* (above, note 57), vol. 2, p. 223: The people will gather around the *mahdī* (the Messiah) “and they will conduct him like the bride conducted to her husband the day she marries”.

There is also a reflection of the relation between Muslim ascetics and the authorities and the conception of intercession, parallel, in a way, to Christian conceptions. One example is this: the refusal of Muslim ascetics to accept public office might be compared to the refusal of pious monks to become a part of the clergy<sup>94</sup>.

#### ESCHATOLOGY

Muslim apocalyptic materials are not homogeneous in their literary character, their contents, and the trends which are reflected through them; they are connected to a complex of concepts and issues such as reward and punishment, heaven and hell, this world and the World to Come, resurrection and the Day of Judgment, messianism, and other issues. Initially, this is an enlargement of the Koranic picture, but Muslim apocalyptic literature mainly emerged as a part of the *ḥadīṭ* ("the Muslim tradition"). The stamp of the Judaeo-Christian tradition is well attested in it, in terminology, content, and literary elements (though this is a unique body of literature, indicating the value system and the historical and social circumstances of early Muslim society)<sup>95</sup>. Early Christian apocalypses, such as the Little Apocalypse in the New Testament (Matthew 24-25; Mark 13; Luke 21), might have entered into Muslim traditions as direct quotations, for example, Jesus' prophecy on the destruction of the Temple<sup>96</sup>. Examples are the many false messiahs, the wars between nations and kingdoms, famine and plague, earthquakes, signs and miracles wrought by false prophets, cosmic changes concerning the sun, moon and stars; family members will betray each other. However, the Son of Man in his glorious appearance is in the Muslim tradition the hu-

*Aphraatis Syriaca Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes*, ed. and trans. D.I. Parisot, *Patrologia Syriaca*, ed. R. Graffin (Paris, 1907-1984), vol. 2, p. 38; Ph. ROUSSEAU, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church* (Oxford, 1978), p. 57, note 6; P. BEDJAN, ed., *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* (Paris, 1890-1897), vol. 1, p. 469. For the number of the *abdāl* (generally forty), cf. *The Apostolic Fathers*, trans. K. Lake (London, 1930), p. 261.

<sup>94</sup> LIVNE-KAFRI, *Early Muslim Ascetics* (above, note 3), pp. 126-128.

<sup>95</sup> LIVNE-KAFRI, *Some notes on the Muslim Apocalyptic Traditions* (above, note 13), pp. 71-94.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77; cf. our note 32, above.

the surrender of the city; or the ideal of extreme charity<sup>91</sup>. The values of humility and modesty, while present in Jewish thinking also, seem to be connected more to the Christian monastic tradition. Examples are adduced from the stories of the prophets and from the Muslim ascetic way of life: it was the custom of King Solomon, when he entered the Temple, to sit intentionally with the poor, the poverty-stricken, the ill, and the crippled. Thus he would practise humility, not even raising his eyes to the sky; the woman ascetic Umm al-Dardā' used to spend half the year in Damascus and half in Jerusalem. In the latter she would spend her time in the company of the poverty-stricken; Ibrāhīm b. Adham while in Jerusalem called upon the famous scholar and ascetic Sufyān al-Ṭawrī to talk to the poor, in order to test his humility; one person even asked to be buried among the poor. A similar request is found in the Testament of Ephrem, where he says that he deserves to be buried in the cemetery of the strangers, where the outcasts rest. The humility of the caliph 'Umar on his way to Jerusalem is somewhat reminiscent of the description of Jesus coming to Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, or of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in his procession from the Mount of Olives when he returned the Holy Cross<sup>92</sup>. Among other things we find the aspect of mourning, sadness, and grief, which was typical of Christian monks as well, and vigils, doing penance, and healing. One extremely important issue is the development of a conception of a Holy Man among the ascetics, later to become an important matter in Sufism. These Holy Men were the *abdāl* ("the substitutes"), a very high rank in the *ṣūfī* hierarchy of saints, so called because when one of them died he was replaced by another. Due to the very existence of these saints (who appear mainly in the traditions of Jerusalem and Syria), the people were assured of rain and food, and victory over enemies. There is probably a connection between the idea of the *abdāl* and the rabbinical tradition of the thirty-six pious men (*lamed vav zaddikim*) whose piety protects and saves the world. This connection might be valid, but we should keep in mind that a similar concept also exists in Christianity in general and in the world of monasticism in particular<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117.

<sup>93</sup> On grief, sadness, vigils, healing, and miracles *ibid.*, pp. 120-122. On the *abdāl* see pp. 122-124. For a similar concept in Christianity see, e.g., APHRAHAT,



destruction, and because of the use of this prophecy for anti-Jewish polemics, Muslim sanctification of the Rock could not conceivably be found in Christian traditions, but mainly Jewish ones. Hence, in many traditions the Rock appears to be the central scene of the resurrection, upon which *Isrāfīl*, the "angel of the Last Day", will blow the trumpet to summon the dead for resurrection and the Last Judgement, and at this place people will be judged either for heaven or to hell; many other traditions likewise glorify the central role of the Rock in cosmology. As noted, many of these traditions depend on the authority of Jewish converts. Some of the traditions are identifications of or justifications for some sites in the "holy geography" of Jerusalem, through interpretation of certain eschatological verses of the Koran. The involvement of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik in the creation of traditions that extol the role of the Rock and Jerusalem in eschatology is also connected with Jewish converts, hinting at the attempts of the Umayyads to leave their mark on the traditions of Jerusalem. One tradition, dating to an earlier period, speaks about Şafiya, widow of the prophet Muḥammad, who visited the Mount of Olives and prayed there. According to some versions she said that this was the place where the people would be separated on the day of resurrection for heaven and hell. If we accept the authenticity of the tradition, this might be connected to the Jewish origin of Şafiya<sup>101</sup>. In addition to the place of Jerusalem (and Syria) as *ard al-maḥşar wa-l-manşar* ("The Land of the Final Judgement Gathering and of the Resurrection")<sup>102</sup>, the blowing of the trumpet calling for Resurrection, the Last Judgement, heaven and hell, are all generally associated with the Rock. Other elements are burial in Jerusalem and the Holy Land, the signs and calamities that will precede the Last Day (*aşrāt al-sā'a*), the appearance of the *mahdī*, who as mentioned earlier is sometimes identified with Jesus, and the *dağğāl*, the anti-Christ of the Muslim tradition<sup>103</sup>. Political eschatology in the Muslim traditions concerning Jerusalem is also influenced by Jewish and Christian legends, especially that of the anti-Christ; indeed, inquiry into the Muslim apocalypse necessitates, in addition to information from the chronicles

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

<sup>102</sup> IDEM, *Diversity and Complexity* (above, note 3), p. 182; IDEM, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days* (above, note 3), pp. 26-28.

<sup>103</sup> See in detail, *ibid.*, pp. 26-50.

man Jesus, son of Mary, as the Messiah<sup>97</sup>. Still, some of these motifs belong to the Jewish apocalypse as well and at times the exact source is not certain. Among other examples, the First Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians (4:13 to 5:11) might also be reflected in the Muslim tradition, for example, the blowing of the trumpet for the resurrection (4:16), and the tradition of *Isrāfīl*, the angel who blows the trumpet for the resurrection. Other elements are, for example, the figure of the anti-Christ (the *dağğāl* or the *Sufyānī*) in the Muslim tradition), who appears or is hinted in the New Testament also, the element of three and a half days or years (11:9), or the vision of the New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven<sup>98</sup>.

The great literary growth of apocalyptic writings by Jews and Christians from the seventh century, in reaction to the Arab invasions, the creation of the Muslim empire, and the continuation of this literary activity in the following centuries present another difficulty. Similar Muslim traditions grew up against the same historical background, and the possibility of mutual influences exists as well<sup>99</sup>. Muslim apocalyptic traditions on Jerusalem (as well as other locations) sometimes relate to remote future events that will precede the Day of Judgement; but Muslim apocalyptic traditionalists also used the literary models of Judaeo-Christian traditions, and like Jews and Christians depicted their real present in the colours of the future based on promises of the past. Sometimes we speak of real prophecies (or so conceived). Jews and Christians were perceived as having ability to predict the future through knowledge of old prophecies of the scriptures. A famous example is a narrative about a Jew who met the caliph 'Umar and identified his description in the Torah; the same did a Christian bishop. According to an old prophecy told by Ka'b al-Aḥbār, Jerusalem was promised that *al-farūq* (the epithet given to the caliph 'Umar) would clear away the dunghill that the Byzantines placed on the Temple Mount<sup>100</sup>.

Because of the negative attitude of the Christian Church and of the Byzantines to the Jewish Temple, based on Jesus' prophecy on its

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78; cf. above, notes 23-24.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78; cf. above, note 81.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

oped following the building activities of the Umayyads in Jerusalem and somehow connected to the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives<sup>111</sup>. The transference of holy elements by Christians from the Temple Mount to Golgotha<sup>112</sup> was not missed by Muslim tradition, and it has very "physical" expression in one of the Muslim traditions: the Christians tried three times in vain to build a new sanctuary over the Rock. Then an old man appeared and told them that "that place and its men have been cursed, and al-Quds (the Sanctity) has been taken out and shifted to that place, and he pointed to the spot where (later on) they built the Holy Sepulchre (*kanīsat al-qiyyāma*)... He ordered them to root out the Rock and to build with its stones the place that he showed them ... and they did so and destroyed the Mosque [on Mount Moriah]. They carried the columns and the vessels that were there, and the other things, and with them they built their church and the church in the Valley of Hinnom, and he told them: When you finish, destroy it and make out of it a dunghill..." The transference of sanctity not only spiritually, but also physically, left Mount Moriah in disgrace "until God sent Muḥammad there on his Night Journey..."<sup>113</sup>. Among the Muslim minor sanctuaries in Jerusalem are the *miḥrābs*: the *miḥrāb* of Maryam-Mary (and the Cradle of Jesus)<sup>114</sup>, and the *miḥrāb* of Zakariyyā' (Zechariah)<sup>115</sup>. It seems that the locations had, at least partly, a certain "anti-Christian" trend: the cult of Mary in the *ḥaram* started perhaps out of the oppo-

his foot on it when he ascended to heaven".

<sup>111</sup> Cf. LIMOR (above, note 43), pp. 84, 87 on the imprint of Jesus' foot at the Church of the Ascension. A similar case, the footprint of Abraham, is to be found in Maqām Ibrāhīm in Mecca: Cf. GRABAR (above, note 105), p. 44, note 66. Cf. our note 120.

<sup>112</sup> PRAWER, p. 184; PRAWER, *Jerusalem* (above, note 29), pp. 55-57; STROUMSA (above, note 34), p. 122, note 7.

<sup>113</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (above, note 3), pp. 38-39, no. 29. On symbols of sanctity and sovereignty transferred from the Dome of the Rock to the Ka'ba see ELAD, *The History and Topography of Jerusalem during the Early Islamic period* (above, note 16), p. 57. Cf. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD A-BADRĪ, *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Maḥāsin al-Šām* (Baghdad-Cairo, 1341), p. 22 on the transference of the Temple's gates from Jerusalem to Damascus.

<sup>114</sup> ELAD, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (above, note 3), especially pp. 70-71; 93-97; 118-119; 126-128, and 173. On the cult of Mary among Muslims see LIMOR (above, note 43), pp. 111-112, notes 66, 69.

<sup>115</sup> ELAD (above, note 3), pp. 70-71, 82, 96, 117-130.

and other sources, close examination of the Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition, even regarding "pure" political apocalyptic traditions<sup>104</sup>.

#### PLACES OF WORSHIP

Indeed, it seems that symbolically "the eschatological aspect was the most prominent in the Muslim traditions concerning the Rock [and the Dome of the Rock]. Repeatedly the traditions describe Jerusalem and Syria as 'the land of the gathering to the final judgment to the resurrection', and the Rock has a central role in that picture following Jewish and Christian beliefs regarding Jerusalem and in emphasizing the importance of the Rock in cosmology..."<sup>105</sup>. This is linked with the preservation of so many elements connected to the Jewish Temple (*Masğid Dāwūd* and *Sulaymān*)<sup>106</sup>. Goitein's theory of competition with the splendour of the Christian churches (and the many anti-Christian inscriptions in the Dome)<sup>107</sup> might be an important reason. There are traditions reflecting fear by Muslims of visits to the churches of the Mount of Olives and the Valley of Joshaphat. Examples are the caliph 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb who prayed in the Church of Mary then regretted it, or a prohibition attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār to go there<sup>108</sup>; in fact, these attest to a custom of Muslims to visit Christian churches in Jerusalem<sup>109</sup>. The identification of the Rock as the place of the ascension of Muḥammad to heaven (*al-mi' rāğ*) seems to be of late significance<sup>110</sup>. This identification was probably devel-

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-56.

<sup>105</sup> LIVNE-KAFRI, *On Jerusalem in Early Islam* (above, note 3), p. 61, notes 183-185. A. ELAD, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (above, note 3), p. 163 is of a similar opinion; he quotes also M. Rozen-Ayalon regarding the artistic and architectural elements of the Dome of the Rock. Cf. O. GRABAR, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem", *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959), pp. 33-62.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Elad, *ibid.*, p. 161 on scholars who hold that the erection of the Dome of the Rock expressed a wish for the rebuilding of the Temple; cf. our note 52.

<sup>107</sup> Above, notes 19-20.

<sup>108</sup> IBN AL-MURĀĞĠĀ (above, note 3), p. 253.

<sup>109</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 251, no. 379 on 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ who visited (the church of) Bethlehem and ordered oil to be kindled there.

<sup>110</sup> See, e.g., the ninth-century historian AL-YA'QŪBĪ, *Ta' rīḥ* (Leiden, 1883), vol. 2, p. 172: "and the rock of which is was related that the Messenger of God placed

## CONCLUSIONS

Christian attitudes, trends, beliefs, and practices reflected in the Muslim literature "in Praise of Jerusalem" as described here are not uniform in their literary forms, themes, and non-Muslim sources. Still, together with Jewish sources and the original contribution of Islam, they are extremely important for understanding the way in which Jerusalem was sanctified by the Muslims. The process of absorbing Christian and Jewish traditions into the value system of Islam is well reflected in these materials. The picture seems to be incomplete, but the specific issues and the general trends seem to be clear.

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**SOMMAIRE:** Ofer LIVNE-KAFRI, **Attitudes chrétiennes reflétées dans la littérature musulmane à la louange de Jérusalem.** — *Dès ses origines, l'islam a été obligé de se démarquer face aux religions qu'il reconnaissait comme fondées sur une révélation divine, principalement le judaïsme et le christianisme. Les attitudes musulmanes à l'égard de Jérusalem, ville sainte pour le judaïsme, le christianisme et l'islam, pourraient fournir un bon exemple de la réaction de l'islam face aux croyances et aux pratiques juives et chrétiennes. Les attitudes, tendances, croyances et pratiques chrétiennes reflétées dans la littérature musulmane "à la louange de Jérusalem" ne sont pas uniformes dans leurs expressions et thèmes littéraires comme dans leurs sources non musulmanes. Néanmoins, jointes aux sources juives et à la contribution originale de l'islam, elles sont extrêmement importantes pour comprendre la manière dont Jérusalem a été sanctifiée par les musulmans. Le processus d'absorption de traditions chrétiennes et juives dans le système de valeurs musulman se reflète bien dans ces matériaux.*

the Mount of Olives and they illuminated the slope of the Mount of Olives and even the side of Jerusalem facing Mount of Olives (*ibid.*, note 97). On the Festival of the Ascension they used to add lamps to the church and then "Mount of Olives was not only lightened but also seemed to be all in fire" (*ibid.*, note 98).

sition to visits of Muslims in the Church of Mary on the Mount of Olives, as mentioned<sup>116</sup>; the *mihrāb* of Zakariyyā' "opposite" the grave of Zechariah (who is buried with Jacob, brother of Jesus<sup>117</sup>; note also the existence of the *mihrāb* of Jacob [Ya'qūb])<sup>118</sup> and the Dome of Jacob (Qubbat Ya'qūb)<sup>119</sup>; the footprint of Muḥammad on the Rock might also be compared to Jesus' footprint in the Church of the Ascension<sup>120</sup>. The Rock as the place of God's foot<sup>121</sup> might be paralleled with the Jewish *hadom raglei elohenu* (the footstool of our Lord) identified with a stone on the Mount of Olives<sup>122</sup>, etc.<sup>123</sup>. A report on the kindling of two thousand candles every Friday evening, in mid-Rajab, Ša'bān, and in Ramḍān and the two festivals, in addition to the regular lamps<sup>124</sup>, might have originated out of competition with the Christian churches<sup>125</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> In fact Muslim visits to the Mount of Olives took place as well: Muslim pilgrims in Jerusalem were recommended to go to the Mount of Olives and to offer there the same prayer as Jesus did "when God took him up from the Mount of Olives" (IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ [above, note 3], p. 80, no. 69; cf. IBN QUTAYBA, *Uyūn al-Ahbār* [above, note 28], vol. 2, p. 281 (probably an allusion to the Church of the Ascension). Jesus appears in other traditions also. See, e.g., the miracle of a table which brings food to Jesus and his disciples (according to Su. *al-mā'ida* [the Table], verses 112 ff.): IBN AL-MURĀĠĠĀ (this note), pp. 194-197.

<sup>117</sup> LIMOR (above, note 43), pp. 116-118.

<sup>118</sup> ELAD, *Medieval Jerusalem* (above, note 3), 87.

<sup>119</sup> *IBID.*, pp. 86-90.

<sup>120</sup> LIMOR (above, note 43), pp. 84, 87. Cf. our notes 110-111.

<sup>121</sup> See e.g., AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ġāmi' al-Bayān* (above, note 57), vol. 16, p. 212: "... on the day of the resurrection the Rock will be the place of God's foot..."

<sup>122</sup> See I. BRASLAVI, "Pilgrims to the Mount of Olives, '*hadom raglei elohenu*' and 'the Absent Gate of the Priest'", *Yerushalaim Ledoroteha* (Jerusalem, 1969), p. 120 ff.

<sup>123</sup> Like Kursī 'Īsā (the Chair of Jesus) in comparison to the Chair of the Lord, other chairs and other issues (cf. LIVNE-KAFRI, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam* [above, end of note 3], p. 316, note 76; p. 325, note 134; p. 343, note 345.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296; cf. a report that the first to kindle oil lamps in mosques was Tamīm al-Dārī (above, note 17), a convert from Christianity (IBN ḤAĠĀR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *Tahḏīb al-Tahḏīb* (Hyderabad, 1325-1327 AH), vol. 1, p. 512; AL-ḌAHABĪ, *Ta'rīḥ al-Islām* (above, note 32), vol. 2, p. 191. See also ABŪ NU'AYM AL-IŠBAHĀNĪ, *Ahbār Iṣbahān* (Leiden, 1931-1934), vol. 2, p. 236 stating that ten thousand lamps were kindled in Bayt al-Maqdiṣ.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. LIMOR (above, note 43), p. 87, a description from the seventh century that eight big lamps used to lighten the windows of the Church of the Ascension on

## CHRONIQUES

### CHRONIQUES DES ÉGLISES

#### ÉGLISES ORIENTALES ORTHODOXES

##### ÉGLISE ARMÉNIENNE ORTHODOXE

##### *Message du catholicos à l'occasion de l'Épiphanie*

L'Épiphanie est chaque année l'occasion pour S.S. Aram I<sup>er</sup> de délivrer un message transmis par la presse et repris dans l'homélie prononcée devant la foule des fidèles et des personnalités rassemblés dans l'église et la cour du catholicos d'Antélias. D'emblée Aram I<sup>er</sup> rappelle la dignité et la vocation originelle, toujours valable, de l'homme, mais aussi sa chute, la raison de la mission du Fils unique, que le Christ transmettra à son Église, une mission dont elle devra vivre et témoigner, engagée au service du peuple de façon pertinente, généreuse et souvent courageuse.

“Le Fils de Dieu s'incarna afin de rapprocher l'homme de Dieu, sa source authentique. Venu au monde pour accomplir cette mission, le Fils de Dieu vécut avec et pour le peuple. Il fut constamment aux côtés du peuple. Il lutta avec les enfants, les démunis, les souffrants, les marginalisés. Il lutta pour la justice, Il s'opposa aux riches et aux oppresseurs, Il défendit la cause des pauvres, les opprimés de la société. Il vécut l'amour avant d'exhorter à l'amour. Il suivit la voie authentique avant de proclamer : ‘Je suis le Chemin’ (Jn 14,6). Il vécut la vérité et ensuite seulement déclara : ‘Je suis la Vérité’ (*id.*) Par son sang, Jésus-Christ humanisa l'homme et le libéra de l'emprise du mal. Il accomplit sa mission en s'identifiant au peuple, en devenant par excellence le serviteur du peuple. Il a bien dit qu'Il était venu pour servir (Mt 20,28). Voici la raison et le but de l'Incarnation du Christ ! Voici le défi de la foi chrétienne ! N'oublions pas la parole de Jésus affirmant que celui qui sert son semblable Le sert Lui (Mt 25,40). Donc servir le peuple signifie servir Dieu.

C'est là aussi la mission de l'Église, corps mystique de Jésus-Christ. L'Église est une réalité missionnaire ; elle n'existe pas pour elle-même, mais pour la réalisation de la mission du Christ. L'Église doit être servante du peuple. Elle doit devenir la présence et l'action de Jésus-Christ. Par sa