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Some Notes on Muslim Apocalyptic Literature in Light of the Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Traditions

Muslim apocalyptic picture is basically dependent on the eschatological teaching of the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*, the Muslim tradition. Still, interpretation of Muslim apocalyptic *ḥadīth* requires a search into the parallel Jewish and Christian literatures because of the similarities of themes, forms, images, and symbols, and because the stamp of the Judaeo-Christian tradition is well attested even in Muslim historical apocalypses. Through some specific issues (even minor), I would like to demonstrate here the special interpretation by Muslim apocalyptic traditions of old ideas and forms, and the particular expression of eschatological thinking in the specific historical circumstances of the Muslim community and the Islamic value system. In fact, extensive borrowing from the Judaeo-Christian tradition in general, including apocalyptic materials, was the subject of debate among Muslim scholars.[1] It basically reflected the simultaneous trends of continuity and antagonism in a new religious society struggling to manifest its uniqueness yet without losing its ties with the other monotheistic revelations.

a. The general framework

The general framework of the eschatological picture in the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth* can be compared with the prophetic messages of the Bible, the Jewish Apocrypha, the New Testament, Christian and Jewish apocalyptic literatures, etc. The exact source of certain Muslim apocalyptic *ḥadīth* materials is difficult to ascertain and the precise means of transmitting them are generally not given. Certain issues seemed to exercise a greater impact than others. For instance, the Muslim legend of *al-dajjāl*, a parallel figure to the antichrist appears largely influenced by the Christian legend, in both its ahistorical dimensions and its historical and political implications.[2] This is an important issue, because crises in Muslim society, political disorder, power struggles, military confrontations, civil wars, and major social problems were largely reflected in the legend of the *dajjāl*. As in the Judaeo-Christian traditions, Muslim apocalyptic views reflect a variety of forms and themes. They were not created against the same historical background, nor did they always derive from the same religious motives; and occasionally even variations, changes, or re-editings of traditions are apparent, sometimes following historical changes.[3] Extensive apocalyptic literary activity appeared among Christians and Jews from the seventh century onward, in reaction to the rise of Islam, the invasions of the Christian lands, and the subsequent military and political activities of Islam.[4] In our study of the parallel Muslim traditions we must consider the possibility of mutual influences as well.[5] Apocalyptic traditions of Jews, Christians and Muslims frequently use similar ideas, ideologies, motifs, and symbols, but they also express similar hopes, expectations, and fears (sometimes under the same historical circumstances). A case study might cover Jerusalem, which in many Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions is the chief setting of the events of the End of Days and the Last Judgement.[6] Important concepts and issues such as reward and punishment, heaven and hell, this world and the world to come, resurrection and the day of judgment were always 'in the background' for Muslims, as they were for Jews and Christians, but they are beyond the scope of this study.

b. Some characteristics

A clear line between prophecy and apocalypticism is hard to draw,[7] but it is an interesting question and it concerns the prophet Muḥammad. He is closely identified with the eschatological revelations of the Qur'ān, yet apocalyptic non-Qur'ānic revelations are also attributed to him, as well as many eschatological sayings.[8] Our identification of a Muslim tradition as apocalyptic is generally decided according to the same criteria as those applied to the Judaeo-Christian traditions. McGinn's introduction to Christian apocalyptic literature, for instance, is a good example of a study of the characteristics of the 'apocalypse' genre.[9] These features can generally be ascribed to the Muslim literature, with some variation. The manner of revelation through an angel, a heavenly vision or dream, an actual journey to heaven, or similar

visions of Jews[10] is mostly connected with the prophetic personality of Muḥammad. Most of the Muslim apocalyptic traditions are sayings or short passages relying on the authority of Muḥammad, his friends, and their sucessors, or different scholars. Many traditions emphasize the secret knowledge of Jewish and Christian revealed scriptures, real or fabricated. These were frequently transmitted by Jewish converts to Islam.[11] The attribution of part of the traditions to ancient Biblical revelations might in a way be compared to the use of pseudonyms in the Christian and the Jewish apocalypses.[12] The nature of many Muslim apocalyptic traditions is actually esoteric and seems comprehensible only to few.[13] It is often symbolic,[14] its basis is generally 'the written word',[15] and it is sometimes highly dramatic, especially in the traditions on the struggle between good and evil.[16] All three religions adopt a deterministic view of history on the way to the end of the world, through terrible trials, a fight between messianic figures and the representatives of evil, beliefs in the resurrection, the last judgement, etc.

c. On the interpretation of Muslim apocalyptic traditions

My assumption is that interpretation of Muslim apocalyptic traditions (besides other matters) requires a search into the respective Jewish and Christian literature, the traces of which are sometimes difficult to identify. The following issues and motifs are set out as models for a preliminary study and guidelines. They were chosen to represent different approaches to terminology and different characteristics of form and content. Note that at this stage of preliminary research the complexity and quantity of the sources might sometimes cause unevenness in the quality of the search of the different literatures, or give rise to 'sketchy' results. These are suggestions for a way to start this kind of study rather than a comprehensive comparison of the relations of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity .

c1. An example concerning Terminology

The relation of the Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition to the Muslim tradition is also reflected in terminology, for instance, the terms *dajjāl*, the antichrist in the Muslim tradition, or *malāḥim* (sing. *malḥama*), wars in eschatological connotation. There is no precise term parallel to apocalypse; the closest seems to be *al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim*: trials, wars, eschatological tribulations.[17] However, one term, though very rarely used, might be closer to the term apocalypse. According to a tradition recorded in the important collection *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim* of Nu'aym b. Ḥammād (d. 842), the prophet Muḥammad said: 'God raised the world into view to me and I looked at it and to what exists [and will exist] in it, up to the day of the resurrection, as I look at this palm of my hand. This is a جيلان from God which he disclosed (*jalāhu*) to his prophet as he disclosed it to the prophets before him'.[18] *jayalān* is the choice of the editor. In MS British Museum of this book it is written *jaylān*.[19] Another word (similar in sound) is *jilliyān*, 'disclosing, exposing to view, the act of rendering apparent', etc.,[20] and this is also 'the Apocalypse of St. John'.[21] I suggest that this word is in fact an old usage in Arabic, though a rare one, for 'apocalypse', relating to a similar usage in Hebrew and Syriac. According to D. Flusser,[22] one possible meaning of *gilayon* (pl. *gilyonim*) in Hebrew is an apocalyptic composition; *gelyana* in Syriac is the Apocalypse of St. John. Flusser believes that the word apocalypse in Greek is a translation of these idioms in Hebrew and Syriac. This seems also to match the meaning of revealing, revelation (of God's secrets), generally of the last days. The verb *jalā* in the context of our Muslim tradition accords with this meaning; what seems to be its verbal noun, or at least a word of similar meaning, might also even be a corruption of *jilliyān* or a similar idiom.

c2. Historical apocalyptic: The Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literary background of some Muslim traditions

Arabic apocalyptic texts related to Jewish and Christian apocalyptic traditions generally

do not mention their exact sources, but from a comparative study we learn that many of them are ancient, sometimes predating Islam. So in addition to contemporary materials, study of Muslim apocalyptic traditions should cover such earlier literary models. However, we must be sure to interpret them in the Muslim context; also, the traditions should be compared with histories, chronicles, etc., Muslim as well as non-Muslim.[23]

For centuries the Roman-Persian wars, and later the Byzantine-Persian wars, prior to the Arab conquests, underlay the creation of many apocalypses.[24] Certain elements in the Muslim apocalyptic tradition might be connected to Christian and Jewish apocalypses created against the background of those wars. One possible example is a tradition connected to the legend of *al-dajjāl*, which, as mentioned, was influenced by the Christian legend of the antichrist or perhaps also by Armilus, his parallel in the Jewish legend.[25] In one case the *dajjāl* is depicted as a Persian warrior.[26] Since the Persians were not a real military threat after the conquest of Iran by the Muslims, a historical setting for this tradition seems unlikely. According to another tradition the *dajjāl* will appear in Iṣafahān in Iran with 70,000 Jewish supporters.[27] The Jews already played a similar role as supporters of the antichrist in the Christian legend[28] and this was probably the Christian influence at work in that Muslim tradition. One explanation might concern Jewish messianic revolts in Iṣafahān in the closing years of the Umayyad dynasty,[29] although this does not seem to be the only explanation. The perpetual conflicts between the Persians and the Byzantines (and earlier even Rome), which left their mark on the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literatures, are most probably reflected in the Muslim literature, at least in a certain respect. Jewish riots erupted against religious persecutions, but more particularly revolts broke out against the Byzantines in favor of the Persians in Tiberias or 'Akkā (Acre) and Antioch during the rule of the Byzantine emperors Phocas and Heraclius.[30] This might be one of the reasons for the 'wicked' role of these towns in some Muslim traditions of the End. I refer here mainly to the detailed eschatological wars against the Byzantines, called in the Muslim literature *malāhim al-'amq* (the wars of the meadow, valley) or in the plural *al-a'māq*.[31] Here we shall not trace in detail the historical background of the Muslim traditions; the impression is that some Arab traditions were based on certain Christian (and perhapse Jewish) traditions.[32] While Jesus, the Muslim prophet, remained the hero of the eschatological scene (though with an anti-Christian twist),[33] the Jews remained the 'bad guys', on the side of evil. Note that the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, according to Christian apocalyptic conceptions, becomes their conversion to Islam in the Muslim tradition. 'The Ark of the Covenant (*tābūt al-sakīna*) will be revealed by the *mahdī* in the lake of Tiberias, and it will be carried and set before the *mahdī* in Jerusalem; when the Jews look at it they will become Muslims, except for a few...'[34] The positive role of Tiberias here is similar to the role of Antioch: the messiah, *al-mahdī*, will restore to Jerusalem the treasures of the Jewish Temple taken to Rome by Titus, and according to one tradition he will fight the Byzantines and retrieve the Ark of the Covenant (*tābūt al-sakīna*) from a cave in Antioch.[35] According to another tradition, in Antioch are hidden the Torah, the staff of Moses, the broken Tablets of the Covenant, and the table of Solomon.[36] This probably derives from a different source, namely the eschatological importance of Tiberias and Antioch according to Jewish sources. Of Tiberias it was said, 'from there Israel shall be redeemed',[37] and according to a Jewish apocalyptic vision, *The Book of Zerubbabel*, the staff which was passed down from Adam, Noah, Shem, and the Patriarchs to Joseph, Moses and Aaron, Joshua, and David is hidden in Raqat, the town of Naphtali (identified with Tiberias), and it will be given to Heftsiba, the mother of the Messiah.[38] Antioch is also connected with the Jewish scheme of redemption.[39] These are suggestions as guidelines for certain aspects of the research, but the traditions need a more detailed analysis.

c.3 Dynasties and rulers: continuity and similarities against the background of certain historical issues

An important element of apocalyptic literature is predictions of the appearance of

dynasties and rulers, and the duration of their reign, sometimes connected (as in the Jewish and Christian traditions) with the revelations of Daniel.[40] They refer to real or imaginary figures, legend, and historical reality, at times involved with each other, and they reflect expectations, hopes, and fears, especially in times of crisis. The apocalyptic dress makes these feeling sharper, more decisive, and dramatic, and it probably helped to shape public opinion or at least reflected its mood. Parts of such apocalyptic traditions are real predictions, even apparently self-fulfilling prophecies, and there are astrological and numerical calculations.[41] The line is not always clear between the current reality of the Muslim community and the remote future of the End, and sometimes there is a two-level system for the interpretation of such traditions.[42] Occasionally the apocalyptic traditions and repeated apocalyptic motifs support the existing order, occasionally rebellious trends; sometimes the same traditions are used for conflicting groups, and sometimes there is a different interpretation of ideas and motifs.[43]

The appearance of similar personalities and events in the respective Jewish, Christian, and Muslim literatures might hint at borrowing and contact among the groups; moreover, it might show that at least certain events and personalities that not always stood out in the historical sources were in fact more influential. The fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the rise of the ʻAbbāsids in the middle of the eighth century is a very good example. This change was seen by the people as an extremely traumatic event, and it was a reason for the creation of apocalyptic literature by Jews, Christians, and Muslims.[44] The ʻAbbāsids, who rebelled against the old order, prepared their well organized uprising in Khurāsān, and their final victory was in 750 AD. Their propaganda was phrased in traditions related to the Prophet Muḥammad, predicting that black banners (of their armies and the symbol of their revolution) would emerge from Khurāsān, and they would be raised finally in Jerusalem.[45] Traditions exist that tell of a helper of the ʻAbbāsids who will bring that victory.[46] This 'helper' is most probably Abū Muslim, who led the ʻAbbāsid revolution in Khurāsān. Such traditions apparently originated in his circle, or at least in his lifetime, because shortly after the success of the revolution he was executed by the ʻAbbāsids and it is hardly conceivable that such traditions would originate for long after his death. One tradition says that Abū Muslim heard the tradition of the 'black banners' when he was still a youth. One might wonder if this was not a self-fulfilling prophecy.[47] In the Jewish apocalyptic literature of that time concerning this change of the ruling dynasty, or the early ʻAbbāsid period, the figure of Eved Moshlim (slave of governors) is apparently (the like-sounding) Abū Muslim.[48] The 'black banners motif' was turned against the Abbāsids by the alteration or re-editing of traditions because of changing interests or the passage of time. According to a tradition on the authority of ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the father of the Shīʻite *imāms*, who claimed their right to rule the Muslim community, 'The *mahdī* (the Muslim Messiah) will be born in Medina from the descendants of the Prophet; his name will be like the name of a prophet, and the place of his immigration (*muhājaruhu*) will be Jerusalem. He will carry the banner of the Messenger of God until he alights in Jerusalem'.[49] This description might have been applied to Muḥammad b. ʻAbd Allāh, *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya* (the Pure Soul), from the Ḥasanid branch of the Shīʻa, who rebelled against the Abbāsids in 762. To judge by the apocalyptic traditions, his revolt seemingly reverberated more widely than what we learn from the historical sources. The revolt of *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya* might have been reflected in the Jewish literature also.[50] Again, we might assume that at least partly, issues or elements which appear, say, in Jewish and in Muslim apocalyptic traditions alike reflect a similar upheaval in both societies in face of great tribulations; literary motifs were borrowed and a joint discussion of apocalyptic matters ensued.[51] Another figure belonging to the period of dynastic change is Marwān II b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad caliph. A tradition on the authority of Kaʻb al-Aḥbār, a famous Jewish convert to Islam who transmitted many apocalyptic traditions, says: 'When you see the caliph of Jerusalem, and another one who is less than he (*dūnahu*), which means [in] Damascus, one should not follow that one who is less than he; his voice is louder than that of his donkey'. Nuʻaym (b. Ḥammād; in an addition to the tradition, *ibid.*) on the authority of the prophet Muḥammad says that the caliph who is in Jerusalem will kill the caliph who is less than he. The tradition

apparently alludes to Marwān II, known by the nickname 'the Donkey'.[52] This 'donkey' motif might also be reflected in the Jewish tradition.[53] It is interesting that in these Muslim traditions, as mentioned earlier, Jerusalem (following Jewish and Christian traditions) is the final goal of the eschatological picture and the symbol of victory over the power of evil even in the 'historical traditions' of opposing groups.[54] Earlier figures that appear in the respective literatures are, for example, the second caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Mu'āwiya, the first Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, an important Umayyad caliph (685-705),[55] and four of his sons who became caliphs. This is one interpretation of the motif of the rise of four kings in the apocalyptic literature.[56] An interesting feature is the physical description of a personality or a group of people, sometimes matching the moral character.[57] Taxation (and exemption from paying a public tax) is also an important motif in the different apocalypses, regarding the relations between the rulers and their subjects.[58]

c.4 Periods of time and specific years: an important element in the different apocalyptic systems

Eschatological events are sometimes defined by specific dates or certain periods of time in the future. This applies to the historical apocalyptic literature, namely current or recent circumstances depicted by apocalyptic characteristics, and to distant episodes of eschatology such as the manifestation of cosmic changes as the Day of Judgement approaches. Some of these dates or periods are similar in the different traditions. One might look for a connection between the traditions, or ascertain if they could have emerged independently; and if a connection transpires, seek a common source. Were certain numbers copied into the Muslim traditions as 'eschatological numbers', in accordance with Muslim historical events? Are there also false numbers? And so on.

Only a brief outline of the issue is possible here, with guidelines and some examples. Certainly, the wish to identify apocalyptic periods, specific years, and events was partly connected to the grand vision (like the cosmic week of seven thousand years)[59] and partly to dates and periods which, as mentioned, were part of the historical picture of the Muslim community.[60] The book of Daniel (*danyāl*) was an inspiration for Muslims for calculations concerning the End, as it was for Jews and Christians.[61] An interesting example is the eschatological numbers 1335 and 1295, probably under the influence of Daniel 12:11 (1290), 12:12 (1335).[62] Some dates or periods of time were expressed in numbers traditionally used in the apocalyptic literatures,[63] some of them accurate, in accord with actual events,[64] but there is no reason to seek a historical parallel for each date or period of time mentioned. Calculations and predictions concerning the year one hundred of the *hijra* (the turn of the first century), or the year two hundred, or traditions about a renewer of Islam, sent by God every turn of a century, are probably somehow related to early Christian millenary conceptions.[65] Sometimes a period of peace and abundance as one of the signs before the last day is also marked out as a specific duration of time.[66]

c.5 Two Messiahs, double figures, and the Legend of the Last Emperor: a brief look into 'a dual motive' within the parallel scheme

In Jewish, Christian, and Muslim apocalyptic traditions two main figures occasionally appear together, sometimes having a major divine mission as prophets, messiahs, or good rulers and kings sent by God; sometimes they are adveraries combating the forces of good. Their action take place on the universal spiritual level and also in the historical apocalypses, occasionally both together. Secondary characters in the final drama of humankind, such as Elijah together with another figure, appear in the Muslim literature, after Elijah and Enoch in the Jewish and Christian apocalypses.[67] Two messiahs, Messiah son of Joseph and Messiah son of David, are found in some Jewish traditions, and the respective apocalypses also include dual figures, sometimes reflecting historical personalities.[68] One important issue in the Christian tradition is the appearance of Jesus after the rule of the Last Roman Emperor, who (according to one version) after defeating the Muslims at the height of their power will go to Jerusalem. After one year-week and a half (ten and a half years), the antichrist will be born. The Last Emperor will hand over his imperial power to God (symbolically he

will take off his diadem and deposit it in Golgotha on the Holy Cross). After the successes of the antichrist, Jesus in his second coming will slay him.[69] This tradition alludes to the Byzantine empire as the last kingdom, namely the Christians (i.e., the Byzantines) will never lose wordly rule even after the rise of the Musim empire.[70] A similar idea seems to be reflected in the Muslim traditions.[71] Some motifs in the Muslim traditions seem to be connected to the legend of the Last Emperor, like the appearance of 'Īsā (Jesus) as a Muslim messiah after a just *imām*,[72] or the place where the antichrist will be executed: the Mount of Olives, the same place where the Muslim antichrist, called the *ṣakhrī*, will be slaughteed.[73] The Muslims were apparently aware, at least partly, of the well known Christian apocalyptic work of Pseudo-Methodius (dated most probably to the second half of the seventh century AD).[74] Additional important matter included in the Muslim tradition and in Pseudo-Methodius is the appearance of Gog and Magog, who will come from beyond Alexander's Gate at the end of time to destroy the world (see below). There are other elements as well, like *hudna*, a cease-fire. This element is included as one of the 'signs of the hour' in a certain Muslim tradition, which attests to the importance ascribed to such an event. It might have been the *hudna* that was imposed on 'Abd al-Malik in 688. This was the first great defeat of Islam, and it was probably one of the reasons for the composition of the Pseudo-Methodius.[75] Another possibility is that both traditions had a common earlier source, but these suggestions need additional proofs.

c.6 Three brief concrete matters

c. 6.1 Gog and Magog and the Alexander legend:

This element, following the vision of Ezekiel, appears frequently in the Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic literatures.[76] It also seems to be a very old element of the Muslim 'signs of the hour', because it is connected to the Qur'ān and the early commentaries, and is related to the prevalent legend of Alexander.[77] It is introduced here because Gog and Magog repeatedly appear in the Muslim tradition, more as a traditional enemy of God than having any concrete historical or political role. As in the Jewish and the Christian literatures, there was an attempt to create a specific order of the manifestations of the 'signs of the hour', in which real historical circumstances were sometimes connected to remote legendary elements.[78]

c.6.2 Place of refuge

A shelter for the Muslims during the times of the above-mentioned dreadful 'signs', such as the *dajjāl* or Gog and Magog, is the hope of the few, at least. This place occasionally combines religious content with political aspirations, for example, Damascus, the capital of the Umayyads. Many traditions exist in which
Syria (al-Shām), Damascus, and Jerusalem appear as refuges for those who follow the right path; this might be related to political ambitions as well as to non-Muslim religious influences. The most important places are Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem (and Mount Sinai). Jerusalem has a special status, as in the Jewish prophetic tradition and in the apocalyptic vision. For instance, Heftsiba, the mother of Messiah Menahem ben 'Amiel, 'will be standing in the Eastern Gate, where that wicked one [Armilus] shall not enter'.[79] One interesting example is Upper Galilee in Palestine, which according to a Jewish apocalypse will be a place of refuge for the Jews.[80] This accords with Biblical verses stating that there will be a 'remnant' (*pleta*) in Mount Zion and Jerusalem (Joel 3:5; Obadiah 17), and the Children of Israel will go there from Upper Galilee, in the time of Messiah son of Joseph.[81] This is reflected in a Muslim saying that Galilee was a refuge for the prophets of Israel in times of *fitan*.[82] Originally it might have been connected with Jewish uprisings in Galilee during the Roman rule of Palestine[83] (or even, though much less likely, with the call of Jesus to his disciples to meet him in Galilee [Matthew 28; Mark 16]). The link between Galilee and Jerusalem is also reflected in the Christian tradition of 'Galilee on the Mount of Olives'.[84] This mountain too is most important in the apocalyptic traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.[85]

c.6.3 Bāb Ludd

According to various Muslim traditions, *al-dajjāl*, the antichrist of the Muslim legend, will be killed by Jesus at the Gate of Lod (Bāb Ludd). Different locations are mentioned, among which the most interesting are 'the western gate of David, close to Miḥrāb Dāwūd' in Jerusalem and 'the church gate near Ramla'. This entire issue is discussed with great care and extensive documentation by A. Elad. The location in Jerusalem seems logical since it is the traditional setting of the victory of the Messiah over the antichrist; the identification of 'the church gate near Ramla' and its meaning as an eschatological location are more complicated. Elad suggests that 'the church gate near Ramla' is to be identified with the St. George's Church in Lod. The killing of *al-dajjāl* at Lod or at the gate of St. George's Church in Lod might be drawn from the Christian legend of St. George slaying the dragon.[86] This explanation seems convincing. I would like to make one more suggestion regarding the Lod location, which, however, should be treated with great caution since it concerns a very remote memory. A saying of the Jewish Sages concerns a man who was hanged on Passover Eve in Lod, and this is generally said to be Jesus in Jewish sources. There is an explanation for the confounding of the killing of Jesus with the execution of two martyrs in Lod.[87] Is the Muslim legend about Lod, the place where Jesus will slay *al-dajjāl*, a reversal of the ancient Jewish tradition in which Jesus was killed in Lod? Again, this conjecture should be taken with great caution.

Summary

In this article I tried to present new perspectives, interpretations, and sometimes re-phrasing and definitions of certain apocalyptic issues.[88] The matters chosen here deal with terminology, different characteristics of form and content, legend and reality, as reflected in Muslim tradition, and explained in comparison with Jewish and Christian sources. The diversity and the complexity of the sources, considering the general, preliminary stage of research of Muslim apocalyptic literature, do not allow always definite conclusions. Sometimes the results give rise to a schematic design attesting to different trends, but do not necessarily idicate their relative weight. The Arabic texts are not only a source for general eschatological religious ideas and perceptions, and for the inner world of the believer; they also reflect Muslim society (especially in the first two centuries of Islam) in periods of social and political changes, and the crystallization of a new identity and a new system of values. This new world is not separated from the religious, social, and the political structures that preceded Islam. The eschatological issue was only one aspect on the path of the believers, but it was very powerful: its roots lay deep in the powerful preaching of the Qur'ān, and it exerted enormous emotional force in daily life (e.g., reward and punishment), especially in times of crisis, trials and despair. The issues chosen in this article are meant to serve as methodological model to demonstrate all these matters, as well as the supposition that the interpretation of Muslim apocalyptic traditions (among other things) requires a search into the respective Jewish and Christian literatures. A more extensive comparison in the future might also enrich our knowledge of the parallel Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literatures, some of which flourished under the same historical circumstances that stimulated the creation of many Muslim apocalyptic traditions.

Notes

1. Cf. M.J. Kister, "*ḥaddithū 'an banī isrā'īla wa-la-ḥaraja*"', *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), pp. 215-239, including important apocalyptic materials.
2. On the Muslim antichrist see A. Abel, '*al-Dajjāl*', *EI*[2], vol. 2 (1987), p. 75 (the name originates from the Syriac (*mshīḥā daggālā*, *ibid*.). The foreign origin of the *dajjāl* is expressed in the following saying: '*ahl al-kitāb* (the people of the Book) claim that the messiah (*al-masīḥ*), Jesus son of Mary, will descend and kill him' (Nu'aym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī [d. 842 AD], *Kitāb al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim*, ed. Majdī b. Manṣūr b. Sayyid al-Shūrā (Beirut, 1997), p. 367). Cf. below, our note 25. On the political implications of this legend see, e.g., W. Madelung, 'The *Sufyānī* between Tradition and History', *Studia Islamica* 63 (1986), pp. 5-48. (In certain traditions the *Sufyānī* is a parallel figure to the *dajjāl*).
3 Madelung, *ibid*.; U. Rubin, 'Apocalypse and Authority in Islamic Tradition: The Emergence of the Twelve Leaders', *Al-Qanṭara* 18 (1997), pp. 11-42; B. Lewis, 'An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History', *BSOAS* 13 (1941-1945), p. 308, on the re-editing of earlier prophecies, attributed to great figures of antiquity. In fact, the entire article is an important demonstration of re-editing of Jewish apocalypses of the Arab period.
4 B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), *passim*, e.g., p. 34; Y. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula* (Jerusalem, 1954), *passim* (in Hebrew).
5 Cf. O. Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam*, Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1985, pp. 274-276 (in Hebrew).
6 O. Livne-Kafri, 'Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days', *Cathedra* 86 (1998), pp. 23-56 (in Hebrew). Eschtological themes were most probably reflected also in the holy Muslim monuments in Jerusalem; cf. A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1995), p. 163. Of course, the fear and agony arising from the disasters and calamities of one party were sometimes the success and joy of others; see, e.g., A. Whealey, 'De Consummatione Mundi of Pseudo-Hippolytus: Another Byzantine Apocalypse from the Early Islamic Period', *Byzantion* 66 (1996), pp. 461-469, especially pp. 468-469: the reflection of Christian expectations of the Muslim conquests in different apocalyptic solutions.
7 *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Apocalyptica', col. 178; McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), pp. 3-4; Even Shmuel (above, note 4), Introduction, p. 28. Cf. an interesting definition in P.J. Vatikiotis, 'A Recomstruction of the Fatimid Theory of the State', *Islamic Culture* 28 (1954), p. 401. note 10.
8 Cf. Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, ed O. Livne-Kafri (Shfaram, 1995), pp. 202, no. 291, a vision (*ru'yā*) of the prophet's journey to hell (reminiscent of the descriptions in Dante's *Divine Comedy*) and of paradise. Cf. Muhammad's ascent to heaven, in J. Horovitz, 'Mi'rādj', *EI*[1], vol. 3 (1936), p. 506.
9 McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), pp. 1 ff. But cf. the observation of M. Cook, 'An Early Islamic Apocalyptic Chronicle', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993), p. 25, on differences in the character of early Muslim eschatological traditions and in non-Muslim apocalypses of the same period.
10 McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 5; see, e.g., different Jewish apocalyptic visions in Even Shmuel (above, note 4), *passim*.
11 See, e.g., O. Livne-Kafri, 'Some Notes Concerning Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 17 (1999), pp. 80-82.
12 McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 5; regarding Jewish apocalypses see Even Shmuel (above, note 4), *passim*; Lewis, above, note 3.
13 Cf. T. Fahd, 'Djafr', *EI*[2], vol. 2 (1965), p. 377. According to Fahd, *jafr* means the special qualities given to descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima,
among which is the ability to predict the future and the destinies of nations and dynasties.
14 Cf. McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 5; in fact, the major figures of the last drama of history appear as symbols of good and evil in the Muslim tradition, just as in the Jewish and Christian traditions.
15 Livne-Kafri, Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition', pp. 77-82; cf. McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 5.

16 On good and evil in Islamic painting see R. Milstein, 'The Battle between Good and Evil in Islamic Painting', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994), pp. 198-216.

17 Cf. above, note 2; cf. Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic Traditions* (above, note 11), pp. 72-74. On *harj*, a term with an eschatological connotation, and having a similar meaning to *fitna*, see *ibid.*, p. 73, note 7; cf. J.G. Hava., *Al-Faraid, Arabic-English Lexicon* (Beirut, 1987), p. 824 '*harj*: Riot, confusion. Civil war, slaughter'. The last definition brings to mind *hereg* 'killing' in Hebrew (see, e.g., Nu'aym, *fitan* [above, note 2], p. 13, especially regarding the killing of the near ones, not of an external enemy). The expression *fī ākhir al-zamān* (in the last time, at the end of the days) might, like the Hebrew expression *akharit hayamim* (the end of the days), also refer to 'a certain time in the future', generally with an eschatological connotation (Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition* [this note], p. 73). It appears in the bilingual Coptic-Arabic versions of the Pentateuch (MS Paris. Copt.1), literally *fī ākhir al-ayām* (e.g., *Genesis* 49:1; *Deuteronomy* 4:30).

18 Nu'aym, *fitan* (above, note 2), pp. 11-12.

19 MS B.M. Or. 9449, f. 1b. I did not find in the printed edition (above, note 2) what its basic manuscript was.

20 E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London 1865-1893), vol. 2, p. 448.

21 See Hava (above, note 17), p. 97.

22 *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Apocalyptica', col. 177.

23 On apocalyptic traditions subjected to the 'history test' see S. Bashear, 'Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, third series, 1 (1991), pp. 198-207.

24 See Even Shmuel (above, note 4), Introduction, pp. 43-46; 50-54; cf. McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 61.

25 See W. Bousset, 'Antichrist', *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. I, p. 578; D. Flusser, 'Antichrist', *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, vol. 4, col. 466-469; O. Limor, *Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives in the Byzantine and Arab Period*, M.A. thesis, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1978, p. 136 (in Hebrew). On Armilus see 'Armilus Ha-Rasha', *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, col. 954-957. The figure of the false Messiah, *al-dajjāl*, sometimes with the title of *al-Sufyānī*, has attracted the attention of many scholars, notably regarding the political aspects of the traditions. See, e.g., Madelung, *Sufyānī*, above, note 2.

26 '... His appearance is like that of the *majūs* (Zoroastrians), his bow is Persian and his speech is Persian... ': Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), pp. 218-219, no. 319; Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *Kitāb al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl* (Cairo, 1283 AH), vol. 1, p. 207.

27 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313), vol. 3, p. 224; cf. vol. 6, p. 75). Cf. Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), pp. 368, 377.

28 See the sources in note 25 above. According to a Christian tradition the antichrist belongs to the people of Israel (the tribe of Dan); see, e.g., McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 49. In one Muslim tradition the *dajjāl* is still of the Children of Israel, but from the tribe of Levi son of Jacob. He will be born in Beth Shan (Nu'aym, *al-fitan* [above, note 2], p. 362). Beth Shan is mentioned as an eschatological setting of a tribal gathering around the *ṣakhrī* (a Muslim figure parallel to the *dajjāl*), in rebellion against the *mahdī* (Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, '*al-'Urf al-Wardī fī Akhbār al-Mahdī*', in *al-'Ḥāwī li-l-Fatāwā* (Cairo, 1351 AH), vol. 2, p. 234. Cf. note 73. The antichrist also comes from the East (he will be born in Babylon and educated by the forces of evil. See, e.g., Limor (above, note 25), p. 137, and the other sources mentioned in our note 25. On the origin of the *dajjāl* in the East, according to the Muslim legend, see, e.g., Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (Cairo, 1952-1953), vol. 2, p. 1354; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Ṣaghīr* (Medina, 1968), vol. 1, p. 260; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Akhbār Iṣbahān* (Leiden, 1931-1934), vol. 2, pp. 4, 49. The anti-Iraqi traditions describing Iraq as a land of evil and magic and as the land of Satan might be connected with such a conception. See, e.g., O. Livne-Kafri,'On Jerusalem in Early Islam', *Cathedra* 51 (1989), p. 55, and *ibid.* on the political significance of the Syrian-Iraqi struggle. On the *dajjāl* emerging

in Iraq see also 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Muṣannaf* (Simlak-Dabhil, 1970-1972), vol. 11, p. 396. On the different places whence the *dajjāl* will appear see also Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), pp. 364 ff.

29 According to Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 173, Abū 'Īsā al-Iṣafahānī revolted most probably during the reign of the Umayyad caliphs, Yazīd and Ibrāhīm (744), sons of al-Walīd I; one of his followers revolted during the reign of the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (744-749). Cf. A.Z. Eshkoli, *The Messianic Movements in Israel* (Jerusalem 1956), pp. 116-130, including other persons (in Hebrew). See also *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Messiah', col. 621. Still, it is noteworthy that 'Alīd revolts occurred in Iṣafahān against the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids: see entries 'Iṣafahān' and ''Abd Allāh b. Mu'awiya' in *EI*[2]. The description of the *dajjāl* as coming from Khurāsān in the eastern part of the Muslim empire (cf. our note 28; see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* [above, note 27], vol. 1, p. 4, line 14; p. 7, line 28) most probably reflects anti-'Abbāsid trends, possibly as a reaction to the 'Abbāsids' revolt against the Umayyads which started in Khurāsān (cf. the traditions on 'the black banners' that will emerge from Khurāsān in our notes 47 ff.). In fact, there were also revolts against the 'Abbāsids in Khurāsān, e.g., the revolt in 150 AH (see K.Z. Zetterstéen, 'al-Manṣūr', *EI*[1]).

30 See Even Shmuel (above, note 4), pp. 35-39 (introduction to *Sefer Eliyahu*; according to A. Grossmann, 'Jerusalem in the Jewish Apocalypse of the Early Middle Ages', in *The History of Jerusalem, The Early Islamic Period (638-1099)*, ed. J. Prawer (Jerusalem, 1987; in Hebrew), p. 237, it was most probably written at the end of the Byzantine rule in Palestine and the beginning of the Arab conquest). Even Shmuel, pp. 38, 45, notes that the war between Byzantium and the Persians was fought all over Palestine, from *biq'a gdola*, the Big Valley [the Valley of Jezreel; cf. *'amq* (valley; next note] to Jaffa and Ascalon'; cf. Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), p. 323: 'when God routs the Byzantines from Jaffa (*Yāfā*) they will go until they gather in the *a'māq*' (cf. next note). See also *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Acre', col. 839; 'Antiochia', p. 462; 'Tveria', p. 327. But cf. Even Shmuel, pp. 201-202, on Jewish participation in the struggles between Muslim parties, which might also be connected with Muslim traditions. Cf. McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 299, note 11 of chapter 4, p. 61 ('the Jewish people will be the adversaries of Rome'), on Jewish revolts during the rule of Phocas and Heraclius.

31 A most important and detailed study of these eschatological battles is Bashear, *Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars* (above, note 23), pp. 173-207; it is relevant to all our following notes. Cf. W. Madelung, 'Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad Age', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31 (1986), p. 160, on 'Akkā; pp. 158, 167, on Antioch ; p. 170, on a Jew who will open the gates of Damascus to the Muslims. Madelung sees the nucleus of these traditions as belonging to the Umayyad period. The prediction that 'two of the tribes of Israel will come on the day of the greatest *malḥhama* and will aid Islam and its people' (*ibid.*, p. 159), might be (with much hesitation) a reflection of the aid the Jews gave to the Persians in their fight against the Byzantines. One wonders if the role of the warriors of Yemen and the Yemenite troops, *ibid.*, and later (p. 177) the anticipation of an invasion from Ethiopia, are not a remote reflection of Pseudo-Methodius's hopes of help for the Byzantine empire from the ruler of Ethiopia (McGinn, *Visions* [above, note 4], p. 71). Note that Antioch is also mentioned as one of the towns of hell in this world. See Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 162. Cf. notes 35-37 for a different approach.

32 See also Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), pp. 303 ff. Bashear, *Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars* (above, note 23), p. 205, quotes a Jewish liturgical poem believed to have been composed in Palestine at the time of the initial Arab victories; it favors the coming of the armies of the 'King of Yuqtān' and prophesies the end of 'the kings of Edom', in clear reference to the Byzantines [cf. our note 55]. 'It also promises an uprising by the people of Antioch [!] who will make peace... mercy to Acre and Galilee, blood wars between the Ishma'ilites and Edomites (=Byzantines), the stoning of Gaza and finally, that Ashkelon and Ashdod would strike by fear'. Bashear presents a correlation of apocalyptic, historiographic, and *faḍā'il* (praises) materials concerning, among other things, Byzantium's naval and land-based attempts to recover Syria (*ibid.*, and p. 193). Ashkelon was an important fortification of the Muslims against the

attacks of the Byzantines. See O. Livne-Kafri, 'The Muslim Traditions 'in Praise of Jerusalem' (*Faḍā'il al-Quds*): Diversity and Complexity', *Annali* 58 (1998), pp. 173-181; A. Elad, 'The Coastal Cities of Palestine During the Early Middle Ages', *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2 (1982), pp. 147-167, *passim*. Cf. Bashear's most important conclusions on the historical interpretation of apcalyptic traditions, pp. 205-207. The important eschatological issue of treachery (cf. Bashear, *Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars* [above, note 23], pp. 174 ff.) appears differently as regards cooperation by Christians with the Muslim conquerors: P.J. Alexander, 'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Emperor', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, New Series, 2 (1971), p. 59.

33 H. Lazarus-Yafeh, 'On the Messianic Idea in Islam', in *Messianism and Eschatology*, ed. Z. Baras (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 173 (in Hebrew). Cf. Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), p. 386: 'he will break the cross and kill the pig...'.

34 Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 222, no. 323; cf. Muḥammad b. Surūr al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Muthīr al-Gharām bi-Faḍā'il al-Quds wa-l-Shām*, MS Paris 1667, f. 89a; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *'al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 28), vol. 2, p. 244.

35 *Ibid*., pp. 235-234. Cf. A tradition attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad says: 'Titus, son of Vespasian, raided the Children of Israel and he took them captive and he took the ornaments of the Temple and burnt it down, and he carried from it on the sea in one thousand and nine hundred ships until he brought them to Rome'. The transmitter of the tradition, the companion of Muḥammad, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān added: 'I heard the Messenger of God saying: The *mahdī* will certainly take it out, until he brings it to Jerusalem' (Ibn al-Murajjā [above, note 8], p. 35, no. 24). Cf. al-Wāsiṭī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 37-38, no. 49; *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Shām* (anon.), MS Cambridge Qq 91/2, f. 83b-84a. See also 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab* (Paris, 1861-1877), vol. 2, p. 304; but cf. Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), p. 326, directions to find the staff of Moses, the New Testament(!), and the ornaments of the Temple, in Rome, when it is conquered by the Muslims.

36 Shams al-Dīn al-Dhajabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* (Hyderabad, 1375-1377), vol. 2 p. 765. Cf. Muḥammad b. Ḥibān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Majrūḥīn* (Hyderabad, 1970), vol. 2, p. 37; Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), p. 250.

37 A saying of the Jewish sages (*The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Tveria', col. 329). Antioch also had a role in the Jewish eschatological scheme; see *The Book of Zerubbabel*, in Even Shmuel (above, note 4; cf. our next note), p. 81. See also our note 39.

38 Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 77. Thus the same cities fulfill a reversed role in the Muslim tradition. On the Jewish source See Grossmann (above, note 30), p. 238. He dates *The Book of Zerubbabel* to the end of Byzantine rule in Palestine and the beginnning of the Arab occupation.

39 Such as a saying that among the redeemed who will be gathered in Palestine after the coming of the Messiah, there will be also those detained in a quarter of sanctuary in Antioch: *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Antiochia', col. 461, notes a legend that the cherubs of the Jewish Temple were posted at one of the gates of Antioch. Cf. above, note 37.

40 The book of Daniel inspired the creation of Muslim literature attributed to Daniel. It generally deals with the revealing of future events of the Muslim community. See G. Vajda, 'Dānyāl', *EI²*, vol. 2 (1965), pp. 112-113. According to the entry '*malāaḥim*', *EI²*, vol. 6 (1995), p. 216, 'it is mainly devoted to the *Malḥamat Dānyāl*', with a leaning to predictions of the fate of different dynasties. Regarding Jewish sources see, e.g., Even Shmuel (above, note 4), pp. 199-252; for an example from a Judaeo-Arabic text see O. Livne-Kafri, 'The Commentary on Habakkuk by the Karaite Yefeth b. 'Alī al-Baṣrī', *Sfunot* 6 (21), 1993, p. 88 (interpretation of Habakkuk 3:2).

41 The term *malḥama* (above, note 17) also means writing of divinatory character, based, for example, on astrology. See also '*malāḥim*', *EI²*, *ibid*., p. 216, and 'Djafr' (above, note 13). Cf. T. Fahd, 'Malḥama', *EI²*, vol. 6 (1995), p. 247.

42 Cf. an interpretation of the black banners traditions (below) as belonging to the *madī* and not to the historical rebel Abū Muslim, in al-Suyūṭī, *'al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 28), p. 216, below.

43 Cf., e.g., Madelung, 'The *Sufyānī*' (above, note 2); Vatikiotis, *Reconstruction* (above, note 7), p. 401, on the 'Fatimid apocalypse'.
44 Cf., e.g., Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), p. 310.
45 Cf. 'The Messenger of God, may Allāh bless him and grant him salvation said: Black banners will come out from the direction of Khurāsān; nothing will drive them back untill they will be raised in Iīlyā' [Jerusalem]': see Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 227, no. 334; cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (above, note 27), vol. 2, p. 385, l. 16; Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Mīzān al-I'tidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl* (Cairo, 1325), vol. 1, p. 319.
46 According to a tradition the prophet Muḥammad made a similar prediction to his uncle al-'Abbās, the father of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, and his cousin 'Alī (that their descendants cooperated in the creation of an organized underground against the Umayyads). See Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 227, no. 335; cf. *ibid.*, p. 225, no. 332.
47 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb Ta'rīkh Dimashq al-Kabīr* (Beirut, 1979), vol. 2, p. 294. Cf. McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 7, l. 20. On apocalyptic prophecies preserved from the early Abbāsid era see, e.g., Madelung, *Apocalyptic Prophecies* (above, note 31), pp.143 ff.
48 Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), pp. 310-311; especially pp. 314, 329-330; cf. Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 183 the identification of Eved Moshlim
with the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.
49 Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 222, no. 325. On the term *muhājar* cf. O. Livne-Kafri, 'Early Muslim Ascetics and the World of Christian Monasticism', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), p. 109. The Shī'ites were not the only group that combined religious and political ambitions in messianic terms. Concerning the Abbāsids, cf. B. Lewis, 'The Regnal Titles of the First Abbāsid Caliphs', *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation Volume*, New Delhi 1968, pp. 13-22; Madelung, *Apocalyptic Prophecies* (above, note 31), pp. 141-185.
50 Cf. Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), p. 311, connecting a Jewish apocalypse with the revolt of Muḥammad *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya*. See Fr. Buhl, 'Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh', *EI*[1], vol. 3 (1936), pp. 665-666. He was defeated and killed that year (762 AD). His bother Ibrāhīm, who rebelled in Baṣra, was defeated and executed in 763. On him see L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allā', *EI*[2], vol. 3 (1971), pp. 983-985.
51 Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem* (above, note 5), pp. 243, 274-275, note 298.
52 Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 222, no. 324. See M. Schmitz, 'Ka'b al-Aḥbār', *EI*[2], vol. 4 (1978), pp. 316-317; K.V. Zettersteen, 'Marwān II b. Muḥammad', *EI*[1], vol. 3 (1936), pp. 308-309. See G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le Khalifat des Omayades* (Amsterdam, 1894), p. 67.
53 Although chronologically concerning an earlier Umayyad caliph. Cf. the Jewish apocalypse: 'Then a king will rise whose name is Marwān. He will be a herdsman of asses and they will take him from the asses and make him king...' (Lewis, *Vision* [above, note 3], p. 313; cf. *ibid.*, p. 325. Lewis identifies him as Marwān I [p. 327]; cf. the same identification, Even Shmuel [above, note 4], pp. 178, 191).
54 Cf. Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), pp. 224, no. 329, where the caliph of Jerusalem is the *mahdī* and the other one (Damascus is not mentioned in the last tradition) is the *sufyānī*. This seems to allude to the fall of the Umayyads, while Jerusalem represents the victory of the new dynasty. Another possibility is that such traditions also grew in connection with Umayyad messianic revolts against 'Abbāsid rule, under the title of *sufyānī*. Cf. H. Lammens, 'Le Sofiâni', *Bulletin de l'Institute Français d'Archéologie du Caire* 21 (1923), especially pp. 136-137; R. Hartman, 'Der Sufyānī', *Studia Orientalia* 19 (1953), especially pp. 143 ff.
55 Concerning 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb see Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), p. 313 'The second king that will arise from the sons of Ismael loves Israel; he repairs the breaches of the Temple, makes war with the sons of Esau [cf. the Edomites in the version in Even Shmuel, below; on the term 'sons of Esau' see Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition* (above, note 11), p. 93, note 140; cf. above, note 32] and slaughter their

armies'; cf. Lewis, pp. 324-325; see the interpretation of Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 189. On the Muslim apocalyptic tradition about 'Umar see the narrative about a Jew who met the caliph 'Umar and identified his description in
the Torah, as well as 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 had heaped on Temple Mount (Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 81, notes 51-53); cf. Cook, *An Early Islamic Apocalypse* (above, note 9) p. 27.
Concerning Mu'āwiya, the first Umayyad caliph, see Livne-Kafri, *Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 81, note 52, for a prediction concerning his caliphate. Cf. for his period Lewis, *Vision*, p. 327; Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 182.
As regards 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān see *ibid*., p. 183-184 (cf. above, note 48); Lewis, *Vision*, p. 327. Cf. the Muslim apocalyptic tradition that sees 'Abd al-Malik as the re-builder of the Temple of Jerusalem (apparently to fulfill the wishes of Jewish converts to Islam) in O. Livne-Kafri, 'A Note on Some Traditions of *Faḍā' il al-Quds*', *JSAI* 14 (1991), pp. 82-83; *idem*, *Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 84-85; This tradition considers 'Abd al-Malik as sent by God to fulfill of an ancient prophecy; whether the creation of such a tradition was supported also by the caliph or not, it calls to mind 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), p. 8, discussing Constantine the Great in the Greek and Eastern liturgy in the form of the figures of David and Solomon, the builders of biblical Jerusalem; see also Y. Prawer, 'Jerusalem in Jewish and Christian Thought of the Early Middle Ages', *Cathedra*, 17 (1980), p. 49. The end of the above mentioned Muslim tradition brings us to an important element in Jewish eschatology: the 'House of David' (cf. I.L. Levin, 'Messianic Trends at the End of the Second Temple Period', in *Messianism and Eschatology* [above, note 33], p. 137 on King Herod seeing his rule and his intention to rebuild the Temple in a Jewish Messianic context; this was also the reason for Herod's attempt to be related to the House of David). In fact, even the antichrist, to obtain legitimation, is described as the rebuilder of the Temple, claiming to be a descendent of the House of David (cf. such a description in Y. Prawer, 'Jerusalem in the Christian Perspective of the Early Middle Ages', in *The History of Jerusalem* [above, note 30], p. 261). For a view among scholars that the construction of the Dome of the Rock was a sign of a Muslim desire to rebuild the Temple see A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem* (above, note 6), p. 161.
56 This is the interpretation of Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), p. 325, 327 (four arms that will rise from Marwān). See *ibid*., p. 314, Lewis's reference to Daniel 2:44. Cf. the interpretation in Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 183: other caliphs of the progeny of Marwān ('Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, his son al-Walīd, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, and Yazid II). This motif of four kings appears in Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), p. 82 (concerning the four sons of 'Abd al-Malik in a negative connotation); p. 83 ('four descendents of one man' ('Abd al-Malik), but not according to the
chronological order of their rule); p. 126 (a version of that tradition); p. 198 (four eschatological leaders). Cf. Lewis's interpretation (p. 330) of four personalities in the early 'Abbāsid period. Cf. F.J. Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Ph. D. Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1985, pp. 29, 31, 'the four captains'; McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 48. Cf. McGinn, *ibid*., p. 53 on Moses and Aaron against two magicians of Pharaoh.
57 Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), p. 314: 'The likeness of the first king: an experienced man, but he is not very old. The king is humble, has handsome eyes and fine, hair black, and they are led astray by him'; cf. *ibid*., p. 330, the physical descriptions of the first two 'Abbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, which according to Lewis are supported by Arab historians and match the description in the Jewish midrash. Perhaps the descriptions in the histories were adapted to a well known descriptive apocalyptical motif, because the first 'Abbāsid caliphs used messianic symbolic names (above, note 49). Cf. the description of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ acccording to al-Mas'ūdī: 'tall and fair, with an aquiline nose, a handsome face and curly, plentiful hair' (Lewis,

Vision, p. 330). An aquiline nose is also one characteristic of the *mahdī*: see al-Suyūṭī, *'al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 28), p. 213. Cf. the description of Constance 'a king from the Greeks' in the Tiburtine Sibyl (McGinn, *Visions* [above, note 4], p. 49 ('He will be tall of stature, of handsome appearance with shining face...'). See also Lewis, *Vision*, p. 314, 'they are very ugly men and wear black...'. See the descriptions of the antichrist in the sources in note 25 above; McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), pp. 55, 66-67 ('the malicious portrait of Justinian... based upon the centuries-old traditions about the antichrist'). Cf. Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 37, note 26; 42.

58 Cf. McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 48 on tax exemption by the king in Heliopolis to all countries for three years and six months. Cf. A. Whealey, 'De Consummatione Mundi of Pseudo-Hippolytus: Another Byzantine Apocalypse from the Early Islamic Period', *Byzantion* 66 (1996), p. 467, an interpretation which connects 'Abd al-Malik's harsh taxation of Christians with apostasy to Islam. Cf. Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic* (above, note 56), pp. 30, 265-266.

59 Cf. Cook, *An Early Islamic Apocalypse* (above, note 9) p. 26; but see there p. 27, where 'a week' is seven years. Cf. McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 53. Cf. Qur'ān, Su. 22, 47 ('... A day for your God is like a thousand years of your reckoning'); cf. Su. 32, 4 ('God who created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days...'), 5 ('He manages the affairs from the heavens to the earth; then it will go up to Him in a day whose measure is like a thousand years of your reckoning'. Cf. S. Bashear, 'Muslim Apocalypses and the Hour: A Case-Study in Traditional Reinterpretation', *Israel Oriental Studies* 13 (1993), pp. 95-97.

60 Cf., e.g., Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), pp. 464 ff. Another aspect of times and dates is the shaping of a 'holy history' built in the framework of symbolic numbers related also to the Jewish tradition; see U. Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder* (Princeton, 1995), pp. 189-214. Cf. below, note 64.

61 See above, note 40; cf. *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Daniel'; see Cook, *An Early Islamic Apocalypse* (above, note 9), p. 27, note 18.

62 Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), p. 466. Cf. McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 54 ('The Revelation of John and Daniel the Prophet prove that the consummation and perfection of the times is to be completed in three years and six months (said to be 1260 days or to make forty-two months'). Cf. *Daniel* 7:25 'The saints will be handed over to him for a time, times and half a time'. On the motif of three and a half years cf. Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), pp. 315, 332-333.

63 Or having also special importance in Muslim tradition. On the number forty see Rubin, *Apocalypse* (above, note 3), p. 37 ('the *mahdī* will remain among the people 30 [cf. also *ibid.*, p. 35] or 40 years'); see also Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 218, no. 318; Ibn al-Firkāḥ al-Fazārī, *Mukhtaṣar al-I'lām*, MS Princeton 4416 (241), f. 36a; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Ṣallāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1951-1963), vol. 1, p. 217. This might be connected with forty years of *yemot mashiaḥ* (the days of the Messiah) in the Jewish tradition: see, e.g., *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Akharit Ha-yamim', col. 455, chapter 4; Even Shmuel (above, note 4), pp. 137, 224. In the traditions 'In Praise of Syria and Damascus' it is said that al-Shām will be destroyed forty years after the destruction of the world (Ibn al- Murajjā [above, note 8], p. 320, no. 531), and likewise Damascus (al-Raba'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Shām wa-Dimashq* [Damascus, 1950], p. 38, no. 66). On the stay of the *dajjāl* on earth, which is an important parallel to the story of the *mahdī*, see, e.g., Ibn Ḥanbal (above, note 27), vol. 6, p. 454, l. 12; p. 459, l. 16. Compare the saying of a Jew to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik that he will rule for forty years (G. Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe* [above, note 52], p. 56). See also al-Suyūṭī, *Al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 28), pp. 238-239; Jalāl-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Durr al-Manthūr fī al-Tafsīr bi-l-Ma'thūr* (Cairo, 1314), vol. 3, p. 113. Cf. also Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 46. The number sixty is less common: a tradition on the authority of Ka'b al-Aḥbār said, 'Once the year sixty [AH] comes, the celibates should not get married': see Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 172, no. 239. This tradition most probably echoes the civil wars after the death of the caliph Mu'āwiya (680). On the number sixty in the Christian apocalyptic tradition cf. P.J. Alexander, 'The Oracles of Baalbek', *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 10 (1976), pp. 41, 54; Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic* (above, note

56), pp. 31, 128. On the number seven see below, note 66. Maybe even nineteen years: see the identification of the period of the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hishām in Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), p. 327; Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 185; Philip, Alexander's father reigned nineteen years (Pseudo-Methodius: see McGinn, *Visions* [above, note 4], p. 73). Cf. a rule of thirty years *ibid*., p. 48.

64 For an attempt to identify different specific dates against the background of the historical reality see e.g., Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem* (above, note 5), p. 237; 268, note 241; Bashear, *Muslim Apocalypses* (above, note 59), pp. 87-99; cf. Nu'aym, *fitan* (above, note 2), pp. 474 ff. Note an interesting observation of Bashear, *Muslim Apocalypses, ibid*., that according to some scholars 'every tradition which specifies things to happen on a given date in the future is to be considered 'fabricated' (*mawḍū'*).

65 Bashear, *Muslim Apocalypses* (above, note 59), pp. 87, 92-94; Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem* (above, note 5), p. 237, notes 236-238; Cf. Rubin, *Apocalypse* (above, note 3), e.g., p. 26. Note Rubin's important observation about the postponement of dates from *ca*. 100 AH to *ca*.132 AH in order to represent the rise of the 'Abbāsids as the beginning of an eschatological stage of human history (*ibid*., p. 16).

66 Cf. *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Akharit Hayamim', col. 447; al-Suyūṭī, *al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 28), p. 220, line 10. Like seven prosperous years under the rule of a just ruler in Jerusalem. See Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 225, no, 331; Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Miknāsī, *Kitāb fīhi Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, MS Tübingen 25, f. 79b. The motif of seven years is probably basically Jewish: see *The Hebrew Encyclopedia, ibid*., cols. 453-454; Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 46; also seven months. On the motif of nine months of rule see *ibid*., p. 205; cf. also *al-'Urf al-Wardī*, (above, note 28), pp. 213 ff.; McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 48.

67 On the role of Elijah and Elisha see Ibn al-Murajjā (above, note 8), p. 219, no, 321. Compare the appearance of Elijah and Enoch (who never died, according to the Biblical text) to protect the Christians from the antichrist, and their revival. See, e.g., McGinn (above, note 4), pp. 48, 50, 87; Limor (above, note 25), p. 138; P.S. Alexander, 'Jewish Tradition in Early Islam; The Case of Enoch/Idrīs', in *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts and Traditions in Memory of Norman Calder* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11-29.

68 Cf., e.g., *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Messiah', col. 615. Concerning two brothers, see, e.g., McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 61, the schism between two brothers who will rule the Roman empire. According to the editor they were thought to be Valentinian (364-375) and Valence (364-378); *ibid*., p. 68, two rebels; p. 47; cf. p. 54, Peter and Paul against Nero; p. 71, the image of Cain and Abel. Lewis believes that in a Jewish apocalypse (*Pirkei Rabbi Eliezer*) the two brothers, after whose rule the messiah will appear, are the first two 'Abbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr (Lewis, *Vision* [above, note 3], p. 331). Other studies identify them as the brothers Amīn and Ma'mūn, 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Azīz, or Mu'āwiya and Ziyād (*ibid*.). One wonders whether the two brothers are not (or are also) Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya* (the Pure Soul) and his brother Ibrāhīm (above, note 50).

69 See Alexander, *Byzantium* (above, note 32), e.g., pp. 54-55, the Greek text of Pseudo-Methodius; or p. 57, the Syriac text. The idea that 'the transfer of imperial authority from the Last Roman Empire to God at the end of time reflects the Byzantine idea that the Emperor is God's vice-regent on earth' (*ibid*., p. 56, note 25 'on the Byzantine view of God as the source of imperial power') might be likened to the Muslim concept of caliph (*khalīfa*; *khalīfat Allāh* (God's vice-regent). According to the antichrist legend told by Adso (tenth century AD), the Last Roman Emperor after defeating all his enemies will come to Jerusalem and put his symbols of royalty on the Mount of Olives (not in Golgotha), where Jesus will later kill the antichrist; see Limor (above, note 25), pp. 136-141.

70 Cf. Whealey, *Pseudo-Hippolytus* (above, note 6), p. 468, on a more pessimistic solution to the Muslim conquests: Not a political savior like the Last Roman Emperor of Pseudo-Methodius, but expectations of the second coming of Christ, probably because Muslim rule had become more permanent. Cf. *Daniel*, 2:44. Cf. also McGinn,

Visions (above, note 4), p. 76 (quoting Pseudo-Methodius), that after the rise of the son of perdition, the king of the Romans will take his crown from his head and place it on the holy cross. The cross and the crown will be taken up together to heaven. It is interesting to compare this to the Dragon handing over his power and might to the antichrist: *ibid*., pp. 52-53.

71 Such as a final victory over the Byzantines and the conquest of Constantinople by the Muslims in the time of the *mahdī*. Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Note* (above, note 55), p. 81, note 50. See also Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (above, note 28), vol. 2, p. 1359. ('... you are the last among the nations! and he [the *dajjāl*, the antichrist of the Muslim legend] will certainly appear among you').

72 Cf. *ibid*., pp. 1361-1362. Cf. an interesting version quoted by Madelung, *Apocalyptic Prophecies* (above, note 31), pp. 167 in which 'Īsā (Jesus) b. Maryam, called also the Messiah (al-Masīḥ) will evince extreme humility before a Muslim caliph, who will lead the prayer; nevertheless 'Īsā will lead the prayer after him and will remove the caliph. Note that the Muslim messiah, the *mahdī* as the savior of the last day, is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, and is not always identified with Jesus in the Muslim tradition: see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-I'lām bi-Dhikr 'Īsā 'alayhi al-Salām'*, in *al-'Ḥāwī li-l-Fatāwā* (above, note 28), vol. 2, p. 340. This notion is related to Jewish and Christian conceptions of the messiah (like the two figures), but is also linked to the political and religious development of the Muslim community, like the issue of legitimacy of power (such a claim was the essential aspect of the Shī'ite movments). On the Mahdī see D.B. Macdonald, 'al-Mahdī', *EI*[1], vol. 3 (1936), pp. 111-115; W. Madelung, 'al-Mahdī', *EI*[2], vol. 5 (1986), pp. 1230-1239. On messianism in the three monotheistic religions see, e.g., various studies in *Messianism and Eschatology* (above, note 33). The conception of messianism and messianic movements is not discussed here in detail.

73 See Alexander, *Byzantium* (above, note 32), p. 60; Prawer, *Jerusalem in the Christian Perspective* (above, end of note 55), p. 262 ('following *Zechariah*, 14: 3-4'). Cf. end of our note 69. The Muslim tradition appears in al-Suyūṭī, *'al-'Urf al-Wardī* (above, note 28), p. 23. Cf. our note 28.

74 On this apocalypse see McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), pp. 70-76; Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic* (above, note 56), p. 28-31. According to McGinn, pp. 70-71, 'the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius* is the earliest surviving witness to the legend of the Last Wordly Emperor', but see his earlier appearance in the fourth century, *ibid*., p. 44; Prawer, *Jerusalem in the Christian Perspective* (above, note 55), pp. 261-262; Limor (above, note 25), p. 136. This apocalypse offers hope of liberation from the Muslim yoke, and it is a combination of imperial ideology and traditional elements of the Judaeo-Christian apocalypses. Byzantium will survive as the last, fourth kingdom of Daniel, in a positive view. Cf. above, note 70.

75 Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic* (above, note 56), e.g., pp. 29-30; cf. C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (London, 1972), p. 33; *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Byzantion', col. 367. We do not elaborate on this matter here; see the detailed scholarly analysis of Bashear and his conclusions in *Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars* (above, note 23), pp. 174-180.

76 See, e.g., K. Czegledy, 'The Syriac Legend Concerning Alexander the Great', *Acta Orientalia* 7 (1957), pp. 231-249. It is stated (p. 233) that some scholars think that Josephus was the first author to unite certain elements of the Alexander-Romance. My own impression is that Josephus is also reflected in the Muslim traditions on the wars of the valleys (*al-a'māq*; cf. above, note 31), but this is still only a suggestion.

77 McGinn, *Visions* (above, note 4), p. 72, including reference to historical events, p. 73. Gog and Magog will not enter Jerusalem (p. 58), which will be a place of refuge (cf. below, notes 79 ff.) as in the Muslim legend; cf. McGinn, p. 58.

78 Cf. *EI*[1], 'Ya'djūdj and Ma'djūdj'; *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Akharit Hayamim', col. 467. See Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 102. Before the last judgement a period of terrible events is supposed to occur. The name *ashrāt al-sā'a*, the 'signs of the hour' (of the resurrection), was given to the specific circumstances (like social and political crises, wars, cosmic changes) that must precede the last judgement. In Judaism the parallel to *ashrāt al-sā'a* might be the terms *ḥevlei mashiaḥ* or *yemot mashiaḥ*.

79 Even Shmuel (above, note 4), pp. 80-81. Cf. 'The shelter of the believers from the *dajjāl* is *bayt al-maqdis...*' (Ibn al-Murajjā [above, note 8], p. 216, no. 316). See A.J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden, 1927), p. 140, concerning Mecca; p. 137, concening Medina; Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zarkashī, *I'lām al-Sājid bi-Aḥkām al-Masājid* (Cairo, 1385), p. 253. On the Shi'īte holy city of Qum, see al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Iran, 1301-1315), vol. 14, p. 338.
80 Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 103. Cf. Lewis, *Vision* (above, note 3), p. 334.
81 Cf. Lewis's translation, *ibid*. See Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 103; cf. pp. 121, 135.
82 Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Khatīra* (Damascus, 1962), p. 38.
83 Eshkoli (above, note 29), pp. 31, 47-48; *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, 'Messiah', col. 622.
84 Limor (above, note 250), p. 94.
85 *Ibid.*, especially pp. 126-152.
86 Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, (above, note 6), pp. 133-134, n. 281 (=Ibn al-Murajjā [above, note 8], p. 219, no. 320). The text, as translated by Elad, hints at a controversy among Muslim scholars concerning the location of the Gate of Lod: 'I heard my father [says Salāma b. Qayṣar] say that Lod Gate, about which the Prophet, peace be upon him, said that here Jesus, the son of Mary, would kill al-Dajjāl [the antichrist], is not the church gate near Ramla, but the western Gate of David, close (*'inda*) to Miḥrāb Dāwūd, peace be upon him, and known as the Lod Gate (Bāb Ludd).' For other sources, see Elad, p. 134, notes 283-286. Some other places in which *al-dajjāl* is supposed to be killed have eschatological importance, e.g., Nahr Abī Fuṭrus, or the importance of *fitan* among Muslims, e.g., al-Ḥarra. See *ibid.*, note 284; cf. also Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), p. 382, l. 10. See especially Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, (above, note 6), pp. 134-136.
87 According to Eshkoli, *Messianic Movements* (above, note 29), p. 45 (Jesus was killed on the same date: *ibid.*). See also *ibid.*, bottom.
88 Among other matters typical of the apocalypses in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam one might add plagues: see, e.g., the Jewish *Sefer Eliyahu* in Even Shmuel (above, note 4), p. 44. Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days* (above, note 6), pp. 42-43 (also concerning non-Muslim sources). Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic* (above, note 56), pp. 29, 266. The literary reflection of disasters such as plagues is not only expressed in eschatological images. Another way, for example, is to look for consolation or explanations in the Holy Scriptures. See, e.g., Livne-Kafri, *Early Muslim Ascetics* (above note 49), p. 125, notes 227-230; For natural disaster such as earthquakes see, e.g., Nu'aym, *al-fitan* (above, note 2), p. 413; cf. Whealey, *Pseudo-Hippolytus* (above, note 6), p. 466, who suggests historical reality behind the apocalyptic descriptions of climatic hardships. For moral and social decline cf. Livne-Kafri, *Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days* (above, note 6), p. 42, note 98. Messianic conceptions as well as messianic movements are also an important matter for the three religions, and one finds many similarities as well as differences: *ibid.*, passim; It was not possible to deal in length with this matter in the framework of this article.