OFER LIVNE-KAFRI

SOME NOTES ON THE MUSLIM APOCALYPTIC TRADITION

Muslim apocalyptic literature is extremely valuable as a source for the history of the Muslim community in the first centuries of the Muslim era. Though important studies are dedicated to the eschatological picture of Islam, the field as a whole has not been explored thoroughly[1]. These notes present certain aspects, observations, and methodological suggestions that seem to me especially important, mainly as they support the view that there is a close connection among Jewish, Christian and Muslim eschatological traditions, some of which grew up in a similar historical and cultural environment. However, this is by no means a detailed analysis of the materials of this genre. This article is part of a larger study on the Muslim apocalyptic tradition[2].

Introduction

Muslim apocalyptic materials are not homogeneous in their literary character, their contents, and the trends which are reflected through them, and 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

1 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, vol. 1, p. ii, on the reasons for the incomplete condition of the study of Christian apocalyptic literature. Important sources for the research of Muslim apocalyptic literature are, e.g., W. Madelung, 'The *Sufyānī* between Tradition and History', *Studia Islamica*, 63 (1986), pp. 5-48, and the articles quoted there on the *mahdī* and the *Sufyānī*; idem, 'Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad Age', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 31 (1986), pp. 141-185; Ch. Snouk Hurgronje, 'Der Mahdī', *Verspreide Geschrifften*, Bonn 1923, pp. 154 ff.; H. Lammens, 'Le Sofiai', *Bulletin de l'Institute Français d'Archeologie du Caire*, 21 (1923), pp. 131-144; R. Hartman, 'Der Sufyānī', *Studia Orientalia*, 19 (1953), pp. 141-151; B. Lewis, 'An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History', *BSOAS*, 13 (1941-1945), pp. 308-338; D. Cook, 'Muslim Apocalyptic and Jihād', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 20 (1996), pp. 66-104.

2 See my articles 'Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days', *Cathedra*, 86 (1998), pp. 23-56 (in Hebrew); 'Some Aspects of Muslim Apocalyptic Literature with regards to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Traditions', in preparation; 'The Muslim Tradition in Praise of Jerusalem (*Faḍā'il al-Quds*) - Diversity and Complexity', chapter '*arḍ al-maḥshar wa-l-manshar*'; to be published shortly.

QSA, 17 (1999), pp. 71-94

enlargement of the Qur'ānic picture, but Muslim apocalyptic literature mainly emerged as a part of the *ḥadīth* ('the Muslim tradition')[3]. The stamp of the Judaeo-Christian tradition is well attested in it, in content and in the literary elements. Nevertheless this is a unique work, indicating the value system and the historical and social circumstances of early Muslim society. It reflects the serious crises and calamities that befell Muslim society, such as civil war, military confrontations with the infidels, plagues, and natural disasters, debates over political power and the legitimacy of rulers and dynasties, theological disputes, and so on. Some of these traditions relate to specific historical circumstances. The date and place of composition of these traditions are generally hard to discover, as is the background against which they emerged. This is partly owing to the special character of the apocalyptic works, which at times is vague, is usually not concrete, and which blends historical reality, fabrication, and legend. Another difficulty is that many apocalyptic traditions are a re-editing of older materials in reaction to new historical circumstances[4]. Still, the historical background of certain traditions, the circles behind their composition, and the audience for whom they intended can be detected. As a reaction to times of crisis and distress, Muslim apocalyptic traditionalists 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. In fact, certain apocalyptic works of Jews, Christians, and Muslims were composed as a reaction to the same historical events.

Terminology and some basic conceptions

The word apocalypse mean 'revelation', the revealing of the secrets of God, mostly concerning the End of the Days; the apocalyptic literature, the apocalypses, are special compositions having to do with revealing divine secrets, especially revelations of the End[5]. The word eschatology refers to 'knowledge of the last matters' which might be applied to the fate of the individual, as well as social and political matters or cosmic changes[6]. The application of these terms (which are frequently used interchangeably) to

3 On this genre see J. Robson, '*Ḥadīth*', *EI*², vol. 3, 1971, pp. 23-28; I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. and trans. S. M. Stern, London 1971, vol. 2.

4 See, e.g., the introduction of B. McGinn, *Visions of the End, Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York 1979, pp. 5 ff.

5 See *The vision of the End and Redemption in the Apocrypha and the Hellenistic Literature*, lectures of D. Flusser, ed. Z. and I. Katz, The Hebrew University 1962, p. 3 (in Hebrew). However, this concept also refers to divine revelations not necessarily connected to the End (*ibid.*). Cf. Cook's division of Muslim apocalypses within two frameworks: the historical apocalypse and the metahistorical apocalypse (Cook, *Muslim Apocalyptic*, p. 67).

6 See the introduction of McGinn, *Visions*, pp. 1-36; R.J.Z. Werblowski, 'Introduction', in *Messianism and Eschatology*, ed. Z. Baras, Jerusalem 1983, p. 21 (in Hebrew); Flusser, *op. cit.*

Muslim literature is justified because of its strong connection to the Jewish and Christian literatures, but it might be misleading unless they are examined in the relevant Muslim context. In Arabic literature one finds the genres of *fitan* ('trials', sg. *fitna*), generally relating to inner tribulations arising from major disturbances, civil wars and schism inside the Muslim community[7], and of *malāḥim* ('wars', sg. *malḥama*) concerning warfare, generally with eschatological connotations[8], also against the infidels, mainly the Byzantines. These are extremely valuable sources. In fact, both terms which sometimes appear in combination (*al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim*)[9], refer to eschatological tribulations. The expression *fī akhir al-zamān* (at the last time, in the end of the days) might, like the Hebrew expression *ahkarit hayamim* (the end of the days), also refer to 'a certain time in the future', generally with eschatological connotation[10]. The

7 On the various aspects of this term and its primary meanings see L. Gardet, 'Fitna', *EI*², vol. 2, 1965, pp. 930-931. See also the important observations in Cook, *Muslim Apocalyptic*, pp. 77 ff. Another term with an eschatological connotation, and having a similar meaning to *fitna* is *harj* (see, e.g., example Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 2b); both terms sometimes appear together; see Nu'aym, ibid., ff. 15b-16a, a tradition on the authority of the Prophet Muḥammad: 'Asceticism (*'ibāda*) in the (time of) the *harj* and the fitna is like making a *hijra* to me' (on the various meanings of *hijra*, migration, including the eschatological and ascetic context, cf. Livne-Kafri, 'On Jerusalem in Early Islam', *Cathedra*, 51 (1989), pp. 41-44; *idem*, 'Early Muslim Ascetics and the World of Christian Monasticism', *JSAI*, 20 (1996), p. 109. According to a tradition on the authority of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *fitna* of the *dajjāl* is the worst ever to happen, and all the prophets in the past warned the nations to which they were sent against him. Muḥammad is the last prophet, sent to the last among the nations, in which the *dajjāl* will appear; cf. the sources quoted in our note 11, and Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, ed. O. Livne-Kafri, Shfaram 1995, p. 217, no. 317. Although not stated explicitly, this is clear confirmation by Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets that there is no way to avoid the coming of the *dajjāl*, as predicted by all the prophets, and that the Muslim community will survive till the end. In terms of a promise to retain worldly rule, it is similar to the way in which Byzantium considered itself to be the 'last kingdom', aspiring to survive as an empire for ever. This is apparently connected to the legend of the Last Emperor. For observations on authority see M.J. Kister, 'Social and Religious Concepts of Authority in Islam', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 18 (1994), pp. 102, 107.

8 According to T. Fahd, '*malḥama*', *EI*², vol. 6, 1995, p. 247, there is some connection to the Old Testament *milḥamot* as the wars of Yahweh. Cf. H. Lazarus-Yafeh, 'Is There a Concept of Redemption in Islam?', in *Types of Redemption, Contribution to the Theme of the Study - Conference at Jerusalem*, July 1968, eds. R.J.Z. Werblowski and C.J. Bleeker, Leiden 1970, p. 51, note 16, quoting H. Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, Oxford 1957, ch. VIII, on the connection with the Hebrew word, which in the Dead Sea Scrolls denotes the last war. The term *malḥama* means also a writing of divinatory character based, for example, on astrology. See also '*malāḥim*', *EI*², *ibid.*, p. 216, and 'Djafr' (our note 24 below). See also D.B. Macdonald, '*malāḥim*', *EI*¹, vol. 3, 1936, pp. 188-189. On the connection between the literature of the *malāḥim* and the '*isrā'īliyyāt*' (Jewish and Christian sources) see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Hyderabad 1329-1331 AH, vol. 1, p. 13.

9 Cf. our note 17.

10 Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 160, no. 212; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, 'al-Ināfa fī Rutbat al-

'Muslim eschatological period' is generally defined as the era starting from the death of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam, or perhapse from his very appearance. This is expressed, for example, by a saying attributed to him: '... I am the last prophet, and you are the last among the nations, and he [the *dajjāl*, the Antichrist of the Muslim tradition], will certainly appear among you'[11].

In fact, modern research sees much of the *ḥadīth* as a reflection of a late quest for legitimacy through the authority of earlier figures, mainly the Prophet Muḥammad, then his friends (the *ṣaḥāba*) and their followers. If this is so, our view of parts of the apocalyptic literature covers much wider perspectives, but we limit ourselves to forms and themes which are included in the respective Jewish and Christian conceptions of the apocalypse and eschatology. The attribution of apocalyptic Muslim traditions to earlier authorities might be compared (but only in a certain respect) to the use of pseudonyms by Jewish and Christian visionaries. Muslim apocalyptic traditions are generally much shorter, mostly attributed to figures of a comparatively recent period and not to important figures from the past[12]. The Muslim legend of the *dajjāl*, the deceiver, the representative of the power of evil in the apocalyptic drama, which has obvious connections to the Christian legend of the antichrist (and Armilus of the Jewish legend)[13], is important both in the cosmic picture of the end and in the political apocalypse. The figure of this false Messiah, sometimes with the title of *al-Sufyānī*, has attracted the attention of many scholars, especially as regards the political aspects of the traditions[14]. The name *Ashrāṭ 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 judgment[15].

Khilāfa', eds. A. Arazi and A. Elad, *Israel Oriental Studies*, 8 (1978), p. 261; Nu'aym, *Fitan* (our note 17, below), f. 51b, below. On the biblical Hebrew expression cf. B. Openheimer, 'From Prophetic Eschatology to Apocalyptic', in *Messianism and Eschatology*, p. 27.

11 Ibn Māja al-Qazwīnī, *Sunan*, Cairo 1950-1951, p. 1359. Cf. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Akhbār Iṣbahān*, Leiden 1931-1934, vol. 1, p. 281. Cf. our n. 7.

12 On pseudonymity see McGinn, *Visions*, p. 7; Lewis, *Apocalyptic Vision*, p. 308, below.

13 See A. Abel, 'al-Dajjāl', *EI*², vol. 2, 1987, p. 75. The source of the name is from the Syriac (*mshīḥa daggālā*). On the basic development of such a conception related to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, see D. H. Halperin, 'The Ibn Ṣayyād Traditions and the Legend of *al-Dajjāl*', *JAOS*, 16 (1976), pp. 213-225. Cf. Y. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, Jerusalem, 1954, pp. 79, 96.

14 See M. Madelung, *Sufyānī*, p. 5 ff.

15 Some events, like the appearance of Gog and Magog, are mentioned already in the Qur'ān, and there is also an absorption of Jewish and Christian traditions. Cf. Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 42-50. *Al-Sā'a*, the hour of the resurrection for the final judgement, is also called *al-amr* and this is the explanation of commentators for that term in the Qur'ān. See M.J. Kister, 'A Booth like the Booth of Moses', *BSOAS*, 25 (1962), p. 152. The Parallel to Ashrāṭ al-Sā'a in Judaism might be the terms *hevlei mashiah or ymot mashiah*. See *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, s.v. 'akharit hayamim'.

Muslim traditions of the last days and of the day of judgment are sometimes (but not necessarily), combined; messianic elements likewise appear in these traditions (the development of messianic ideas in Islam, especially among Shī'ite circles, is outside the scope of this discussion).

The traditions

The *ḥadīth* form of a content based on the authority of religious figures was a common way of giving validity and legitimacy to various matters. As mentioned, most Muslim apocalyptic materials appear in the form of *ḥadīth*. The traditions are scattered throughout the various genres of the Arabic literature: commentaries to the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* collections (the so-called the 'canonical collections', as well as compilations of traditions stamped by critics of *ḥadīth* as unreliable), and other *ḥadīth* collections, chronicles, special monographs, geographical compositions and 'Merits of Towns', the *adab*, the 'Stories of the Prophets', etc. The chapters dedicated to the *fitan* and the *malāḥim* in the 'canonical collections' seem to be very selective[16], but other sources, of which the best known is *Kitāb al-Fitan wa-l-Malāḥim* of Nu'aym b. Ḥammād (d. 842), contains a vast amount of information[17].

In their literary form many of the traditions are short sayings, declarations, anecdotes, or other forms such as dialogues and discussions. Certain phrases are typical of Qur'ānic interpretations and some traditions are translations or Jewish and Christian sources, including the Scriptures, and evince their stylistic influence. Many traditions are connected to a specific element, or several elements only, of the eschatological picture. The question is whether all these traditions are a part of one system or whether a diversity exists, reflecting different systems, attitudes, and ideologies. The very few, if any, original dated manuscripts containing apocalyptic materials can hardly help to settle issues such as the authenticity of the traditions or the time and place of their creation. As with *ḥadīth* literature as a whole, the method of study is to examine the *matn*, the context of the traditions (e.g., different versions, legendary elements, tendencies), as well as the *isnāds*, the chains of transmitters[18], reinforced by other Arabic literary sources and in comparison to

16 Cf. e.g., our note 22.

17 Nu'aym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī, *Kitāb al-Fitan*, MS B.M. Or. 9449.

18 On the importance of the *isnād* as historical documentation see O. Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam*, Ph. D. Dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 28-52 (in Hebrew; henceforth: Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*); A. Elad, 'An Old Arabic Tradition on the Markets of Jerusalem', *Cathedra*, 24 (1982), pp. 31-40 (in Hebrew). The fabrication of apocalyptic traditions, including their *isnāds* (Madelung, *Sufyānī*, p. 31) is no different from the fabrication of other traditions, although, such an inclination seems at first sight to be stronger here because when certain apocalyptic traditions are not fulfilled they might be re-edited to match to new circumstances. Our assumption is that even in a supposedly fabricated *isnād* the

Jewish and Christian apocalypses. The special attitude of Arabic writers and copyists, who were renowned for their drive to collect older materials with meticulous preservation of the written *ḥadīth*, widens the possibilities of relying on late compositions[19].

Other features of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, such as symbolic language, esoteric character, or the use of allegorical figures[20], characterize the Muslim tradition as well. Heavenly revelations in a form of dreams or visions, or through a journey to heaven where the disclosure of secrets are taken place, appear also in the Muslim tradition in an apocalyptic sense[21]. Again, as our purpose is to point out only certain aspects of the Muslim eschatological picture and to portray some general guidelines, specific traditions are not closely analysed in this study.

Sources

The *ḥadīth* forms the main source for the different aspects of Muslim apocalyptic literature, but the roots undoubtedly, lie in the Qur'ān and in the basic teaching of Muḥammad. On the one hand is 'individual eschatology' (punishment and reward, heaven and hell, fear of the hour of resurrection and the last judgement, etc.), and on the other hand are cosmic changes as a part of the signs preceding the coming of the End[22].

The pessimistic view of the Qur'ānic picture and similar attitudes of apocalyptic in the earlier layers of ḥadīth exerted enormous influence on later traditions, for example, the emphasis on the 'pessimistic side' of the eschatological picture through the legend of the *dajjāl* (or the *Sufyānī*), the

personalities were not chosen accidentally, and most important is the coordination of the different parts of the tradition and the circumstances involved.

19 Cf. al-Sulamī, *Kitāb Ādāb al-Suḥba*, ed. M.J. Kister, Jerusalem 1954, editor's introduction, pp. 3-4; S. D. Goitein, 'Isrā'īliyyāt', *Tarbiz*, 6 (1935), p. 90, n. 4.

20 Cf. McGinn, *Visions*, p. 5.

21 According to a tradition attributed to 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, on his night journey to Jerusalem (the *isrā'*) the Prophet Muḥammad met Abraham, Moses and Jesus; they discussed the Hour, and Jesus was the only one who had some knowledge of apocalyptic matters (Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī bi-Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo, 1348 AH, vol. 1, p. 203). Cf. McGinn, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Cf. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 326, no. 546 and the numerous parallels mentioned there. The Prophet Muḥammad tells of a vision of his during the *isrā'*. The vision refers to the transfer of the centre of Islam to Syria.

22 The descriptions of the day of judgement in the Qur'ān, and the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the righteous, were connected to Muḥammad's conviction that the end of the world was at hand and he should warn his people of the day of judgement and from the torments of hell. Cf. Kister, *Booth*, p. 152, and Cook's interpretation (Cook, *Muslim Apocalyptic*, p. 82). Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313 AH, vol. 1, p. 195, line 24, Muḥammad's saying to his friends that they might witness the *dajjāl* in their lifetime. See A.J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition*, Leiden 1927, pp. 50-51 (*Dajjāl*), 78-79 (*Fitna*), 101 ('Hour'), 205-206 ('Resurrection'). Cf. Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 42, n. 98.

antichrist of the Muslim tradition[23]. This applies to many of the historical (political, social, and religious) apocalypses current in the Muslim community during the first centuries of the Muslim era.

In most cases where Jewish or Christian elements are found in a tradition the source is difficult to specify because the Muslim traditions generally do not mention it. Unless we can prove certainty of transmission, it is better to talk about resemblance or a possibility of transmission, with no decisive terms. Nor is it easy to 'isolate' the reflection of the Jewish apocalypse from the Christian one in the Muslim tradition because of the great influence of Jewish thought on apocalypses written by Christians. For example, Old Testament references in the Muslim tradition, even from the Book of Daniel (danyāl)[24], or from the Jewish apocrypha or *midrashim* of redemption, might have been taken also from Christian sources[25]. Early Christian apocalypses, such as the Little Apocalypse in the New Testament (Matthew 24-25, Mark 13, and Luke 21)[26], might have entered into Muslim traditions as direct quotations, such as Jesus's prophecy on the destruction of the Temple[27], generally in paraphrases[28], or

23 See our note 13, and Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 46-50.

24 The book of Daniel became an inspiration for the creation of Muslim literature attributed to Daniel. This literature generally deals with the revealing of the future events of the Muslim community (see, e.g., Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 122a) and eschatological mysteries also by means of astrology, numerology, etc. See G. Vajda, 'Danyāl', *EI*², vol. 2, 1965, pp. 112-113, also on the various reflections in the personality of Daniel in the Arabic literature. See also T. Fahd, 'Djafr', *EI*², vol. 2, 1965, p. 377. According to Fahd *jafr* means the special privileges given to descendants of 'Alī and Fatima, among which is the ability to predict the future and the destinies of nations and dynasties. Elements from the Book of Daniel, directly or indirectly, are found in the *ḥadīth*. This book is said to have been found in Persia after the Muslim conquest and translated into Arabic by Ka'b al-Aḥbār (Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 4b). As early as 680 an apocalypse of Daniel was read in Egypt, and it was probably very popular as we find later on, in tenth-century Baghdād, a bookseller called al-Danyālī who exhibited for sale ancient books attributed to the prophet Daniel. This was not necessarily the Old Testament book, as we know from different periods that there were Jewish and Christian books attributed to Daniel (cf. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, p. 200; Lewis, *Apocalyptic Vision*, p. 308). According to Fahd, the apocalyptic aspect of the *jafr* originated under the Umayyads and expanded in 'Abbāsid times.

25 Cf. our note 140.

26 Cf. McGinn, *Visions*, p. 11.

27 O. Livne-Kafri, 'A Note on Some Traditions of Faḍā'il al-Quds', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 14 (1991), pp. 72-75. The motif of 'murdering the prophets' in Muslim tradition (like the persecution of messengers by their own people in the Qur'ān), similar to Jerusalem reproached for 'murdering the prophets', a Christian polemical theme against Judaism (*ibid.*, p. 75), is also discussed in my article 'The Muslim Traditions in Praise of Jerusalem (*Faḍā'il al-Quds*) - Diversity and Complexity', in the section 'One stone upon a stone', to be published shortly. Cf. Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 63b on the warning of 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, the converted Jew (cf. our note 44), to the people who were about to kill the caliph 'Uthmān, based on his knowledge of the fate of people who killed their prophet or their *khalīfa*.

28 Cf. note 59.

through the interpretation of later Christian sources. Examples are the many false messiahs, the wars between nations and kingdoms, famine and plague, earthquakes, signs and the miracles made by false prophets, cosmic changes concerning the sun, moon and stars; family members willl betray each other; however, the Son of Man in his glorious appearance is in the Muslim tradition the human Jesus, son of Mary, as the Messiah[29]. Still, some of these motifs belong to the Jewish apocalypse as well and at times the exact source is not certain[30]. Among other examples, the First Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians (not apocalyptic in form, but containing important apocalyptic teaching in 4:13 to 5:11)[31] might also be reflected in the Muslim tradition, for example, the blowing of the trumpet for the resurrection (4:16) and the tradition on *isrāfīl*, the angel who blows the trumpet for the resurrection[32]. Other elements are, for example, the figure of the antichrist (the *dajjāl* or the Sufyānī in the Muslim tradition) appears also or hinted in the New Testament[33], the element of three and a half days or years (11:9)[34], or the vision of the New Jerusalem coming down out of heaven (chapter 21)[35].

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, presents another difficulty. Similar Muslim traditions grew up against the same historical background, and the possibility of mutual influences exists as well.

We have to examine if a Jewish or Christian tradition with an obvious apocalyptic connotation always retains this connotation when it is quoted in a Muslim tradition, or if it emphasizes other elements instead. For example, Christ's prophecy on the destruction of the Temple, that there 'shall not be left one stone upon another', which appears in the synoptic apocalypse (Matthew 24:4; Luke 21:6; Mark 13:2) appears in a Muslim tradition. It may retain an apocalyptic aspect, or even an inherent anti-Jewish polemic, as this prophecy was a cornerstone of the polemics of Christians against Jews for generations, but according to the other part of the same tradition, and the personality of the

29 Cf. notes 22, 13, 15, 24; Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 42-50; Nu'aym, *Fitan*, passim; *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, 'akharit hayamim' s.v. These issues will be examined by me in another article.

30 Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 42, note 98.

31 McGinn, *Visions*, p. 11.

32 Cf. notes 67-68.

33 Cf. O. Limor, *Christian Traditions of Mount Olives in the Byzantine and Arabic Period*, M.A. Thesis, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1978, p. 136; also her note cocerning the Jewish ideas reflected in the Christian apocalyptic legend, *ibid.* Cf. our various references on the *dajjāl* and the Sufyānī, and Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 42, note 96.

34 Cf. Limor, *ibid.*, p. 147.

35 Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 34-38.

earlier transmitter, the emphasis of the tradition seems to be on its other part: God prefers the 'righteous hearts'; by these the fate of the earth will be determined, not by the external beauty of the Temple. This is a reflection of a certain trend of Islamic asceticism and Sufism, to prefer inner contemplation to worship according to the 'law', and it is also connected to Christian tendencies[36]. To isolate the initial version of a Muslim apocalyptic tradition or a group of traditions of similar nature is not easy. The different versions of similar traditions produced by scholars of *ḥadīth* (in general) reflect different aspects, attitudes, tendencies, struggles, and reconciliation concerning the same issues. The 'starting point' of a tradition cannot always be found, and it is even harder to separate the different layers of apocalyptic traditions, which might have been edited and re-edited in response to historical changes[37]. At least partly this might have been the reason for some reservations in medieval *ḥadīth* criticism[38].

Circles

Religious figures and scholars always showed interest in apocalyptic materials. This was basically related to the powerful preaching of the Prophet Muḥammad and the descriptions in the Qur'ān of the Day of Judgment, and the fear of hell among Godfearing men. In time the creation of apocalyptic traditions also resulted from political events, military confrontations, and religious controversies. An important example of an early traditionalist is a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān[39], to whom apocalyptic traditions were attributed. One saying of his is very interesting, as it emphasizes the pessimistic side of Muslim apocalyptic. 'People', he said, 'used to ask the Messenger of God to learn about the good, while I was asking him about the bad, lest it will reach me...'[40]. Later on we know of scholars who had collections of apocalyptic traditions[41], and the tendency to make such

36 Livne-Kafri, *Note*, p. 73.

37 The different versions of the Sufyānī traditions were closely analysed by W. Madelung, including the treatment of the personalities involved in the creation and the editions of the traditions. See Madelung, *Sufyānī*, the whole article.

38 See, e.g., our references to Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mawḍūʿāt*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī al-Maṣnūʿa*; al-Fatanī al-Hindī, *Tadhkira*; al-Shawkānī, *Fawā'id*; throughout the article. On opposition to apocalypticism in Christian circles see McGinn, *Visions*, p. 25.

39 On him see al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, Beirut 1980, vol. 2, p. 171. See, e.g., a tradition attributed to him on the appearance of Gog and Magog in Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 256, no. 393.

40 Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 3b, below.

41 Al-Walīd b. Muslim (d. 194 AH) was intensly engaged in collecting apocalyptic prophecies, even from obscure sources (cf. Madelung, *Sufyānī*, p. 41. On him see *ibid.*, p. 15). He also was greatly concerned to collect traditions In Praise of Jerusalem (O. Livne-Kafri, 'Early Arabic Literary Works on Jerusalem', *Cathedra*, 44 [1987], p. 26). Some of these traditions are in fact apocalyptic, cfr. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 398, the index, as they are connected with the role of Jerusalem in Muslim eschatology. This might

compilations was pursued even among later generations of scholars[42].

As mentioned, apocalyptic traditionalists addressed mainly religious and political issues, among others dynastic ambitions (Umayyad and 'Abbāsid), religious controversies and the dispute for power, tribal frictions, and local diversities[43]. Here I highlight only some of the circles involved in the creation and the diffusion of the apocalyptic tradition.

Jewish informants, mainly Jews converted to Islam, were an extremely important factor in the creation of the Muslim apocalyptic tradition. The most important personality was Ka'b al-Aḥbār, a Yemenite Jewish scholar who converted to Islam during the caliphate of Abū Bakr or 'Umar, and who for many years lived in the Syrian town of Ḥimṣ[44]. Jewish knowledge could support interpretations of Qur'ānic verses[45] (as could understanding Hebrew)[46], and also the Jew could identify ancient sacred sites (or was perceived as such)[47], or

indicate his deep interest in the traditions of *ahl al-kitāb* altogether. Cfr. also Madelung, *ibid.*, p. 13 on the Kūfan Fitr b. Khalīfa (d. 770), 'an eclectic collector of *mahdī* traditions', and p. 41. Cfr. also on Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq, a thoroughly learned man in *fitan* in Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 81a, line 6.

42 See, e.g., the works of the great compiler Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ināfa fī Rutbat al-Khilāfa* (above, n. 10); *Kitāb al-I'lām bi-ḥukm 'Īsā 'alayhi al-Salām*, in *al-Ḥāwī li-l-Fatātā*, Cairo 1351, vol. 2, p. 338.

43 See Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 236 ff. Cf. our n. 109.

44 On him see Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, p. 143; M. Schmitz, 'Ka'b al-Aḥbār', *EI*2, vol. 4, 1978, pp. 316-317. In one tradition attributed to Ka'b, Ḥimṣ is counted among the towns of Paradise (Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 162, no. 217). Another converted Jew was 'Abd Allāh b. Salām (d. 663-4) a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad from Medina, to whom apocalyptic traditions are attributed as well, e.g., Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, p. 145. On him see J. Horovitz, 'Abd Allāh b. Salām', *EI*2, vol. 1, 1960, p. 52. According to Horovitz, 'in Muslim tradition he has become the typical representative of that group of Jewish scribes which honored the truth, admitting that Muḥammad was the prophet predicted in the Torah...'. Cf. our n. 27. On another Yemenite Jewish convert, 'Abīd b. Sharya, relating apocalyptic tradition to Mu'āwiya, see Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, p. 150. Jewish converts from South Arabia were seemingly quite dominant in spreading the apocalyptic tradition, and this matched the aspirations of southern Arabic tribes.

45 See the identification of the wall mentioned in Su. *al-ḥadid* 13 with the eastern wall of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Murajjā, *ibid.*, pp. 130, no. 159) probably in connection with the Gate of Mercy, *bāb al-raḥma*, without mentioning of the Jewish source.

46 Cf. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 165, no. 226: Wahb b. Munabbih (a Yemenite convert to Islam, though not of a Jewish origin; cf. our n. 80, below) explained a certain linguistic problem in the biblical story of bringing of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem by King David (2 Samuel 6:14-16; 1 Chronicle 15:29), probably because of Wahb's knowledge of Hebrew and of the scriptures. Cf. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds, Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, Princeton 1992, pp. 111-129.

47 According to a tradition Ka'b al-Aḥbār, originally a Jew himself, had to pay to a certain Jewish scholar in Jerusalem (probably an inhabitant of the city) so that he would show him 'the rock upon which Solomon son of David stood at the day when he completed the building of the Mosque' (the Temple). (Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 129, no. 158). Another tradition reflects a polemic tone against the Christians when the bishop of Jerusalem tried to give 'Umar false information about the site of the Temple (Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 51, no. 37; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Muthīr al-*

identify their apocalyptic importance[48]. The Jew was also perceived as an able man who combined personal ability to predict the future[49] with the knowledge of old prophecies of the scriptures. These were not Jews accused of falsification of the true religion[50] but Jews (and also Christians) who possessed knowledge of the 'true versions of the scriptures', who could identify current events in light of old prophecies. A famous example is a narrative about a Jew who met the caliph 'Umar and identified his description in the Torah[51], as well as a Christian bishop[52]. 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 put on the Temple Mount[53].

Phrases such as 'in a revealed book of God'[54], 'it is written in the Torah'[55], 'I read in the Books of the Prophets'[56], 'it is written in one of the books'[57] or 'I

Gharām bi-Faḍā'il al-Quds wa-l-Shām, MS Paris 1667, f. 37b; Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *Kitāb al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, Cairo 1283 AH, vol. 1, p. 226; Muḥammad b. Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-Akhiṣṣā bi-Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, MS The Hebrew University 116, f. 38b; Muṣṭafā As'ad al-Luqaymī, *Laṭā'if al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Taḥā'if al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, MS The Hebrew University, Yahudah 807, f. 9b; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, *Kitāb al-Mustaqṣā fī Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, MS Escorial 1767, f. 41b. This feature calls to mind the story of the discovery of the Holy Cross by a Jew. See, e.g., Aphrahat, *Aphaatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes*, ed. and transl. D. I. Parisot, A. R. Graffin, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Paris 1894, vol. 1, p. 275.

48 Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 187, no. 267. The informant is Nūf al-Bakkālī, the son of Ka'b al-Aḥbār's wife (cf. our nn. 85-87).

49 Ka'b was an important apocalyptist, and his ability to give correct predictions concerning current affairs was also recognized, for example, about events in the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. According to that tradition, all Ka'b's prophecies were fulfilled. See 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, (Simlak-Dabhil, 1970-1972), vol. 11, p. 366, n. 20755. Cf. also Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 6a; 32a.

50 The teaching of the Qur'ān was that the Jews and the Christians had falsified their scriptures. Cf. H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, pp. 19-49; For a parallel attitude in Christianity see, e.g., an account about a Jew who falsified the scriptures in the name of Peter: Aphrahat, *Demonstrationes*, pp. 169. As regards the accusation that the Jews falsified scriptural texts see also J. Pelikan, *The Christian of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)*, vol. 1, p. 19.

51 Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, p. 144, n. 18. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 145-146 on Ka'b's prophecy giving legitimacy to the rule of Mu'āwiya, the first Umayyad caliph.

52 Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 28a. See also Nu'aym, *ibid.*, f. 26a: the caliphate of Mu'āwiya was predicted by Ka'b al-Aḥbār (*ibid.*, line 5) and by *ṣāḥib al-rūm* ('the head of the Byzantines') who (answering a question sent to him by a messenger) found in 'a book' (*muṣḥaf*) that Mu'āwiya would rule after 'Uthmān (*ibid.*, line 2).

53 H.Z. Hirschberg, 'Temple Mount in the Arabic Period (638-1099) in Moslem Traditions and in the Historical reality', *Yerushalaim Ledorotea*, Jerusalem 1969, p. 112 (in Hebrew). According to him, the *farūq* is the one who distinguishes between truth and falsehood.

54 Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 187, no. 267 (literally: in the book of God, sent down).

55 *Ibid.*, p. 231, n. 341; Abū Bakr Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, Jerusalem 1979, p. 59, no. 93.

56 According to a tradition on the authority of Ka'b al-Aḥbār the matter of the *dajjāl* was not written down in the Torah and the Gospel but it was mentioned in the books of the

found in the Book of Abraham'[58], might open passages of 'biblical character' in style, or paraphrases[59] that refer to the current affairs of the Muslim community. An example is the description in eschatological colours of the continuos fighting against the Byzantines on the coasts of Palestine and Syria during the seventh and the eighth centuries[60]. The authenticity of Muḥammad's mission was likewise recognized through Jews and Christians and their 'knowledge of the scriptures'[61].

Converted Jews also played an important part in promoting the status of Jerusalem in Islam, including the creation and propagation of apocalyptic traditions on Jerusalem[62]. Following the Judaeo-Christian tradition, Jerusalem became the most important scene of Muslim eschatology, as the place of resurrection of the dead, and of the Last Judgement[63]. Identification of the *ṣakhra*, the holy Rock on Temple Mount, as the place of the Temple of King David, and the precedent set by the caliph 'Umar, who built a prayer house on Temple Mount[64], made the *ṣakhra* a focus of attraction of Jewish traditions. The building of the Dome of the Rock (*qubbat al-ṣakhra*) by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (685-705)[65], further stimulated this process.

Because of the negative attitude of the Christian church and of the Byzantines to the Jewish Temple, based on Jesus's prophecy on its destruction, and because of the use of this prophecy for anti-Jewish polemics[66], Muslim sanctification of the Rock could not conceivably be found on Christian traditions, but on 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

prophets (Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 152a). The expression 'the books of the prophets' (*kutub al-Anbiyā'*) might refer here probably to a kind of Apocrypha.

57 Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 63, no. 50.

58 Ibn al-Murajjā, *ibid.*, p. 160, no. 212.

59 See e.g., *ibid.*; cf. Jacob's dream (Genesis 28:10-17) as presented in Ibn al-Murajjā, *ibid.*, pp. 17-18, no. 10; p. 335, no. 554; cf. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*, Leiden 1885, p. 97; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, pp. 8-9, 61-62; al-Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf*, f. 52b; al-Luqaymī, *Laṭā'if al-Uns*, f. 7a; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kanjī, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-Faḍl al-Ṣalāt fīhā*, MS Tübingen 26, f. 89a.

60 Cf. our n. 58; and Livne-Kafri, *Diversity and Complexity*, the section 'From Ascalon to Jerusalem'. For the historical background see A. Elad, 'The Coastal Cities of Palestine during the Early Middle Ages', *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, 2 (1982), pp. 146-167.

61 Cf. e.g., Livne-Kafri, *Note*, pp. 78-80, on a certain type of interpretation of Jewish scriptures (Isaiah and Deuteronomy, in paraphrases) sometimes in the spirit of Christian typologia. Cf. our n. 80.

62 Cf. Livne-Kafri, *ibid.*, pp. 80-83; *idem*, *End of Days*, pp. 25-26.

63 Cf. Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 23-56.

64 Cf. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 51, no. 37; p. 55, no. 42 and the, sources quoted there by the editor.

65 See in detail A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 44 ff.

66 Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Note*, p. 73, and the quotations of Prawer's articles.

Days'[67], will blow the trumpet to summon the dead to the resurrection and the Last Judgement, and at this place people will be judged either for heaven or to hell[68]; many other traditions likewise glorify the central role of the Rock in cosmology[69]. 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 Qur'ān[70]. 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[71]. One tradition, dating to an earlier period, speaks about Ṣafiyya, a widow of the prophet Muḥammad, who visited the Mount of Olives and prayed there[72]. 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[73]. If we

67 See A. J. Wensinck, 'Isrāfīl', *EI*², vol. 4, 1987, p. 211.

68 See Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 31.

69 O. Livne-Kafri, 'Jerusalem, "The Navel of the Earth" in Islamic Tradition', *Cathedra*, 69 (1993), pp. 79-105 (in Hebrew).

70 See also Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, *loc. cit.*

71 This is a part of the glorification of Jerusalem, to which the Umayyads contributed by the building of the Dome of the Rock, al-Aqṣā Mosque, and other sites on Temple Mount. See Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 27, n. 21 (cf. our n. 87), or Livne-Kafri, *ibid.*, p. 28, quoting Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabārī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Ta'wīl Āy al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1954, vol. 16, p. 212. The text there tells about an argument concerning an interpretation of a Qur'ānic verse (Su. *Ṭāhā* 105) about the levelling of the mountains in the End. Ka'b interpreted it as related to the *ṣakhra*, the Dome of the Rock, contrary to another opinion that the Rock has no specific role in the End. The famous woman ascetic Umm al-Dardā', who died after 81 AH (on her see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1325-1327 AH, vol. 12, p. 467; Livne-Kafri, *On Jerusalem*, p. 49), when approaching to Jerusalem, coming from her residence in Damascus, she used to ask her muleteer to make the mountains hear what their Lord promised them; he would raise his voice, reciting the above verse: Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 171, no. 237; Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il*, p. 58, no. 89 and the editor's references there; al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Kitāb al-Ḥawādith wa-l-Bida'*, Tunis 1959, p. 80; al-Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf*, f. 62b. See a similar tradition in Ibn al-Murajjā, *ibid.*, p. 192, no. 275. See also the discussion around the same traditions in Livne-Kafri, *On Jerusalem*, pp. 61-62. This tradition is an indication of apocalyptic views connected with ascetics and the ruling circles. In fact, one tradition narrated by the tutor to the sons of 'Abd al-Malik tells about the great esteem in which Umm al-Dardā' was held by 'Abd al-Malik. See Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 185, no. 263, cf. Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī, *al-Awwal min al-Ta'rīkh*, ed. L. Mansur, M.A. Thesis, Bar-Ilan University, 1976, p. 238. See also Livne-Kafri, *ibid.*, pp. 151-152; Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, p. 127.

72 Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 236, no. 350.

73 Ibn al-Firkāḥ, 'Kitāb Bā'ith al-Nufūs ilā Ziyārāt al-Quds al-Maḥrūs', *JPOS*, 15 (1935), p. 55 below; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, vol. 1, p. 236; al-Luqaymī, *Laṭā'if al-Uns*, f. 22a, l. 19. On pilgrimage to the Mount of Olives see also the testimony about the ascetic 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Zakariyyā' (d. 117 AH) that whenever he went to Jerusalem, he would go to the Mount of Olives (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Sh. Faysal, Damascus

accept the authenticity of the tradition, this might be connected to the Jewish origin of Safiyya[74]. Some traditions introduced by Jewish converts show how much they were still attached to their Jewish heritage, as they express typical Jewish expectations of redemption[75], lament the destruction of the Temple, and yearn for the rebuilding of the Temple. These traditions were also styled in an apocalyptic manner, and they seem to echo a certain eschatological tension among Jews who embraced Islam[76]. An important tradition of this sort is also attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār. Of him it is said that 'he found in one of the books: Rejoice, Jerusalem (*'Īrūshalāyim*), that is to say *bayt al-maqdis* and the Rock (*al-ṣakhra*) and it is called the Temple (*al-haykal.* Cfr. *hekhal* in Hebrew). I will send you my servant 'Abd al-Malik and he will build you and embellish you, and I shall restore *bayt al-maqdis* 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...[77]. This is an obvious expression of expectations of the Jews, who linked 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. The conclusion of the tradition introduces another important element in Jewish eschatology, the 'House of David'[78].

1982, p. 413). Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 80, no. 68, in the guide to pilgrims contained in his book, recommends that Muslim pilgrims go to the *sāhira* (an eschatological Qur'ānic term: Su. *al-Nāzi'āt* 14, identified by the commentators with Jerusalem, a mountain in the vicinity of Jerusalem, or even *al-shām*. See Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 32), 'which is Mount Olives', following the precedent of Ṣāfiya. Ibn al-Murajjā also based himself on the Christian tradition when in his guide he suggests that Muslims say there the prayer of Jesus 'when God made him ascend to heaven from the Mount of Olive'. The tradition is attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih (Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 80, no. 69). On the high rank of the Mount of Olives in the End, see J.W. Hirschberg, 'The Sources of Moslem Traditions Concerning Jerusalem', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 17 (1951-1952), pp. 345-347. This Mountain is one of the holy mountains in Qur'ān interpretations and in the *ḥadīth*. See Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, pp. 232-234, nos. 343-346; Livne-Kafri, *Navel*, p. 93. Cf. traditions about the blessed cities (and the cursed ones) in Livne-Kafri, *ibid.*, pp. 91-92. Indeed, in the Jewish tradition these holy mountains are mentioned in eschatological reference. See, e.g., A. Aptowizer, 'Heavenly Temple according to the Aggadah', *Tarbiz*, 2 (1941), p. 272, n. 3 (in Hebrew).

74 V. Vacca, 'Ṣafīya bint Huyaiy', *EI*[1].

75 H. Lazarus-Yafeh believes that messianism and redemption are not central themes in the religious thinking of Islam. See Lazarus-Yafeh, *Redemption*, p. 1 ff.; see the Hebrew version of this article 'On the Messianic Idea in Islam', in *Messianism and Eschatology* (above, n. 6), pp. 169 ff. See also as quoted by Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 24.

76 Livne-Kafri, *Note*, pp. 80-83.

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

78 A tradition tells about a man who was asked why was he moving to Jerusalem and he answere: 'It came to my knoledge that there is always in Jerusalem (or: there is still) a man who acts according to the way of the family (the descendants) of David'. This may reflect the conception of the perpetuity of the House of David in its messianic sense.

The direct role of Christian converts into Islam, as far as I know, is less[79]. In any event, a vast amount of material, Jewish and Christian, was taken from Jewish and Christian sources, as is attested by the Arabic texts themselves. Note that some prominent figures were highly informed in Jewish and Christian matters. One was Wahb b. Munabbih, a south Arabian convert to Islam[80]. Ka'b al-Aḥbār was also apparently acquainted with Christian materials. In one tradition he combines Jewish despair over the destruction of the Temple and hope for its rebuilding with a kind of 'new covenant' with the nation of Muḥammad; a report also exists on his having contacts with a monk and discussing apocalyptic predictions with him[81]. Similarly, in some apocalyptic traditions the Muslim congregation is portrayed almost like 'a new Israel'. In one tradition the Muslim community appears as a future image of Israel that will have to re-experience the history of Israel[82], including a civil war in the vicinity of Ṣiffīn. The last tradition is attributed to Ka'b, who found it 'in the Book' [of *ahl al-kitāb*]. In an earlier account he refers to this battle as a

See Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 185, no. 264; *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-shām*, Anon., MS Cambridge Qq. 91/2, f. 36b; Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Miknāsī, *Kitāb fīhi Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, MS Tübingen 25, f. 27a; al-Maqdisī, *Muthīr al-Gharām*, f. 89b; al-Kanjī, *Faḍā'il*, f. 81b; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, vol. 1, p. 239.

79 Tamīm al-Dārī, a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad was a convert from Christianity. See on him G. Levi Della-Vida, 'Tamīm al-Dārī, *EI*[1], vol. 4 (1934), pp. 646-648 and cf. the discussion concerning the 'story tellers' in Livne-Kafri, *On Jerusalem*, p. 53. As a source to an apocalyptic tradition see Nu'aym, *Fitan*.

80 On him see J. Horovitz, 'Wahb b. Munabbih', *EI*[1], vol. 4 (1934), pp. 1084-1085. On his interpretation of the Jewish scriptures (in paraphrase) in the spirit of Christian *typologia*, verses from Isaiah are seen as prophecy to the mission of the prophet Muḥammad (above, our note 61). Cf. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, pp. 75-110. His interest in Judaeo-Christian materials passed on to his gandson, Idrīs b. Sinān, the son of his daughter (for example Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 13, no. 5. See on him the editor's n. 4) and to his great grandson 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs b. Sinān 'who transmitted the stories of Wahb on the prophets, the ascetics, and the stories of the sons of Israel' (Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Leiden 1904-1940, vol. 7, part 2, p. 97.

81 See Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 153, no. 195. Cf. Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, vol. 1, pp. 203-204; Al-Luqaymī, *Laṭā'if al-Uns*, f. 5a; 203-204; al-Miknāsī, *Faḍā'il*, f. 20b-21a; for words of consolation to Jerusalem and the ruined Temple see also Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, pp. 154-155, nos. 196-198. See Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 195b, the report on his meeting with the monk. Cf. P. Brown, *The Cults of the Saints*, Chicago 1981, p. 191, a fear of the day by judgement of a Muslim and a Christian hermit.

82 It is a saying attributed to Ibn 'Abbās, the cousin of the prophet, a commentator on the Qur'ān with great knowledge of the wisdom of *ahl al-kitāb*: 'Every thing that existed among the Sons of Israel exits among you as well' (Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 4b, line 8). As we are dealing here with a power struggle, note the comment of M.J. Kister, *Concepts of Authority*, p. 101, on a comparison between the Children of Israel and the Muslim community. Frequent comparisons are also found with Scriptural events, either real or invented, for example a saying attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad that a person named al-Walīd will treat his people worse that the way Pharaoh treated his people. The scholar al-Zuhrī interpreted this as perhaps reffering to the Umayyad caliphs al-Walīd b. Yazīd or al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 31a).

malḥama[83]. Ṣiffīn was the site of the famous battle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya in 657, and it is considered one of the most important *fitan*[84]. Some of the persons who transmitted from Ka'b and Wahb were members of their own families, and were also considered reliable sources for the identification of important sites of the End[85]. Nūf al-Bakkālī was the son of Ka'b's wife[86]. In answer to 'Abd al-Malik's question he enumerated the merits of Jerusalem in eschatological terms[87]. All these elements are connected in a way to the End. The same eschatological elements are used in another tradition to reject reservations against veneration of the Rock (the *ṣakhra*) because of its Jewish or Christian source[88].

The *zuhhād*, Muslim ascetics, were greatly interested in the Jewish and Christian heritage[89], and apparently were especially influenced by the model of Christian monks and hermits[90]. Many ascetics were occupied with eschatological matters, mainly the individual aspect, because of their great piety and their strong fear of God's judgement, which might lead to the fire of hell[91]. Among them there were important scholars who contributed to the development of literary apocalyptic material, especially during the seventh and the eighth centuries and also later[92]. According to one tradition, the famous ascetic Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d. *circa* 780)[93], regarded his period as 'the times of the punishments', most probably in an apocalyptic view. He urged his friends to leave 'this world' and go 'to the Holy Land and the mountains of Jerusalem... and he pointed with his hand to the mountain of Jerusalem...'[94]. Muslim ascetic

83 Nu'aym, *Fitan*, f. 11a.,
84 Nu'aym, *Fitan*, *passim*.
85 Cf. n. 48 above.
86 On him see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, part 2, p. 160; Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr*, Hyderabad, 1360-1364 AH, vol. 8, p. 129; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb*, p. 490; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awlyā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, Cairo 1932, vol. 6 p. 48.
87 Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 187, no. 267. Cf. Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il*, no. 28; Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'lāq al-Khatīra*, Damascus 1962, p. 188.
88 Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 109, no. 121. Cf. Al-Ḥanafī, *al-Mustaqṣā*, f. 35a; al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il*, p. 115, no. 115.
89 Cf. M. J. Kister, "Ḥaddithū 'an banī isrā'īla wa-la-ḥarajā'", *Israel Oriental Studies*, 2 (1972), p. 239.
90 Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, pp. 105-129.
91 *Ibid*., p. 118.
92 E.g., 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797). See on him *ibid*., p. 106. He was involved in apocalyptic traditions.
93 On him see R. Jones, 'Ibrāhīm b. Adham', *EI*², vol. 3, 1971, pp. 985-986.
94 Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 190, no. 272a. The tradition also expresses the futility of dealing with the lawful and unlawful duties (*al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy 'an al-munkar*) that are required from the Muslims in such times. This might be connected to a later development in Sufism, namely preference for the duties of the hearts than for the regular decrees of Islam. The lack of guidance about *al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy 'an al-munkar* appears (in a different way) as one of the signs of the corruption of people in the last days. See Jalīl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'a fī al-Aḥādīth al-*

circles played an extremely important role in the veneration of Jerusalem in Islam and in the creating of traditions 'In Praise of Jerusalem'[95]. The tradition mentioned above relates to the ascetic ideal of retirement from the company of men in order devote attention entirly to God (sometimes to avoid participating in the civil wars)[96]. Here, the location was the surroundings of Jerusalem, a dwelling place of Christian monks as well[97]. The tradition might also echo another important concept, basically derived from the Judaeo-Christian tradition: a place of refuge for believers in apocalyptic periods. Many traditions emphasize the importance of Jerusalem and Syria in that respect[98].

A comparison of scholars connected to traditions praising Jerusalem with the scholars detaileded in Madelung's articles, who were intensely engaged with apocalyptic traditions, mainly in the Syrian town of Ḥimṣ, is very interesting. Many of the traditionalists are found in both groups, among them ascetics[99]. Ka'b al-Aḥbār himself was an inhabitant of the town for many years, and he used to make pilgrimage from there to Jerusalem[100]. As in the case of Jerusalem, important ascetics cooperated with the Umayyad government, among them some important figures such as Khālid b. Ma'dān, an important official in the service of the dynasty, and a major apocalypsist[101]. Artā b. al-Mundhir (d. 779-780), an even more important figure in that field is considered to be a substitute-saint of his (*badīl*), according to one account[102]. The development of

Mawḍū'a, n. p. 1317 AH, vol. 2, p. 206. Ibn Adham recommended leaving the company of men altogether for religious seclusion (Al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilya*, vol. 8, p. 19). On the solitary in the mountains of Jerusalem see *ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 299, 345.

95 This was essentially the theory presented by S. D. Goitein in his article 'The Sanctity of Palestine in Muslim Piety', *Yediot*, 12 (1946), pp. 120-126 (in Hebrew). The English version was published in his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 13-148. See also Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, pp. 124-125.

96 Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, p. 112.

97 Goitein, *Sanctity*, p. 146. Cf. Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, p. 109.

98 Cf. concerning Syria and Damascus Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, pp. 215-216, no. 314. Among other similar traditions the places of refuge for the people will be Mecca and Medina (Ibn al-Murajjā, *ibid.*, p. 219, no. 321) or the mosques of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Mount Sinai (*ibid.*, p. 219, n. 319).

99 Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 28 ff., based upon the examination of the personalities in Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, including all the *isnād*s (cf. the numerous biographical references in Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*) and Madelung, *Sufyānī*; *Ḥimṣ*; *passim*.

100 Ibn al-Murajjā, p. 214, no. 312. See our n. 44. On a pilgrimage from Ḥimṣ to Jerusalem see also Ibn al-Murajjā, *ibid.*, pp. 184-185, no. 262. The persons in the traditions were from Ḥimṣ: cf. Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 30-31. This tradition, which reflects tendencies from the seventh century, hints at the different attitudes among ascetic circles toward the authorities.

101 See on him Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, p. 123, n. 214. On his activity as a scholar of apocalyptic traditions see Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, p. 174; *Sufyānī*, p. 14.

102 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khabar al-Dāll 'alā Wujūd al-Quṭb wa-l-Awtād wa-l-Nujabā' wa-l-Abdāl*, in al-Ḥāwī li-l-Fatātā, Cairo 1351 AH, vol. 2, pp. 469-470. Cf. Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, p. 144. On the substitute-saints see Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, pp. 122-124.

the concept of Holy Man in Islam, which is connected largely to ascetic circles in Syria, also had an apocalyptic aspect, and the terminology of certain grades of saints in the hierarchy of saints in Sufism is connected to some eschatological traditions[103].

The interest of the people of Ḥimṣ in Judaeo-Christian matters might have been linked to their relations with non-Muslim inhabitants of the area, mainly Christians, or to the fact that many of them were emigrants from Yemen[104], where people had been exposed to Judaeo-Christian traditions for generations. Apparently, this circumstance was not restricted only to Ḥimṣ in the Syrian territories.

Eschatology seems to have been an important element in the aura of sanctity surrounding the Dome of the Rock. The caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, the builder of the Dome of the Rock, appears to have been personally associated with apocalyptic traditions concerning the Rock[105]. The belief in Jerusalem and al-Shām (greater Syria) as the place of the resurrection was an important element, already exploited politically by Mu'āwiya, the first Umayyad caliph[106]. Indeed, a large body of traditions in praise of Syria, especially Damascus, regarded as the refuge place for the true believers, seems to be of evident Umayyad orientation. Nevertheless, religious motifs are not to be overlooked[107]. W. Madelung, in his work on the Sufyānī (the rival of the *mahdī*, the Messiah), illuminates various political tendencies involved in the creation and the changing of versions of apocalyptic traditions[108]. From the first schisms that split the Muslim community, political and military confrontations, the struggle for power, the rise and fall of dynasties, the status of important tribes, and their relations with the rulers, Sunna and Shī'a, all were portrayed, *inter alia*, by apocalyptic traditions. Among these are the disorder and the tribulations after the murder of the caliph 'Uthmān in 656, the Battle of the Camel (656), the battle of Ṣiffīn between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya in 657, the events following the death of Mu'āwiya in 680, the rebellion of Ibn al-Zubayr (680-692), and the taking over by the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad family[109]. The fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the ascent of the 'Abbāsids in

103 Livne-Kafri, *On Jerusalem*, p. 51, n. 117. On the terms *Abdāl* and *'aṣā'ib* mentioned there in an apocalyptic tradition see, e.g., Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 54. For ascetic concepts in apocalyptic traditions see e.g., Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, p. 111, n. 68. Cf. our n. 94.

104 See Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, p. 141.

105 Cf. our nn. 71, 87.

106 I. Hasson, 'Muslim View of Jerusalem - The Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*', *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 638-1099*, ed. J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai, Jerusalem 1996, pp. 357, 364.

107 Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 80-89.

108 Madelung, *Sufyānī*, pp. 5-48.

109 These issues are not treated specifically in this article. Many traditions are connected with them and they are set forth, for example, in Nu'aym, *Fitan*, passim. Cf. Madelung,

the middle of the eighth century 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[110]. Another important occurence was the rebellion in the Ḥijāz in 762 of the Shī'ite Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, *al-nafs al-zakiyya* (the Pure Soul) against the Abassids[111]. The Abassids themselves used messianic elements[112], and the development of messianic ideas in the different branches of the Shī'a was especially important. The case of the Shī'a is an obvious example of very close development of religious ideology together with political aspirations[113], but even in cases where the political aspect was dominant, religious phrasing and the stamp of religious authorities was needed.

Sufyānī, ibid., including the references to modern research; Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 50-56; Lewis, *Titles* (our n. 112).

110 The 'Abbāsids who rebelled against the old order prepared their organized revolution in Khurāsān. Their propaganda was phrased in traditions related to the Prophet Muḥammad, predicting that black banners (of their armies) will come out from Khurāsān, and they will be raised finally in Jerusalem. The helper of the sons of 'Abbās appears in more than one tradition of the 'black banners' (see, e.g., Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 227, no. 335). This is most probably Abū Muslim who headed the 'Abbāsid revolution in Khurasān. Such traditions apparently originated in his circle, or at least in his life-time, because shortly after the success of the revolution he was executed by the 'Abbāsids and it is hardly conceivable that such traditions originated for long after his death. One tradition says that Abū Muslim heard the tradition of the 'black banners' when he was still a youth ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb Ta'rīkh Dimashq al-Kabīr*, Beirut 1979, vol. 2, p. 294). Besides the logical assumption that this tradition aims at giving stronger validity to the tradition of the 'black banners', one might wonder if this was not a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' in a society where beliefs in fortune telling were widespread. Cf. McGinn, *Visions*, p. 7, line 20. On apocalyptic prophecies preserved from the early 'Abbāsid era see, e.g., Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, pp. 143 ff. The traditions of Ḥimṣ in general, and especially the early ones, were favourably disposed to the Umayyads (*ibid.*, p. 144).

111 According to a tradition on the authority of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the father of the Shī'ite line, the *mahdī* 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 *hijra* (immigration) will be Jerusalem. He will carry the banner of the Messenger of God until he alights in Jerusalem: Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 222, no. 325; al-Maqdisī, *Muthīr al-Gharām*, f. 89a; al-Suyūṭī, *Ithāf*, f. 56b; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, vol. 1, p. 237. Cf. our n. 7 on the term *hijra*. This description was most probably applied to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya* (the Pure Soul), from the Ḥasanid branch of the Shī'a, who rebelled against the 'Abbāsids in 762. The element of the 'black banners', initially an Abbāsid symbol (our n. 110), was now used against them. See Fr. Buhl, 'Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh', *EI*[1], vol. 3, 1936, pp. 665-666. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was defeated and killed in that year (762). His brother Ibrāhīm, who rebelled in Baṣra, was defeated and executed in 763. On him see L. Veccia Vaglieri, 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh', *EI*[2], vol. 3, 1971, pp. 983-985.

112 This is expressed by the spread of pro-'Abbāsid traditions concerning the *mahdī*, and even more so by the messianic titles that the first 'Abbāsid caliphs chose for themselves. See B. Lewis, 'The Regnal Titles of the First 'Abbāsid Caliphs', *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation Volume*, New Delhi 1968, pp. 13-22.

113 Cf. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Messianic Idea*, pp. 175-176.

However, the cooperation of the latter was not necessarily obtained under pressure or in return for benefits[114]. The apocalyptic literary 'dress' for the various political events noted, and others, will not be discussed here in detail[115].

The circles mentioned here were mainly converts to Islam, especially Jews, ascetics, and different political groups (some only briefly mentioned)[116]. Yet, any sharp division according to the different circles is artificial, and for convenience, since close connection sometimes existed among the circles involved, and one personality could be a representative of more than one circle[117].

Some aspects of the relations between Muslim apocalyptic literature and Jewish and Christian sources

Interpretation of Muslim apocalyptic traditions requires a search into the respective Jewish and Christian literatures because of the similarities of forms, themes, images, and symbols, and the fact that the borrowing from those sources was extensive. This concerns basic conceptions, for example, that history of humankind and of the entire cosmos has a fixed end according to a divine scheme, and the ideas of good and bad, reward and punishment, heaven and hell, messianic conceptions, and catastrophic or utopian elements of the End. Even the political traditions par excellence, which were composed against a concrete historical background of the Muslim society, need such a comparison to the Judaeo-Christian apocalypses because of the different patterns and elements borrowed from them. The difficulty to understand such traditions is sometimes due to the vague character of this genre, also in keeping with the traditional Judaeo-Christian apocalypse[118]. Extensive apocalyptic literary activity started among Christians and Jews from the seventh century in reaction to the rise of Islam, the invasions into the Christian lands, and the military and political activities of Islam later on[119]. In our check of the parallel Muslim

114 Cf. O. Livne-Kafri, 'The Origin of Jerusalem's Position as a Holy City in Islam', *Majallat al-Mu'allim*, 21 (1997), pp. 168-178.

115 Cf. our n. 109.

116 Men of *ḥadīth* gave their authority to promote tribal interests, dynastic aspirations or social and religious, and this is also reflected in apocalyptic traditions. It is impossible to deal in detail with all the groups involved in the framework of this article. One important group are the 'story tellers', preachers and tellers of legends. on their roll concerning Jerusalem see Hasson, *Muslim View*, p. 364. Cf. our note 117.

117 As shown in the various references in this article, Ka'b al-Aḥbār, a converted Jew, had ascetic tendencies and was close to the Umayyad authorities. He was also considered to be a *qāṣṣ*, 'a storyteller'. See Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-l-Mudhakkirīn*, Beirut 1971, p. 28. Cf. our n. 79 concerning Tamīm al-Dārī. In fact elements of preaching and 'storytelling' were an important tool used also by the authorities. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *ibid.*, pp. 28-29. Cf. our n. 116.

118 McGinn, *Visions*, p. 5.

119 *Ibid.*, *passim*; Even Shmuel, *passim.*

traditions, we must consider the possibility of mutual influences as well[120]. Extensive borrowing from the Judaeo-Christian tradition in general was a subject of debate[121], as is typical for a new religion which, although possessing its unique value system, still depends on the old ones. In the case of apocalyptic, the Judaeo-Christian model was especially strong, for example, the role of Jerusalem as the stage of the eschatological drama[122]. However, in the framework of the inner debate over the sanctity of holy places in Islam, where the attitude towards Jerusalem was an important issue, Muslim scholars reserved the highest rank for Mecca, followed by Medina, and only afterwards came Jerusalem in terms of religious duties and honour[123]. Even as regards the centrality of Jerusalem in cosmology (centre of the earth, proximity to heaven, the heavenly Temple, the source of sweet water, etc.) parallel systems were sometimes presented for Mecca and its sanctuary the Ka'ba[124]. The question is why the Judaeo-Christian tradition was so powerful a model in the case of apocalyptic materials.

Another example is the preservation of apocalyptic models and patterns from the Umayyad period by the 'Abbāsids and Shī'ites[125]. This may be one case where the legend reflects a reality that is not so obvious from other sources: the great influence of apocalypse on the mind of the public, especially during the seventh and eighth centuries, the strong impact of Jewish and Christian conceptions on Muslim society (including direct contacts)[126], and the veneration for Jerusalem, also in light of eschatological beliefs, which shows the power of ideas and customs established during the Umayyad period[127].

The apocalypse as a source for history

The historical background needed for the interpretation of an apocalyptic tradition is taken from other sources, mainly chronicles, and rarely can an apocalyptic tradition contribute to its 'specific history' in the narrow definition[128]. The apocalyptic traditions cannot be used as the main source for

120 Cf. Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, pp. 274-276.
121 See Kister, *Ḥaddithū*, pp. 215-239.
122 See, e.g., Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 23-56. One important aspect is the special custom of burial in Jerusalem and the Holy Land because of their being the place of the resurrection (*ibid.*, pp. 38-41). See the important remark by I. Hasson in 'The Literature in Praise of Jerusalem (*Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*)', *Notes and Studies on the History of the Holy Land*, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem 1976, p. 53, n. 28 (in Hebrew).
123 M.J. Kister, 'You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques, a Study of an Early Tradition', *Le Muséon*, 82 (1969), pp. 173-196.
124 Livne-Kafri, *Navel*, e.g., pp. 80, 97-99.
125 Madelung, *Sufyānī*, *passim*; Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 50-56.
126 See Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, pp. 107-108.
127 See, e.g., the religious visits of 'Abbāsid caliphs in Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, p. 52, n. 157.
128 P.J. Alexander raised the question of whether ancient apocalypses may contain historical

important historical events, decisive battles, military and political struggles, the rise and the fall of dynasties, religious controversies, or natural disasters, but they certainly reflect the fears, horror, and despair of the people facing such calamities, and their hopes for a better future. The character of these traditions might be a measure of the powerful impression of certain events on the mind of the people at the time. The creators of the apocalypses, in addition to a personal need to express their own feelings, probably intended to influence public opinion, for example, in promoting political aims, social tendencies, or religious values. Apocalyptic traditions might, for example, reflect the atmosphere preveiling among the fighters against the infidels, and serve as propaganda to attract warriors and inhabitants to areas of perpetual shedding of Muslims's blood[129]. No wonder that some such some traditions are aimed against the Byzantines, the Rum, an actual threat and a traditional eschatological enemy[130]. For many ascetics fighting the infidels on the frontiers was a way of fulfilling God's will; the ascetics were important propagandists calling the people to participate in the fighting there, partly by use of eschatological themes[131]. The major role of ascetics in the sanctification of Jerusalem in Islam led to the creation of 'combined sanctity' traditions for Jerusalem and the frontier towns, including a common pilgrimage that combined frontier towns and the holy cities of Mecca and Jerusalem[132]. Eschatological symbols are also used regarding these towns, primarily in reference to Jerusalem, such as the heavenly city, the personification of a town, and its image as a bride[133]. The spread of a certain tradition might indicate its popularity[134]. Traditions that mention specific dates[135], or specific limited

information not known from other historical sources. See his article 'Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources', *The American Historical Review*, 73/4 (1968), pp. 997-1018. On the possibility of information being derived from the *fitan* and not from the chronicles see Madelung, *Ḥimṣ*, p. 148 (concerning a siege by Marwān II against Ḥimṣ in 744-5).

129 E.g., the glorification of fighting the Byzantines on the Palestinian coast, appears as an apocalyptic text. Cf. our nn. 58-60. Cf. Cook, *Muslim apocalyptic*, p. 67 on the role of apocalyptic traditions in giving people encouragement in difficult times, and in conveying the message of the preacher or ascetic and the hidden feeling of the populace towards their government. Cook deals mainly with the aspect of *jihād*, the holy war, as connected to the apocalyptic tradition.

130 Cf. Ibn Al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 209, no. 303; al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il*, p. 54, no. 81 and the sources quoted by the editors.

131 See in detail Livne-Kafri, *Diversity and Complexity*, section 'From Ascalon to Jerusalem'.

132 Ibn a-Murajjā, *ibid.*, pp. 193-194, no. 178. The tradition is only partly quoted by Ibn al-Firkāḥ, *Bā'ith*, p. 60, and is quoted thus by Kister, *The Three Mosques*, p. 192, n. 97, and by H. Busse, 'The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam', *Judaism*, 17 (1968), p. 467. Cf. Ibn al-Murajjā, *ibid.*, pp. 94-95, no. 91.

133 Livne-Kafri, *Diversity and Complexity, loc. cit.*

134 One example is the *ḥadīth* of the black banners (our nn. 110-111).

periods of time, are particularly significant, attesting to the rise of eschatological tension at those moments, and enriching our knowledge with information additional to that obtained from the historical sources[136]. Still it is important to check if a stated time does not reflect an 'eschatological date' rather than a historical reality, or perhapse both[137]. As a by-product of the research, the traditions might be also used to some extent as a source for other cultural and social matters[138].

It is interesting to note that many apocalyptic traditions were not included in the 'canonical collections' of *ḥadīth*. This might indicate antagonism of the *ḥadīth* critics to a literature reflecting schism in the Muslim community, or perhaps because this literature tends more to perpetual changes as adaptations to a new 'apocalyptic reality'. The traditions in these collections seem to belong to the oldest stratum of the Muslim apocalypse; among them are those concerning cosmic changes, the appearance of false messiahs, most prominently the *dajjāl*, Gog and Magog, economic and social changes, and others[139]. Jewish and Christian parallels to these traditions exist[140].

In the 'historical traditions' historical elements are almost always mixed with 'traditional apocalyptic themes'. Our assumption is that the borrowing from the Judaeo-Christian heritage was not careless or haphazared, and we must try to isolate parts of an apocalyptic tradition against a specific historical background. However, we should keep in mind that 'traditional elements' from the Judaeo-Christian apocalypse might be preserved as they are, without any historical connotation, among other things, because of the wish to preserve the vague nature so typical of such traditions.

135 See the examples quoted in Livne-Kafri, *The Sanctity of Jerusalem*, p. 268, n. 241. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 236-237 on a kind of 'millenary conceptions'. In the framework of this article I do not examine the different dates which appear in the apocalyptic tradition.

136 See Lewis, *Apocalyptic Vision*, p. 335, below, the period of 'three and a half years', 'a traditional apocalyptic period' reflected as a historical reality.

137 A tradition on the authority of Ka'b al-Aḥbār said, 'Once the year sixty [AH] comes, the celibates should not get married'. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 172, no. 239. Cf. Abū Zur'a, *al-Awwal min al-Ta'rīkh*, p. 289. Cf. pp. 111-112 and the other references in Ibn al-Murajjā, *ibid.* This tradition echoes the civil wars after the death of the caliph Mu'āwiya (680) and it might reflect ascetic tendencies such as the futility of regular life in the times of the End (cf. our n. 94) or celibacy (Livne-Kafri, *Ascetics*, p. 111). On the number sixty in the Christian apocalyptic tradition cf. P.J. Alexander, 'The Oracles of Baalbek', *Dumberton Oaks Studies*, 10 (1976), pp. 41, 54. Cf. our n. 136.

138 E.g., the role of women as creators and transmitters of *ḥadīth*, such as the daughter of Khālid b. Ma'dān (cf. our n. 101) according to Madelung, *Sufyānī*, p. 14, or the status of ascetic women (cf. our n. 71, end, concerning Umm al-Dardā').

139 Cf. notes 22, 29.

140 E.g., we find a Muslim usage of the terms Sons of Esau' (al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 160, no. 212), Sons of Edom,' to denote the Byzantines. On such a usage in Jewish sources see Hirschberg, *Temple Mount*, pp. 115-116; Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, p. 162. On the usage in the Christian tradition to denote the Greeks and the Romans, cf. the Syriac

Indeed, inquiring into the Muslim apocalypse needs, in addition to information from the chronicles and other sources, close examination of the Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition, even regarding 'pure' political apocalyptic traditions. This is may be the most important lesson of this article. The issues and aspects dealt with here - the character of Muslim apocalyptic tradition, the terminology, the nature of the sources, apocalypse as a source to history, the circles involved, and the different aspects of Muslim traditions between Judaism and Christianity - have been presented somewhat schemätically. This is due to the unsatisfactory general state of research into Muslim apocalyptic literature, which makes it difficult to confront the whole picture in detail. As stated, these notes intentionally refer to only some aspects of the Muslim eschatological picture, and major issues, some of which I dealt with in another article[141], were omitted here, or mentioned briefly. In additional studies on this subject I intend to address mainly certain issues, motifs and elements connected with the Muslim apocalyptic tradition in light of Judaeo-Christian parallels, especially the relations between the Arabic apocalyptic traditions and the Jewish *Midreshei Geula* (Midrashim of Redemption) and the Christian apocalyptic[142].

HAIFA UNIVERSITY, HAIFA

SUMMARY

Muslim apocalyptic literature is extremely important as a source to the history of the Muslim community in the first centuries of the hijra. *The basic source is the Qur'ān, but most of the materials belong to the* ḥadīth *(the Muslim Tradition), in which the stamp of the Judaeo-Christian tradition is well attested. The field as a whole has not been explored thoroughly, and this article presents certain aspects and observations mainly corcerning the view that there was a close connection among Jewish, Christian and Muslim eschatological traditions and that inquiring into the Muslim apocalypse needs, in addition to information from Muslim historical sources, close examination of the parallel Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition. The article deals inter alia with the special apocalyptic terminology and basic conceptions, the sources, the circles involved in the creation of Muslim apocalyptic traditions and some aspects of Muslim traditions between Judaism and Christianity.*

work of Aphrahat, *Demonstrationes*, pp. 220, 229.

141 Livne-Kafri, *End of Days*, pp. 26-56.

142 Cf. n. 2.