ON APOCALYPTIC FEATURES IN SOME PALESTINIAN APOCALYPTIC TRADITIONS

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Abstract

Apocalyptc was an important literary genre among Muslum scholars. It reflected religious ideas, functioned as a tool to advance social and political goals, and strived to shape public opinion. This article, following important observations of A. Elad, studies the significance of some minor Palestinian sites, which were connected to a specific apocalyptic event: The death of the dajjal, the antichrist of the Musalim tradition. The Muslim texts are examined in connection with non-Muslim sources (especially Jewish apocalyptic materials), against the historical background, and in relation to the Muslim system of values.

Key Words: Muslim apocalyptic, Jewish sources, al-dajjal, Afiq, Nahr Abi Futrus, Tiberias.

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The apocalyptic tradition was an important cultural channel among medieval scholars. It reflected religious ideas, functioned as a tool to advance social and political goals, and strived to shape public opinion. In many cases Muslim apocalyptic traditions reflect geographical sources and regional interests. Such was the extensive activity of Muslim scholars in Syria from a very early period. Many Muslim traditions reflect Syrian issues and interests, such as Syrian claims for supremacy, dynastic sympathies, tribal and local tendencies, conflicts with other provinces and struggles against non-Muslim enemies, especially the Byzantines, with whom there were constant conflicts along the common borders and on the Mediterranean coasts. This is especially true for the Umayyad period (661-750) when pro-Syrian traditions became widely spread, but also after the advent of the ʻAbbāsids in 750 and the shift of the central power to Iraq. These matters appear in different kinds of Muslim traditions. When they appear in apocalyptic traditions they are depicted in traditional apocalyptic themes and images. Certain locations in Syria (*al-shām*), especially Jerusalem, which was considered to be within its boundaries, and Damascus (the capital of the Umayyads), enjoyed special rank in Muslim apocalyptic traditions. But the present article will focus on some minor sites in Palestine that have a certain apocalyptic role. Their traditions seem quite marginal at first reading. However as we look into their apocalyptic characteristics, the historical circumstances, and the reasons why such apocalyptic importance was attached to them, we encounter an unexpected diversity of sources and a complexity of research directions and methodologies. We hope that this modest study will form another layer in Muslim apocalyptic research, to which significant studies have been contributed in recent years, and in which so much is still to be done.

Jerusalem and Afīq in some traditions on the *dajjāl*

The *dajjāl* is the antichrist of the Muslim tradition. This legend was heavily influenced by the Christian legend of the antichrist, and as in the Christian tradition it plays a prominent part in Muslim apocalyptic traditions in general.[1] There might be also some connection to the figure of Aramilus, the antichrist of the Jewish legend.[2] The starting point of the present discussion is associated with a specific element: the place where the *dajjāl* will die. The killing of the *dajjāl*, generally by Jesus (ʻIsā), is one of the most significant events in the struggle between Good and Evil at the end of days. The identification of the place where this will happen is thus of special importance. Muslim traditions point to some such places.[3] In accordance with the Jewish and the Christian traditions, Jerusalem is mentioned in this connection in the Muslim traditions as well. This in fact belongs to a large body of Muslim traditions promising Jerusalem a special rank of sanctity, including prominent status in the eschatology of the Day of Judgement and in apocalyptic events.[4] According to some traditions the *dajjāl* will be killed at Lod Gate in Jerusalem or in the vicinity of the town Lod.[5] This study focuses on two

other locations in Palestine that seem to be secondary to all the other places in which the the *dajjāl* is supposed to be killed: Afīq in the southern Golan, and Nahr Abī Fuṭrus (the Yarkon), following A. Elad's important suggestions in his article on "The Southern Golan in the Early Muslim Period".[6] It is important to mention here that the examination of 'places' may signify important findings in the study of apocalyptic literature in general,[7] and that geographical and topographical background is highly important in the evaluation of apocalyptic traditions.[8]

Some notes on the parallel Jewish and Christian sources

An important lesson from earlier studies on Muslim apocalyptic literature is that a comparison with parallel Jewish and Christian materials (the discussion on the *dajjāl* included) often improves understanding of these Muslim texts.[9] In the first half of the 7th century a flourishing creation of Jewish apocalyptic literature began, which continued until the Crusader period. This literature was to a great extent a reaction to political, religious and military disturbances, in some of which Palestine was the focus of the controversy. Initially it was a reaction to the wars between the Persians and the Byzantines at the end of Byzantine rule in Palestine, and then as a reaction to the Arab conquests. Apocalypses that appeared later on were created against the background of inner struggles and external conflicts, under both the Umayyad and the ʻAbbāsid dynasty.[10] The distress, agony and fears caused by the experience of terrible events were behind the composition of these writings, but also the hopes for better times are reflected in Christian works as well. An important example is the seventh-century apocalypse known as Pseudo-Methodius, written in reaction to the emergence of Islam and the occupation of territories formerly under Christian Byzantine rule.[11] An obvious element in such non-Muslim compositions is the use of well known apocalyptic themes and motifs such as Gog and Mago, the appearance of the antichrist and the second coming of the messiah, and the like (not entirely disconnected from the historical circumstances). Earlier studies of medieval Jewish apocalypses were accompanied by a search of Muslim sources (especially the chronicles),[12] and it seems that the reverse, namely reading Muslim apocalyptic traditions in comparison with such Jewish and Christian compositions, might be of great benefit.[13] It is also important to check whether Muslim scholars who created and spread apocalyptic traditions were aware of the content, ideas, symbols or the polemic in the non-Muslim works, whether they borrowed from these materials, reacted to them, and recognized their importance and influence.[14] These are not simple questions. It is not always easy, for example, to isolate apocalyptic elements in this Jewish and Christian literature from previous apocalyptic materials or to draw a clear line between Jewish and Christian sources. One must also be aware of the possibility of a loan from the Muslim sources in the Jewish and the Christian apocalypses. The basis of Muslim apocalyptic literature is the eschatology of the Qur'ān, which imparts legitimacy to the whole field, but most apocalyptic materials are formed as *ḥadīth* traditions.

These traditions are spread across compositions of different genres, but especially in books or chapters dedicated solely to the apocalypse. This literature is a unique Muslim creation: it reflects Islamic ideas, and is closely connected to the history of the Muslim community in the first centuries of Islam. Even elements that are obviously of Jewish or Christian origin are presented within the Muslim system of values and basic beliefs. Even a special Muslim terminology was formed for the needs of this literature.[15] Muslim apocalyptic traditions sometimes express a reaction to the same historical events that are hinted in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic sources.[16] The interpretation of all these texts is not easy, among other things because of the vague character typical of apocalyptic materials in general, the mixture of legend and reality, and the need to observe the differences between new editing and old versions. Here we shall examine some Muslim traditions connected with Palestinian locations to see whether they might be connected with non-Muslim sources (Jewish apocalyptic materials in particular), and ascertain their uniqueness against the historical background and the Muslim system of values.

The importance of Elad's observations

The starting point of my article is Elad's aforementioned study, in which he emphasizes the special status of Afīq in Muslim apocalyptic traditions.[17] According to Elad, "the earlier geographical writers, from mid-3/9 century, mention it as a station on the main road from Damascus to Tiberias". He also points out that "an inscription published by M. Sharon, testifies to the levelling of the steep mountain pass, leading to Afīq plain, known as ʻAqabat Afīq, by order of the Caliph ʻAbd al-Malik in 73/692".[18] Elad's observations concerning Afīq are extremely valuable for the methodology of apocalyptic research in some issues: the apocalyptic field (although this is only a very small part of the whole study) is discussed in parallel to a thorough examination of the historical and the geographical background; an attempt is made to identify the time and the place in which the traditions on Afīq were created; Elad characterises the personalities involved in these traditions, and he asks why such traditions were connected to Afīq in the first place. The most significant tradition related to Afīq is the identification of ʻAqabat Afīq as the place in which the *dajjāl* will be killed. Elad points to the difficulty of such an identification.[19] According to one tradition, Abū Ghālib (an identified traditionalist, according to Elad), said: "I was walking with Nawf until I arrived to ʻAqabat al-Fīq. Nawf said: This is the place in which the messiah will kill al-*dajjāl*".[20] Elad treats in detail the figure of Nawf b. Faḍāla al-Bikālī (or: al-Bakkālī), an important representative of the *isrā'īliyyāt* (associated generally with Jewish or Christian materials), a local traditionalist and a transmitter of traditions in Praise of Jerusalem (died between 80 and 90/699 and 709).[21] His family connection is very important: he was the son of the wife of Kaʻb al-Aḥbār, a prominent figure in the

field of *isrā'īliyyāt* in general, and in the creation of apocalyptic traditions in particular.[22] Elad believes that these traditions are early and that they spread out during the Umayyad period. As to the status of Afīq in apocalyptic literature, Elad suggests that it is connected to "the immediate vicinity of Afīq, namely, the Sea of Galilee, that has an interesting status within the traditions of *al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim*". Also, according to Elad, these traditions may be linked to others, associating the end of the *dajjāl* with the spring at the bottom of a certain ʻAqaba (*fī asfal al-ʻaqaba*), subsequently identified with ʻAqabat al-Fīq. He also points to the local origin of other transmitters of a tradition on Afīq (from Tiberias and Acre), located in Jund al-Urdunn.[23] These suggestions of Elad are extremely important.

From Afīq near Jerusalem to Afīq in the Golan?

H. Lazarus Yafeh, in her article "Is there a Concept of Redemption in Islam?", quotes from al-Bayḍāwī, the well known thirteenth-century Qur'ān commentator, his commentary on verse 61 of Sūra 43 (*al-zukhruf*) in which it is reported that Jesus will descend a hill in the holy land, called Afīq; in his hand he holds a lance with which he will slay the antichrist, then he will enter Jerusalem...[24] But Afīq appears already in the old commentary on the same verse by Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 768). According to him "he [Jesus] will descend at *thaniyyat* Afīq, and it is the mountain of Jerusalem which is called Afīq" (*yanzilu ʻalā thaniyyat afīq, wa-huwa jabal bayt al-maqdis, yuqālu lahu afīq*...).[25] The last two sources do not speak of an *ʻaqaba*, but of *thaniyya*. In fact, the two words might be used alternatively in the sense of 'a mountain-road', 'a mountain pass' or 'a difficult place of ascent of the mountain'.[26]

There might be here a shift from the area of Jerusalem – which is endowed with great prestige in Muslim apocalyptic literature in general, and as the place in which the *dajjāl* will be killed in particular – to Afīq in the southern Golan, which seems to be a marginal location in both history and the apocalypse. Another tradition (attributed to the prophet Muḥammad), quoted by Nuʻaym b.Ḥammād (d. 229/844) in his well known *Kitāb al-Fitan*, starts: "When the *dajjāl* will come to Afīq, his shadow will fall on the Muslims…".[27] This tradition too includes elements which appear in a tradition on Jerusalem.[28] Elad's suggestion of a certain shift in the traditions of the *ʻaqaba* (p. 74) seems basically correct.

The Sea of Galilee (Buḥayrat Ṭabariyya)

As mentioned before, Elad believes that the reasons for the apocalyptic status of Afīq originated from its immediate vicinity, namely the Sea of Galilee,

which "has an interesting status within the traditions of *al-fitan wa-l-malāḥim*" (apocalyptic warfare and strife). Elad refers to another study of his in which treats the importance of the Sea of Galilee in eschatology. There he quotes, for example, a tradition that "the Ark [of the Covenant] and the rod of Moses are in Lake Tiberias and they will emerge before the resurrection of the dead", or a tradition concerning Jerusalem and Tiberias whereby "it became known…, that through *al-mahdī*, the Ark of the Presence of God will be discovered in the waters of Tiberias, and then carried and placed before him in Jerusalem, and when the Jews will look upon it, they will almost all be converted to Islam…".[29] The matter of the rod appears in the Book of Zerubbabel, one of the earliest Jewish apocalypses composed in the seventh century.[30] Mentioned there is 'a rod of salvation' that God will give Hephziba, the mother of the Messiah Menahem ben Amiel, to protect the people of Israel. This ancient rod, given first to Adam, is hidden in Rakkat, a city in Naphtali.[31] "Rakkat, a city in Naphtali" is Tiberias,[32] which was blessed elsewhere by an apocalyptic promise that "from there Israel will be delivered in the future" (*misham atidin israel le-igael*)".[33] Later on the Book of Zerubbabel relates that Armilus (the antichrist of the Jewish legend) will come at the head of ten gentile kings to Jerusalem. He will kill the Messiah son of Joseph, Nehemiah son of Hushiel, and Israel will be exiled to the desert. But Hephziba, mother of the messiah Menahem ben Amiel, will stand at the eastern gate of Jerusalem to prevent the wicked Armilus from entering the city, to fulfil the prophecy (Zechariah 14:2) that the remainder of the people will not be utterly cut off. This parallels a similar theme in the Muslim sources: shelter-places from the horrors of the apocalyptic age, especially from the *dajjāl* and Gog and Magog.[34]

Tiberias and Antioch

The end of the Book of Zerubbabel gives a description of the final apocalyptic battle in Arbel (in the vicinity of Tiberias) against Armilus (against Gog and Magog in another version) in which Armilus will be killed by the messiah, and/or Gog and Magog will be dead.[35] Even before this final battle it is told that Armilus will go from Jerusalem to Rivla (Riblah: identified with Antioch) and conquer it. Then he will join battle with the sons of Qedar in the Valley of Arbel, after which Armilus will take over the whole world.[36] Thus Arbel, the crucial apocalyptic battle in which the Arabs (sons of Qedar) are also involved,[37] is connected according to this Jewish apocalypse to the Valley of Arbel which is close to Tiberias on the west. The Muslim traditions on Afīq might reflect a shift of apocalyptic events from the western side of the Sea of Galilee to the eastern side (which is one of the directions whence the *dajjāl* appears in Muslim traditions).[38] Rivla, as stated, is identified here with Antioch. This town (Anṭākiyya in Arabic) is connected to several Muslim traditions, very similar to those mentioned before concerning Tiberias. According to one of them, in Antioch are hidden the Torah,

the staff of Moses, the broken tablets of the Torah and the table of Solomon.[39] Another tradition says that the *mahdī* will fight the Byzantines and he will take the Ark of the Covenant (*tabūt al-saīkna*) from a cave in Antioch.[40] In the Jewish eschatological picture Antioch indeed does have a certain place.[41] A connection may also exist here to a report that the remnants of the Temple of Jerusalem arrived there.[42] Elsewhere I have suggested that certain traditions of the eschatological Valley Wars (*al-a'māq*) connected to the valleys of Antioch (but most probably also to the coastal valleys of Syria and Palestine in general) might be partly linked to Jewish apocalyptic traditions which emerged prior to the Arab conquests, and that the names Tiberias, Acre and Antioch somehow echo the Jews' uprisings and their support for the Persians at the time of the Byzantine emperors Phocas and Heraclius.[43] One Muslim tradition belonging to the fighting in the 'valleys' indeed connects 'Aqabat Afīq with that fighting. It tells that the Byzantines will land on the plain of Acre (*sahl 'Akka*); they will take over Filasṭīn and the Jordan Valley and Jerusalem, but they will not be able to cross 'Aqabat Afīq for forty days. Later there will be a fight between them and the Muslims in the valley (literally: *marj*, meadow), of Acre, and they will fight there till the horses walk in blood .[44] Then Allāh will defeat them and [the Muslims] will kill them, except for a group that will go to the Mountain of Lebanon and then to a mountain in the land of Byzantium.[45] Here we might find a clue to the apocalyptic status of Afīq: its strategic location on the main road to Damascus, the capital of the Umayyads, against the background of naval invasions by the Byzantine fleet on the coast of Palestine.[46] This tradition may express fears prevailing at the time of its composition of a military invasion of the plain of Acre, which will then continue through 'Aqabat Afīq into the heart of the Muslim empire: Damascus. It might be connected to rumours of wars at that time, or even to an historical event not known from the chronicles.[47]

Afīq and the apocalyptic traditions on Nahr Abī Fuṭrus

One tradition connects 'Aqabat Afīq, east of the Lake of Galilee, to Nahr Abī Fuṭrus (the Yarkon), another minor location in which the *dajjāl* is predestined to be killed (cf. our notes 6, 48). This tradition describes an eschatological battle of the Muslims in Syria against the *dajjāl*. Nahr Abī Fuṭrus will become a refuge for those fleeing from the *dajjāl*, who will go down from 'Aqabat Afīq. He will besiege the Muslims for forty days and will order Nahr Abī Furus to be dried up, and it will dry up.[48] It is interesting that in this eschatological battle, just as in the Jewish tradition on the battle in Arbel against Armilus (in its different versions),[49] the *dajjāl* story is mixed with elements from the legend of Gog and Magog. The water motif is well known from the story of Gog and Magog: according to Muslim traditions Gog and Magog will drink the water of the Euphrates and the Tigris and

the water of the Lake of Galilee, and they will dry up completely.[50] This motif seems to have been transferred from Gog and Magog accounts to the tradition on Nahr Abī Furus.[51] The historical circumstances might be indicative for understanding why certain apocalyptic elements were connected to Nahr Abī Fuṭrus. This place is associated with one of the crucial incidents marking the fall of the Umayyads. Eighty members of the defeated Umayyad family were executed there by the ʻAbbāsids in 750.[52] This seems to be a logical explanation that set out an earthly battle in terms of a well known eschatological motif: victory against the powers of evil. But the nucleus of such a tradition might also have appeared earlier. A possible connection might be related to Jewish converts who knew about different biblical towns named Afeq both in the location of Afīq (as intimated by the sound of the name) and in Nahr Abī Fuṭrus (see note 27). Both places were situated on strategic passages on the main road to the north. It is not improbable that this strategic place was the arena of other events (even local), not registered in the Arabic chronicles. Most elements in the local traditions dealt with above may originally have emerged in the Umayyad period (cf. Elad, "The Southerrn Golan", p. 74), but their final shaping was some time in the ʻAbbāsid period.

Additional information

Tiberias is mentioned not only in relation to the apocalyptic content mentioned above. Nuʻaym's book has a chapter on eschatological wars reflecting the reality created after the rise of the ʻAbbāsids, but also tensions in the ʻAbbāsid family that developed later on. One tradition speaks of "the seventh among the seven" who will appear when the people of the black banners fight wars among themselves. The two fighting parties will meet at a place named al-Uqḥuwāna. After a battle near the Lake of Tiberias, the water of the lake will become red with their blood.[53] The battle will go on to Damascus, until the horses walk in blood. The black banners are usually identified with the ʻAbbāsids. This apocalyptic tradition might have its roots in the struggle between the two sons of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd, al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn.[54] Another tradition might be quoted here concerning "the seventh of the sons of ʻAbbās who will call the people to justice…". Maʾmūn, who was the victor in that battle and became caliph (813-833), was the seventh Abbasid ruler.[55] The portrayal of his image in messianic colours is not surprising. The ʻAbbasids, like other parties in Islam, used messianic elements, including the assumption of messianic titles in their names.[56] Possible support for this might be found in the Samaritan chronicle *Kitāb al-Tarīkh* written by Abū al-Fatḥ Ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Sāmirī (d. 1355) which preserves older Palestinian traditions.[57] This Muslim tradition might even reflect events in 833, the

year in which al-Ma'mūn died and was succeeded by his brother al-Mu'taṣim. That year, this chronicle tells, a revolt in Tiberias was suppressed.[58]

In conclusion: The starting point of this article was a discussion of apocalyptic traditions on Afīq as studied by A. Elad. The connection of these traditions to other places (especially Nahr Abī Fuṭrus, Tiberias and Antioch), in comparison with non-Muslim sources (especially Jewish apocalypses) will hopefully be another layer in the study of Muslim apocalyptic literature and its methodology. As in the study of other apocalyptic materials, the findings are not always conclusive, but together with the extensive documentation they create a basis for further discussion.

Notes

* The starting point of my article is Amikam Elad's important study "The Southern Golan in the Early Muslim Period: The Significance of Two Newly Discovered Milestones of 'Abd al-Malik", *Der Islam* 76 (1999), pp. 33-38.

1. See A. Abel, "al-Dadjdjāl", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, Vol. 2 (1987), p. 75; R. Tottoli, "Ḥadīths and Traditions in Some Recent Books upon the Dajjāl (Antichrist)", *Oriente Moderno* 21 (2002), pp. 55-75; see basic information *ibid*., p. 55, note 2; especially the reference to D.J. Halperin's study "The Ibn Ṣayyād Traditions and the Legend of *al-Dajjāl*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96 (1976), pp. 213-225. An important contribution to that subject are the important observations on the figure of the *dajjāl* in D. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton, 2002: *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 21), *passim*; see especially pp. 92-120. On the antichrist see, e.g., W. Bousset, "Antichrist", *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1, p. 578; "Antichrist", *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 4, pp. 466-469 (in Hebrew); O. Limor, *Christian Traditions of the Mount of Olives in the Byzantine and the Arab Period*, MA. Thesis, The Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 136 (in Hebrew).

2. See "Armilus Ha-Rasha", *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 5, cols. 947-954 (in Hebrew).

3. See A. Elad, "The Southern Golan in the Early Muslim Period: The Significance of Two Newly Discovered Milestones of 'Abd al-Malik", *Der Islam* 76 (1999), pp. 73-74. Elad refers there to the detailed documentation quoted by him in his book *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1995), p. 134, note 286. He mentions also Damascus and Medina as places where the *dajjāl* is supposed to be killed. Another place, al-Kūfa in Iraq, is mentioned by Cook, *Muslim Apocalyptic*, p. 106. Note that not only is the *dajjal*'s place of death important, but also the place of his origin: see *ibid*., p. 94. Such is a tradition according to which the *dajjāl* is from the tribe of Levi, son of Jacob; he will be

born in Beth Shean (Baysān): see Nu'aym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī (d. 229/844) in his *Kitāb al-Fitan wa-l-Malāḥim*, ed. Majdī b. Manṣūr b. Sayyid al-Shūra (Beirut, 1997), p. 362, line 7; *The Same*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut, 1993), p. 320; cf. Cook, *Muslim Apocalyptic*, p. 95. I chose to quote the traditions in both editions in order to match Elad's quotations with those in other articles of mine. According to a Christian tradition the antichrist belongs to the tribe of Dan (another son of Jacob); see, e.g., B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), p. 49. This Christian legend reflects an anti-Jewish tendency that had an impact on the Muslim tradition. See, e.g., Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (Cairo, 1952-1953), Vol. 2, pp. 1361-1362. On Beth Shean see J. Sourdel-Thomine, "Baysān", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, Vol. 1 (1960), pp. 1138-1139. Beth Shan is associated also with the *sufyanī* and the *sakhrī*, other evil apocalyptic figures. These appear in traditions that were apparently connected to historical reality and power struggles first in the Umayyad period, and then in the 'Abbāsid period. Cf., e.g., O. Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem in Muslim Traditions of the End of Days", *Cathedra* 86 (1998), pp. 54-55 (in Hebrew); Cook, *Muslim Apoalyptic*, p. 165. On another apocalyptic evil character see "A Note on Luka' b. Luka' in Muslim Apocalyptic Traditions", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, Nova Serie 1 (2006), pp. 49-53.

Other important apocalyptic battles between the power of Good against the power of Evil are those of Gog and Magog. See E. van Donzel and C. Otti, "Ya'djūdj wa-Ma'djūdj", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, Vol. 11 (2002), pp. 231-234.

4. On the sanctity of Jerusalem in general see, e.g., H. Busse, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam", *Judaism* 17 (1968), pp. 441-468; I. Hasson, "The Muslim View of Jerusalem – The Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth", in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 638-1099*, ed. J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem, 1996), pp. 349-385; O. Livne-Kafri, "On Muslim Jerusalem in the Period of Its Formation", *Liber Annuus* 55 (2005), pp. 203-216; Elad, *Jerusalem*, *passim*. On the role of Jerusalem in Muslim eschatology and apocalyptic literature see O. Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Eschatological Aspect", *Arabica* 53, no. 3 (2006), pp. 382-403; see especially, Cook, *Muslim Apoalyptic*, through the detailed index.

5. See Elad, *Jerusalem*, pp. 133-136: Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem", p. 48. For another theory concerning Lod see section "The Gate of Lod" in my article "Some Observations Concerning Muslim Apocalyptic Literature in Light of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Traditions", accepted for publication in *Studia Islamica*.

6. Elad, "The Southern Golan", p. 73, note 175; cf. our references to Elad's works at the beginning of note 3 above.

7. Cf. P.J. Alexander, "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources", *The American Historical Review* 73 no. 4 (1968), p. 1004.

8. On the special emphasis on the development of apocalyptic traditions in different geographical parts of the Muslim empire, on the meaning of place-names, and even on 'tracing' a tradition along its topographical lines, see Cook, *Muslim Apocalyptic*, *passim*.

9. See, e.g., O. Livne-Kafri, "Muslim Apocalyptic Traditions Attributed to Daniel (in Light of a Jewish Tradition)", *The Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists* (*al ʻUsur al-Wusta*), pp. 7-9.

10. See A. Grossman, "Jerusalem in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature", in *The History of Jerusalem* (note 4 above), pp. 295-310. Y. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula* (Jerusalem, 1954). See especially the editor's introductions to the different apocalypses.

11. See, e.g., McGinn, *Visions*, p. 70.

12. See B. Lewis, "An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1941-1945), pp. 308-338; Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*; especially the editor's introductions to the different apocalypses.

13. Cf., e.g., my articles mentioned in notes 9, 14. See also O. Livne-Kafri, "Some Observations on the Migration of Apocalyptic Features in Muslim Tradition", *Acta Orientalia* 60 (4) (2007), pp. 467-477.

14. Cf. O. Livne-Kafri, "Is There a Reflection of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius in Muslim Tradition?" *Proche-Orient Chretien* 56 (2006), pp. 108-109. I assumed there that certain Muslim apocalyptic traditions connected to issues such as the last kingdom, the legend of the last emperor, the invasion from Ethiopia, the millenary scheme, etc., might reflect a loan from or reaction to that treatise or to similar Christian traditions.

15. For a general introduction see Livne-Kafri, "Some Notes on the Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 17 (1999), pp. 71-94.

16. The victory motif of the 'black banners' coming from Khurāsān generally reflects the emergence of the ʻAbbāsids. For an apocalyptic connotation see Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem", pp. 51-54. Cf. a reaction to the rise of the ʻAbbāsids from Khurāsān in a Jewish apocalypse (Lewis, "Apocalyptic Vision", pp. 329-330).

17. See Elad (note 3 above), especially 72-75. The starting point of Elad's study is a discussion of two milestones found at the site of the Arab village of Fīq (Afīq). The article combines different disciplines. The apocalyptic aspect regarding Afīq is only a part of the discussion.

18. *Ibid*., pp. 72-73. He refers to M. Sharon, "An Arabic Inscription from the Time of ʻAbd al-Malik", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24 (1966), pp. 367-372. Cf. M. Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptorum Arabicarum Palestinae* (Leiden-Boston, 2004), Vol. 3, especially pp. 206-241.

19. Elad, "The Southern Golan", pp. 73-74.

20. *Ibid*., p. 74. Elad quotes here Nuʻaym, the Zakkār edition, p. 342 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 382).

21. Elad, "The Southern Golan", p. 74. See also Livne-Kafri, "Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition" (note 15 above), pp. 80-81. Nawf is mentioned as a transmitter of apocalyptic traditions in other sources as well; see Abū al-Maʻālī al-Mushrraf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Khalīl wa- Faḍā'il al-Shām*, ed. O. Livne-Kafri, (Shfaram, 1995), p. 178, no. 267. Cf. Nuʻaym, the Zakkār edition, p. 220 (=the Shūrā

edition, p. 249). His connection to Ka'b and the information brought by Elad of his being a *qaṣṣ* ('a Story Teller') in Ḥimṣ, probably connects him to the 'school of apocalyptic traditions in Ḥimṣ'; see W. Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥims in the Umayyad Age", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31 (1985), pp. 141-185. Tubay', another son of Ka'b's wife, appears also as a transmitter of apocalyptic traditions in Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 350 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 391).

22. On Ka'b see also Livne-Kafri, "Muslim Apocalyptic Tradition", pp. 80-81.

23. Elad, "The Southern Golan", pp. 73- 74. There Elad quotes (note 178) a tradition according to which '*al- dajjāl* melts like a wax candle. Such images concerning the fate of the *dajjāl* are common. See, e.g., Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, Vol. 2, pp. 1361-1362: "and when the *dajjāl* will look at him (at Jesus), he will melt like salt melts in water, and he will turn in order to run away"; in other traditions Jesus will have to kill him 'finally' with a thrust of the sword. See Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 350 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 391).

24. 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), pp. 52-53, note 23. The edition of this commentary was not mentioned there. Cf. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr al-Bayḍawī* (Beirut, 1996), Vol. 5, pp. 150-151. That tradition is quoted by Lazarus-Yafeh to emphasize the messianic figure of Jesus who will bring unity to the worship of God in the Islamic way by breaking the symbols of Christianity, or fighting the *dajjāl*, who is sometimes depicted as a Jew or as having Jewish followers. See also the Hebrew version of this article in H. Lazarus Yafeh, "On the Messianic Idea in Islam", in *Messianism and Eschatology*, ed. Z. Baras (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 173.

25. Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr* (Cairo, 1984), Vol. 3, p. 800. This reference is cited by Cook, *Muslim Apocalyptic*, p. 106, note 73: "Afīq is sometimes identified with Jerusalem". Cook, *ibid*., p. 174 quotes Muqātil's *Tafsīr* , Vol. 1, p. 421 on Jesus coming to Afīq to kill the *dajjāl*. Cook, *ibid*., p. 105, quotes a tradition according to which the *dajjāl* will go down to the Yarmuk valley through Afīq, while the Muslims are waiting on the other side of the River Jordan, before a battle between the two parties.

At the end of this tradition Jesus will kill the *dajjāl* at the Gate of Lod.

26. See E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1865-1893), Vol. 1, p. 359; Vol. 5, p. 2102.

27. Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 350 (quoted by Elad, "The Southern Golan", p. 275, note 107=the Shūrā edition, p. 390). This tradition reflects the image of a gigantic figure (the *dajjāl* set his shadow on a big crowd. Cf., e.g., Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 218, no. 319. But there are also other descriptions of the *dajjāl*; see Cook, *Apocalyptic*, p. 102; cf. *ibid*., p. 105, end of note 72. Speaking of Lod as the place where the *dajjāl* will be killed, Cook comments that the way in which the *dajjāl* will be killed is strongly reminiscent of David's killing of Goliath, according to Muslim sources and the biblical account in I Samuel 17:48-49: "perhaps the location of this event (just a short distance to the south of Lydda) influenced the tradition". As regards another place mentioned in

relation to the killing of the *dajjāl*, Nahr Abī Fuṭrus, it is identified with biblical Afeq, a battlefield as well (I Sam. 4:1; 29:1; see note 48 below). This fact, and the identification of Afīq in the Golan with another biblical Afeq (I Kings , 20:26, 30), are intriguing. It would be interesting to find another literary source which might connect these two places, whose biblical similarity was probably known to transmitters of Jewish background such as Nawf al-Bakkālī. So far a connection to another biblical town named Afeq in the valley of Acre (Joshua 19:30) seems improbable. On Nuaym see Ch. Pellat, "Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, Vol. 8 (1995), pp. 87-88. Some different dates for his death are mentioned there.

28. Cf. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il,* no. 321 (p. 220, line 11).

29. Elad, "The Southern Golan", p. 74, note 177, refers to Elad, *Jerusalem*, pp. 11-112. This matter is included in the framework of the discussion on Bāb al-Sakīna (the Gate of the Divine Presence) in Jerusalem (*ibid*., pp. 109-114). The Ark of the Covenant in Arabic is tābūt al-sakīna. Cf. Nuʿaym, the Zakkār edition, p. 221 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 251, no. 982) on the *mahdī* who will be the guide to a certain book of the Torah (*asfār min asfār al-tawrā*); he will take them out from the mountains of Syria (*al-shām*). He will summon the Jews to them, and many of them will become Muslims "on these books". Another apocalyptic matter is the mention of Mount Tabor (*thabūr*), 'which is over Tiberias', as one of the four mountains which will not become flat at the Day of the Resurrection, according to Nuʿaym, the Zakkār edition, p. 388 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 432). Cf. *Sefer Zerubbavel,* in Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, p. 85: "The mountains which God chose for carrying His Temple [at the end of time] are… Lebanon, and the Mountain of Moriya, and Tabor, and Carmel, and Hermon". As to the traditions praising the *mu'adhdhin* of Afīq (Elad, "The Southern Golan", p. 73), cf. O. Livne-Kafri, "The Muslim Tradition in Praise of Jerusalem (*Faḍā'il al-Quds*): Diversity and Complexity", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 58 (1998), pp. 181-182.

30. Grossman, "Apocalyptic", p. 296. According to Grossman, *Sefer Zerubbavel* (*Book of Zerubbabel*) belongs to a group of Jewish apocalyptic compositions written at the end of Byzantine rule in Palestine and the beginning of the Arab conquest, in the first half of the seventh century. See also the introduction to this book in Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, pp. 56-66.

31. See *ibid*., pp. 76-77, including the editor's notes.

32. *Ibid*., p. 77, in the margins. This is the common identification. See also *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia,* "Tveria", Vol. 18, p. 326; *The Biblical Encyclopaedia*, "Raqqat", Vol. 7, p. 438 (in Hebrew), including other identifications as well.

33. "Tveria", *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, p. 329.

34. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, pp. 80-81. Cf. Grossman, "Apocalyptic", p. 303, note 27, quoting J. Dan, "The Medieval Aggada Concerning the Messiah: The Book of Zerubbabel", *The Hebrew Story in the Middle Ages* (Jerusalem, 1974), p. 39 (in Hebrew), that the figure of Hephziba is connected to the Christian description of the mother of the messiah. On Mary as the protector of Constantinople see J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine,* Vol. 2: *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom* (600-1700), Chicago and London, 1077), pp. 139-140. So far I have not found

such a female figure in the Muslim tradition. Regarding shelters for Muslims in certain locations such as Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem or Mount Sinai (sometimes through the protection of angels), see Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem", pp. 43-44. Among these shelters there is also Nahr Abī Fuṭrus (from the *dajjāl*: see Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 149 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 169), as well as Antioch, *ibid*., pp. 166-167 (from the *sufyānī*). Cf. the Zakkār edition, p. 145. According to "The Legend of the Messiah" (in Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, p. 103), the refuge for the people pf Israel was in Upper Galilee.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 at the time of the Messiah son of Joseph. Cf. Lewis, "Vision", p. 316. In Muslim tradition this matter is reflected in a saying quoted by Ibn Shaddād, *al- A'lāq al-Khaṭīra* (Damascus, 1962), p. 38, that Galilee was a shelter for the prophets of the Children of Israel in periods *of fitan*. Cf. Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 145 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 166): "al-Khalīl [Hebron] is a holy mountain, and when the *fitan* appeared among the Children of Israel, God revealed Himself to their prophets that they will flee with their religion to the Mountain of al-Khalīl" (unless this is a copyist's error for al-Jalīl=Galilee). One wonders whether this is somehow connected to the Jewish uprising in Galilee at the time of Roman rule in Palestine; cf. A.Z. Eshkoli, *The Messianic Movements in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1956), pp. 31, 47-48. On the connection between Galilee and Jerusalem in the Christian tradition see Limor, *Mount of Olives*, p. 94 (chapter "Galilee in the Mount of Olives").

35. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, pp. 87-88; cf. *ibid*., "In Those Days; at This Time", p. 113; Limor, *Mount of Olives*, pp. 142-143.

36. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, p. 81.

37. This epithet of the Arabs, following *Gen*. 25:13 (cf. Even Shmuel, *ibid*., p. 81, below), appears, e.g., in an apocalyptic tradition attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār, according to which Constantinople will be conquered by the Sons of Kedar and the Sons of Sheba (Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 300 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 341, no. 1279).

38. See, e.g., Cook, *Muslim Apocalyptic*, p. 94. Cf. Abū 'Amr al-Dānī, *al-Sunan al-Wārida fī al-Fitan wa-Ghawā'ilihā wa-l-Sā'a wa-Ashrāṭuhā* (Beirut, 1997), p. 221; Abū 'Alī al-Shaybānī, *al-Fitan* (Beirut, 1998), p. 117; Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥayn* (Beirut, 1990), Vol. 4, p. 573; cf. *ibid*., on the *mahdī* coming from the East. On the *fitna* that will come from the East see, e.g., Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-Qārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut, 2001), Vol. 24, p. 296). It would be interesting to check whether the choice of Arbel as the place of the Last Battle in the Jewish tradition mentioned above is connected in any way to the decisive battle in which Alexander won a great victory over the Persian army near Arbala in 331 BC; see "Alexander Mokdon", *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, and cf. *ibid*., "Arbel or Arbala (Irbil)", Vol. 56, p. 630, in light of Alexander's special role in apocalyptic literature. Parallel to the identification of Rivla as Antioch, and especially the information concerning Daphne in Antioch (note 41 below), biblical Rivla has possible identifications as places in Palestine: near the Sea of Tiberias or at Daphne near Dan (according to the Aramaic

translations; see "Rivla", *The Biblical Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 7, p. 320). Note that in the Roman period Sūsiya (ancient Susita) near Afīq (see Elad, "The Southern Golan", p. 69) was officially called "Antioch near Hippos" ("Susita", *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 25, p. 541). Perhaps there was a connection of contents as regards locations close to the Sea of Galilee and Antioch which might be explained (but not yet proven) as a transfer of places names.

39. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* (Hyderabad, 1375-1377), Vol. 2, p. 765. Cf. also Muḥammad b. Ḥibān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Majrūḥīn* (Hyderabad, 1970), Vol. 2, p. 37. Cf. Elad, *Jerusalem*, p. 112, note 177, the claim of the inhabitants of Tiberias that the grave of Solomon is in the Lake of Tiberias.

40. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī, "*al-'Urf al-Wardī fī Akhbār al-Mahdī*", in al-Hāwī li-l-Fatāwā (Cairo, 1351 AH), Vol. 2, pp. 234-235. On the conquest of Antioch by the *mahdī* and his rule there, see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, *al-Tadhkira fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā wa-Umūr al-Ākhīra (*Cairo, n.d.), p. 619.

41. For Daphne of Antioch see "Antiochia", *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 4, p. 460.

42. *Ibid*., p. 461. Cf. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 35 no. 24: "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 that out, until he brings it to Jerusalem". Cf. also Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 37-38, no. 49. See also *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Shām* (anon., MS Cambridge Qq 91/2, f. 83b-84a). Cf. also 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab* (Paris, 1861-1877), Vol. 2, p. 304; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tarīkh* (Beirut, 1385-1386), Vol. 1, p. 296. Cf. Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 288 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 326, no. 1255), exact directions on finding the staff of Moses, the *injīl* (the New Testament), and the ornaments of the Temple found in Rome, when it will be conquered by the Muslims. A certain polemical stand against Christianity might be revealed here because the New Testament replaces here the Torah, apart from the staff of Moses. Cf. Elad, *Jerusalem*, p. 112, note 175 (quoting M.J. Kister), that "Ka'b al-Aḥbār ordered that the Book of Daniel be thrown into the Lake of Tiberias. He described it as the Law which was revealed to Moses by God, without any alterations or adulteration: He was afraid that men might rely on what was written therein". The Lake of Tiberias and Antioch appear here as the places in which sacred objects will be discovered, and from which old truths will be restored. On Antioch see also M. Streck and H.A.R. Gibb, "Anṭākiyya", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1 (1960), pp. 516-517.

43. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, pp. 35-40 (the Introduction to *Sefer Eliyahu* (*The Book of Elijah*). According to Grossmann, "Apocalyptic", this book apparently

belongs to the first group of apocalyptic compositions, with the Book of Zerubbabel (written at the end of Byzantine rule in Palestine and the beginning of the Arab occupation in the first half of the seventh century). Cf. Even Shmuel, *ibid*., pp. 39-40, and the text itself, p. 45, where a battle between the Byzantines and the Persians is related (according to the editor's commentary) from *biq'a gdola* (the big valley) to Jaffa and Ascalon. The editor believes that *biq'a gdola* means the Valley of Jezrael, but it might be the coastal valleys of Antioch that stretch south along the Mediterranean coast. Cf. Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 285 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 323): "When God defeats the Byzantines in Jaffa, they will march until they gather in *al-a'māq*…"). On the eschatological wars of *al-a'māq* cf. 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. 173-207; Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥims", p. 160 (Acre); pp. 158, 167 (Antioch). Madelung believes that these traditions were initiated in the Umayyad period.

44. Cf. Lewis, "Apocalyptic Vision", p. 336, according to him, fighting in the plain of Acre is a recurrent theme in the Jewish apocalypse; cf. Even Shmuel, *Midreshei Geula*, p. 278. On the motif of horses walking in blood see The Book of Enoch (according to "Akharit ha-yamim [eschatology])", *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 2, p. 447). See note 53 below.

45. Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 267 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 303). This tradition is included in a chapter on the eschatological wars on the plain of Acre, and the wars of *al-a'maq* in general. This tradition is quoted by Bashear, "Apocalyptic", p. 184.

46. Cf. A. Elad, "The Coastal Cities of Palestine during the Early Middle-Ages", *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2 (1982), pp. 147-167.

47. Certain historical raids on Acre might not have been recorded or mentioned in the Arabic sources, but their impact is still echoed in the different eschatological accounts of the city.

48. Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 330 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 371). Cf. Cook, *Apocalyptic*, p. 105 quoting also the sources of Elad, "Jerusalem", pp. 134-146; cf. note 25 above. Nahr Abī Fuṭrus appears as a refuge from the *dajjāl* in other traditions. See Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 343 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 383). Cf. Elad, "The Southern Golan", p. 73, note 175, quoting M. Sharon, "Nahr Abī Fuṭrus", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* second edition, Vol. 7 (1993), pp. 910-911. According to Sharon the origin of the name Nahr Abī Fuṭrus is Antipatris, the fortress built by Herod on the site of ancient Afeq (cf. note 27 above), near the springs of the Yarkon. This is a strategic point on the 'Sea Road' between Syria and Egypt. See also Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 342 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 382): " 'Īsā, son of Mary will kill the *dajjāl* on Tal al-Malāḥim, which is Nahr Abī Fuṭrus; then he will return to Jerusalem".

49. See note 35 above.

50. See, e.g., Abū 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jām'i al-Kabīr* (Beirut, 1998), Vol. 4, p. 93. See also "Ya'djūdj wa-Ma'djūdj", *The Encyclpaedia of Islam* (note 3 above), p. 232.

51. According to a tradition recorded in Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 357 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 398 below), when Gog and Magog reach the Lake of Tiberias it will be almost dry (like other sources of water) after the period of the *dajjāl*.

52. See Sharon, "Nahr Abī Fuṭrus", p. 911.

53. Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 180 (=the Shūrā edition, pp. 204-205). On the motif of sea filled with blood, cf. McGinn, *Visions*, p. 69; cf. also note 44 above. According to the Zakkār edition, p. 180, note 2, al-Uqḥuwāna is a place in the Jordan Valley in the vicinity of 'Aqabat Afīq. He quotes *Mu'jam al-Buldān* without a specific reference. In Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1955), p. 234, al-Uqḥuwāna is said to be "a place on the shore of the Lake of Tiberias" or "*ḍay'a* [probably in the sense of a small village] on the shore of the Lake of Tiberias", but I did not find any connection to Afīq, not even in the entry 'Afīq' *ibid*., p. 233. However, this editor might have availed of additional materials.

54. Cf. Cook, *Apocalyptic*, pp. 45, 48, 125-126, 144-145.

55. Cf. *ibid*., p. 45; Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 182 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 207).

56. B. Lewis, "The Regnal Titles of the First Abbasid Caliphs", in *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation Volume* (New Delhi, 1968), pp. 13-22.

57. See M. Levi-Rubin, *The Continuatio of the Samaritan Chronicle of Abū al-Fatḥ Ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Sāmirī al-Danafī* (Princeton, 2002), pp. 30-32 (the introduction); p. 68 ff. (text). On the reflection of the Samaritan conception in Muslim literature see al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* (Leiden, 1929), p. 58; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il*, p. 148, no. 187; Nu'aym, the Zakkār edition, p. 150 (=the Shūrā edition, p. 170, no. 689).

58. Abū al-Fatḥ, pp. 80-81.