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Bahā'ī Studies Bulletin

This Bulletin is primarily designed to facilitate communication between those among us engaged in Bahā'ī studies. It is hoped that it may evolve into the Bulletin of an Association for the study of the Bābī and Bahā'ī religions (or the like), include contributions from both Bahā'ī and non-Bahā'ī academics, and be befittingly published rather than photostatically reproduced.

The success of this Bulletin, which has the blessing of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahā'īs of the United Kingdom (though they are not responsible for any of the views expressed within it), obviously depends on your support and willingness to contribute. A steady and sustained flow of scholarly contributions is vital especially since there are so few of us. The following list is intended only to serve as an indication of the nature and scope of contributions which would be welcomed:-

- a) Articles or short notes and studies whether historical, philological, sociological or theological, etc.
- b) Bibliographical essays or notes.
- c) Copies of generally unavailable letters or "tablets" of the Bāb, Bahā'u'llāh, 'Abdu'l-Bahā or Shoghi Effendi whether in the original language(s) or in translation.
- d) Notices of recently published books and/ or reviews of the same: it would be particularly useful to receive notice of the now numerous publications in English, French, German, Persian and Arabic, etc., that are becoming available in many countries of the world.
- e) Previously unpublished notes and documents.
- f) Reports of work in progress or of seminars and conferences relating directly or indirectly to Bahā'ī studies.

All subscriptions and communications — suggestions will be welcomed—should be addressed to:- Mr. Stephen N. Lambden, 77 Rothwell Road, Gosforth, Newcastle upon Tyne (please note change of address).

It is hoped that this Bulletin will be produced quarterly— though if sufficient material be received it may be issued more frequently. Each issue will be about 50 pages in length, the subscription rate per issue being:
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Stephen Lambden (Ed).

Esslemont's Survey of the Bahā'ī Community 1919-1920;

Part II: Turkistan by Ibn-i-Asdaq.

The second section in Esslemont's outline of his proposed chapter Progress of the Bahā'ī Movement was to have been on Turkistan. For this Esslemont had collected two lots of material. The first was a narrative by Ibn-i-Asdaq. ^{1.}

Turkestan

Some ten or twelve years before the ascension of Baha'Ullah a number of Bahais left Persia, owing to the troublesome conditions there, and settled in Eshkabad, which was at that time being built by the Russians. The Russian Government received them very kindly and gave them free grants of land and encouraged them to reside and work there. Along with the Bahais a number of Moslem Persians went and settled in Eshkabad as merchants. These began to oppose the Bahais and caused the martyrdom of one of the Bahais called Haji Mohammed Reza, a merchant from Isfahan. ^{2.} Twelve of the Mohammedan Persians (most of them mollahs) were concerned in this murder. They inflicted thirty-two knife wounds on their victim. The Russian Govt. arrested and imprisoned the murderers. They were tried and all twelve were found guilty and condemned to death. There is a custom in Russia that those about to be executed dig their own graves at the foot of the scaffold. When these twelve had dug their graves and all were reading for the hanging, some representatives of the Bahais came forward and said: "Now that the guilt of these men has been established, it is our duty to forgive them. We do not wish them to be killed." The officer in charge said: "I have my orders and must carry them out". The Bahais, however, insisted, so that the officer agreed to telegraph the Czar. This was done. The Czar was greatly surprised at the forgiving spirit shown by the Bahais, however, he agreed to their request and commuted the sentence to penal servitude in Siberia. (Some of them died in imprisonment in Siberia, others tried to escape and perished.) After this affair, the Russian Government became very favourable to the Bahais, who became prosperous and who were held in great esteem by the people. Some of the Afnan (relatives of the Bāb) went from Shiraz and Yazd to reside in Eshkabad and carry on business as merchants. As the land was quite free, they began to build shops and houses. As the Bahais became numerous they began to make plans for establishing a Mashrekol-Azkar. They also started a school where children (Bahai and non-Bahai) were taught English, French, Russian, etc. The plans for the Mashrekol-Azkar were approved by the Blessed Beauty and Abdul Baha, and a fine site was secured and the building commenced. As many of the Bahais had become wealthy, and all helped to the utmost of their ability, rendering personal services in the work of construction, the work proceeded rapidly.

One of the Afnan, Haji Wakil-ed-Dowleh, contributed about one hundred thousand tomans (dollars) and superintended the work of construction. The building was begun before the death of Baha'Ullah. The walls were erected some ten years ago but the work of decoration is still proceeding. The building is higher, occupies a finer sight (sic) and is of greater architectural beauty than any other building in Eshkabad. The erection of a hospital, hospice, schools and other buildings around the central temple is also proceeding.

When the Bahai colony in Eshkabad became numerous, some of them left to commerce business and reside in other towns of Turkestan. They became known as Bahais and the Cause spread in these towns also. They were actively engaged in teaching the Bahai Message, and by their honesty, industry, and good citizenship became very popular and influential.

In 1908 Abdul Baha sent me to Baku and from there to Turkestan. I visited several other towns of Turkestan. Then the Master commanded that another Mashrekol-Azkar be built in Marv, one of the large cities of Turkestan. A plan was sent to the Master for approval. It was approved, and the building of the Mashrekol-Azkar, a hospice and a school was commenced, the site being presented to the Bahais by the Czar. The building has since been completed. It is smaller than the one at Eshkabad, but a handsome building, occupying a beautiful and very central site.

About 45 years ago, while Turkestan was still in the hands of the Turcomans, before the Russian occupation, I went to Eshkabad and Anov. I became intimate with a man whose uncle was one of the notables of the fortress of Karim-verdi Ishan. This man spoke to his uncle who became interested and sent an escort of mounted men to bring me to the fortress. I arrived there about midnight, My friend's uncle was about 80 years of age and very learned. He knew Arabic, Turkish and Persian. I remained there for 11 days. When I had been there 2 or 3 days, and had received much kindness, I asked my host: "Why are the Shi'ites and you against each other?" (At that time the Shi'ites and the Sunnis used to kill and pillage each other). The man replied: "I cannot, myself, find any sufficient reason, but our people have no Sultan to rule and control them. But your Sultan (the Shah) is very powerful, why then does he allow your people to come and molest us? I personally have no enmity against either side, but I have one thing against the Shi'ites: God has promised in the Koran the coming of the Lord, but the Shi'ites do not believe in this. They explain this as referring to the day of Resurrection." I at once replied: "Well, in what form do you expect him to come? If he comes like a cloud, people will not recognise him. He must come in the form of a man. If he does not come in the form of a man, He cannot make Himself known to the people." After a time the man

agreed that God must come in the form of a man. I proved to him from the Bible and the Koran that he must come in the form of a man. I then said: "Now, if a man comes and claims to be the Manifestation of God, by what signs shall we know him?" I then explained to him that the Manifestations must shew all the Divine Attributes. He accepted what I said. I then told him about the advent of the Blessed Perfection, who is now in Acca. After further discussion he became a believer, and eight of his nephews (ulemas) also became believers. Four other well known people of that place became believers.

The second part of the material regarding Turkestan is taken from Shoghi Effendi's diary which, as was explained in Part One of this paper, was Shoghi Effendi's record of 'Abdu'l-Bahā's talks.

Turkestan

During all these years of civil and international war, of loot and of riot [sic], of rebellion and of bloodshed, the people of Baha have continued their activities unmolested and unimpaired. Their meetings have not been suspended, their zeal has not waned, their energy has not relaxed, and their purpose has not been shaken (Shoghi Effendi's Diary 8 April 1919).

When the absolute regime was overthrown in Russia and the dictatorship of the proletariat was declared, confusion and terror reigned supreme. The houses and property of the wealthy, the clergy and the nobility were sacked and pillaged. Many people were butchered and a number of busy centres made desolate. The people arose and armed themselves and waged resolute war against this disturbing element which was upsetting the foundation of society. The Bolshevick forces, gaining the upper hand, advanced and occupied Merv and Tajen. In the latter city, the Moslems had gathered in their Mosque during the Bolshevick entry, and a few of the Bahai young men, driven by curiosity, had gone into that mosque. As they entered it, the invading forces fired upon the Moslem gathering, and some eight Bahais perished as a result of that action. This conquering force, having been informed of the opposition and resistance that the people of Ishkabad were preparing, decided to attack that city. The inhabitants of Ishkabad, having been informed of the danger that threatened them, decided to leave the city and to take refuge in the adjoining caves, deserts and plains. The Bahais, however, assured and tranquil, decided to remain and continue their spiritual and benevolent activities. They started, amidst this confusion, exodus and unrest, to reconstruct what had been demolished, and to heal and treat those who had been injured and attacked. Everyone was amazed and struck with admiration at the calmness, the resignation, the assurance and faith

of the people of Baha. The friends, with assured and tranquil hearts, witnessed the desolation and confusion that reigned all around, recalling and perusing the utterances and the warnings recorded in a Blessed Tablet referring to Ishkabad which had been revealed by the Centre of the Covenant. When the advance of the threatening forces reached the city of Khahkhaha and the next day Ishkabad was to be occupied, news was suddenly received to the effect that the legions of the British had advanced to Khahkhane, and had inflicted on the enemy severe loss and defeat. The joy and gratitude that filled the hearts on the receipt of this news was so intense, that the letter which conveyed it was passed from hand to hand that all the friends might know how miraculously the people of Baha had been protected, confirmed and assisted in their work of love and service. (Shoghi Effendi's Diary 5 May 1919).

The City of Love, Eshkabad, although encircled by disrupting forces of the Bolsheviks and only three hours distant from them, had witnessed their retreat, while the friends, numbering some 2,000 souls and mostly gathered in the impregnable bulwark of the Mashrekol-Azkar, were so serene and calm that they tranquillized by their example the agitated inhabitants, who had for the most part fled from the city to the neighbouring valleys and mountains. In Tiflis and Baku and Batum the friends were active and so loyal and serviceable [sic] that religious leaders testified to the rightness of purpose, the willing service and the wisdom of the friends of God. (Shoghi Effendi's Diary 7 June 1919)

In Turkestan, and particularly in the City of Love, the friends have instituted Bahai public libraries, Houses of Teaching, and a Bahai Organ issued weekly ("Star of the East" ³ published in Persian) to promote indirectly the Divine Teachings, to further education and to stimulate interest in the Cause. The women there have arisen as never before for service, teaching and relief work; they deliver scientific and detailed addresses at public gatherings. The men have founded a society of trade in order to extend financial help to those in need and to further the Bahai Cause by their profit. In short, since the conclusion of war, a wonderful awakening has been noticed in these regions. (Shoghi Effendi's Diary 1 July 1919).

Notes

- 1) For details regarding this man, see Bahā'ī Studies Bulletin, Vol.1.No.1. (June 1982), p.7.
- 2) This episode occurred on 8 September 1889. For further details, see M. Momen, The Babi and Baha'i Religions, 1844-1944... (George Ronald, Oxford 1981), pp.296-9.
- 3) This publication was in fact named Khurshid-i-Khavar, Sun of the East. The section in brackets is, on the original manuscript, a footnote added by Esslemont and therefore the mistake is his.

Not Weighing God's Book with standards current amongst men-One perspective in the form of provisional theological discussion notes.
Contd..

- q) I have been examining the injunction Not to weigh the book of God with standards current amongst men from within an explicitly Bahā'ī horizon. However, before continuing I wish to digress and say a little about what a Bahā'ī theological enterprise may entail. Also I want to focus on a particular problem area and offer the broad outline of a solution. This way I hope to show one of the important directions that Bahā'ī theological work will take, and the role that philosophical analysis has in this direction.
- r) It is clear that any theological work done by a Bahā'ī will involve the two elements of participation in and reflection upon his or her faith in the Bahā'ī horizon. It will issue in an expression of this faith in adequate language. I use the word 'adequate' purposely in place of 'rational' to highlight the syntactical variety of theological expression, for not all theology to be theology need conform to a logico-mathematical standard of strict implication and entailment. To be fair, of course, not all that is called rational is couched in such a mode, however, the tendency to associate 'rational' with logical entailment is prevalent. For example, a great deal of Chān and Zen Buddhist reflection would make the hair of some traditional Western logicians fall out, so the Cartesian quest for clear and distinct ideas and its corollary of certainty is by no means the only, nor, dare we say, ideal conceptuality for theology. Though the thematizing of our experience of faith in Bahā'u'llāh should approach the perhaps ideal position where talking is blasphemy yet silence a lie, nevertheless, we do at present live in an age of plural views, or more importantly plural orientations. It is a situation in which many people think themselves to have perfectly good reasons for not being Bahā'īs. Thus a theological (and philosophical) elaboration is essential at the present time.
- s) I spoke above of such work being a function of participation in and reflection upon a person's faith in the Bahā'ī horizon. The participative aspect of theology indicates the continuity of the theological enterprise with the act of faith, or the experience of faith, or the decision of faith, or the disposition of faith, however you want to put it; and how you put it may be crucial, for all these are discussable in theology. It (the theological enterprise) speaks in an explicit and reflexive manner from this standpoint of faith, and while the faith of the subject provides a momentum for all the subject's various activities, it becomes theology when it's (faith) data are subjected to reflection. When the believer, whilst undergoing the pure actuality of faith relocates himself or herself via

the concept and a selected syntax, he or she is in a sense taking a step back from the immediate experience of faith and expressing it intentionally in a form of discourse. Once this occurs the Bahā'ī who writes theology (or philosophy) places himself/herself in the total intellectual endeavour of mankind and must address himself/herself to whatever arises there. No need to say that for Bahā'īs the task is massive.

t) The question of adequate conceptuality is one very important issue, and it is not simply the question of whether there is to be one conceptuality expressing Bahā'ī experience in the way that, for example, the categories of Thomistic - Aristotelianism and Biblical imagery have vied with each other in the Western Christian tradition. It is the much more significant aspect of this question of how are we to understand and utilize the explanatory conceptualization of Bahā'u'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Bahā, who, when speaking metaphysically, that is, apart from spiritual exhortation and the call to the obedience of faith, do so in a manner characteristic of the Islamic rationalists, Neo-Platonists and the Western Scholastic tradition. This is no disparagement but simply an observation. The categories of essence and existence, substance and attribute, matter and form, potency and actuality, conversio ad phantasmata, quid sit and an sit occur again and again in the writings. I think it is fair to say that these were once secular categories and would surely have been considered one of the "...standards...current amongst...men" (al-Kitāb al-Aqdas). One need however, only look at the Mahāvāna Buddhist text the Mūlamādhyamikākārikā of Nāgārjuna (fl.c.200.A.D.) and the Theravāda Buddhist manual the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa to see another set of categories (or in the case of the Mūlamādhyamikākārikā, non-categories). This is the issue: if 'Abdu'l-Bahā is considered the moral and spiritual example of Bahā'īs are his writings to be considered our conceptual example? ; if so, how, given the historicity of this conceptuality?? I suggest that clarification of this issue will be helped by contemporary philosophical analysis of meaning and lies in the direction set by Wittgenstein in his Philosophical Investigations (Blackwells 1976 :paragraph 43) and in his earlier lecture notes The Blue Book and The Brown Book (Blackwells 1976, passim). There he criticized the view that meanings are Platonic objects already existing prior to finding the words to designate them, and this grounded the move away from the idea that words are construed as names. We thus move from the attractive metaphor of words as pictures to the metaphor of words as tools.

So for example, when 'Abdu'l-Bahā speaks of man having a 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit' the meanings of the terms are not some frozen Platonic entities to be only eternally and properly expressed in one way. Neither are they names operating with a one to one relationship like 'chair', 'liver', 'cumulo-nimbus' or 'Edward', where 'chair' refers to 'this chair', 'liver' to that organ, 'cumulo-nimbus' to this type of cloud or 'Edward' to my friend. The metaphor of words as tools highlights the role that words play in

our practical lives. Tools are to be used and require, if they are to be used properly, a spontaneous co-ordination between tool and tool-user. There is a marvellous passage by the Taoist philosopher Chuang Tzu on the relationship between a skilled butcher and his knife which brings this spontaneity out (Chuang Tzu tr. Burton Watson Columbia University Press 1974). Thus, if 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit' are not considered as names nor the expression of crystallised meanings then their role is not so much theoretical as practical; their meaning or meanings are made clear as a person actualises himself/herself throughout his/her life. If 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit' designate anything it is the as yet unrealised future possibilities of a person. They do not however, refer to them in the way I would simply name or describe what I am going to eat tonight; they somehow bring about these future possibilities and I would suggest that 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit' operate a little like performative statements (cf. J. Austin, How to Do Things with Words Oxford University Press 1962). Statements of this type are not reports of activities nor descriptions of states of affairs but the occasion for bringing about activities or states of affairs. Without going into too much detail Austin contrasted performative statements with constative statements, though he did replace this distinction with a more general theory. Nevertheless the earlier distinction throws some light on what I want to say. Austin uses the term constative in his own way to cover those statements which are broadly descriptive. However, it is the performative statement that is interesting to us. When a person names a ship or bequeaths something (as in a will) or bets, or, I suggest, utters the Bahā'ī marriage vow all in the appropriate circumstances he/she is not describing what they should be said to be doing in the above situations, nor stating that they are doing it: they are doing it. So a state of affairs or activity is brought about in the relationship between a person and a proposition or statement. With a constative statement, on the other hand, a person somehow resides 'outside' the referent of the statement. Other examples of performative statements isolated by Austin (ibid, Lecture VII) include 'I apologise', 'I criticise', 'I censure', 'I approve' and 'I bid you welcome'. I admit that a lot more work has to be done on this, but the isolation of the performative statement highlights the complexity of language and a variety of roles it has in our lives. A person who truly understands the meanings of the terms 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit', and I have no idea what this would be like, is no longer the same person; he/she has not simply acquired new and extra information. So it is possible given this perspective for a person to say 'Yes, man has a 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit'' and be wrong!

u) My tentative suggestion has been to see another dimension to the meaning of metaphysical terms and statements as they occur in the writings of Bahā'u'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Bahā. Not to see them as simple indicatives sharing the same features as descriptive statements, but to see them from the standpoint of their role in the formation of our Bahā'ī lives. The terms 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit' certainly refer to realities of human existence but not in the same straightforward way that 'corner' picks out a feature of a room or 'game' a feature of some human activities. Furthermore, the relating of 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit' to human future possibilities ties such terms to other realities such as the apprehension of values. In seeing the metaphysical categories in this way, that is, not as designations of Platonic meanings neither as simple descriptions, both of which go some way towards 'freezing' the whole of reality in some particular fashion, but as linguistic expressions tied to possibilities of spiritual transformation, then alternative conceptualities are not necessarily wrong descriptions of reality but other ways of talking about spiritual change.

v) Another aspect of my construal of these metaphysical categories lies in seeing again, for example, the terms 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit' as concepts which contain within themselves an objective dynamic element of referral. These concepts can then be seen as limited expressions of an awareness that is in itself implicit, unexpressed and pre-conceptual. They aim to express in a limited manner this non-conceptual state or states of affairs, and through this we become aware of the final inadequacy of the concept. This, moreover, presupposes the important point that we do have a non-conceptual dimension to our experience in which the concept has the value of a definite reference to a reality which is, however, not grasped by it. Given this non-conceptual aspect to our conceptual knowledge, I suggest that the concepts 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit' indicate the direction in which the reality of these is found. Their abstract conceptual content indicates a definite direction without naming or describing whatever is meant by 'mind', 'soul' and 'spirit'.

w) I fully realise that this needs a lot more analysis and I do not necessarily fully agree with the thesis. Nevertheless, it does go towards lessening the tension between alternate religious conceptualities. The wise will say that I have not gone far in tentative suggestion concerning the conceptuality of Bahā'u'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Bahā, and that all I have done is transfer the problem from the arena of descriptive statements to the more ambiguous arena of the possibilities of spiritual transformation. Perhaps! But so much the better for discussion. Actually, a lot of what 'Abdu'l-Bahā says, for example, about the soul (cf. Tablet to Dr. Forel) seems to indicate that it is an entity of some complex sort designated by the word 'soul'. However, I feel an argument could be made for seeing the relationship between the

word 'soul' and the reality of the soul as not one of simple reference (cf. Bahā'u'llāh, 1st Tarāz of the Tablet of Tarāzāt) as said before there is a lot to be done on this.

x) In the first set of discussion notes (Bahā'ī Studies Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1 pp. 24-26) I equated the Book of God with the unanalysed term Revelation, and attempted in a cursory fashion to see what kind of relationship could be said to exist between Revelation and current standards. These latter I designated as universes of discourse (u.d.) to bring out the role of language in the maintenance of these standards. A universe of discourse (u.d.) is a form a grammar intertwined with certain methodological procedures. Thus, economics and psychology, for example, constitute a complex of various methodological procedures which enter into a dialectical relationship with specifically modified grammars. Natural science in its various aspects exemplifies another u.d. A person can move from one u.d. to another, and we all of us spend our lives in at least one or two or more. David Hume the radical philosophical sceptic is a classic example of a man who oscillated from the u.d. of the common-sense world to that u.d. of his philosophical consciousness; he felt quite uneasy in both.

y) Each u.d. provides standards which are more or less adequate to the sector of experienceable reality that is their domain. These standards or criteria operate as data selectivity systems allowing propositions, which are assertions within the u.d., to coherently fit in with what is by consensus the proper subject matter of the u.d. The act of successfully bringing a proposition within the blurred parameters of the u.d., that is, bringing the standards of the u.d. 'up against' the proposition is called verification.

z) I spoke of verification in terms of the truth or falsity, possibility, impossibility or necessity of a proposition or set of propositions and said that from the point of view of the Revelation verification through the u.d. is not viable.

a¹) I used the word Revelation without saying what I meant by it. I hinted that it had a non-propositional aspect as well as a propositional one (refer, 'i') and would say that this is tied to a pre-conceptual response on the part of the subject, but not totally insofar as the life of Bahā'u'llāh considered from the standpoint of its actual enactment is a non-propositional presence. The propositional aspect is clearer and constitutes the sum-total of certified assertions in the Bahā'ī canon. So when I speak of Revelation I refer to a pre-conceptual, non-propositional experience in the life of the believer, the non-conceptual, non-propositional presence of Bahā'u'llāh, and the propositional content of our texts. I said in the first set of notes (refer, 'i') it is the non-propositional aspect which makes the process of verification (in relation to the u.d.) problematic, though we must also take account of those propositions that refer to super-sensible realities and future events.

- b¹) I said that one role which the u.d. had in relation to Revelation was of recognizing that the judgement Revelation made upon itself is in order. This involved the important distinction between deciding that a truth-claim is made and deciding upon the validity of a truth-claim. The u.d., I suggested, performed the former function. I also noted that the u.d. (refer, 'b') might involve itself in the latter, that is, it may wish to bring, for example, a proposition or set of propositions from the Revelation within the general interpretive thrust of their respective enterprises. Some u.d. might then attempt a total interpretation of Revelation in all its aspects.
- c¹) What might then happen is that the u.d. may create a cleavage between what is said and what is meant. Revelation would provide the elements of what is said and the particular u.d. would penetrate to what is actually meant.
- d¹) I want to move away from the problem of reduction; it can be discussed again. From the standpoint of the Revelation however, there is no problem. The u.d. are simply not available for such a reductive procedure.
- e¹) A person engaged in the u.d. who comes across the Revelation may well try to subsume it under the auspices of the u.d. But as I hope I showed with the example of the u.d. of Logical Positivism, working through a set of criteria with a definite stance towards, say, religious language, one may notice features that elude the selectivity of the criteria. Thus as I said, a proper enactment of the u.d. directed at the Revelation lay bare the nature and scope of the Revelation, allowing its own characteristics to be seen as irreducible occasions for change in human experience and not simply moments in a process of reinterpretation.
- f¹) The u.d. and Revelation were situated in the context of a question and answer model. I implied that the u.d. constitute reflexive and thematic questions comprising the human situation which Revelation claims to answer.
- g¹) Obviously this does not mean that Revelation answers the question as to what, for example, is the error in the Newtonian calculation of the perihelion of Mercury, or whether there are three successive sevens in the decimal determination of π , or even how many lemmings there are in Spitzbergen.
- h¹) I would say that Revelation answers the question of the general and overall point, thrust or trend of the u.d. in which these particular problems reside. Therefore Revelation answers the question of the meaning (as significance) of the u.d. seen as empirically interrelated wholes.
- i¹) This might go towards seeing Revelation as answering the question constituted by the u.d., in other words the u.d. comprise one question, namely their meaning-as-significance.
- j¹) Since it is human beings which enact the u.d. might we not say that insofar as the u.d. are seen by Revelation from the standpoint of their meaning-as-significance,

- and this because they are seen as interrelated wholes, we are in the position noted by Heidegger (cf. Being and Time) of the questioner behind the questions?
- h¹) In other words, the primary question that Revelation answers is that posed by the u.d. participant in his/her u.d. activities. Thus we are moving away from the distinctive propositional content of the u.d. to the person 'behind' the propositions, or rather bringing the person into the picture, so to speak.
- i¹) Thus could we say that Revelation answers the question which the person himself/herself is ? ; that person-hood itself comprises a question, or the question (perhaps I am moving too quickly).
- m¹) This puts one new perspective on the injunction not to weigh the Book of God. It may not be a simple disparagement of the u.d. in relation to the Revelation in terms of human arrogance or folly or pride, but an existential directive, a therapeutic strategy, advice or a realization that the u.d. are rooted in the mystery of person-hood, of being a subject, and that an abstract, extrinsic or formal application of the u.d. which does not seriously take account of this rooted-ness totally misses the fundamental relationship between Revelation and subject and hence is a 'hindrance' to a proper engagement between person and the Book of God.
- n¹) U.d. which arise out of the mystery of person-hood and make this origin reflexive and thematic go up to make the human situation to which Revelation claims to be the answer, the total interpretive element.

-- to be continued.

Robert Parry

Antichrist-Dajjal: Some notes on the Christian and Islāmic "Antichrist" traditions and their Bahā'ī interpretation. Part I.

Messianic and eschatological expectations lie at the heart of Shi^{CR}ī piety and were, around the middle of the 19th century, of some importance to the adherents of the Shaykhī school of Ithnā 'Asharī ("Twelver") Shi^Cī Islām in which the Bābī and Bahā'ī religions have their roots. The demythologization and interpretation of eschatological prophecies and traditions is thus, in the light of the attempt to show that they have been or will shortly be fulfilled, one of the central features of a not inconsiderable number of the writings of Siyyid 'Alī Muhammad, the Bāb (1819-1850), Mīrzā Husayn 'Alī, Bahā'u'llāh (1817-1892) and 'Abbās Effendi, 'Abdu'l-Bahā (1844-1921). The Bāb commented at length in certain of his major works and letters ("Tablets") on the Qur'ānic and traditional materials that detail the signs surrounding the advent of the Qā'im or Mahdī (whom he eventually openly claimed to be) and the onset of the Day of Resurrection and Judgement. Not only did Bahā'u'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Bahā make frequent reference or allusion to eschatologically oriented Islāmic materials but also claimed to have "unsealed" the secrets of a fairly large number of Biblical texts of prophetic import.

To date very little attention has been paid by students of the Bābī-Bahā'ī religions to the way in which eschatological prophecies have been interpreted or to the influence pre-Bābī millennial expectations had upon Bābī-Bahā'ī historiography—or even, we might add, the early career of the Bāb and the actions of the Bābīs. The extent to which many Bahā'ī writings contain quotations from or allusions to the Bible, Qur'ān and traditions (ahādīth) intended to underline their eschatological fulfillment on the "Day of God" remains for the most part unrecognised.

It is the purpose of this essay to set down some preliminary notes on certain aspects of the background to and Bahā'ī interpretation of the Antichrist-Dajjal traditions in Christianity and Islām. Interest will at times be focused on the physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist/Dajjal or the belief that the Evil One of the "last hour" will have an eye or eyes of a peculiar or deformed nature. This inasmuch as the latter physiognomic motif in connection with the Antichrist/Dajjal has been thought to have been fulfilled or realized by various Bābī-Bahā'ī writers in terms of the physical characteristics of a few anti-Bābī/Bahā'ī individuals—most notably, the Shaykhī leader Ḥajjī Mullā Muhammad Karīm Khān-i Kirmanī (1810-1870). It should not be imagined that this essay, it may be noted at this point, deals in anything like a comprehensive manner with the many often obscure texts that speak about the "Antichrist" in Jewish, Christian or Islāmic eschatology.

The term Antichrist (Ἀντίχριστος) is derived from the Johannine Epistles of the New Testament where the word occurs five times (see below). It has been usefully defined as signifying, "a mythical demoniac or demoniac-human adversary of Christ who will appear before the second advent as the last oppressor and persecutor of the Christians, only in turn to be defeated and overcome by Christ in his return to earth".¹ Different writers on the subject of the Antichrist have applied the term to a whole host of mythic figures and satanic manifestations that have been thought to exist or are expected to appear in the last days. At times the 'Antichrist idea', as it occurs in a plethora of Jewish, Christian and Islāmic writings, has taken on the meaning implied by such expressions as "mythical beast", "satanic incarnation", "demoniac ruler", "wicked tyrant", "eschatological adversary", "pseudo-Christ", "anti-Messiah", anti-Mahdī or anti-Qā'im" and the like. Consequently, though such Christian oriented definitions as the one cited above are useful, it should be recognised that it is virtually impossible to set down a simple definition that is both accurate and expressive of the bewildering variety of meaning that the 'Antichrist idea' has acquired down the centuries.

It is generally acknowledged today that the origins of the Christian concept of the Antichrist are obscure. While many would agree that the Antichrist idea "represents a Christian variant on the eschatological opponent of God in Apocalyptic"² different scholars have stressed the importance of a variety of Biblical and extra-Biblical texts and legends that they believe constitute its background or led to its emergence. Babylonian chaos and similar myths and Iranian-Zoroastrian dualism demonology and eschatology are frequently recognised as important influences that led, through Jewish apocalyptic, to the emergence of the Christian idea of the Antichrist which is almost certainly pre-Christian, or, as D.S. Russell puts it, "Though the actual term first appears in Christian writings, the idea is very much earlier and probably reflects a well-established and fully developed legend familiar to the writers of the apocalyptic books."³

Within the Old Testament itself a variety of prototypes, antecedents or models for the Christian concept of the Antichrist have been identified. The account of Gog and Magog (or Gog of Magog) in Ezekiel chapters 38-39 is of considerable importance in this connection as are those chapters in the book of Job that describe Behemoth and Leviathan (Job 40-41). Various passages in the book of the prophet Zechariah (especially chapters 12-14), among a variety of other Old Testament pericopae, have been singled out as being of some importance. Particularly influential though, in respect to the emergence of the Christian Antichrist idea, was the book of Daniel which has been thought to contain the "earliest reference to this idea of Antichrist in the apocalyptic writings".⁴

Four "beasts" are mentioned in Daniel chapter 7 the last of which has a "little horn". It blasphemes against the Most High (God) and is to make war against the

saints only to have its dominion taken away and be slain. In Daniel chapter 8 we read that out of the four horns of the "he-goat" a "little horn" emerged which "grew great even to the host of heaven" and magnified itself "even up to the prince of the host". The sanctuary and the host are to be trampled under-foot for 2,300 "evenings and mornings" for the "little horn" is to destroy many; even rising up against the "prince of princes". Further cryptic details are given in the 9th chapter of the book of the prophet Daniel where we are informed that the Jewish daily sacrifice and offering are to cease for half a week and that upon "the wing of abomination shall come one who makes desolate". Again, chapters 11-12 of the same book may be seen to contain what appears to be a lengthy prophecy regarding a "king of the north" who will oppress Judea, take away the daily sacrifice, and set up the "abomination that makes desolate".

Certain of these 'prophecies' have been thought (they cannot be commented on in detail here) to 'predict' or be modelled upon the anti-Jewish activities of the Syrian ruler Antiochus Epiphanes IV (died. c. 164. B.C.). He became, at least for a number of the Church Fathers, a prototype of the Antichrist, though he is not identified as such in the book of Daniel itself which, in fact, neither explicitly speaks of a Messiah or, consequently, an anti-Messiah or "Antichrist".⁵ Like Antiochus other rulers who were the object of Jewish hatred such as the Roman general Pompey (possibly described as a "dragon" in the Psalms of Solomon [2: 29]) and Herod the Great (cf. The Assumption of Moses 8:1ff) seem to have assumed, for various apocalypticists, the "Antichrist" type role during the golden age of Jewish apocalyptic (loosely speaking between 200. B.C. and 100. A.D.). Indeed, the Jewish eschatological notion that evil would rise to its peak before the inbreaking of a new order and that a wicked tyrant would appear in the latter days undoubtedly contributed to the emergence of the Christian Antichrist idea.⁶

Certain Jewish and Jewish-Christian texts make mention of the figure Belial/ Beliar who is the satanic arch-enemy of God as Angra-Mainyu (= Ahriman) is the enemy or antagonist of Ahura Mazda and his angels in the Zoroastrian writings. In one or two of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (c. 100. B.C.? but subsequently reworked) it is predicted that God's Messiah will wage war against the evil Beliar, rescue those whom he has ensnared, and cast him into everlasting fire. Beliar is also mentioned in the Sibylline Oracles. In Bk. III, which is probably Jewish and was perhaps written around 150. B.C., it is stated that Beliar is to come from the Sebastenes (= of the stock of Samaria?) and deceive many until God shall destroy him by folding up the cosmos during a terrible fiery catastrophe. In the Qumran War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness (1QM) Belial is the leader of the eschatological hosts of evil, the "sons of darkness" who are to be destroyed by the angelic Guardian of Israel (= Michael?) and the pious "sons of light". These and other similar passages in Jewish apocalyptic writings have also been thought

by many modern Biblical scholars to have contributed to the Antichrist idea.

As previously indicated the New Testament does not directly furnish us with any evidence that Jesus himself spoke of the coming of the Antichrist. According to Mark's Gospel he did however speak of the coming of false Christs (ψευδο-χριστοι) and false prophets (ψευδοπροφηται) (refer Mk 13:6, 22 + parallels) and, referring back to Daniel (9:27, 12:11), make mention of the coming "desolating sacrilege" (το βδέλυγμα της ερημωσης = the "abomination of desolation"; in the Greek the construction is masculine, refer Mk 13:14 / Matt 24:15, cf. Lk 21:20). The "Little Apocalypse" (Mk 13), it has been asserted, unmistakably sketches the "outlines of the Antichrist".⁷ The story of Jesus' temptation (Mk 4:1-11 + parallels) and Jn 5:54, "I (Jesus) have come in my Father's name, and you do not receive me; if another come in his own name (= Antichrist?), him you will receive", have been interpreted in a similar light.⁸

The possibly deutero-Pauline letter II Thessalonians contains within its second chapter (especially verses 3-11) what is perhaps "the earliest Christian belief in an antichrist combined with a pseudo-Christ."⁹ A good many features of the Patristic and later expositions of the career of the Antichrist are rooted in II Thess. 2: 3-12. where we read,

"Let no one deceive you in any way; for that day will not come unless the rebellian comes first, and the man of lawlessness [sin] is revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself against every so-called god or object of worship, so that he takes his seat in the temple of God, proclaiming himself to be God. Do you not remember that when I was still with you I told you this? And you know what is restraining him now so that he may be revealed in his time. For the mystery of lawlessness is already at work; only he who now restrains it will do so until he is out of the way. And the lawless one will be revealed, and the Lord Jesus will slay him with the breath of his mouth and destroy him by his appearing and his coming. The coming of the lawless one by the activity of Satan will be with all power and with pretended signs and wonders, and with all wicked deception for those who are to perish, because they refused to love the truth and so be saved. Therefore God sends upon them a strong delusion, to make them believe what is false, so that all may be condemned who did not believe the truth but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

For detailed expositions of this passage reference should be made to the commentaries. It may be noted however, that we learn from it that Christ's second coming is to be preceded by (1) a "falling away" (η αποστασια) followed by (2) the revealing of the "man of lawlessness [sin]" (ο ανθρωπος της αμαρτίας), the "son of perdition" (ο υιος της απωλειας) who exalts himself to the status of Godhead and as such sits in the "temple of God" having the power to work deceptive miracles. This evil figure is to be destroyed by the returning Jesus, by the "breath of his mouth" (see Isaiah 11:4 + Targum). What prevents the appearance

of the "Son of Perdition" is referred to as impersonal power, "that which restrains" (= το κατεχων [neuter], v.6) and then as a person, "he who now restrains" (= ο κατεχων [masc.], v.7). No agreement as to the meaning of these expressions has been reached by modern Biblical scholars. Tertullian and many subsequent fathers and commentators connected the restraining power or person with the Imperium Romanum or with one of the Roman Emperors though this interpretation is widely questioned today. The reference in II Thess. 2:4 to the desecration of the Temple may reflect the activities of the above-mentioned Antiochus Epiphanes who set up a statue of Zeus in the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem or the pretensions of Caligula (or Nero if this part of II Thess. is pseudo-Pauline ?).

A bewildering variety of expressions of the "Antichrist" have been found in the canonical Apocalypse, the Book of Revelation (c.96.A.D.? but very likely containing earlier reworked Jewish/Jewish-Christian apocalyptic materials) attributed to John of Patmos. It has been written that "the predictions of the Revelation of John borrow their fundamental tone from the fancies regarding the Antichrist".¹¹ The following is a summary of those images and figures mentioned in the Apocalypse that have a bearing on our theme-:

- 1) The beast that ascends from the bottomless pit (Rev 11:7ff) which is to make war on the "two witnesses" who have the power to prophesy for 1,260 days and kill them(12:3,7-8ff).
- 2) The great red dragon or Satan, the Devil, "that ancient serpent"(Rev 12:3ff). This demonic figure is pictured as having "seven heads and ten horns and seven diadems upon his heads". It will persecute the "woman clothed in the sun" and attempt to devour her "male child..who is to rule all nations with a rod of iron". Michael and his angels will fight against this manifestation of the Evil One, the "deceiver of the whole world", and cast it down from heaven. On the earth and in a state of anger the "great red dragon" will make war on the rest of the offspring of the "woman clothed in the sun".
- 3) The beast which rises out of the sea (Rev 13:1ff) which has "ten horns and seven heads, with ten diadems upon its horns and a blasphemous name upon its heads." This beast takes over the power of the "great red dragon"(2) and sits on its throne though it has a "mortal wound" on one of its heads. Its wound however will be healed and the whole earth is to follow it imagining that it is indestructible. It does in fact exercise authority for 42 months(=1,260 days) making war on and even defeating the saints.

- 4) The beast which rises out of the earth(Rev 13:11ff) which has "two horns like a lamb", speaks "like a dragon" and exercises all the authority of the beast which arose out of the sea (3) forcing people to worship it by working great "signs" and deceiving many. This beast promotes the worship of the "image" of the beast which rose out of the sea (3) and prevents all who do not bear the mark of the beast from buying and selling. Its number is 666 which is a "human number".
- 5) The scarlet beast full of blasphemous names on which Babylon the great harlot is seated(Rev 17: 3ff) and which has "seven heads and ten horns". The significance of this terrible creature is explained to the seer of Patmos. It both "was and is not" and is to "ascend from the bottomless pit and go to perdition". Its seven heads are "seven hills" and/or "seven kings" (5 past, 1 present, 1 to come) while its "ten horns" are "ten kings who have not yet received royal power, but they are to receive authority as kings for one hour, together with the beast". The woman who has "Babylon the great, mother of harlots and of earth's abominations" written on her forehead "is the great city which has dominion over the kings of the earth".

Further complicating the above picture it should be noted that Rev 19:19f mentions yet another(? or beast No 4 again) beast and its "false prophet". After attempting to defeat the "Word of God" who sits on a "white horse" with the aid of "the kings of the earth and their armies" these two are to be "thrown alive into the lake of fire that burns with brimstone". Finally Rev 20:1ff informs us that the Dragon or Satan (=No 2?) is to be bound by an angel for 1,000 years after which he is to emerge from the "bottomless pit" for "a little while". He, along with Gog and Magog, will surround the "camp of the saints and the beloved city" only to be consumed by heavenly fire and made to join the beast and the false prophet in the lake of "fire and brimstone".

This highly complex apocalyptic imagery contributed a great deal to subsequent Christian (and to some extent Islamic) Antichrist speculation. Modern exegetes using historico-critical tools, despite the fact that much in the Apocalypse remains obscure, find reflections of the (proto-)Antichrist myth in the Revelation of John. Though M. Rist for example, thinks that the beast of Rev 11 (= No 1) is "not an antichrist"¹² he does concede that the "classical antichrist tradition" is reflected in Rev chapters 13, 16:12-16, 17 and 19:19-21. For most modern Biblical scholars the Beast/Antichrist symbology in the Apocalypse constitutes a kind of apocalyptic polemic against the Roman Empire with its pagan rites and Emperor worship. Behind the imagery surrounding the beast with the healed wound(=No 3) the Nero redivivus legend can be discerned and the name Nero Caesar written in Hebrew/Aramaic characters (נרור ; N=50, R=200, 'O'=6, N=50+Q=100+S=60, R=200) has a gematric value of 666. The "scarlet beast" of Rev 17(=No5) has similarly been identified with Rome.

Shortly after the death of Nero (c.68.A.D.) the legend arose that he was not dead but alive soon to return with a Parthian army in order to take vengeance upon Rome (he had friendly relations with the Parthians). This idea, the Nero revivus legend which is echoed in the Shi^CI notion of the "occultation" (gharba) and eschatological reappearance of various Imāms and Messianic pretenders, persisted to the end of the 1st century A.D. and beyond. It coloured, as indicated below, Jewish eschatological speculation (refer, Sibyline Oracles Bk. IV. 119-39. c. 80. A.D.?, Bk. V. 28ff, 361-70, c. 120. A.D.?) and had some impact on Christian traditions about the Antichrist. Of particular interest in this connection is the following passage from the pseudepigraphical work known as the Ascension of Isaiah or, more explicitly, part of the so-called Testament of Ezekiah (= Asc. Isa. 3:13-4:18. 1st-2nd centuries A.D.) in which Beliar the Evil One appears as Nero the "lawless king" who slew his mother Agrippina in c. 59. A.D.;

"And now Ezekiah and Josab [Josiah] my son, these are the days of the completion of the world. After it is consummated, Beliar the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man, a lawless king the slayer of his mother: who himself (even) this king will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands [= Peter? who according to tradition was martyred in the Nercian persecution of 64-65. A.D.). This ruler in the form of that king will come and there will come with him all the powers of this world, and they will harken unto him in all that he desireth. And at his word the sun will rise at night and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour. And all that he hath desired he will do in the world: he will do and speak like the Beloved and he will say: "I am God and before me there hath been none." And all the people in the world will believe in him. And they will sacrifice to him and they will serve him saying: "This is God and beside him there is no other." And the greater number of those who shall have been associated together in order to receive the Beloved, he will turn aside after him. And there will be the power of his miracles in every city and region. And he will set up his image before him in every city. And he shall bear sway three years and seven months and twenty-seven days [= 1,335 days, refer Daniel 12:12]. And after (one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two [read, 1335?] days the Lord will come with his angels. and he will drag Beliar into Gehenna and also his armies." (Asc. Isa. 4:1-14). 15.

Here the figure of Beliar/Nero is portrayed as both a pseudo-Christ and an Antichrist claiming, like Nebuchadnezzar (Judith 3:8, 6:12), Antiochus Epiphanes IV (Daniel 11:36f), Pompey (? Ps. Sol. 2:28) and Caligula (Philo of Alexandria, Legat. 22, 74-80, 93-7) to be Divine. cf. also Ezekiel 28 and Isaiah 14. 16. Similar ideas are reflected in the "Song of the Two Peoples" of the probably 3rd century Latin poet Commodian (fl. c. 250-450. A.D.?) who taught that there would be two

Antichrists, "a revived Nero in the West who would be killed by the final Antichrist arising from Persia and ruling over the Jews" 17. and in the writings of a number of the Church Fathers. 18.

We may now quote and comment on the first and second Johannine Epistles (written c. 100. A.D.?) where the earliest Christian use of the term Antichrist occurs.

"Children, it is the last hour; and as you have heard that antichrist is coming, so now many antichrists have come; therefore we know that it is the last hour. Who is the liar but he who denies that Jesus is the Christ? This is the antichrist, he who denies the Father and the Son. Beloved do not believe every spirit (πνεύματι) but test the spirits to see whether they are of God; for many false prophets (ψευδοπροφήται) have gone out into the world. By this you know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh (ἐσαρη) is of God, and every spirit which does not confess Jesus is not of God. This is the spirit of the antichrist of which you have heard that it was coming, and now it is in the world already." (1 Jn 2:18, 23; 4:1-3).

"For many deceivers have gone out into the world, men who will not acknowledge the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh; such an one is the deceiver (ὁ πλάνος) and the antichrist." (2 Jn 2:7).

1 Jn seems to have been born out of a dialogue between the author's Christocentric and moralistic interpretation of what being a true disciple of Jesus Christ entails and the elitist proto-gnostic orientation of potential and/or actual schismatics within a community over which the author exercised or commanded some authority. It is essentially anti-docetic and anti-elitist. The docetic heretics are labelled antichrists. The idea of the eschatological appearance of the Antichrist is demythologized or realized and the imminent return of Christ (which the docetists can hardly have awaited since they appear, in their pneumatic transcendentalism, to have negated the soteriological efficacy of the person of Jesus) is affirmed in the hope of terrifying the "little children" into a less radical but still proto-gnostic "orthodoxy". The same concern it appears, lies behind 2 Jn which is addressed by an unknown elder to a community referred to as "the elect lady" (v.l.).

Richard K. Emmerson in his Antichrist in the Middle Ages writes on the later influence of the texts from the Johannine Epistles quoted above, "These texts form the basis for the medieval understanding of Antichrist. They establish important features of the Antichrist tradition by associating Antichrist with the last days and the time of the end. by describing the contemporary appearance of

many Antichrists, and by identifying Antichrist with those who deny Christ and with other heretics." 19.

In a library of a monastery in Constantinople in 1873 a volume was discovered containing a work known as The Teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles, through the Twelve Apostles or more conveniently, the Didache (= the Teaching). It is probably the product of a Syrian (or Egyptian?) Christian community being a kind of "Church Manual" written (most probably) between c.90 and 110.A.D. The last chapter of this manual exhorts the faithful to watchfulness and refers to the Antichrist as the "Deceiver of the World":

"In the last days of the world false prophets and deceivers will abound.. Then the Deceiver of the World will show himself, pretending to be a Son of God and doing signs and wonders, and the earth will be delivered into his hands, and he will work such wickedness as there has never been since the beginning. After that all humankind will come up for the fiery trial.. And then the signs of the truth will appear.. And then the whole world will see the Lord as he comes riding on the clouds of Heaven." 20.

The so-called Epistle of Barnabas, which a few of the Church Fathers regarded as inspired and which was written sometime between 70 and 130 A.D., appears to refer to the Antichrist as the "last great Hindrance of all". This evil power is, furthermore, related to the "fourth beast" of Daniel 7 thus in all likelihood alluding to the Roman Empire as the "fourth kingdom" and that of the Antichrist (refer Barnabas 4:1ff). Polycarp of Smyrna (c.70-c.155.A.D.?) in his Epistle to the Philippians (7:1ff), like the author of 1 Jn, identifies the Antichrist(s) with those who deny the incarnation of Jesus:

"To deny that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is to be Antichrist. To contradict the evidence of the Cross is to be of the devil. And to pervert the Lord's words to suit their own wishes, by asserting that there are no such things as resurrection and judgement, is to be a first-begotten son of Satan. So let us have no more of this nonsense from the gutter, and these lying doctrines, and turn back again to the Word originally delivered to us." 21.

The foremost Christian apologist of the second century, Justin Martyr (c. 100- c.165.A.D.), believed that the "time, two times and a half of time" (Dan 12:7) were were running on to their consummation and that the Antichrist or "Man of Sin" was already, as it were, "at the door". He is to be preceded by false prophets who speak in the name of Christ and appear with the "whole panoply of diabolic power". 22. Irenaeus (c.130-c.202), one time bishop of Lyons (France), in his The Unmasking and Refutation of False Gnosis Bk. V. gives a fairly detailed account of the career of the Antichrist. The Antichrist

is identified with the "Man of Sin" (2 Thess 2:3), various "beasts" mentioned in the Apocalypse of John, the "little horn" of Daniel (8:9), and is associated with the "abomination of desolation" (Dan 9:27, 12:11; Mk 13:14+ parallels). 666, the enigmatic number of the "beast" in Rev 13: 18, is given some interesting interpretations by Irenaeus who regarded it as expressing the recapitulation of all apostasy in the Beast-Antichrist figure. The number is, in cryptic symbolic fashion, related to the age of Noah when he entered the Ark (600) and the dimensions of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image (60x6 cubits, refer Dan 2:3ff). By gematria the number was made to yield (1) Evanthas, (2) Lateinos and (3) Teitan. Of these three possibilities Irenaeus regarded the second as a quite probable solution since, signifying the Roman Empire, it coincides with the name of the "fourth kingdom" seen by Daniel. He himself preferred however, the third possibility, namely Teitan, in part because it is a human name belonging to a tyrant (Adv. Haer. V.30). Whatever may prove to be the name of the Antichrist he is to establish himself in Jerusalem and reign for 3¹/₂ years. As intimated in Jeremiah 8:16 and in the light of the absence of the tribe of Dan among the tribes listed in Rev 7:5f, the Antichrist is to be of Jewish Danite stock. This association of the Antichrist with the tribe of Dan appears to have its origin in Judaism (refer, Test. XII. Pat. Test. Dan 5-7 where the prince of the tribe of Dan is identified with Satan/Beliar, etc. cf. also Jud. 18:30, I Kings 12:29). It is a notion that was repeated by many of the Church Fathers who found OT warrant for it in (among other texts) Gen. 49:17, Deut. 33:22 and (as mentioned) Jer. 8:16. 23.

Tertullian of Carthage (c.160-c.220.A.D.) it has been said, "added a new dimension to patristic thought when he applied the term antichrist to any heretic or rebell against Christ (Adv. Marcion 5.16; De Praescr. Haer. 4.4.)" 24. though he did distinguish these "antichrists" from the eschatological Antichrist. Like Irenaeus he identified the Antichrist with the "Man of Sin" and the "Beast (s)" of the Apocalypse (ibid). He is to appear just before the resurrection, persecute the church and precipitate the emergence of a second company of martyrs. (On the Resurrection 25f; Scorpiace 12). Hippolytus of Rome (d.c.235.A.D.) composed a fairly lengthy Treatise on Christ and Antichrist addressed to a certain Theophilus. This treatise, which was written around 200.A.D., constitutes "the most complete summary of early patristic tradition on the final enemy of man." 25. In it the representation of Antichrist as a pseudo-Christ is dealt with in detail, "For the deceiver seeks to liken himself in all things to the Son of God" (Ch.6).

As the satanic image or counterpart of Christ the Antichrist is to be a circumcised Jew who builds a temple in Jerusalem; a "wolf in sheep's clothing" who sends out false apostles among the nations. He is to come from the tribe of Dan as Christ came from the tribe of Judah- Hippolytus quotes Deut. 33:22 and Gen.49:7 (cf. above) in this connection and goes on to apply other OT texts to the Antichrist (e.g. Isa.10:12-17,14:4-21,Ezek. 28:2-10).The imagery in Daniel chapters 2 and 7 has a mystical meaning and is prophetic(Ch.23). The "little horn" is Antichrist and the "stone" that smites the earth is Christ. For Hippolytus the two beasts of Rev.chapter 13 symbolize the Roman Empire and the kingdom of the Antichrist respectively- the two lamblike horns of the second beast represent Antichrist and his false prophet.As regards the number of the beast,he,like Irenaeus, mentions the words Teitan, Evanthus and Latinus underlining the latter and associating it with the "power of the Latins". Such are a few of the details which may be gleaned from Hippolytus' treatise On Christ and Antichrist. 26.

The erudite Origen (c.185-c.254) did not,it seems,have a great deal to say about the Antichrist.He did however, apply the idea to both his own and eschatological times.The Antichrist is both the wicked king mentioned in Daniel 8:23f and the Pauline "Man of Sin" (II Thess 2:3)as well as any heresy or falsity professing to belong to Christ (Against Celsus VI.44f,Comm.ser 33,42ff).Cyprian (c.200-c.258) held similar views.He made a list of heretics and schismatics whom he believed to be antichrists at the same time holding the view that Antiochus Epiphanes IV was a type of the Antichrist still to come (Ep 69.5;70.3.,Treatise addressed to Fortunatus,11).

The subject of the Antichrist and related questions are dealt with by Victorinus bishop of Pettau (d.c.304.A.D.) in his extant "Commentary on the Apocalypse".The many details given in this commentary cannot be set down though it may be noted that he saw in the "black horse" of Rev.6:6 a sign of the famine to come during the days of the Antichrist when all shall suffer or be injured. The "angel...with the seal of the living God"(Rev 7:2)is none other than Elijah the precursor of the Antichrist.In fact,it may be added here,many of the Church Fathers held the belief that Enoch and Elias,the "two witnesses"(Rev 11:3ff cf. Gen 5:24,2Kings 2:11,Mal 4:5), are to return in the last days and preach against the Antichrist for 3 1/2 years or 1,260 days.They are to succeed in converting some Jews and free some souls from the evil of the Antichrist(cf.Zech.12:10,Rev.12:6) but are to be killed by the Wicked One(Rev 11:7) only to receive their place among the saints in heaven(Rev 11:11-12). 27. For Victorinus the "two witnesses" are to preach for 3 1/2 (literal) years after which, but before the onset of the

"last time", the Kingdom of the Antichrist is to be set up for 3 1/2 (literal) years.As regards the identity of the Antichrist,he is the "beast"of Rev 11:11f and was among the Ceasars.He will spring from the "great red dragon"mentioned in Rev 11:3f which is Rome: "His seven heads were the seven kings of the Romans, of whom also is antichrist." (XII.3).The first "beast" mentioned in Rev.13 is the kingdom that will exist in the time of the Antichrist.By gematria 666 is once again made to yield the number of the Antichrist.Teitan and Antemos are two possibilities but the Latin antiphrase DICLUX stands for the Antichrist. 28.

Lactantius (c.259-330.A.D.)in his doctrinal treatise the Divine Institutes (written c.310.A.D.) chapters 14-24 summarized his views about the ages of the world,the defeat of two antichrists and the coming of the millenial kingdom as did Cyril of Jerusalem(c.315-c.386)in his XVth Catechetical Lecture.Cyril taught that,

" At a moment when the Church and state are paralysed by disunity..Antichrist will first restore unity to the state.Then he will attach all Jewry to his person,and in that he will be accepted as Messiah.Having obtained such an ascendancy as no previous emperor ever had,he will reveal himself in his true colours,and the Church will undergo its final trial till rescued by the second coming of the Saviour." 29.

Hilary of Poitiers(c.300-c.368) was apparently the first of the fathers to link the corrupt Christian priesthood with the Antichrist. 30. While Ambrose of Milan(c.340-c.397) repeated many of the views regarding the Antichrist noted below (such as his coming from the tribe of Dan)he,in the course of commenting on Luke 21:20, spoke of three Antichrists-: (1) The coming "Man of Sin" who will sit in the Jewish Temple, (2) The author of the latter's evil,the Devil,and (3) Arius or Sabellius and their like who endeavour to mislead the faithful through the erroneous interpretation of Scripture. 31.

A number of Homilies on the Antichrist have been attributed to the great Syrian exegete Ephraem Syrus (c.306-373.A.D.). The authenticity and dating of apocalyptic Sermons handed down under his name in Syriac,Greek,Latin and other languages is a matter of considerable scholarly debate. 32. He appears to have been particularly anxious about the imminent appearance of the Antichrist and to have expected the breakup of the Roman Empire to be a prelude to the emergence of the "Man of Sin". The beginning of the barbarian migrations and the "invasion of the eastward regions of the Roman Empire by the Huns (= Gog and Magog)" provide the historical events round which,in part,[pseudo-] Ephraim's eschatological speculations revolve. 33 It must suffice here to note that the Antichrist predictions contained in the Homilies and Sermons attributed to Ephraem found their way (being somewhat

modified) into traditions(ahadīth) attributed to Muhammad and the Imāms and the writings of Islāmic apocalypticists and theologians (i.e. the notion that the Antichrist/Dajjāl would appear in Khurāsān ,Ephrēm's Choras(en)ē; see below) and to quote from a pseudo-Ephraemic(in part?) "Sermon on the End of the World":

" When the Roman Empire begins to be consumed by the sword,the coming of the Evil one is at hand.It is necessary that the world come to an end at the completion of the Roman Empire.In those days two brothers [Valentinian (364-375) and Valens (364-378)?] will come to the Roman empire who will rule with one mind; but because one will surpass the other,there will be a schism between them.And so the Adversary will be loosed and will stir up hatred between the Persian and the Roman empires.In those days many people will rise up against Rome; the Jewish people will be her adversaries.." 34.

Sulpicus Severus (c.353-c.420) ,the friend and biographer of Martin of Tours, the Father of Western Monasticism, attributes to his saintly master(d.c.397) some interesting speculations regarding the Antichrist.In his Dialogues (I.41) we are led to understand that there will be two Antichrists, (1) Nero "who will rule the western region after subduing ten kings" and force the worship of pagan idols upon the people and(2) the Antichrist proper who,after seizing the Eastern (Roman) Empire will make Jerusalem the capital of his kingdom.The Antichrist furthermore,will set himself up as the Anointed One (Messiah) and persecute in the sense of compelling people to deny that Christ is God and forcing them to be circumcised in accordance with the Jewish Law.In blasphemous parallel to the conception of Christ the Antichrist will be "conceived by an evil spirit" and be destroyed by Christ at his second coming.Indeed, St.Martin actually seems to have believed that the Antichrist was a child already born who would seize the empire when he comes of age. 35.

Jerome (347-420) regarded the "most wicked" Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the Antichrist and thought that Jeremiah 9:14-16 predicted the punishment of the Jews for preferring Antichrist to Christ(De Anti.in Dan[CCL]75A 914; In Hier.proph.II.78.2).He imagined,in the light of the numerous apocalyptic condemnations of the evil Babylon,that,though the Man of Sin is to be born a Jew, this city would be the birthplace of the Antichrist (De Anti.in Dan 75A 918).On the basis of Luke 10:13,15,it might be noted here,it was also imagined that the Antichrist would be born in Chorozaim,reared in Bethsaida and rule in Capernaum(refer, Pseudo-Methodius 14). 36.

Such,in brief,are some of the ideas of a few of the more important Church Fathers with respect to the Antichrist.The need for brevity and the complexity of the subject has made selectivity desirable.The aforementioned patristic speculations were greatly systematised and elaborated in the Middle Ages and continued to be influential into the Renaissance and beyond.As is well known, from the thirteenth century onwards " a radically different view of the Antichrist developed that identified him with a specific pope or political figure or with other opponents of the particular writer,heretic or reformer." 37. No attempt will be made here to summarize the countless medieval and later Christian speculations regarding the Antichrist.We turn now to an examination of certain apocalyptically oriented expressions of the physiognomic characteristics of the Antichrist in various Christian and other writings.

Physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist which seem to draw on ancient Jewish and pagan physiognomic literature and serve the purpose of warning men by setting down his supposed physical characteristics are to be found in a wide range of Christian texts(a number of them forming part of the pseudepigraphical Elijah and Daniel cycles)extant (sometimes fragmentarily and in several recensions) in a variety of languages (i.e. Latin,Greek,Coptic,Syriac,Ethiopic,Armenian and Arabic).Not all these texts,a number of which will be set out below,have points of literary dependence if they have them at all.The portraits of the Antichrist found in Christian texts from perhaps the 3rd century A.D. onwards form the literary topos which lies behind the traditional Islāmic physiognomic descriptions of the Dajjāl (see further below)just as the views of the Church Fathers about the Antichrist influenced Islāmic literatures.

The most ancient extant physiognomic description of the Antichrist is found in the 3rd century fragmentary Christian pseudepigraphon the Coptic Elijah Apocalypse (= 1 Elijah).Perhaps based on an earlier Jewish work composed in Egypt in the first century B.C. its detailed 3rd chapter contains legends about the Antichrist. 38. His description is as follows:

" He is somewhat..young,thin-legged,while on the front of his head is a place (lock) of white hair..His eyebrows reach even to his ears,while leprosy scales are on his hands." 39.

A Similar,though probably unrelated,physiognomic description of the Antichrist, again attributed to Elijah,is found in a Greek MS the text of which was first printed by F.Nau in the Journal Asiatique (XI.9(1917),p.454). 40. We learn from this brief text that the Antichrist is to have a head like a flame of fire, a right-eye mixed with blood or glad (?),double pupils in the left eye, 41. white eyelids, a large lower lip, a thin right thigh and broad feet. 42.

The document known as the Testament of the Lord (3rd-5th cent.A.D.?) purports to give the instructions of the Risen Christ to his disciples and contains an apocalyptic discourse (3rd cent.A.D?). In several Syriac and other versions of this work— which formed part of the Clementine Octateuch of the Syrian Church— we find some interesting physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist that appear to be related to the Greek Elijah fragment mentioned above. One Syriac version (Camb.Univ.Lib. Cod.Add 2918) has been translated by J.P.Arendzen; the section of interest reads as follows:

" Concerning the Son of Perdition he says: Those are the signs of his likeness: His head a flame of fire and his right eye mixed with blood and the left one has two pupils and his eyebrows white and his lower lip larger than its fellow and his right thigh small and his feet broad and his little finger large as a sickle, that is the sickle of devastation." 43.

Physiognomic details supplied by other Syriac MSS and versions may be tabulated as follows [✓ = a physiognomic characteristic mentioned; X = not mentioned]. 44.

Description of Antichrist.	Syriac ^{45.} Test. Dom. a.	Syriac ^{46.} Test. Dom. b.	Latin ^{47.} (Test. Dom) Cod. Trev.	Ethiopic ^{48.} Test. Dom. in Gal.
Head: a flame of fire	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rt. Eye: mixed with blood.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Lt. Eye: glad or: light blue	X	✓(?)	✓	X
[Lt. Eye: green]	X	X(?)	X	X
Lt. Eye: 2 pupils	✓	X	✓	✓
Eyes: cat-like (gall-colour)	X	X	✓	X
Eyebrows: white	✓	✓	X	X
Eyelashes: white	X	X	✓	✓
Lower lip: large	✓	✓(larger)	✓(larger)	✓
Rt. Thigh : thin	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rt. Foot & Shins: thin	X	X	✓	X
Feet: broad	✓	✓	✓	✓

We now turn to another series of texts resembling in their physiognomic description of the Antichrist those tabulated above, namely the various versions of the so-called Tiburtine Sibyl and a few related texts. The original Greek Tiburtine Sibyl (Σ) (which is lost) was probably composed between c.378-390.A.D. and appears to have been partly based on Egyptian apocalyptic themes (cf. 1 Elijah quoted above). 49. It was

" intended as a response to the military disaster of Adrianople (378) where the Emperor Valens had been killed by the Goths", 50. was soon translated into Latin (W^a which is lost) and survives in several Greek MSS composed in Phoenecia around 500 A.D. (the so-called Oracle of Baalbeck) as well as a number of 10th-11th century Latin MSS (W^l etc). 51. None of the surviving Greek or Latin forms of the Tiburtine Sibyl contain the physiognomic description of the Antichrist though certain Ethiopic and Arabic texts provide us with such portraits. These latter texts may again be tabulated: 52.

Description of Antichrist.	Ethiopic ^{53.} Tib. Sibyl.	Arabic ^{54.} Sibyl.	Garshuni ^{55.} Sibyl.	Arabic ^{56.} Tib. Sibyl.	Arabic ^{57.} Tib. Sibyl.
Head: large	✓	✓	✓	✓	X
Neck: narrow	✓	✓	thick	✓	✓
Hairs:	few	X	X	plentiful	X
Arms: long	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fingers: short	✓	✓	twisted	✓	✓
Eyes:	X	strong like light of sun	X	shining, etc.	in eyes light, etc.
Rt. Eye: mixed with blood	✓	X	X	X	X
Lt. Eye: glad: or light blue	✓	X	X	X	X
Eyes: other	X	Rt. eye: very blue in pupil writing =	Lt. eye: in it a spot.	Rt. Eye: in it a sign.	X

This is the false Messiah.

In connection with the above (two) tabulations, M.E. Stone and J. Strugnell in their collection The Books of Elijah Parts 1&2 (which I have drawn on in reproducing the above tabulations) also note the physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist contained in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch (5 Baruch, a medieval reworking of 4 Baruch extant only in Ethiopic) and in a related "Ethiopic Wisdom Sibyl". These two texts both represent the Antichrist as having his right eye mixed with blood (cf. above) and a thin right foot. 58.

Not to be confused with the canonical Apocalypse of John there exists a Greek Apocalypse of [Pseudo-]John which probably dates from the 5th cent. A.D. 59. It is a product of Eastern Christendom and appears to draw on the writings of Ephrem. Arranged in question and answer form this Apocalypse gives a fairly

detailed account of eschatological events and purports to be a post-resurrection discourse of Christ. Sometimes referred to as the Revelation of the Holy Theologian John it contains the following physiognomic description of the Antichrist:

"And again I said, "O Lord, what will take place after this?" And I heard a voice saying to me, "Hear, O righteous John, at that time the Denier shall be manifest, the one banished in darkness, the one called Antichrist." And again I said, "Lord, reveal to me what he is like." And I heard a voice saying to me, "The appearance of his face is gloomy [or dusky], his hair like the points of arrows; his [eye] brows rough [or like a wild beast's]; his right eye as the rising morning star and the left like a lion's. His mouth is a cubit wide, his teeth a span in length, his fingers are like sickles. His footprints are two cubits long, and on his forehead is the writing, 'The Antichrist'. He will be lifted up to heaven and he will be brought down to the Abyss, working falsehood." 60.

This interesting description of the Antichrist apparently exists in several Arabic MSS. It should be noted that a number of the Antichrist's features mentioned in it correspond with those mentioned in both Sunnī and Shi^cI traditions about the Dajjal (see below). A strikingly similar description of the Antichrist is contained in the Apocalypse of Ezra (Greek Esdras) a "rather late" (6th-8th cent. A.D.) pseudepigraphon apparently extant in only two MSS. 61. A Walker's translation of the passage of interest here from one of the MSS (Paris gr. 929 ff. 510-32) reads as follows:

"And they [Michael and Gabriel] took me to the north [of Tartarus] and I saw there a man bound with iron chains. And I asked: Who is this? And he said to me: This is he who said I am the Son of God, that made stones bread, and water wine. And the prophet said: My Lord let me know what is his form, and I shall tell the race of men, that they may not believe in him. And he said to me: The form of his countenance is like that of a wild beast; his right eye like the star that rises in the morning, and the other without motion; his mouth one cubit; his teeth span long [1 span long]; his fingers like scythes [sickles]; the track of his feet two spans; and in his face an inscription, Antichrist. He has been exalted to heaven; he shall go down to Hades [cf. Matt 11:23]. At one time he shall become a child; at another, an old man.. and no one believes him that he is my beloved Son.." 62.

Several texts belonging to the pseudepigraphical Daniel cycle give us yet further physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist: such pseudo-Daniel Apocalypses being extant in Greek, Old Church Slavonic, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Persian, Serbian and Russian. An eclectic Greek text of a "Byzantine Daniel Apocalypse" has been edited and translated (into German) by Klaus Berger. 63. The 11th chapter (verses 17-26) of this Daniel Apocalypse (part of its eschatological section that may date back to the 4th-5th century A.D.

in its original form—the current form being 9th century A.D.) which has much to say about the Antichrist describes his appearance thus:

" ..17 Es wird aber die Höhe seiner Statur zehn Ellen betragen [Height / Stature: 10 Ells] .18 Und die Haare seines Hauptes kommen herab bis zu seinen Füßen [Length of Hair: reaching the feet].19 Er wird dreisch-eitelig sein (die Fingerspitzen behaart) [Hair: 3 tufts spiked like fingertips].20 Die Spur seiner Füße beträgt drei Ellen [Span of Feet: 3 Ells] .21. Seine Augen sind wie der Stern, der in der Frühe aufgeht [Eyes: like the rising morning star].22. Und seine Zähne sind im oberen Teil aus Eisen [Teeth: upper part of iron] 23. Und der untere Teil der Wange ist hart wie Diamant [Cheeks: lower, hard like diamond].24. Sein rechter Arm ist aus Eisen und sein linker von Kupfer [Rt. Arm: made of iron; Lt. Arm: made of Copper].25. Die linke Hand ist drei Ellen lang und seine Rechte vier Ellen [Lt. Hand: 3 Ells ; Rt. Hand: 4 Ells] .26 Er ist großäugig, großnasig [Eyes: large; Nose: large].27. Auf seine Stirn schreibt er drei Buchstaben: ([MSS] M) a. t. ch., nämlich: Antichrist [Insc-ription on Forehead: 3 letters (a. t. ch) signifying Antichrist]. " 64.

Finally, but by no means exhaustively, reference may be made in connection with Christian physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist to the Seventh Vision of Daniel (5th-7th cent. A.D. ?) which is extant only in Armenian. 65. The Antichrist is described as follows:

"His knees are unbending, he is crippled in his eyes, with wide eyebrows, crooked [sickle] fingered, with a pointed head, gracious, boastful, wise, sweet in laughter, visionary, clever, sober, gentle, mild, worker of signs, bringing close to him the souls of the corrupt, bringing forth bread from stones [making] the blind to see, the lame to walk, he will move mountains from place to place.." 66.

Brief notice may now be given to those neo-Hebraic Apocalyptic texts that include descriptions of the "Anti-Messiah". Important in this respect is the neo-Hebraic Apocalypse of Elijah (2 Elijah) which, though apparently preserving early traditions and closely related to the abovementioned Coptic Elijah Apocalypse (1 Elijah), hardly dates as far back as 250 A.D. as M. Büttenweiser suggested. 67. Extant in Rabbinic Hebrew it "purports to be a revelation by Michael to Elijah on Mt Carmel " 68. and teaches that before the advent of the Messiah whose name is Winon an Anti-Messiah will appear who will subdue the world and persecute Israel. The latter's description is as follows:

" These will be his signs on which Daniel gazed: his face will be long; a bald spot will be between his eyes; his stature will be very tall; the soles of his feet will be high (? broad) and his legs will be thin." 69.

According to M. Buttenweiser, such descriptions of the "adversary of the Messiah" are a "conventional feature of a great number of Neo-Hebrew apocalypses." ⁷⁰ They are indeed not only to be found in 2 Elijah but also for example, in the Book of Zerubbabel (Sepher Zerubbabel), the Signs of the Messiah (Otot Mashi'ah), the Prayer (Tefillat) and Mysteries of Simeon ben Yohai (Nistarot de-Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai), the Midrash Va-Yosha, the Chapters on the Messiah (Pirkei ha-Mashi'ah) and the Persian Apocalypse of Daniel. In most of these texts the Anti-Messiah is named Armilus which is perhaps derived from Romulus (along with Remus the founder of Rome) or a corruption of the name of the Evil One in Zoroastrianism, Angra-Mainyu or Ahriman (Gk= Ἀππύρανος). ⁷¹ This figure is mentioned in the Targumim (Ps-Jon. Isa. 11:4 and Targ. Jer. Deut 34:3) and in Saadiah Gaon's Emot ve-De'ot (apparently influenced by the Book of Zerubbabel). The legends associated with Armilus cannot be sketched in detail here (they probably originated in the early Gaonic period) though it may be noted that this Anti-Messiah is to kill the Messiah ben Joseph and himself be defeated and slain by the Messiah ben David (at least in a number of the texts mentioned above). ⁷²

The Book of Zerubbabel, which was probably composed early in the 7th cent. A.D. (there is no mention of Islām), describes various visions of Zerubbabel (the last Davidic ruler) who was taken in spirit to Ninevah where he witnessed the events of the latter days. ⁷³ In this apocalyptic work the evil Armilus is represented as having hair like gold with two spikey tufts(?), sunken or deep-set eyes one span apart and arms reaching down to his feet. ⁷⁴ The description in the Signs of the Messiah, which sets down ten occurrences that "foreshadow the imminent appearance of the Messiah", ⁷⁵ is similar. Armilus, known to the gentile nations as Antichrist, will be 12 Ells in height or stature; have hair like gold with two spikey tufts(?), eyes both red, sunken, and a span apart, and large(?) yellowish-green feet (?). ⁷⁶ Again, in the Midrash Va-Yosha the Anti-Messiah has a metallic forehead(?), is bald-headed with one large and one small eye, possessed of a maimed or short (1 handbreadth) right arm but a left arm that is 2 1/2 ells long, and deaf in one ear. ⁷⁷ The following passage is a translation of some of the details about Armilus and his appearance in the Chapters on the Messiah:

"They tell that in Rome there is a marble statue of a beautiful maiden, fashioned not by human hand but by the Holy One blessed be He, who created it in His might. The wicked of the nations of the world, the sons of Belial, come and warm her and lie with her, and He preserves their seed within the stone from which He creates a being and forms it into a child, whereupon she splits asunder and there issues from her the likeness of a man whose name is the Satan, Armilus, whom the

Gentiles call Antichrist. He is 12 cubits tall and two cubits broad, there is a span between his eyes which are crooked and red, his hair is golden-coloured, the soles of his feet are green, and he has two heads." ⁷⁸

Finally, but by no means exhaustively, we are informed in the Persian Apocalypse of Daniel of an unnamed Armilus type Anti-Messiah who is to unite with Gog and Magog, subdue the world, and persecute Israel. ⁷⁹ He is no less than 100 cubits (ells) 11 spans tall, has hair on his face and a mouth one span in width. ⁸⁰

A number of attempts have been made to trace the origins of such physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist/Anti-Messiah as have been outlined above. ⁸¹ It appears that this literary topos is complex in origin and has pre-Christian roots. Biblical and post-Biblical apocalyptic symbolism have obviously contributed to it. In particular descriptions of angels, mythical beasts and demons have made their mark for the Evil Antichrist has supernatural powers (especially as pseudo-Christ) yet is essentially demonic in nature. ⁸² The influence of images found in the Biblical books attributed to Daniel and John (the Apocalypse) should not be overlooked. The following texts in Daniel deserve mention: (1) 2:31f which describes the massive "image" seen by Nebuchadnezzar and the metals and clay which compose it (cf. 3:1f where the golden image made by Nebuchadnezzar is 6x6 cubits), (2) 4:33 where we are informed that Nebuchadnezzar, driven from amongst men, grew "hair...as long as eagles feathers" and "nails...like bird's claws" (3) 7:7f, 19f, here the fourth beast has "great iron teeth" and reference is made to the "horn" with eyes "like the eyes of a man" and a mouth that "speaks great things". Similar imagery (cf. below) is found in the Apocalypse; note particularly the description of the "locusts" in Rev 9:7f and the complex beast imagery in chapters 11-13 and 17. The nature of the Antichrist's eye/s and skin, etc., it might also be mentioned here, may in part be rooted in or related to the leprous/skin diseases described in Leviticus 13. Also worth noting is the suggestion that the notion of the "one-eyed" Antichrist (important in Islamic descriptions of the Dajjal, see below) derives from Zechariah 11:7 (note also the withered arm): ⁸⁴

"Woe to my worthless shepherd, who deserts the flock!
May the Lord smite his right arm and his right eye!
Let his arm be utterly withered,
his right eye utterly blinded!"

Of considerable importance in relation to the roots of the portraits of the Antichrist are the extant physiognomic and the related chiromantic and astrological texts (though they do not contain portraits of the Antichrist/Anti-Messiah) which form part of the heritage of Jewish mysticism (cf. also the texts representative of Shi'ur Qomah or "Dimensions of the Deity" mysticism). ⁸⁵

Related to or to some extent lying behind the Jewish physiognomic literature are the Greek and Latin physiognomic texts representative of a "science" of considerable antiquity and believed to have been founded by Pythagoras or (among others) Hippocrates and which also throw light on the physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist. ⁸⁶. A curious cryptographic Qumran text the quintessence of which " is that man's moral and spiritual qualities can be defined through an examination of the size and shape of his thighs, toes, fingers, hair, eyes, beard, teeth and height" ⁸⁷. (4Q 186) and the so-called Messianic Horoscope (4Q Mess Ar) found in the same cave along the shores of the Dead Sea which " appears to foretell the physical appearance and character of the future... royal Messiah" ⁸⁸. (he is to have red hair like the Dajjāl in certain Sunni traditions [cf. below] and a birth-mark on his thigh [cf. Muhammad's lump-like "seal of prophethood"]) may throw light on the kind of arcane speculation that led to the physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist. J. Rosenstiehl has discussed the possible relationship between portraits of Caligula (d.c. 41 A.D.) in Seneca's De Constantia (Bk. XVIII.1) and in Suetonius' Caligula (in The Lives of the Caesars, Bk. IV.50) ⁸⁹. and those of the Antichrist and K. Berger, in the same connection, has drawn attention to the portraits in Sidonius' Epistle to Apollinaris (Ep. I.2.2. cf. his Panegyric in honour of Mairianus, 235f) and in a version of the Life of Alexander. ⁹⁰. The actual physical characteristics of anti-Jewish/Christian rulers, invaders and individuals along with the way they were pictured in terms of the ancient physiognomic traditions must also be taken into consideration in the attempt to fathom the roots of the characteristics of the Man of Sin as drawn in Jewish, Christian and, it might be added, Islāmic apocalyptic. ⁹¹. In order to sum up (at least in part) we may quote M.E. Stone, " Thus, it seems that in giving the physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist, these later apocalypses are combining two old traditions, that of the physiognomic literature and that of the Antichrist." ⁹².

While apocalyptic Antichrist speculation continued to flourish in Christian circles at the time of and subsequent to the rise of Islām (which religious phenomenon was itself in various ways regarded as a manifestation of the Antichrist) the Christian and other Antichrist traditions, including elements of the physiognomic portraits, were assimilated into Islāmic eschatology. ⁹³. Though the Antichrist figure as the Dajjāl does not appear in the Qur'ān a great many traditions about him were attributed to the Prophet Muhammad and the Shi'ī Imāms. A perusal of Sunni and Shi'ī books or collections of tradition (ahādīth) and of Qur'ānic commentaries

and works of theology, not to mention the apocalyptic (Malāhim) texts and popular legends, illustrates that, as the Prophet was believed to have put it, "Between the creation of Adam and the coming of the last hour there is no more serious matter than the dajjāl." ⁹⁴. In Sunni books of tradition the Prophet is accredited with having taught that all the past prophets warned the people of the coming of the Dajjāl adding that he had a new teaching concerning him; that is, that the Dajjāl unlike God, would be 'one-eyed' (see further below). ⁹⁵. It is of course extremely unlikely, in the light of the early proliferation and acceptance of "Isrā'īliyyat" (scriptural and haggadic materials transmitted by Jews and Christians) ⁹⁵. by Muslims that the Prophet himself added the latter detail to the physiognomic portrait of the Antichrist — we have seen that a good many pre-Islāmic Christian traditions have something to say about the peculiar nature of the Antichrist's left or right eye or eyes. Indeed, the Islāmic tradition that all past prophets warned the people about the coming of the Antichrist / Dajjāl may be taken to be a veiled acknowledgement on the part of early Muslims that certain Antichrist/Dajjāl traditions were taken over from the People of the Book.

The word dajjāl may be of Syriac origin. It has been thought to derive from the Syriac adjective daggālā (= liar) which came to be used as an Arabic substantive denoting the Islāmic "Antichrist": the Peshitta or revised form of the Syriac Bible (the Scripture of Syrian Christianity) translates ψευδός - Χριστός (= pseudo/false Christ) at Matt 24:24 by meshīhē daggālē. ⁹⁶. Neither the Syriac daggālā in itself signifies the Antichrist nor is the Arabic dajjāl used exclusively for the Islāmic Antichrist. In Islāmic eschatology dajjāl can mean simply "false teacher" and the Islāmic Antichrist is occasionally referred to as al-Kaddāb, "the Liar". In some writings the more complete expression al-Masīh al-Dajjāl denotes the Islāmic Antichrist (cf. the Syriac meshīhā de-dhaggālūthā) ⁹⁷. the nature and career of whom may now be briefly (and incompletely) sketched. ⁹⁸.

As indicated, a great many of the features of the career of the Islāmic Antichrist are rooted in Christian and Jewish Antichrist/Anti-Messiah speculations. Like the Christian Antichrist the Dajjāl is an eschatological enemy of God and the people whose appearance is one of the most important signs of the last days or the "Hour". We have noted below that the Syrian Father Ephraem thought, apparently after the invasion of the Huns, that the Antichrist would appear in Choras(en)ē (= Khurāsān) and that Jerome believed that he would be born in Babylon. Islāmic tradition similarly, like also the Eastern Christian apocalyptic text Pseudo-Methodius which has it that a "son of destruction" will come

from Chorase(= Khurāsān), includes speculations as to the birthplace or place of the appearance of the Dajjāl. Khurāsān in both Sunnī and Shī'ī eschatology is in fact singled out as being the place where the Dajjāl as well as the Mahdī or twelfth Imām/ Qā'im will appear though other places are mentioned as well. One well known Sunnī tradition has it that Abu Bakr reported the Prophet as having said that " the Dajjāl would come forth from a land in the East called Khurāsān " and be " followed by peoples whose faces resemble shields covered with skin". ⁹⁹. Another Sunnī tradition holds that "He will come forth on a road between Syria and al-Iraq and do mischief right and left." ¹⁰⁰. A.J. Wensinck summarizing Sunnī traditions in this connection writes,

"[Al-Dajjāl]. . . like the eschatological tyrant of the Old Testament, will come from a remote region, not the north, but from some region in the east (Ibn Madja, Fitan, bāb 33), from Khurāsān (Ibn Hanbal, i.4,7.) or Isfahān (Ibn Hanbal, iii.224; vi.75)." ¹⁰¹.

A. Abel refers to an apocalypse entitled Shams al-Chuvūb which also associates the rising place of the Dajjāl with Khurāsān which, it must be remembered, was a region associated with the rise of the ^cAbbāsids. As Ephraem associated the rising place of the Antichrist with Chorase in connection with the Huns so too it appears, did some early Muslims associate the Dajjāl with Khurāsān in connection with the rise of the (at one time pro-Shī'ī) ^cAbbāsids. A number of Islāmic traditions about the Dajjāl like certain Christian speculations about the Antichrist were born out of concrete historical experiences. Shī'ī eschatology and Messianism is to a considerable extent conditioned by frustrated religio-political hopes and millennial expectations shattered or delayed by such events as the crushing defeat of Husayn at Karbilā (c.680.A.D.), the quietism of the Imāms after Husayn, and the supposed occultation of the twelfth Imām or Al-Qā'im bi'l-īhād (the expected deliverer who will arise to carry out the eschatological holy war and establish universal Shī'ism). ¹⁰².

The Dajjāl, born in the east or some other remote region, will prove unable to either enter or capture Mecca or Medina which will be subject to miraculous protection— in Shī'ī sources Mecca is the place where the Mahdī will proclaim his mission. ¹⁰³. The following Sunnī traditions express this conviction:

" The Messiah (i.e. the Dajjāl) will come from the East making for Medina and will alight behind Uhud, but the angels will then turn his face towards Syria and he will perish there." ¹⁰⁴.

"The terror of the Antichrist will not enter Medina, which will on that day have seven gates with two angels at each gate." ¹⁰⁵.

The Christian Antichrist, as we have seen, has frequently been represented as a pseudo-Christ. Aspects of his career mirror for evil reasons and with evil results the circumstances and ministry of Jesus. Like some representations of Armilus the Jewish Anti-Messiah the Islāmic representation of the powers and career of the Dajjāl is at times coloured by the pseudo-Christ aspect of the Antichrist tradition. Just as Christ performed miracles so will the Dajjāl whose paradise will be hell and whose hell will be paradise. He will raise or appear to be capable of resurrecting the dead and command the elements:

"He will come to people and summon them to believe in him. He will give command to the sky and it will give rain and to the earth and it will produce crops. Then in the evening their pasturing animals will come to them with their humps as high as possible; their udders full of milk, and their flanks distended. He will come to people and summon them, but they will reject what he says so they will leave him. In the morning they will be destitute, possessing none of their property. He will pass the waste land and tell it to bring forth its treasures, and its treasures will follow him like swarms of bees. He will then summon a man in the prime of youth, strike him with a sword and cut him in two .. after which he will call him and he will come forward laughing with his face shining." ¹⁰⁶.

Not only is the Dajjāl seen as a satanic tempter and pseudo-Christlike worker of miracles but Islāmic tradition, both Sunnī and Shī'ī, represents him, like Christ at his triumphal entry (refer, Mk 11:1f; Matt 21:1ff; Lk 19:28f; Jn 12:14f) as appearing riding on an ass or donkey. Both the Prophet Muhammad and the Imām ^cAlī are said to have spoken of the ass of the Antichrist which, like the ass mentioned in the Zoroastrian Bundahis, is no ordinary beast:

" The dajjāl will come forth on a white ass with a space seventy times as wide as one can stretch between its ears." ¹⁰⁷.

Shī'ī literature as E.G. Browne noted, attributes many curious qualities to the ass of the Dajjāl:

"Many other wonderful qualities are attributed to the ass of Antichrist, as, for instance, that the distance between its ears is a full mile, that each of its hairs gives forth ravishing strains of music, and the like, of which things the further enumeration appears to be unprofitable and unnecessary." ¹⁰⁸.

Those who are to be misled by the Dajjāl are variously enumerated. Just as some traditions allude to the fact or explicitly mention that the Dajjāl will be a Jew (a notion widely entertained in Christian Antichrist speculation) so are his followers on occasion represented as Jews. One Sunnī tradition which is also echoed in Shī'ī literature (cf. below) identifies the followers of the Dajjāl with Persian Jews:

"The dajjāl will be followed by seventy thousand Jews of Isfahān wearing Persian shawls." 169.

Another Sunnī tradition has it that the Dajjāl will mislead no less than 70,000 Muslims ,

" The dajjāj will be followed by seventy thousand of my people wearing dark cloaks." 110.

Yet further traditions speak of those enticed by the Dajjāl as being unbelievers, polytheists, women, bastards and/or musicians. ¹¹¹. Some protection against the evil Dajjāl may be gained by the recitation of the opening verses of the Qur'ānic sūrat al-Kahf (Sūra of the Cave, Sura 18). ¹¹².

The career of the Dajjāl according to many traditions is to be short. A forty year period is often mentioned but this time span (cf. the 40 years wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness and the 40 days during which Jesus was tempted by Satan) is to be "shortened" (cf. Mk 13:20+ parallels) such that it does not in reality signify this length of time. Reference is also made to a forty day period during which the Dajjāl is to beguile the wayward:

"Forty days, one like a year, one like a month, one like a week, and the rest of his days like yours." 113.

The belief that Jesus son of Mary will descend from heaven in the last days or at the time of the resurrection (qiyāma) and have a role of considerable importance is affirmed and elaborated in a great many Sunnī and Shi'ite traditions. Sachedina writes in his Islamic Messianism , " The Imamite doctrine of the Mahdi at one point merges with the return of Jesus, another prominent figure of Islamic eschatology. The doctrine of the return of Jesus, as described in the Sunnite sources and cited by the Shi'ite traditionalists is explained in a more or less uniform manner." ¹¹⁴. Islāmic traditions and sources often teach that the Dajjāl is to be destroyed by Jesus at his second coming though the Mahdī, who is normally though not always distinguished from Jesus, has also been given this task be he the Sunnī deliverer who will be born in the normal way or the Qā'im of the Shi'ite who will emerge from his occultation or hidden retreat. ^cAbd Allāh ibn ^cUmar al-Baidāwī (dies. c.1286. A.D.) the renowned Sunnī commentator, in the course of commenting on Sūra 43:61, sums up the essentials of the mainstream Sunnī position with respect to the eschatological descent of Jesus:

"In the Tradition (hadīth) it is reported that Jesus will come down over a mountain pass in the Holy Land called Afīq [apparently a mountain pass to the Jordan valley], and in his hand he will carry a spear with which he will kill the Antichrist (dajjāl). He will then go to Jerusalem

(bait al-muqaddas) just when the inhabitants are performing the morning prayer. The prayer leader will want to step back (in view of Jesus' appearance), but Jesus will give precedence to him and perform the prayer behind him according to the rite of Muhammad [note the subservience of Jesus to the imam or Mahdī as prayer leader]. Then he will kill the swine, dash to pieces the crucifix, demolish the churches and synagogues, and kill the Christians who do not have (correct) belief in him." 115.

The manner in which Jesus is to overcome or defeat the Dajjāl and the place where this is to be accomplished are variously related in Islāmic sources. It is generally agreed that the Dajjāl will be killed in Syria (Palestine) as the following tradition indicates :

"..God will send the Messiah son of Mary who will descend at the white minaret in the east of Damascus wearing two garments dyed with saffron and placing his hands on the wings of two angels. When he lowers his head it will drip and when he raises it beads like pearls will scatter from it. Every infidel who feels the odour of his breath will die, and his breath will reach as far as he can see [see Isaiah 11:4 + Targum and II Thess. 2:8 quoted below]. He will then seek him (the Dajjāl) till he catches up with him at the gate of Ludd and kills him." 116.

Another Sunnī tradition reports that the last hour will not come before the Muslim armies, about to divide the booty of Constantinople, make a hasty retreat as a result of a false alarm raised by Satan who suggests that the Dajjāl has attacked their absent families. It is realised that the Satanic suggestion is false and the Muslim armies move on to Syria;

"Then..he (the Dajjāl) will come forth, and while they are preparing for battle and arranging the ranks the time for prayer will come and Jesus son of Mary will descend and lead them in prayer. When God's enemy (the Dajjāl) sees him (Jesus) he will dissolve like salt in water, and if he (Jesus) were to leave him (the Dajjāl) he would dissolve completely; but God will kill him (the Dajjāl) by his hand and he will show them (the Muslim armies) his blood on his spear." 117.

In many Sunnī traditions then, it is Jesus who is to destroy or kill the Dajjāl. On the other hand, as Sachedina notes, in the Shi'ite traditions " the function of killing the Dajjāl is reserved for al-Mahdi." ¹¹⁸. According to a lengthy tradition recorded in volume 13 of Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī's Bihār al-Anwār Imām ^cAlī the one-eyed Dajjāl who will appear riding on an ass will be killed at Afīq (cf. above) at the hands of " the one behind whom Jesus will worship" or the twelfth Imām Al-Qā'im Al-Mahdī. 119.

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Before turning to the subject of the physiognomic descriptions of the Dajjāl we may sum up by quoting an interesting and detailed description of the appearance of the Dajjāl contained in a Shi'ī doctrinal treatise:

"The forty-sixth of the signs of the appearance[of the Imām Mahdī] is the coming forth of Antichrist. And the name of that accursed one is Sa'īd ibn Sayd[cf. below]. The traditions concerning him are various. Some imply that he has existed from the time of Adam until now, as it is related in a tradition that the Apostle of God went to one of the houses in Medina wherein was a babbling madman with his mother. The prophet pointed him out to his companions and said, 'O people, God hath not sent any prophet without filling his church with the fear of Antichrist, whom he has respited and left until your time. And this man shall come forth with a mountain of bread and a river of water; and he will appear in a time of famine. Most of his followers will be Jews, women, Arabs and nomads. He will enter into all quarters and regions of the earth save Mecca and its two mountains, and Medina and its two mountains. And whenever he comes forth he will claim to be God, although he is one-eyed and God is not one-eyed.' And in some traditions it hath come down that he was born in the time of His Highness[the Prophet]; that he had a beard and spoke when he was born; that the Prophet went to his house; that he claimed the rank of a prophet and said, 'I am one sent of God'; the His Holiness[the Prophet] commanded an angel which was in the form of a great bird to carry him away and cast him into a well situated in one of the Jewish villages near Sajistān or Isfahān; and he is chained[there] till such time as he shall receive permission to come forth. And he has an ass whereof each step covers a mile (three miles being equal to one parṣang), and on the body of his ass are white spots like a leopard. Now the characteristics of the Antichrist are these: his right eye is crushed; his left eye is in his forehead and glitters as though it were the morning star, and in it is a piece of blood, so that it seems to be pervaded with blood; between his two eyes it is written that he is a misbeliever; so that everyone whether learned or unlearned can read it; he is a skilled magician, who, by his magic, descends into oceans; with him travels the sun; before his face is a mountain of smoke, and behind his back is a white mountain, and through [his] magic it seemeth in men's eyes that they are two mountains of water and bread, though in truth it is not so, but a mere juggler; he traverseth all oceans, and over whatsoever ocean or water he passeth it sinketh down and cometh forth no more till the Day of Judgement; before him Satan dances, and the devils cause him and his ass to appear pleasing in men's eyes, and this is a mischief for the proving of mankind. And he crieth out so that the dwellers in the East and in the West, whether jinn or of mankind, hear his voice, and he saith, 'O my friends, I am God who created and fashioned the members and parts of the world; I am that God who predestined the affairs of [His] servants and guided and directed mankind; I am your supreme Lord.' And most of his followers are women, Jews, bastards, and musicians. But when he cometh to Akaba-i-Afik, which is a mountain in Syria, His Highness the Kā'im shall slay him at the third hour on Friday, and shall cleanse the world of the filth and foulness of the Accursed One." 120.

As in the above passage, a great many Islāmic traditions containing physiognomic descriptions of the Dajjāl, which are obviously related to or rooted in the Jewish and Christian portraits of the Antichrist/Anti-Messiah outlined in the

preceding pages, are scattered throughout Sunnī and Shi'ī literatures. Perhaps the most frequently mentioned characteristic of the Dajjāl is that he is to be one-eyed or have an eye or eyes of a peculiar or deformed nature; also a constant feature of the Christian Antichrist portraits as has been indicated. Both the Prophet Muhammad and the Imām 'Alī are said to have described the Dajjāl as being one-eyed or having an eye which shines like the morning-star. The following passages from various Sunnī books of tradition may illustrate Islāmic physiognomic descriptions of the Dajjāl. 121.

"I [Muhammad] warn you of him [the Dajjāl], and there is no prophet who has not warned his people. Noah warned his people, but I shall tell you something about him which no prophet has told his people. You must know that he is one-eyed, whereas God is not one-eyed." 122.

"God is not hidden from you, God most high is not one-eyed, but the Antichrist is blind in the right eye, his eye looking like a floating grape." 123.

"There is no prophet who has not warned his people about the one-eyed liar. I tell you that he is one-eyed, but your Lord is not one-eyed. On his forehead are the letters K, F, R [signifying Kāfir = "Infidel"]." 124.

"The Dajjāl will have an eye obliterated over which will be a coarse film, and 'Infidel' (Kāfir) will be written on his forehead. Every Muslim who can write and those who cannot will read it." 125.

"The Dajjāl is blind in the left eye and has a great quantity of hair." 126.

"I [Muhammad] have told you so much about the Dajjāl that I am afraid you may not understand. The Antichrist is short, hen-toed (or 'bandy-legged'), woolly-haired, one-eyed, an eye sightless and neither protruding nor deep-seated. If you are confused about him, know that your Lord is not one-eyed." 127.

"On the day of resurrection a huge fat man will come, but in God's estimate he will not weigh as much as a gnat's wing." 128.

A. J. Wensinck has summed up many of the features contained in the physiognomic descriptions of the Dajjāl. He writes,

"..the connection between the Antichrist and Satan is apparent in the description of al-Dajjāl's appearance. He is reddish (Bukhārī, Rū'ya bāb 33) with frizzy hair (Bukhārī, Libās, bāb 68), corpulent (Bukhārī, Libās, bāb 33), he has a wide throat (Tayālīsī, No 2532), he is one-eyed (Bukhārī, Anbiyā', bāb 3; Rū'ya, bāb 11). His one eye in his broad forehead (Tayālīsī, No 2532) is like a floating grape (Bukhārī, Maḥāzī, bāb 77). On his forehead is written kāfir ("unbeliever": Bukhārī, Ḥadīdī, bāb 30; Anbiyā', bāb 8). Or else one of his eyes is as if made of green glass (Tayālīsī No .544), in the other is a hard nail (Tayālīsī No 1106)." 129.

The Prophet Muhammad is, in various sources, said to have spoken of the appearance of about thirty dajjāls (or kaddabun) at the "last hour" each of whom would assert that he is the true messenger of God and also to have associated a number of his contemporaries with the Dajjāl or his "spy" al-Jassāsa.¹³⁰ He or a number of his companions were believed to have entertained the idea that a certain [^cAbd Allāh] Ibn Sayyād [Saiyād] or a Jew of Medina were actually the Dajjāl or resembled him in appearance.¹³¹ Thus in Sunnī traditions we read, for example;

"Ibn 'Umar said: I met him [ibn Sayyād] when his eye was inflamed and asked him when his eye had become infected with the trouble I noticed. On his replying that he did not know I said, "You do not know, and yet it is in your head?" He replied, "If God will He will create it when you are unaware." He snorted as loudly as I have ever heard an ass snort."¹³²

"Muhammad b. al-Munkadir told that he saw Jābir b. ^cAbdallah swearing by God that Ibn as-Sayyad was the dajjāl, and when he expressed surprise that he should swear by God, he replied that he heard 'Umar swearing to that in the Prophet's presence without the Prophet making any objection to it."¹³³

Of particular interest are the following traditions which reckon that a Jewess of Medina gave birth to the (or one like the) Dajjāl and teach that the Dajjāl resembles a man named Ibn Qatan who was ruddy with woolly hair and blind in his right eye:

"The parents of the Dajjāl will wait thirty years without having any children born to them, then a boy who will be one-eyed and have a long molar tooth and be useless will be born to them, His eyes will sleep but his heart will not. His father will be very tall and spare and will have a nose like a beak, and his mother will be a huge woman with long arms." [this tradition continues to relate that certain companions of the Prophet heard of and saw such a child who was born amongst the Jews of Medina].

"Jābir told that when a Jewess in Medina gave birth to a boy with an eye obliterated and a long eye-tooth God's messenger was afraid he might be the Dajjāl. 'Umar b. al-Khattāb then said, "Let me kill him, messenger of God," but he replied, "If he is the one you are not the person to deal with him, for the person to deal with him is only Jesus son of Mary."¹³⁵

"He [the Dajjāl] will be a youth with curly hair and a floating eye whom I [Muhammad] might compare to ^cAbd al-'Uzza b. Qatan."¹³⁶

"Last night I [Muhammad] found myself in a vision at the Ka'ba and saw a ruddy man like the most good-looking of that type that you can see with the most beautiful lock of hair you can see. He had combed it out and it was dripping with water. He was leaning on the shoulders of two men and going round the House. When I asked who he was I was told that he was the Messiah [Jesus] son of Mary. Then I saw a man with short woolly hair who was blind in his right eye, his eye looking like a floating grape. I have never seen anyone more closely resembling Ibn Qatan. He was placing his hands on the shoulders of two men and going round the House. I asked who this man was and was told that he was the Antichrist."¹³⁷

— To be continued —

Notes

1. M. Rist, article Antichrist in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (IDB), Vol. 1. (New York, 1962), p. 140.
2. P. Vielhauer, Apocalyptic in Early Christianity, p. 613 in E. Hennecke, [Ed. W. Schneemelcher & ET. R. Mc.L. Wilson] New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. 2. (SCM, 1965).
3. D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (SCM 1971), p. 276. On the subject of the background to the Christian idea of the Antichrist and its subsequent developments reference may be made to W. Bousset's The Antichrist Legend [ET by A. H. Keane] London 1896 and to his article Antichrist in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (ERE), Vol. 1., and in the Encyclopedia Biblica (Ed. Cheyne and Black) as well as to the many later books and articles on the subject.
4. D. S. Russell, op cit. p. 277.
5. cf. M. Rist, IDB, Vol. 1. p. 141.
6. cf. M. E. Stone, article Antichrist in Encyclopedia Judaica (Jwr. 1972), Vol. 3. col. 60.
7. Refer, E. Kauder, article Antichrist in the New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (Ed. C. Brown, ET. Exeter 1971) Vol. 1. p. 125.
8. Refer, ibid and cf. IDB, Vol. 1. p. 141, E. James article Man of Sin and Antichrist in Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. p. 276f.
9. M. Rist, IDB, Vol. 1. p. 141.
10. Refer, for a brief discussion of 1Thess 2:6f, P. Vielhauer, art. cited (fn. 2), pp. 614-5 and on the Patristic and later interpretation reference may be made to R. E. Emmerson's Antichrist in the Middle Ages (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1981), esp. p. 37ff.
11. W. Bousset, article Antichrist, ERE Vol. 1. p. 579.
12. M. Rist, IDB, Vol. 1. p. 142.
13. M. Rist, ibid.
14. Most of the articles and books mentioned in these notes contain some discussion of the Nero redivivus legend and the interpretation of the beast and other imagery contained in the Apocalypse.
15. Ascension of Isaiah 4:1-14 as translated by R. H. Charles, The Ascension of Isaiah (SPCK, 1917), pp. 37-8.
16. cf. A. F. Segal, Ruler of the World. in Jewish and Christian Self-Definition Vol. 2. (Ed. E. P. Sanders, etc., SCM, London 1981), esp. 261.
17. B. McGinn, Visions of the End, Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages (Columbia University Press, 1979), p. 23. According to McGinn the Latin poet Commodian's "two main works, the Instructions and the Song of the Two Peoples, both evidence a strong apocalypticism that may have been influenced by the Gothic invasions and the imperial persecutions of the time." (ibid, p. 22.).
18. For some references see Emmerson, op cit, p. 28f
19. Emmerson, op cit, p. 36.
20. From the Didache Ch. 11, ET M. Staniforth, Early Christian Writings (Penguin Classics 1968), p. 235.
21. Polycarp, Epistle to the Philippians 7:1ff, ET. M. Staniforth, op cit, p. 147.
22. G. J. Dyer, article Antichrist (Pt. II), p. 617 in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 1. (London 1967).

23. Refer, Emerson, op. cit, esp. pp. 20, 46, 79-83., Russell, op. cit., p. 279f.

24. G.J. Dyer, art. cit. (NCE. Vol. 1.), p. 617.

25. B. McGinn, op. cit., p. 22.

26. Refer, Treatise on Christ and Antichrist., ET in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. IX (Edinburgh 1883), pp. 3-45.

27. For some details and references see Emerson, op. cit., pp. 41, 46, 78, 90, 96ff, 136ff.

28. Refer, Victorinus, Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John in The Ante-Nicene Fathers. (New York 1899f), Vol. 7. p. 344ff. cf. L.E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, Vol. 1. (Washington 1950), p. 337ff.

29. W. Telfer (Ed) in The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. IV (= Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa), p. 154. fn. 44. Cyril's XVth Catechetical Lecture is to be found in ET with valuable notes on pp. 147-167 of this volume.

30. For some refs. cf. L.E. Froom, op. cit., p. 408f.

31. Refer, Ambrose, Expositio in Lucan, Bk X (On Lk 21:20) referred to in L.E. Froom, op. cit., p. 421.

32. cf. Mc. Ginn, op. cit., p. 60f (+fn's).

33. W. Bousset, Encyclopedia Biblica (Ed. Cheyne and Black [1 Vol. Ed] London 1903), col. 181.

34. Pseudo-Ephraem, "Sermon on the End of the World" ET from the Ed. of C.P. Caspari (Brief, Abhandlungen, und Predigten. Rep. Brussels 1964, pp. 208f) cited in McGinn, op. cit., p. 61.

35. Refer, Sulpicus Severus, Dialogues I. 41, McGinn, op. cit., p. 53. Emerson, op. cit., p. 29 writes, "...Sulpicus Severus... states that Nero is to return before Antichrist, and after he works great evils similar to those he did when emperor, he will be killed by Antichrist." Other Church Fathers and later theologians questioned the idea that Nero would reappear (for refs., see Emerson, op. cit., p. 29f).

36. Refer, Emerson, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

37. Emerson, op. cit., p. 7.

38. On 1 Elijah see J.H. Charlesworth, The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research (+Supp.), (Scholars Press 1981), p. 95f.

39. ET. H.P. Houghton, "The Coptic Apocalypse .Pt. III Akhmimice: The Apocalypse of Elias in Aegyptus 39 (1959), p. 198.

40. The Greek text of this 'Elijah fragment' is printed in The Books of Elijah, Parts 1-2 collected and translated by M.E. Stone and J. Strugnell (Scholars Press 1979) p. 29. cf. also K. Berger, Die Griechische Daniel-Diegesse Eine Altkirchliche Apokalypse. (Leiden, Brill 1976), p. 116 (i.e. chart opposite this page) and A.M. Denis (Ed) Fragmenta Pseudigraphorum quae supersunt (=PVTG. 3. Leiden, Brill, 1970) p. 104.

41. Double pupils in the eye/s is an evil sign. A witch in P. Ovidius Naso's Amores (I. 8. 15) called Dispas who is learned in the magical arts has double pupils in her eyes. Pliny in his Natural History, it may also be noted, writes, "Cicero states that the glance of all women who have double pupils is injurious everywhere (VII. 11. 8); "We have already said enough about double pupils, or persons who have the evil eye. Blue-grey eyes see more clearly in the dark" (XI. 54).

42. Refer, Stone+Strugnell, op. cit., pp. 36-7.

43. ET. J.P. Arendzen, A New Syriac Text of the Apocalyptic Part of the "Testament of the Lord", Journal of Theological Studies Vol. II (1901), p. 411.

44. I reproduce this chart (in altered form) from Stone+Strugnell, op. cit., p. 36-7 having also consulted the similar but more comprehensive chart in Berger, op. cit., (opposite) p. 116 (= Berger chart). In J. Cooper and A.J. Maclean's The Testament of the Lord (Edinburgh 1902) the following translation of a Syriac version (1:11) is given: "And these are the signs of him: his head is as a fiery flame; his right eye shot with blood, his left eye blueblack, and he hath two pupils. His eyelashes are white; and his lower lip is large; but his right thigh is slender; his feet broad; his great toe is bruised and flat. This is the sickle of destruction." (p. 57-8).

45. Refer, Stone and Strugnell, op. cit., pp. 36-7. Text on p. 29 taken from pp. 14-15 of Ign. Ephraim II (Rahmani's Ed. Moguntiae, 1899).

46. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. Text on p. 31 based on Camb. Add 2918 (translated above), P 206 (= Parisinus Syr 206) fol. 126 r-v and P. 207 (= Parisinus 207) fol. 210.

47. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. Text on p. 31 reprinted from M.R. James, Apocrypha Anecdota I (= Texts and Studies 11.3; Cambridge 1893), pp. 152-7.

48. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. Text on p. 31. taken from the Testament in Galilee of our Lord (Ed. L. Guerrier and S. Grebaut [= Patrologia Orientalis 9.3; Paris 1912]), p. 183.

49. Refer, McGinn, op. cit., p. 43ff (+fn's)

50. McGinn, op. cit., p. 43.

51. For an ET see P.J. Alexander, The Oracle of Baalbeck: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967)

52. Here also I draw on the chart in Stone+Strugnell, op. cit., pp. 36-7. cf. also the Berger chart (in Berger, op. cit., opposite p. 116).

53. Refer, Stone+Strugnell, op. cit., pp. 36-7. Text on p. 33 taken from J. Schleifer, Die Erzählung der Sibylle, ein Apokryph, K. Ak. Wiss. Wein. Phil.-Hist. Kl. Denkschriften 53 (Wein, 1910), pp. 44-5, 70.

54. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. Text on p. 32 taken from an Arabic version of the Tiburtine Sibyl in J. Schleifer, op. cit., pp. 45, 70.

55. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. Text on p. 33 taken from the Garshuni text of the Wisdom of the Sibyl in J. Schleifer, op. cit., pp. 44, 70.

56. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. Text on p. 35 and cf. R. Basset, Les Apocryphes Ethiopiens X (Paris 1900), pp. 51-2, Bib. Nat. Fonds Arabe 70.

57. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. Text on p. 35 text taken from R. Basset, op. cit., p. 61 (= Paris, Bib. Nat. Fonds Arabe 281).

58. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. The relevant texts are given on p. 35. On 5 Baruch see Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 89.

59. cf. E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha (Ed. W. Schneemelcher, ET. R. Mc. L. Wilson) Vol. 2 (Philadelphia 1965), p. 752; McGinn, op. cit., p. 51.

60. ET. of the text edited by K. von Tischendorf in Apocalypses Apocryphae (Leipzig 1866), pp. 70-94., in McGinn, op. cit., p. 55. In A. Walker's translation (in Ante-Nicene Christian Library [Edinburgh 1870], Vol. XVI, p. 493ff) reference is made to a "MS. E" which adds to the physiognomic description of the Antichrist the following details: "He holds in his hand a cup of death; and all that worship him drink of it. His right eye is like the morning star, and his left like a lion's; because he was taken prisoner by the archangel Michael, and he took his god-head from him. And I was sent from the bosom of the Father, and I drew up the head of the polluted one, and his eye was consumed. He shall remove mountains and hills and beckon with his polluted hand, Come all to me.." (p. 495. fn. 2.).

61. Refer, Charlesworth, op cit, p.117.
62. ET. A.Walker, in Anti-Nicene Christian Library, Vol.XVI (Edinburgh 1870), p.472.
63. K.Berger, op cit., (See fn. 40), cf. Charlesworth, op cit, pp.276-7.
64. K.Berger, op cit, p.103, cf. p.104. // 65. cf. Charlesworth, op cit., p.180.
66. ET by M.E. Stone in Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol.3.col.60 (from the edition of Z.Kalemkian, Die siebente Vision Daniels, WZKM 6(1892), pp.169-36[see p.25ff]). cf. also K.Berger, op cit, (chart opposite p.116). For yet further Christian texts containing physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist reference may be made to J.M.Rosenstiehl's Le Portrait de l' Antichrist in M.Philoneko (Ed), Pseudepigraphes de l' Ancien Testament et manuscrits de la Mort (Paris 1967), pp.45-60 and Berger's chart (Berger, op cit, opposite p.116). cf. also Stone+Strugnell, p.38f. Berger for example, refers to Cl.Huart's Le Livre de la creation et de l' historie d'Abou-Zeid Ahmed ben Sahl el Balkhi II (Paris 1901), p.167f (" Buch d.Schöpfung") [not seen] where the Antichrist is described as having the letters K.F.R.(= Arabic Kāfir, "Infidel") written on his forehead(or in his eye/s?), a distance of 12 or 40 spans between his eyes, a right eye like the morning star and 60,000 cubits wide(?) and each footstep a distance of 3 days walk (refer, Berger, chart, + p.118). Berger's chart in fact tabulates no less than 34 texts that contain physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist or throw some light on these portraits.
67. On 2 Elijah refer, M.Rist, art. Elijah, Apocalypse of., in IEB.Vol.1.p.88; Charlesworth, op cit., p.96 (+ see fn.68 and 69 below).
68. Charlesworth, op cit. p.96.
69. ET as cited in Stone+Strugnell, op cit, p.38, from the German of M.Buttenweiser, Die hebräische Elias-Apokalypse (Leipzig 1897), p.16.
70. M.Buttenweiser, Apocalyptic Literature, Neo-Hebraic, in The Jewish Encyclopedia Vol.1 (1901), p.682.
71. On Armilus refer, art. Armilus in The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol.2.p.118f; art. Ahriman.. in ibid, Vol.1.p.294f; art. Armilus in The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion (Ed. R.J.Werblowsky + G.Widoger. London 1967), p.41f; art. Armilus in Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol.3.col.476f.
72. Refer, art. Armilus, Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol.3.col.476. cf. Buttenweiser, art. cit. p.681f.
73. Refer, art. Zerubbabel, Book of (Sopher) in Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol.16.col.1002. cf. Buttenweiser, art. cit. p.682f.
74. Refer, Berger chart (op.cit.opposite, p.116).
75. J.Dan in Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol.11.col.1413. cf. Buttenweiser, art. cit. p.683.
76. Refer, Berger chart (op cit. opposite p.116).
77. Refer, ibid. cf. Buttenweiser, art. cit. p.685.
78. ET. J.Klatzkin, art. Armilus (EJ.Vol.3.col.477) from the Ed of Pirkei ha-Mashi'ah in J.Even Shemuel (Kaufmann) Midreshei Ge'ullah²(1944), p.320. cf. also Buttenweiser, art. cit. p.685.
79. This apocalypse was edited and translated by H.Zotenbarg: Gesichte Daniels/Ein Apokryph in Archiv Wiss. Erf. d. AT. Vol.1 (1870), pp.385-427. cf. Buttenweiser, art. cit. p.684f. Refer also, J.Darmester, L' Apocalypse persane de Daniel, in Melanges Renier (Paris 1887), pp.405-420; R.Levy, Daniel-Nama/A Judaeo-Persian Apocalypse, in Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A.Kohut, 1874-1933 (New York 1935), pp.423-428. cf. also, Stone+Strugnell, p.38.
80. Refer, Berger chart (op.cit.opposite p.116).
81. See Rosenstiehl, art.cit.(fn.66 below) [cf. his L' Apocalypse d' Elie (Paris 1972): not seen]; K.Berger, op.cit. chart opposite p.116 and especially, "Excurs VI Die Physiognomie des Antichrist im Rahmen der spätantiken Physiognomik", p.115ff; M.E.Stone, The Metamorphosis of Ezra: Jewish Apocalypse and Medieval Vision in Journal of Theological Studies(NS) Vol. XXXIII(1982), pp.1-18., esp. pp.8-9. cf. also, F.Nau, Revelations et légendes: Methodius, Clement, Andronicus in Journal Asiatique 9 (1917), pp.425-62, esp. pp.452-63; A.M.Denis, Introduction aux Pseudepigraphes grecs d' Ancien Testament (Leiden, Brill 1970), p.165 (and see for further refs. fn.5.p.165).
82. cf. Berger, op. cit. p.115.
83. On the possible OT influences on the physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist cf. Berger, op cit. p.115ff(+ chart opposite p.116) and cf. also
84. Refer, E.J.Jenkinson, The Moslem Anti-Christ Legend in Moslem World Vol.20(1930), pp.50-55, esp. p.53. cf. also, the same writer's The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus, p.66ff (not seen).
85. On this subject refer I.Gruenwald, Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism (Leiden, Brill 1980), p.218ff(see fn's for further refs.); Charlesworth, Jewish Astrology in the Talmud, Pseudepigrapha, The Dead Sea Scrolls, and Early Palestinian Synagogues in Harvard Theological Review Vol.70 (1977), pp.183-200.
86. Refer, Berger, op cit, p.115f. See also R.Foerster, Scriptores Physiognomici (Leipzig 1893); G.Misener, Iconistic Portraits, Classical Philology Vol.19(1924), pp.97-123; R.A.Pack, Physiognomic Entrance Examinations in Classical Journal 31 (1935), pp.42-7; E.Evans, Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance in History and Biography, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Vol.46 (1935), pp.43-84.; The Study of Physiognomy in the Second Century A.D. in Transactions of the American Philological Association Vol.72(1941), pp.96-108.
87. Gruenwald, op. cit, p. 218.
88. G.Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran in Perspective (London 1977), p.85.
89. Refer, Rosenstiehl, art.cit. Seneca's De Constantia Bk. XVIII.1 (Refer, Loeb. Cl. Lib. Ed. ET. J.W.Basore, [London.. 1928], p.99) describes Caligula as having: an ugly pale face, wild eyes, the brow of an old hag, a hideous bald head, a neck overgrown with bristles, spindle shanks and enormous feet. The portrait in Suetonius' Caligula (The Lives of the Caesars, Bk.IV.50, Refer, Loeb. Cl. Lib. Ed. ET. J.C.Rolfe [London. Rept. 1970], p.481) is as follows: " He was very tall, and extremely pale, with an unshapely body, but very thin neck and legs. His eyes and temples were hollow, his forehead broad and grim, his hair thin and entirely gone on the top of his head, though his body was hairy."
90. Refer, Berger, op cit, p.116. For an ET of Sidonius' Epistle to Amricola in which there is a pen portrait of Theodoric II (reigned 453-66) king of the Goths see Sidonius Vol.1 (Loeb. Cl. Lib. Ed. W.B. Anderson 1936), pp.335-6. Refer also, Vita Alexander Ed. H.v.Thiel, Vita Alexandri Magni, cod. L. (Darmstadt 1974), I.13.3.
91. Physiognomy continued to be studied and written about in the Islāmic world and, it might be noted here, there are interesting portraits of both the Prophet Muhammad and the Shi'ī Imams including the expected Mahdī in both Sunnī and Shi'ī literatures. This subject cannot be entered into here but cf. the Sunnī traditions (ahādīth) collected in the Mishkāt al-Masābīh, ET, J. Robson (2 Vol. Ed. Lahore 1975), 'Vol. II (Pt. XVI), pp.1239-1244. cf. p.1223f.
92. M.E.Stone, art. cit. (The Metamorphosis ..), p.9.

93. For medieval and later Christian interpretations of Islām/Muhammad as manifestations of the Antichrist/Cog and Magog, etc., refer, McGinn, op. cit. (index+ bibliography), Emerson, op. cit. (index+ bibliography). The literature relating to this subject is too extensive to be noticed here.

94. Refer, Mishkāt al-Masābīh (ET. Robson, Vol. II, Lahore 1975, henceforth MM. II), p. 1144.

95. Refer, MM. II. p. 1152 (> Bukhārī+Muslim)

96. Refer, Encyclopedia of Islam², Vol. 2 (Brill, Leiden 1965), A. Abel, art. Dajjāl, pp. 76-7 (henceforth, EI² Abel); G. Rabin, Qurān Studies (Oxford 1957), p. 120. cf. R. Bell, The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment (Edinburgh 1926), p. 202f; The Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam (Brill, Leiden 1974), A. J. Wensinck, art. Al-Dajjāl, p. 67 (henceforth, SEI Wensinck). For details of references to the Dajjāl in the Sunnī books of tradition see A. J. Wensinck, A Handbook of Early Muhammedan Traditions (Brill, Leiden, 1971), p. 50-51.

97. cf. Rabin, op. cit. p. 120.

98. It may be noted here that Rabin, op. cit. p. 120 points out that the opponent of the Qurān Teacher of Righteousness is called the Teacher (or Man) of Lies (see Prov 19:22), refers to the Syriacizing Targum to Proverbs 19:22f (where gavrā kaddāva... daggalā occur), and proposes that "The transition from 'liar' to 'Antichrist'... seems to have taken place in a Jewish milieu rather than a Christian one." cf. also T. P. Hughes Dictionary of Islam (London 1885), p. 323f., where an attempt to account for the fact that the Dajjāl is called al-Masīh is quoted: "Some say it is because he will have his eyes touched (masah) and be rendered blind; others that the word was originally masikh, a "monster"."

99. Refer, MM. II. p. 1152 (> Tirmidhī). See also below on the Dajjāl's coming forth from Isfahan (a centre of Iranian Jewry). cf. SEI Wensinck.

100. Refer, MM. II. p. 1145 (> [Muslim]+Tirmidhī).

101. SEI Wensinck.

102. cf. EI² Abel, R. Bell, op. cit. p. 206.

103. On the association of the Mahdī with Mecca refer, Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sach-edina, Islamic Messianism (New York 1981), pp. 75, 160-1, 164.

104. MM. II. p. 1149 (> Bukhārī+Muslim).

105. MM. II. p. 1149 (> Bukhārī).

106. MM. II. p. 1145f (> Muslim+Tirmidhī).

107. MM. II. p. 1154 (> Baihaqī, Kitāb al-Ba'tk wa'l-Nushūr) cf. Sachedina, op. cit. p. 172; Bundahis Ch. XIX in ET. E. W. West, Pahlavi Texts, Pt. 1. p. 67f (= Sacred Books of the East, Ed. F. Max Muller, Rept. Delhi 1970): the description of the ass here may be profitably compared with the descriptions in Islamic literatures.

108. E. G. Browne, A Traveller's Narrative. Vol. II (Camb. 1891), p. 305.

109. MM. II. p. 1148 (> Muslim).

110. MM. II. p. 1152 (transmitted in Sharh al-Sunna).

111. Refer, SEI Wensinck, cf. the Shi'ī work cited below.

112. Refer, MM. II. p. 1145.

113. MM. II. p. 1145 (> Muslim+Tirmidhī).

114. Sachedina, op. cit. p. 171.

115. Baidāwī, quoted, H. Gätje, The Qur'ān and its Exegesis (ET. A. T. Welch, London 1971), p. 129.

116. MM. II. p. 1146 (> Muslim+Tirmidhī).

117. MM. II. p. 1131 (> Muslim). cf. SEI Wensinck.

118. Sachedina, op. cit. p. 172.

119. Refer, Sachedina, op. cit. p. 172.

120. ET. from Agā'id al-Shī'a ("Tenets of the Shi'ites") by E. G. Browne, op. cit. (fn. 108 below), pp. 304-5.

121. I am not aware of any detailed study of the Islāmīc physiognomic descriptions of the Dajjāl. cf. however, J. Rosenstiehl's Le Portrait. p. 47f.

122. MM. II. p. 1154 (> Bukhārī+Muslim).

123. MM. II. p. 1144 (> Bukhārī+Muslim).

124. MM. II. p. 1144 (> Bukhārī+Muslim).

125. MM. II. p. 1145 (> Muslim).

126. MM. II. p. 1145 (> Muslim).

127. MM. II. pp. 1151-2 (> Abū Dāwūd).

128. MM. II. p. 1171 (> Bukhārī+Muslim).

129. SEI Wensinck.

130. Refer, MM. II. p. 1149ff

131. For references to Ibn Saiyād in Sunnī compilations of tradition refer, A. J. Wensinck, Handbook (cf. fn. 96 below), p. 103.

132. MM. II. p. 1157 (> Muslim).

133. MM. II. p. 1157 (> Bukhārī+Muslim).

134. MM. II. pp. 1157-8 (> Tirmidhī).

135. MM. II. p. 1158 (> Sharh al-Sunna).

136. MM. II. p. 1145 (> Muslim+Tirmidhī). cf. MM. II. p. 1130, "The last hour will not come before a man of Qahtān comes forth driving people with his stick" (> Bukhārī+Muslim).

137. MM. II. p. 1151 (> Bukhārī+Muslim) Note the pseudo-Christ aspect of the Dajjāl here. cf. MM. II. p. 1223, "On the night when I (Muhammad) was taken up to heaven.. I met Jesus who was of medium height and red as though he had come out of the dīnās (i.e. a hot bath).. (> Bukhārī and Muslim).
It may be noted here that sometimes closely associated with the Antichrist/Dajjāl traditions in Islamic literatures are other mythical or beast-like creatures. The Qur'ān and traditions, like the Apocalypse of John for example, speak of Yajūj and Majūj (Gog and Magog) and the Dabba min al-Ard ("Beast from the earth") [Refer, Rev 20:8, Qur'ān 18:93f, 21:96; Rev 13:11, Qur'ān 27:82]. cf. *The Book of Revelation and the Qur'ān: Is there a possible literary relationship in Journal of Semitic Studies, Vol. XXIII (1978), pp. 216-225.

[*insert: D. Brady].

R.Mielck, Vom Bahaismus in Deutschland (Deutsche Bahailiteratur)
in Der Islam. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen
Oriens, Vol.I3 (1923),pp.138-144; translated into English by Lesley
Zanich.

On Bahaism in Germany
(German Baha'i Literature)

As a supplement to H.Ritter's above statements, may I be permitted the following observations on the development of the Baha'i movement in Germany. The fact that the sect of the Baha'is, after it had gained a footing in France and America, also began to spread its propaganda in Germany, and that since 1907 there is a Baha'i community in Stuttgart, was first made known to a wider public by the writings of Roemer: Die Propaganda für asiatische Religionen im Abendland, Basler Missions-Studien, Vol.36, Basel, Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1910 (pp.56), p.53f., and Die Bābī-Behā'ī, die jüngste muhammedanische Sekte, Potsdam, Verlag der Deutschen Orient-Mission, 1912 (pp.192), p.150f.

Roemer does not give much detailed material about the particulars of this movement's development in Germany, or more correctly in Stuttgart- for in fact until now it has remained confined to Stuttgart. Indeed Roemer could not give much information; the Baha'i movement in Germany was then only beginning. In the meantime however it has already reached wider circles. An increasing amount of propaganda has been brought out and an extensive Baha'i literature has also grown up in Germany. Roemer was able to report on the beginnings of this. It consists in part at any rate only of translations of Baha Allah and Abdul Baha - and even these are again only translations of English versions- or of translations of French and English works on Bahaism.

As far as it was possible for me to establish particulars about the purely external development of the movement in Germany, these will be passed on as a supplement to Roemer's information. The dates are taken in part from the literature which is listed farther below, and in part they are information given in answer to my questions from an authoritative source in Stuttgart, for which I should like to offer my thanks here in public also. The German Baha'is are very reserved in giving particulars of the development of the movement in Germany. We will only be able to learn more from a history of the development of the Baha'i cause in Germany, whose publication is being planned by German Baha'is.

1. cf. the review of this excellent book in this journal. Vol.V, p.389.

The Baha'i teachings were first brought to Stuttgart in the year 1905 by the German-American Dr. Erwin Fischer. He had made the pilgrimage to Akka and been appointed by 'Abbās Effendi 'Abdu'l-Bahā as the apostle of the Baha'i message for Germany. Dr. Fischer, by profession a dentist, worked for over eight years in Stuttgart for the Baha'i cause, until in August 1913 he returned to America. Through this it already came about that as Roemer points out in his Bābī-Behā'ī p.151, that the German adherents of Bahaism were from the beginning closely linked with American Bahaism.

At first, however, Dr. Fischer could win very little ground for Baha'i thought. Only when in February 1908 at his suggestion the well-known French Bahaist Dr. Hippolyte Dreyfus from Paris and Sidney Sprague from America gave public lectures on the Baha'i movement in Stuttgart could Baha'i propaganda produce its first successes. From then on the Baha'i community of Stuttgart was formed. According to Roemer, Dreyfus, on his appearance in Stuttgart, referred to the suralian origin of the Templar colony in Haifa. But even Roemer rejects firmly here the existence of any links between Templarism and Bahaism and states expressly that the Templars in Haifa completely kept their distance from 'Abdu'l Bahā in neighbouring Akka. Nevertheless it should not be without interest that the Baha'i movement was able to find a new home in just that country in which the Templar movement was born.

But even in spite of this propaganda activity by foreign Bahaists and in spite of the founding of a Baha'i community in Stuttgart, at first the movement progressed only slowly. First of all there were lacking suitable forces for propaganda activity and above all German Baha'i literature.

In order to remedy this latter deficiency they formed their own printing and publishing concern in the Autumn of 1909, under the direction of Wilhelm Herrigel, 35 Holderlinstr., Stuttgart, which in February 1919 merged with the present "Publishing company of the German Baha'i Federation". This company has so far brought out a very considerable amount of German Baha'i literature (refer to the list below) in quick succession. I have already indicated briefly above what direction the activity of this company has so far taken, and that it is concerned principally with translations from English and French.

The year 1913 was of particular significance for the German Baha'i community. After having travelled to Egypt, England and France in 1910 and America in 1912, the then head of the Baha'is 'Abdu'l-Bahā came for a short time to Stuttgart at the beginning of April 1913, to work for the Baha'i teachings here in numerous larger and smaller gatherings. From Stuttgart he travelled to Budapest, but went back there for a few days to return to Akka via Paris and Egypt. This visit did more for the Baha'i

1. On their activities refer Roemer Bābī-Behā'ī p.5f. and 7., Propaganda p. 51 and 52.
2. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the more recent publications bear the number 9 as the imprint on the cover and the title page, about whose significance Roemer, Bābī-Behā'ī p.76 gives closer information.

cause than all the previous propaganda activity had been able to achieve. It seems that it was particularly the personality of 'Abdu'l-Bahā, whose effect must have been heightened still more in the west through its oriental dignity, which was able to win the teachings new friends.¹

It is only since then that the Baha'i movement has really taken hold in Germany and spread beyond Stuttgart. Adherents in surrounding places (e.g. in Zuffenhausen) joined themselves to the Stuttgart union. An independent local group came into being in Esslingen. The "Stuttgart Baha'i Union" became (in December 1918) the "German Baha'i Federation".² A further Baha'i union was founded in Hamburg and also founded its own publishing company. It regarded itself as a daughter union of the Stuttgart circle. It has also entered into personal relations with 'Abdu'l-Bahā. But differences of dogma with the Stuttgart union soon led to a separation. The Hamburg union was not recognised by Stuttgart as a Baha'i union; after only a short existence it has meanwhile been dissolved.

We cannot and should not go into more detail here on the outlook and teachings peculiar to the German Baha'is. The reader is referred to the literature listed below itself and to the short comments on it. The whole movement can best and most briefly be distinguished as pacifist, in religious, social and political spheres. The German Bahaists own conception of the nature of Bahaism and its goals and opinions are best expressed in the prospectus, entitled "The Baha'i-World Religion" (Die Baha'i-Welt-religion), which the "Publishing Company of the German Baha'i Federation" recently brought before the public:

The Baha'i religion is not a new sect, neither is it a new religion, but it is the crown of all previous religions; for it renews and re-italizes them. It brings to light the truth which is present in all religions, frees them from dead customs and ceremonies and shows them that they are all children of one father. It proves that the brotherhood of man looked for by the seers of old is no Utopia; for in spite of the short time that it has existed it has already united millions of men of all religions and races of the earth in the greatest love.

When Abdul Baha, the present leader of the Baha'i movement, was asked about this, he said: "The Baha'i movement is not an organization. You can never organize it completely. The Baha'i teaching is the spirit of this age, the essence of all the high ideals of this century. It contains everything in itself; in it you will find the teachings of all religions and communities. The Christians, the Jews, the Buddhists, the Mohammadans, the Zoroastrians, the Theosophists, the Freemasons, the Spiritualists etc., find their highest goals realized in these teachings. Even the socialists and the philosophers find their theories partly confirmed in them. A new era has dawned. Humanity is going through a new process of transformation. A new race is developing. Thoughts of the brotherhood of man permeate all religions. New ideals move the depths of hearts, and a new spirit of universal solidarity is deeply felt by all men."

1. On the impression of his audience cf. the works named below. Nos 3, p.18 and 18.p.5; picture of 'Abdu'l-Bahā in Nos. 10 and 17. Also observe the account of the impression which this man made on Vambery, and the translations introduction in No.14, p.v.

2. The address of the latter is: Frau Konsul Alice Schwarz, 3, Alexandrinenstrasse, Stuttgart.

The main principles of the teachings and laws given by Baha'o'llah (the Founder of the Baha'i religion) over 50 years ago are:

- 1) The unity of all religions and nations through the establishment of a universal religion in which the love of God and man is expressed in deed.
- 2) The abolition of war and the establishment of a universal court of arbitration.
- 3) Equality of education and the best possible instruction for every child whether male or female, poor or rich.
- 4) The establishment of equal rights for men and women.
- 5) The establishment of an international language to be taught in all the schools of the world.
- 6) The solution of the social question through the implementation of the laws of Baha'o'llah.
- 7) The abolition of celibacy and the general duty to marry.
- 8) The right and the duty to work for all men (which, performed dutifully is considered as an act of divine worship) and the prohibition of idleness and begging.
- 9) The true unity of religion and science.
- 10) The prohibition of gambling, intemperance, cruelty to animals and slavery.
- 11) The duty to be charitable towards those unfit for work, widows, orphans and the sick, etc.
- 12) The settlement of possible strife of a religious or secular nature through the law of Baha'o'llah upheld by the "House of Justice".³

Roemer has already reported on the religious meetings of the Bahais in Stuttgart (Propaganda, p.53). They consist of lectures and evenings of readings, which take place once a week, publicly and open to everyone. Mainly pieces are read out of as yet unprinted translations from the writings of Bahā Ullāh and 'Abdul Bahā and addresses are given. The gatherings are opened and closed with prayers.²

It should also be mentioned that the Baha'is do not recognise a particular order of priests.³ In the prospectus already mentioned is written on the subject of religious leadership: Baha'o'llah appointed Abdul Bahā as the only interpreter of his teaching and as the centre of the Baha'i world federation; as such he now lives in Haifa (Syria). However, no successor to him is provided for. In his place there will come later the "House of Justice", which takes the highest judicial and administrative position for the whole world."

1. The principles are given in a similar version in "The Principles of Baha'o'llah" No.15, p.4. [See below].

2. Communicated by letter.

3. cf. No.3, p.19. [See below].

As far as translations of particular works of Bahā Ullāh and 'Abdul Bahā are concerned, the reader may be referred to Roemer's excellent statements concerning them. The remaining small propaganda works follow for the most part the same course. They give firstly accounts of the life and work in particular the story of the Passion of 'Ali Muhammed el-Bab, of Bahā Ullāh and of 'Abdul Bahā, the two latter in particular. Naturally a great role is played here by the proofs of the Prophet-hood and the divine mission of Bahā Ullāh who, according to the Baha'i teachings, is the promised God-sent successor and fulfiller of the great religious founders. Prophecies of the O.T. [Old Testament] are interpreted as referring to Bahā Ullāh by an often rather peculiar-seeming process of proof. In this use is freely made of an amazing speculation in numbers with quotations of figures and times, particularly in the book of Daniel. But other amazing, often really fanciful proofs are introduced, which can remain unmentioned. Then there usually follow selections from the writings of Bahā Ullāh and of 'Abdul Bahā, particularly from talks and letters of the latter and finally more prayers. The chief part of the content is always the demand for (1) a religion of world unity (2) world peace and (3) solution of the social question and these indeed as commands of Bahā Ullāh. The demand for a "universal religion" is based on the idea that the fundamentals of all religions are the same, fear of God and love of one's neighbour. " All religions are (in principal) one and the same religion " " Only prejudices, superstition, ceremonies and names separate them." These separating differences in outward forms and isolated teachings are incidentals which were partly conditioned by humanity's religious and cultural development at the time of the founders of the religions, and are partly the later distorting work of men. From this realization the Baha'is want to unite the essentials of all existing religions into one world religion. All the founders of religions are recognised as messengers of God. The second demand "Universal Peace", embraces in the German Baha'i writings these three points: a federation of nations, a world court of arbitration and an international language, as is already expressed in the above-mentioned prospectus. Here Bahā Ullāh is hailed as the spiritual author of these demands, or rather at least expressed thoughts in that direction and is therefore supposed to have given the impetus to them before the appearance of their chief advocates. That he should have been the first to express prophetically these thoughts, which later stirred in the most diverse regions of the world independently of one another and found zealous champions, is incidentally also advanced as a proof of Bahā Ullāh's mission. As far as the third point is concerned, the social demands are for the most part covered by those socialist ones which have already been partly carried out and they also concern long-standing provisions of social law-giving.

One need only refer to No. 11, pp. 3, 9 [See below].

At the same time however, the religious impulse is always particularly stressed in the Baha'i writings. A peculiar blend of fanatically religious and of socialist ideas takes place. Along with these there are general ethical requirements. All these requirements they also naturally try to support through reference to the writings of Bahā Ullāh and particularly from the sayings, talks and sermons of 'Abdul Bahā. The German Baha'i sees in the most varied provisions of modern social law-giving only a fulfillment of Bahā Ullāh's commands. This short review of the general content of German Baha'i literature may suffice in place of individual critical discussion. So far there have appeared:

- 1) Die Geschichte der Bahaiibewegung, Eine universaler Glaube [= The Story of the Bahai Movement, a Universal Faith, London, 1907/9/12] by Sidney Sprague translated from the English by W. Herrigel. 2nd Ed. privately pub. by the Baha'i community [Bahaivereinigung], Stuttgart, 1913, pp. 22 (1st. Ed. 1909).
- 2) Verborgene Worte. Worte der Weisheit und Gebete. Von der erhabenen Feder Baha'u'llahs [= Hidden Words; Words of Wisdom and Communes, from "The Supreme Pen" of Baha'u'llah, Chicago, nd+ tr. M. A. U. Fareed, Chicago: Bahai Publishing Society 1905] translated from the English by A. Braun and E. Ruoff, Stuttgart, Revised 2nd Ed. Verlag d. Baha'i Ver. Stuttgart 1916., pp. 104 (1st. Ed. 1909); refer, Roemer, Babi-Beha'i, p. 89, Propaganda, p. 53.
- 3) Universaler Friede. Universale Religion. Die Bahaiibewegung. Ihr Zweck und Ziel [= Universal Peace. Universal Religion. The Baha'i Movement] by Wilhelm Herrigel. 2nd new and revised Ed., privately published, d. Baha'i-Ver. Stuttgart 1915, pp. 30 (1st. Ed. August 1910).
- 4) Die Offenbarung von Baha'u'llah [= The Revelation of Baha'u'llah. Chicago: 1902, etc.] by Isabella J. Brittingham translated from the English by W. Herrigel, Baha'i-Verlag, Stuttgart 1910, pp. 47; refer, Roemer, Babi-Beha'i, p. 7.
- 5) Ein Jahr unter den Bahais in Indien und Birma [= A Year Among the Bahais of India and Burma, London, 1908] by Sydney Sprague translated from the English by W. Herrigel, Baha'i-Verlag, Stuttgart, nd (1910), pp. 46., refer, Roemer, Babi-Beha'i, p. 7., Propaganda, p. 52.
- 6) Ehe Abraham war, war ich [= Before Abraham was, I am] by Thornton Chase [= a letter written on Sept. 27th 1902 to a Christian studying the Baha'i movement] translated by W. Herrigel, Stuttgart, 1911 [?], pp. 8.
- 7) Das heilige Tablett. Geoffenbart von Baha'u'llah in Bagdad [= The holy Tablet revealed by Baha'u'llah in Bagdad: in fact a Germ. tr. of Baha'u'llah's Lah al-Aqdas which was written in Akka and published in English in a number of periodicals and compilations and also published separately as, Lah-el-akdas The holy Tablet, np. nd.] translated from the English by W. Herrigel, Stuttgart, 1911, pp. 8; refer Roemer, Babi-Beha'i, p. 107.
- 8) Tablett von Ishrakat, Tablett von Tarazat, Worte des Paradieses, Tablett von Tajallevat, frohe Botschaften. Geoffenbart von Baha'u'llah in Akka [= Tablet of tarazat, Tablet of the world, Words of paradise, Tablet of Tajallevat, The glad tidings; revealed by Baha'u'llah at Akka, tr. Ali Kuli Khan. Boston Mass., U.S.A. 1906 >] translated from the English by A. Braun and E. Ruoff, Stuttgart, Baha'i-Verlag, 1912, pp. 73; refer, Roemer, Babi-Beha'i, pp. 128-130.
- 9) Eine Botschaft an die Juden. Ein Vortrag, den Abdul Baha, der Führer der Bahai-bewegung, auf Veranlassung der Judengemeinde Emanu-el in San Francisco am 12 Oktober 1912 in deren Synagoge vor ca. 2000 Juden gehalten hat [=

Ger.tr. of the English tr. of a speech delivered by 'Abdu'l-Bahā at the Temple Emanuel, San Francisco on October 12th 1912 before an audience of about 2,000 Jews which has been published many times. Ed] translated from the English by W.Herrigel, Stuttgart 1913,pp.15.

- 10) Evangelium der Liebe und das Friedens für unsere Zeit by Abdul Baha Abbas. [=?] translated from the English by W.Herrigel, Stuttgart 1914, pp.171 (with a photograph of 'Abdul-Bahā).
- 11) Die Zeichen unserer Zeit im Lichte der Bibel unter der Bahailehre by Wilhelm Herrigel, an address delivered on the 16th November in the Hall of the New Knights[?] in Esslingen stenographically taken down by Miss A. and L.Fingerle, Stuttgart.1916, pp.16 .
- 12) Religiöse Lichtblicke. Einige Erläuterungen zur Bahaibewegung [=?] translated from the French by Albert Reufle, Karlsruhe. Stuttgart 1916, pp.16.
- 13) Einheits-Religion. Ihre Wirkungen auf Staat, Erziehung, Sozialpolitik, Frauenrechte und auf die einzelne Persönlichkeit [=?] by Dr. H[ippolyte] Dreyfus, German[tr.] by Wilhelm Herrigel, Stuttgart 1917, pp.38.
- 14) Geschichte und Wahrheitsbeweise der Bahai-Religion. Kitab'ul Hudschadsch'ul Baharveh (Bahaibeweise) [= Hujatu'l-Behayeh, The Bahai Proofs, ET, Ali Kuli Khan New York 1902/ Chicago 1914]by Mirza Abul Fazl of Gulpaygan (Persia). From the English translation of the Persian by Ali Kuli Khan. German by Wilhelm Herrigel, Stuttgart, Verlag des Deutschen Bahai-Bundes G.m.b.H. 1919, pp.xxiv + 295 (with a photograph of Mirza Abul Fazl). 1.
- 15) Die universelle Weltreligion. Ein Blick in die Bahailehre by Alice Schwarz., Stuttgart, Verlag des Deutschen BahaiBundes, 1919, pp.35.
- 16) Das Tablett vom Zweig. Aus der erhabenen Feder Baha'o'llahs. Dieses Tablett wurde in Adrianopel für Mirza Ali Rida geoffenbart, auf das er durch die Gnade Gottes mit geistiger Nahrung versehen werde [= Germ.tr. of Bahā'u'llāh's Lawh-i Ghush, 'Tablet of the Branch'] published by the Baha'is in Zuffenhausen. pp.8d. (The Baha'is in Zuffenhausen do not constitute a separate local group; they belong to the Stuttgart congregation; there is not a separate publishing house in Zuffenhausen). pp.8.
- 17) Glänzender Beweis (Bürhāne Lāmē), [= The Brilliant Proof, Bürhāne Lāmē, Chicago 1912] written on December 28th 1911 in Syria by Mirza Abul Fazl Gulpaygan. Published by the Baha'i-Vereinigung Zuffenhausen, now the Deutschen BahaiBundes Stuttgart, n.p.nd (pp.45 tr. from the English by Friedrich Schweizer (with a photograph of 'Abdul-Bahā).

From the Baha'i association in Hamburg has been published:

- 18) Aus Leben und Lehre des Bahaismus, by the Hamburg Baha'i association, Hamburg, Baha'i-Verlag, 1918, pp.47. 2.

R.Mielck

1. Refer, Roemer, Bābī-Behā'ī, p.6.
2. It may also finally be noted that in Nr.11 of the Munich weekly "Der Republikaner. Volksblatt für süddeutsche Freiheit" [The Republican. Peoples Newspaper for the Freedom of S.Germany] of 1919 contains the unbecoming article "Eine neue Religionslehre marschirt." [A new religious teaching marches!]; a very questionable (also wholly contrary to the convictions of the established advocates of Baha'i teaching) tone was adopted for the Baha'i Cause. Apart from the known German Baha'i literature there exists in Frankfurt a.M. H.Dreyfus, Babismus und Bahaismus, Carra de Vaux, Der Islam in seinem Verhältnis zur modernen Zivilisation. Two discourses by Hippolyte Dreyfus and Baron Carra de Vaux, translated by Margarete Platte, Frankfurt a.M., 1909, Neuer Frankfurter Verlag G.m.b.H. Whether a Baha'i group existed or does exist in Frankfurt a.M. I was not able to ascertain.

[My thanks to Peter Smith for communicating this rough translation. Ed].

Notes, Reviews and Communications

I. Some unpublished letters of 'Abdu'l-Bahā and Shoghi Effendi.

- a) Letter of 'Abdu'l-Bahā to W.Tudor Pole regarding Shoghi Effendi's wellbeing:

"London:

To his honour, Mr. Tudor Pole, unto him be the Glory of God, the Most Glorious.

He is the Most Glorious!

O thou dear son!

Through the graces of God do I hope that thou art sound and safe in the fortress of His Protection; that thou art striving for the realization of the oneness of the world of humanity so that thou mayest become the cause of love among mankind, and that thou mayest take in hand a chalice overflowing with the wine of the love of God so that thou mayest intoxicate the assemblage of the world of humanity.

Shoghi Effendi Rabbani has been at London for some time while. He is highly obliged to you for your love and consideration. Therefore, I leave all his affairs in your charge from the standpoint of study, management of his affairs, amusement and living. His living must be moderate. His amusement must not be too much. He should rest in the summer days. He should not be occupied in correspondence and reading. You should be very watchful that he may have comfort and excursion.

Though this request is a trouble for you, yet since I have the utmost confidence in you I put you under this urgency. Convey the most wonderful Abha greeting to all the friends on my behalf, especially to Dr. Esalemont. Please let me know how much the expenditure of Shoghi Effendi amounts to so that it may be forwarded.

(sig.) Abdul Baha Abbas

May 27. 1921. Haifa.

Translated by: Aziz'Ullah Khan S. Bahadur. Bahji, Akka, 30/5/21.

[Postscript written at the bottom of this letter by W.Tudor Pole]
13/6/21.

Dear Esslemont,
Above has just reached me. I have told Shoghi I shall be pleased to be of any service within my power. How are you?..WTF.

[This tablet of 'Abdu'l-Bahā, though the translation is very poor, would appear to be authentic. Ed].

- b) From a letter written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi dated Jan 19th 1935 addressed to Lady (Sara Louisa) Blomfield (d.1939) on the subject of capital punishment:

Dear Lady Blomfield, ..

Shoghi Effendi has read you letter..

with reference to your question concerning capital punishment. Baha'u'llāh in the "Kitāb-i-Aqdas" revealed the following (A rough rendering of the passage in question is being given) " If a man purposely kills a man, kill him. Hold to the laws of God with all your strength and forsake the laws of

fools. But if you condemn such a man to perpetual imprisonment, this is permitted you according to the Book. Verily God gives judgement in whatever He desires". Thus, according to the explicit text of the Aqdas, capital punishment is permitted, but also an alternative has been definitely provided whereby the rigours of such a condemnation can be seriously mitigated. Bahá'u'lláh has given us a choice, and has therefore, left us free to use our own discretion with certain limitations imposed by His law."

[The Arabic text of that portion of the al-Kitáb al-Aqdas of Bahá'u'lláh roughly translated above is as follows:-

« ومن قتل نفساً مأمداً فاقتلوه خذوا سنن الله بأيادي القدرة و
الاعتدال ثم انكروا سنن الظالمين و ان تحكسوا لها حسباً ابدياً
لاباس عليكم في الكتاب انه نهر الحاكم على ما يريد. » (Ed.).

c) From a letter written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi Dated February 11th 1944 regarding Confucius:

"Confucius was a reformer, not a divine Manifestation of God."

d) From a letter written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi dated February 18th 1951 regarding Confucius:

"Unless we can produce the original Persian, we cannot be sure that the translation is correct, and that 'Abdu'l-Bahá really meant that Confucius was a Prophet in the sense of being an independent Manifestation of God."

e) From a letter written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi dated October 4th 1950 concerning Asiatic prophets:

"Regarding your question: the only reason there is not more mention of the Asiatic Prophets is because their names seem to be lost in the mists of ancient history. Buddha is mentioned and Zoroaster in our scriptures—both non-Jewish Prophets or non-Semitic Prophets. We are taught that there always have been Manifestations of God, but we do not have any record of their names."

f) From a letter written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi dated July 13th, 1938 regarding Melchizedek:

"Melchizedek was certainly a prophet, but we do not know even the approximate date of his appearance, or where he appeared."

II. A letter from the [Dept. of the Secretariat of the] Universal House of Justice to Mr. Robert Parry dated 2nd June 1982:

Dear Bahá'í Friend,

In reply to your letter of 17 May 1982 the Universal House of Justice instructs us to say that your query as to the authenticity of an "theological/philosophical enterprise", based on a study of the Guardian's translations of Sacred Texts but without reference to the originals, has been considered.

We are to say that the House of Justice warmly appreciates your very deep study of the Revelation which you have so wholeheartedly embraced. Translation of the Sacred Text is indeed a vital matter, and as you yourself

point out, the Guardians translations are not simply literal, academic translations, but contain an element of exposition of the original Text, an exposition greatly amplified for the Bahá'í community and posterity by the great volume of Shoghi Effendi's other writings on the World Order of Bahá'u'lláh and the implications of His Revelation.

You should feel entirely free to attempt a theological/philosophical presentations of the Bahá'í Revelation based on the Beloved Guardian's translations, even though your knowledge of the original languages is limited. It may interest you to know that the Beloved Guardian himself made it clear that when translations of the Sacred Texts were being made into European languages the translators must, in addition to consulting the originals, always use Shoghi Effendi's translations into English wherever they exist.

We are instructed to send you the enclosed extracts from a letter written on this subject by the Universal House of Justice and to express its best wishes for the success of any work you may undertake in the context of your letter. "

with loving Bahá'í greetings,

(Signed) A. Leilani Smith (for the
Dept of Sec.)

" Excerpt from [a] Letter of the Universal House of Justice

"The matter of translation is a major problem. As you yourself know only too well, to convey exactly the meaning and flavour of a passage from one language to another is often impossible and one can but labour to as near as possible to the unattainable perfection. Even our beloved Guardian, whose skill in this art amounted to genius, characterized his translation of the 'Kitáb-i-Iqán' as 'one more attempt to introduce to the West, in a language however inadequate, this book of unsurpassed pre-eminence among the writings of the Author of the Bahá'í Revelation' and he expressed the hope ' that it may assist others in their efforts to approach what must always be regarded as the unattainable goal— a befitting rendering of Bahá'u'lláh's matchless utterance. '

"The difficulty of translation increases when two languages express the thoughts and metaphors of widely differing cultures, thus it is infinitely more difficult for a European to conceive the thought-patterns expressed in Arabic or Persian than to understand a passage written in English. Moreover the beloved Guardian was not only a translator but the inspired interpreter of the Holy Writings; thus, where a passage in Persian or Arabic could give rise to two different expressions in English he would know the one to convey. Similarly, he would be much better equipped than an average translator to know which metaphor to employ in English to express a Persian metaphor which might be meaningless in literal translation.

"Thus, in general, speakers of other European tongues will obtain a more accurate translation by following the Guardian's English translation than by attempting at this stage in Bahá'í history to translate directly from the original,

"This does not mean, however, that the translators should not also check their translations with the original texts if they are familiar with Persian or Arabic. There may be instances where the exact meaning of the English text is unclear to them and this can be made evident by comparison with the original..."

(Letter dated December 8, 1964, to an individual believer).

III. Extract from a report on a Bahá'í weekend Institute on "Bahá'í Scholarship" held in Yerrinbool during April 9-12 1982: from the Australian Bahá'í Bulletin of June 1982 (p.16).

"The weekend institute of 9-12 April, held at Yerrinbool and organized by the Bahá'í Society of the University of Tasmania, was... a unique experience. Besides the fact that the topic of 'Bahá'í Scholarship' was new, the uniqueness of this weekend was the emerging concept of the role of Bahá'í Scholarship, its service to the individual and the Faith, and its relation to scholarship as found in the non-Bahá'í world.

Counsellor Peter Khan laid the groundwork for the weekend in his opening address by noting pertinent selections from the Bahá'í writings, and particularly messages of Shoghi Effendi. Bahá'í Scholarship was seen to contain a fourfold purpose: 1. to gain a deeper understanding of the Faith; 2. to contribute to the development of other disciplines, i.e. science, arts, history, etc.; 3. to refute attacks on the Faith; and 4. to teach the Faith. In the Faith everything must be in perspective and intellectual achievement must be developed to ensure service to the Faith, progress for humanity, and spiritual attainment for the individual. This concept was enhanced even further from a statement of Shoghi Effendi that it was just as important to train a child mentally as it was to train him spiritually.

Perhaps never before in Australia has there been such a vast array of subjects discussed in relation to the teachings of the Faith. Here are some of the highlights.

In the field of science: 'Abdu'l-Bahá's concept of the ether was compared to the modern principles of Physics in relation to the nature of space and matter; research on near-death experiences from non-Bahá'í sources was viewed in the light of Bahá'í concepts of life and death... and the current popular belief of man's evolution from the monkey and beyond was considered in the light of 'Abdu'l-Bahá's statement that man's evolution was distinct from that of the animal.

Carl Whitehouse gave a particularly absorbing presentation relating the prophecies of the Old Testament with the Jews' concept of the covenant, showing how Bahá'u'lláh was the more direct fulfillment of the Messiah than Jesus. Talks on the lives of such Bahá'ís as Juliette Thompson, Mark Tobey and Mirza 'Abdu'l-Fadl gave us some sense of the Bahá'í scholar and artist; whereas, in his talk, Tom Price showed that music should be a component of every Bahá'í education. The more social oriented sciences are not ignored either. For example, Bahá'í law and current Australian conditions relating to marriage and divorce; current psychological concepts of a healthy personality in view of the teachings; and an overall view of education in the light of the evolving Bahá'í world were discussed. The speakers it should be noted were not only people academically trained in their fields, but also included those who were intrigued by their subject matter and evinced a healthy zeal in researching their topics.

It soon became clear that the Bahá'í scholar differed from his non-Bahá'í counterpart in three ways.

1. A Bahá'í's work, in whatever discipline, must be done in the light of the Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh, i.e. it would be untrue to his profession to make assumptions or draw conclusions which were contrary to the teachings in an attempt to conform to current thought.
2. His attitudes must conform to the exemplary life of a Bahá'í—honesty, trustworthiness, humility, etc.
3. His obedience to the covenant must be preserved, lest in the name of 'true scholarship' he unwisely question the foundation stones of the Faith, e.g. the validity of the Guardianship, the Universal House of Justice, etc.

It is not hard to picture how the Bahá'í scholar, well-versed in the teachings, upholding the covenant, bound by its laws, guided by wisdom, and humbled by knowledge of his responsibilities, stands apart from the scholar of the 20th century, whose knowledge has fed his ambition, set him aloof from society, and allow him to do anything he could justify in the name of intellectualism. As stated by the Universal House of Justice, it will be this Bahá'í scholar who will restore scholarship to its original high standing.

Perhaps this is the reason why the Universal House of Justice advised the NSA of Canada to encourage the development of Bahá'í scholarship in this Seven Year Plan. This response to this goal was the establishment of the Association for Bahá'í Studies, whose membership is now worldwide. Presently the NSA of Australia is considering the method whereby a branch of the Association can be established in Australia... the fruits of Bahá'í Scholarship must nourish each individual so that the Faith as a whole can grow and develop according to the design of its Creator."

[If you disagree, as I do, with a number of the statements made in this conference report, you may be inspired to contribute an article to this Bulletin on "What constitutes Bahá'í scholarship?" The report, kindly communicated by Graham Hassall of Hurstville, Australia, may be seen to be illustrative of "Bahá'í scholarship" seen as "deepening in the Faith" and to perpetuate a certain reserve towards a more academically oriented approach to Bahá'í Studies not to mention an unbecoming attitude towards non-Bahá'í academics— or am I completely mistaken? (Ed.)]

IV. Some Recent publications.

Risāla Ayyām -i Tis^{ci}h by 'Abd al-Hamid Ishraq Khavarī (Kalimat Press 1981), pp. 576. 1st. American Edition = ISBN 0-933770-24-3.

Mamū'a min Alwāh Hazrat Bahā'u'llāh/ "Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh" (Maison d'Éditions Bahá'ies, Brussels, Belgium, 1980), pp. 215. A fully pointed Arabic edition of most of Bahā'u'llāh's "Tablets" published in "Tablets of Bahā'u'llāh" (ET. Habib Taherzadeh, Bahá'í World Centre, Haifa, Israel, 1978).

Min Mufāwadat 'Abdu'l-Bahā. (Maison D'Éditions Bahá'ies, Brussels, Belgium 1980), pp. 240. Selections from "Some Answered Questions" in Arabic translation.

Khutab 'Abdu'l-Bahā fī Urubbā wa Amrīkā / 'Abdu'l-Bahā, Talks in Europe and America (The National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'is of North East Africa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, nd, c.1980?), pp. 484.

The Promulgation of Universal Peace (New Ed. Bahá'í Publishing Trust, Wilmette, Illinois), pp. xx+469, Cat. No. 106-039.

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