

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'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'ī 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 unrecognized.

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 Hajjī 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 recognized 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 recognized 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" (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως = 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" (ἡ ἀποστασία) followed by (2) the revealing of the "man of lawlessness [sin]" (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας), the "son of perdition" (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας) 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

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 redivivus legend which is echoed in the Shi'ī notion of the "occultation" (ghayba) 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, Sibylline 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 Hezekiah (= 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 Hezekiah 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 Neronian 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 (πνεύματα) 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 (ἐσαφει) 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. 1.).

Richard K. Emerson 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 rebel 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 3¹/₂ 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 3¹/₂ (literal) years after which, but before the onset of the

"last time", the Kingdom of the Antichrist is to be set up for 3¹/₂ (literal) years. As regards the identity of the Antichrist, he is the "beast" of Rev 11:11f and was among the Caesars. 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 millennial 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-] Ephraem'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 Ināms and the writings of Islāmic apocalypticists and theologians (i.e. the notion that the Antichrist/Dajāl would appear in Khurāsān, Ephraem's Choras(en)e; 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 Dajāl (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. AD?) 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 Tiburine Sibyl and a few related texts. The original Greek Tiburine 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 (W¹ etc). 51. None of the surviving Greek or Latin forms of the Tiburine 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 Shī'ī traditions about the Rajjal (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. Buttenweiser 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 (Serher 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 (Gr= 'Apyraves). 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 Elle 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 demoniac 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 Dajjal 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. Rosenstahl 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 Apollinarius (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, Islamic 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 Islam (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 Islamic eschatology. 93. Though the Antichrist figure as the Dajjal does not appear in the Qur'an a great many traditions about him were attributed to the Prophet Muhammad and the Shi'i Imams. A perusal of Sunni and Shi'i books or collections of tradition (ahadith) and of Qur'anic commentaries

and works of theology, not to mention the apocalyptic (Malahim) texts and popular legends, illustrate 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 dajjal." 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 Dajjal adding that he had a new teaching concerning him; that is, that the Dajjal 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 "Isra'iliyyat" (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-Islamic Christian traditions have something to say about the peculiar nature of the Antichrist's left or right eye or eyes. Indeed, the Islamic tradition that all past prophets warned the people about the coming of the Antichrist / Dajjal may be taken to be a veiled acknowledgement on the part of early Muslims that certain Antichrist/Dajjal traditions were taken over from the People of the Book.

The word dajjal may be of Syriac origin. It has been thought to derive from the Syriac adjective daggalā (= liar) which came to be used as an Arabic substantive denoting the Islamic "Antichrist": the Peshitta or revised form of the Syriac Bible (the Scripture of Syrian Christianity) translates ψευδο - Χριστος (= pseudo/false Christ) at Matt 24:24 by meshihā daggalā. 96. Neither the Syriac daggalā in itself signifies the Antichrist nor is the Arabic dajjal used exclusively for the Islamic Antichrist. In Islamic eschatology dajjal can mean simply "false teacher" and the Islamic Antichrist is occasionally referred to as al-Kaddāb, "the Liar". In some writings the more complete expression al-Masih al-Dajjal denotes the Islamic Antichrist (cf. the Syriac meshihā de-dhaggalūthā) 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 Islamic Antichrist are rooted in Christian and Jewish Antichrist/Anti-Messiah speculations. Like the Christian Antichrist the Dajjal 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) (= Khurasān) and that Jerome believed that he would be born in Babylon. Islamic 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 Imān/ 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 Madīn, Fitan, bab 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 Abbāsids. 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) Abbāsids. 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 Imān or Al-Qā'im bi'l-ahd (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 Imam 'Alī 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." 109.

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

"The dajjāl 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'ī traditions. Sachedina writes in his Islamic Messianism , " The Imamate 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. Islamic 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'ī who will emerge from his occultation or hidden retreat. Abd Allāh ibn Umar 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 Islamic 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 realized 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'ī 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 'Alī* 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.

*
A prediction that

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'id 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 pāzang), 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 juggle; he travelleth 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-Afrik, 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, Ru'yā 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; Ru'yā, 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, Maḥāzī, 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 [°Abd Allāh] Ibn Sayyād [Saliyād] 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. °Abdallāh 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 °Abd al-'Uzzā 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. McL. 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 (Jer. 1972), Vol. 3. col. 60.
7. Refer, E. Kauter, article Antichrist in the New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (Ed. G. Brown, ET. M. Rist 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. E. 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 Nestorius of Mesopotamia), 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. McGinn, op. cit., p. 60f (+fn's).
33. W. Bousset, Encyclopaedia 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 G. 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-Diegesis 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 (I: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. 240.
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 201).
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 Apocryphae 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. 10), 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 Morté (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 Kafir, "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 IDB. 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. Abrimam. 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 (Sepher) 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.Evan Shemuel (Kaufmann) Midreshei Ge'ullah (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.681f. Refer also, J.Darmester, L' Apocalypse persane de Daniel, in Malanges Renier (Paris 1887), pp.405-420; R.Lovy, Daniel-Nama/A Judaico-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, "Exkurs VI Die Physiognomie des Antichrist im Rahmen der srätaniken Physiognomie", 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 legendes: 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 Palenstinian Samaritanes 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 Galigula 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 Anpricola 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 Islamic world and, it might be noted here, there are interesting portraits of both the Prophet Muhammad and the Shi'ite Imams including the expected Mahdi in both Sunni and Shi'ite literatures. This subject cannot be entered into here but cf. the Sunni traditions (ahadith) collected in the Mishkat al-Masabih, 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), Emmerson, 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 Islam, Vol. 2 (Brill, Leiden 1965), A. Abel, art. Dajjāl, pp. 75-7 (henceforth, EI² Abel); C. Rabin, Qumran 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 Muhammadan Traditions (Brill, Leiden, 1971), pp. 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 Qur'an 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 gavra keddāva... darralā 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. 328f., 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 Sachedina, 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-Mushūr) cf. Sachedina, op. cit. p. 172; Eurāhīs Ch. XIX in ET. E. W. West, Pahlavi Texts, Pt. I. p. 67f (= Sacred Books of the East. Ed. F. Max Müller. Rept. Delhi 1970): the description of the ass here may be profitably compared with the descriptions in Islāmic 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'an 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 'Aqā'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 Islāmic 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 Dawūd).
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 dīmas (i.e. a hot bath).." (> Bukhārī and Muslim).
- It may be noted here that sometimes closely associated with the Antichrist/Dajjāl traditions in Islāmic literatures are other mythical or beast-like creatures. The Qur'an and traditions, like the Apocalypse of John for example, speak of Yājūj and Majājūj (Gog and Magog) and the Dabba min al-Ard ("Beast from the earth") [Refer, Rev 20:8, Qur'an 18:93f, 21:96; Rev 13:11, Qur'an 27:82]. cf. The Book of Revelation and the Qur'an: Is there a possible literary relationship in Journal of Semitic Studies, Vol. XXIII (1978), pp. 216-225.

[insert: D. Brady].