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CONTENTS

<u>Editorial</u>	p. 2.
Dr. Moojan Momen, <u>Esslemont's Survey of the Bahá'í Community 1919-1920: Part II. Turkistan by Ibn-i Asdaq</u>	p. 3f.
Mr. Robert Parry, <u>Not Weighing God's Book with standards current amongst men -- One Perspective in the form of provisional theological discussion notes. Contd.</u>	p. 7f.
Mr. Stephen Lambden, <u>Antichrist-Dajjal: Some notes on the Christian and Islamic Antichrist traditions and their Bahá'í interpretation. Pt. I.</u>	p. 14f.
Lesley Zanieh, (tr.) R. Mielck, <u>Vom Baháismus in Deutschland.</u>	p. 50f.
<u>Notes Reviews and Communications</u>	p. 57f.

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" (το βδέλυγμα της ερημωσης = the "abomination of desolation"; in the Greek the construction is masculine, refer Mk 13:14 / Matt 24:15, cf. Lk 21:20). The "Little Apocalypse" (Mk 13), it has been asserted, unmistakably sketches the "outlines of the Antichrist".⁷ The story of Jesus' temptation (Mk 4:1-11 + parallels) and Jn 5:54, "I (Jesus) have come in my Father's name, and you do not receive me; if another come in his own name (= Antichrist?), him you will receive", have been interpreted in a similar light.⁸

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

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

For detailed expositions of this passage reference should be made to the commentaries. It may be noted however, that we learn from it that Christ's second coming is to be preceded by (1) a "falling away" (ἡ ἀποστασία) followed by (2) the revealing of the "man of lawlessness [sin]" (ὁ ἄνθρωπος της ἀμαρτίας), the "son of perdition" (ὁ υἱός της 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

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

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

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

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

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

This highly complex apocalyptic imagery contributed a great deal to subsequent Christian (and to some extent Islāmic) Antichrist speculation. Modern exegetes using historico-critical tools, despite the fact that much in the Apocalypse remains obscure, find reflections of the (proto-)Antichrist myth in the Revelation of John. Though M. Rist for example, thinks that the beast of Rev 11 (= No 1) is "not an antichrist"¹² he does concede that the "classical antichrist tradition" is reflected in Rev chapters 13, 16:12-16, 17 and 19:19-21. For most modern Biblical scholars the Beast/Antichrist symbology in the Apocalypse constitutes a kind of apocalyptic polemic against the Roman Empire with its pagan rites and Emperor worship. Behind the imagery surrounding the beast with the healed wound(=No 3) the Nero redivivus legend can be discerned and the name Nero Caesar written in Hebrew/Arabic characters(𐤍𐤒𐤓𐤀𐤂)¹³ ; N=50, R=200, O=6, N=50+4=100+8=60, R=200 has a gematric value of 666. The "scarlet beast" of Rev 17(=No 5) has similarly been identified with Rome.

Shortly after the death of Nero (c.68.A.D.) the legend arose that he was not dead but alive soon to return with a Parthian army in order to take vengeance upon Rome (he had friendly relations with the Parthians). This idea, the Nero 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 (ψευδοπροφῆται) 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 (ἐσαφῆ) is of God, and every spirit which does not confess Jesus is not of God. This is the spirit of the antichrist of which you have heard that it was coming, and now it is in the world already." (1 Jn 2:18, 23; 4:1-3).

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

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

Richard K. 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 $2\frac{1}{2}$ 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'ite Imams. A perusal of Sunni and Shi'ite 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 Shi'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 Mādīn, *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-Shi'ī) Abbāsids. A number of Islāmic traditions about the Dajjāl like certain Christian speculations about the Antichrist were born out of concrete historical experiences. Shi'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-ahād (the expected deliverer who will arise to carry out the eschatological holy war and establish universal Shi'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 Shi'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 Shi'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.

Shi'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 Shi'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. Kaizer, 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 LEThess 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 Etnesa), 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 Pseudipraphorum 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 281).
58. Refer, ibid, pp. 36-7. The relevant texts are given on p. 35. On 5 Baruch see Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 89.
59. cf. E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha (Ed. W. Schneemelcher, ET. R. Mc. L. Wilson) Vol. 2 (Philadelphia 1965), p. 752; McGinn, op. cit., p. 51.
60. ET. of the text edited by K. von Tischendorf in Apocalypses Apocryphae (Leipzig 1866), pp. 70-94., in McGinn, op. cit., p. 55. In A. Walker's translation (in Ante-Nicene Christian Library [Edinburgh 1870], Vol. XVI, p. 493ff) reference is made to a "MS. E" which adds to the physiognomic description of the Antichrist the following details: "He holds in his hand a cup of death; and all that worship him drink of it. His right eye is like the morning star, and his left like a lion's; because he was taken prisoner by the archangel Michael, and he took his god-head from him. And I was sent from the bosom of the Father, and I drew up the head of the polluted one, and his eye was consumed. He shall remove mountains and hills and beckon with his polluted hand, Come all to me." (p. 495. fn. 2.).

61. Refer, Charlesworth, op cit, p.117.
62. ET. A. Walker, in Anti-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. XVI (Edinburgh 1870), p.472.
63. K. Berger, op cit., (See fn. 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. Widiger. 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. Ewen 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. Levy, 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 Physiognomik", p.115ff; M.E. Stone, The Metamorphosis of Ezra: Jewish Apocalypse and Medieval Vision in Journal of Theological Studies (NS) Vol. XXXIII (1982), pp.1-18., esp. pp.8-9. cf. also, F. Nau, Revelations et 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 Muller. 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 Shī'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 ʿAqā'id al-Shī'a ("Tenets of the Shī'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 Dāwūd).
128. MM. II. p. 1171 (> Bukhārī +Muslim).
129. SEI. Wensinck.
130. Refer, MM. II. p. 1149ff
131. For references to Ibn Saiyād in Sunnī compilations of tradition refer, A. J. Wensinck, Handbook (cf. fn. 96 below), p. 103.
132. MM. II. p. 1157 (> Muslim).
133. MM. II. p. 1157 (> Bukhārī +Muslim).
134. MM. II. pp. 1157-8 (> Tirmidhī).
135. MM. II. p. 1158 (> Sharh al-Sunna).
136. MM. II. p. 1145 (> Muslim+Tirmidhī). cf. MM. II. p. 1130, "The last hour will not come before a man of Qahtān comes forth driving people with his stick" (> Bukhārī +Muslim).
137. MM. II. p. 1151 (> Bukhārī+Muslim) Note the pseudo-Christ aspect of the Dajjāl here. cf. MM. II. p. 1223, "On the night when I (Muhammad) was taken up to heaven.. I met Jesus who was of medium height and red as though he had come out of the 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].

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

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

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

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Editorial

May I take this opportunity to apologize for the delay in issuing numbers 2 and 3 of Volume 1 of this Bulletin. The reasons for the delay have basically been that I have waited to receive articles promised but which never materialized and the time involved in 'throwing together' something of a 'space-filler' article on Antichrist-Dajjāl in two parts.

Despite the enthusiasm with which this Bulletin has been received there has been a lamentable lack of support in terms of contributions. Many of us, I know for a fact, are in possession of many texts and documents of great importance which should be shared. There has always been a tendency among Bahā'i intellectuals to covet unpublished— and even published— materials of importance for Bahā'i studies. This is a great pity inasmuch as Bahā'i scholarship cannot flourish unless there is a real sharing of important primary sources. We may all be busy but it does not take much time to post off a few pages that might have been lying around and which could well be of interest at least to some readers of this Bulletin.

Stephen Lambden (Ed).

* Please note that it has been found necessary to raise the price of the Bulletin. Postal costs have gone up and the length of each issue has tended to increase. Each issue has so far cost more to produce and mail than the earlier subscription rates. Subscribers when renewing their order should pay according to the following rate: U.K. £2.00. Europe. £2.50. Rest of world/ USA. £3.00 (or equivalent) per issue.

Having sketched some aspects of the Antichrist-Dajjāl traditions in (largely) Christian and Islāmic sources we may now turn to their (Bābī-) Bahā'i interpretation. 138. Firstly, those Biblical texts that relate to the Antichrist tradition may be commented on along with a few notes on the figures thought to be referred to in them and who are believed by Bahā'īs to be manifestations of the Antichrist idea.

Mīrzā Yahyā and Siyyid Muhammad; the Son of Perdition and the Antichrist.

Mīrzā Yahyā who was entitled Subh-i Azal (The morn of eternity, c.1830-1912) was one of the half-brothers of the founder of the Bahā'i movement, Mīrzā Husayn 'Alī Bahā'u'llāh. The son of one of the concubines of Mīrzā Buzurg-i Nūrī (d.1839) he was only 13-14 years old when Siyyid 'Alī Muhammad the Bāb 'declared his mission' in Shiraz (Iran) in 1844.A.D. He, like his half-brother Bahā'u'llāh, became a Bābī (follower of the Bāb) and, though not one of the 'Letters of the Living' (Huruf-i Hayy) or prominent disciples of the Bāb, was generally recognised as being the nominal head of the Bābī community after the execution of the Bāb in Tabriz in July 1850. His leadership of the Bābī community proved to be largely ineffective for, on receipt of the news of his master's martyrdom he, at least in Bahā'i sources, is said to have fled in disguise from Tihraz to Mazandarān and to have remained for several years in a state of marked disemulation. 139. Assuming various names and disguises he eventually joined Bahā'u'llāh and his close companions at Kirmanshah in 1853 journeying with them to Baghdād 140. where they had been exiled after the Bābī attempt on the life of the Shāh in 1852.

Shortly after his arrival in Baghdād Mīrzā Yahyā assumed the name Hajj 'Alī-i Lāsh-Furūsh (implying that he was a silk dealer) and forged links with Siyyid Muhammad Isfahānī (d. 1872) a Bābī then resident in Karbilā. 141. Siyyid Muhammad is represented in Bahā'i sources as being, even at this early stage, antagonistic towards Bahā'u'llāh. He is represented as an evil schemer who fanned Mīrzā Yahyā's jealousy of his half-brother's growing prestige. 142. While Mīrzā Yahyā as head of the Bābī community apparently elevated Siyyid Muhammad to the rank of 'First Witness of the Bayān' (Bābī movement) Bahā'u'llāh as we shall see, later excommunicated him (sometime between 1863 and 1866). For Bahā'īs Siyyid Muhammad has come to be regarded as one of the most notorious manifestations of the Antichrist idea.

Due in large measure to the dissension and corruption within the Bābī community in Baghdād and elsewhere in the early 1850's Bahā'u'llāh decided to withdraw to Kurdistan, initially contemplating no return:

"In the early days of our arrival in this land (Irāq) when we discerned the signs of impending events, we decided, ere they happened, to retire. We betook ourselves to the wilderness, and there, separated and alone, led for two years a life of complete solitude. By the righteousness of God! Our withdrawal contemplated no return, and our separation hoped for no reunion." 143.

During Bahā'u'llāh's absence from Baghdad (1854-1856) Mīrzā Yahyā failed to exercise an effective or charismatic leadership. That this was so may perhaps be highlighted by the fact that some 25 prominent Bābīs, including Mullā Muhammad Zarandī (d.c.1892) the Bahā'ī poet and historian, claimed to be divine incarnations or aspired to special leadership. 144. The erudite Mīrzā Assad Allāh of Khūy named Dayyān by the Bāb is, in certain sources, said to have made such a claim and to have written a treatise in support of it which he had presented to Mīrzā Yahyā. The latter, whose ability to answer doctrinal questions had for some proven to be inadequate, wrote in response a work entitled Mustavoiz (Sleeper Awakened) in which Dayyān was denounced in the strongest terms. Then, shortly after Bahā'u'llāh's return from Baghdad at the bidding of the "Mystic Source", Mīrzā Yahyā had Dayyān executed by his servant Mīrzā Muhammad Mazandarānī. Again, around the same time, Mīrzā Yahyā is said in Bahā'ī sources to have been the instigator of the murder of a cousin of the Bāb named Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar and to have prompted Mīrzā Āqā Jān to make (another) attempt on the life of the Shāh. 145. He is thus pictured in Bahā'ī sources as an immoral murderer or one whose main concern was to consolidate his position in the Bābī hierarchy—a position he was to occupy in order to divert hostile attention away from Bahā'u'llāh.

The Bāb, during his stay in Isfahan in 1846-7 took a second wife by the name of Fātima, the sister of Mullā Rajab 'Alī. He forbade marriage to either of his wives after his passing. Mīrzā Yahyā however, married the Bāb's second wife in about 1853 and gave her a very short time later to his accomplice Siyyid Muhammad. These forbidden marriages are regarded by Bahā'īs as the abominable acts of two men who were satanic in character. Such deeds are catalogued in detail in a good many of the writings of Bahā'u'llāh and his followers in which the evils of Mīrzā Yahyā and Siyyid Muhammad are exposed. 146.

Having returned to Baghdad in March 1846 Bahā'u'llāh set about attempting to spiritually regenerate the confused and decadent Bābī community. He wrote, as he had done since 1853 when he had a mystical experience in Tihiran, sometimes lengthy "tablets" (alwāh) containing thinly veiled epiphanic claims. Many prominent Bābīs were attracted to him until in late April 1863 on the outskirts of Baghdad on route to Constantinople where he and other Bābīs had been exiled, he claimed the specific allegiance of a small group of his close companions—exactly what his claims were at this stage is not entirely clear though it is likely that he claimed to be the expected "Him whom God would make manifest" (Man Yushiruhu'llāh) mentioned

in the Bāb's Persian Bayān and elsewhere. Mīrzā Yahyā, who may not have been in Baghdad when Bahā'u'llāh made his claims slightly more explicit to his admirers, joined his half brother at Mosul and, like Siyyid Muhammad, journeyed with him to the Sublime Porte. At this time or in 1863 and for another three years or so, Bahā'u'llāh's claims do not appear to have been widely known or understood by the majority of Bābīs. Though there was widespread disillusionment with Mīrzā Yahyā's leadership it was not until 1866 that it became widely known that Bahā'u'llāh had condemned his half-brother and claimed to be Man Yushiruhu'llāh. Only later did Mīrzā Yahyā and Siyyid Muhammad come to be fully recognised by the Bahā'īs as the Yā'ūj (Gog) and Mā'ūj (Magog) or the twin evil manifestations of the emergent Bahā'ī phenomenon. 147.

In 1863 Bahā'u'llāh and his companions were again exiled to Adrianople where they remained for almost 5 years and where the intrigues of Mīrzā Yahyā and Siyyid Muhammad came to assume critical proportions. Bahā'ī sources maintain that during the early Adrianople period (1863-1868) Mīrzā Yahyā made several attempts to poison or have Bahā'u'llāh killed. As Bahā'u'llāh's charismatic leadership and claims became more and more explicit his half-brothers' dwindling prestige appears to have led him to adopt desperate measures in order to reassert his authority. In his Sūrat al-Aḥṣāb (c.1864-5) Bahā'u'llāh represents himself as the one whose coming was predicted in both the Qur'ān and the writings of the Bāb. Such claims were specifically communicated to Mīrzā Yahyā and Siyyid Muhammad in a letter of Bahā'u'llāh known as the Sūrat al-Amr (c.1865). They were rejected and Bahā'u'llāh withdrew to the house of Ridā Big where he remained completely cut off for several months (about March-May 1866). The goods of what became the Bahā'ī and Azalī factions were separated during a period referred to by Bahā'u'llāh as the "most great separation" which took place during the "days of stress" (ayyām al-shidād). 149.

Bahā'u'llāh, in most of his major letters ("tablets") written after the "most great separation" (1866) makes explicit reference to the corruption and ungodliness of Mīrzā Yahyā and the "detestable Siyyid (Muhammad)". A veritable interior "battle of Armageddon" ensued as may be gathered from a perusal of Bahā'u'llāh's lengthy apologia the Kitāb-i Badī (c.1867) and his Lawḥ-i Sirāj (c.1867). 150. A little more than a year after emerging from his self-imposed "occultation" in the house of Ridā Big Siyyid Muhammad and a certain Mīr Muhammad-i Mukārī (who frequented both the Azalī and Bahā'ī camps) arranged a confrontation (mubāhila) between Bahā'u'llāh and Mīrzā Yahyā. The latter however, failed to appear at the mosque of Sultan Selīm at the appointed hour (around August-September 1867) being thus discredited in the estimation of many. This episode is referred to by Bahā'u'llāh in a number of his writings, most notably (as its title suggests) a letter addressed to Mullā Sādiq-i Khurāsānī known as the Lawḥ-i Mubāhila. 151.

Instead of confronting his half-brother whose ascendancy was by 1867 becoming more and more obvious Mirza Yahya sent petitions to high ranking officials in Adrianople and elsewhere with the intention of discrediting him. He apparently accused Bahā'u'llāh of appropriating his government allowance to the extent that his (now separate) family were on the verge of starvation. Such representations along with those of Siyyid Muhammad and Āqā Jān Big-i Khumsā'i an Azalī ex Turkish artillery officer and the marked hostility of Hajī Mīrzā Husayn Khan (the Persian ambassador at Constantinople) succeeded in evoking from Sultan ʿAbd al-Azīz yet another decree of banishment. In 1868 Bahā'u'llāh and his companions were exiled to ʿAkka in Ottoman Syria and Mirza Yahya and others were sent to Cyprus.

The banishment of Bahā'u'llāh and Mīrzā Yahya to separate places did not put a stop to the Bahā'i - Azalī controversy. A number of Azalīs, including Siyyid Muhammad and Āqā Jān Big, were exiled to ʿAkka with Bahā'u'llāh and the Bahā'īs just as a few Bahā'īs, among them the famous Bahā'i calligrapher Miškīn Qalam, accompanied Yahya and his family to Cyprus. Some two and a half years after their arrival the ʿAkka exiles were released from strict confinement inasmuch as the citadel of ʿAkka was taken over for military purposes in 1870. The Azalīs began feeding malicious reports to their captors and tensions started to erupt. Bahā'u'llāh attempted to restrain his followers but did not succeed in preventing about 7 of them banding together and murdering at least three Azalīs. Siyyid Muhammad Āqā Jān Big and a brother-in-law of Mīrzā Yahya named Mīrzā Ridā-Quliy-i Tafrishī were slaughtered in January 1872. This episode not only endangered Bahā'u'llāh's life and stained the annals of Bahā'i history but served to increase that Bahā'i-Azalī controversy which, though the Azalīs are practically non-existent, continues to the present day. 152.

Mirza Yahya remained in Cyprus until his death in 1912. Though he had written a great deal and appointed an Azalī hierarchy and successor his support had dwindled to such an extent that he was buried according to the Muslim rite. Shortly before his own passing Bahā'u'llāh in his Lawh-i Ibn-i Dhi'b (c.1890-1) bemoaned the actions of his half-brother in the following terms:

"Alas, alas, for the things that have befallen Me!
By God! There befell Me at the hands of him whom I
nurtured (Mīrzā Yahya), by day and by night, what hath
caused the Holy Spirit, and the dwellers of the
Tabernacle of the Grandeur of God, the Lord of this
wonderous Day, to lament." 153.

Bahā'u'llāh claimed to be the return of Christ in many of his writings composed during the Adrianople (1863-8) and ʿAkka (1868-1892) periods of his ministry. On the other hand Mīrzā Yahya and Siyyid Muhammad came to be seen by Bahā'īs as manifestations of the Antichrist idea whose appearance was predicted in the Bible.

More specifically, Shoghi Effendi, the Guardian of the Bahā'i Cause from 1921-1957 whose exposition of Bahā'i scripture is regarded by Bahā'īs as infallible, has identified Mīrzā Yahya with the "son of perdition" mentioned in II Thess. 2:3f and named Siyyid Muhammad the Antichrist of the Bahā'i Dispensation. 154.

Shoghi Effendi's identification of Mīrzā Yahya with the "son of perdition" of II Thess. 2:3ff agrees with that of the Bahā'i poet and writer Mīrzā ʿAlī ʿAshraf of Lahījān known as ʿAndalīb. He had met the orientalist E.G. Browne in Yazd (Iran) in 1888 whom he not only encouraged to visit Bahā'u'llāh at ʿAkka but for whom he wrote a Persian tract shortly before Bahā'u'llāh's passing in 1892. 155. In this apologetic work ʿAndalīb applies a large number of Biblical texts to the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh and thinks it obvious that II Thess 2:3ff refers to the evils of Mīrzā Yahya. He wondered how Christian missionaries (whom he incidentally thought were the false prophets mentioned in Matt 24:24) could fail to discern this specific prophetic allusion. Was not the evil Yahya, the "man of sin", destroyed by the "breath" (= creative word of God/Bahā'u'llāh) of his half-brother's mouth? (refer II Thess 2:8). So both ʿAndalīb and Shoghi Effendi maintained. 156.

Though it is not as obvious as ʿAndalīb imagined that II Thess. 2:3ff refers to Mīrzā Yahya (we shall see below that this pericope was referred to Karīm Khān Kir-mānī by ʿAbd al-Karīm Tehrānī) the following alleged correspondences probably contributed to the identification:-

- 1) Since Bahā'u'llāh was the return of Christ who is to destroy the "son of perdition" by the breath of his mouth Mīrzā Yahya as the arch enemy of the returned Christ must be the "son of perdition". Bahā'u'llāh defeated his half-brother Mīrzā Yahya by condemning him in his writings or (as ʿAndalīb pointed out) through the breath of his mouth. cf. the Lawh-i Mubāhila.
- 2) According to II Thess 2:4 the "son of perdition" is to "exalt himself against every so-called god" and seat himself "in the temple of God, proclaiming himself to be God". This might suggest to the Bahā'i exegete Mīrzā Yahya's epiphanic pretensions and his condemnation of other claimants to divine status including Bahā'u'llāh himself. That the evil one should seat himself in the temple of God, could also be taken to predict Mīrzā Yahya's usurpation of Bahā'u'llāh's claim to divinity: the word temple as hawkal (as it is in certain Arabic translations of II Thess 2:8) suggesting not Jerusalem but the physical body of the manifestation of God (mazhar-i illāhī). cf. Bahā'u'llāh's Surat al-Hawkal c.1873? . 157.
- 3) The "lawless one", according to II Thess 2:9, is to appear by the "activity of Satan" just as Mīrzā Yahya was thought to have been deceived and prompted by the satanic Siyyid Muhammad.

Modern Biblical scholars have identified a number of OT texts that (though Paul does not directly quote them) seem to lie behind II Thess 2:1ff. i.e. Ezek. 28:2ff, Isa 14:12ff, Dan 11:36. The passage has been thought by some to have been influenced by Caligula's attempt to set up an effigy of himself in the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem (destroyed in 70 A.D.) and it is of interest to note that Isa 14:12ff (which the author of II Thess drew on and which is identified as a funeral lament or mashal over the king of Babylon—perhaps Nebuchadnezzar or Nabonidus) has been applied by a few of the church fathers to the Antichrist and by a few Bahā'i writers to Mīrzā Yahya. 158.

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Day Star, son of the Dawn! (Heb = 7777 7777 7777). How are you cut down to the ground, you who laid the nations low! You said in your heart, 'I will ascend to heaven; above the stars of God I will set my throne on high.. I will make myself like the Most High (7777 7777)." 159.

What in this text evidently led to its application to Mīrzā Yahyā was the phrase "Day star, son of the Dawn" (the Hebrew 7777 suggests the morning star and 7777 the dawn;cf. LXX eosphoros and Vulg. Lucifer)for dawn or morn, Arabic subh, suggests his title Subh-i Azal, 'the morn of eternity' cf. for example, the Arabic translation of the OT published by Richard Watts in 1831 where Isa 14:12a reads: كبر سقت من السماء كوكب الصبح كبر سقت من السماء كوكب الصبح 160.

Though Bahā'u'llāh does not, as far as I am aware, himself apply either II Thess. 2:3ff or Isa 14:12ff to his half-brother he does, in at least two of his writings, refer Amos 4:13 (which describes the majesty and omnipotence of God as judge and controller of nature) to the circumstances of his own mission and to his eclipse of Subh-i Azal.

In a lengthy Persian "tablet" of the Akkā period perhaps written in the late 1880's Bahā'u'llāh, after applying various passages from the Bāb's writings to himself as the concealed yet "most great announcement"(cf. Qur'ān 78:2) and quoting and commenting on a number of Biblical texts (Mk 13:32/Matt. 24:36, Joel 2:11b, Jer. 30:7a, Psalm 108:90 and Isaiah 40:9-10a), refers to Amos 1:2 and 4:12b-13. 161. The translation of the latter text which is quoted in Arabic is as follows:

"Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel, For, lo, He that formeth the mountains and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, that maketh the morning darkness(يجعل النجر) and treadeth upon the high places of the earth(مشرف) (الأرض) the Lord (المرحوم), the God of Hosts(اله الجنود) is his name." 162.

Bahā'u'llāh comments on this text in Persian. He states that it refers to his disclosure of his hidden majesty around the year 80 (thamānīna) or 1863-4. A.D. (= 1,280. A.H.) The " high places of the earth" (glossed in Persian as بلندیهای) signifies the " great city" (مدينة كبرى) or Constantinople (Istanbul) and " these regions" (این اطراف) or the area around Akka and Mt. Carmel/ Haifa in Syria (Palestine). The "Lord of hosts" is Bahā'u'llāh himself who after 1863 or 1,280. A.H. made Mīrzā Yahyā the " false dawn" (صبح كاذب) darkness. The Arabic of Amos 4:13b, يجعل الفجر ظلاما, is evidently taken to be an allusion to Subh-i Azal for Bahā'u'llāh understands النجر to imply صبح in terms of his "spiritual defeat" of Mīrzā Yahyā during the Adrianople and Akkā periods of his ministry.

In his last major work the Lawh-i ibn-Dhi'b (c.1890-91) Bahā'u'llāh again quotes Amos 4:12b-13 in (identical) Arabic translation and adds some comments in Persian:

" He (Amos) saith that he maketh the morning(فصر) darkness(ناريل) By this is meant that if, at the time of the Manifestation of Him who conversed on Sinai (ظهور بكم طور , i.e. Bahā'u'llāh's proclamation of his mission) anyone were to regard himself as the true morn(صبح) (صادق), he will through the might (قوت) and power(قدرت) of God be turned into darkness(ناريل). He truly (i.e. Mīrzā Yahyā) is the false dawn (صبح كاذب), though believing himself to be the true one (صادق). Woe unto him, and woe unto such as follow him (i.e. the 163. Azalīs) without a clear token from God, the Lord of the Worlds."

After quoting a few passages from the book of Isaiah Bahā'u'llāh goes on to state that these Biblical texts, which he has quoted in illustration of his own greatness and divinity and the falsity of such other claimants as Mīrzā Yahyā, stand in "no need of commentary" being as "shining and manifest as the sun". 164. The allusion to Subh-i Azal can readily be discerned. Then, underlining the fact that Biblical (and other) texts he has quoted point to his own exalted station and not to the pretensions of Mīrzā Yahyā and the Azalīs Bahā'u'llāh exhorts mankind to fear God and give no heed to the breakers of God's covenant:

" Say: Fear God, O people, and follow not the doubts of such as shout aloud, who have broken the covenant of God and his Testament, and denied His mercy that hath preceded all that are in the heavens and all that are on earth." 165.

Bahā'u'llāh thus himself applies Biblical texts to the matter of his eclipse of Subh-i Azal the nominee of the Bāb. Though he does not apply such texts to the person of Siyyid Muhammad he does condemn him in a large number of his writings. It is of interest to note that though Bahā'u'llāh rebuked those Bahā'īs who murdered Siyyid Muhammad and other Azalīs in Akkā in January 1872 (see below) he, in his al-Kitāb al-Aqdas (c.1873) not only refers to Mīrzā Yahyā as the "dawning place of deviation" (مطلع الامراض) but appears to speak of Siyyid Muhammad's death as an act of God. He writes in the latter connection: " God verily, hath taken the one who led you [Mīrzā Yahyā] astray" (قد اخذ الله من اغواءك). 166. Many of Mīrzā Yahyā's evils are, in Bahā'ī scripture and by Bahā'ī writers, attributed to Siyyid Muhammad the Antichrist of the Bahā'ī dispensation. Abdu'l-Bahā has described the relationship between them as like that which exists between the "sucking child" (Mīrzā Yahyā) and the " much prized breast" (Siyyid Muhammad) of its mother. 167. Similarly, Shoghi Effendi in his book God Passes By (1944) refers to Siyyid Muhammad's manipulation of Mīrzā Yahyā in the following terms:

" The black-hearted scoundrel who befooled and manipulated this vain and flaccid man [Mīrzā Yahyā] with consummate skill and unyielding persistence was a certain Siyyid Muhammad.. notorious for his inordinate ambition, his blind obstinacy and uncontrollable jealousy.. that living embodiment of wickedness, cupidity and deceit.." 168.

The (proto-) Antichrist and associated imagery in the Apocalypse.

Though Bahā'u'llāh was, as will have been evident, familiar with the Bible and not infrequently quoted it he only rarely refers to the Revelation of John.^{169.} 'Abdu'l-Bahā however, held the Apocalypse to be a truly inspired work and, often in response to questions from occidental Bahā'īs, wrote detailed commentaries on many of its verses.^{170.} Indeed, one of his earliest communications to the Bahā'īs of America consists of a "rewritten midrash" on Rev 21:1-7 in the course of which he writes, "This is the truth and what truth is greater than the Revelation of St. John the Divine?"^{171.} Shoghi Effendi similarly, in a letter to R.J. Moffett expressed his conviction that, "The Book of Revelation is a very important book and very important in teaching the interpretation of Biblical passages to Christians."^{172.}

As Shī'ī theosophists and divines fostered an esoteric and at times qabbalistic Qur'ānic exegesis which may be traced back in Imāmīto circles to the learned sixth Imām, Ja'far Sādiq (d.c.765, A.D.) so have many Shaykhīs, Bābīs and Bahā'īs given great importance, especially when dealing with eschatologically oriented materials, to an allegorical or 'spiritual' hermeneutic. The Bahā'ī interpretation of the Apocalypse is not infrequently almost as abstruse in its allegorically oriented exegesis (or one might say eisegesis) as the fantastic imagery of the seer of Patmos is bewildering. During his tour of the West 'Abdu'l-Bahā summed up his own approach to the Book of Revelation (and indeed the Bible as a whole) when he said: "The Revelations of St. John are not to be taken literally but spiritually."^{173.} Every word of the Apocalypse has profound significance and, in 'Abdu'l-Bahā's opinion, enshrines cryptic prophecies of events in (for the most part) Islāmīc and Bābī-Bahā'ī history. Though certain texts are given a non-literal "outer" as well as an esoteric or "inner" interpretation others allude to concrete historical events associated with the rise of Islām and the missions of the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh.^{174.} The Bahā'ī interpretation of the Apocalypse overrules those texts that imply its imminent (1st-2nd century) fulfillment or realization in favour of a mystic, qabbalistic and futuristic interpretation that at times calls to mind the Biblical exegesis of the Qumran sectaries.^{175.}

It will not be possible to discuss here the details of the Bahā'ī interpretation of the Apocalypse— even with respect to those images or texts of interest in connection with (proto-) Antichrist imagery. The source materials are in fact widely scattered and to some extent unpublished. Many oral statements about the significance of verses or chapters within the Apocalypse were made by 'Abdu'l-

Bahā and Shoghi Effendi. They were sometimes noted down but remain for the most part in MSS and unavailable.^{176.}

From at least as early as the 1890's such oriental Bahā'ī writers as Mīrzā Abū al-Fadl Gulpāyganī (1844-1914) the father of the Bahā'ī interpretation of the Bible and Hājī Mīrzā Haydar 'Alī (d. 1921) were "unsealing" the mysteries of the Apocalypse.^{177.} American converts to the Bahā'ī movement have from the beginning shown a great interest in the interpretation of the Book of Revelation. In this they were much encouraged by Ibrahim George Kheir-alla (1849-1930) their first teacher who may be regarded as the father of western Bahā'ī Bible speculation—Kheiralla was much influenced by Abū al-Fadl who himself had a great effect on Bahā'ī Bible speculation when he visited America during 1901-1904 at the command of 'Abdu'l-Bahā.^{178.} Though during most of the ministry of Shoghi Effendi (1921-1957) interest was centered in missionary success and administrative efficiency rather than creative Biblical interpretation or detailed study of Bahā'ī doctrine and history the last twenty years or so have witnessed something of a rebirth of interest in the Apocalypse among American Bahā'īs. E. Marsella's Quest for Eden^{179.} paved the way for the publication of R.J. Moffett's New Keys to the Book of Revelation^{180.} and most recently R.F. Rigg's complete commentary on the Apocalypse entitled The Apocalypse Unsealed.^{181.} 'Abdu'l-Bahā's hope that Bahā'īs would become sufficiently spiritually mature to be able to fathom the mysteries of the Apocalypse for themselves has, one might say, found something of a realization.^{182.}

What now follows is a summary, based on the abovementioned sources, of the Bahā'ī interpretation of those parts of the Apocalypse that have been thought to contain (proto-) Antichrist imagery or which relate in their Bahā'ī interpretation to aspects of Bahā'ī understanding of the Antichrist-Dajjāl traditions.^{183.}

1) The two witnesses and the beast from the bottomless pit (Rev 11:1-14).

'Abdu'l-Bahā delivered, during his "tired moments" at table during the years 1904-6, a large number of discourses some of which were recorded and (at least) two of which interpret chapters 11 and 12 (: 1-6) of the Apocalypse.^{184.} Though there are earlier and sometimes conflicting Bahā'ī interpretations of these central chapters of the Apocalypse 'Abdu'l-Bahā's interpretation has determined their subsequent Bahā'ī exegesis—'Abdu'l-Bahā appears to have drawn on such interpretations of the Apocalypse as may be found in the writings of Mīrzā Abū al-Fadl and other early oriental Bahā'ī apologists.^{185.} Rev 11:1ff, taken as a prophecy of events within (for the most part) Islāmīc and Bābī-Bahā'ī history, may be summed up as follows:

The measuring of the Temple (11:1-2) signifies the determination of the true condition of the "mystery of those holy souls who dwell in the Holy of Holies in purity and sanctity". Not measuring the outer court of the Temple which is given over to the nations for 42 months indicates the gentile or Islamic occupation of Jerusalem in the 7th century A.D. for 1,260 years (42 months = 1,260 days = 1,260 years; one day = one year on the basis of Ezek.4:6) or from 622 A.D. until the time of the "manifestation" of the Bāb in 1844 A.D. (= 1,260 A.H.). Alternatively, or in a deeper sense, Rev. 11:1-2 indicates the eternal spiritual validity of the essence of religion (= the Holy of Holies) as opposed to the abrogation or modification of the outer form or social laws of religion (= the Holy City). 186.

The two witnesses (11:3-6) are the prophet Muhammad and Imām 'Alī (d. 661.) whose religious cycle, the "cycle of the Qur'ān," lasted for 1,260 years (cf. above)— they are also the "two olive trees" and the "two lampstands" (11:4). The "fire" that came out of their mouths and consumed their enemies signifies their teaching and law the rejection of which results in destruction for "all their enemies were vanquished, put to flight and annihilated". That they have the power to stop the rainfall, turn water into blood and snite the earth with plagues is indicative of the exalted sovereignty of Muhammad and 'Alī; their control over the dispersal of the bounty of their laws and teachings, their power to destroy nations and their right to educate the ignorant masses by force. 187.

The beast which rose out of the bottomless pit and which waged war on and slew the two witnesses (11:7f) is the Umayyad dynasty of Caliphs which rose out of the bottomless pit of error against the "religion of Muhammad and the reality of 'Alī" (i.e. against Shi'ī Islām as Bahā'is understand it). This beast or these Caliphs waged a "spiritual war" against the "love of God" by flouting the divine laws and teachings. As a result the "religion of God" became as a "lifeless body without spirit". The corrupt Umayyad "beast" gained control of Jerusalem and Syria or "Sodom and Egypt" where true religion ceased to be practiced or where "our Lord was crucified" (11:8). It remained as a "lifeless body" until the advent of Bābism after 1,260 years (3 1/2 years = 42 months = 1,260 days, = 1,260 years = 1,260 A.H. or 1844 A.D. cf. above) when the "two witnesses" Muhammad and 'Alī (spiritually) returned in the persons of the Bāb and his leading disciple Hājī Mullā Muhammad 'Alī Barfurūghī (Quddūs). Though brought back to life again the two witnesses were summoned by a "loud voice" to come up hither or attain the glory of martyrdom (11:11., there were both in fact martyred). Even "their enemies" testified to the greatness of their perfection. The "great earthquake" is that which took place in Shirāz after the Bāb's martyrdom in July 1850. In it many people suffered and were killed. Thus came to an end the "second woe" of Bābism which followed the "first woe" of Islām. The "third woe", the mission of Bahā'u'llāh, occurred shortly after the "second woe" of Bābism (11:14. cf. Ezek. 2:3). 188.

2) The woman, the man-child and the great red dragon (Rev. 12:1ff).

'Abdu'l-Bahā's explanation of the first six verses of the 12th chapter of the Apocalypse is again largely oriented around the Umayyad oppression of Shi'ī Islām: 189.

The woman clothed in the sun (11:1-2) is "that bride, the Law of God that descended upon Muhammad" (cf. Rev 21:1ff). Her being clothed in the "Sun" and the "Moon" signifies the kingdoms of Persia and Turkey which were under the shadow of Qur'ānic law. The "crown of twelve stars" on her head symbolizes the twelve Imāns of Ithnā 'Asharī Shi'ī Islām who promoted the "law of Muhammad" like "stars shining in the heaven of guidance". The anguished cries and birthpangs of the "woman" are indicative of the affliction or agony of the law or reality of Shi'ī Islām the perfection of which came about with the advent of the Qā'im or the

Bāb. Due to Umayyad and neo-Umayyad suppression of Shi'īsm the Bāb or the Man-child of the woman and the twelfth Imām remained in a state of occultation (ghayba) until the proclamation of Bābism aimed at the destruction of the "great red dragon" (see below) of neo-Umayyad corruption (this at least appears to have been what 'Abdu'l-Bahā had in mind when he commented on Rev 12:2 despite the Bahā'ī denial of the existence of the twelfth Imām as the son of the eleventh Imām al-Hasan al-Askarī). 190.

The great red dragon (12:3ff) symbolizes, as indicated, the dynasty of the Umayyads "who dominated the Muhammadan religion". Its "seven heads" and "ten crowns" signify seven countries and dominions controlled by the Umayyads: (1) the Roman dominion around Damascus, (2) Persia, (3) Arabia, (4) Egypt, (5) the dominion of Africa around Tunis, Morocco and Algeria, (6) the dominion of Andalusia or Spain and (7) the dominion of Turkistan and Transoxania. The "ten horns" of the "great red dragon" are the names of the Umayyad Caliphs counted without repetition and including, though not actually an Umayyad Caliph, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb (d. 633 A.D.) a bitter enemy of the prophet Muhammad and father of Mu'āwiyā I who is usually counted as the first of the Umayyad Caliphs. i.e. (1) Abū Sufyān, (2) Mu'āwiyā I (661-680) + Mu'āwiyā II (683-684), (3) Yazīd I (680-683) + Yazīd II (720-724) + Yazīd III (744), (4) Marwan I (684-685), Marwan II (744-750), (5) 'Abd al-Malik (685-705), (6) al-Walīd I (705-715) + al-Walīd II (743-4), (7) Sulaymān (715-7), (8) 'Umar (717-720), (9) Hishām (724-743) and (10) Ibrahim (744). That the "great red dragon" slew a third of the "stars of heaven" means that the Umayyads from Mu'āwiyā I to Marwan II slew a "third part of the lineage of Muhammad who were like the stars of heaven" for the second to fifth Imāns (Imām Hasān [d. 669], Imām Husayn [d. 680], Imām 'Alī Zayn al-'Abīdīn [d. c. 712] and Imām Muhammad al-Bāqir [d. 731]) were their contemporaries (omitting that is, the first Imām, Imām 'Alī who was assassinated by a Khā'irite in 661 A.D. and bearing in mind that Shi'ī sources attribute the death of most if not all of the Imāns to the intrigues of the Umayyads and Abbāsids). Its standing before the woman about to deliver indicates the Umayyad effort to suppress Shi'īsm or put the Imāns to death in the light of their fear that the Messianic al-Qā'im bi'l-jihād or "Twelfth Imām" would arise and terminate their rule. 191.

The man-child (12:5f. cf. above), as we have mentioned, signifies the Bāb who claimed to be the Qā'im or "twelfth Imām" borne of the "Law" or the pure tree of Shi'ī Islām. His "rod of iron" is a sign of his "divine power and might" (not his sword) by means of which (presumably mystically speaking) he will "shepherd all the nations of the earth". That the man-child is to be "caught up" to the "throne of God" is taken as a prophecy of the Bāb's martyrdom. The fleeing of the woman into the wilderness where she had a place prepared and was nourished for 1,260 days means that the "Law of God" was fostered or became centered in the Arabian peninsula until the emergence of Bābism in 1844 A.D. (again 1,260 days = 1,260 years taken as 1,260 A.H. or 1844 A.D.). 192.

3) The beast which rose out of the sea (Rev 13:1-10).

No detailed exposition of the 13th chapter of the Apocalypse written by or attributed to 'Abdu'l-Bahā or Shoghi Effendi appears to exist though there are written and oral traditions or "pilgrim notes" about the two beasts of this chapter that have been expanded by Bahā'ī commentators. The significance of the first beast which arose out of the sea may be summed up as follows:

First beast (Rev 13:1-10) = Mu'āwiyā I (personifying the Umayyads). Its "mortal wound" which was healed indicates an assassination attempt on his life. 193.

Or, the first beast = the Umayyads personified by Abū Sufyān whose empire was reminiscent of that of Alexander the Great (= "like a leopard"), with its strength in Media-Persia (= "feet like a bear's") and its throne within the confines of ancient Babylonia (= "mouth like a lion's mouth": refer Rev. 13: 2). The "wounded head" which was healed signifies Andalusia (Spain) where the Umayyad 'Abd al-Rahmān I (d.788.A.D.) who was the grandson of the tenth Umayyad Caliph Hisham (d.743), established a Cordovan dynasty of Amirs that lasted for more than 300 years. 194.

4) The beast which rose out of the earth (Rev. 13:11ff).

The significance of this particular beast has been understood in different ways by different Bahā'ī writers who drew on the writings of 'Abdu'l-Bahā and certain (unpublished) "pilgrim notes" which contain some interpretations of the Apocalypse attributed to Shoghi Effendi. It is generally agreed that the second beast symbolizes the 'Abbasid dynasty of Caliphs (reigned 750-1,258.A.D.) though 'Abdu'l-Bahā's explanations of the number of the beast (666) suggest otherwise.

Second beast = the 'Abbasid dynasty with its 36 Caliphs (+ the Ottoman Sultans) that this beast rises out of the "earth" indicates that the 'Abbasids came to power on the ruins (= the "earth") of the Umayyads. Its two "horns" are the titles Caliph and Sultan; Or, the fact that this "beast" has "two horns like a lamb" but spoke "like a dragon" signifies the initially pro-Shi'ī orientation of 'Abbasid propaganda (being "like a lamb") which subsequently took on a neo-Umayyad or anti-Shi'ī dimension (being "like a dragon"). Just as the second "beast" exercises all the authority of the first "beast" so did the 'Abbasids mirror the "image" of the Umayyads. The produced "great wonders", the glory of medieval Islāmic civilization, but were inwardly corrupt. Indeed, the "mark" of the beast on the "right hand" and the "mark" of the beast on the "forehead" which restrict the livelihood or trade of the faithful symbolizes the corrupt 'Abbasid administration of the kharaḥ or land tax (= the mark on the rt. hand) and the izya or poll-tax (= the mark on the forehead). 195.

The number of the beast, 666 (Rev 13:18):

- a) "Regarding the Apocalypse of St. John, the beast, the numerical value of whose name is 666: the intent is the year, inasmuch as that beast who is the Umayyad king, appeared in the year 666 of the Christian era. This prophecy relates to the Holy Land" ('Abdu'l-Bahā). 196.

It is clear that the Umayyad ruler alluded to by 'Abdu'l-Bahā in this letter is Mu'awiya I whose Caliphate lasted from 661-680.A.D. He is evidently understood to be the second "beast" of Rev 13. The number of this "beast", 666, is taken to be the six hundredth and sixty sixth year of the Christian era. Counting from the (supposed) date of Jesus' birth around 4-5 B.C. the year 661 results: the date of Mu'awiya's usurpation of Imām Hasan's (supposed) position as Shi'ī Imām. On the other hand it has been thought that the number 666 refers to 666.A.D. when Mu'awiya is said to have attempted to make Damascus the centre of the Muslim world and to have desecrated the twin holy cities Mecca and Medina. 197. Exactly what 'Abdu'l-Bahā meant by the year 666 C.E. (?) is unclear. It seems probable that he had in mind the proclamation of Mu'awiya as Caliph at Iliya' (Jerusalem) in the Holy Land (in 661.A.D.) and the subsequent consolidation of Umayyad power (around 666.A.D.[?]).

- b) "Six hundred and sixty six in one sense refers to Napoleon" ('Abdu'l-Bahā).

This statement was made by 'Abdu'l-Bahā in reply to a question put to him in 1920 by Dr. Lutfulllāh Hakīm on behalf of the Bahā'ī writer E.T.

Hall (c.1880-1962) of Manchester (England) and written in a notebook.

The latter was probably aware of the common identification of Napoleon Bonaparte (d.1821) with the beast whose number is 666 (Napoleon was made by gematria to yield this number) or may possibly have wondered whether this were true as a result of reading or being informed of such speculations as are contained in I.G. Kheirall's Beha'u'llah (1st. Ed. 1900). 199. Napoleon then, becomes yet another candidate for the position of the second beast though 'Abdu'l-Bahā, who often gave sympathetic answers to all manner of questions put to him, may not have taken this identification too seriously.

- c) "As to the beast referred to in the Apocalypse, he was a soul who sought with his utmost power to destroy the Cause of God. He was the King of Persia, that is, one of the early kings" ('Abdu'l-Bahā). 200.

It is obviously not clear whether this extract from a letter of 'Abdu'l-Bahā refers to the "second beast" of Rev 13 — though this would seem to be likely. Which "early" king of Persia is intended is also unclear though it is most probable that the "beast" who was an enemy of the Bāb-Bahā'ī movement is to be thought of as either Muḥammad Shāh (d.1848) or, more likely, Nāsiri'd-Dīn Shāh (reigned 1848-1896) conceived as a neo-Umayyad type ruler. Perhaps 'Abdu'l-Bahā, in the light of Rev 13:15 (or less probably Rev 12:7ff) where we are informed that the "second beast" revives the "image" of the "first beast" and the Shi'ī, Bābī-Bahā'ī notion of the return (ra'ja) of the evil Umayyads and their like, thought of Nāsiri'd-Dīn Shāh as the eschatological appearance of the Beast. We shall have occasion below to note the sometimes marked hatred exhibited by certain groups of Bābīs towards the Qājārs whom they saw as manifestations of the Antichrist-Dajjal or as neo-Umayyads.

A "pilgrim note" attributed to Shoghi Effendi, it is worth noting at this point, has it that the revived "image" (refer Rev 13:15 which to the Bahā'ī reader might suggest the notion of ra'ja or "return") of the first beast (= the Umayyads, etc) represents anti-Bābī measures taken by a corrupt Shi'ī clergy at the time of the Bāb. 201. If the Shi'ī clergy can be thought of as the "image" of the revived Umayyad beast then such a Qājār ruler of Nāsiri'd-Dīn Shāh might be thought of as the "beast" (that is the revived beast) itself.

On a visit to 'Akkā and Haifa in 1909 (?) an English Bahā'ī lady named Ethel J. Rosenberg (1858-1930) noted down 'Abdu'l-Bahā's explanation of the 16th chapter of the Apocalypse. These notes, summarized below along with certain other suggested interpretations, throw further light on the above. 'Abdu'l-Bahā all but identifies the Qājārs as evil manifestations despite his careful avoidance of being labelled anti-royalist or his efforts to put across a politically neutral stance (hence perhaps also the vagueness of the phrase "one of the early kings" in the passage quoted above). 202. The seven angels

who pour out their seven vials or bowls (Rev 16:1ff) are "seven powers" or the unleashing of various forces around the time of or at the time of the rise of the Bābī-Bahā'ī movement. The pouring out of the seven vials signifies various manifestations of Islāmic corruption and Bābī-Bahā'ī oppression.

Vial 1 (16:2) which is poured upon the "earth" signifies the corruption of earthly rulers (= the "earth") in Islāmic lands around the time of the rise of Bābism. Those who bear the "mark of the beast" are the evil hypocrites.

Vial 2 (16:3) which is poured upon the "sea" indicates the corruption of the ulama and the learned (= the bloody sea) which was the cause of spiritual "death".

Vial 3 (16:4-7) which is poured upon the "rivers" and the "fountains of water" alludes to the corruption of lesser divines and teachers.

Vial 4 (16:8-9) which is poured upon the "sun" and which is allowed to scorch those who curse the name of God signifies the oppressive and ungodly rule of the Islāmic kingdoms of the East (= the sun; in particular the Ottoman Empire [or one of its Sultans?] or Persia (?) [or one of its Shāhs?]).²⁰³

Vial 5 (16:10-11) which is poured upon the "seat of the beast" whose kingdom is in darkness and whose subjects curse God indicates Persia and its corruption (or Constantinople-Istanbul the seat of the Ottoman Sultan whose Empire was in darkness).²⁰⁴

Vial 6 (16:12-16) which is poured into "the great river Euphrates" which was dried up to prepare the way of the kings of the East refers to the opposition of the Ottoman and Persian people to the Bābī-Bahā'ī movements (?) (or the triumph of Bahā'u'llāh and his successors [= the "kings of the east"] over a corrupt Bābism in the region around Bahdād, Iraq from the 1850's onwards [= the dried up Euphrates region]).²⁰⁵

The dragon (or mouth of the dragon= neo-Umayyad Qājars?) is Haji Mirzā Aqāsī the corrupt vizier of Muhammad Shah (see further below).

The false prophet = Haji Mirzā Muhammad Karīm Khān Kirmanī (see further below) who claimed to be subject to divine revelations or said, "My words are revealed from above" (or possibly Mirzā Yahyā and Siyyid Muhammad [see above]).²⁰⁶

The (three) foul spirits like frogs= the evils (anti-Bābī-Bahā'ī activities) of the Persians (or evil principles and false teachings).²⁰⁷

The battle of Armaseddōn= the troubles at "Roumelia and Macedonia" (very likely as noted [see fn. 19 below] Bahā'u'llāh's confrontation with Mirzā Yahyā and the Azalis at Adrianople from 1866 onwards; or those inner and outer conflicts and wars [particularly the first world war of 1914-1918] that have troubled mankind since the advent of Bahā'u'llāh).²⁰⁸

Vial 7 (16:17-21) which is poured into the "air" (thus permeating all things) predicts a great or world war to come (? .i.e. W.W.I) in which "small kingdoms" (= "islands" and "mountains", v.20) will suffer (= "fled away") and be bombed (= have "great hailstones" fall on them from heaven, v.20).²⁰⁹

The great city or great Babylon divided into three parts by a great earthquake= the (coming?) rule of Babylonia (= Iraq, etc?) by three nations, or kings, the English, the Persians and the Turks as a result of (coming?) upheavals(?) (or the earthquake or irreligious doubts which will divide corrupt human civilization into those who give allegiance to the "three false gods" of Nationalism, Racism and Communism [= Babylon in three parts]).²¹⁰

5) The harlot and the Scarlet Beast (Rev. 17).

The Bahā'ī writers Marsella, Moffett and Riggs, who each drew heavily on the written or oral exposition of the Apocalypse attributed to 'Abdu'l-Bahā and Shoghi Effendi (often without indicating their sources), have all to some extent commented on the 17th chapter of the book of Revelation. The following notes set out a few of their remarks of interest in connection with our theme:-

The harlot or great whore= the corrupted Word of God (the Umayyad and neo-Umayyad corruption of pure Shi'ī Islam) seated upon the "many waters" of humanity and resident in the "wilderness" of spiritual desolation or a symbol of Persia. Her glorious royal attire symbolizes her clientele, namely the corrupt priesthood and temporal rulers.²¹¹

The scarlet beast on which the great whore sits= the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids who were their "image" (cf. on 12:3ff below and the comments of 'Abdu'l-Bahā on the 7 heads and 10 horns of the first beast). That this beast "was" signifies that it existed as the empire of Alexander the Great which did not exist in the 1st century A.D. or "is not" but did exist or "is" in the form of the Umayyads and neo-Umayyads (17:11). It ascended out of "the bottomless pit of error" in the 7th century A.D. to the wonderment of "they that dwell on the earth" whose names are not written in the "Book of Life" or who are not firm in the Shi'ī (proto-Bābī-Bahā'ī) covenant.

The 7 heads or 7 mountains on which the harlot sits are 7 dominions (cf. below on Rev 12:3f) symbolized by 7 kings who are the Umayyads and their dominions. That 5 of them are fallen means that 5 of the 7 (previously mentioned) Umayyad dominions were under the control of foreign powers before the Umayyads rose from the "bottomless pit" of error. i.e. (1) the Byzantine dominion around Damascus (Syria, Palestine) dominated by the "Romans"; (2) the Arabian dominion, dominated by the Romans, Byzantines, Abyssinians and Persians; (3) the Egyptian dominion, dominated by Romans and Byzantines; (4) the African/Libyan dominion, dominated by Romans, Vandals and Byzantines; (5) the Andalusian/Hispanic dominion, dominated by the Romans, Vandals, Visigoths and Byzantines. Persia is the dominion that "is" in that it was under the dominions of the Selucids, Parthians and Sassanids up until the rise of the Umayyads. The dominion that is to come or "has yet to come" and "remain only a little while" was the dominion of Turkestan-Transoxania the home of mere nomadic pastoralists and sedentary cultivators until the region became Turkish in the 6th century A.D. This latter dominion, it is further thought, was conquered in the late 7th-8th centuries A.D. remaining only a "little while" until it ceased to exist after the invasion of the region by Genghis Khan in the 13th century A.D.

The 8th king which "belongs" to the 7th and goes to perdition is the institution of the Ottoman Caliphate which was abolished by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1924.

Furthermore, the 10 horns or 10 kings, the Umayyads, are said to have received power for "one hour" or part of a day taken as a year of 360 days transformed into years roughly indicating the period of Umayyad supremacy. i.e. the 89 years from Mu'āwiya I until Marwan II or 661-750 A.D. is alluded to as an "hour" or part of a "day" of 360 years.

Finally, the Umayyad-'Abbāsīd beast personified as the Ottoman Caliph (ate) and representing the corrupt Islāmic dominions "shall make war on the Lamb" or the Bāb and his followers. The latter however, will gain "spiritual victory" over the "beast".²¹²

We may conclude this partial synopsis of the Bahā'ī interpretation of the (proto-) Antichrist imagery in the Apocalypse by briefly noting the way in which passages of interest within the 19th and 20th chapters of the book of Revelation have been interpreted. 213.

The figure on a white horse whose name is "The Word of God" (Rev 19:11ff) = Bahā'u'llāh who rides the steed of divinely inspired doctrine or "true theology" and whose secret name, written on the "white stone" of the covenant of God, is Bahā the mystery of the "Greatest Name" (al-ism al-a'zam; Bahā = splendour; Mirza Husayn 'Alī came to be known as Jinnab-i Bahā around the time of the Bahī conference at Badasht in 1848). His "vesture dipped in blood" symbolizes his sufferings or was a red robe which he wore (cf. Isa 63:1ff) and his "heavenly army" are the people of Bahā, the Bahā'īs who are the "hosts" of the "Lord of Hosts" (Bahā'u'llāh). 214.

The angel standing in the sun who calls the fowls of heaven to feast on the flesh of kings, captives, mighty men, horses and their riders, and of all men = Bahā'u'llāh (?) whose followers (= the "fowls of heaven") will "feast on" or overcome the tyranny of corrupt rulers, military leaders, false theology, war, economic injustice and ungodliness (the latter four evils being the 4 horsemen of Rev. 6:2ff). The Bahā'īs or "hosts" of the "Lord of Hosts" will also overcome the corrupt ulamā or Muslim clergy and the "false prophet" who is probably to be thought of as Karīm Khān Kirmānī or Mirzā Yahyā (see below and cf. Rev 19:18-20) as well as the "beast" (Rev 19:19-20) who is apparently to be identified in this instance with those 19th century Islamic divines who opposed the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh. 215.

The angel with the key to the bottomless pit who bound the dragon/serpent/devil/satan for 1,000 years = Bahā'u'llāh (?) in whose "Day" the souls of those righteous ones (Christian martyrs, etc) who were not seduced by the Umayyad/neo-Umayyad beast will "return" or be "resurrected" (mystically speaking) and reign with the returned Christ (= the Bāb, Bahā'u'llāh) for 1,000 years. (Rev 20:4b). Those pious ones who sit on thrones may be the members of the Bahā'ī Universal House of Justice (first elected in 1963) and those who will be spiritually "resurrected", apart from true Christians, will include members of non-Christian religions (in other words, the true spirituality manifested by true believers in the past great religions will, in the "Day" of Bahā'u'llāh, be manifested by the Bahā'īs who are their "return"). The wayward souls who are not "resurrected", the Umayyad type "rest of the dead" who rejected Bahā'u'llāh or the Bāb (?) as the returned Christ, suffered the (implied) "first death" for they had no part in the "first resurrection" or the advent of the Bahī (+ Bahā'ī) spiritual regeneration which occurred 1,000 years after the death of the 11th Imām, Imām Hasan 'Askarī (260.A.H./874.A.D.) or the birth or occultation of his (supposed) son the 12th Imām a millenium before the year of the Bāb's "declaration of his mission" in 1,260.A.H. or 1844.A.D. Those who did not reject Bahā'u'llāh or fall prey to the "second death" will have truly attained millennial beatitude in the new age (20:5). 216.

Satan and Gog and Magog who will surround the camp of the saints but be devoured by heavenly fire = corrupt individuals with evil characteristics who, after the first millenium or so of the Bahā'ī dispensation (? roughly 1844 + 1,000 years), will reject Bahā'u'llāh's successor (another "manifestation of God") or fail to be numbered among those souls who will attain the "second resurrection" despite another outpouring of the love of God. (20:7f). 217.

As has been indicated at various points in the above synopsis, the Bahā'ī interpretation of much of the eschatological imagery within the Apocalypse has its roots in the Shī'ī notion of the "return" of Umayyad type oppressor or 218. oppressors who become "Antichrist" figures in the sense of being anti-Bābī-Bahā'ī. We have seen that it is either explicitly stated or implied that

certain Qājār rulers and statesmen, most notably Nāsir'ud-Dīn Shāh and Hajji Mirzā Āqāsī, or such opponents of the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh as the Shaykhī leader Karīm Khān Kirmānī and Mirzā Yahyā, were "beasts" in the sense of being the return of Umayyad oppressors. The Bahā'ī interpretation of the (proto-) Antichrist imagery in the Apocalypse thus mirrors the Bābī application of those Shī'ī eschatological traditions that speak of the return of the hated Umayyads or their like on whom vengeance was expected to be taken by the Mahdī/Qā'im or returned Imām Husayn with some 72 or 313 or more true Shī'ites.

From around the time of the death of Muhammad Shāh in 1848 the Bābīs, inspired by such traditions as that handed down by al-Mufaddal ibn 'Umar from Imām Ja'far Sādiq, manifested a marked anti-Qājār hostility and came to raise the "black standard" of revolt in the name of the Qā'im (and/or) the returned Imām Husayn. 219. Those Bābīs who participated in the struggle that took place around the shrine of Shaykh Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl Tabarsī in Māzandarān (Irān) from September 1848 appear to have thought of themselves as situated in (the new) Karbalā, led by the returned Imām Husayn (identified at times with Mullā Husayn Bushrū'ī) and constituting the 313 companions of the Qā'im (thought by some to be either Mullā Husayn Bushrū'ī or Mullā Muhammad 'Alī Qaddūs) engaged in a holy war (jihād) against royalist and evil forces seen as the "family of Abū Sufyān" (Teheran being identified with Damascus). The scene depicted in such traditions as the following were thought to have been realized by Bābīs who imagined themselves "involved in the final jihād against the forces of the Antichrist", 220.

"When al-Qā'im will rise in Khurasan, he will proceed to Kufa and thence to Multan, passing through the jazira of Banu Kawan; but al-Qā'im among us will rise in Jilan among the people of Daylam and there will be for my son the Turkish flags." 221.

In some of the eschatological Shī'ī traditions (which are far from consistent) the characteristics of the Dajjal mentioned in the Sunnī traditions are associated with various hated Umayyads, most notably Mu'āwiya I and Yazīd I who, along with al-Sufyānī (a Syrian/Umayyad "Messiah figure" who in Shī'ī traditions becomes as Anti-Mahdī/Qā'im/Imām Husayn to appear in the last days) are to reappear and be defeated in the eschatological struggle or jihād. 222. Developed Shī'ī apocalyptic it might be said, exhibits a highly complex "Antichrist" (or more accurately though clumsily Anti-Mahdī/Qā'im) tradition which was creatively interpreted by the early Bābīs and which contributed to the Bahā'ī interpretation of the (proto-) Antichrist imagery in the Apocalypse. 223.

The Antichrist(s) of the Johannine Epistles.

As noted below the Johannine Epistles are the only Biblical writings that explicitly mention the Antichrist figure which is 'demythologized' in the sense of signifying the eschatological appearance of a plurality of heretics or 'antichrists'. Despite the fact that Bahā'ī writers have at times 'demythologized' the mainstream Antichrist tradition like the author(s) of 1 and 2 John these texts are seldom quoted by them. 'Abdu'l-Bahā was however, asked about the meaning of 1 Jn 4:3 in February 1909 by an American Bahā'ī couple, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Hannan. In their record of their pilgrimage to 'Akkā and Haifa entitled Akka Lights they note that they asked 'Abdu'l-Bahā the following question:

"Question- 2 Cor., 11:14-15. St. Paul says: Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light. Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness: and in 1 John 4:3, St. John speaks of Anti-Christ as the spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. What is the application of these teachings to this day, and how may the spirit of Anti-Christ be identified to-day?" 224.

'Abdu'l-Bahā's reply is of considerable interest. He begins by stating that these NT texts refer to the "great disturbance" that is to occur in the latter days. Exalted souls will be abased and lowly souls will attain great glory in these times just as Caiphas was abased and Peter and Mary Magdalene were elevated in the time of Christ. Thus, at the time of Bahā'u'llāh even Mirzā Yahyā became "the lowest of men, whereas remote souls became the nearest to the throne". The spirit of Antichrist which denies the bodily incarnation of Jesus in these days, 'Abdu'l-Bahā continues, signifies Haji Mirzā Muhammad Karīm Khān Kirmanī (see further below) who rejected the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh:

"The spirit of Anti-Christ was identified at the day of the Manifestation in the person of Haji Mohammed Karim Khan, who did not confess that the Christ-spirit had become manifest in the flesh in this day." 225.

Virgie Viola Vail stands among the few Bahā'ī writers who have commented on the Antichrist/s of 1 and 2 John. She wrote a now extremely rare and little known book entitled The Glorious Kingdom of the Father Foretold which was one of the major contributions to the Bahā'ī interpretation of the Bible in the light of the mission of Bahā'u'llāh. 226. In her treatment of the meaning of the "return of Christ" she argues that Christians and others who hold that Christ will not come again as another divine man "in the flesh" (i.e. as Bahā'u'llāh) are the eschatological manifestation of the "spirit" of the Antichrist or the "antichrists". 227.

Then, in her chapter on False Christs, she quotes 1 Jn 4:1-3 and 2 Jn 7 and stresses that Bahā'u'llāh has appeared as Christ come again "in the flesh" and "in like manner" (cf. Acts 1:11). She teaches that the Antichrist/s of the Johannine Epistles are "atheists who do not acknowledge the power of God to send His word (Bahā'u'llāh) into the human realm by manifesting in human form." 228. While then, hypocritical religionists are the false teachers or prophets mentioned in Matt 24:5, atheists and others become latter day docetists in that they deny the incarnation of the Word of God in the person of Bahā'u'llāh who is the return of the spirit of Christ "in the flesh".

It is possible that Virgie Vail was influenced in her interpretation of the "spirit" of the Antichrist by earlier speculations of Mason Remy (1874-1973) who championed a Bahā'ī "orthodoxy" in America and elsewhere when "covenant breaking" (conceived as indulgence in ——— quasi-Bahā'ī metaphysical speculation or occult theosophy contrary to the teachings of 'Abdu'l-Bahā or association with his declared enemies) threatened the unity of the Bahā'ī community. 229. From around the time of the first world war, Remy, who was a prolific writer and zealous Bahā'ī, had managed to establish himself as the leading occidental exponent of the Bahā'ī philosophy of the covenant. 230. Writing from Hawaii to an American Bahā'ī assembly in 1913 he expressed his conviction that there is a "natural human force" in man that resists the "religion of God" and which has "ever been the spirit of the Anti-Christ". This "spirit of Anti-Christ" is "the spirit of denial of the Word manifest" which serves to quicken those souls who are "steadfast in the Kingdom." 231.

At the time of the Chicago 'Reading Room affair' of 1917-18 which was partly triggered by the supposedly heterodox occult philosophy of a Boston metaphysician named W.W. Harmon who had been encouraged to write by 'Abdu'l-Bahā, 232. Remy and his associates initiated what was practically a Bahā'ī inquisition. A remarkable set of observations designed to foster "firmness in the Bahā'ī covenant" (privately circulated in limited mimeographed edition) entitled The Protection of the Cause of God (approved by the "Committee of Investigation") were circulated by Remy in 1918. At one point Remy writes:

"It is found in this day that many people unawakened spiritually naturally resent the doctrine of the "Manifested Word" or the "Incarnate Christ". In other words the spirit of the anti-Christ is abroad everywhere. Some people when questioned, who perhaps may bear the name Christian, are often found to be vague upon this point which is the very foundation of God's religion, for it has been found that while the Manifestation of God is the point of guidance to the believer after one is confirmed, the

Manifestation of God is also the point of the greatest test to those who are yet in doubt. Of all the religious movements in the world, I know none upon which the people place more stress than do the Bahais upon the Revealed Word, and there is no body of people who take a stronger stand against the spirit of anti-Christ than they do. Basically speaking, the spiritual war which the Bahais are now waging against the spiritual darkness of the world is the struggle of the Christ against the anti-Christ spirit in its many forms." 223.

This passage speaks largely for itself. Remy saw the spirit of the Antichrist everywhere and believed that Bahā'ī doctrine as he and his associates conceived it constituted the true recognition of the "Manifested Word" or person of Bahā'u'llāh. He imagined himself to be engaged in a veritable "battle of Armageddon" against the spirit of the Antichrist at a time when Bahā'ī "covenant breaking" and world unrest and war threatened the recognition of the second Christ and the true understanding of the station of 'Abdu'l-Bahā.

At this point it may be noted that 'Abdu'l-Bahā in his Risāla-yi Sīyāsīyya ("Treatise on Politics" written in 1892-3) which was primarily addressed to the Bahā'īs of Iran identifies the (human) Dajjāl with Bahā'ī hypocrites who are the cause of discord or who inwardly violate the Bahā'ī covenant. 234.

He writes:

"O Beloved of God! Give ear, consider attentively and endeavour to guard yourselves against violation [فساد or sedition]; and if you smell the odour of corruption from anyone, even if he appear to be a person of great importance and incomparably learned, know that he is the [human (manifestation of the)] Dajjāl and the enemy of the Glorious One (al-Jalāl)." 235.

Bahā'ī writers, it will be evident, do not exactly restrict the significance of the eschatological appearance of the Antichrist/ Dajjāl to any single individual of an infamous nature. Certain individuals are however, singled out as being, as it were, supreme incarnations of the Antichrist idea. Such a perspective has been expressed by Shoghi Effendi who probably had in mind the following points: 1) the Bahā'ī denial of the supernatural or real existence of Satan, or the Devil, (frequently mentioned by 'Abdu'l-Bahā) and 2) the fact that various Bābī and Bahā'ī writers have identified a plethora of anti-Bābī-Bahā'ī individuals as manifestations of the Antichrist/ Dajjāl idea. Conscious of the need to refute the Christian idea that the Antichrist would be a single supernatural eschatological adversary he wrote,

"We [Bahā'īs] do not believe in Anti-Christ in the sense the Christians do. Anyone who violently and determinedly sought to oppose the Manifestation could be called an "anti-Christ", such as the Vazīr in the Bāb's days, Haji Mirzā Āqāsī." 236.

Haji Mirzā Āqāsī the "Antichrist" of the Bābī Dispensation.

"[Muhammad Shāh's] evil genius, the omnipotent Haji Mirzā Āqāsī, the power behind the throne and the chief instigator of the outrages perpetrated against the Bāb...the Antichrist of the Bābī Revelation" (Shoghi Effendi). 237.

A great deal has been written by Bābī and Bahā'ī writers about Mirzā 'Abbās Iravānī or Haji Mirzā Āqāsī (1784-1849) the notorious grand vizier of Muhammad Shāh whose accession to the throne he is said to have predicted. Both his manipulation of the sovereign and his marked hostility to the Bābīs are well known. Eugene Flandin's description of him calls to mind the physiognomic characteristics of the Dajjāl though this theme, as we shall see, is more important in connection with the Shaykhī leader Karīm Khan Kirmānī,

"Haji Mirza Aqasi.. Imagine a nose, very long and curved, over an edentulous mouth and surmounted by badly dyed hair, bloodshot but lively eyes, a brusque gesture, a subtle or rather sly appearance, and one has the exact portrait of this singular personage. This little old man, still vigorous, was like all Persians, vain to excess.. his conversation was scarcely of a nature to destroy the prejudices, little favourable to his person, which had been in our minds before this presentation.." 238.

Bābī and Bahā'ī sources have it that Haji Mirzā Āqāsī constantly incited the fears of Muhammad Shāh in terms of the Bābīs. He is said to have prevented the Bāb from communicating directly with or meeting him. 239. As early as the first year of his mission the Bāb had, in his Qayyūm al-Asmā (commentary on the Qur'ānic sūrat al-Yūsuf, 1844), called upon Haji Mirzā Āqāsī to relinquish his position and in a subsequent letter to Muhammad Shah referred to him in the following terms:

"Dost thou [Muhammad Shāh] imagine him whom thou hast appointed Chancellor in thy kingdom to be the best leader and the best supporter? Nay, I swear by thy Lord. He will bring thee into grievous trouble by reason of that which Satan instilleth into his heart, and verily he himself is Satan. He comprehendeth not a single letter of the Book of God.. Indeed, in the estimation of the people he is naught but manifest darkness.." 240.

Haji Mirzā Āqāsī was responsible for the Bāb's incarceration in Adhirbayjan at a time when he might have been able to meet Muhammad Shah. He engineered the examination of the Bāb at Tabriz in 1848 at which the now self-confessed Qā'im was condemned and bastinadoed. 241. From Chihriq shortly after the latter humiliation the Bāb sternly admonished Haji Mirzā Āqāsī in a letter known as the Khutba-yi Qahriyya.

A year or so later he, having fallen from grace in the estimation of the notables of Tihiran and the young Nāṣiri'd-Dīn Shāh, died in Karbilā (in 1849 before the Bāb's execution in July 1850.). 242.

We have seen that Ḥajjī Mīrzā Āqāsī was mentioned by 'Abdu'l-Bahā in connection with the beast imagery of the Apocalypse and that Shoghi Effendi has referred to him as the Antichrist of the Bābī period. It will therefore come as no surprise to learn that certain early Bābīs thought of him as a manifestation of the Dajjāl. Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī Zunuzī for example, in a dialogue with a learned Shaykhī written before his martyrdom (along with the Bāb) in 1850, not only identified Karīm Khān Kirmānī (see below) as the manifestation of Sufyān (zuhūr-i Sufyān) but saw Ḥajjī Mīrzā Āqāsī as the evil Dajjāl. 243. Calling to mind Shoghi Effendi's identification of Ḥajjī Mīrzā Āqāsī as the "Antichrist of the Bābī Revelation" the author of the Nuqtat al-Kāf (c.1852?) expressed the opinion that, "The point of unbelief of the age and the Antichrist of the dispensation is [Ḥajjī Mīrzā] Āqāsī." 244.

Ḥajjī Mīrzā Muhammad Karīm Khan Kirmānī the "one-eyed Dajjāl".

Shaykh Ahmad Ahsā'ī (d.1826) the founder of the Shaykhī school was succeeded by Siyyid Kāzīm Rashtī (d.1843) whose passing precipitated something of a crisis in that he appears to have made no clear statement as to the identity of his successor. Karīm Khān Kirmānī (1810-1870) who had studied under the second Shaykh in Karbilā and who was the son of a cousin and son-in-law of Fath 'Alī Shāh, made a strong bid for the leadership of the Shaykhī community. From Kirmān in the mid 1840's he was able to gradually attract to himself the majority of Persian Shaykhīs who did not become Bābīs. By the end of his days he had "so consolidated his own position..that the succession passed, after a brief dispute, to his second son Ḥajjī Muhammad Khān.. descending in the same family to the present day". 245.

Karīm Khān was not only possessed of considerable political influence through his links with the ruling Qājārs but was an influential and prolific writer on most aspects of the religious sciences of his day. It has been estimated that he wrote some 278 books in Arabic and Persian which cover, "not only the field of philosophy and Shī'ite theosophy, the spiritual hermeneutics of the Qur'ān and the hadīth but also an encyclopedia of the sciences: medicine, physics, optics, astronomy, theory of light, of colour, of music, including alchemy, and related sciences.." 246.

The polymathic erudition of Karīm Khān made him a formidable opponent of the Bāb and his disciples many of whom came from a Shaykhī background. As early as July 1845 he had penned the first of a number of weighty refutations of Bābism entitled Ishāq al-Bātil ('The crushing of falsehood'). 247. This polemical treatise was followed less than a year later by his Tir-i Shihāb.. ('The Shooting Star', March 1846) and subsequently supplemented by such anti-Bābī works as his al-Shihāb al-Thāqib.. ('Piercing Star', January 1849). 248. To the end of his life Karīm Khān remained a bitter enemy of both the Bāb and Bahā'u'llāh who not only had him formally acquainted with their claims but vehemently denounced him.

In his article The Babis of Persia (II) E.G. Browne records a tradition to the effect that the Bāb, on receiving a treatise written in refutation of his claims by Karīm Khān, identified its author with the athīm (sinful one) mentioned in the 44th sūra of the Qur'ān, the sūrat-al dukhān. He wrote the letters Hā' Mīm (sura 44 is the 5th of 7 Qur'ānic sūras which begin with these detached letters) on its opening page in which Karīm Khān had written: "Thus says the sinful (athīm) servant, Muhammad Karīm, son of Ibrahim". This for the Bāb evidently called to mind Qur'an 44:43/8, "Verily (the fruit) of the tree of al-Zaqqūm [the infernal tree] shall be the food of the impious (athīm)..Taste (this); for thou art that mighty (and) honourable (karīm) person". 249. Karīm Khān had unwittingly condemned himself:

"Eat ye your punishment for your unbelief. This is the tree of Zaqqūm..And we have warned the sinful (athīm) of a painful punishment, of the burning and the flames, and the fires of Hell. Now hath the decree come to pass. Eat then, O thou mighty and honourable one (al-karīm)". 250.

As already mentioned Karīm Khān Kirmānī has been identified with the Antichrist or Dajjāl. This identification, in the light also of the physiologic characteristics of the Dajjāl, most notably his being 'one-eyed', was made by Bābīs from an least as early as 1847 and even, somewhat unconvincingly, attributed to Siyyid Kāzīm Rashtī the second Shaykh of the Shaykhīs. In 1887-8 the apostle of Bahā'u'llāh Mullā Muhammad Zarandī, Nabil-i A'zām completed a lengthy history of the Bābī-Bahā'ī movements which contains some traditions of considerable interest in connection with our theme. 251. He notes that Siyyid Kāzīm Rashtī had frequently mentioned that the promised Qā'im

would be of "pure lineage" or "illustrious descent" of the "seed of Fātimih" and be "free from bodily deficiency": a notion doubtless rooted in the physiognomic descriptions of the expected Mahdī/Qā'im (as opposed to those of the Dajjāl) and the Shī'ī notion that the prophet-Imām is not only guarded from sin (ma' sūn) but a physically perfect human being ever free of bodily infirmity or disease. ²⁵². Zarandī then reports that, for Shaykh Abū Turāb and other Shaykhīs, Siyyid Kāzīm's mentioning the bodily wholeness of the expected Qā'im pointed to the shortcomings of certain leading Shaykhīs. Karīm Khān was "one eyed" and "sparsely bearded", Mīrzā Hasan Gawhar "exceptionally corpulent" and Mīrzā Muḥit-i Shā'ir-i Kirmānī "extraordinarily lean and tall". ²⁵³. These three Shaykhīs were in other words, thought to exhibit Dajjāl-like physical characteristics.

We have seen how, in the Christian as well as the Islāmic physiognomic Antichrist-Dajjāl traditions, the eschatological adversary was often thought to be characterised by having peculiar eyes or being "one-eyed" or either lean or tall or huge or corpulent. The attribution to or the highlighting of the actual or supposed physical deficiencies of the enemies of the Bābī-Bahā'ī movements is a not uncommon feature of Bābī-Bahā'ī historiography and polemic influenced by the Antichrist-Dajjāl traditions. Mullā Muhammad-i Mamaqānī for example, a leading Shaykhī who made a leadership bid (from Tabriz) after the passing of Siyyid Kāzīm and who played a leading role in the first examination of the Bāb in Tabriz (in August 1848) whose death-warrant he subsequently signed, has been described by Shoghi Effendi as a "one-eyed and white bearded renegade." ²⁵⁴.

Zarandī's abovementioned report of Shaykh Abū Turāb's narration continues and focuses upon Siyyid Kāzīm's supposed attitude towards Karīm Khān. Shaykh Abū Turāb, who eventually became a Bābī and married Mullā Husayn's sister, relates that a disciple of Karīm Khān presented the second Shaykh with a treatise written by his master who desired approval of its contents. Siyyid Kāzīm read a few portions of the treatise but declined to pass judgement on its acceptability. Then, when Karīm Khān's disciple left Siyyid Kāzīm's presence, he is said to have stated in a sorrowful voice:

"Accursed be he [Karīm Khān]! For years he has been associated with me, and now that he intends to depart, his one aim, after so many years of study and companionship, is to diffuse, through his book, such heretical and athiestic doctrines as he now wishes me to endorse. He has covenanted with a number of self-seeking hypocrites with a view to establishing himself in Kirman, and in order to assume, after my departure, from this world, the reigns of undisputed leadership. How grievously he erred in his judgement! For the breeze of divine Revelation wafted from the dayspring of guidance, will assuredly quench his light and destroy his

influence. The tree of his endeavour will yield naught but the fruit of bitter disillusion and gnawing remorse. Verily, I say, you [Shaykh Abū Turāb] will behold this with your own eyes.

My prayer for you is that you may be protected from the mischievous influence which he, the Antichrist of the promised Revelation, will in future exercise." ²⁵⁵.

This narration, which may tell us more about Bābī-Bahā'ī anti-[Kirmānī] Shaykhī polemic than the actual sentiments of Siyyid Kāzīm clearly identifies Karīm Khān with the Antichrist of the Bābī period. ²⁵⁶.

Among the early Bābī apologetic tracts that dwell upon the physiognomic characteristics of Karīm Khān as a neo-Umayyad or Dajjāl-like opponent of Bābism is the Risāla in refutation of the latter written by al-Qatīl ibn al-Karbālā'ī in Karbilā in 1847. ²⁵⁷. The author of this brief treatise (a one time pupil of Siyyid Kāzīm) after quoting and commenting on various traditions believed to predict the date and circumstances of the Bāb's mission, poses a question. Is it more likely he asks, whether Karīm Khān, who in various letters had claimed to be the promised Qā'im who would fill the earth with justice (al-Qa'im bi'l-ʿAmr), or the Bāb be the promised one? How can Karīm Khān make such claims in the light of the fact that he is "one-eyed" (واحد العين), "sparsely bearded" (الكوج) and "short-statured" or has Dajjāl-like characteristics? Is not Karīm Khān one given to smoking or whose "inside" is "filled with smoke" (دخان); a shoot from the Umayyad tree who busied himself opposing the law of the Prophet for no less than 15 years? ²⁵⁸. For ibn al-Karbālā'ī the very appearance of Karīm Khān and his company call the Umayyads, Sufyanids and the company of Mu'āwiya to mind. ²⁵⁹. Indeed, the third Shaykh resembles Mu'āwiya with respect to his beard, Iblīs (the Devil) in his blindness and calls to mind the "wall of Eden" (بئر عدن) in having his inside filled with smoke. All are startled at the sight of this evil one who is of abhorrant countenance (كراهة الوجد), short-stature (قصر القامة) and who is of despicable birth and lineage (خبانة المولد والنسب). ²⁶⁰.

Following earlier Bābī tradition, Bahā'u'llāh in his Kitāb-i Iqān (c. 1862) condemned Karīm Khān and applied the verses quoted above from the Qur'anic surat al-dukhān to him noting how "clearly and explicitly he hath been described in God's incorruptible Book". ²⁶¹. He believed that

the very title of his Irshād al-^cAwām or "Spiritual Directives for the [Ignorant] Masses underlined in itself the pride and folly of one whose erudition veiled him from that supernatural and God-given inspiration that is characteristic of the true Bābī gnostic. The "Samiri of ignorance" he had rejected the "Moses of knowledge" (the Bāb). ²⁶².

It also appears that Bahā'u'llāh alludes to Karīm Khān's being (supposedly) "One-eyed" in his Kitāb-i Iḡān for at one point, in the course of entreating the learned among the Bābīs not to rely on their limited intellects in seeking the coming divine manifestation, he writes:

"And yet, notwithstanding all these admonitions, We perceive that a one-eyed man (شخصی امور) who is himself the chief of the people (رئیس قوم), is arising with the utmost malevolence against Us. We foresee that in every city people will arise to suppress the blessed Beauty. We can discern one who is reputed for such devoutness and piety that men deem it an obligation to obey him.. who will arise to assail the very root of the divine Tree..." ²⁶³.

Though it is not absolutely certain that it is Karīm Khān who is here alluded to— though he wielded some political influence and had consolidated his position by 1862 when the Kitāb-i Iḡān was written he had been explicitly named and condemned earlier in this book—a number of Bahā'ī writers have expressed this opinion. ^cAbd al-Hamid Ishrāq Khavari (1902-1972) for example, in his massive though disordered Qamūs-i Iḡān in the course of commenting on the line, "We foresee that in every city people will arise to suppress the blessed Beauty", states that the "one-eyed" person is most probably Karīm Khān. He adds, it is of interest to note, that Karīm Khān had "white scales" (لكمهای سفید) on one of his eyes; they grew such that though he endeavoured to cut them off he was unable to attain clear vision. ²⁶⁵. The implication is that Karīm Khān was not exactly or literally one-eyed but possessed one diseased eye. His photograph seems to bear this out for we do not see evidence of a missing eye. ²⁶⁶.

Among the major letters or "tablets" of Bahā'u'llāh, one, probably dating from the early ^cAkkā period of his ministry and known as the Lawh-i Qina^c ("Tablet of the Veil", c.1869-70?) was specifically addressed to Karīm Khān. The third Shaykh had been sent a book which made Bahā'u'llāh's claims known to him but rejected them as he had rejected the claims of the author of the Qavvīm al-Asmā. In consequence the Lawh-i Qina^c condemns him being addressed to one who "has a reputation for knowledge" but who stands on "the brink

of the pit of error". ²⁶⁷. At one point in this condemnatory epistle Bahā'u'llāh indicates that Karīm Khān was present at the time of the mission of the prophet Muhammad under or with "another name" (باسم دیگر). ²⁶⁸. It is possible that this application of the notion of (eschatological) "return" (ra^cia) is related to our theme. It has been noted below that the one-eyed Dajjāl, most notably as Ibn Saiyād, was believed to have lived at the time of the prophet Muhammad. On the other hand, if Bahā'u'llāh had in mind a specific even possibly 'one-eyed' Dajjāl-like individual, Abū Sufyān ibn Harb would be appropriate as the previous manifestation of Karīm Khān, this especially since Abū Sufyān was for many years a fierce opponent of the prophet Muhammad as chief of the Umayyad clan of ^cAbd Shams and one who is said to have lost an eye in battle. ²⁶⁹. His portrait was in fact, like that of Karīm Khān, assimilated to the physiognomic description of the Dajjāl as the following note makes perfectly clear:

"[The eschatological Sufyān]: His name is 'Othmān the son of 'Ataba of the children of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sofyān. He is a thick-set man with an ill-countenance, a face pitted with small pox, a large head and blue eyes. He has never rendered service to God, nor seen Mecca or Medina, and his eyes seem to squint.. a man shall come forth from the direction of Mecca whose name is Sofyān ibn Harb. Perhaps he may be that Sofyān who has been previously mentioned.." ²⁷⁰.

Whether or not the passage from Bahā'u'llāh's Lawh-i Qina^c referred to above was inspired by Karīm Khān's early identification with the one-eyed eschatological opponent, the fact remains that the third Shaykh has, for both Bābīs and Bahā'īs, been seen as one of the most infamous manifestations of the Antichrist-Dajjāl. For them at least the physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist-Dajjāl find something of a literal fulfillment.

^cAbd al-Karīm Effendi Tihri, it may finally be noted, has, in the course of a lecture delivered in the United States on June 3rd 1900, not only applied II Thess 2:4 to Karīm Khān but explicitly identified him as "the Sofyani" mentioned "in the Mohammedan books.. who will appear before the real Mahdi". ²⁷¹. From his home in Egypt he, as the teacher of I.G. Kheiralla, had journeyed to the United States in 1900 at the command of ^cAbdu'l-Bahā in order to guard the American Bahā'īs from the propaganda of Mīrzā Muhammad ^cAlī (the half-brother of ^cAbdu'l-Bahā who, in the 1890's had contested his being the head of the Bahā'ī community) whom Kheiralla supported from 1899. The faction headed by Mīrzā Muhammad ^cAlī had accused ^cAbdu'l-Bahā of claiming

Divinity or being an independent "Manifestation of God" (maẓhar-i illāhī). 272.
It appears that they quoted II Thess 2:4 in connection with these supposed claims of 'Abdu'l-Bahā in order to underline their accusations. Consequently, 'Abd al-Karīm at one point in the abovementioned address specifically directed against the "Nakizeen" ("covenant breakers" or in this instance supporters of Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī) writes:

"Some of these Nakizeen, in order to make things agree with their own interests and desires, are endeavouring to mislead the hearts of others through some insinuations thrown to them every now and then; and in order to strengthen their position at the present time and corroborate their false statements, they have invented, according to their own ideas and imaginations, a new interpretation of some passages of the Holy Books which refer to the appearance of a false one before the real God; claiming for others what they do not claim for themselves. But, alas, they read the Books and do not understand; rather they warp its meaning to suit their own designs in order to enable them to skillfully concoct their contrived theories. That prophecy which is mentioned in the Bible, as well as in the Koran and other books, regarding the appearance of the false God [i.e. II Thess 2:4], first, has not the slightest connection with the well known present conditions, but in reality it refers to the time of the Manifestation [Bahā'u'llāh], and the false one, Manifestation, who appeared before him, " showing himself as God" [II Thess 2:4]." 273.

Thus, in order to refute the accusation that 'Abdu'l-Bahā claimed Divinity as indicated in II Thess 2:4 and elsewhere, 'Abd al-Karīm denies that such texts have anything to do with the period of the ministry of 'Abdu'l-Bahā; rather, " these emblems and signs, as mentioned in the Books, were not connected with any other appearance save that of the Manifestation, Beha'u'llah." 274.
The false claimant to Divinity should appear at the time of or before the appearance of the true manifestation of Divinity. Indeed, 'Abdu'l-Bahā never claimed Divinity 275. and the one predicted in such texts as II Thess 2:4 is Karīm Khan Kirmānī the evil Sufyānī who " showed himself as God". Perhaps influenced by that passage in Bahā'u'llāh's Lawh-i Qinā mentioned above 'Abd al-Karīm continues thus:

"Before the appearance of the Bab, a man by the name of Karīm Khan, of the city of Karman [sic], Persia, appeared [fn reads, 'See II Thessalonians], "showing himself as God" [II Thess. 2:4, — Karīm Khan almost certainly never made any such claim], and persuaded the people to believe in him and thus succeeded in bringing to him a great number of followers; and some of his disciples have recognized him to be God. The name of Karīm Khan is known throughout the country there and elsewhere. He claimed a great mission and wrote many books which can be procured by anyone who wants them. The Manifestation [Bahā'u'llāh] sent him two Tablets, but he did not believe. His followers are many and they are known by the name of the Sheikhyst [Shaykhī] Sect. The Beloved Perfection hath said that the one who is mentioned in the Mohammedan books as Sofyānī, who will appear before the real Mahdi, is this one, Karīm Khan." 276.

Appendix I. The 7 Angels with the 7 Trumpets (Rev. 8,9,11:15f).

These chapters of the Apocalypse are, in various unpublished Bahā'ī "pilgrim's notes" held to predict events within Christian, Islamic and Bābī-Bahā'ī history. The opinions of the previously mentioned Bahā'ī writers on the Apocalypse (see fn's 179-181 below) based in large measure on unpublished (and non-authoritative) utterances of Shoghi Effendi may be summarized as follows:-

1st Angel with trumpet (8:7) = Anti-Christian persecutions by the Roman authorities up until 238.A.D. or the mission of Imām 'Alī (d.661.A.D.) and his struggle for the Caliphate.

2nd Angel with trumpet (8:8) = Anti-Christian persecutions from 249.A.D. under the Emperors Decius and Diocletian or the mission of Imām Hasan (d. 669.A.D.) and the suppression of his partisans by Mu'awīya I (661-680.A.D.).

3rd Angel with trumpet (8:10-11) = The confusion and corruption of the Church on the conversion of Constantine (c.311.A.D.), the "fallen star" named "Wormwood" or the mission and martyrdom of Imām Husayn (d.680.A.D.) whose enemy Mu'awīya is the "fallen star" named "Wormwood".

4th Angel with trumpet (8:12-14) = The invasion of western Rome beginning with that of the Visigoths under Alaric the Bold in 408.A.D. and followed by that of the Vandals and Huns before the rise of Islām or (?) the oppression of Shi'ism under the twelve Imāms from 'Alī until the death of the 11th Imām al-Hasan al-Askari (d.260.A.H. = 874.A.D.) or the "occultation" (ghayba) of the (supposed) 12th Imām Muḥammad al-Muntazar (the Imām Mahdī).

5th Angel with trumpet (9:1-11) = The Muslim invasion of African and Asian Christendom under the "rightly-guided Caliph" and the Umayyads and the suppression of Shi'ism. The "locusts" which emerged from the "smoke" (= false teachings) are the Umayyad troops and their leaders whose "king", the "angel of the bottomless pit" called Abaddon and Apollyon, is Abū Sufyān father of Mu'awīya I the fountainhead and symbol of Umayyad and neo-Umayyad oppression.

6th Angel with trumpet = The unleashing of the Sunnī Muslim forces (symbolized by the "four angels" or four major Sunnī schools of jurisprudence: the Hanafī, Malīkī, Shāfi'ī, and Hanbalī schools) beyond the Euphrates resulting in the fall of Constantinople (Byzantium) in 1453.A.D. and in the slaying or cutting off of one third of Christendom.

7th Angel with trumpet = A man qualified with heavenly attributes or Bahā'u'llāh (?) enthroned in divine majesty and surrounded by the 24 elders or the Bab and the "Letters of the Living" (Hurūf-i Hayy) and certain prominent Bahā'īs.



مولانا الاكرم مرحوم حاج محمدكريم خان كرماني
(۱۲۳۵ - ۱۲۸۸ قمری)

138. The pages to follow will set down only a fraction of passages in the extraordinarily voluminous Bahā'ī Scripture that bear upon our theme. (The footnotes to follow will also note only a few of those works which record the historical events mentioned in this part of this essay).
139. Refer, for example, ^cAbdu'l-Bahá in [E.G.Browne Ed. & Tr.], A Traveller's Narrative (Vol. II. Cambridge 1891, Hencforth TN), p. 51ff; Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By (=GPB, Wilmette 1974), p. 114ff; H.M. Balyuzi, Edward Granville Browne and the Bahā'ī Faith (= EGB&BF, London 1970), p. 3ff; idem, Bahā'u'llāh King of Glory (=BKG Oxford 1980), p. 107ff; A. Taherzadeh, The Revelation of Bahā'u'llāh, Vol. I (= RB. I. Oxford 1974), p. 53ff; W. Mc E. Miller, The Bahā'ī Faith: Its History and Teachings (South Pasadena Calif., 1974), p. 70ff.
140. Refer, Shoghi Effendi, GPB. p. 114.
141. Refer, Balyuzi, EGB&BF. p. 3; idem, BKG. p. 107; Shoghi Effendi, GPB. p. 112ff. On Siyyid Muhammad see further below.
142. Refer (as in. 39, also), A. Taherzadeh, The Revelation of Bahā'u'llāh Vol. II (= RB. II. Oxford 1977), p. 152ff. See Further below.
143. Bahā'u'llāh, Kitāb-i-Isfāhān [written c. 1862] (ET. Shoghi Effendi, London 1961), p. 160. cf. also Bahā'u'llāh's "Tablet" to his aunt of the Akkā period known as the Lawh-i Maryam (refer Ishraq Khavari, Gani-i Shaviran, Tehran 124. B.E./1946 A.D., p. 184) parts of which are translated in E.G. Browne's Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion (Cambridge 1918/Rep. 1961), p. 8, and in Shoghi Effendi's GPB. p. 120.
144. Refer, for example, on the epiphanic claims of the Bābīs after the martyrdom of the Bāb (there were such claims before his martyrdom as well), Shoghi Effendi, GPB. p. 125, Balyuzi, EGB&BF. p. 43; idem, BKG, pp. 120-132.
145. Refer, for example, Bahā'u'llāh, Lawh-i Sirā'ī [c. 1867] in Ishraq Khavari (Ed), Mā'idiy-i Asmānī (=MA [9 Vols. Tehran 1963-1964]), Vol. 7. p. 61ff; the Azalī work Hasht Bihisht ("The Eight Paradises") (ET (in part) in TN. p. 357 (on this work refer, Balyuzi, EGB&BF. p. 18ff); Balyuzi, EGB&BF. p. 43; idem, BKG. p. 124; Taherzadeh, RB. II. p. 250ff. While Balyuzi (EGB&BF. p. 43. cf. BKG. p. 124) and other Bahā'ī writers, it may be noted here, imply that Dayyān made an exalted claim for himself Taherzadeh (RB. I. p. 250) states that Bahā'u'llāh in his Kitāb-i Badi' (c. 1867; this work though printed is now difficult to obtain) teaches that Dayyān merely circulated some prayers which he had written (without making any exalted claim) the perusal of which made Mīrzā Yahyā jealous such that he determined to have him killed. On other assassination plots attributed to Mīrzā Yahyā refer, for example, Shoghi Effendi, GPB. p. 124f.
146. Refer, Bahā'u'llāh cited MA. Vol. 4. p. 151; ^cAbdu'l-Bahá cited MA Vol. 5. p. 290; Balyuzi, EGB&BF. p. 34. fn. 3; Taherzadeh, RB. I. pp. 248-9.
147. Refer, Bahā'u'llāh, (One of the) Lawh-i Zayn al-Muqarrabīn cited in MA. Vol. 4. p. 99. In his Lawh-i Ibn-i Dhi'b (c. 1890, = "Epistle to the Son of the Wolf", ET. Shoghi Effendi, Wilmette, 1971), Bahā'u'llāh writes, "Wherever this Wronged One went Mīrzā Yahyā followed him. The Siyyid of Isfahan.. surreptitiously duped him. They committed that which caused the greatest consternation" (p. 168). Bahā'ī sources maintain that Mīrzā Yahyā and Siyyid Muhammad followed Bahā'u'llāh (despite their enmity) in order to have the benefit of his protective charismatic leadership.

118. The text of Bahā'u'llāh's Sūrat al-Ahsāb is printed in Āthar-i Qalam-i A'lā Vol.4. (Tihran 1968), pp.1-22. On it cf. Taherzadeh, RB.II.p.65ff. His Sūrat al-Amr is contained in, Alvāh-i Bahā'u'llāh. (Bombay 1308.A.H./1892-3.A.D.), pp.242-245. cf. Ishraq Khavari Ganj-i Shavirān, pp.73-4 (date given here is 1864. A.D. [which may be a year or so too early?]), Taherzadeh, RB.II, pp.161-2, Shoghi Effendi, (ET in part), Cleanings from the Writings of Bahā'u'llāh (np. [London], 1949) pp.130-2; "Mirza Jawad's Historical Epitome", ET in E.G. Browne, Materials. (see fn.143 below), p.21 (here also the Sūrat al-Amr is dated 1,280.A.H. or 1863-4.A.D.).
119. On these events refer, for example, Bahā'u'llāh, Lahw al-Ruh ("Tablet of the Spirit", apparently written during his withdrawal in the House of Ridā Big around March-May 1866) printed in Āthar-i Qalam-i A'lā. Vol.4 (see fn.148 above), pp.123-134. cf. Ishraq Khavari, Ganj-i Shavirān, p.85ff, Taherzadeh, RB.II, p.161ff., also Balyuzi, BKG.p.217ff, Taherzadeh, RB.II, pp.162-170.
120. I use the phrase "Battle of Armageddon" (See Rev 16:16. cf. 19:17ff, 20:7f) since 'Abdu'l-Bahā according to some unpublished "Pilgrim Notes" has associated Armageddon with Rounelia and Macedonia probably having in mind Bahā'u'llāh's spiritual battle with Mirza Yahyā and the Azālīs in Adrianople (though there are other interpretations of Rev 16:16 which cannot be discussed in detail here). Bahā'u'llāh's Lahw-i Sirāj [Sarraḡ], a lengthy letter addressed to 'Alī Muhammad Sirāj [Sarraḡ] of Isfahan in c.1867, replies to a number of questions (among other things) about the status of Mirza Yahyā. Despite his receipt of this letter 'Alī Muhammad (a Bābī who was the brother of the Bāb's second wife whom both Mirza Yahyā and Siyyid Muhammad had married) remained an Azālī-Bābī like his brother Mullā Rajab 'Alī. The text is printed in MA.Vol.7. pp.4-118.
121. Refer, Bahā'u'llāh, Lahw-i Mubāhila in MA.Vol.4. pp.277-81., cf. also Shoghi Effendi, GPB, p.168f, Taherzadeh, RB.II, p.291ff.
122. On the episode of the Bahā'ī murder of Azālīs in 'Akkā refer for example, E.G. Browne, The Bābīs of Persia. I. in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (= JRAS., Vol. XXI [1889]), p.517. idem., The Bābīs of Persia. II in JRAS Vol. XXI. [1889], pp.995-6., idem., TN. Note W [7], p.370f., idem., Materials. p.55ff (= "Mirza Jawad's Historical Epitome" in which the exact date of the murder of Siyyid Muhammad is given as 12th Dhu'l-Qa'da 1288.A.H. or 22nd January 1872 A.D.), Balyuzi, BGP&BF, pp.34-6, idem., BKG.p.322ff; idem., 'Abdu'l-Bahā (Oxford 1971), pp.35-6., Shoghi Effendi, GPB, pp.189-191; Moojan Momen, The Bābī and Bahā'ī Religions, 1844-1944. (Oxford 1981), p.212ff.
123. Bahā'u'llāh, Lahw-i Ibn-i Dhi'b (see fn.147 below). ET. Shoghi Effendi, p.157.
124. Shoghi Effendi, letter to Isfandiyyār Majzūb (Nov.17.1935) cf. Taherzadeh RB.II. p.28, 164, GPB, p.164. One might have expected Shoghi Effendi (1897-1957, the Guardian of the Bahā'ī religion and great-grandson of Bahā'u'llāh) to have labelled Mirza Yahyā the supreme incarnation of the "Antichrist" rather than Siyyid Muhammad; especially since Mirza Yahyā is said to have disguised himself as a Jew (refer, GPB, p.165), claimed identity with God (ibid., p.165 but cf. below on II. Thess 2:1ff) where the "Son of Perdition" [= Yahyā] claims Divinity) and worked mischief "right and left" (loosely speaking) between Syria and Iraq. His position as nominee of the Bāb and his close relationship with Bahā'u'llāh perhaps saved him from this notoriety.
125. 'Abdālī's epistle to the great orientalist E.G. Browne (1862-1926) has, as far as I am aware, never been published; it is not clear whether Browne ever received it or whether the MSS has survived. My source of information is W.A. Rice's article, A Bābī Pamphlet in the Church Missionary Intelligencer (August 1902), pp. 565-573 which contains an excellent summary of 'Abdālī's epistle. cf. H. Balyuzi, The Bāb. (Oxford 1973), p.235. fn.15 [My thanks to Dr. Moojan Momen for supplying me with a copy of Rice's article].

126. Refer, W.A. Rice, art. cit (see fn.155), p.572.
127. cf. Bahā'u'llāh, Sūrat al-Haykal in Alvāh-i Bahā'u'llāh muḥtamil bar Sūrat al-Haykal. (Bombay 1308.A.H./1892-3.A.D.), pp.2-49[ff] and (with textual differences) in Āthar-i Qalam-i A'lā, Vol.4, pp.268-300. (An on the whole unreliable translation of this "Tablet" by Anton F. Haddad, Sūrat ul Hykl [Beha'is Supply and Publishing Board, Chicago 1900] exists portions of which are reproduced in H. Holley's Bahā'ī Scriptures [New York 1923/82]).
128. cf. for example, Kheiralla's Beha'U'llah quoted fn.192 below.
129. Isaiah 14:12f (RSV). These verses in Isaiah were probably originally based on an ancient myth about the banishment of a divine being from heaven. The 𐤇𐤍𐤅 𐤍𐤏𐤍 ("Day Star son of the Dawn") figure is reminiscent of the planet Venus or the deity associated with it. In the Ugaritic texts Sāhar is a god of the dawn and ḥēlāl the morning star (see modern commentaries for details). I wonder, it may be noted here, whether the idea that the Antichrist-Dajjal would have an eye like the "morning star" (one of the most consistent features of the physiognomic descriptions of the Antichrist in Christian and Islamic literatures; see below) is related to Isaiah 14:12f
130. Refer, Kitāb Al-Muqaddas. Published by R. Watts, London, 1831.
131. Refer, MA.Vol.7.p.173ff.
132. ET. Shoghi Effendi of the identical Arabic text of Amos 4:12b-13 in Epistle to the Son of the Wolf (see fn. 147), pp.145-6. For the Arabic text refer, MA. Vol.7. pp.191-2 and Lahw-i Mubārah Khitāb bi Shavkh Muhammad Taqī. (np.nd.), pp.171-2.
133. ET. Shoghi Effendi, Epistle to the Son of the Wolf, p.146.
134. ET. Shoghi Effendi, ibid., p.146.
135. ET. Shoghi Effendi, ibid., p.147.
136. Bahā'u'llāh, Al-Kitāb Al-Aqdas, text from 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Hasarī, Al-Bābīyūn wa'l-Bahā'īyūn fī Hādīrīhim wa Mādīhim (Sidon 1972), p.130. Bahā'u'llāh makes a very large number of references and allusions to Siyyid Muhammad in his Tablets of the 'Akkā period (1868-1892). In particular refer, Lahw-i Istintāq ("Tablet of the Interrogation") in MA.Vol. 4. pp.220-260, esp. p.232ff (here Siyyid Muhammad is referred to as "the detestible Siyyid Muhammad" [سید محمد خبیث], 250ff. cf. fn. 192 below).
137. Refer, 'Abdu'l-Bahā, in (E.G. Browne), TN.II.p.95. cf. Shoghi Effendi, GPB, p.113.
138. Shoghi Effendi, GPB, p.112, 165.
139. Refer for example, MA.Vol.1.p.20 where Rev 21:2/10 is referred to and cf. H. Holley (Ed) Bahā'ī Scriptures (New York 1928), pp.116-7.
140. cf. 'Abdu'l-Bahā in Some Answered Questions (= SAQ. London.nd.), pp.234-6.
141. Refer, letter of 'Abdu'l-Bahā quoted in Star of the West (=SW, Vol.11.No.12 (March 1924), p.358, Bahā'ī World Faith (Wilmette, Illinois, 1976), p.351, Selections from the Writings of 'Abdu'l-Bahā (Haifa 1978), p.12-13.
142. From a letter of Shoghi Effendi to R.J. Moffett dated August 13th 1944.
143. 'Abdu'l-Bahā in The Promulgation of Universal Peace (Wilmette 1943) p.455.
144. Refer for example, SAQ.p.43ff and cf. below.
145. cf. Rev 1:1, 22:10f.

176. Various sets of unpublished "Pilgrim Notes" (notes taken by those who visited 'Abdu'l-Bahā or Shoghi Effendi which are often of great interest but which are not regarded as authoritative by Bahā'īs) exist which record sometimes in detail the comments of 'Abdu'l-Bahā and Shoghi Effendi on verses or whole chapters of the Apocalypse. They remain for the most part in MSS. Of particular importance are the notes taken by Ethel J. Rosenberg in 'Abdu'l-Bahā's presence in the Holy Land in 1901 and 1909 (See below; where I have consulted these notes I shall indicate this by the abbreviation Rosenburg PN) and explanations of parts of the Apocalypse given by Shoghi Effendi in the 1950's.
177. Most of Mīrzā Abū al-Fadl's writings from the 1880's onwards contain discussions of Biblical texts, including the Apocalypse, which have not infrequently determined subsequent Bahā'ī interpretation. Haji Mīrzā Haydar 'Alī's Bahr al-'Irfān (Bombay 1312/3.A.H. 1896-7.A.D.) contains comments on Biblical texts again including the Apocalypse.
178. I.G. Kheiralla, a Syrian Christian who became a Bahā'ī in 1890 and arrived in America in December 1892 where he succeeded in converting a large number of Americans by the late 1890's, made constant reference to the Bible in his missionary endeavours as is amply illustrated by a reading of his Beha'ullah (1st. Ed. 1900). He was converted by Hājī 'Abdu'l-Karīm Tehranī a merchant resident in Cairo who had a considerable knowledge of the Bible and who, after Kheiralla abandoned allegiance to 'Abdu'l-Bahā in 1899, travelled to America where he condemned him at the same time fostering the application of Biblical prophecies to 'Abdu'l-Bahā.
179. E. Marsella, The Quest for Eden (henceforth, QE., New York 1966),
180. R.J. Moffett, New Keys to the Book of Revelation (henceforth, NKBR, New Delhi 1977)
181. R.F. Riggs, The Apocalypse Unsealed (henceforth, AU, New York 1981).
182. cf. The letter of 'Abdu'l-Bahā published in Selections from the Writings of 'Abdu'l-Bahā, pp. 165ff, esp. p. 167. It may be noted here that the publications of Marsella, Moffett and Riggs all draw very heavily and without clear documentation on such "Pilgrim Notes" as we have mentioned above (fn. 176 above). The use of these "Pilgrim Notes" is sometimes unsatisfactory in that their import is misunderstood and when these writers express their own opinions there are frequent errors of historical and other scriptural facts.
183. For a synopsis of the Bahā'ī interpretation of Revelation chapters 8, 9 and 11:15f (the seven angels with seven trumpets), of minor interest in connection with our theme, see Appendix I.
184. I refer to what has become known as 'Abdu'l-Bahā's "Some Answered Questions" (See fn. 170 above). The original Persian text of the discourses collected in this volume was first printed by Brill of Leiden in 1908 under the title, Ar-Mīr Al-Abhā fi Mufawadāt Abdi'l-Bahā and published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd in the same year. Two sections in this volume deal with the interpretation of the Apocalypse: section XI on Rev. 11 (pp. 43-57, Persian text, pp. 35-48) and section XIII on Rev. 12:1-6. (pp. 62-66., Persian text, pp. 52-57).
185. Compare for example the interpretation of Revelation 11:19 given by 'Abdu'l-Bahā in SAQ. section XI, p. 56f (Persian text [see fn. 184 above] p. 46f) and that outlined by Mīrzā Abū al-Fadl in his Risāla-yi Istidlāl-uvvīh (written on the truth of 'Abdu'l-Bahā's being the centre of the Bahā'ī covenant after Bahā'u'llāh's passing, in the year 1317.A.H. 1900 A.D.) np.nd., p. 18.

186. Refer, SAQ. p. 43f, Persian text, p. 35. cf. Marsella, QE. p. 218f, Riggs, AU. p. 147f. cf. 'Abdu'l-Bahā's comments on Rev. 11:1 in SAQ. p. 43, Persian text, p. 35 where the "reed" is interpreted as a "perfect man" (انسان کامل) who is sanctified from all save God and subject to divine inspiration.
187. Refer, ibid.
188. Refer, ibid. A useful summary of modern scholarly opinions on Rev. 11 can be found in A. Feuillet's Johannine Studies (Chap. III, = Interpretation of Chapter XI of the Apocalypse), ET. Rev. T.E. Crane (New York, 1966).
189. Refer, SAQ. p. 62f, Persian text, p. 52f. On Revelation 12:1-2, 4b-6 see also the letter of 'Abdu'l-Bahā in Selections From the Writings of 'Abdu'l-Bahā, p. 172. cf. also, Haji Mīrzā Haydar 'Alī, Bahr al-'Irfān, p. 111f, Marsella, QE., p. 202f, Riggs, AU. p. 157f.
190. Refer, ibid. cf. also Bahā'ī World Vol. II (Rep. Wilmette, Illinois, 1980), p. 277 on Rev. 11 and 12 as interpreted by the 'Israeliish Assembly of the Bahā'īs of Tihiran, Persia' in a letter to the Bahā'ī House of Spirituality in Chicago dated May 9th 1904.
191. Refer, as fn. 189. cf. also J.R. Richards, The Religion of the Bahā'īs (London, 1932), p. 182f where objection is made to the fact that 'Abdu'l-Bahā regarded Abu Sufyan as an Umayyad in order to produce (with repetition) 10 names.
192. Refer, ibid (as fn. 189). On Rev 12:7ff see Riggs, AU. p. 160ff. Kheiralla was, in his interpretation of Rev. 12, influenced by H. Crattan Guinness's Light for the Last Days. In his Beha'ullah, Vol. 2. p. 467ff he states that Rev 12 concerns "the contemporary appearance of Mohammedanism and the Church of Rome, which should wage war against each other" (p. 468). cf. also E.G. Browne, Materials, pp. 139-140.
- Kheiralla, it is of interest to note, found prophecies about the activities and person of Mirza Yahyā in both the Old and New Testaments. Again, in his bulky work Beha'ullah (Vol. 2) he writes: "According to prophecy, Satan, the "adversary" of God should appear in the Kingdom, at the time of the "Manifestation", and, refusing to acknowledge his authority of revelation would be cast out, loosing the name which had been bestowed upon him. This name is the "Morning Star", "Sun of the East" or Subh-i-Ezel [sic]. This casting down of Satan out of Heaven, is the battle between Michael and His angels against the "adversary" of God [cf. Isa. 14:12f, Rev 12:7f, etc.]. By it we are taught that he should be cast from his high spiritual position, into the earth, meaning that he shall become earthly, materially minded and belong to the party of Cain. In the 49th chapter of Jeremiah, the adversary is given the name of "Esau", in contradistinction to the "Manifestation" [i.e. Bahā'u'llāh], who is termed "Jacob", implying that the "Satan" of the Kingdom, would be a brother of the Manifestation. All these prophecies were fulfilled literally in Subh-i-Ezel, a brother of Beha'u'llāh, who had been appointed by the Bab, but who, after the death of the Bab, refused to acknowledge "He whom God shall manifest" [the expected Man Yuzhiru'llāh of the Bābīs], thereby accomplishing his own dethronement and by his wickedness, being cast out of the Kingdom of God" (pp. 417-8).
- In his O Christians Why do Ye Believe Not on Christ? (1917) Kheiralla, in the course of a remarkable defense of the Bahā'ī assassination of the Azālīs at Akkā in 1872 (perhaps influenced by that passage from Bahā'u'llāh's al-Kitāb al-Aqdas quoted above— which Kheiralla had translated into English but never published), applies Rev 12:7ff to the Bahā'ī- Azālī controversy. At one point he writes: "On my part it gives me great delight to acknowledge it [the assassination of 1872] and greater satisfaction that it happened. Because, the happening of this event is a decisive proof that Christ was a Manifestation of God and that which he foretold was literally fulfilled. The war in heaven which Christ prophesied was on earth where the Father manifested Himself [at Akkā where Bahā'u'llāh lived in 1872]. This prophecy was fulfilled by the defeat of Satan (Azāl) and his angels by Michael (Beha'u'llāh) and his angels. [i.e. in Rev 12:7ff]" (pp. 62-3).

193. That Mu'awiya is the first beast of Revelation was an opinion expressed by Shoghi Effendi in a talk to the International Bahá'í Council according to some unpublished pilgrim notes dating from the 1950's.
194. Refer, Riggs, AU, p.165ff.
195. Refer, Riggs, AU, p.168ff, 217. The letter of the 'Israelitish Bahá'ís' (Jewish converts of the Bahá'í movement) mentioned above (in fn.190) identifies the second beast of Rev 13 with Mu'awiya (I, most probably): "Another prophecy is in the 13th chapter of Revelation , where the beast is mentioned as having " power given unto him to make war for forty and two months". This refers to the spirit of warfare which became manifest in Muawiah, who was a descendant of Bani-Umayya, who made war after the departure of Muhammad, and continued it until the secret declaration of Baha'u'llah to his disciples [i.e. until 1863 A.D.]" (p.278). Shoghi Effendi on the other hand is said to have identified the second beast with Yazid (I) ibn Mu'awiya (in the pilgrim notes mentioned in fn.193) who reigned for about 3 1/2 years (680-683 A.D.). For Marsella the second beast is the Abbasid dynasty as it is for Riggs (refer, QE, p.229).
196. Letter of 'Abdu'l-Bahá quoted (in part) in ET. in Riggs, AU, p.299. The Persian text of this letter to an individual Bahá'í is printed in MA, Vol.2, p.78.
197. In an unpublished Pilgrim Note attributed to Shoghi Effendi.
198. This line from an unpublished letter of 'Abdu'l-Bahá is referred to by Riggs, AU, p.302, who describes it as a "Pilgrim Note" though, if I remember correctly having had the opportunity some years ago to examine the "Notebook" of E.T. Hall, the Persian original as well as its English translation (the Persian original signed by 'Abdu'l-Bahá) appear to be authentic. In this letter, it may also be noted here, there is an explanation of the "New Jerusalem" as a pyramidal shape and the "two reapers" mentioned in Rev 14:14ff are interpreted as the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh.
199. cf. Kheiralla, Beha'Ullah, Vol.2, p.368, where the "abomination of desolation" (Matt 24:15) is reckoned to be Napoleon Bonaparte I especially in the light of his desecrating " the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, Aiká in 1799." Many 19th century students of the Apocalypse imagined that the beast whose number was 666 was Napoleon.
200. From a letter of 'Abdu'l-Bahá published (for the first time as far as I am aware) in Riggs' Apocalypse Unsealed, p.299 in English translation (I have not been able to locate the original text -which may be unpublished).
201. A Pilgrim Note ascribed to Shoghi Effendi, cf. Moffett, NKBR, p. It may also be noted here that Riggs, (AU, p.169ff), who introduces into his volume all kinds of astrological and qabbalistic nonsense (frequently based on erroneous gematric calculations), at one point writes: " Since Mu'awiyah committed an act of blasphemy by assuming the title of Caliph, it should not be surprising if his assumed title The Caliph has a value of 666 (p.170). He proposes the spellings $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\phi$ and $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi(\sigma\kappa)$ both of which he reckons add up to 666 by gematria [p.174]).
202. cf. D. Mac Eoin, Babism, Baháism and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution (unpublished paper), esp. p.12ff. On E.J. Rosenberg, Refer, O.Z. Whitehead, Some Early Bahá'ís of the West (Oxford 1976), p.55ff. Ethel Rosenberg's Pilgrim Notes were (I believe the original MSS have now been transferred to Haifa) kept in the British Bahá'í Archives in London. There are also some Pilgrim Notes recording a speech of Shoghi Effendi on Rev 16 which at times differ from those taken by E. Rosenberg and attributed to 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Riggs in his Apocalypse Unsealed appears to make use of them though his own ideas are also set down in his exposition of Rev 16. (refer. AU, p.197ff).

203. Refer, Rosenberg PN (cf. fn.176) .cf. Riggs, AU, p.199.
204. Refer, ibid. cf. Riggs, p.200. Kheiralla in his Beha'Ullah (Vol.2, p.377) holds that Rome is the "seat of the beast" (Rev 16:10) being the seat of Papal authority.
205. Refer, ibid. cf. Riggs, AU, p.200f.
206. Refer, ibid. cf. Riggs, AU, p.201
207. Refer, ibid. cf. Riggs, AU, p.201-2.
208. Refer, ibid. cf. fn. above and cf. Riggs, AU, p.202ff. On the significance of the "battle of Armageddon" for 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Bahá'í writers, see also, Star of the West Vol.5, No.11, p.163, Vol.7, No.7, p.53., Vol.7, No.9, p.85. Vol. 10, No.3, p.32. cf. Bahá'í World, Vol.II, p.52 and W. Tudor Pole, Writing on the Ground (London 1968), p.156, Kheiralla, Beha'Ullah, Vol.2, p.371.
209. Refer, ibid. cf. Riggs, AU, p.203-4.
210. Refer, ibid. cf. Riggs, AU, p.204. Instead of following the Rosenberg Pilgrim Notes Riggs (who frequently suppresses the more problematic or difficult interpretations recorded in them) , inspired by Shoghi Effendi's mention of the "three false gods" in his The Promised Day is Come (Wilmette, Illinois, 1981), p.113, makes a speculation as to the meaning of the division of the "Great City" that is his own.
211. Refer, Marsella, QE, p.191-2; Riggs, AU, p.207ff.
212. Refer, ibid. cf. also Riggs on Rev 18 in AU, p.213ff.
213. E.J. Rosenberg on her pilgrimage in 1901 (?) also took notes on the significance of Rev 20:5, 6, 9, 10, 13 and 15 (which I shall draw on below).
214. Refer, Moffett, NKBR, p. , Riggs, AU, p.219ff. cf. Marsella, QE, p.251-2.
215. Refer, Riggs, AU, p.220ff.
216. Refer, Rosenberg PN (cf. fn.213 above), Moffett, NKBR, p. , Riggs, AU, p.223ff.
217. Refer, ibid., cf. Riggs, AU, p.227-9.
218. Hamid Algar in his The Oppositional Role of the Ulama in Twentieth-Century Iran (in N.R. Keddie [Ed]. Scholars, Saints, and Sufis. [University of California Press 1972, pp.231-255]) notes that it was rumored during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1834-1848) " that the Qajars had been present in the Umayyad army at Karbala" and that such rumors (still very much alive today, the late Shah having been likened to Yazid) " gained particular currency and vigor in the period of the Constitutional Revolution." (p.233). cf. also Mac Eoin, art. cit. (fn.201 above), p.4ff.
219. The lengthy tradition of Mufaddal was known to and quoted by the Báb and the early Bábís in their writings. It is summarized in Sachedina, op. cit. p. 161ff.
220. D. Mac Eoin, The Babi Concept of Holy War in Religion 12 (1982), p.120 (for detailed references to the Bábí identification of persons and places mentioned in the eschatological Islamic traditions the reader is referred to this article).
221. Quoted in Sachedina, op. cit. p.63 (the tradition is attributed to the sixth Imam Ja'Far Sádiq) and appears to be a late fabrication designed to enhance or legitimate Safavid propaganda. Interestingly, Siyyid Muhammad Husayn Zavára'í's Ma'qay-i Mimiyya (Events in the Land of Mím [= Mazandaran]) an unpublished eye-witness account of the Shaykh Tabarsi episode (MS in Camb. Univ. Lib. Or. Ms. F. 28, item.1) refers to Mullá Husayn Bushrú'í as the "Qa'im of Khurāsán" and to Mulla Muhammad 'Alí Quddus as the "Qa'im of Jilan" (pp.1,3, etc). cf. Mac Eoin, The Babi Concept of Holy War. p.115.

222. See further below and cf. O. Donaldson, The Shi'ite Religion (London 1933), p. 237f. It may be noted here that the 'Dajjal-like' figure of the "bearded woman" (the beard probably implying a Jewess!) mentioned in Shi'ite eschatological traditions is identified in the Nuqtat al-Kāf with Sa'īd al-ʿUlamā, a cleric of Bārfurūsh who fulfilled prophecy by killing the ʿQā'im of Jilān' or Quddus towards the end of the Shaykh Tabarsī seige.
223. This is not to say that Shi'ite eschatology does not give Jesus a role to play: cf. Sachedina, op cit. p. 177f and see below.
224. Refer, Akka Lights (np.nd), p. 4.
225. Words attributed to ʿAbdu'l-Bahā in ibid, p. 6.
226. V.V. Vail's The Glorious Kingdom of the Father Foretold was published in 1940 by the Bahā'ī Publishing Committee of New York being 262 pages long.
227. Vail, Glorious Kingdom, p. 23.
228. Vail, Glorious Kingdom, p. 62-3.
229. Remy himself was eventually expelled from the Bahā'ī Cause as a "covenant breaker". For some details refer, Vernon E. Johnson, An Historical Analysis of Critical Transformations in the Evolution of the Bahā'ī World Faith (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Baylor University, 1974), pp. 242ff.
230. Refer, P. Smith, The American Bahā'ī Community, 1894-1917: A Preliminary Survey (unpublished essay), p. 85ff.
231. Remy, Letter to a Bahā'ī Assembly written from Hawaii and dated July 19th 1913 printed in Star of the West Vol. 4, No. 10 (Chicago, September 8th 1913) p. 172
232. For some details refer P. Smith, art. cit (fn. 230), p. 94ff. According to W.W. Harmon (refer his Divine Illumination [Boston, Mass., 1915], p. 8) ʿAbdu'l-Bahā said to him in August 1912 "I want you to write a book on 'Divine Illumination'. A year later he sent the MSS to ʿAbdu'l-Bahā and it was apparently approved in a letter to him dated April 20th 1914. Harmon's other major work is entitled The Seven Principles of the Microcosm and Macrocosm applied to the disclosures of Baha'ullah in the Book of the Seven Vallers (Boston, Mass., 1915). His writings came to be seen as heterodox if not heretical and he was branded a "covenant breaker".
233. Refer, M. Remy, The Protection of the Cause of God (completed 27th March 1918 and circulated privately in a limited number of copies.) pp. 24-5. cf. also, M. Remy, Report of the Bahā'ī Committee of Investigation 1917-1918 (privately circulated); idem, An Open Letter to the Bahā'īs in America (dated March 21st 1918 and privately circulated); idem, Firmness in the Covenant (dated 27th March 1918, but written in the Fall of 1914, and again privately circulated).
234. On the date of the treatise refer, M.A. Vol. 5, p. 198.
235. ʿAbdu'l-Bahā, Risāla-yi Siyāsīyya (nd.np.), p. 30. The text reproduced in Mīrzā Assad Allāh Fāḍil Mazandarānī's Asrār al-Āthār Vol. 2. (Tihran 128.BE./1970-71 A.D.) p. 232 (entry Dajjal) differs slightly from that aforementioned (omitting ج) after the word Dajjal).
236. Shoghi Effendi, from a letter quoted in High Endeavours: Messages to Alaska by Shoghi Effendi (National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahā'īs of Alaska, 1976), p. 69 (No. 85).

237. Shoghi Effendi, GPB, pp. 82, 164.
238. Eugene Flardin, Souvenirs de Voyages en Arménie et en Perse: II Téhéran et Ispahan (in Revede Esux Mondes, Vol. III, Paris 1851), p. 969, ET. in Momen, op. cit. p. 155.
239. Refer, for example, H. Balyuzi, The Bāb, p. 118ff.
240. The Bāb, extract from a letter to Muhammad Shāh, ET. H. Taherzadeh in Selections From the Writings of the Bāb (Haifa; 1976), pp. 25-6. cf. GPB, p. 23.
241. Refer, for example, H. Balyuzi, The Bāb, p. 121ff. Momen, op. cit. p. 154.
242. cf. Shoghi Effendi, GPB, p. 27., Momen, op. cit. p. 156.
243. Refer, Mīrzā Muhammad ʿAlī Zumuzī cited in Mīrzā Assad Allāh Fāḍil Mazandarānī, Kitāb-i Zuhūr al-Haqq, Vol. III (Cairo nd.) p. 35. cf. D. MacEoin, "Tahiriḥ" (unpublished account of the life of Tahiriḥ) chapter, Karbīla 1844, p. iv. fn. 20.
244. Refer, Hāji Mīrzā Jānī Kāshānī (?), Kitāb-i Nuqtatu'l-Kāf E. G. Browne (Ed) London and Leiden 1910, p. 118. ʿAbdu'l-Bahā in a talk delivered at Haifa on June 15th 1914 is reported as having stated, it may be noted here, "if from the beginning when His Holiness the Supreme (the Bāb) appeared, Hadji Mirza Aghasee (the prime minister of Persia, who caused the martyrdom of the Bāb, and in the orient is known as Dajjal, meaning anti-Christ or false Christ) and others, had not resisted this Cause, Persia would now have been the first country in the world and distinguished in every way" ET. Zia N. Baghdadi in Star of the West Vol. IX, No. 10 (Sept. 8th. 1918), p. 116.
245. D. Mac Eoin, "Tahiriḥ" (MSS. cf. fn. 243 above), chapter, Karbīla 1844, p. 3.
246. H. Corbin, Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth. ET. Nancy Pearson, (Princeton University Press 1977), p. 116.
247. Refer, Izhaq al-Bāṭil. Kirman 1351 Sh. 1973. A.D.
248. Refer, Tir-Shihāb. Kirman 1386. A.H./1966-7. A.D.; al-Shihāb al-Thāqib,
249. Refer, E. G. Browne, The Babis of Persia, II (see fn. 12 below), pp. 910-911.
250. From a letter of the Bāb cited in ʿAbd al-Hamid Ishraq Khavari, Qāmis-i Iḡān, Vol. 1. (Tehran 128.B.E./1971.A.D.), p. 42 ET. D. MacEoin in "Tahiriḥ" (MSS), fn. 23 (p. vi) to chapter Karbīla 1844. cf. also E. G. Browne, TN, II. (Note E), p. 242 where it is noted that the Bāb also stigmatized Karīm Khan as "the Quintessence of Hell-fire" (جوهر جوهر کل نار).
251. The first part of Zarrandī's history was edited and translated by Shoghi Effendi under the title, The Dawnbreakers, Nabil's Narrative of the Early Days of the Bahā'ī Revelation (1932). The original text has not been published.
252. Refer, The Dawn-Breakers. (ET. Shoghi Effendi, London 1953), p. 29. The Shi'ite notion of the bodily perfection of the messengers and Imāms is discussed by Siyyid Kāzīm Rashtī in his Risāla-yi Usūl-i ʿAqā'id (written in 1256. A.H., 1839-40. A.D. [in MSS]) p. 140.
253. Refer, ibid, p. 29.
254. Shoghi Effendi, GPB, p. 21. A. L. M. Nicholas, it may be noted here, in his Essai sur le Shaykhisme, II (Paris 1914) writes, "If according to Karīm Khan the Bāb and his followers are infamous and impious, for the Babis, Karīm Khan is the Anti-Christ or Dajjal foretold by Muhammad" (p. 31).

255. Words attributed to Siyyid Kāzim Rashtī by Shaykh Abū Turāb and quoted in The Lawn-Breakers, p. 50.
256. The extent to which the first two Shaykh s prepared the way for the advent of the Bahā'ī movement awaits detailed investigation in the light of the many Bahā'ī sources that attribute fairly explicit prophecies to them.
257. This Risāla is printed as an appendix to Mirzā Assad Allāh Fadl Mazandarānī's Kitāb-i Zuhur al-Haqq, Vol. 3 (Cairo nd.), pp. 502-532.
258. Refer. al-Karbālā'ī, Risāla, p. 516.
259. al-Qatīl ibn al-Karbālā'ī, ibid, p. 517.
260. Refer, ibid, p. 519. (I am grateful to Dr. Denis MacEoin for drawing this Risāla to my attention and allowing me to make use of his notes on it).
261. Bahā'u'llāh, Kitāb-i Iqān (ET. Shoghi Effendi), pp. 121-2.
262. Refer, Bahā'u'llāh, ibid, p. 118f. Karīm Khān's Irsād al-'Awām was published in its 3rd. Ed. (4 vols in 2) in Kirmān 1353-1355 /1934-1936. AD.
263. Bahā'u'llāh, Kitāb-i Iqān, p. 158. Text from Kitāb-i Mustatāb-i Iqān (Cairo 1934), p. 192.
264. Refer, 'Abd al-Hamid Ishrāq Khavarī, Qamūs-i Iqān, Vol. 4.. (Teheran 128.BE. 1971.A.D.), pp. 1791-2.
265. Refer, Ishrāq Khavarī, op. cit. (fn. 264), p. 1792.
266. See Appendix 2 (below).
267. Bahā'u'llāh, Lawh-i Qina' in Majmū'a-yi Alwāh-i Mubāraka. (Cairo 1920), p. 67f. Bahā'u'llāh, also condemns Karīm Khān in his 'al-Kitāb al-Addās (c. 1873). He expresses concern over the condition of the land of Kāf and Rā' (= Kirman) and later names Karīm Khān as one who turned aside from him in his vanity, as one who "turned back, fleeing" (cf. Qur'ān 27:10).
268. Bahā'u'llāh, Lawh-i Qina', in Majmū'a, p. 79.
269. cf. W.M. Watt. art. Abū Sufyān in EI² p. 157.
270. Acā'id al-Shī'a cited E.G. Browne, TN. II (Note 0/8), pp. 305-6.
271. Refer, Addresses by Abdel Karim Effendi Tehrani: Delivered before the New York & Chicago Assemblies, trans. Anton F. Haddad, Bahais Supply and Publishing Board, of Chicago Ill (1900), p. 43ff. 'Abd al Karīm was a Tehrani merchant who had settled in Egypt. He managed to convert Khairalla in 1890 (and was instrumental in bringing about his missionary journey to the United States) and himself became aware of Bahā'u'llāh's claims during the Adrianople period (1863-8) of his ministry. During the 'Akka period of Bahā'u'llāh's ministry he visited him at 'Akka and over the years received no less than 53 letters from him. 'Abd al-Karim expressed the purpose of his journey to the United States in the following terms, "I have come to this country to create harmony and mention peace among the believers, and praise be to God I have drawn the line of demarcation between the firm [believers] and the backsliders [' covenant breakers']" (ibid, p. 67).
272. cf. Johnson, Critical Transformations, p. 241ff., Mirza Assad Allāh, Instructions Concerning Genesis and the Mystery of Baptism (tr. Mirzā 'Alī Qulī Khān, np. nd), p. 22.
273. 'Abd al-Karim, Addresses, pp. 49-50.

274. 'Abd al-Karīm, ibid, p. 51.
275. Refer, ibid, p. 50. Though 'Abdu'l-Bahā did not claim Divinity for himself certain oriental and occidental Bahā'īs had, by 1900, identified him with Jesus Christ and other prophets regarded by Bahā'īs as "Manifestations of God". His supporters in other words elevated him to a rank beyond that which he claimed for himself. Hoping to underline his spiritual greatness and rank in order to confound the partisans of Mirza Muhammad 'Alī and other "covenant breakers" who challenged the authority of 'Abdu'l-Bahā, many early Bahā'ī writers thought of their "Master" as an incarnate divine being. It was not in fact until Shoghi Effendi wrote his The Dispensation of Bahā'u'llāh in 1934 that the rank or station of the Bab, Bahā'u'llāh and 'Abdu'l-Bahā were clearly and authoritatively expounded for Bahā'īs by one whom they regarded as the infallible interpreter of Bahā'ī scripture.
276. 'Abd al-Karim, ibid, pp. 50-51.