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# AN EARLY MUSLIM DANIEL APOCALYPSE

BY

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## 1. *Introduction to the Daniel genre of apocalypses*

The genre of Daniel apocalypses is one which is well-known to Judaism, Christianity as well as to Islam.<sup>1</sup> Frequently the name of Daniel appears in Muslim apocalyptic literature,<sup>2</sup> although Daniel is not one of the

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<sup>1</sup> See P. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley, 1985), p. 96. There are numerous “books” of Daniel extant: the three apocalypses analyzed by Alexander; “The Apocalypse of Daniel,” (trans. G. Zervos) in J. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), I, pp. 761-70; F. Macler, “Apocalypse arabe de Daniel,” *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* 49 (1904), pp. 265-305; H. Schmolt, *Die Schrift vom ‘jungen Daniel’ und ‘Daniel’s letzte vision’* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Heidelberg, 1972); Riccardo Maisano, *L’Apocalisse apocriфа di Leone di Costantinopoli* (Naples, 1975) [despite the title, it is a Daniel apocalypse]; K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesis* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976); and O. Meinardus, “A commentary on the XIVth Coptic vision of Daniel,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), pp. 394-449. On the Jewish side, there are the two Daniel apocalypses in S. Even-Shmuel *Midrashei Geula* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, n.d.), pp. 200-52: “Hazon Daniel” and “Ma’ase Daniel,” the latter of which is translated from H. Zotenberg, “Geschichte Daniels. Ein Apokryph,” *Archiv für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments* 1 (1869), pp. 385-427; J. Darmesteter (ed.), “L’Apocalypse persane de Daniel,” in *Melanges Leon Renier: Bibliotheque de l’Ecole de Hautes Etudes* 73 (1887), pp. 405-20—thanks to Prof. Shaul Shaked for these references; and the “Nevu’ot Daniel” forthcoming from Prof. M. Ben-Sasson (thanks to him for providing me with a copy). Maimonides mentions Daniel’s prophecies in the apocalyptic section of “Iggeret Teman,” in Y. Shailat (ed.), *Iggerot ha-Rambam* (Ma’ale Addummim: Ma’liot, 1988), I, pp. 87-88.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Nu’aym b. Hammād, *Kitāb al-fitan* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1993), pp. 272, 355; *Aḥbār al-Abbās*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Talī‘a, 1971), p. 170; ‘Umar b. Aḥmad Ibn al-‘Adīm (quoting Ibn al-Munādī), *Buḡyat al-talab fi tā’rīkh Ḥalab* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), I, pp. 491, 503; Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hāwī li-l-fatāwī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1982), II, p. 84; al-Wāqidi, *Futūḥ al-Ġazīra* (Damascus: Dār al-Baṣā’ir, 1996), pp. 36-37; Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Maqqisī, *al-Bad’ wa-l-tā’rīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), II, p. 165; and al-Qurṭubī, *al-Taḍkira fi ahwāl al-mawṭā*

prophets featured extensively in the Muslim stories of the prophets.<sup>3</sup> According to the early accounts Daniel's tomb was an attraction from the dawn of the conquests:

[Muṭrif b. Mālik]<sup>4</sup> said: 'I participated in the conquest of Tustar together with [Abū Mūsā] al-Aṣṣārī, and we found Daniel in Sūs [Shushan]. The people of Sūs when they gave a splendid funeral (*asnaw*) they brought him out and prayed for rain with him. We found 60 sealed earthen jars with him. We opened a jar close to them [the jars], in their middle and furthest away from them, and in every jar we found 10,000 [what?].' Hammām said: 'I think that he said 10,000' 'and we found together with them two bands (*rabṭatayn*) of linen, and also found four four-sided vessels, in each of them a book. The first man to come across this was [a man] from Bala'ngār called Ḥarqūš. He gave al-Aṣṣārī the two bands, and he gave him 200 dinars. Then he demanded the two bands from him after that, and refused to return the two of them, and instead divided them into turbans among his followers. We had a Christian workman with us called Nu'aym and he said: 'Sell me this four-sided vessel for whatever is in it.' They said: 'Even if there is no gold, silver or the Book of God in it.' He said: 'Even if the Book of God is in it' and they did not want to sell him the Book, so they sold him the four-sided vessel for two dirhems, and they gave him the Book.<sup>5</sup>

Although the chances are that this mysterious 'book of God' is not something which existed historically and is merely a literary fiction, its 'discovery' in this tradition paved the way for the acceptance of various Daniel apocalypses which were to find their way into Muslim literature.

Daniel apocalypses are well known from Jewish and Christian sources.<sup>6</sup> In general, they take two distinct forms. One involves a close literary

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(Cairo: Maktabat al-Imān, n.d.), p. 695; and compare Daniel visions interpreted in a Muslim way: Muḥammad al-Bāqī al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Wafā', 1983), XIV, pp. 367-68; and see John Bowman, "A British Museum eschatological fragment," *Muslim World* 38 (1948), p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> See Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ta'libī, *Arā'is al-mağālis* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Taqaḥa, n.d.), pp. 187-91; Raif Georges Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam depuis le Ier jusqu'au III<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Hégire d'après le manuscrit d'Abū Rifā'a 'Umāra b. Wathīma al-Fārisī: Kitāb baḍ' al-ḥalq wa-qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978), pp. 266-67, 272-76, 280-83; Sa'īd b. Hibbat Allāh al-Rāwandī, *Qisās al-anbiyā'* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Muḥīd li-l-Ṭibā'a wa-l-Naṣr, 1989), pp. 226-32; and Ibrāhīm b. Maṣṣūr al-Niṣapūrī, *Qisās-i anbiyā'* (Tehran: Pangāh-i Tarjamat va-naṣr-i kitāb, 1359 h), pp. 360-61.

<sup>4</sup> On him, see Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Isāba fi tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba* (Beirut: Dār li-l-Iḥyā al-Turāṭ al-'Arabī, 1328 h), III, pp. 496-97 (where this account appears).

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Abī Ṣayba, *Kitāb al-muṣannaf* (n.p., n.d.), XIII, p. 27 (no. 15665); and see further Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīḥ madīnat Dimāṣq* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995-98), LXVII, p. 160; see Y. Raghib, "Les premiers monuments funéraires de l'Islam," *Annales Islamologiques* 9 (1970), p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> See the summary in J.J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), pp. 53-60, 86-89.

dependency upon the Biblical book of Daniel, often in the form of a commentary upon it or a retelling of it in an updated form. The other form is an outgrowth of the book of Daniel and constitutes a semi-independent literary apocalyptic composition similar to the one translated in this paper. There need be no connection between the genre of Daniel apocalypses and the Biblical book of Daniel; these apocalypses simply employ the name for the sake of authority. However, the fact of the family of Daniel apocalypses raises the question of whether there is indeed a 'Daniel genre' which is common to Muslim as well as Jewish and Christian writers? There is a genre which is semi-independent from the Biblical one and is accepted and known throughout the inter-confessional society. Usually Daniel apocalypses, if there is indeed a unity to them, tend to be historical apocalypses, mostly lacking a moral element to them.

In the recently published *Kitāb al-malāḥim* of Ibn al-Munādī (d. 336/947) there is a lengthy Daniel apocalypse, one of the few text-length Daniel apocalypse known thus far. In content it is quite unique and worth a full translation as an example of the apocalyptic and social attitudes of Baḡdad during the late third-fourth/ninth-tenth centuries. This Muslim Daniel apocalypses follows the pattern of earlier historical apocalypses, largely leaving out moralistic comments. In fact, its closest literary parallel is to the family of Baḥīra apocalypses preserved in both Arabic and Syriac.<sup>7</sup> Like this Muslim Daniel apocalypse in Baḥīra the spirit is that of the middle 'Abbāsīd times, and the medium of delivery a historical apocalypse on a grand scale. But as an independent Muslim composition using the figure of Daniel it is divorced from the Biblical tradition, and employs none of the tropes common to both Jewish and Christian (and even some Muslim) Daniel apocalypses and fragments. Therefore it is difficult to speak of this apocalypse belonging to a 'Daniel' family in anything other than in name.

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<sup>7</sup> See Richard Gottheil (ed.), "A Christian Baḥīra legend," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 13 (1898), pp. 189-242, 14 (1899), pp. 203-68, 15 (1900), pp. 56-132, 16 (1903), pp. 125-66; for analysis, S. Griffith, "Muḥammad and the monk Baḥīra: reflections on a Syriac and Arabic text from early 'Abbāsīd times," *Oriens Christianus* 79 (1995), pp. 146-74; and also Stephen Gero, "The Legend of the monk Baḥīra, the cult of the Cross and Iconoclasm," in Pierre Canivet and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais (eds.), *Syrie de Byzance à Islam* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1992), pp. 47-57.

## 2. *Summary of the contents of the apocalypse*

This Daniel apocalypse can be divided up into eight distinct parts. There is an inexplicable break between parts three and four, where a number of events seem to have occurred, alluded to later in the text, and necessary for the story plot, which do not seem to be included inside the version currently preserved for us by Ibn al-Munādī. Since few other Muslim Daniel apocalypses are known,<sup>8</sup> and none of this complex literary character, it is unlikely that we will know precisely what has been dropped nor why exactly this material does not appear in the text. Perhaps we could assume that a page has been skipped over for some unknown reason.

The first part of the apocalypse describes the historical events leading up to the apocalypse. These events are more or less identifiable as the reigns of several of the middle ‘Abbāsids, primarily the caliphs al-Mu‘tamid through al-Muqtadir (roughly 870-930). This historical section is not only condensed, it is apparently divorced from the content of the larger theme and only sets the stage. The second part of the apocalypse begins to reveal the story line and is largely concerned with the rise to power of the Sufyānī, the messianic figure of the Syrian Muslims.<sup>9</sup> The picture portrayed here is of constant fighting between a number of regional messianic or tribal and political figures who have parceled out the Muslim empire. The apocalypticist seems to be aware of those figures in the region east of Tunisia: in Barqa, in Egypt, in Syria-Palestine, the Jazīra, Yemen and so forth. The Sufyānī does not initially achieve much success; it is not until he convinces the other local figures to work with him against the common enemy, apparently the ‘Abbāsīd caliph in Baḡdad, that he actually is able to aggressively move to subdue the eastern part of the empire. It is clear that both the Sufyānī and the ‘Abbāsīd ruler see themselves as larger than life figures, since the ‘Abbāsīd ruler, faced with an equally fractious group of subordinates, also manages to unite them using the fear of the Sufyānī as his impetus.

However, the Sufyānī is ultimately the victor in the power-struggle between these two blocs of Muslims, and he takes a terrible vengeance upon the eastern part of the empire, putting Kūfa to the sword and

<sup>8</sup> See al-Rāwandī, *Qisās al-anbiyā’*, pp. 232-37 for broken segments of another Muslim Daniel apocalypse.

<sup>9</sup> See W. Madelung, “The Sufyānī,” *Studia Islamica* 63 (1986), pp. 5-48.

sack, and ravaging through Persia. He does not appear to conquer further to the east, but sends a subordinate, the Zuhri, to take Medina and Mecca. At this point in the story, God, who has apparently favored the Sufyānī by granting him repeated victories, turns against this Syrian messianic figure. The Zuhri puts Medina to the sword and personally tortures members of the Prophet Muḥammad's family. God's punishment against the army which carried out these deeds is to have the wasteland swallow them up to their necks. Two of the Sufyānī's army are saved as messengers, one to be sent to the true messianic figure, the Ḥasanī—a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad's elder grandson al-Ḥasan—who is sitting, speaking with his relatives close to the Ka'ba in Mecca, and the other to the Sufyānī himself, to inform him of what has befallen his army.

The text breaks off after the Ḥasanī gathers his initial followers and witnesses the final swallowing up of the Sufyānī's army in the wasteland. Apparently (according to other texts) the Ḥasanī fights the Sufyānī in Syria-Palestine, where the Sufyānī is defeated and he flees to Byzantium, requesting political asylum from the emperor. The text resumes at this point, as the Ḥasanī is contemplating attacking the Byzantine empire. His pretext is obvious: the return of his enemy the Sufyānī; however, the Byzantine emperor has no trouble seeing through this request to divine his real intention, to conquer the Byzantines. The emperor however has some difficulty with dense generals and courtiers, who are reluctant to see this fact. Over a long period of time the Ḥasanī manages to finally subdue the Byzantine empire; however, this is merely the prelude to the fifth section, the rise of the Antichrist.

In the Antichrist narratives one can see the work of the apocalypticist in interpreting and fleshing out the bare bones of the Muslim apocalyptic materials to create a very believable story-line. The Antichrist's temptations are explored in detail, and in the end his authority is challenged first by al-Ḥiḍr<sup>10</sup> and then in a more final way by Jesus, who kills the Antichrist. This event will usher in the messianic kingdom with descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad supplying a dynasty of rulers. The apocalypticist balances out the conflicting claims of the descendants of the Prophet's two grandsons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, by having them alternate in power—a very creative solution to this difficulty. The

<sup>10</sup> On him, see I. Omar, "Ḥiḍr in the Islamic tradition," *Muslim World* 83 (1993), pp. 279-91.

end of the world is prolonged to the point where one wonders at all of the different devastations visited upon the unhappy inhabitants. After the messianic dynasty dies out, then a *mawlā* of the last ruler presides over the disintegration of his master's realm. Surrounded by deception, he requires the appearance of the *dābbat al-ard* (Qur'ān 27:82) who marks each person as either a true believer or as an infidel. The last section is characterized by the death of all true believers, whereupon the Qur'ān is removed from the world and the earth is overrun by Gog and Magog. Eventually they too are killed by God, who puts an end to the world. The eighth section is a curious addendum by Daniel himself, who asks the angel supplying him with the knowledge of the future an interesting question about the nature of the information imparted.

### 3. Sources of this Daniel apocalypse

Although we will probably never know exactly who produced this Daniel apocalypse, we are given a rare and interesting story about Daniel manuscript production in Baḡdad during the 4th/10th century from the anonymous *Raqā'iq al-hilāl fi daqā'iq al-ḥiyāl*, a book detailing tricks and stratagems of all types. It is worth quoting at length.

Another stratagem was from [Miškawayhi's] *Tagārib al-umām*: Abū Samar Bazanjī [Barzanjī?] told of a pleasant story about al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim's attaining the vizierate. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim was known as Ibn al-Ġammāl (the son of the camel-herder),<sup>11</sup> and he was a friend who lived next to me. He would invite me to the places in which he would conceal himself, take my advice and honor me for that truthfully and respectfully. So I made every effort to work for him and to use every connection and stratagem that he be awarded the vizierate.

The best thing that I did [for him] was with a man in Baḡdad who was known as al-Dāniyalī, who would associate with me, stay the night with me, and come to me every once in a while. He would tell me that he produced books which he ascribed to [the prophet] Daniel in an ancient script, and put down in them the names of leaders of the state with disjointed letters, so that when they are connected, they are understood.<sup>12</sup>

So he gained fame because of this and he established a store. Many gifts arrived to him because of this from al-Qāḍī Abū 'Umar and his son Abū al-Ḥusayn and the nobles of the state, and he won Muflīḥ over and became one of his private companions because he claimed that he had found [Muflīḥ] in the ancient books

<sup>11</sup> On him, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Waḡfī bi-l-waḡfiyat* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1948-), XIII, pp. 28-29. He was vizier for only seven months (319-20/931).

<sup>12</sup> E.g., in Nu'aym, *Fitan*, p. 64 listing the letters *m'wuy*, obviously meaning Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.

that he was a descendant of Ġaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>13</sup> That worked for him and many gifts arrived from him. It occurred to me to ask him for a section in one of the books that he was writing and that he would divulge there what I asked him to. He agreed to this and described al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim. I presented his description—his height, the remains of small-pox on his face and the mark on his upper lip, and the lack of hair there—and that if he would be made *wazīr*<sup>14</sup> by the 18th of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs, all the affairs would be straightened, he would dominate his enemies, conquering lands through him and the world would be settled [and peaceful] during his days.<sup>15</sup> I gave the manuscript to al-Dāniyalī, and he perfected it in the work of a folio which mentioned these things in it, and made it a chapter in his compositions.<sup>16</sup>

Eventually this spurious apocalypse was presented to the caliph al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-32),<sup>17</sup> who asked for a person matching the description given to be brought before him. The writer, al-Dāniyalī, was brought before the caliph as well, and was asked whether he knew anyone with this description, whereupon he feigned complete ignorance of the person behind the description. The writer laconically says that a few days later al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim was appointed *wazīr*. The apocalypse below is obviously not the same one which benefited al-Ḥusayn in this manner, but it is possible that this unique Muslim Daniel composition was penned by al-Dāniyalī himself, although for exactly what purpose may never be known. Internal evidence from the list of caliphs, which goes up to al-Rāḍī, who died in 329/940, would indicate that this apocalypse was either composed during the period between the beginning of his reign in 322/934 and the death of Ibn al-Munādī in 336/947, or at least updated during this time.

Although we cannot know precisely the name of the apocalyptic writer, we can surmise a few things on the basis of his literary creation. First of all, this apocalypse is unique in the Muslim apocalyptic

<sup>13</sup> The brother of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who was usually called Ġaʿfar al-Tayyar because he had both of his arms cut off at the battle of Muʿta, and the Prophet said that he saw him later in paradise with wings to replace the arms he had lost.

<sup>14</sup> Correcting from *wurra* to *wuzra*.

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps it would have been wiser for Ibn al-Ġammāl to have avoided thinking about messianic claimants, since ultimately he was executed just two years later because of his correspondence with a man who claimed to be the *bāb* for the *mahdī al-muntazar*: al-Šafadī, *Waft*, XIII, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Anonymous, *Raqāʿiq al-hilāl fī daqāʿiq al-hiyāl*, ed. Rene Khawwam as *al-Siyāsa wa-l-hīla ʿind al-ʿarab* (London: Dār al-Sāqī, 1988), pp. 164-65 (trans. here is mine); also trans. Rene Khawwam, *The Subtle Ruse* (London: East-West Publications, 1980), pp. 235-37.

<sup>17</sup> On him see *Encyclopedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup> (ed. C.E. Bosworth, *et alia*, Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1960-), s.v. “al-Muqtadir” (K.V. Zetterstéén and C.E. Bosworth).



tradition in a number of ways. It is longer than any other single apocalypse known (the closest one in length previously known is in Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād’s *Kitāb al-ḥitan* and is probably not originally of Muslim provenance),<sup>18</sup> and stands as a literary creation of relative completeness and detail unequaled in the Muslim apocalyptic genre until our own day. The writer has a profound grasp of the geography of the entire Muslim east between Ḥurasān and Egypt. He writes a plausible story, showing an understanding of the political realities of the fragmented Muslim empire of the time, always giving his characters a lively and sympathetic image. Most of them are fleshed out in a way unknown to other Muslim apocalyptic story-lines, where the characters are wooden and implausible. Strategies, deceits, tactics and weaknesses of the personalities figuring in the story are discussed in this apocalypse with a near-total frankness. None of the characters are entirely good, nor by the same token are any entirely evil (with the exception of the Antichrist), although most do terrible things at one time or another. This level of realism is not one common to Muslim literary religious composition, where usually the characters are presented in a black and white manner.

The writer has a good grasp of cause and effect. For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. When, for example, the Sufyānī thinks about stealing merchants’ boats so that he can cross the Euphrates River and defeat his ‘Abbāsīd foe, he realizes the paralyzing effect that this confiscation would have upon future commerce. He is already thinking like a ruler, not like a thug. Although some of his later actions entail senseless vengeance, there is always a balance. In some ways because the believability level of this apocalypse is much greater, it is also more blood-chilling to read the torture sections. Two stand out: when the Sufyānī’s deputy occupies Medina, he tortures two members of the Prophet Muḥammad’s family, a brother and a sister. This scene is extremely realistic and graphic, and one can feel the human emotion in this literary composition to a higher degree even than in well-known ‘factual’ Shi‘ite martyrologies such as al-Ḥafḥānī’s *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*, especially as the brother tries to look away as his sister is being dismembered. The second torture scene, that of the Antichrist’s ‘hell’—essentially a hothouse designed to cook people alive, with various herbs added to compound their dying agonies—is not as graphic,

<sup>18</sup> See M. Cook, “A Muslim apocalyptic chronicle,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993), pp. 25-29; the original text is in Nu‘aym, *Ḥitan*, pp. 429-32.

but it feeds on more unspoken fears. No one is described entering into it, but upon reading the description of it, one can appreciate why it would be difficult to refuse the Antichrist's temptation. Nor is the Antichrist a ridiculous figure in this apocalypse, as he is in all other Muslim apocalypses. In this presentation, his temptation is entirely believable and would be difficult to resist.

Another realistic element is the war with the Byzantines. This writer shows a good understanding of the nature of the war. The Byzantine emperor's private conversations with his generals and courtiers are realistic and plausible. The machinations of the courtiers are very colorful, especially when one of them murders the Sufyānī, who has taken political asylum in Constantinople, because the emperor is unwilling to accomplish this deed and save the empire from an unnecessary conflict. This action, which appalls the Byzantine emperor—who also sees it as an act which will lead inevitably to war with the Muslims—is presented as the result of a deep division over policy. The courtier who accomplishes the deed justifies his action in a plausible light, saying that it was done for the good of the nation, and that the indecision of the emperor over the question of the Sufyānī was in itself leading to disaster. The Byzantine emperor's obvious reluctance to go to war, the mostly defensive strategy he employs, and his incessant appeals for peace ring true. In fact, it is easier to applaud the emperor than it is the Ḥasanī who pursues him constantly without good reason (as a matter of fact, the Byzantine emperor appears on numerous occasions to perceive the motives of the Ḥasanī more clearly than the latter does himself).

There are far more names given in this apocalypse than all other known Muslim apocalypses combined, as Daniel himself notes towards the end of the apocalypse, when he questions first an angel and then God Himself as to the meaning and function of these names. These names include both lesser apocalyptic figures (those which were not ultimately adopted into the Muslim apocalyptic scenario in either its Sunnī or Šīrī variants), and the commanders and subordinates of the leading figures. Most of the nicknames given to the important figures (i.e., the Sufyānī, the Zuhrī, the Ḥasanī) are at one time or another given as full names in the text, with genealogy and tribal affiliations. This level of realism, in essence identifying plausibly the support base of each of the major figures, shows the apocalyptic writers' profound grasp of contemporary politics during this period. Other interesting elements are the fact that this apocalypse brings women into the action

far more than does any other apocalypse known to me. In every section there are women who are principal players, and some are even given names, such as those from the Prophet's family. But more than the names, it is clear that the writer was emphasizing the worth and position of women believers in the story of the end of the world. The apocalypticist makes sure that whenever male believers are mentioned, women are as well. Another interesting element is the use of the Qur'ān. There are a number of Qur'ānic citations in this composition—unusual in a Muslim apocalypse—and allusions to the holy book. It is clear that the author has made a maximum effort to work into his story-line as many of the relevant verses as possible.

The religious affiliations of the writer are in doubt. First of all, let us consider the evidence. He regularly refers to the 'Abbāsīd dynasty as 'kings', which is not only not very common for Muslim writers during this time period (since their supporters referred to them as 'caliphs', while their opponents, the Šī'ites, referred to them by curses and pejorative nick-names) but it stands out in the Muslim apocalyptic genre as a whole. The Turkish soldiers of the 'Abbāsīds are clearly hated by this writer. Secondly, the references to the figure of the Sufyānī, the so-called 'national hero' of the Syrians and often also of anti-'Abbāsīd Sunnīs in 'Iraq, are not positive ones. Initially this figure is portrayed in neutral terms, but towards the end of his career he becomes more and more cruel and is finally overthrown by the real hero of the story, the Ḥasanī. While one therefore should be able to isolate this apocalypse as a Šī'ite Zaydī or Ḥasanī piece, there are no obvious Šī'ite motifs within the composition. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is referred to as the *walī al-mu'minīn* and not *amīr al-mu'minīn* as he usually is in Imāmī Šī'ite writings. Although there is a great deal of sympathy for the Prophet's family, there is no recognition of their inherent right to rule. Nor does the apocalypse have any literary relationship with the lines of Imāmī Šī'ī apocalyptic, which had mostly been developed by this period.<sup>19</sup>

There can be no question that the Ḥasanī family, after it was essentially cast out of the Šī'ite fold as a result of their forefather al-Ḥasan's willingness to give up the caliphate to Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān in 661, was acceptable to the larger Sunnī community as the genuine messianic family. This surrender of power, which is so inexplicable to Šī'ites

<sup>19</sup> See my *The Hour shall not arrive until . . . Studies in Classical Muslim apocalyptic* (Princeton: Darwin, forthcoming).

(because of the Imāms' collective infallibility)<sup>20</sup> eventually became attractive to Sunnī apocalyptists for the very reason that it signified an unworldly lack of desire for power, a characteristic not common to the other families of the tribe of Qurayš. Therefore, later Sunnī apocalyptists often chose the descendants of al-Ḥasan as the messianic family. This apocalypse is probably the product of anti-ʿAbbāsīd Sunnī groups in Baġdad, and written during the Buwayhid period when the prestige of the ʿAbbāsīds was low. One should note that the writer tries to hold out a compromise solution to the problem of the messianic family by alternating the rule between the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. The final ruler, in any case, is a *mawlā* not belonging genealogically to either of these families.

This Daniel apocalypse stands virtually alone in the genre of Muslim apocalyptic writings. It is a unique popular literary composition, probably composed in Baġdad during the 4th/10th centuries, although it is possible that it is based upon earlier documents and ideas. One must note that it does not show a literary dependency or awareness of the vast Muslim apocalyptic genre—this apocalypse is not a number of *ḥadīths* strung together. There is a great deal of freedom in the writing; the writer uses older motifs, but does not hesitate to branch out and use what is apparently his own imagination to flesh out the scenario and make it more believable. This is a developed apocalypse in every sense of the word, and deserves to be ranked with other great medieval apocalypses of the same period.

#### TRANSLATION OF THE DANIEL APOCALYPSE<sup>21</sup>

“Abū Sulaymān ʿAbdallah b. Ġarīr al-Ġawaliqī<sup>22</sup> told me, he said: ‘A man from *ahl al-kitāb* [Jews and Christians] known for collecting [accounts of] apocalyptic wars told me that this book was heard among their elders, who almost never give it to anyone they do not trust to conceal it because of their knowledge of the amazing apocalyptic wars to come contained within it, and so I left [concerning myself with] the

<sup>20</sup> See E. Kohlberg, “Some Imāmī Šīʿī interpretations of Umayyad history,” in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Edwardsville: University of Southern Illinois, 1982), pp. 145-59.

<sup>21</sup> Trans. from Ibn al-Munādī, *Kitāb al-malāḥim* (Qumm: Dār al-Sīra, 1418/1997), pp. 76-111; selections appear in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buġyat al-ṭalab*, I, pp. 503-5.

<sup>22</sup> I could not trace him.

past books, and began with that at the end of the of the lifetime of [the caliph] al-Mu‘tamid<sup>23</sup> until the end of the book’:

### I. *Historical introduction*

Daniel, in his book, describes this:

Heat will be stirred in the king because of the drink (alcohol), and it will destroy him. Then after him a man will reign, with a white mole on his head, and previous to him will be the son of the king in whom the heat was stirred—and he was deserved of blame, and in the straitened [astral] conjunction.<sup>24</sup> The lands will be disagreement because of the plethora of Ḥawāriḡ, *ṣa‘ālik*, *akrād*, Bedouins, and highwaymen, and [they will] break away from the caliphate. It was said, in secret, that his killer was the man with the mole who managed things (*tawallā al-am*).<sup>25</sup> The tyrants (*al-ḡabābira*) in the extremities of the world obey him, and the matter of the [common] people was straightened during his time; both small and great in awe of him, and he will stay in power for 10 years, and then will die.

His son after him will manage things, and reign less than eight years and then die.<sup>26</sup> [77] Then a youth who has not reached puberty will manage things,<sup>27</sup> and during his time will be the state of concubines, boys, and eunuchs. The people will broaden their trade and their estates until the poor become rich and corruption in all of the cities will be great because of the insolence which brought them out to disobedience of God. He will stay 22 years and then be removed and stay three days, and then return to the kingship, reign less than three years and then be killed publicly.<sup>28</sup>

His brother will manage affairs after him,<sup>29</sup> and then after his brother, his son.<sup>30</sup> Then variance and disputes will occur between the commanders of the non-Arabs (*‘aḡam*), and they will continue removing caliph and putting a caliph [in his place], and dismissing whoever they

<sup>23</sup> Ruled 256-79/870-92; on him see *EI*<sup>2</sup> s.v. “al-Mu‘tamid” (H. Kennedy).

<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to know exactly what this is, but most probably it is the comet of 278/891 (beginning on May 12, 891; see G. Kronk, *Cometography* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], p. 140).

<sup>25</sup> al-Mu‘tamid’s brother al-Muwaffaq.

<sup>26</sup> al-Mu‘taḍid (279-89/892-902).

<sup>27</sup> al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8).

<sup>28</sup> al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-32), during whose reign al-Dāniyālī the forger was active.

<sup>29</sup> al-Qāhir (320-22/932-34).

<sup>30</sup> al-Rāḍī (322-29/934-40).

want, and putting in their place whoever they want<sup>31</sup> for a not very long period until the control will pass after that finally to a man from the descendants of the seventh king<sup>32</sup> who will manage the affairs of the people.

## II. *The appearance and rise of the Sufyānī*

Then a man from the family of the third king who is called al-Sufyānī, ‘Anbasa b. Hind,<sup>33</sup> will manage after a few months.<sup>34</sup> He is a youthful man, stocky, with a harsh face, with a huge head, on his face the marks of small-pox, with a severe cataract in the left eye—so that anyone who sees him thinks that he is blind in one eye. The Arab tribes will gather to him, and the supporters of the Sufyānī will be many, and his rule will be great. A man from Rabī‘a will rise up against him, and fight him for a month, and the Jurhumī will take advantage of the Sufyānī’s distraction with the Rabī‘ī, and will overwhelm him [78] at Ḥimṣ. The Aṣhab will appear in Naṣr, the Jaḥafī will appear in Istaḥr in Fāris, and the Bārī will appear in Māsandān and overwhelm the hills close by to it.<sup>35</sup> A man from al-Anbār will rebel against the Jaḥafī, and the Jaḥafī will fight him with the *akrād* until there will be many killed between them, so the Jaḥafī will invite him to a truce with the proviso that he governs Fāris, and he will place him as his representative (*ḥalīfa*). He will come to him and be with him, and will chose to govern half of the land of Fāris and the [territory of] al-Ahwāz which is beside it. The land will be consumed by tribulation and war, and he will send to him and invite him to submit to him, and put him as his representative. But the Jurhumī will not respond.

<sup>31</sup> The Bwayhids are obviously those being described here.

<sup>32</sup> The “seventh king” is either al-Ma’mūn, the seventh of the ‘Abbāsīd family to rule or perhaps one of the Umayyads. The numbering system here, obviously, indicates that the apocalypse has been shortened and that the earlier part is not cited by Ibn al-Munādī. However, if, as it says in the next sentence, the Sufyānī is from the family of the “third king” (i.e., apparently Mu‘āwīya II), then the “seventh king” could be ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who was clearly a messianic figure to Sunnī Muslims.

<sup>33</sup> The Sufyānī has many optional names: ‘Abdallāh (Nu‘aym, *Fitan*, p. 167); Ḥālid b. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān (Nu‘aym, p. 425), and others.

<sup>34</sup> Sufyānī appearances were a constant in Syria for some 700 years after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty. The most recent recorded one previous to the appearance of this apocalypse would have been in 294/906: Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil fī t-tārīkh* (Leyden: E.J. Brill, reprint), VII, p. 553.

<sup>35</sup> These are all tribal messianic names. With the exception of al-Aṣhab, they are unknown from other sources.

The Sufyānī will give a speech to his followers on the pulpit of Damascus: ‘O people of this city (*miṣr*),<sup>36</sup> O people of Damascus, you are my flesh and blood and I am the enemy of your enemy, [79] and the beloved of your beloved.’ He will raise their hopes and promise them that he would never demand anything from them. Then he will go out to his camp in Wadī al-Yābis,<sup>37</sup> and the Jaḥafī will invite him to a truce, but he will not respond. The land will be consumed with tribulation and war, and during that time the high king,<sup>38</sup> and those with him—his closest *mawālī* and others—will be without provisions and no revenue will come to them.

So he will send to his cousins in al-Madīna al-‘Ātiqa, and his supporters among the people of Ḥurasān [to say] that ‘the land has turned against us and against you—no revenue is coming to us nor to you, so why are we fighting, ourselves and our army. Let’s make a truce and work together (*naḡtamī kalimatānā*), and be united against our enemy. We will write and you will write to our cousins in Baṣra and our brothers among the people of Baṣra in the same manner as we have invited you to a truce, and we will all gather together and fight our enemies. If you do not do [this] and we do not, we will all perish through killing and starvation.’

They do that and make a truce, and swear allegiance to the high king, and take out loans from the merchants and prepare for war with their enemies. The lord of Baṣra will go to al-Anbār and the people of al-Madīna al-‘Ātiqa will go to al-Bakrī who is in Māsandān, and fight one with another. The Barqī will go to the Ġurhumī. [80] Then they will make a truce on the condition that the Barqī return to Barqa, and each one will make peace with his fellow and not fight him, and each one of the both of them will be in his [own] territory. As for the Jurhumī, he will control the land of Syria, and as for the Barqī he will control from the boundary of Barqa and what is beyond Barqa to the west (or to Morocco)—on the condition that whenever anyone fights with either of them, the other will come and help him. They made a truce on that basis.

<sup>36</sup> It is very unusual for Damascus to be characterized as a *miṣr* (usually meaning a central city founded by the Muslims in the immediate wake of the conquests); however, perhaps by this period the word had come to mean more of a capital city of a province.

<sup>37</sup> This is the locality from which the Sufyānī is traditionally supposed to appear. See Nu‘aym, *Fitan*, pp. 166, 425-26.

<sup>38</sup> I.e., the ‘Abbāsīd ruler.

Then the Ġurhumī will go to the lord of Egypt and fight him, and the Egyptian will defeat him, and then they will mutually invite each other to a truce so that they can all be against the Sufyānī, and they make a truce on that basis. The Ġurhumī will return to Syria and the Egyptian will remain in Egypt. Then the Sufyānī will rise among the people of Damascus and say: ‘O people of [Damascus]. I am a man from among you, and you are the closest to my grandfather<sup>39</sup> Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. He governed you previous to his kingship, and he did well as did you. Then his lord (*sāhib*) was killed and he demanded revenge—asking your aid, and you gave him aid. Your nobles were killed with him and I this day ask vengeance for the people of my family, and vengeance for those of your nobles who were killed. Who is more worthy to aid me than you?’ They will call out affirmatively and swear allegiance to him.

Then he will write to the Ġurhumī inviting him to submit to him on the condition that he would govern in his place, when the matter was set right, and that he would add to it and not take what he already had, and he replied affirmatively. Then he will write to al-Barqī in the same manner. All of these and others from every land had already been made aware, and had heard from their learned ones that a man called the Sufyānī would rebel against the king of that time and he would overcome him, and overcome every one who makes war against him until he reigns and makes the affairs of the kingdom right. So they respond to him. [81] The Ġurhumī will come to him and swear allegiance to him. The name of the Ġurhumī is ‘Uqayl b. ‘Aqqāl, and then the Barqī will swear allegiance to him and follow him. The name of the Barqī is Hammām b. al-Ward. The Ġurhumī will be placed over the horsemen,<sup>40</sup> and the Barqī over the foot-soldiers—and their closest associates over the horsemen and foot-soldiers, each one governor over his area on the authority of the Sufyānī.

Then the lord of Egypt heard about this news and sent to him [the Sufyānī] with his allegiance, but he will not be satisfied unless he comes personally. So he will come and swear allegiance, and he will return him to Egypt. But the people of Egypt will refuse him [their lord] entry, and so he will return and inform the Sufyānī. The Sufyānī will go to them, and the people of Egypt will come out to him, and meet they will him in battle. They will fight on the bridge of Farmā or near

<sup>39</sup> I.e., ancestor.

<sup>40</sup> Reading *ḥayl* in place of *ḡabal*, which makes no sense.



it for seven days, and then the people of Egypt will depart. About 70,000 people will have been killed, and then the people of Egypt will conclude a peace with him and swear allegiance to him, and he will leave them and go back to Syria. He will appoint his commanders, and he will appoint a man from Haḍramawt over Armenia and what is beside it, and appoint a man from Khuḏā'a over the borderlands of the Byzantines from the side of al-Andalus, a man from Banū 'Abs over the borderlands of the Byzantines which are by Ashkelon, and a man from Banū Taġliba over the area which is beside Syria below Armenia to the border of Maṣīṣa.<sup>41</sup> He will send the Barqī to Ifrīqiyā, and they will meet [in battle] and fight three days. More than 80,000 people of Ifrīqiyā will be killed and then the people of Ifrīqiyā will ask for a peace from the Barqī, and will swear allegiance to the Sufyānī through him. He will appoint a son of his over them and then return to Barqa. [82]

He will write to the Sufyānī with that, and ask to appoint his son over the area of Barqa and its environs, or whoever he wants, and he will do this. Then the Sufyānī will go to Barqa, while his deputy over his army is a man from Banū Zahra of Ṭayy' called al-Zuhrī, al-Mu'ammal b. Nabāta, and over his vanguard [a man] from Juhayna, whose name is al-Miqdam b. al-Ḥaqal. His departure will reach the king and the people of Iraq, and they will say to the king: 'This man we have been informed rules, and he kills everyone who makes war with him—of those who fight him hoping to defeat him. Nay, let's stay home or flee from him if he comes to us!' That will reach the king and he will think evilly of it, and will gather his closest Turkish associates and the non-Arabs [Persians] from the army of Ḥurāsān and others, and he will say to them: 'We cannot master this enemy, and we cannot fight him without those who see as you do, so prepare for fighting him, and leave the other fronts alone.'

Then he will gather the family of the kingship and their *mawālī* and send to his cousins, the tribe of the Prophet—they being the Banū Hāšim—to inform them that 'this is the Sufyānī, whom they would find in the reports of the learned elders, that he would appear and kill everyone he could of its descendants and their *mawālī*. The opinion is that you should go out to him at the head of your *mawālī* and your slaves and whoever obeys you, and we will fight him over our persons

<sup>41</sup> The word *tughūr* appears to be used here in the broadest sense.

and our kingdom until we either are victorious or perish. If we hold off fighting him, he will not [desist] from us. Whenever he can get a hold of any of us either male or female, nothing will be left for him other than killing and destruction.<sup>42</sup> So they will gather together and be sent out towards him in seven armies, each one following the other. In the first of them is the largest army of Turks and non-Arabs (*ʿaḡām*) of the army of Ḥurāsān, and the other people who obey them. With the exception of the ignorant, none of the other people of the other cities will go out with them, because of the fact that they were informed that the Sufyānī would kill everyone over whom he was victorious until they reached their lands. Then they would fight him over their women and the towns of the armies of the king. [83]

The first [army] will go until it camps in Raqqa, with the second army one stage beyond it, then the third one stage beyond the second, then the fourth one stage beyond the third, then the fifth one stage beyond the fourth, then the sixth one stage beyond the fifth, and then the seventh one stage beyond the sixth. The commander of the first will be killed, together with the Turks and the others—being over 70,000—and they will make haste to go to Raqqa. The Sufyānī will meet them [in battle] and fight them for a day and a night during mid-month in moonlight. He will kill 100,000, most of them from the army of the king. Then the army of the king will retreat towards Raqqa—and the people of Syria will have heard the news from the people of each of these cities, [about] the goings of the Sufyānī, his meeting [in battle], him and the army of the king. They will say: ‘We will go with the winner.’

The Sufyānī will go behind them to Raqqa and meet them [in battle] and fight, and the Sufyānī will retreat from the army (*jund*) of the king. All of the armies (*ʿasākīr*) will gather together below Raqqa and their number will be incredible. Then they will meet [in battle] and fight, and the army of the king will retreat, with the Sufyānī following them fighting every day while they are still retreating until they reach al-Anbār in the land of ʿIraq. The army of the Sufyānī will be on the western side [of the river] and in it [that area] the army of the king will give battle to them. When they went to al-Anbār, the army of the king formed a bridge, and crossed below al-Anbār about a half a day’s journey, and then broke the bridge, and took out the boats [forming]

<sup>42</sup> Reading *damar* in place of *ḡimār*.

the bridge and other objects so that the Sufyānī would not be able to form a bridge and cross after them. But the Sufyānī will have boats taken from Raqqa—where his treasure is, and he put his treasure, and the provisions of straw, barley and flour in addition to the boats of the merchants which had flour in them—and also all the different dates, fruits and other things which they sell. He will say to the merchants: ‘Remove what you have in your boats and put it on the shore.’

Then he will gather all of these boats and form a bridge, and then will send across the Euphrates and bring the boats to form [84] for the merchants a bridge, and return their boats to them or give them in exchange for them [which were lost]. This action will endear [him to them] and bring them to see him favorably. So he formed a bridge and kept it. Then he will send to the lower part of the Euphrates to bring the boats which are there—and behold! the boats there are better made and larger than the boats he had with him previously. When he saw them thus he bought them and made a bridge, and returned those boats to their owners.

Then the Sufyānī will cross and meet the army of the king [in battle] below the Euphrates, and they will fight and half of the king’s army will be killed. The rest will retreat to a place called ‘Āqir Qūf[a]—there are gardens, palm trees, trees and rivers each feeding into the other. The Sufyānī will order all of his commanders, and they will go, enter and fight the army of the king into the city of the king. Then he [the king] will send to all of those who wish for his victory all along the banks of the Tigris to the land of al-Ġibāl to al-Bašra, to al-Ahwāz and Fāris that they should help him. 300,000 people will gather together with him, and they will camp along 3 leagues of the Tigris, between ‘Āqir Qūf[a] and the Tigris in an easterly direction, and towards the Euphrates. The Sufyānī will follow them, and fight them with the most fierce battle ever fought until that time. The army of the king will be defeated and [the Sufyānī] will follow them to the Tigris, and surround them. Most them will be drowned; they will throw themselves into the Tigris and drown. Some of them will flee to below that, to Madā’in Kisrā, and the king will stay in the city.

The Sufyānī will fight them and the king will come out to them, and descend at the gate of the city of the king. He will cause his troops to line up around the city—surrounding the city of the king are walls which were built around the modern city (*al-madīna al-ḥadītha*) [85] which have not been strengthened since. With this Qaysī there are a group of Bedouin, together with their women and children, fighting on a flank

ordered by the king. His flank is secured, and the Qaysī left another army behind also, commanded by some of the officers of the king. He had already surrounded them with the walls of the city so that the army of the Sufyānī would not enter into it and fight them. The Sufyānī continued to fight them and prevent them from going from the upper city to the lower part of it, and the Sufyānī sent an army to al-Madā'in to enter into it and all of the boats—to form a bridge to the lower part of the city from the boats.

Half of his army will cross the river and besiege the city of the king for a month, and then demolish the walls, enter the city and kill the men in the alley-ways, market-places and roads. They will enter the courts [of houses] and kill them inside of them, taking the possessions and furnishings, taking the women, girls and boys who looked nice to them, taking the daughters of the Qaysī, who are his [own] people, and seating them behind them [the soldiers]—there will be anklets of silver flashing [in the sun] as they [the women] are riding behind the Turks. The news of the defeat will reach the king, and he will leave the city, passing concealed, fleeing from house to house, from road to road until he escapes and reaches Ḥulwān. The Qaysī will be enraged and call to his Qaysī commanders: 'Bring us these people who have taken our women-folk (*harīm*) so that we can fight them until we either redeem our women-folk or die [in the process].' So they go out and when the women see them [the soldiers], they will throw themselves from their mounts, and meet up with the Qaysīs [86] who are drawing their swords. Some of the Turks will be killed—and the other Turks will flee from them, since they are few. They [the Qaysīs] then will take their women and return.

Then the city will be conquered and the Sufyānī will ask about the king. They will say: 'He has already fled' and the king will appear openly in Ḥulwān, and the Banū Hāšim will gather to him, together with their *mawālī* with an army, most of whom had already made up their mind to die at the hands of the Turks, since most of them had been killed. The Sufyānī will go to them, and enter Ḥulwān, and he will kill approximately 50,000 and the king will retreat, with his commanders separating from him. On that day no single Turk in the army of the king will remain alive, and the king will flee to Ḥurāsān. The Sufyānī will return to al-Madā'in and settle there, delivering the Friday message to his supporters. He will wear red clothing and have a green headdress on his head, and be a ruddy youth, with a course face, a huge frame and remains of small-pox on his face. His left eye will be

crossed and any who do not know him will think that he is blind in one eye, but he is not blind in one eye.<sup>43</sup>

### III. *The downfall of the Sufyānī and the appearance of the Ḥasanī*

He will then descend from the pulpit and appoint his commanders, and nominate the governors over all the regions conquered. He will order [that] his deputy [be] the Zuhrī, his name being ‘Ubayd b. Nabāta al-Zuhrī, the second Mālik b. al-Miqdam brother of al-Miqdam al-Juhanī, the third al-Mu‘ammar b. ‘Abbād al-Hilālī, the fourth al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Amr al-‘Absī, the fifth Naṣr b. Mansūr al-Qaysī, who is the son of ‘Umar b. ‘Amr al-Qaysī, the sixth Ġālib b. ‘Āmir al-Kalbī, the seventh ‘Amāra b. ‘Aqqāl al-‘Āmirī, the eighth Mīsmā‘ b. Sālim al-Raba‘ī al-Šaybānī, the ninth Wā’il b. Rabī‘a al-Yaškurī, and the tenth Masrūq b. Maš‘āda al-Taġlibī from Taġlib Rabī‘a.<sup>44</sup>

He will then order the Zuhrī to go to Kūfa and if they obey and swear allegiance to him, to take their allegiance, and to appoint a man from among them who is satisfactory (*yardā’hu*) to him [to rule], and to go to Medina and then to Mecca, and if they refuse [to swear to him] and fought him, to fight them. If he defeats them, to kill the men and to take the women and children prisoner, to take the possessions. He went to Medina and did just that, and then went to the Yemen and did just that. So the Zuhrī went, and Wā’il b. Rabī‘a al-Yaškurī went to Bašra and its lands, and ‘Amāra [87] b. ‘Aqqāl al-‘Āmirī went to Ḥurāsān—he being the deputy (*ḥalīfa*) of the Sufyānī’s son—and each one of those went to the direction to which he was directed to go, and fight the people there and be victorious over them. The matter will be straightened for him [the Zuhrī] in the Sawād plain of Babylon, in the land of Bašra, in al-Ahwāz, and Fāris, with the exception of the people of Kūfa—and he will do battle with them four days, and defeat them and enter Kūfa. He will kill the men, enter into the women, and kill whoever resists him. How many pregnant women will be cut open at the belly (*mabqūrāt al-baṭn*), how many virgins deflowered, and how many new-borns smashed, wealth stolen and young virgins

<sup>43</sup> This sentence is probably designed to distinguish the Sufyānī from the Antichrist.

<sup>44</sup> Although it is not possible to trace any of these names, and it may very well be that they are literary creations and not real people under any circumstances, one can get a very good idea of the tribal support available to the Sufyānī by examining their *nisbas*.

uncovered!—led around like the Byzantines or infidel captives are led around. He will stay there for 10 days.

Then he will camp between Hīra and Kūfā and write about this to the Sufyānī, and he will write to him: ‘You have done well; divide the spoils between your followers and turn your face towards the destinations I told you to go towards.’ So he will divide the captives and the possessions between his followers and go towards Medina. The people of Medina will gather together and ask to give him wealth (tribute) not to enter into their city and to leave them [alone]. He will refuse this to them, and fight and defeat them, and enter Medina. He will kill the men, the women, and the children, both female and male. How many slain there will be on the door of each court and inside; how many bellies cut open, new-borns smashed, virgins deflowered and wealth stolen! Then he will take his captives and possessions and leave, camping outside of Medina, and the captives will be presented to him. Among them are a youth and a girl of the descendants of the house of the Prophet. The name of the youth is ‘Alī and the name of the girl, who is his sister, is Fāṭima. Their father was among the slain; his name was Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh and their mother’s name was Fāṭima.

The Zuhrī will say to the youth: ‘Who are you?’ He will reply: ‘My name is ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, my mother’s name was Fāṭima daughter of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh.’<sup>45</sup> He will say to the girl: ‘Who are you?’ She will reply: ‘I am the sister of this youth.’ He will say: ‘What is your name?’ She will reply: ‘Fāṭima, my mother’s name.’ [88] He will say: ‘Your father fought me more than any other [opponent].’ Then he will order them to be stretched out before him, and take a spear, and stick it into the belly of the girl. Her brother will turn his face away from her, and the Zuhrī will say to those holding his head: ‘Turn his face towards his sister so that he sees the shame and the humiliation!’ So they will turn his face back towards his sister, but he will lower his gaze and place his hands upon his eyes. He [the Zuhrī] will stick the spear into his [the youth’s] belly, and then into his rectum, and then into the rectum of his sister, while the youth says: ‘O God, You have the praise! Quickly bring vengeance and shame upon him and his followers, and make them know Your power!’ Then he [the Zuhrī] will order them to be thrown beneath the horses so that

<sup>45</sup> These are all stereotypical names of the Prophet’s family.

the horses will trample them—but they [the horses] would not trample them [the brother and sister], so he ordered them to be carried [out], and thrown behind his army camp. This was done.

Then he will divide the captives between his followers—not having mercy or compassion—and how many girls and youths will be sold! Not one of them will be left without being bought by one of his followers, and he will stay outside Medina for three days. Some of the people of Medina fled from him to the mountains, ravines and wadis. Then he will go out towards Mecca, together with his army. When he reaches a place called *al-bayḍā'* [the wasteland] a voice will call out from the heavens saying: 'O *bayḍā'*, destroy them!' The earth will swallow them up to their necks; their heads will remain outside and their horses, burdens, treasures will remain [untouched], and their tents and the captives will remain unaffected. None will escape other than two men, whose camels with their burdens had strayed; they had gone to search for them, found them, took them back and returned to the army camp. All of a sudden Gabriel, the true angel (*al-malak al-amīn*), will meet them, and say to them: 'Where do you want to go?' They will say: 'We want to go to the army camp.' He will say: 'Did you see what happened?' They will say: 'No, we are brothers of one father and mother; so we came out with our father, unwillingly, in this army, and we have not fought with them nor have we helped them. If we had been able to do something other than accompany them, we would have done it—God knows this about us.' He will say to them: 'Because of that God caused your camels to go astray. The army camp is before you; go towards it.' [89]

They will both go to the army camp and see what happened to the group, and want to return back. Gabriel will say: 'God saved you because you didn't fight and [because of] your unwillingness to do that, so one of you will go to the Sufyānī and tell him about what has happened to his army, and one of you will go to the people of Mecca with the news sent via you to them.' They will say: 'Yes, we are sent.' He will say to the one going to the Sufyānī: 'What is your name?' He will say: 'My name is Wabr.'<sup>46</sup> Then he [Gabriel] will say: 'Go, O Wabr, to the Sufyānī, and inform him what [fate] met his army in *al-bayḍā'* in the land of Ḥijāz. God has recompensed him for what he did to the people of Kūfa and the people of Medina, and because of

<sup>46</sup> The vocalization of these names is uncertain; in other parallel texts they are given as Watr (or Watar) and Wutayr: see Nu'aym, *Fitan*, p. 204.

those who he had killed, and what he had done to the good, pure, blameless souls of the guided, guiding family.<sup>47</sup> Then he will spit in his face and turn his face completely around to the back of his neck, and say to him: ‘This will be a sign to you that you will inform the Sufyānī of what has happened to his army. The hour you inform him [of this news] your face will return back to what it was.’

Then he will say to the other one: ‘What is your name?’ He will say: ‘My name is Wabra.’ He [Gabriel] will say to him: ‘Go, O Wabra, to Mecca. You will find there from among the pure descendants of Fāṭima the daughter of Muḥammad, the *ummī* prophet, the wife of the *walī* of the Messenger of God, and the *walī al-mu’minīn* [‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib] a white youth, beautiful of face, sitting among a group of his family (*ahl baytihi*) of the people of Mecca. Inform them what the army of the Sufyānī did to the people of Kūfa and to the people of Medina, and how God most high punished them after that in *al-bayḍā’*—alive but swallowed up in the earth up to their necks while their heads were outside [the earth]. They will live until you come to them, so that you can see them—you and your followers, and then the earth will swallow them. You will find the army camp of the Sufyānī with all of the treasures and possessions in it, and you will find the captives taken captive from the people of Kūfa and the people of Medina untouched. Return all of them to their relatives, and divide the spoils into three portions: a third to the people of Medina, a third to the people of Kūfa and a third to your followers—other than what you see is obviously taken from the people of Kūfa and from the people of Medina. Return that to its rightful owners, after they admit [to their ownership], [90] and inform those of what has been taken from them.’

Then Gabriel will spit in his face, and turn his face around completely to the back of his neck, until he completes his mission. Wabra will then come to Mecca, and fulfill it [his mission] before Wabr can get to the Sufyānī,<sup>48</sup> and he will find the people of Mecca. Among them will be the man who was described by Gabriel, and he will tell him of this, and his followers will swear him allegiance. Then he will arrange them and find them to be 313 men, and he will take their oath of allegiance between the *rukṅ* and the *maqām*. Wabra’s face will return to its original state and he will leave hastily to Medina and return with him. Wabr will reach the Sufyānī while he was settled in

<sup>47</sup> Reading ‘*atra* in place of ‘*atra*. The family is that of the Prophet.

<sup>48</sup> Because of the relative closeness of the city of Mecca to the *bayḍā’*.



al-Anbār, coming from al-Madā'in and settling in al-Anbār, and he will inform him. The hour he informed him, his color changed and his face blackened, and a tremor took him, he fell crippled in body, and the face of Wabr returned to its original state.

God will roll up the earth for the Pure One who appeared in Mecca, whose name is Muḥammad b. 'Alī of the descendants of the elder grandson al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, who is called the Imām al-Ḥasanī. He will reach *al-bayḍā'* during that day and find the group with their bodies in the earth while their heads were outside—while they were alive. He will praise God, he and his followers, and sobbed, crying, praying to God, glorifying Him and praising Him for the beautiful miracle He performed for them, and they asked Him for complete grace and health. Then the earth will swallow them up during that very hour, and the Ḥasanī will find the army [camp] and the captives in order, and they had already gathered what had reached him of their news from those who had fled from Medina and those who had been around Medina.

Gabriel will appear to them as one of the long-lived ones (*mu'ammārūn*), and say to them: 'Do not worry about anything—your brothers *al-mu'minūn* are with the *walī* of God, the Ḥasanī, and are coming to you. They have an army, and the captives will be happy about what has happened to the army of the Sufyānī. He [the Ḥasanī] will order the captive women, girls and youths [to be set free] and any who know anything about what had happened to the Sufyānī's followers will tell him of it. Among the women are those who had given birth to children being neglectful—they had already known this about the people of Kūfa and the people of Medina. Each matter will be presented to him in turn, and women of the people of Kūfa will be presented to him, together with the girls and the youths, the furnishings, gold, silver, and all of the other possessions, and the women of the people of Medina will be presented to him, and the girls, youths, gold, silver and furnishings taken [from the city]. The Ḥasanī will leave all of this entirely, after returning what was taken from the people of Medina, and dividing what was in the camp of the Sufyānī among his followers: the treasures, the tents, the furnishings, the gold, the silver. He will stay in Medina 10 days and order the rectification of what had been corrupted in the mosque and the residences and order the burial of all those who had been slain of them [the people of the city].<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The transition here is very sudden, and apparently leaves out a battle with the Sufyānī in the area of Syria.

IV. *The war with the Byzantines*

Then the Ḥasanī will appoint deputies over the two Iraqs<sup>50</sup> and what is next to them, and will depart for the Byzantines. The king of the Byzantines will write to the king of the Ṣaqāliba [Slavs]: ‘This enemy who is coming to fight me—if he defeats me, will come to you [next], so help me take care of him.’ He will help him and write to the lord (*sāhib*) of Armenia in the same manner. But one of the followers (*sāhib*) of the Ḥasanī was already distracting the lord of Armenia [92], so he did not answer him either in the negative or the affirmative. The Ḥasanī will make war upon the Byzantines, and conquer many cities and fortresses of theirs. His followers and armies will be scattered throughout the border regions (*tuḡūr*), and [one] will conquer a part of it [a front of it], loot and write about this to the Ḥasanī.

The Ḥasanī will write to the king of the Byzantines: ‘The king who fled to you is our cousin,<sup>51</sup> and they [his family] are a group whose dominion has passed. The one who fled from this when he and his armies were defeated until he was compelled to take asylum with you is the Sufyānī, an enemy of ours and [we] to him. God gave us the victory over him and we fought him (lit. killed him). So, tell the king [the Sufyānī]: the one who fled to you—you [the Byzantine emperor] gave him shelter, settled him down and have treated him well, and you have fulfilled your obligations towards him—your cousin wrote to me concerning you. Come to me and you will have a safe-conduct. If you come to me, we will treat you as blood-relations and give generously to you, and place you in a noble position relative to us. I wrote him a letter and give it to him.’ He will write to the king: ‘From the Ḥasanī, the Victorious (*al-mansūr*) because of God, to his cousin ‘Abdallāh. God killed our mutual enemy, and so come in safety with God’s safe-conduct. You have a covenant from God in that and His agreement, and our protection, and the protection of his Messenger.’

The king of the Byzantines will do this, and he [the Sufyānī] will say to the king of the Byzantines: ‘Staying with you in your company is better for me than if I go to this cousin of mine. He is now above me and I am below him, while I was king previous to him—and I would just be like the rest of his subjects. Staying with you, if you will allow me [to do so], would be better for me.’ The king of the Byzantines

<sup>50</sup> The plain of ‘Irāq and the area of Ḥūzistān.

<sup>51</sup> The Sufyānī.

will say to him: 'Stay if you like.' The king of the Byzantines will write to the Ḥasanī, and then the Ḥasanī will write to him: 'As to his refusal to come to us and your choice against us, we do not like for our cousin to stay among those whose [93] religion is different from ours. If you do not send him to us, we will fight you, since you are not of our religion. If you convert to Islam and enter into our religion [. . .]; but if not we will fight you because of your refusal to enter into our religion, the religion of Islam.'

The king of the Byzantines will refuse and the patricians will say to him: 'What are you hoping for by giving shelter to this man who is not of our religion? Just send him back to his [rightful] lord!' The king of the Byzantines will say: 'I won't do that. He asked for asylum from me, and I gave it. I am not going to turn him over, in addition to the fact that even if I turned him over to his [rightful] lord, he would not stop warring against you at all. He does not fight you because you are not sending this man to him; he fights you because you are not entering into his religion. Do not think differently!' When he had said this, they desisted. Then one of the patricians will attack that king [the Sufyānī] and kill him without the permission of the king of the Byzantines. When he was informed of what this patrician did, he will say to him: 'You killed a man to whom I gave asylum?' That patrician will say to him: 'You personally were loyal to him, and as for me I killed him against your better judgment and without you ordering it. There is no blame against you for my killing him, because you personally did not betray him.'

When he said this, the learned of the people of his sect of the Byzantines said: 'He is right, O king. You have no blame in this', so he desisted from him. He will write to the Ḥasanī and inform him of what this patrician did and ask for a truce and a departure from him. The Ḥasanī will send to him: 'There is no truce between you and I, except if you enter into Islam, and convert. If you do not do this, then we will make war upon you until we are killed or until God grants us the victory over you, and in that we have a promise from God who will not go back on it that he will make us victorious over you.' The king of the Byzantines will read his letter to his patricians, and say to them: 'Didn't I say to you that he is only fighting us because we are not entering into his religion? So, then, fight with pure intentions, for we have [94] exactly the same promise that they have in fighting us, according to their claim, we have the promise from God to us in the same way.'

So he will answer him in that vein, and the Ḥasanī will fight seriously and with perspicacity, and the fight will be tough between them. Then a man will rebel against the Ḥasanī in Iṣfahān, who is a liar called al-Muḥiqq, and *akrād* and *ṣāʿālik* of the Ġibāl area [will join him] al-Naġġāf will appear in Istaḥr of Fāris at the head of 5000 people of the area of Fāris. A group of volunteers (*mutṭawīʿa*) will appear against him, and fight al-Naġġāf, and al-Naġġāf will defeat them. Then Ḥawāriġ will appear in Yamāma and the land of Yemen and in the land of Mawṣul in the Ġazīra.<sup>52</sup> The commanders (*sāhib*) of the Ḥasanī, who are in every one of these areas, will send against those [rebels] in his land, fighting him and the Ḥawāriġ will defeat them. Every one will write to the deputy (*ḥalīfa*) of the Ḥasanī, and the deputy of the Ḥasanī will write to the Ḥasanī while he is in the land of the Byzantines with this [matter], informing him ‘that a man is performing magic and leading the people astray with that, in Iṣfahān. He is a liar called al-Muḥiqq—God, God, come [to us]. Fighting these is absolutely necessary, and more important than fighting the Byzantines.’ The Ḥawāriġ will be multiplied around the earth.

A man from Juḍām will appear in Syria called Rawḥ b. Banāna, and in Barqa a man from Laḥm will appear called Aws b. Šaddād. Every one of these will expel the commanders of the Ḥasanī, and the killing, blood-shed and corruption will multiply. That man from Iṣfahān will appear with his magic and his lies to the people, and show them signs of his magic, marvels. He will call a bird from the heavens and it will come down upon him, and call a whale and it will emerge and come out to him from the water, and so the temptation will be great because of this [95].

The Ḥasanī will be written to because of this [event]. He had already conquered Constantinople,<sup>53</sup> and its king had fled, and the captives and spoils—an amount almost unable to be divided—had been divided, until the gold and silver (*fiḍḍa*) would be weighed out in the shields. All of his followers will be called, and he will say to them: ‘This gold and this coined silver (*warāq*) is taking a long time to weigh out. Just take it and divide it between yourselves’, and so they will weigh it out in their shields. Then the report of those rebels in his land will reach

<sup>52</sup> Ḥawāriġ frequently rebelled in the region of the Ġazīra, but the area of Yamāma during this time-period was controlled by the Qarmatians, who do not seem to make an appearance in this apocalypse.

<sup>53</sup> Again, the text seems to have skipped over this event.

him, and he will leave what is in his hand—and they will take what is light for them. They will advance and find the land diverted by the sin worse than the war of the Sufyānī. In every land there was fighting, whoever had revolted from its people, as a trespasser against it other than its people. The Ḥasanī will divide his followers into these directions, and they will fight whoever had revolted in it [the lands]. This will be in the month of Ramaḍān, during the hot months, and the moon will be eclipsed during Wednesday night, on the 13th of Ramaḍān. The Ḥasanī will say to his followers: ‘Everybody, think well of God, for we have observed with our fathers, and never have we seen the moon eclipsed twice on successive nights other than in this very month. These are two signs from God most high. Press forward with the war (*ḡhād*) against the enemies of God, and abandon any desires towards this world.’

So they will exert themselves in fasting and prayer during Friday night, mid-month of Ramaḍān, and when the first third [of the night] had passed a voice from the heavens came, which was never heard previously by people. 70,000 libertines will scream, 70,000 will be blinded, 70,000 will be deaf, 70,000 will be dumb, and 70,000 virgins will be ripped apart—all of this will happen to the libertines and those who allow what God has forbidden. But those who take refuge in God and do His work well, He will save them from this and much worse things. At the break of dawn of that night, there will be another voice, not the first voice, and there will be darkness until break of dawn. The first voice will be that of Gabriel, shouting a shout [96]—whatever was in it. Then in it a voice was heard: ‘There is no god but God; the friends of God will be saved when they say it.’ The other voice was frightening—no one screamed during it, nor was blinded, made deaf, dumb and no virgins were ripped apart. After it there was darkness, and a voice was heard saying: ‘Do not be afraid, go to your enjoyments, and take pleasure. The voices you have heard are nothing other than the voices of jinn playing in the heavens.’ The first voice will be the voice of Gabriel, strengthening the male believers and the female believers. The second voice will be that of the devil strengthening his followers to do rebellious deeds.

The Ḥasanī will disperse his followers fighting the Ḥawāriḡ in every place from which they have revolted, and he will turn personally towards that one in Iṣfahān, and meet him [in battle] and kill him and kill his followers, other than those who flee. That will be in the beginning of Ṣawwāl. Then at mid-month of Ṣawwāl there will be the great uproar,

and awesome catastrophe. The Ḥasanī will turn toward the one in Fāris, and uproot him and his army, other than those who fled from him. Then at mid-month of Ḍū al-Qa‘da there will be earthquakes, thunder and swallowing up by the earth in all of the lands of the earth. The second uproar will be in Ḍū al-Ḥiḡḡa, and that will be more catastrophic than the first. During Muharram the people of Mecca will plunder what is around the Ka‘ba, and what is around the Ḥaram, and the Bedouin will loot [97] the houses of the people of Mecca. Then the people of Mecca and those around them will gather together, and go out following them [the Bedouin]. God will aid them by a wind and dust, and those Bedouin will be killed, and they will take everything which had been taken from them: the camels, the weapons and everything else and return as plunderers.

The followers of the Ḥasanī will go out to every direction and conquer countries, and purify the loyalty toward the Ḥasanī. When the king of the Byzantines learned about the Ḥawāriḡ who had revolted against the Ḥasanī, he swore—while he was in Rome, which is beyond Constantinople—that he would invade the lands of Islam and dominate those cities of it which he could, and enter into them in just the same way as the Ḥasanī entered Constantinople. So he then returned to Constantinople, and gathered his patricians and his armies and went to Ṭarsūs. Then he went from it towards the Euphrates. The Ḥasanī slowed him down until he reached Ḥarrān. Then the Ḥasanī fell upon him from behind him down and in front of him, killed his followers, and took their crosses. The king of the Byzantines will rip his clothes, and wear the clothes of the people of Ṭarsūs, dressing as one of the people of the borderlands, wearing a sword and riding a mule, with his mouth smeared with blood. Every time he met one of the Muslims, he pointed towards him with his hand, as if he was greeting him and calling to him, so that they would think that he was one of the people of the borderlands who had been wounded in his *ḡihād* against the Byzantines.

He will continue on like this until he reaches Tarsūs. Then he<sup>54</sup> inclined towards the [captive] Byzantines and called to the Byzantines, and asked them: ‘Have you seen your emperor?’ They will say: ‘He fled; if he were among the dead we would have found him.’ So he

<sup>54</sup> The change of person is very abrupt, but one must assume that the Ḥasanī is who is meant here.

will appoint governors and send them to all of the directions of the lands of Islam, and straighten out the affairs of [the lands of] Islam. Then he will go out leading his followers and fight the Byzantines, and the king of the Byzantines will send to him about his ruse through which [98] he was saved, and ask him for a truce or a return [to the status *quo ante*], trying to scare him [with the specter] of the corruption of his [the Ḥasani's] country if he was distracted by fighting the Byzantines. So he will say: 'We are not fighting you about wealth and spoils, but we are only fighting you that the religion would be the religion of Islam, and that you would acknowledge the word of salvation, which is "There is no god but God, alone, without any associate [and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger],<sup>55</sup> and that Jesus the son of Mary is the Servant of God, the son of His handmaiden (*amma*), and His Word, His Spirit, the son of the intact virgin (*al-ʿaḍrāʾ al-batūl*) who was never touched by a human. God formed the Messiah from her, just as He formed Adam from dust and made him human, and then formed Eve his wife from Adam, and then formed from her all of creation and made them tribes, peoples<sup>56</sup> and nations, and then divided their speech. He knows everything of them and every one else, and had He wished to make them into one *umma* [He would have], but whosoever He wishes, He causes to enter into His mercy."<sup>57</sup>

So we call you and the people of your sect into the religion of Islam. If you like, we will receive this from you, we will release you and give you favor—and you will pay just the same set tax (*ḥarāḡ*) as those of our own sect. If you refuse, [you will pay the] head-tax (*ḡizya*), and then there will be war between the two of us until God grants victory to the side more beloved to Him. We will have the victory, whoever dies on our side will have Paradise; even if you are victorious we will have Paradise because of our steadfastness and true belief (*baṣīra*).<sup>7</sup> The king of the Byzantines will read this letter to his patricians and say to them: 'Is this fellow to be more eager to fight than you are?' They will say: 'You are right. Lead us out to him.'

<sup>55</sup> The second part of the *ṣahāda* does not appear in the original, and the editor has added it.

<sup>56</sup> The wording is very reminiscent of Qurʾān 49:13 "O mankind, We have created you male and female and made you nations and tribes, so that you might come to know one another." (all Qurʾānic translations and allusions are taken from Majid Fakhry, *The Qurʾān: A Modern English translation* [London: Garnet, 1997]).

<sup>57</sup> This is the longest version of the *ṣahāda* known to me.

So they will gather together and go out to fight the Ḥasanī with 1000 crosses—under each cross a great multitude, and the Ḥasanī will meet them [in battle]. There will be a great slaughter among them [the Byzantines], and they will retreat and he will follow them until he reaches Constantinople, and then besiege them with a tight siege. They will ask for a truce from him, and he will refuse, and so they will retreat from it [Constantinople] towards Rome, leaving it for him [the Ḥasanī]. He will enter it with his followers, and destroy its great church after taking its altar and its crosses,<sup>58</sup> and destroy Constantinople and break down [99] its walls. They will stay in it and the area around it, planning to go to Rome. The Ḥasanī will send an army to the king of the Ṣaḡālība, and defeat him as well, taking part of his lands.

### V. *The Antichrist*

A man blind in one eye will appear in Istaḥr of Fāris claiming that he is the Antichrist, and will name himself, and say ‘I am the god who judges the people of the earth on behalf of the god of the heavens.’ The masses of the people will follow him together with the *akrād*, the Zutt, the ignorant hill-billies and his followers will multiply. The people will be seduced and corruption will multiply in the earth. A woman will appear in al-Ahwāz called Ḥamīda, leading people claiming to be Arabs of [the tribe of] Azd. She will say: ‘I am the aid of the people of religion, and I will fight for the religion of the Ḥasanī whoever fights the Ḥasanī.’ She will collect taxes (*ḥarāḡ*) and divide it among her supporters and her followers will multiply.<sup>59</sup>

Then the Aṣḥab will appear in Damascus at the head of 50,000 opposing the Ḥasanī. Then the Great Antichrist will appear in Iṣfahān, and he will be the most knowledgeable of sorcerers; with him the devil and the worst jinn of his followers, the jinn sorcerers, and human sorcerers will gather to him, demons and the worst jinn collecting them to him. To his left is the devil appearing to the people who see him as if he is the Truth. The Antichrist will prepare food and drink in

<sup>58</sup> There is a gender change there. The altar belongs to the church, and the crosses belong to the altar.

<sup>59</sup> In other accounts of the Antichrist’s opponents, a female figure called Ṭayyiba (equivalent to the Tabitha who appears in the Christian apocalyptic tradition—see D. Frankfurter, “Tabitha in the apocalypse of Elijah,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 [1990], pp. 13-25) appears: Nu‘aym, *Fitan*, p. 317. However, this Ḥamīda is unknown from other sources.



pavilions and large tents—that is because he will take from everything that he takes from the people: possessions, livestock including sheep, cattle, camels and other possessions, and he will take wines, honey and sugar from them into the storehouses he has with him. Cattle and sheep will be slaughtered for him, also of the goats and lambs and of the fowl what will tempt the people. Puddings (*aḥbisa*), sweetmeats (*falūḡḡāt*) and other types of sweets will be prepared, all sorts of fruit, and milks of the cattle and sheep will be brought to him fresh not preserved—whatever he wants when he wants it. It will seem to the people that he has a paradise with him, and he will call for whatever he wants of all of this, and it will be brought to him, and his followers with those others following him will eat of all types of foods.

He had already taken kettles of brass with coal under them, and whoever refuses to believe in him, he will order him to be sent to ‘hell’ (*ḡahannam*). He has a house with sheets of iron, the foundations of which are plates of iron like beds [100]. Over the sheets there is a gigantic kettle like a cupola over these sheets, and it becomes a house of iron. Whoever he wants, he sticks in there, and orders it to be fired up below him until it becomes red-hot and is like fire. Then he orders those kettles to be filled with water and then set to a boil, and to cook the aloe with the arsenic and the scammony together. Then he brings whoever does not believe in him and says to his followers: ‘Put him in hell!’ So he will be put in this house, and it will be heated up, and it will be fired up. Then he will say: ‘Pour hot water on his head!’ and so they will pour hot water on his head, of that boiling water. Then he will say: ‘Make him eat of the *zaqqūm* and the *ḡarī*!’<sup>60</sup> and so they will make him eat of the aloe, arsenic and scammony. This will continue until he dies or says: ‘I believe in you.’ If, however, he believes in him [the Antichrist] then he perishes.<sup>61</sup> The people were tested, and he fed them what he claimed was of paradise, of the foods and drinks—wines, milks, fruits and sweets, and of types of perfumes, sweet-smelling herbs and oils, all types of clothing, decoration (i.e., make-up), dresses, pearls, rubies, coral which he had taken from people.

The people will see from his magic that he can raise the dead and kill, punish with fire (hell), and honor with paradise. He is a youth, blind in the right eye, with a white film in it, while his left eye looks

<sup>60</sup> Both of these poisonous trees are mentioned in the Qur’an: the *zaqqūm* in 37:62, 44:43, 56:52; and the *ḡarī* in 88:6. Their precise identity is not known.

<sup>61</sup> I.e., he will be condemned to perdition in hell.

like a beautiful star mesmerizing the eyes of the people. He will seem in the eyes of everyone who sees him to be a mighty mountain, showing them through his magic that he is on a gray donkey with a saddle on its back and a bit in its mouth, and a ring—making it seem to them because of his magic that it is a ring of silver, and in it there will be straps of green, red and yellow silk. They will see this donkey as if it was a great mountain, its length a mile, and breadth 100 cubits, its ears like two large mountains—[so big that] a community (*umma*) of people could take shade under the ear of his donkey. All of this will be because of his magic, making the people imagine that he is in accordance with what they see, but in reality he is just like everyone else, and his donkey is just like all other donkeys, but this is magic through which he has bewitched the eyes of the people, as a temptation for those being tempted.

His clothing is green, on his head is a green headdress (*ṭayalsān*), and his followers will wear green [101] headdresses. Most of his followers are Jewish, Zoroastrian, heretics (*zanādiqa*) of the Christians,<sup>62</sup> and every libertine. All of these liars will gather to him, and he will travel through all the lands, not leaving a single land between Iṣfahān and what is below it to Mawṣil and the Ġazīra, Syria, Egypt and the land of the Ḥiḡāz. He will go from city to city and say: ‘I am god of the earth!’ whoever stays away from his path will be safe from him. He will go out from Iṣfahān to the ‘Iraqs of Babylon towards al-Ahwāz, then towards Fāris, returning to Rayy in Ḥurāsān, then go up to Armenia, then go down to the Ġazīra, to Mawṣil, then go to the Ḥiḡāz. When he reaches Medina, angels will greet him, slapping his face and the faces of his followers with their wings, and he will return from it [Medina]. Then he will go to Mecca and the angels will slap him with their wings, and he will return from it. Then he will go to the land of Yemen, and then go over the sea to Egypt, then return to Syria, while the Ḥasanī and the believers with him are [following] behind this blind-in-one-eye magician, demanding from him, and calling out: ‘People! Don’t be misled by this fellow. This is the blind-in-one-eye, lying, tempting Antichrist! Stand aside from him and you will be saved by God from his temptation and his magic! O people, between his eyes is written “This is the lying infidel towards God (*kāfir bi-llah*) Antichrist”

<sup>62</sup> In other words, *just* the heretics of the Christians; apparently most Christians will not follow the Antichrist.

to tempt everyone who is erring; as to the believers they will know him, and will renounce him for God.’

They will continue behind him like that, and the licentiousness, immorality, fornication [102] and homosexuality will increase during this time such that a man will meet a woman in the road and have sexual intercourse with her, and those among them will say to him: ‘Just take her aside, not on the road!’ The Antichrist will make the people imagine that he has a paradise and a hell with him, but the reality is not as he says; he has bewitched the eyes of the people. Whoever is deluded will enter that which he claims is paradise, but which is really hell. Whoever is safe from his temptation enters that hell which he claims is hell, but which is really paradise. His followers will disperse around the way—with them are pipe-instruments, drums, trumpets and every type of musical instrument. They will beat their drums, blow their trumpets, horns and their pipe-instruments. The Muslims with the Ḥasanī will be saying *allāhu akbar*, glorifying and praising [God] until the Antichrist will reach a place called the Gate of Lydda, since he was intending to enter Jerusalem. al-Ḥiḍr the *mu‘ammar*<sup>63</sup> will meet him, together with people of the *abdā*<sup>64</sup> and say to him: ‘O Antichrist, you have tempted the people with your magic, but you are nothing but an infidel, a liar and a magician.’

He will say: ‘No, I am god of the earth.’ al-Ḥiḍr will say to him: ‘If you are a god in the earth, can you kill a person and then raise him from the dead? I won’t say anything other than that!’ He will say to him: ‘Of course’, so he will say: ‘Put me to death without slaughtering and without killing<sup>65</sup>—no more than saying to me “Die!” and I will die, and then “Live!” and I will live [again]. If not, then chose one of God’s creation—cattle or sheep—and say to it: “Die!” and have it die, and then say to it “Live!” and have it live [again], if you are truthful.’ He [the Antichrist] will be angered at this, and order that his head be cut off, and it will be done, but God will raise him again immediately. He will say to the people: ‘O people, God has raised me, and told me “Tell the people that he [the Antichrist] has killed me, but God has raised me to make it clear to you that he is a liar.” If he [the Antichrist] is truthful, he will put me to death another time,

<sup>63</sup> The one granted abnormally lengthy life by God.

<sup>64</sup> Those righteous men and women who will fight the Antichrist.

<sup>65</sup> I.e., simply by words alone.

and raise me [from the dead]. God said to me: “He will kill you, and not be able to raise you from the dead, and God [103] will cause him together with all of his followers to perish after you, and He will not grant them a respite after he kills you, and does not raise you for them, but he will cause you to join the prophets, the martyrs and the righteous ones”.’

The Antichrist will be astonished at these words and be bewildered, and cut off his neck, but could not raise him from the dead. The Messiah Jesus son of Mary will come down on a white cloud; all of the people of the earth will see him both in the east and the west, and a caller will call out: ‘O people, this is the Messiah Jesus son of Mary, the intact virgin (*al-‘aḍrā’ al-batūl*), who God formed without a father, and God has caused him to come down [from heaven] to kill the lying Antichrist, and he will stay with you as an imām judging with the just judgment of God. Listen to him and obey him! God has caused infidelity and polytheism to go, and has abolished the deception, and made manifest the religion unmixed with polytheism and there will be no infidelity nor hypocrisy after today. There will not be a single infidel nor polytheist for whom the location will not call out—whether a house, or valley of the earth or tree or mount: “O Believer, under me there is an infidel, come and kill him!” The people of the earth will hear this cry, and every tongue will understand it in their tongue.’

Then Jesus will come down, and he will have a stick with a spear-head at one end of it, and with it he will suppress them with one blow across the sticks, and he [the Antichrist] will melt away on his donkey, just as the candle melts when fire touches it, and they will see him in his [rightful] form as one of the people, and his donkey in the form of a donkey, and then his donkey will fall and melt away. [104] Then Jesus will say to the Ḥasanī and his followers: ‘Below you are the followers of the Antichrist and everyone who has not said “There is no god but God alone who has no partner” so kill him.’ They will draw their weapons and kill them to the last man. Then the Messiah Jesus will say to the Ḥasanī and his followers: ‘You have fulfilled what you had to do; now receive your reward. This will be your last day in the world.’ The angel of death will come and collect his spirit as humbly as any of the other people’s spirits had been collected. His soul was gladdened from that.

VI. *The Messianic age*

The Messiah will say to the personal family (*ahl bayt*) of the Ḥasanī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, his mother Fāṭima daughter of Muḥammad the younger grandson [al-Ḥusayn] of the descendants of the *ummī* Messenger,<sup>66</sup> and he will begin to say to us: ‘Jesus son of Mary is the Spirit of God and His Word, His servant, and His Messenger,’ and he will say to him: ‘Come and pray at the head of your followers’ and the Messiah will pray behind him. Then he will order all the people present to swear allegiance to him, and then he will say: ‘Now prepare your companion and your cousin, the Ḥasanī’, and he will wash him, wrap him and then pray over him—him, his followers and the Messiah son of Mary. Then he will order the imām to kill the pigs, break the crosses, destroy every church, synagogue and fire-temple, and to kill every one who does not follow the religion of Islam. Not a single infidel, polytheist or hypocrite will remain without fleeing the threshold of the place in which he is, when he hears that place he is in calling out the name of the person who has concealed himself—and a believer who hears it will kill him. [105]

Then the Byzantines, the Slavs and all of the nations when they hear the imām call them to Islam will answer affirmatively, in obedience to what they have heard from the Messiah Jesus when he called out while he was in the white cloud. Then the Messiah will take Satan, and say to the imām: ‘Take this [Satan] and slaughter him.’ And the imām will take him and lay him down, and slaughter him on the Rock of the Temple (*bayt al-maqdis*), and all of his demonic followers will die then. All of the people of the world together with their kings will convert to Islam, and injustice will go; righteousness will be revived, and every harmful creature from among the animals will die and the vermin, even the flies, the ants, the mosquitoes and every harmful creature. Security will spread throughout all the earth, and no insolent person will remain, and the earth will make its treasures and its blessings manifest. Mercy will fall and fertilize for the people, and there will not be any poor or wretched on the earth. Wealth will be divided fairly and arrogance and stupidity will depart from the people. God will complete His word: ‘My righteous servants shall inherit the earth’ [Qur’ān 21:105] and ‘Allah promised those of you who have believed and done

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 7:157, 158.

the righteous deeds that He will surely make them successors in the land, and He made those who came before them successors, and that He will establish firmly for them their religion, which He chose for them, and that He will give them, as a substitute for their fear, security. “They worship Me and do not associate anything with Me. He who disbelieves afterwards—those are the real sinners”.’ [Qur’ān 24:55]

This imām will continue to judge and give justice justly until when his end has come, there will befall [a temptation] in his heart and he will leave a will and appoint as successor a man from his family over the community to take his place. Thus he [also] will do as his end approaches, leaving a will and appointing a successor thusly, until five reign [106] from the [descendants] of the younger grandson [al-Ḥusayn]. Then the last of them will leave a will to a man from the [descendants] of the older grandson, and he will live according to the ways of the first imām, and then after him until also five reign from them. Then the last of the five will leave a will for the caliphate to a man from the elder grandson and the first will reign, then his son after him and twelve kings will be completed—every son of them a *mahdī*, *raṣīd*, and *mursīd*—when the younger son reigns, his governors will be from the older grandson and vice versa when the older grandson reigns, his governors will be from the younger grandson.

When the last of those from the younger grandson have perished, they will seek someone from the younger grandson to rule over them in his place and will not find in all of the earth even one of them—death caused them all to perish. None will remain of the older or of the younger grandson’s [descendants], so they will seek from the uncles of the Prophet and will not find one of them. [The family of] Banū Hāšim will have died out and none of their progeny will remain, so they will seek from [the family of] Banū Umayya and not find one of them either. A man who was a *mawlā* to the one of the [descendants of the] younger grandson [al-Ḥusayn] who died will say to them: ‘Search in the clans of Qurayš so that you can find someone from Qurayš who can rule over you, for your Prophet said “The imāms are from Qurayš.”’<sup>67</sup> They sought a Qurashī in all the land and they did not find even one; they had all died out.

Then they will say to that *mawlā*: ‘You are the Servant of God, the *mawlā* of the last of those who ruled of the younger grandson—you are

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), III, pp. 129, 183, IV, p. 421.

his freedman, who he advanced [in position], preferred you and acted in accordance with your opinion, and the *mawlā* of the most precious of them—so take the place of our ruler (*mawlā*); the community is in need of an imām to rule the community of Muḥammad.’ He will refuse this, and they will say: ‘We will not let you go, it is not permitted for you to refuse. If you do not do this, the community will be lost.’ So they will force him to do this and swear allegiance to him, and cause him to rule the community. He will rule them after the fashion of his master towards them, in accordance with the imāms of the descendants of the daughter of the Messenger of God.<sup>68</sup> [107]

Daniel said: It was not made clear to me exactly how long each of them will reign, nor were their names given to me, but the angel who prophesied this to me from God said to me: ‘They will rule in opposition to those who reigned previous to them [for every] year two years, [for every] month two months, [for every] day two days.’ This *mawlā* will rule them and will follow the path of his companions the rightly guided ones as long as he continues and then will die. Men will be few and women will be many during the time of this *mawlā*, and corruption in the earth will be great. This *mawlā* will be unable to rectify it with justice, and the libertine, the immoral and the hypocrite will appear during the time of this *mawlā*. This *mawlā* will lead the ḥajj with his followers, and a gathering of the libertines will follow him. When he has completed the rites of his ḥajj, he will see that which he disapproves of in the matter of religion, and will desire to punish them. But then he will be afraid that what he has seen is just hear-say and not the absolute truth, so he will leave the issue of punishment because of that.

At that point the *dābbat al-arḍ* will appear from al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa,<sup>69</sup> having froth like the froth of an enraged camel—it will be in the form of a white camel, but it will be more beautiful and more graceful than camels, with the coloring of a white gazelle, with two wings to fly with when it wants to, and it will come to the people and

<sup>68</sup> The function of this *mawlā* who completes the messianic dynasty is not clear, nor does any of the material in either Sunnī or Šīʿī apocalyptic literature clarify it. Apparently he is supposed to show that a righteous man, now matter how good his intentions are, cannot rule the messianic kingdom. Only a God-appointed descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad can preform this function.

<sup>69</sup> See Qurʾān 27:82; for a selection of traditions about the *dābbat al-arḍ*, see Nuʿaym, *Fitan*, pp. 401-5 and my *Hour*.

say: ‘O people, there is no danger to you from me—God has sent me to you because you do not believe in the signs of God, and among you are those who say: There is no god but God, but are in opposition to Islam and belief in God. So [He] sent me to make crystal clear who is the believer and who is the hypocrite, and the infidel who does not believe in the resurrection on the Day of Resurrection, so wait.’

When she says this, no one hearing her could say a word, but waited, and she will come to each person and mark [108] on his forehead. This will be a white dot on the forehead of the believer above his nose, and it will be a black dot on the forehead of the hypocrite and the infidel. Then this creature will disappear and not be seen. Not a single believer will be left in the east and in the west who does not have a white dot on his forehead, if he is a believer, and a black dot on the forehead of the infidel and hypocrite. This *mawla* will order the killing of everyone who has a black dot on his forehead, and that no one harm anyone who has a white dot on his forehead—whether man or woman, young or old, even the female believers, the (female) infidels and the female hypocrites—because there are those people in the world that the *dābbat al-arḍ* did not reach. God will place a white dot on the forehead of every male believer and female believer as a sign that the belief of every man and woman be made known—young or old, woman or man, and upon the foreheads of the female hypocrites, polytheists and infidels a black spot so they will be known.

He will order this at the end of his rule, when his government will reach the [entire] earth. The people of knowledge and understanding of God will die, the readers of the Qur’ān, and the Qur’ān [itself] will go. Not a single book will be left with the words of God in it; but this lord will retain [in his memory] enough of the Qur’ān to pray with his followers.<sup>70</sup> Then this lord will die and his followers will pray over him and bury him. He will not leave any children, and they will not find his like. So they will say to the best of those remaining: ‘Be our imām!’ and he will refuse and say: ‘Let every man be his own imām.’ So they will disperse at that point. The religion will disappear with the passing of its followers, and nothing will remain but its name. The people of the *sunna* will pass with their deaths, except for those who remain on the earth of the believers. But death will cause them to perish except for a few of their children—their number will not be over 100 souls.

<sup>70</sup> Probably meaning the *fātiḥa*.



VII. *The end of the world*

The people of polytheism and infidelity will increase—on their foreheads will be black dots—in every corner of the world. Those people will have market-places where they buy and sell pleasurable items, foods and other things. [109] Then God will allow Gog and Magog to dig through the barrier which ʔū al-Qarnayn built<sup>71</sup> and they will come through every quarter (*hadab*). Their corruption upon the earth will be great. Not a single bit of food will remain without them eating it, and no water without them drinking it. While the people are in this situation, the sun will rise from the west on the morning of Monday, 13 ʔū al-Ḥiġġa. That night, the night of the 13th will be long for people and all the people of the earth will be terrified from this until the sun reaches the middle of the heavens and then it will return and set in the west.

Then the moon will rise from the west on the night of the 14th, until it will reach the middle of the heavens and then it will return and set on the second night.<sup>72</sup> Water will sink down into the earth, and the Tigris and the Euphrates will dry up. When Gog and Magog come to the Tigris and the Euphrates they will not find any water in them, and will cross over their (dry) beds and spread corruption upon the earth. The pools of the earth and all of its vegetation will pass; and there will be not a single town or village without a swallowing up by the earth or bombardment, lightning strikes, earthquakes from God's vengeance. In every revealed book: 'There is no city but We destroy it before the Day of Resurrection, or will punish it terribly. That is written in the Book.' [Qur'ān 17:58].

The world will be filled with the descendants of Gog and Magog, and they will rule over creation. They will break one against another—the world will be left for them, and they will take possession of it because of their numbers and the intensity of their madness. [110] The descendants of Ham son of Noah of the blacks will be numerous. A man of them will appear at the head of many of the Ethiopians, and bring them to Mecca and enter it. No one will be left in; they will

<sup>71</sup> Qur'ān 21:96.

<sup>72</sup> In the text *laylat al-ithnayn*, which should mean Monday night. But we already know from the above text that Monday night is the night of the 13th, so this is not clear.

cause all to perish. This Ethiopian will then ascend on top of the Ka'ba which Abraham the Friend of al-Raḥmān (God)<sup>73</sup> built, and strike it with a pick to destroy it. His hand will wither, and he will say to his followers: 'It is before you!' and they will destroy it. They will take their picks and ascend upon the Ka'ba to destroy it,<sup>74</sup> and God will send a lightning bolt from the heavens against them and will burn them all. Gog and Magog despite this will be upon the earth, having destroyed everything on dry land, and thirst will compel them to go to the shores of the sea to drink from its water. That is because the [fresh] water will have sunk down into the earth. God will send a burning wind against them—this is death—and burn them on Friday. The earth will stink of their corpses, and there will be those left of the descendants of Adam who have said: 'There is no god but God [and] Muḥammad is the Messenger of God'—and they are few, with each man 100 women attached to him because the men have died and their women have continued to believe in Islam, all of them.

Then God will cause those believers to die also, until there is no one left who has said 'There is no god but God', and then God will close the doors of repentance. No one will have their repentance received, because God knows that the people of that time will not repent. The people of that time will have no religion nor intelligence, and God will send a fire which will lead the people of every land to the land of Syria, the land of Jerusalem. They will fill Syria to the sea—the Mediterranean Sea—and they will make markets and buy and sell.<sup>75</sup> While this is happening, on a different Friday of Ḍū al-Ḥiġġa, there will be a sudden shout from the heavens. The people of the earth will scream—while they are in their market-places—and all of the people will die. This will be the last day of the world. [111]

### VIII. *Daniel's postscript*

Daniel said: To this point is God's revelation. I said to the angel who conveyed this to me: 'O angel, how has God named the Sufyānī, the

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 4:125.

<sup>74</sup> For a selection of the traditions about the future Ethiopian destruction of the Ka'ba, see Nu'aym, *Fitan*, pp. 408-11.

<sup>75</sup> In other apocalypses it is apparent that the end of the world will take place on a market-day. See e.g., Nu'aym, *Fitan*, p. 422; and compare Matt. 24:36-41.

names of his commanders and the names of those who will be in his time, and made their whole history clear, but did not name those kings<sup>76</sup> who He mentioned, and did not name their commanders nor give them *kunyas*?' He said: 'I do not have any knowledge about this.' Daniel said: 'I asked God to clarify this,' and the angel returned to me and said: 'God said that the kings have those who will plot against them because of envy, and if a [given] king was named, and his name and description were known, and an envier of his family or an enemy envied him, he would come and kill him. So I concealed their names, those of every family of every king of them hoping that he will cause the one after him to reign. Whoever of his family or his enemies wants to plot against him, when he knows his name and description, will plot—when he does not know that, he will not plot against him. God is gracious to His servants because He is the Merciful and the Compassionate, doing as He wishes, and He is able to do anything.'

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<sup>76</sup> It is very curious that Daniel would refer to the members of the messianic dynasty by the (usually) pejorative word *mulūk*.